

The Influence of Politics and Culture on English Language Education in Japan

During World War II and the Occupation

by

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Certificate of Original Authorship

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I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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Abbreviations

CIE	Civil Information and Education Section
CGK	<i>Chuto Gakko Kyokasho</i>
GHQ, SCAP	General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers
GSYDSI	<i>Gakushu Shido Yoryo Detabesu Sakusei Inkai</i>
HiSET	Society for Historical Studies of English Teaching in Japan
IGAHHI	Iris Girls' Academy <i>Hyakumen-shi Hensan Inkai</i>
JACAR	Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan
MEXT	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology
MFPB	Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau
MIC	Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications
NHK	<i>Nippon Hoso Kyokai</i>
SKP	<i>Senso o Kataritsugu Purojekuto</i>
SRFO	Division of Special Records, Foreign Office, Japanese Government
TJ	Translation from Japanese
USEM	The United States Education Mission to Japan
UTS, HREC	University of Technology, Sydney, Human Research Ethics Committee

Note. Italics are in the Japanese language.

Japanese Terms

***Buke seiji* (politics by the *samurai* class)** was a political form in Japan by which the *samurai* class maintained political control through a system based on their military force. Generally, *Buke seiji* is regarded as having lasted approximately 700 years, from its foundation by the Kamakura Shogunate at the end of twelfth century CE to the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate of 1867 (Hitachi Solutions Business, 2013).

Bushido literally means the ways or principles of *samurai*. Its ethics developed among the class of *samurai* during the Kamakura period (1192-1333) and still existed in the Edo period (1603-1867), by which time it had combined with Confucianism. It honoured loyalty, bravery, sacrifice, faith, decency, courtesy, honour, simplicity and affection (Shogakkan, n.d.).

ESS is the abbreviation of English Speaking Society, an afterschool activity seen in many schools, from junior high school to universities. Its activities vary from school to school, but the members are often involved in, for example, staging plays in English, participating in English speech contests, conversation hours with native speakers of English, and debates in English.

Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (*Dai Toa Kyo-eiken*). The concept behind the Co-prosperity Sphere was that Japan had a mission in East Asia to eradicate all European and American imperialism, and also the influence of communism. Japan adopted this notion as a national objective in 1940 with a bloc consisting of Japan, Manchukuo and China, and the area later extended to South East Asia, India, and parts of Oceania. The ideas underlying the sphere were mutual economic co-prosperity, linguistic-radical-religious links, racial equality within Asia, and the eviction of outsiders from its geopolitical region. However, the partnership between Japan and its satellite states was illusory. It is doubtful if any of the countries gained much from it and the doctrine became unpopular with those countries that suffered from the Japanese. (Dear & Foot, 2005; Hitachi Solutions Business, 2013).

Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyoiku Chokugo*). This was the most important guiding principles of education for modern Japan and was issued on October 30, 1890 in the form of the Emperor's message. Its principles of loyalty and patriotism are based on the morality of Confucianism and the view that the people are the Emperor's children. Its spirit was taught in moral education (*Shushin*) and became important for the Imperial system. It lapsed in May 1948 (Hitachi Systems & Services, 2006).

A photograph of the text of the Imperial Rescript on Education with Imperial sign and seal with a translation in English can be found at <http://www.meijijingu.or.jp/english/about/6.html>

In addition, the rescript translated into contemporary English can be found at <http://sites.harvard.edu/fs/docs/icb.topic1392009.files/THE%20IMPERIAL%20RESC>

Juku schools are privately owned schools where students go after regular school times, on weekends, and/or during the breaks between the academic terms. They function either as compensation to catch up with the classes at school, or as extra input to pass higher-level entrance examinations for more competitive schools. They are outside the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), and need not follow the curricula or the regulations issued by the MEXT. (Kitahara, 2002-2004)

Special higher police (*Tokubetsu koto keisatsu*, often shortened to *Tokko*) was a police force established in Japan in 1911 specifically to investigate and control political groups and ideologies deemed to be a threat to public order.

The **military police** (*Kenpei*) also was initially involved in thought control of the military, but it gradually expanded its authority until thought control of civilians became its main duty. “The *Kenpeitai* (Military police corps) was the military police arm of the Imperial Japanese Army from 1881 to 1945. It was not a conventional military police force, but more of a secret police like Nazi Germany's Gestapo” (Takahashi, 1982, p. v) [Translation from Japanese, TJ]. The military police had a *Tokko* branch of its own, through which it discharged the functions of a secret police force. These organizations’ names were interchangeably used by some people because of the similarity of their duties towards civilians. Both the special higher police and the military police were dismantled after World War II. (Hitachi Solutions Business, 2013; Shogakukan, n.d.)

Tonari Gumi is literally translated as neighbours’ groups and was a network of neighbourhood associations. The *Tonari Gumi* system was a feudalistic, quasi-governmental institution decreed by the Ministry of Home Affairs in 1940. Ten to fifteen households made a unit for mutual aid such as firefighting, civil defence, internal security, and so on, in addition to having regular meetings. By means of this system, the personal lives, activities and even the thoughts of the people of Japan were brought under the effective overall control of a mere handful of central government officials. This system provided a chain of command from the central government bureaucracy down to each family and individual, and channels of intelligence up to the central authorities. It was an arbitrarily imposed, mutual responsibility system, but in effect it was an espionage and hostage system of coercive protectionism. The members of the *Tonari Gumi* were to report any unusual behaviours of the other members to either the police or the leader of the region, and any wrongdoing discovered was the responsibility of all the members of the group. The *Tonari Gumi* system was abolished in 1947. (Dear & Foot, 2005; Hitachi Systems & Services, 2006; Kitahara, 2002-2004; Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, SCAP, 1949)

Abstract

After the defeat in World War II, Japan was occupied for six and a half years by U.S.-led forces. The Occupation transformed Japan from a militaristic, totalitarian nation to a democratic nation with comprehensive reforms. Among various publications, including studies and opinion polls, little input has been garnered from students who actually studied English during World War II and the Occupation, when English language education was influenced by two different powers. In addition, the fact that the population of eyewitnesses is rapidly diminishing due to their ages should be noted. To bridge a gap in an under-researched area, this study explored how students themselves perceived and negotiated their way through English language education and society during these periods, and implications of this for understanding the events, causes and effects of the time.

This thesis investigated the following research questions:

1. How did education, especially English language education, at middle level schools in Japan during World War II and the subsequent Occupation, reflect the policies and shed light on the apparent mindset of the political power holders of the times?
2. How might Japanese culture and the Japanese psyche explain some of the responses to those events?
3. What was the perceived impact of these policies on those teachers and students of English during these two periods?

This is a qualitative, phenomenological study with nine research participants, who were students during the War and/or Occupation. The collected data from documents and the interviews were analysed from a standpoint of critical pedagogy.

The study compared the above two periods and investigated causes and effects with regard to the democratization of education and society, as well as the volatile status of English and English teachers. Eyewitness accounts were added to what is already known

about the events of the time. The study also investigated, among other phenomena, the role of Japanese culture in the changes at the time.

The study found that some of the responses on the part of the research participants could be explained by Japanese cultural phenomena and the reality or a perception on the part of the research participants of General MacArthur's accomplishments. The changing of the guard also caused political changes which influenced education. Some of the Japanese cultural traits supported enforcement of policy of the powerful of the time. The findings have implications for intercultural education, and for subsequent U.S. foreign policy.

Chapter 1 Introduction

It is almost 70 years since Japan's defeat in World War II. After the defeat, Japan was occupied by the Allied Forces, led by the United States, from September 1945 to April 1952. The United States, once the enemy of Japan, suddenly and unexpectedly became very popular with the public in the early stages of the Occupation and continues to be generally welcomed to this day. This gives rise to the question as to how the Japanese grew fond of their conquerors following such a defeat. The answers to this question will be investigated while exploring the answers to later research questions. The Occupation was an epic event for Japan that brought with it extensive changes, including education.

It is accepted that the use of words such as "occupied" can be contentious. Some traditions prefer to use the Japanese terminology *Rengokoku-gun Senryo-ka no Nihon*, which may be literally translated as "Japan Under the Occupation by the Allied Forces." For the sake of consistency and succinctness, the term "the Occupation" will be used throughout the thesis.

Modern education in Japan started in 1872 when the Meiji period (1868-1912) followed the Tokugawa Shogunate (Shogunate is the government ruled by the Shogun.) and the government established the new education system. Yukichi Fukuzawa (1884/1958), a pioneer of modern education in Japan, asserted, "My goals are progress in education and peace of the nation. We need to separate politics and education, and assure each independence and secluded mutual support to achieve these goals, then foster the national vigour eternally" (pp. 311-312) [TJ]. When he wrote this, 16 years had passed since Japan opened the country to the rest of the world after more than 200 years of seclusion, and the country was striving to be as rich and strong as other countries, because the government believed that they would be colonised unless they gained more power (Ishizuka, 1979). Under these circumstances, Fukuzawa (1883/2007) suggested that

education be treated differently from the rapidly moving politics, and that schools be divorced from the Ministry of Education (pp. 1-2). Fukuzawa's proposals, however, were never realized.

According to Yoshimura (1995), an educational administration is an administrative act, and it is a part of the government policies. In other words, it is possible that education is rearranged by change of the government. To avoid this political intervention and protect the independence of education, education administration has been led by a bureaucracy since before World War II. Hirasawa (2002), however, argues that it is natural for public education to be affected by the views of the political power holder, since public education is managed by that power. "The views of the political power" (p. 2) [I] of Hirasawa's words are in line with the national policy. Education appears inseparable from politics. In this study, how politics influenced education, particularly English language education, during World War II and the Occupation will be investigated.

1.1. Background of the Study

When considering English language education in Japan, some historical background knowledge on English language education is helpful. It is generally agreed that English language education in Japan can trace its history back to the 1800s (Imura, 2003; Kawasumi, 1978-1998; Mozumi, 2004; Erikawa, 2008; see also Appendix A).

The timeframe for this study is the decade from the beginning of the Pacific War to the end of the Occupation. Many history reference books and reminiscences on World War II, especially the Pacific War and the Occupation, have been published in Japan. Some examples of these are also provided in Appendix A.

In addition to the above, three doctoral dissertations by Doi (1952), Orr (1954), and Wunderlich (1952/1998), and a book titled *Education for a New Japan* (Hall, 1949) all provide firsthand information about the education reforms during the Occupation as the writers were all staff members of the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) of

the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (GHQ, SCAP). They provide valuable background information and well-documented accounts of the education reforms and were used as primary sources for this study. Other sources are in Appendix A.

The publications by the former personnel of SCAP tend to discuss the Occupation in positive terms. Wunderlich (1952/1998) and MacArthur (1964/2001), in fact, emphasized how earnestly the members executed their tasks. Their positive recollections result from their attitudes towards their tasks and subsequent accomplishments. Doi (1952), on the other hand, adopts a more neutral attitude by including negative Japanese perceptions.

For the first few decades after the end of the War, Japanese academic research on World War II depended chiefly on experiences of the researchers in their fields, such as scientists, professors, engineers, and educators, because American documents were inaccessible at the time. In the 1970s, after more than 25 years of secrecy, the United States started releasing confidential documents. This led to wider fields of research on the Occupation.

Researchers now began to publish articles criticizing policies and measures of SCAP. For example, some argued that reform recommendations in education were over-Americanised, ignored Japanese culture, and were too hasty (Beauchamp, 1995; Brameld, 1968). Sodei (1991) approved of the accomplishments of the Occupation but regarded CIE as “the Psychological Warfare Branch of MacArthur’s army” (p. 402). Some researchers emphasized that the Occupation was a foreign military intervention (Koikari, 1999; Sodei 1991, Yoshimi, 2003).

Tsuchiya (2008) indicates that SCAP emphasized liberating females, while still making them imitate a different lifestyle such as that of America, where gender roles were also apparent. For example, while education for females was emphasized in two volumes

of the books titled *Democracy (Minsbu Shugi)*, there were descriptions suggesting that the primary goal for female education be household management (Ministry of Education, 1949). *Democracy* was edited and published by the Ministry of Education, but it was produced by the CIE (Tsuchiya, 2008), which suggests that the idea of gender roles originated from the Americans. In addition, Kohchi (1991) argued that Japanese culture had been distorted by the Occupation, while criticizing the Japanese tendency to reject as evil their own values prior to the Occupation.

These studies point to aspects of SCAP's conduct that were undemocratic or insensitive to Japanese culture. In addition, whether the Occupation is regarded positively or critically might be influenced by what period of the Occupation a study focuses on. For example, interviews with Japanese nationals in Doi's dissertation (1952) often showed fear of the CIE, but according to an article by Krämer (2007) that focuses on the latter part of the Occupation, the Japanese were opposing the CIE. Sato (2001) warns, "Interpreting the Occupation as solely 'harm' from the victors by prioritizing nationalistic views distorts fairness in understanding history" (p. 390) [TJ].

A large number of studies have also been conducted in the fields of history of culture and society, education for females, and English textbooks. Some examples of these are provided in Appendix A. These publications are excellent references, rich in information of the time and insights of the authors. Each publication helped the researcher establish historical foundations. This research will refer to what is known from these publications, but will further investigate the influence of politics on English language education, its teachers and students, with the cultural context continually in mind. Therefore, this research deals with the same historical events as these publications mentioned above, but with different perspectives and participants, that is, former students in middle-level schools in the old school system and those in junior high schools in the new school systems. This population has been less studied.

1.2. Statement of Problem

In 1988 some members of the leading Japanese political party forced educators to replace segments of English textbooks because they contained some descriptions of inhumane conduct by the Japanese military during the Pacific War (Nakamura & Minemura, 2004; Yamauchi, 2008). This illustrates how education can be affected by the political power and the national policy. Conversely, people's views and attitudes toward education may change, and those social demands can affect national education policies. In either case, national policy is usually the priority for a totalitarian nation, such as pre-War Japan. As Conquest (2000) explains, "In principle the [Japanese] state recognized no limits to its authority in any sphere, and in practice extended that authority wherever remotely feasible" (p. 74). Education before the Occupation served "to achieve national objectives and mold students into useful and obedient citizens" (Kawai, 1960/1979, p. 183). Education was a tool of the government.

When the Occupation started, political power shifted to SCAP. Comprehensive reform was undertaken, including English language education. The reform significantly impacted classroom practice (Erikawa, 2008; Doi, 1952; Iketani, 1969; Smith, 1963).

The purpose of this study is to investigate the following research questions while focusing on students in the middle-level education during World War II and the Occupation:

1. How did education, especially English language education, at middle-level schools in Japan during World War II and the subsequent Occupation, reflect the policies and shed light on the apparent mindset of the political power holders of the times?
2. How might Japanese culture and the Japanese psyche explain some of the responses to those events?
3. What was the perceived impact of these policies on those teachers and students

of English during these two periods?

English classes at middle-level schools under the old school system and junior high schools under the new school system are important sites for study because they constitute the beginning of English language education for most Japanese students. Middle-level schools in the old school system, though optional to attend, mostly became senior high schools (now called upper secondary-education) and junior high schools (now classified as lower secondary education) in the new school system (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, MEXT, n.d.121). Because this level of education underwent more extensive reform, middle-level and lower-secondary education faced unique challenges. There is now a unique window of opportunity in Japan to collect the narratives of former English language students, but this window is closing, given the ages of potential informants. Higher education was not included in this study because the number of the students in higher education was very limited at that time, and those surviving would also now be in their late 80s at least.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The research on English language education in Japan during the target period mostly offers a grand narrative historical viewpoint. In addition to the memoirs mentioned earlier, there are some recollections on English language education in the target period written at the time by school students, for example, Imazeki (2001), Kihira (2000), Koshihara (1981), Kurosawa (1999), and Minami (2001) (see Appendix B). Sukemoto (1998) was an English teacher at a new junior high school and compiled some diary entries written by his students about their school lives. Uehara (2006) studied English language education in Okinawa Prefecture by conducting a survey on approximately 100 graduates of the middle-level schools before and during World War II.

Other than these publications, opinion polls were conducted by the government during the Occupation, but these provide only broad opinion trends. As will be discussed

in Chapter 4, they lack the background or more specific details, and some of the questions are leading. As well, these opinion polls, including those on education, usually targeted adults or parents rather than students, who were arguably the most affected.

Research on the period from the Pacific War to the Occupation, when English language education was influenced by the Japanese military and then the American occupiers, has garnered little input from those students who actually experienced the changes. No publication based on interviews with former students appears to exist. Students are a part of this historical context and deserve to be central to any research and reform. They are also in a unique position to share their perspectives on these events. To bridge a gap in an under-researched area, this study will explore how students themselves perceived and negotiated their way through education and society during the target period.

The focus of this study is those people who did not write memoirs, which is the majority. This thesis aims to give voice to some of the people who were most affected but least noticed. Even within this now small and diminishing population, “Many refuse to talk about their eyewitness accounts because they never want to recall their terrible experiences” (Seirei Fukushi Jigyo-dan, 2008, p. 44) [TJ]. Research participants also need to be physically and mentally well enough for an interview, and to retain sufficiently clear and accurate recollections of the events. Thus, the number of candidates for an interview decreases over time. These factors make this research important and impose a limitation at the same time.

Illustrating this, a newspaper article (Endo, 2013) announced a national memorial ceremony for the war dead in 2013, on the day prior to the ceremony. Approximately 4,800 bereaved were planning to attend, and among them, there were 16 widows (0.3%)—the smallest number since the existing oldest attendance record of 1981. For the third consecutive year, there would be no parents of the war dead attending, while more than 3,100 of their children, which represented two thirds of the bereaved, were attending.

One of the research participants served the country of Japan as a nurse during the

Pacific War. Another's husband was drafted and fought on a battlefield. These participants are of the same generation as the remaining "16 widows." It proved very difficult to find research participants at all, and impossible to find as many as had originally been planned. Originally, English teachers were also targeted for interviews, but none were found who were well enough to participate. The researcher met the gatekeepers while she was in Japan. Gatekeepers "have an official role at the site, provide entrance to a site, help researchers locate people, and assist in the identification of places to study" (Creswell, 2008, p. 640). One of the gatekeepers regretted, "I wish you had come at least five years before" (I. Yogi, personal communication, June, 2011) [I]. The longer the delay, the fewer people will be able to share their experiences and eyewitness accounts. Among the small number of eyewitnesses, none of the participants had ever participated in a study or a survey of any kind regarding World War II or the Occupation. Therefore, it is as well their voices were recorded for this study, because it adds their perspectives to an historical understanding of the people of that era.

Sato (1991a) discussed the nature of education and argued that history offers solutions to its problems. And Erikawa (2008) states:

Japanese teachers of English are strongly future and internationally oriented. Many of them are not interested in English language education in the past in Japan . . . [History, however,] points out various problems that the current English language education has, and provides clues to solve them (p. iv) [I].

While these statements may be true, the focus of this study is not to reinterpret history but to explore how civilians, especially students in middle-level education, were affected when socially and politically significant events changed the course of their lives.

This is a qualitative, phenomenological study. Analysis is conducted from the perspectives such as culture, power, democracy, and politics and education. Notions of the culture primarily depend on Hofstede (2010), and Foucault's (1975/1995) views on power

are referred to. The concept of democracy, with which the Japanese had been unfamiliar, was introduced by SCAP, and influenced education. Findings of this study will shed light on the link between educational and political philosophies and curriculum, policy and practice, and provide a critical review of the relationship between politics and English language education. This thesis also delivers to an English-speaking audience an account of literature in Japanese that was not previously available as demonstrated by the researcher's translations of Japanese documents.

The defeat of World War II was truly an extraordinary event for the Japanese. Their lives were fundamentally changed after the defeat. For example, the Japanese had been required to demonstrate absolute obedience as the loyal subjects (Ministry of Education, *Kyogaku-kyoku*, 1941) before the Occupation. Then, the Occupation brought them the opposite circumstance, that is, democracy, and the populace obtained political power. Holtom (1947) regarded education and government as one in Japan. This major change in politics affected education as well. The influence of politics on education will be discussed in this thesis, while focusing on English language education. Some political interference with English language education in more recent times will also be discussed.

The assertion that Japan became a democratic nation after the Occupation may be contentious. Japan may not have been considered “democratic” by some people, including some Japanese (Kobayashi, 2012; Taniguchi, 2009). However, the newly-created Constitution was based on democratic ideologies, and the people were informed about democracy and began to aspire to it.

This thesis consists of eight chapters. Chapter 2 will explain the framework of this study. Chapter 3 outlines the history of the primary foreign languages taught in Japan. The choices of the primary foreign languages are often influenced by issues such as politics, diplomacy, and economics. In Chapter 4, relevant literature will be reviewed. In addition, Chapter 4 will explain and contextualize the findings in the chapters that follow. Chapter 5

illustrates how the data were collected and analysed. Chapter 6 outlines findings from the interviews with the research participants. Chapter 7 responds to the research questions based on the discussions of the previous chapters by bringing together what can be gleaned from official documents of the day, participants' eye-witness accounts, and the literature, to piece together these events and their effects. Finally, conclusion and recommendations are provided in Chapter 8. This thesis does not follow the traditional pattern, as it contains a large historical section as well as the active participant research. In the first section, historical research of foreign language education in Japan pre and post war is conducted with analysis of texts and documents. This part is necessary to set the context for the latter part of the active participant research.

1.4. Researcher's Note

Some of the literature referred to is originally written in Japanese. When a quotation in Japanese is translated into English, it is labelled as [T], translation from Japanese. There is one citation originally in French, which is translated into English and indicated [Translation from French.] The participants of this research are all Japanese, and the interviews were conducted entirely in Japanese. All participant quotes are translated by the researcher from Japanese into English. English equivalents are used where possible for titles or names such as documents, organizations, for example, the Ministry of Education instead of *Monbusho* in Japanese. Other names have been translated into English by the researcher. In these cases, the original name in Japanese is provided in the parentheses following the English translation, for example, the Intelligence Bureau (*Jobo-kyoku*). Appendix C provides a list of these with the original Japanese names and their translations in English by the researcher.

When Japan is referred to, it does not include its then overseas territories such as Manchuria and Taiwan. As well, the statistics on schools do not include those of special education.

Chapter 2 Framework of the Study

Richey (2009) describes Japan as “a country that has a high level of social hierarchy” (p. 137). He refers to the Japan of today. This hierarchy was more rigidly defined before democracy was introduced with the Occupation. There existed a peerage (*Kazoku*) system (Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, 1884). In a country whose power distance is large, the central power controls the people (Hofstede, 2010, p. 76). Education, including English language education, was influenced by the power holders of the times (Koshiba, 1981, p. 53), and the reforms undertaken during the Occupation were controlled by SCAP. Doi (1952) quoted a frustrated Japanese professor who was working under the supervision of SCAP:

In 1950 a well-known Japanese professor said: Of course, the Ministry of Education is still a bureaucracy. It does not have the power that it once had, but it is run by the same people. But now we are dominated by a worse bureaucracy, namely, SCAP . . . what exists in Japan today is a very vicious form of indirect rule by SCAP. (pp. 104-105)

The professor’s observation was consistent with an educational reform, which aimed for decentralizing the administrative controls of the Ministry of Education (Hamada, Terasaki, & Nakano, 1979; USEM, 1946). SCAP’s intention was accomplished to some extent, but regarding hegemony, some of the situations of the controlled population worsened. Because the research questions concern politics and education, power and democracy in particular will be investigated. The next session will discuss culture first, then power, democracy, and education. Culture will be viewed primarily based on Hofstede’s research. Then the situations of the Japanese on whom power was always cast will be described. The end of World War II precipitated an emerging democracy for the Japanese people, but they retained the ruler, namely SCAP. The concept of democracy and the democracy that

SCAP introduced, and its vicissitudinous progress will be discussed. Following this, aims of education and national goals will be considered.

2.1. Culture

At the end of the War Japan was occupied primarily by Americans, and reforms were processed in “American ways.” American culture was strictly prohibited during the Pacific War, and the Japanese culture was not Americanised at all when SCAP established itself in Japan. It is easy to imagine that cultural conflicts existed in many situations as people in general were less sensitive to multi-cultural situations than today because the world was less globalized. Global interactions became more active, and the word “globalization” became more common in the late 1990s (Halliday, Teubert, Yallop, & Čermáková, 2004).

The limitations of Hofstede’s analyses of culture, including their capacity to essentialism, are recognized here. They are criticized for several reasons including their over-generalization and anachronism (Hofstede, 1998, p. 481). Nevertheless, Hofstede’s research “has had a remarkable effect on academics and practitioners alike” (Jones, 2007, p. 3). According to Søndergaard (1994), Hofstede’s 1980 study has been extensively cited (p. 448). Søndergaard (1994) compared 61 replications of Hofstede’s research and found that Hofstede’s predictions were largely confirmed (pp. 450-453). These data support the contribution of Hofstede’s research for outlining and comparing different cultures. His analyses have been used here because of their pertinence to outsider and insider views of culture.

His survey, which consisted of many questions about values, was conducted twice, around 1968 and around 1972, in 72 countries within subsidiaries of one large multinational business organization, IBM. More than 116,000 questionnaires were collected. Hofstede chose five cultural dimensions to discuss:

1. Power distance, which is related to the different solutions to the basic

problem of human inequality.

2. Uncertainty avoidance, which is related to the level of stress in a society in the face of an unknown future.
3. Individualism versus collectivism, which is related to the integration of individuals into primary groups.
4. Masculinity versus femininity, which is related to the division of emotional roles between men and women.
5. Long-term orientation versus short-term orientation, which is related to the choice of focus for people's efforts: the future or the present. (p. 29)

To explain the masculinity versus femininity further, Hofstede adds:

Masculinity stands for a society in which social gender roles are clearly distinct: Men are supposed to be assertive, tough, and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. Femininity stands for a society in which social gender roles overlap: Both men and women are supposed to be modest, tender, and concerned with the quality of life. (p. 297)

Although the data collection was conducted around 1970, according to Hofstede (2001) this research remains relevant.

Among the five dimensions listed above, the following arguments on the power distance and collectivism versus individualism are most relevant to this study. Hofstede (2010) argues about power distance at school:

In the large-power-distance situation . . . teachers are treated with respect or even fear (and older teachers even more so than younger ones); students may have to stand when they enter. The educational process is teacher centered; teachers outline the intellectual paths to be followed. In the classroom there is supposed to be a strict order, with the teacher initiating all communication. Students in class

... speak up only when invited to; teachers are never publicly contradicted or criticized and are treated with deference even outside school. . . .What is transferred is seen not as an impersonal “truth,” but as the personal wisdom of the teacher. The teacher is a *guru*, a term derived from the Sanskrit word for ‘weighty’ or ‘honorable’, and in India and Indonesia this is, in fact, what a teacher is called. . . .In such a system the quality of one’s learning is highly dependent on the excellence of one’s teachers. (p. 69)

By contrast, with the smaller power distance, the situations between teachers and students are quite different. For example, teachers and students are supposed to be treated more as equals; the educational process is student centred; students make uninvited interventions in class; students argue and disagree with teachers as well as criticize them, and they show no particular respect to teachers outside school; and establishing two-way communication between students and teacher is important. The entire system is based on the students’ well-developed need for independence; the quality of learning is to a considerable extent determined by the excellence of the students (Hofstede, 2010, pp. 69-70).

Table 2.1 indicates the power distance values of Japan, the United States, Australia, as well as Malaysia, the highest ranking, and Austria, the lowest ranking.

Table 2.1

Power Distance Index Values

Rank	Country	PDI
1	Malaysia	104
33	Japan	54
38	United States	40
41	Australia	36
53	Austria	11

Note. PDI=Power Distance Index Value. Adapted from *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations* (p. 87), by G. Hofstede, 2001, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 2001 by Geert Hofstede.

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The country with the largest power distance ranks 1 with Power Distance Index Value (PDI) 104, and that with the smallest power distance ranks 53 with PDI 11. Japan ranks 33 with PDI 54, The United States ranks 38 with PDI 40, and Australia ranks 41 with PDI 36 (Hofstede, 2001). Japan does not have a very high PDI, but the argument for the large-power distance above generally fits the situations at schools in Japan. The Education Division of CIE (GHQ, SCAP, CIE, Education Division, 1946) described the relationship between teachers and students:

The feudalistic nature of Japanese society was reflected in the relationship of teacher to student. By custom, the teacher was an authority and students unquestionably believed and obeyed him. In return, teachers demonstrated a parental concern for the well-being of their students. During the war the militarists capitalized upon this relationship so that schools frequently resembled small military installations. (p. 29)

Doi (1952) viewed education in Japan as follows:

The teaching method implicit in this teacher-pupil relationship constituted a high form of guidance, and guidance by an individual symbolic of the moral and ethical virtues of a good Japanese was particularly important in a society where the primary aim of education was the moral and ethical training of the child. (p. 290)

These descriptions provide evidence of the larger power distance between the teacher and the students.

School is a place that further develops and reinforces the relationship between the individuals and the groups that have been established in students' consciousness during their early years in the family (Hofstede, 2001). Differences between collectivism and individualism appear in a situation of intense and continuous social contact. Hofstede (2001) argues:

In a situation of intense and continuous social contact, the maintenance of *harmony*

with one’s social environment becomes a key virtue that extends to other spheres beyond the family. In most collectivist cultures, direct confrontation of another person is considered rude and undesirable. The word *no* is seldom used because saying *no* is a confrontation; “You may be right” and “We will think about it” are examples of polite ways of turning down a request. In the same vein, the word *yes* should not necessarily be seen as approval; rather, it may be used to maintain the communication line: *Hai* in Japanese stands not for yes but for “Yes, I heard you.”

In individualist cultures, on the other hand, speaking one’s mind is a virtue. Telling the truth about how one feels is seen as a characteristic of a sincere and honest person. Confrontation can be salutary; a clash of opinions is believed to lead to a higher truth. (pp. 228-229, italics in the original)

The Japanese are more collectivist than Americans, as Hofstede’s study (2001) indicates. The Individualism Index Values (IDV) ranges from 91 to 6, rank 1 being the most individualistic and rank 53 the least. The United States ranks 1 with IDV 91, and Australia ranks 2 with IDV 90. Japan ranks 22, tied with Argentina, with IDV 46, as shown in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2

Individualism Index Values

Rank	Country	IDV
1	United States	91
2	Australia	90
22	Japan	46
53	Guatemala	6

Note. IDV=Individualism Index Value. Adapted from *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations* (p. 215), by G. Hofstede, 2001, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 2001 by Geert Hofstede.

Japan’s score is at the medium level. One of the criteria for the individualism-collectivism scale is life in nuclear or extended families. Hofstede (2001) reasons that a traditional

Japanese family is comprised of the “stem” or lineal family, which is in between the extended family and the nuclear family structures. Usually the oldest son stayed with the stem group after marriage and maintained the family line. This style of family may have increased Japan’s IDV score.

Individualism versus communitarianism was also measured by Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars (2000), along with other dimensions of cultural diversity. Their study was more business oriented, and they surveyed a sample of 46,000 managers from more than 40 countries. The percentage of respondents choosing individual freedom over a higher quality of life for everyone, ranges from 89 to 30, with rank 1 being the most individualistic and rank 39 the least. The United States ranks 4 with 69%, Australia ranks 10 with 63% tied with Spain, and Japan ranks 35 with 39%, as Table 2.3 shows.

Table 2.3

Individualism vs. Communitarianism

Rank	Country	Percentage
1	Israel	89
4	United States	69
10	Australia	63
35	Japan	39
39	Egypt	30

Note. Adapted from *Building Cross-Cultural Competence: How to Create Wealth From Conflicting Values* (p. 72), by C. Hampden-Turner & F. Trompenaars, 2000, London, UK: Yale University Press. Copyright 1993, 1997 by Nicholas Brealey Publishing Ltd.

Hampden-Turner and Trompenaars (2000) conclude that the countries ranking 1 and 2 are based on a small sample of the indigenous elite and treat them as exceptions. Therefore, Canada (ranks 3 with 71%) and the United States are the most individualist nations, and Japan is one of the most communitarian. Lombard (1913) also observed that, “the Japanese are communal. They lack individual personality with its attendant sense of personal responsibility and consequent strength of character” (p. 21). Although Japan

ranked in the middle in Hofstede’s study, data from the study described here demonstrate a strong tendency toward communitarianism. The results may depend on the questions a study asks, yet it is clear that Japan is more communitarian or collectivistic than many other countries.

In addition, uncertainty avoidance and masculinity versus femininity will be viewed. Uncertainty Avoidance Index Values (UAI) range from 112 to 8, rank 1 showing the highest intolerance toward uncertain situations and rank 53 the lowest. Japan ranks 7 with a UAI of 92, Australia ranks 37 with a UAI of 51, and the United States ranks 43 with a UAI of 46, as Table 2.4 indicates. Japan has a high level of intolerance toward uncertain situations.

Table 2.4

Uncertainty Avoidance Index Values

Rank	Country	UAI
1	Greece	112
7	Japan	92
37	Australia	51
43	United States	46
53	Singapore	8

Note. UAI=Uncertainty Avoidance Index Value. Adapted from *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations* (p. 151), by G. Hofstede, 2001, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 2001 by Geert Hofstede.

Hofstede (2001) explains that students from high-UAI countries expect their teachers to be the experts who have all the answers. Students in these countries will not, as a rule, voice intellectual disagreement with their teachers. Reed (1937) described, “Respect for teachers in Japan is somewhat comparable to that for the clergy in New England” (p. 237).

As for Masculinity Index Values (MAS), it ranges from 95 to 5, rank 1 indicating clearly distinct social gender roles in society and rank 53 having overlapping gender roles

among other characteristics. Japan ranks 1 with MAS 95, the United States ranks 15 with MAS 62, and Australia ranks 16 with MAS 61, as Table 2.5 shows. In Japan, men and women are expected to behave and function differently.

Table 2.5

Masculinity Index Values

Rank	Country	MAS
1	Japan	95
15	United States	62
16	Australia	61
53	Sweden	5

Note. MAS=Masculinity Index Value. Adapted from *Culture's Consequences: Comparing Values, Behaviors, Institutions, and Organizations Across Nations* (p. 286), by G. Hofstede, 2001, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Copyright 2001 by Geert Hofstede.

These results represent some differences between Japanese and American cultures. As mentioned earlier, the differences were perhaps much larger when the Occupation started, and mutual understanding may have been much more difficult, with less experience of international interaction on both sides than at present.

2.2. Power

A powerful minority has always ruled the people in the hierarchical society of Japan. Focusing only on the time periods relevant to this study, the governments that ruled the country were controlled by the military during World War II and SCAP during the Occupation. The Japanese attitudes toward the occupation forces are described by Doi (1952):

That the Occupation did take on the appearance of a noble experiment is due in no little part to the Japanese themselves. Early in the Occupation, the Japanese, in defining the situation, realized that violent resistance was futile, and in their almost traditional respect for superior force, they took up their subordinate role in the experiment and gave to the world and to their conquerors the appearance of

willing and sincere collaborationists in establishing a “peaceful and democratic Japan.” (p. 1)

While Doi described the Japanese situation, Hofstede (2010) explains about power in situations with large power distances generally:

In a society in which power distances are large, authority tends to be traditional, sometimes even rooted in religion. Power is seen as a basic fact of society that precedes the choice between good and evil. Its legitimacy is irrelevant. Might prevails over right. This is a strong statement that may rarely be presented in this form but is reflected in the behavior of those in power *and* of ordinary people. There is an unspoken consensus that there should be an order of inequality in this world, in which everybody has his or her place. Such an order satisfies people’s need for dependence, and it gives a sense of security both to those in power and to those lower down. (pp. 76-77, italics in the original)

Here again, Japan fits the description of a society with large power distances, notwithstanding the result of Hofstede’s research shown in Table 2.1. The Emperors before the Occupation were regarded as the *arabitogami*, gods who appeared in this world in a form of human beings (Shogakkan, n.d.). When “its legitimacy is irrelevant” and “might prevails over right,” society appears to be under coercive power. People may take their situations and social statuses for granted simply because they have only known this particular society since birth. They are raised to be dependent and ruled, which is natural for them and provides them “a sense of security” (Hofstede, 2010, p. 77).

Foucault (1980) also sees power not as coercion but as a network of relationships in society. These relationships are not rigid hierarchies; they exist as alternating fields of power. He explained, “The summit and the lower elements of the hierarchy stand in a relationship of mutual support and conditioning, a mutual ‘hold’ (power as a mutual and indefinite ‘blackmail’)” (p. 159). As Foucault suggested, power structures are not always

stable, and those who have less power sometimes become stronger than their counterparts. Power relationships between, for example, a teacher and students, a manager and staff, a man and a woman, a parent and a child, can shift, and apparently weaker sides can become more powerful. There were certainly some occasions when this power shift occurred between SCAP and the Ministry of Education or Japanese education experts, and SCAP had to withdraw their suggestions or bills.

With a few exceptions, however, the power relation between SCAP and the Japanese was rigid, and vertical. Especially at the beginning of the Occupation, before the establishment of rapport between SCAP members and the Japanese, the Japanese never entertained the prospect of having discussions or negotiations with SCAP. “[America] was an ever-present force intervening in people’s daily lives, whose word could not be challenged” (Yoshimi, 2003, p. 436). The Japanese were ready to obey whatever orders the conqueror would give. This hierarchical characteristic of Japanese culture came as a surprise to the Americans, and the evident docility and naivety drew sympathy from some of the SCAP members (Doi, 1952).

One of the reasons for the docility and naivety of the Japanese was that they had been oppressed by the government during the Pacific War, and obedience had become a normal response. The Japanese were an example of “docile bodies [which] may be subjected, used, transformed and improved” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 136).

“Docile bodies” can be manipulated in many ways. Everyone could be shaped in the same form instead of being individually independent and unique. Creating docile bodies was especially suitable for the power holders of a collectivistic society. Foucault (1975/1995) pointed out, “The Normal is established as a principle of coercion in teaching with the introduction of a standardized education and the establishment of the *écoles normales* (teachers’ training colleges)” (p. 184). Also, Giroux (1996) contended, “Rather than embracing cultural democracy, mainstream educators have largely embraced the

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modernist distaste for difference and fiercely promoted cultural uniformity as an aim of schooling” (p. 14). It is possible to normalize students and impose homogeneity which may make it simpler and easier for schools to manage students. This phenomenon is, in fact, universal, and it can be found on any occasions where a difference in status or power exists, for example, some religious groups, the military, and workplaces (Fiske, 1993; Foucault, 1975/1995).

During World War II, the docile bodies were “improved” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 136) to fit in the mould prepared by the government. As will be described further in Chapter 4, society was strictly controlled and the surveillance network was in operation. The militaristic government created a “panoptic” (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 205) society and exercised thought control to produce docile bodies to unite the people to fight or otherwise support the war effort.

The idea of panopticon was introduced by Bentham (1843) in the late 18th century. The panopticon is an architectural design originally invented to serve as a prison, and Foucault (1975/1995) simplifies Bentham’s ideas for the architecture:

We know the principle on which it was based: at the periphery, an annular building; at the center, a tower; this tower is pierced with wide windows that open onto the inner side of the ring; the peripheric building is divided into cells, each of which extends the whole width of the building; they have two windows, one on the inside, corresponding to the windows of the tower; the other, on the outside, allows the light to cross the cell room one end to the other. (p. 200)

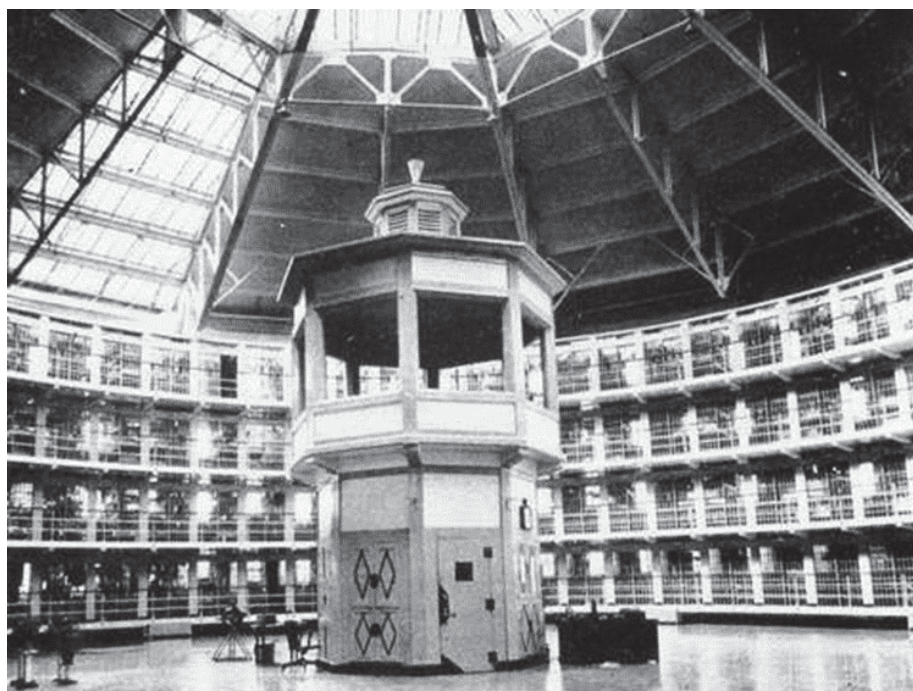


Figure 2.1. Interior view of one of the Panopticon cell houses at the Stateville Prison, Illinois (U.S. Bureau of Prisons, 1949, p. 70).

This shape of building allows a supervisor in the tower to watch the inmate in each cell without letting him or her know that the supervisor is actually in the tower observing. The inmates come to feel that they are constantly under surveillance even when they are actually not, and this conditions them to create inner-supervisors who are always watching them. Foucault (1975/1995) continued to explain its major effect:

The major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers. (p. 201)

Foucault (1975/1995) used Bentham's panopticon to develop the idea of

panopticism, a concept of social control and power. Panopticism can be applied to organizations such as factories, hospitals, and schools. Power and control can be easily exercised especially with a large power distance as mentioned earlier, and they are even more easily exercised these days with technology. For example, people's thoughts could be censored by simple computer operation.

The occupation forces maintained power. MacArthur (1964/2001) cautioned his troops from the start that the United States would be judged by the world, and success or failure of the Occupation could well rest upon their attitudes and behaviours. Especially at the early stage of the Occupation, their conduct was generally described as “beyond criticism . . . admiration for them was aroused in Japanese hearts” (p. 283).

As time passed, however, instances of misuse of power were observed. For example, certain high-ranking United States Army officers exercised their authority over the regions and people under their command and “requisitioned” the labour and products of the Japanese for their personal comfort and enjoyment (Gayn, 1948). In other cases, some Americans were insensitive to Japanese culture and behaved as the conquerors. Doi (1952) commented on Shibutani's unpublished document:

A Japanese university student queried: In a democracy does freedom entitle a man to smoke a cigarette in a crowded streetcar where a “No Smoking” sign is prominently displayed? How about the way Americans go after women? In a democracy do the men kiss and handle women in public? Do they have the right to pull up women's skirts and put their hands under their dresses in plain view of children? Does freedom give the white man the right to oppress another citizen because of the color of his skin? (Shibutani, p. 196.) Some of the above would seem harmless to Americans; some of it would pass as “just fun” in some quarters; but they all led the Japanese to ponder the merits of such a democracy—the only democracy he knew. (p. 25)

As Doi pointed out, the Japanese were learning about democracy through observing the occupation forces. The occupation forces were the role models and teachers. Teachers were respected entities in Japan, and they generally tried to maintain their respectable behaviour and demeanour, especially in public. Thus, the Japanese would expect the occupation forces to behave so.

Doi (1952) cited other incidents that had concerned the Education Officers of SCAP, most often concerning ill-trained “professionals” who had visited schools to determine if they had been pursuing the reformed education programmes. In one incident, a jeep bore down on the school, and a scowling American soldier stepped out. The soldier referred to various SCAP directives and informed the Japanese school officials and teachers that such and such must be done—it had been an order. If schools had not been following the directions from SCAP for any reason, such as having no facilities, the American officer would have berated them and threatened to have them dismissed for trying to obstruct SCAP reforms. These inspections had been, therefore, nothing but terrifying for schools’ officials and teachers (pp. 109-110). The Educational Officers’ conduct was not democratic; it was coercive.

Some of this type of conduct occurred as early as 1946, the second year of the Occupation. The occupation forces lost the discipline that they proudly demonstrated at the beginning of the Occupation. This structure of power is ironic as SCAP was introducing democracy with a conqueror’s top-down style.

2.3. Democracy

Although SCAP displayed some anti-democratic behaviours, as described above, democracy was one of the primary reforms conducted by SCAP that had some influence on education (SCAP, Government Section, 1949). According to the *Random House Dictionary* (2015), democracy is defined as the following:

- (1) Government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power

is vested in the people and exercised directly by them or by their elected agents under a free electoral system; (2) a state having such a form of government; (3) a state of society characterized by formal equality of rights and privileges; (4) political or social equality; democratic spirit; and (5) the common people of a community as distinguished from any privileged class; the common people with respect to their political power.

While democracy may be a system of government, education is necessary for it to demonstrate the principles of social equality. According to Giroux (2007):

Democracy cannot work if citizens are not autonomous, self-judging, and independent—qualities that are indispensable for students if they are going to make vital judgments and choices about participating in and shaping decisions that affect everyday life, institutional reform, and governmental policy. Hence, pedagogy becomes the cornerstone of democracy in that it provides the very foundation for students to learn not merely how to be governed, but also how to be capable of governing. (p. 3)

It is pedagogy that can enable students to participate in democracy. Mere “transfer of knowledge” (Freire, 1998/2001, p. 30) would be insufficient. As Dewey (1903) also said, “We naturally associate democracy, to be sure, with freedom of action, but freedom of action without freed capacity of thought behind it is only chaos” (p. 193).

Information control and thought control, the diametric opposites of “emancipation of mind” (Dewey, 1903, p. 193), were practiced during World War II in Japan. When the Occupation started, SCAP ostensibly introduced democracy. However, censorship and thought control were surreptitiously imposed on a large scale by SCAP (Dower, 1999; Yoshimi, 2003). Therefore, while democracy was introduced during the Occupation, it was not completely systematized and functioning.

The democracy that SCAP introduced was naturally a Western-style democracy.

Hofstede (1991) argued, “Western-style democratic government presupposes not only a not too large power distance but also, and even more, fairly strong individualism which guarantees freedom of expression and of the formation of political parties” (p. 242). As discussed earlier, Japan had a large power distance. Moreover, its characteristics implied a larger power distance than the actual result shown in Table 2.1, and was much less individualistic than the United States. SCAP tried to implement Western-style democracy while inconsiderately presupposing Japan’s ability to cope with it. SCAP demanded the Japanese shift their sense of values, which was not easy for them, and there were some people who misinterpreted or abused the concept (Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1950). However, it would be too harsh to blame SCAP for being insensitive to the cultural differences at that time, because it was still too early to realize the concept of multicultural interactions. The struggle for multiculturalism and minority rights emerged only in the late 1960s in Western countries (Kymlicka, 2010).

2.4. Politics and Education

SCAP believed democratic education was vital to establish a democratic nation (Beauchamp, 1989). The ruler can use education as the means to change society (Doğan, 2011; Kawai, 1979; Keenleyside & Thomas, 1937; Wu, 2014). Significant changes made by the successive rulers of the time from World War II to the Occupation will be discussed later in this thesis.

Hofstede (2010) argues that social class, education level, and occupation are closely linked in most societies. A higher education automatically makes one at least middle class, and middle-class values affect and are affected by the institutions of a country, such as governments and education systems (p. 64). Before the new Constitution was implemented in 1947 in Japan, the “middle-class” in Hofstede’s discussion consisted of a small number of elites, as higher education was reserved for them alone. Therefore, the values of that small number of elites shaped the institutions of Japan. The primary aim of

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education at that time was to form students' character to meet the needs of society and of their particular social class to make them useful contributors to the state and of society (Beauchamp, 1995; Kawai, 1960/1979; Takemae & Nakamura, 1996), including absolute loyalty toward the Emperor (Takemae & Nakamura, 1996). The Japanese educational system was designed as an instrument of national policy (Keenleyside & Thomas, 1937; Orr, 1954), and it "achieved its objectives more effectively perhaps than any other organization of its kind" (Keenleyside & Thomas, 1937, p. 75).

Education can control people for militaristic national purposes, but education can also lead people to democracy. Forgacs (2000) describes Gramsci's idea on education:

Education plays a central role for Gramsci because through it working-class members can develop a critical understanding of their own situation and of the revolutionary task and so liberate themselves from their dependence on an upper stratum of intellectuals who tend to deflect their class demands towards reformist solutions. (p. 54)

The dominant class would not wish to change the social system. That change would lead them to abandon or share their power. However, those who are oppressed, the working-class members, would have to realize their situations and try to change the system if they desired democracy. Some parents claimed that their children did not need education because they belonged to the working class (Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1950). But these parents did not appreciate how they are also members of society and their children needed education to relate to it.

To provide quality education after the War, clear goals needed to be set. The preamble of the Basic Act on Education (or Fundamental Law of Education), enacted on March 31, 1947, declared:

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a

democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.

We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace, while education which aims at the creation of culture general and rich in individuality shall be spread far and wide.

We hereby enact this Act, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, with a view to clarifying the aims of education and establishing the foundation of education for new Japan. (MEXT, n.d.141)

The principles shown in this preamble contrast with pre-War attitudes to education, but in both cases education was indispensable to accomplish the goals of the nation. Article 1 of the Basic Act on Education continues:

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving to nurture the citizens, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of the peaceful state and society. (MEXT, n.d.141)

The idea that education exists “to nurture the citizens” is common in publications discussing aims of education. For example, Gramsci (1971) stated:

The common school or school of humanistic formation or general culture, should aim to insert young men and women into social activity after bringing them to a certain level of maturity, or capacity for intellectual and practical creativity, and of autonomy of orientation and initiative. (p. 29)

Education serves to foster the people to allow them to engage with their society.

One of the teacher responsibilities proposed by Freire (2005) aligns with Gramsci’s concept that education functions to liberate working-class members as mentioned earlier. Freire (2005) stated, “The teaching task also requires the capacity to fight for freedom,

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without which the teaching task becomes meaningless” (p. 6). People living in a superficially democratic society may believe that they already have freedom. In this supposedly democratic society, however, there still exist inequities along class, gender, race, and urban/rural lines, resulting in oppressed populations. As Freire asserted, through education, we can broaden our views and see the reality, then connect ourselves to politics and society, and try to achieve freedom.


Chapter 3 History of Foreign Language Education in Japan

As stated in the Chapter 1, politics and education in Japan, as in other countries, could not and cannot be separated. Historically, foreign language education has tended to mirror the nation's foreign affairs policies (Chang, 2009; Kato, Ko., 2009; Sasaki, 2006; Tsuda, 2012). People learn foreign languages because they or their educators think it is necessary for economic, political, educational, and cultural purposes, or for use in relationships with foreign countries (Inagaki, 2005; Omori, 2007). Additionally, the primary foreign languages people learn would most likely be those that have the strongest influence on the country. It can be assumed foreign language education holds a number of highly political motivational undertones in Japan as elsewhere (Christ, 1997; Jacob, 1990; Weinstein, 1990). Also, English language education underwent a political and pragmatic transition during World War II and the Occupation. This chapter will discuss the brief history of foreign language education in Japan and reasons for the choices of the foreign language of study, which reflect the national policies of the times.

Table 3.1 shows in chronological order the primary foreign languages that were offered in Japan and the events that may have influenced the choices of the foreign languages.

Table 3.1

Primary Foreign Languages Taught

Year	Primary Foreign Languages	Events (see below for further details)
600s	· Chinese ^a	Even before the first government was established, China was the mentor.
		
1500s	· Chinese, · Latin, Portuguese, Spanish	· 1549 Introduction of Christianity .
1600s	· Latin, Portuguese, Spanish → All banned in 1612 ^b · Chinese, Dutch ^b	· 1612 Christianity banned. · In the early 1600s, foreign exchanges gradually decreased. · 1647~1858 China, the Netherlands, and Korea were the only countries which had diplomatic relations with Japan.
1700s		In the latter 1700s, several countries started to approach Japan.
1800s	· 1808 Chinese, Dutch, French ^c · 1809 Chinese, Dutch, French, English, Russian ^d · 1850s English, Dutch, French, Russian, Manchu ^e	· 1808 The Phaeton Incident. · 1855 First national institute of foreign studies was founded. · 1858 Ansei Five-Power Treaties (Treaties of Amity and Commerce) were signed (with the US, France, Russia, Great Britain, and the Netherlands). · 1868 The Meiji period began (the end of the shogunate).

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 1873 English, French, German, Manchu, Russian^f · 1880 English^g · 1886 English, French, German^h · 1895 English, French, German (male students)^h; foreign language(s) (no specification provided) (female students)ⁱ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 1873 National Foreign Language Schools (NFLS) were founded. · 1874 NFLSs became English Language Schools except one in Tokyo.
1900s	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 1901 English, French, German (male students)^h; English, French (female students)ⁱ · 1931 English, German, French, Chinese (male students)^k; English, French (female students)ⁱ · 1943 English, German, French, Chinese, Malay, or others^l · 1947 English, others^m · 1958 English, German, French, othersⁿ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · 1941 The Pacific War started. · English was banned in society. · 1945 The end of WWII.

^aHoffman, 2006, para. 54. ^bMiyanaga, 1999, p. 183. ^cImura, 2003, p. 9; Tamaki, 2005. ^dMiyanaga, 1999, pp. 180-181. ^eImura, 2003, p. 10; Miyanaga, 1999, pp. 143-144. ^f Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, 2015. ^gMinistry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT, n.d.200). ^h Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau (MFPB), 1886. p. 217. ⁱMFPB, 1895, p. 285. ^jMFPB, 1901, p. 353. ^kMFPB, 1931, p. 130. ^lMFPB, 1943b, pp. 51, 55. ^m*The Suggested Course of Study* states “foreign languages” without mentioning any specific languages (Gakushu Shido Yoryo Detabesu Sakusei Iinkai, GSYDSI, 2007a, Section 3), and the MEXT only provides the *Suggested Course of Study in English*. ⁿGSYDSI, 2007b, Section 9

Miyanaga (1999) suggests that foreign language education started in Japan when Christianity was introduced in 1549, and it was mainly Japanese Christians who learned Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish from Catholic missionaries (p. 183). Well before that, in 238, Queen Himiko, the Queen of Wa (China referred to Japan “Wa” at that time), sent an embassy to China, and the relationship with China remained close except for the lapse of approximately two centuries (Hoffman, 2006, para. 8). Details of these events and of the relationships between the two countries in this period are unknown because Chinese historical records are incomplete (The Asahi Shimbun Company & Voyage Group, n.d.). Hoffman (2006, para. 54) tells us: “Between 607 and 838, Japan sent 19 missions to China—on average, one every 12 years. Knowledge was the principal goal.” China was much more advanced than Japan, with a far longer history, and had been a mentor of Japan for centuries. Chinese was the foreign language the Japanese might learn, and it was used to write official documents (Mori, n.d.). However, the scale of its learning may have been too limited to be called “foreign language education” as it was perhaps studied only by the people who were involved in politics and diplomacy.

In 838 the Japanese missions to China ceased abruptly: “The time had come for Japan to withdraw and assimilate the vast amount it had learned” (Hoffman, 2006, para. 71), and Japan became culturally independent. In 1173 Japan recommenced trading with the Song Dynasty in China. This is called Song-Japan Trade (Kikawada, 2007).

From the mid-1500s, Latin, Portuguese, and Spanish could be studied until the Tokugawa shogunate started prohibiting Christianity in 1612; it later prohibited all foreign nationals from visiting Japan except for the Dutch and the Chinese because their primary purpose was trading. They were only allowed to stay on the island of Dejima, Nagasaki. Foreign languages were forbidden, with Japanese interpreters permitted to study only Dutch and Chinese (Miyanaga, 1999, p. 183). This continued for approximately two centuries while Japan was not actively participating in trading with other countries,

exceptions being China, The Netherlands and, to a very limited extent, Korea (Arano, 2013, Section of Nagasaki and the three gateway daimyo).

According to Imura (2003), in early 1808 a Russian ship left behind a letter in French, although it is not known how or why this happened. The shogunate asked the chief trader of the Dutch East India Company to translate it into Dutch so that Japanese interpreters could understand it. Now informed of the importance of the French language in Europe, the shogunate decided to let Japanese interpreters of Dutch study French as well (pp. 9-10).

Later that year the *Phaeton* Incident occurred. English language education in Japan is often said to have originated from this incident (Imura, 2003; Kawasumi 1978; Mozumi, 2004), although Miyanaga (1999) argued, “The origin of English language education in Japan is not clear while there are various opinions” (p. 182) [TJ]. Even so, Miyanaga agreed that it had started “due to the necessity of national defence” (p. 182) [TJ].

The *Phaeton* Incident occurred in 1808 when a British frigate, HMS *Phaeton*, sailed into Nagasaki harbour disguised as a Dutch trading vessel in a failed attempt to plunder Dutch merchant ships of Britain's wartime enemy. Defensive reprisals were thwarted when after three days *Phaeton* left harbour before Japanese forces arrived to confront them. This incident revealed that a system of domain-led defences had severe organizational limitations that made it ineffective in combating foreign threats (Imura, 2003; Wilson, 2010). It also exposed some defects in their information-gathering techniques. Until then, the Tokugawa Shogunate had obtained information on Western countries indirectly through the Dutch, information that was sometimes old and inaccurately favourable to the Dutch. The shogunate now realized the importance of interpreters learning other foreign languages (Imura, 2003, p. 8).

For the next 70 years, the Japanese were able to study Chinese, Dutch, French, English and Russian until the Ministry of Education set English as the only foreign

language to be offered in schools (MEXT, n.d.200). In the Meiji period (1868-1912, immediately after the Edo period and the Tokugawa regime), the Japanese rapidly became enthusiastic about learning English, and English dominated other foreign languages. However, this situation did not last long. Education of other foreign languages such as German, Russian, and French became important for reasons of international diplomacy (Kato, Ko., 2009, p. 152). The period when English was the only foreign language available ended in 1885 when the Ministry of Education decided to also offer studies in French and German (Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, MFPB, 1886).

The Ministry of Education stated in 1886 that foreign language classes were mandatory for male students (MFPB, 1886), and they continued to be so. For female students, foreign language classes were in general mandatory, but schools were allowed to offer them as electives or not at all (MFPB, 1895). Though the curriculum was not as rigid as for male students, many girls' high schools, in fact, provided English as mandatory classes (see Appendix B). By around 1930, when Japan was moving toward war, the government did not entirely ban the use of English, but several ministries and organizations officially prohibited it to some extent. For example, the Home Ministry forbade English in the entertainment industry in 1940, the Railroad Bureau eliminated English from railroad stations, and the Ministry of Finance banned English for cigarette brand names.

The Japanese people followed this trend and started restricting their own use of English. This will be discussed more in detail in the following chapters. Although society was avoiding English, the government still acknowledged the importance of foreign language education. To understand the enemy, it was crucial to know their languages. Thus, foreign language classes remained mandatory, but on July 8, 1942, the Ministry of Education decided to make foreign language classes completely elective for female students (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010a). And for male students,

foreign language classes became elective after the third grade (MFPB, 1943b). At this point, attendance at girls' high schools was for four years and middle schools four to five years (see Appendix B).

In 1945, World War II was over, and the Occupation began. The Ministry of Education enacted the new School Education Law in 1947. This was the beginning of the new school system. Foreign language education (English and other foreign languages) retained its elective status (Gakushu Shido Yoryo Detabesu Sakusei Iinkai, GSYDSI, 2007c) until it became mandatory again in 1998 (GSYDSI, 2007d, Article 53). However, in Okinawa (see Appendix D), which was under the control of the American military, English became mandatory in elementary school from the first grade in 1946 (Japan International Cooperation Agency Okinawa, 2005) and it continued so until 1957 (Erikawa, 2008).

This chapter has set the scene for English language education which reflects the national policy. The next chapter will review the historical literature, including how the national policy influenced English language education.

Chapter 4 Review of the Historical Literature (1)

4.1. Introduction to the Chapter

“In most cases men willingly believe what they wish” (Caesar, trans. 1895, p. 99).

Memories are not always reliable, including those of younger people (Munsterberg, 1908; Whipple, 1909, 1912, 1913) and even immediate memories (Gislason, 2006; Squire, 1987). Kasama (n.d.) suggests that aging has a strong influence on some kinds of memories, and even the clear memories of younger ages that older people recall may often contain emotional factors that make it difficult to confirm their veracity (para. 3).

Documents are not entirely dependable either, because much of history is written by people who have power, or who by government officials from a standpoint of power. Nishikawa (2010) advises, “We should not misunderstand the perception of the majority of the Japanese at the time about the military just by reading the publication of some intellectuals or thinkers” (p. 3) [TJ]. The reliability of official documents during the Occupation also is questionable due to censorship (Dower, 1999; Hirano, 1998; Yoshimi, 2003). Moreover, there are no facts, only interpretations, as Nietzsche says (1906/1968, p. 267). The researcher’s account in this thesis also comes from a certain subjective standpoint, and this is one of the limitations of this study.

These comments are meant to indicate that the literature and the interviews used in this study, while not completely reliable, are presupposed to be sufficiently reliable for this inquiry. At least the participants provided as much truth for them as they could share at the time of their interviews. In addition, triangulation, using existing research, documents, and participants’ views, contributes to the reliability of the sources.

This chapter serves to review the relevant literature as well as explain and contextualize the findings in the following chapters. The discussions in the first part of the literature review will focus on the period before the Occupation and those in the second

section the period during the Occupation. Some of the evidence derives from anecdotes and reminiscences, as there was little systematic research at the time in Japan.

4.2. Before the Occupation

The Japanese school system was complex before the Occupation. Education for males and females was separated, and for middle-level education, boys attended either middle schools or vocational schools and girls attended girls' high schools. These schools were called "high schools" but categorized as middle-level education. In addition, following a European tradition, teacher-training schools were called normal schools. Further details can be found in Appendix B. The remainder of this first section begins with an analysis of what will be called the panoptic society. This will be followed by the language of the enemy, Japanese faddism, disparities in education, and English language education before the Occupation. A table listing the warfare referred in this chapter is provided in Appendix E.

4.2.1. Panoptic society. Foucault (1973) introduced an idea of Treilhard as of 1810, which presented the political power as a kind of panopticon that was explained in Chapter 2. Treilhard illustrated:

The emperor's eyes will be able to reach the darkest recesses of the nation. Because the emperor's eyes will supervise the attorneys general who will supervise the imperial district attorneys, and the imperial district attorneys will supervise everybody. Thus, there won't be any zone of obscurity in the nation. Everybody will be supervised. The architectural dream of Bentham had become a legal and institutional reality in the Napoleonic state. . . . I will say that the true change was the invention of the panopticism. We live in a panoptic society. You have structures of surveillance absolutely generalized. (para. 7) [Translated from French]

This description of a surveillance system could equally describe the *Tonari Gumi* system in Japan during World War II. *Tonari Gumi* literally means neighbourhood associations. The

ostensible purpose of this system was “to promote neighborliness, charity, goodwill and local democracy, but it actually fostered regimentation in so far as it brought every household in Japan under strict supervision and control” (General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949, p. 286, see the list of Japanese terms for a further definition of *Tonari Gumi*, p. ix). There was no zone of obscurity in the nation.

Because *Tonari Gumi* chiefs “served as spies, denouncing those who ventured to hold opinions differing from those approved by militarists” (GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949, p. 286), people had to mind their language even in their own homes. Someone could hear and report it to the chief. Two sections of police, special higher police and the military police (see the list of Japanese terms, p. ix), were administering thought control under the Public Security Preservation Law (*Chian Iji Ho*). Prime Minister Tojo (1941-1944 in office) used the military police extensively to make sure that everyone was loyal to the war (Asao, Uno, & Tanaka, 1996, pp. 348-349).

The Public Security Preservation Law was proclaimed in 1925 and abolished two months after the end of the War in 1945. The original intentions of this law were to prevent campaigns for reforming the state constitution or negating the institution of private property. This law was amended twice, and the last amendments in 1941 expanded the targets and made penalties heavier (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National Archives of Japan, JACAR, 2009-2013a). This law was abused with extended interpretation to oppress activities such as thoughts, education, and politics (Hitachi Systems & Services, 2006).

In May 1938, General Araki was appointed as the Minister of Education, and militaristic control over the education system was completely established. The Militarists fully used the education system to motivate students to support the Pacific War. Uncooperative teachers were dismissed from work or arrested (Takemae & Nakamura,

1996, p. 25). The Ministry of Education, along with the police, had a bureau to supervise people's thoughts. Beauchamp (1995, citing Mitchell, 1976) described the functions of the Bureau of Thought Supervision:

In the early 1940s, under the military government of Gen. Hideki Tojo, a Bureau of Thought Supervision (established in the 1930s), was charged with the elimination of harmful and improper thoughts--including individualism, liberalism, and democracy--as well as the inculcation of correct thoughts and attitudes. A student Section had been created earlier within the Bureau of Special (i.e., "political") Education "to supervise student thought, using reports sent in by each school" (Mitchell, 1976, p. 93). (p. 69)

With this thought control system, the Ministry of Education exercised its power over a large number of people:

The Ministry of Education administered the education system that was highly centralized as well as overseeing military training, art, science, literature, religion, entertainment, and activities and organizations of the youth. In 1944, it had a significant influence on the lives of more than 18 million students, supervised 500,000 teachers and 200,000 priests. The dominance prevailed in every village, and the influence extended to every citizen. Militarists and ultranationalists ruled over the ministry and effectively used it. They imposed thought control by using the ministry, and inculcate the people with militarism and ultranationalism. (Amakawa, Ara, Takemae, Nakamura, & Miwa, 1996, p. 13) [TJ]

The condition that every village and every citizen were under control accords with that of Treilhard's explanation above.

Under the system of the Imperial Rescript on Education (see the list of Japanese terms, pp. viii-ix), not only was the right of education withheld from teachers and students, but freedom of citizens and political activities was also extremely restricted (Ishitoya, 1967;

Kubo, 1969). As Beauchamp (1995) stated, democracy had not been allowed. Suzuki (1972) explained the situation of political education:

It is a well-known fact that under the system of the Imperial Rescript on Education, nationalistic as well as militaristic political education based on the ideology of the Imperial system was broadly expanded. It was done by controlling education contents and teachers as seen in the use of government-approved textbooks, normal schools [see Appendix B], and State *Shinto*. It was not that political education did not exist in wartime but the system of the Imperial Rescript on Education itself was the strong reactionary political education. It was, in fact, the democratic political education that was prohibited. (p. 179) [I]

Because democracy was forbidden and thought control was exercised, students had to accept what the teachers or the schools provided without question and not rebel against them. Koshihara (1981) was a girls' high school student. One day, she was angry with her school for fabricating a situation by using the students to give the observers a good impression. "I protested through my discipline diaries, but the teacher emphasized unconditional obedience to the school and sternly warned me" (p. 57) [I]. Unconditional obedience to the teachers was the norm, which is remote from goals of education suggested in Chapter 2. Teachers disliked the students who criticized the school policies, asked questions in class, and even expressed their opinions (Koshihara, 1981, p. 57).

Under these circumstances, Koshihara (1981) continued to explain her suppressed existence as follows:

Basic Policies about the Wartime Nation Thought (*Senji Kokumin Shiso ni Kansuru Kihon Seisaku*) passed the Cabinet in October in this year [1943]. When the Public Security Preservation Law was in operation and even casual conversations among the *Tonari Gumi* members were monitored and the entire nation was silent, it was absolutely unforgivable for a girls' high school student to have ideas outside of

“the path of morality” no matter how childish they might be. (p. 59). [I]

By “Basic Policies about the Wartime Nation Thought (*Senji Kokumin Shiso ni Kansuru Kibon Seisaku*),” Koshihara was perhaps referring to the Guidelines for Basic Policies about Establishing the Wartime Nation Thought (*Senji Kokumin Shiso Kakuritsu ni Kansuru Kibon Hosaku Yoko*). Koshihara, however, wrote essays on criticism for the totalitarian education that ignored an individual student’s personality, requesting reforms on the examination system, and women’s suffrage. The teacher cautioned her to refrain from her frank opinions, and Koshihara did not get her essays back (p. 59).

Along with students, teachers were supervised as well, as mentioned earlier, but not all the teachers regarded their situations as right. The storm of thought control and total obedience in the teachers’ office was so overwhelming that no one could resist (Koshihara, 1981, p. 60). Therefore, those teachers who were uncertain of the national policies had to force their students to do what the schools decided even if the teachers found these rules unpalatable.

Another example of thought control is provided by *Senso o Kataritsugu Purojekuto* (SKP, Project to Pass on the Wartime Experiences to the Next Generation, 2004). It is an interview with K. H. (anonymous) who was born in 1920:

I was not able to talk freely in wartime. If you criticized the military and the government, the special higher police came and put you in a prison. Stories that people had been arrested in town appeared in the newspaper. They were probably made examples. No one in the neighbourhood dared say something like the services at the municipal office were bad or the government was bad. We always answered “yes” for anything. (para. 5) [I]

4.2.2. The language of the enemy. While the entire society was panopticed with the *Tonari Gumi* system, English became the language of the enemy and a focus of hatred. Because it was designated as the language of the enemy and the government started

to promote its prohibition, many people today have a false belief that English language education was forbidden in schools during the Pacific War (Erikawa, 2008; Imura, 2003). In this section, the background of the movement and its influences will be described from the perspectives of the following: the early stage, intervention of the government, the influence on English language classes, students' attitudes toward studying English, treatment of English teachers, and approving English language education.

The early stage. Fujimura published an article, “The Urgency of Abolishing English Classes (*Eigoka Haishi no Kyumu*),” in the journal, *The Present Time (Gendai)*, of the May 1927 issue. His argument was as follows:

I believe that it is not necessary to provide foreign language classes when regarding these schools [middle-level schools] as general education. It is because I do not find it necessary for the general public in this present society to read, speak and write in a foreign language such as English. (as cited in Kawasumi, 1978, pp. 254-255) [I]

His article also anticipated potential problems of eliminating English classes and offered solutions. His argument was controversial, and *The Present Time* featured this topic in every issue until October. In those several issues as well as in other journals, a number of people, for example, teachers in higher normal schools (see Appendix B) and eminent scholars in English language education, discussed this topic (Kitazawa, 1984; Shuto, 1999). “Apparently, the abolition side was preponderant, possibly reflecting the time” (Society for Historical Studies of English Teaching in Japan, HiSET, n.d.) [I].

“The time” was, however, still a little early for English to be seen as the language of the enemy (see Appendix F). Fujimura, in fact, was only arguing that English was not necessary for general education. He viewed middle-level education as general education, which was different from the common knowledge of middle-level education. It had been provided not for the general public but for a limited number of students, future elites. Yet

it is true that his article stirred discussions and encouraged the proponents of abolition. The idea of abolition persisted, and eventually led to a larger and more aggressive movement later. One magazine entitled *Photographs Weekly* (*Shashin Shubo*) played a supporting role in controlling and agitating the public (Hiratsuka, 2011, p. 53).

Intervention of the government. A weekly photograph magazine entitled *Photographs Weekly* was published by the Intelligence Bureau (*Joho-kyoku*) from February 16, 1938 to July 11, 1945. It had a goal of directly reaching the public and enlightening them. The principal focus was to inform the public on national policies more easily with many photographs and provide an awareness of the affairs of the time (Joho-kyoku, 1931, pp. 62-63). However, because it was under the control of the military, the magazine could not inform the public of truths unfavourable for the nation. It was published solely to make the people follow the national policy, which demanded they all cooperate to win the war (Hiratsuka, 2011, p. 53).

Photographs Weekly had two to three million readers (JACAR, 2009-2013b, para. 3), the majority being males aged 25 years and under (Joho-kyoku, 1941, p. 16). Active sales promotion and broad distribution contributed to the large number of subscriptions, and moreover, the price was low. *Photographs Weekly* was 10 sen (100 sen was 1 yen.) while another well-known photograph magazine, *Asahi Gurabu*, was 80 sen and a morning paper was 75 sen (Hiratsuka, 2011, p. 51). These indicate the government's strong intention to promote this magazine.

Tamai (2008) examines the outlook of the Japanese on the United Kingdom and the United States that the government promoted throughout the country, while reviewing the relevant articles in *Photographs Weekly* from the Second Sino-Japanese War (see Appendix E) to the end of World War II. Tamai (2008) states that at the early stage of the Second Sino-Japanese War, *Photographs Weekly* showed a policy of promotion of Japan-U.S. friendship and restraint of anti-U.K. ideas. Then, these favourable attitudes gradually

changed around the Tripartite Pact, the three-power pact between Germany, Italy, and Japan, signed on September 27, 1940 (Yale Law School, Lillian Goldman Law Library, 2008), and both the United States and the United Kingdom became the enemy of Japan. At this point, the United States, as well as the United Kingdom, came to be criticized by name in *Photographs Weekly*. After the outbreak of the Pacific War (see Appendix E), the United States became the centre of the criticism more than the United Kingdom (p. 389). The government controlled the views toward these countries through *Photographs Weekly* (Tamai, 2008, p. 334).

Hostility towards these two countries was generated as a result. This negative situation accelerated to the point that some ministries and organizations started to display hostile attitudes toward the English language. They labelled English as the language of the enemy. The Japanese language has many loanwords, including those from English, and people were compelled to switch the English loanwords to either existing or newly-created Japanese words.

No official laws were enforced for this, but English eventually became prohibited in public. For example, the Ministry of War eliminated the English language from the entrance examinations for the Preparatory School of Accounting at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy (*Rikugun Yoka Shikan Gakko Keiri Gakko Yoka*) in 1940, and the Home Ministry banned English in the entertainment industry in 1940 as well (Kitaoka, 1999, p. 367). School names could not contain any English word, either (Shiryo-shitsu Iinkai & Kinen-shi Henshu Iinkai, 1990, p. 93). In the Army and the Army Academy, English was regarded as unimportant because it was not necessary to execute operations although the Army headquarters, in fact, needed people who were fluent in English (Erikawa, 2005; Horiuchi, 2010; Kurosawa, 1999; Minami, 2001). The reasons for this apparent contradiction are not evident.

Morris (1943/1997), who had been invited from the United Kingdom by the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs to teach at Tokyo Imperial University and other universities and stayed in Japan until 1942, described this movement:

First of all, an aggressive campaign of media for the complete abolition of the English language education started . . . There were not many supporters. Because many Japanese were after all realistic, they were well aware that some English knowledge was necessary to continue business with foreign countries. This campaign lasted until the then Prime Minister, Army General, Hideki Tojo replied to a speech to appeal for abolishing the English language education at the Diet. He first showed understanding of the patriotism of people having produced this campaign, then stated that English language education should be reinforced further rather than being abolished. He said, “It is necessary for the English-speaking Japanese to go to the territories we occupied.” He continued, “The number of English speakers would be considerable if I took only Australia.” He also said that it would take some time for the people in the occupied territories of Japan to learn Japanese well enough to do away with English altogether, and finished his speech. (pp. 106-107) [TJ]

It appears that there were some nationalistic views but the majority were realistic and considered English necessary at this point.

As the war progressed, however, the agitation by *Photographs Weekly* became more aggressive. For example, the front page of the 257th issue declared, “Sweep Away the Influence of the U.S. and the U.K.” (Joho-kyoku, 1943, the front page) [TJ]. This particular issue featured some articles advocating the elimination of various elements related to the United States and the United Kingdom. It started with a criticism of people who appreciated imported products (p. 2). The articles that followed, as illustrated below, adopted a similar tone and criticized people who used the items that have American or British origins, such as those with labels written in English. An article addressed, “Are we

truly in the battle mode that can rank with brave soldiers fighting desperately at the front line? Perhaps we have too much respect for Britain and the United States in our life.” (p. 3) [TJ]. These articles were clearly intended to make the readers feel guilty about consuming those products.

Subsequently, the attack continued with declarations such as, “Expel American and British [Music] Records” (pp. 4-5) [TJ], “Erase the American and British Influence From Billboards” (pp. 6-7) [TJ], “Are These Japanese Products to Sell to the Japanese?” [TJ] with photographs of various products whose names were written with the Roman alphabet (pp. 8-9). It also carried a densely filled “List of Hostile Records That Should Be Discarded” [TJ]. The list included records designated to be discarded for other reasons as well, but most of them contained an English loanword or more (pp. 10-13). With a large number of readers, this particular issue contributed to an atmosphere in which English loanwords were to be avoided. All these factors promoted the feeling that English was the language of the enemy and that it was unpatriotic to teach and study English (Chiba University, 1981 pp. 1315-1316).

It is difficult to ascertain the true reasons behind banning the use of English in public. It is possible that the government decided to prohibit English from a mere hatred of the enemy. However, it may have been that the authorities were worried about “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47), a new type of colonization. The prevalence of English provides English-spoken countries with political, economic, and cultural advantages. The expression “linguistic imperialism” did not exist at the time of World War II, but Japan could already observe it happening with the Japanese language having many English loanwords, and they may have wanted to guard the Japanese language against the English language. They had also forced the Japanese language on their territories and were hoping to spread the Japanese language and culture to create the

Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (see the list of Japanese Terms, p. viii; Chuto Gakko Kyokasho, CGK, 1943).

The influence on English language classes. Shortly before the circumstances for English language education worsened as described, the Ministry of Education announced on July 8, 1942 that English would become elective and classes per week would be reduced from five to three class-hours or less per week for girls' high schools (HiSET, n.d.; Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, MIC, 2010). In accordance with this notice, it was decided that English would be elective in girls' high schools at a national meeting of middle-level-school principals on August 8, 1942 (Miyagigakuin Women's University, n.d.).

Then, Middle School Regulations (*Chugakko Kitei*) promulgated in 1943 determined that foreign language classes would be mandatory for the first two years, with students then deciding to take either foreign language classes or vocational classes (Yamazaki, 1943, p. 174). Girls' High School Regulations (*Koto Jogakko Kitei*) enacted at the same time determined that foreign language classes were elective and could be eliminated (P. 175). Some girls' high schools, such as Koshihara's school, had already made English classes optional when the second term started in September in 1942 (Koshihara, 1981). According to a journal called *English Language Youths (Eigo Seinen)*, English classes assumed elective status because the government thought that it was more important for female students to study subjects that would reinforce the home-front structure, such as home economics and disaster prevention, rather than foreign languages and mathematics, which would establish a more stable national mobilization system in wartime. With English classes being elective, foreign languages could be completely eliminated from entrance examinations except for those for foreign language departments. Class-hours could be greatly reduced or even abolished in some girls' high schools ("Henpenroku, Jogakko no Eigo-ka", 1942, p.280).

As shown later in this section, most of the foreign teachers had already left Japan,

but with the notice and regulations above, they anticipated that more than half of the 1,492 Japanese teachers of English at that time would lose their jobs (“Henpenroku, Eigo Kyoin”, 1942, p. 312). According to Takanashi and Deki (1993), “The voices for discontinuing English classes in girls’ high schools became stronger in wartime . . . English classes should not exceed three class-hours a week, and many girls’ high schools decided to abolish English classes” (p. 187) [I].

Koshihara (1981), a student then, recalled the first day of the second term after a summer break:

On September 1 [1942], English became an elective for the first and the second graders [of girls’ high school, equivalent to K-12 Year 7 and 8] in an effort to abolish the language of the enemy, and reshuffling was announced for English and home economics classes. The students of the entire grade were seething with criticism of the authorities’ conduct, which was nothing more than wartime isolationism. Many students, including the ones who did not like English, wanted English for their elective. (p. 57) [I]

It was not just a few students but almost all the students in the same grade who showed their disapproval. This must have been shocking to the teachers when “unconditional obedience” (Koshihara, 1981, p. 57) was expected. The literature does not provide much more information on these rebellious students. Therefore, it is unknown how many of them nationwide had such liberal attitudes during the Pacific War when thought control was most severe.

Table 4.1

Class Hours per Week: A partial Curriculum for Academic Course in Middle Schools, 1931^a and 1943^b

Subject	1 st grade	2 nd grade	3 rd grade	4 th grade	5 th grade ^c	Total
Foreign language						
1931	5	5	6	4-7	4-7	24-30
1943	4	4	4	4	*	16
Japanese						
1931	7	6	6	5-7	5-7	29-33
1943	5	5	5	5	*	20
Mathematics						
1931	3	3	5	2-5	2-5	15-21
1943	4	4	4	5	*	17
Total class hours						
1931	30	30	32	31-35	31-35	
1943	35	35	36	36	*	

Note. The grades from 1st to 5th are equivalent to K-12 Year 7 to 11.

^aAdapted from “Amendments to Implementation Rules” issued in January 1931 (Ministry of Education, 1972, pp. 586-587). Copyright 1972 by the Ministry of Education. ^bAdapted from “Middle School Regulations” issued in March 1943 (Ministry of Education, 1972, pp. 586-587). Middle schools became four years. Copyright 1972 by the Ministry of Education. ^cMiddle school education was shortened to four years in 1943 by Middle Level School Order (MFPB, 1943a, p. 326).

While female students suffered the cancellation or optionalization of English classes, it was irrelevant to male students, at least officially. Middle schools continued to have English language classes although the hours were reduced as shown in Tables 4.1. Middle School Regulations enforced in 1943 required four hours per week of a foreign language in each grade for male students, which is the same amount as mathematics and an hour less than the Japanese language. English language education was not treated lightly by the Middle School Regulations. These regulations were to be observed by all the middle schools in the country, but in reality, “many schools provided only a few English classes or not at all” (Erikawa, 1998, pp. 190-191).

The Ministry of Education retained English classes for male students. This fact

demonstrates that the academic world for future elites was separated from society because a few other ministries had already directed the public to eliminate English as mentioned earlier. Chuto Gakko Kyokasho (CGK, Middle-level School Textbooks Corporation, 1943) stated the reasons for providing foreign language classes:

The entire country is now striving to fight through the Greater East Asia War and to found the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere [see the list of Japanese terms, p. viii]. It is necessary to utilize foreign languages as well as to spread the Japanese language in order to boost the Japanese spirit and introduce Japanese culture, so that the people in this vast area may understand our true intention, and cooperate to found the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. We also need to improve our culture by learning foreign cultures and to enrich our culture as the leader of the various participants of the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere. It is crucial to acquire foreign languages. (p.4) [T]

This statement reflects the idea that then Prime Minister Tojo expressed at the Diet, which was introduced earlier.

On April 1, 1945, when a new academic year was to begin, all English language education that had continued modestly until then, finally had to cease. In fact, it was not only English classes, but all schools above elementary schools ceased classes for one year starting on that day. The Guideline of Decisive Battles Education Measures (*Kessen Kyoiku Sochi Yoko*) was approved in a Cabinet meeting on March 18, 1945, and all students were to be mobilized by the duties that were directly relevant and important to the decisive battles, such as food production, munition production, and crucial studies (Miyahara, 1974, pp. 338-339).

Students' attitudes toward studying English. While anti-English sentiment gradually grew from 1927, in the 1930s, the wartime system was enforced and nationalism was rising. This also affected students in normal schools, and the number of them who

took English classes continued to decrease (Erikawa, 1998, p. 196). This phenomenon was evident at the Department of English Literature in Tokyo Imperial University, too. Nakano (1948) recalled that there had been always 40 to 50 applicants for the department until around 1937, when the number of the applicants dramatically decreased. During the Pacific War, there were five or six applicants at most (p. 2).

The cabinet decision, “Wartime Emergency Measures Policies on Education (*Kyoiku ni kansuru Senji Hijo Sochi Hosaku*)”, in October 1943 forced humanities departments in universities and specialized schools (see Appendix B) to shift to sciences or downscale the departments (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, MEXT, n.d.321, Section 3). Due to this policy, some of the students had to reapply to other departments, or move to other schools, and the number of students who left schools increased (Minami, 2001, pp. 31-32). A former student in a girls’ normal school confessed that she had been forced to abandon her future dream to teach English (Meigyokukai, 1984, p. 212). Under the circumstances, some students lost their enthusiasm to study English (Iketani, 1969, p. 30).

The populace was avoiding English, students were unwilling to study English, and the Department of English Literature in Tokyo Imperial University, for example, had only a few students. These circumstances may have affected the number of students who wanted to become English teachers. Tokyo Arts and Sciences University (*Tokyo Bunrika Daigaku*) and Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University (*Hiroshima Bunrika Daigaku*), both founded in 1929, were the only arts and sciences universities and played an important role in training future teachers in middle-level education (MEXT, n.d.322, para. 3). The graduates of these universities, along with those of higher normal schools, were qualified to teach in the middle-level schools.

The following Tables, 4.2 and 4.3, indicate the numbers of students in the English Department compared with the total numbers of students in each school in Tokyo. The

tables include the data for Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, and Tokyo Higher Normal School in the academic years 1943 (from April 1943 to March 1944) and 1944 (from April 1944 to March 1945). Those numbers in Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University and Hiroshima Higher Normal School in the academic year 1944 are unavailable but those in 1943 are provided in Appendix G.

Table 4.2

The Number of Students in Department of English Language and Literature and the Entire School in Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, 1943^a and 1944^b

Attribution	Department of English Language and Literature		Total of the Entire School	
	1943	1944	1943	1944
Male Students	39	36	481	513
Female Students	12	14	34	49
International Students	1	0	10	5
Total	52	50	525	567

^aAs of 1 May 1943. Adapted from “The Present Number of Students” (Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, 1943, pp. 128-129). ^bAs of 1st of May 1944. Adapted from “The Present Number of Students” (Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, 1944, pp. 130-131).

No data for each grade are available for this university. 52 students were enrolled in the department in 1943, and it was not the smallest department, but rather large. For example, the smallest department, Geology, had 13 students, and the largest, Psychology and Mathematics, had 54 students each, and were approximately the same size as the Department of English Language and Literature.

As stated earlier, in 1944, humanities departments in other schools were closed, but they still existed in this university as its name implied. In 1944, the smallest department, Botany, had 17 students, and the largest, Mathematics, had 63 students. The second largest was the Department of Psychology. The Department of English Language and Literature was the third largest and had the same number of students as the Department of Education. The department conversion in other schools did not affect the

number of applicants to the Department of English Language and Literature, and the department maintained its size. While English classes became optional for female students and the number of schools that cancelled English classes was increasing, the number of the students who majored in English did not show significant changes in this particular school.

Table 4.3 shows the numbers of students at another teacher training institute for middle-level education, Tokyo Higher Normal School, in the 1943 and 1944 academic years. The table indicates that the number of English majors generally increased despite the negative circumstances for English in society and in some schools. Even in 1944, more students entered and the overall enrollment increased. Reasons for choosing English as their major are not clear.

Table 4.3

The Number of Students in Humanities, Third Department (Bunka Dai3bu) and the Entire School in Tokyo Higher Normal School, 1943^a and 1944^b

Grade		Humanities, Third Department ^c		Total of the Entire School	
		1943	1944	1943	1944
First	Japanese	27	32	393	586
	International Students	2	2	16	17
Second	Japanese	23	27	320	390
	International Students	0	0	13	14
Third	Japanese	25	23	367	309
	International Students	0	0	10	11
Fourth	Japanese	20	21	328	305
	International Students	1	0	6	8
Total	Japanese	95	103	1408	1591
	International Students	3	2	45	50
Grand Total		98	105	1453	1641

Note. For higher normal school, the first to the fourth grades are ages 16 to 20 (see Appendix B).

^aAs of the 1st of May 1943. Adapted from “The Present Number of Students” (Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, 1943, pp. 136-137). ^b As of the 1st of May 1944. Adapted from “The Present Number of Students” (Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, 1944, pp. 133-134). ^cHumanities, Third Department (Bunka Dai3bu) is the equivalent of Department of English Language and Literature (Sukemoto, 1999, p. 142).

The data of Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University and Hiroshima Higher Normal School (see Appendix G) show similar trends to those in Tokyo. There were no significant decreases in the numbers of the English majors. While looking at the numbers of the English majors in these teacher training schools, the anti-English atmosphere in public appears irrelevant. It is true that the number of English majors significantly dropped in Tokyo Imperial University and there were students who gave up their future hopes to become English teachers. Students in these teacher-training institutes may have had no choice but to attend one of these schools due to the closure and downsizing the humanities departments in other schools. Another reason for attending these teacher

training institutes may have been that these schools were tuition-free. Imazeki (2001), for example, decided to advance to a higher normal school because it was tuition-free (p. 10).

Treatment of English teachers. While the numbers of the English majors in both institutes above did not indicate any significant influence of the movement of banning English, both foreign teachers, many of whom were missionaries, and Japanese teachers of English, were affected by the negative atmosphere around English language education. Around 1940, some novels and movies were treating foreign missionaries and Japanese clergy as spies (Yaguchi, 2007, p. 193). Also, the sentiment against the United Kingdom had deteriorated by the Tianjin Situation (see Appendix E). In October 1940, the United States advised Americans living in the Far East to return to the United States (Komiya, 1999; Lorenzen, 2007-2013), and many foreign missionaries left Japan around this time (Shiryoshitsu Iinkai & Kinenshi Henshu Iinkai, 1990, p. 90).

The British principal at a girls' high school of the Anglican-Episcopal church was one of the people who left at that time. One of the alumnae who saw the principal off testified, "Miss Tristram was constantly watched and suspected as a spy, and she said, 'Japan in these days is no longer the place I can stay'" (Yaguchi, 2007, pp. 196-197). Another foreign teacher was taken to the police for contempt of the Japanese and being a spy, was subsequently harassed, and eventually had to leave Japan (Fujimoto, 2007, pp. 184-185). While English language teachers were oppressed, Westerners in the school managerial posts were forced to resign (p. 185).

Figure 4.1. shows the transitions of the number of foreign residents in the mainland Japan from 1935 to 1941. The numbers indicate the population at the end of each calendar year. The Figure includes the numbers of the residents from the countries of the Allied Forces only in 1940 and 1941 because 1941, the year of the outbreak of the Pacific War, is the most relevant to them. The detail of the total of 2,138 in 1941 is Americans 1,044, British 690, Canadians 188, Dutch 109, Australians 41, Belgians 38,

Norwegians 19, and Greeks 9. These are the data immediately after the outbreak of the Pacific War.

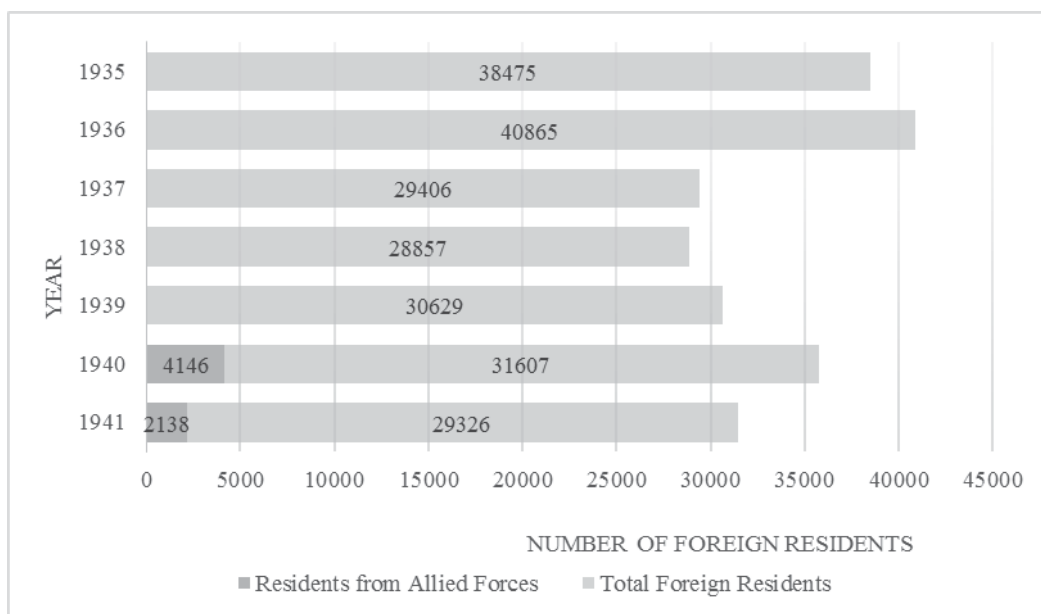


Figure 4.1. Movement of the number of foreign residents in the mainland Japan. Adapted from Naimusho Keiho-kyoku (Home Ministry, National Police Agency), 1941/1980, <Gokubi> Gaiji Keisatsu gaikyo dai7kan Showa 16nen [<Top Secret> Foreign Affairs Police conspectus Vol. 7 1941], pp. 455-456, 459.

The significant decrease of the total foreign residents in 1937 is perhaps due to the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937. The population of the nationalities of the Allied Forces in 1941 is 51.6% of that of the previous year. On the other hand, the total foreign population is 31,607 in 1940 and 29,326 in 1941. The population in 1941 is 92.8% of the previous year. The population of the nationalities of the Allied Forces notably decreased partially due to acting on advice of returning to the home country such as the United States mentioned earlier. Among these 2,138 people, over 700 people were interned on the day of the outbreak of war, December 8 (Japan time), 1941 (Komiya, 1999, pp. 4-5).

Of the 29,396 foreign nationals in 1941, a large proportion consisted of students, workers at restaurants, shops, and offices. Missionaries were in the 6th place, with 433 people, and teachers occupied the 7th place, with 415 people (Naimusho Keibo-kyoku,

1941/1980, pp.457-458). There is no category for the people who were missionaries and teaching English at the same time.

People linked to Christianity were regarded as spies and harassed as described earlier, and those connected with Christian schools where foreign language education was considered important were treated in similar ways. Once the Pacific War broke out, surveillance of the military police and the higher police became more aggressive. Suspicious eyes were constantly watching everyone at Christian schools, and harassment was an everyday occurrence. Everyone at school dutifully contributed to their training and labour service to achieve results superior to other schools and show the military their highly cooperative attitudes (Iris Girls' Academy Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, IGAHHI, 1991, p. 732).

The circumstances at some non-Christian schools were also unfavourable for English teachers. For example, some schools only had part-time teaching positions for English teachers (Akita University, School of Education, 1973, p. 256), and some teachers were observed as if they had been representatives of "the liberals" (Chiba University, 1981, p. 1315). Many lost their motivation in teaching. Some left their schools and became military civilian employees or found different jobs. Some sold their own books written in English, and some tore pages from their English dictionaries to use them to roll up tobacco. There were countless numbers of stories such as these. Many English teachers, themselves, were not certain of their reasons for teaching English (pp. 1315-1316).

In addition to the negative atmosphere, the cancellation of English classes deprived some English teachers of their jobs. The Ministry of Education suggested several ideas to these teachers, such as teaching different subjects, supervising group training at school or labour service, or engaging themselves in education in occupied territories of Japan overseas ("Ike Nanpo," 1942). Tokyo Prefecture offered English teachers six months of training to convert to mathematics teaching (Iketani, 1969, p. 27). Many

English teachers were, in fact, made to teach different subjects from English (Kurosawa, 1999).

Approving English language education. Despite the pervasive anti-English campaign, not everyone was boycotting English. Naturally, people in the field of English language education in particular tried to act against the boycott. As stated earlier, some students lost interest in studying English and some English teachers were uncertain of the significance of English language education. Some teachers tried to convince themselves and their students by saying that the English language was a good way to learn about foreign countries, including the enemy (Chiba University, 1981, p. 1317). Teachers and scholars in English language education offered various reasons to justify English language education. For example, a journal, *English Language Youths* carried some of their claims. Some regarded English not as a language of the United Kingdom and the United States but as an international language, and necessary for diplomacy (“Dai 17kai Eigo”, 1940, p. 123). Others suggested that the Japanese learn about other cultures through studying English (“Henpenroku, Daitoa Senso”, 1942, May 1; “Henpenroku, Eigo kyoiku”, 1942, July 15). There also existed a view that the goals of foreign language education should not be immediate and utilitarian but to help establish one’s identity and philosophy (“Henpenroku, Gogaku Seishin”, 1943, p. 142).

These were statements made in approval of English language education. Taking a step further, some researchers in English language and literature expressed clear criticism of excessive anti-English behaviours. The Japanese should not be so shallow that they would be influenced and changed by merely studying foreign languages. Another criticized the excessive anti-English behaviours for their faddish tendencies (“Henpenroku, Kyoiku to Gogaku”, 1942, p. 126). One regarded the anti-English movement as an excuse to avoid studying a foreign language that the Japanese were poor at (“Henpenroku, Eigo Kyoiku”, 1942, July 1, p. 220). Creating Japanese words for the English loanwords was described as

nonsense (Fukuhara, 1942; “Henpenroku, Gairaigo Zehi”, 1942). It was nothing but disgusting to see some people reacting with excessive hostility on seeing the Latin alphabet (“Henpenroku, Eigaku Jihyo”, 1942, p. 220).

Regardless of the circumstances in society, classes continued, including foreign language classes, in schools in the Army and the Navy until the end of World War II (Erikawa, 2003, p. 39). In the Army, there were both people who considered English less important and more important than other foreign languages (Erikawa, 2005, p. 71). Therefore, two opposing views existed in the Army.

For the Navy, on the other hand, English was important. The strongest naval countries were the United States and the United Kingdom. The Japanese Navy regarded English as one of the required skills for naval officers in terms of technical aspects and strategies (Erikawa, 2003, p. 41). Shigeyoshi Inoue, the principal of the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy, valued English language education (Yamaguchi, 2010, p. 133). He said to the teachers, “You should not listen to these shallow-minded campaigners boycotting foreign languages and join these para-patriots” (Inoue Shigayoshi Denki Kankou-kai, 1982, pp. 190-191). Foreign language education was treated differently between regular schools and schools for the military, which will be discussed in a later section.

4.2.3. Japanese faddism. The criticisms levelled at some ultra-patriotic people as faddish was noted in the previous section. In reference to fads, Nakajima (1998) reported, “Something called charm or magic that attracts people possesses invisible pressure, when viewed from a different side. . . . A fad gives unease or desire to non-followers who are interested but hesitant, and ease to followers” (p. 5) [TJ]. This suggests that some people may feel compelled to follow the fashion trend. The movement of banning English grew as ultra-patriotic trends expanded. In addition, that trend of banning English possessed somewhat “visible pressure.” People were actually criticized for not joining the movement. In this section, the dynamics of faddism will be examined, then Japanese faddism will be

discussed.

Faddism. We live in society where fads always exist in various scales and spans. How fads start and spread as well as how people perceive them will be reviewed in this section.

De Tarde (1891/1903) viewed imitation as a fundamental interpersonal trait and explained fashion from this point of view. He classified imitation in five categories, one of them being “imitation of a new and foreign model” (p. 247). People imitate something out of “an admiration and envy of foreign things” (p. 221) and because “everything new is admirable” (p. 246). Le Bon (1895/1897) argued, “Ideas, sentiments, emotions, and beliefs possess in crowds a contagious power as intense as that of microbes” (p. 122). Ideas and other phenomena with “a contagious power” spread among people. Simmel (Frisby & Featherstone, 1997) developed a notion of the dialectical interplay of individual imitation and differentiation. People who join a fad possess two opposite desires at the same time: a desire to be like others, and a desire to be different from others (p. 14). They feel secure when they are acting in the same ways as others, and at the same time, satisfied with that they are expressing something new and special by following something that has not been widely known. They are trying to maintain and express their own identities while having strong empathy for others (Nakajima, 2000, p. 75). Smelser (1962/2011), on the other hand, stated that fads were used as expressive symbols of differential prestige in ranking systems (p. 237).

Suzuki (1977) rearranged existing theories on motives for adopting trends into the following five categories:

- Motive to raise one’s own apparent value; to raise their position in society or to gain attention or interest from the opposite sex.
- Motive to adapt to a group or society; to feel secure that they are behaving appropriately and prove to others that they can do so.

- Motive to search for unprecedented things; a desire to obtain information from the environment surrounding them or stimulation for them.
- Motive of individuation and self-realization; an outlet of desire to distinguish themselves from others or a means of expressing their intentions.
- Motive of self-defense; an outlet of suppressed feelings to eliminate conflicts from various social restraint and protect the self.

People are motivated to follow trends, and the strength of each motive depends on the type or size of a trend (pp. 131-136).

The media play an important role both in creating, shaping and spreading trends. The proportion of people who noticed a particular trend through the media well exceeds 50%, according to Nakajima (1998, pp. 8-9).

Japanese faddism. Hays (2013) states, “The Japanese always seem to be in the grip of one fad or another” (para. 1), and, “Fads come and go with amazing speed and variety. Japan has been described as a ‘media saturated country where new ideas and fashions spread the length of the land in the blink of an eye’” (para. 2). This corresponds to a saying in Japanese: “easy to become hot and easy to become cold”, meaning people become enthusiastic about something very quickly then tired of it just as rapidly (Matsumura, n.d.). Hays’s statement suggests that fads come and go at much faster pace than in other countries. The fact that such an expression exists suggests that the Japanese may be aware of their tendency.

This tendency can be traced back at least to the 19th century. De Tarde (1890/1903) described a fad in Japan in the early Meiji period. “Frenzy for foreign imitation which reigns at present in Japan is exceptional, but not as much so as one might think” (p. 254). The speed and variety of fads may differ in Japan as stated earlier, but the Japanese are not the only ones to be prone to “frenzy for foreign imitation”. For example, in France in the late 1800s, “*Japonisme* entered the public domain and was adopted as a

favourite style, discernible in such realms as fashion, interior design, and gastronomy” (Genova, 2009, p. 453). There existed “sometimes frivolous appreciation of Japanese art as a social fad due in part to the enormous success of the Parisian World’s Fairs of 1876, 1878, and 1889” (p. 453).

Fads come and go, including foreign imitation. Holtom (1947) recounted Japanese people’s two extreme attitudes towards foreign cultures:

Each period runs through a cycle of bias toward the West and its goods, amounting at times almost to an infatuation and worship that threaten to obliterate all marks of the old life. This is followed by reaction and a strong reassertion of self-sufficient nationalism. . . . These extreme attitudes alternatively arose. (pp. 73-74)

These statements show that the Japanese did not become faddish only recently but have tended to be so for some time. The “frenzy for foreign imitation” corresponds to all theories of De Tarde, Le Bon, and Simmel explained earlier. This fad satisfies the “motive to search for unprecedented things” the most, but as Suzuki’s explanation, other motives were functioning as well.

Unprecedented things can spread as if they were microbes, as Le Bon described, and the media increase the speed and the terrain. However, the media are biased (MIC, 2005). Therefore, acquiring adequate media literacy is necessary. A college student in 2005 confessed, “I believed that TV programs of the national network could not provide false information” after studying the false information and exaggeration the programs contained (Takahashi, 2006, p. 203). Takahashi (2009) also points out that not everyone knows that the massive amount of information provided by the mass media is not always verified. Misleading information may be widely taken as fact because “some people avoid thinking logically and do not like to think for themselves” (p. 137) [I].

As for the movement on banning English, there were a few motives stated above

involved with some “visible pressure,” such as being labelled as unpatriotic. Also, the influence of the media, such as *Weekly Photograph*, cannot be dismissed. Media literacy is necessary in all times, but the concept was not prevalent at that time.

4.2.4. Disparities in education. When the Edo period concluded in 1868, the feudal system also came to an end. The caste system, however, persisted. The hereditary peerage (*Kazoku*) was approved by the Nobility Ordinance (*Kazoku Rei*), promulgated in 1884 (Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, MFPB, 1884, p. 2), and existed until 1947, when the new Constitution of Japan (1946) abolished its status (Article 14). This suggests that society was more unequal then and disparities from that inequality were acknowledged in that social system.

In this section, disparities in education in general will be discussed because disparities in education were not limited to English language education, but were linked to education as a whole. The topics here will include discrimination against women, elitism, and regional inequities.

Some researchers argue that discrimination exerts its influence indirectly on academic outcomes (Benner & Graham, 2011; García Coll et al., 1996; Stone & Han, 2005). Wiltfang and Scarbecz (1990) found that adolescents’ self-esteem was significantly related to their academic achievement (pp. 179, 180). A documentary, *Eye of the Storm* (Peters, Beutel, Elliott, ABC News, & ABC News Productions, 1970/2011) also suggested a correlation between self-esteem and academic performance. The sense of inferiority lowers self-efficacy and achievement levels. This may explain why females found themselves inferior to males and undeserving of education, which will be discussed later.

Discrimination against women. When the Meiji period began, Western cultures started to influence Japan. Yet the Meiji government that initiated modernization, itself, excluded the life of women from modernization plans. It promoted the Westernization of Japanese civilization, but it was indeed male-centred (Oka, 1979, pp. 53-54), as Western

cultures at that time were also more heavily gender-biased than today (Bak, 2013). In this section, historical background will be reviewed, then discussions will move on to views on education for females, and employment of foreign teachers.

(1) *Historical background.* The new Meiji government, which began in 1868, established the Department of Education in 1872 and gave it “the responsibility to actively educate the people” (MEXT, n.d.341, para. 1) [TJ]. The Education System Order (*Gakusei*), enacted in 1872, commanded that all children, no matter their social class or sex, attend elementary school (Monbusho-nai, Kyoiku-shi Hensan-kai, 1938, p. 277). Before the Education System Order, education was generally the preserve of members of the upper class (MEXT, n.d.342, Section 4). The government set out to persuade the people and made various efforts to allow all children to attend school, but “Many people thought that education was not very important for them. There was a large gap between the views of the government and the public on education” (MEXT, n.d.343, para. 6) [TJ].

Table 4.4 demonstrates low attendance, reflecting the people’s attitudes. A gradual increase is indicated for boys as the importance of education may have slowly been recognized. However, “The girls’ attendance barely exceeds 50% approximately 20 years later, in 1897. This has much to do with general views for females and education for them. People regarded modern education for females as unnecessary or even harmful” (para. 9) [TJ]. Attendance exceeded 97% for boys in 1904 and girls in 1909, and exceeded 98% for boys in 1906 and girls in 1915 (MEXT, n.d.344, Table 11).

Table 4.4

The Percentage of Attendance of Elementary School (1873-1879)

Year	Boys	Girls	Average
1873	39.9	15.1	28.1
1874	46.2	17.2	32.3
1875	50.8	18.7	35.4
1876	54.2	21.0	38.3
1877	56.0	22.5	39.9
1878	57.6	23.5	41.3
1879	58.2	22.6	41.2

Notes. Adapted from “Table 4 The Percentage of Attendance of Elementary School” (MEXT, n.d.322.). Copyright by MEXT.

Education System Order also emphasized that the school system was not only for the peerage but also for all citizens alike. The ultimate goal of schools was for all citizens to study for their success (Naikaku Kanpo-kyoku, 1889, pp. 146-147). At the beginning, the goals of education were the same for all citizens, both male and female students. Coeducation was conducted at first, and a change was made in 1891. “Regulations for Organizing Classes (*Gakkyu Hensei to ni Kansuru Kisoku*) instructed that male and female students be separated in different classes in the third grade and above [in elementary schools] when there are enough female students to form a class” (MFPB, 1891a, p. 183) [T].

In 1870, the first private girls’ school in the modern era was founded in Yokohama by a foreign missionary. In the same year and the following year, two other girls’ schools were founded, also by foreign missionaries. Kyoto Prefecture established a girls’ school that taught English, sewing, and handicrafts in 1872. In the same year, the first government girls’ school was founded in Tokyo (MEXT, n.d.345, paras. 4-5). After that, more than 10 private Christian girls’ schools were instituted by 1880 (Tsuzuki, 1999, p. 132).

In the first Annual Report of the Department of Education for 1873, the number of students enrolled at the government girls' school, Tokyo Girls' School (*Tokyo Jogakko*), was listed as 38. The School was to offer courses at the same level as the middle schools (MEXT, n.d.346, para. 2). At this point, the government set the same goals both for male and female students. "Graduates of Tokyo Girls' School should possess a scholastic ability equal to university applicants. The curriculum declared, 'Girls need to become erudite by interacting with foreigners'" (MEXT, n.d.347, para. 5) [T].

Hiraishi (2001) argues that education for female students was emphasized then because the people who were engaged in the enactment of the Education System Order were involved in Western Studies. When government officers and principals visited or studied in the United States, they were surprised to witness the extent of education for females and the females' status there, and keenly realized the need for education for females in Japan. Hiraishi also states that Western women may have served as the role model from the beginning in Christian girls' schools founded by foreign missionaries while having them as teachers (p. 34).

Kiyotaka Kuroda, then the undersecretary of Hokkaido Development Commission, regarded education for females as important and planned a program for female students to study abroad. The program was intended to send students abroad for 10 years, with expenses covered by the government. However, no one applied for the first recruitment. For the second recruitment, five females applied and they left for the United States in 1871. When they returned to Japan after more than 10 years, they were disappointed to learn that educated women were not in demand in Japan. In fact, no other women applied to join the program, and it was terminated (Takakura, 1965; Terasawa, R., 2009). This episode is consistent with views on education for females described in the next section.

(2) *Views on education for females.* The Cabinet system was established in December 1885 along with the Ministry system. The first Minister of Education was Arinori Mori

(MEXT, n.d.348, para. 3). Identical education for male and female students had been agreed to in the Education System Order, and Mori emphasized education for female students as well as for male students. Yet, the purposes and contents of education were different from those for male students in Mori's mind. He argued that wise mothers were indispensable for the nation to prosper, thus girls needed education (Fukaya, 1998, p. 43).

Mori's views on education for females were clearly outlined in a speech delivered in 1887. In that speech, he stated that the foundation of the wealth and power of the state was in education. The foundation of education was in education for females. It should not be forgotten that the quality of education for them was relevant to the security of the state. In other words, in education for females, nurturing a spirit which was devoted to the state was extremely important (MEXT, n.d.349, para 10). He also made a speech on education for females at the graduation ceremony of Tokyo Girls' School in 1888. He emphasized the importance of education for females to become "wise and virtuous mothers" (para. 10). He needed to emphasize female education and its purpose because it had been neglected and the goal of education for females was then officially separated from that for male students. Education for females was not linked to their future professions but to their future as mothers.

Education for female students as, "good wives, wise mothers" (Hiraishi, 2001, p. 34) [T] developed under Mori's influence. "Many studies have pointed out that the importance of the role of the mother was the basis for the need of modern female education" (Kurasumi, 2008, p. 49) [T]. Mori expressed the necessity of education for females, but it contradicts the fact that no regulations or orders for education beyond the four years of compulsory education (MEXT, 2005) in the elementary level for female students were delineated until the regulations for girls' high schools were established as late as 1891. The Education System Order was issued in 1872, as mentioned earlier, and education for male students had already officially commenced. The government apparently

accorded education for female students less importance than that for male students. This government's attitude affirmed the idea at that time that education beyond four years was unnecessary for females (Kyoiku-shi Hensan Kai, 1964).

Education for females had been conducted without regulations for 21 years, and in 1891, the term "girls' high schools" appeared for the first time in an edict, the Amendments for Middle School Orders (MFPB, 1891b, p. 158). In 1895, Regulations for Girls' High Schools (*Koto Jogakko Kitei*) were issued. Male and female students started to be governed by different regulations in education from the middle-level education and above at this time. Foreign language classes were ostensibly mandatory, yet they might be made elective or cancelled for female students with the permission of the Ministry of Education (Kyoiku-shi Hensan Kai, 1964, Vol. 3, p. 221), while the study of two foreign languages was required for male students (Fukuoka-ken Kyoiku-kai Honbu, 1892, p. 189). The levels of girls' high schools were unquestionably lower than those of middle schools considering their entering qualifications, required length to complete, and the contents of their education (p. 224).

Despite these disparities, girls' enrolment increased. Hiraishi (2001) analyses the phenomenon as follows:

Within three years [1894-1897], the number of girls' high schools doubled and that of girls' high school students tripled. These numbers suggest that education for females settled in the orientation toward "good wives, wise mothers," and society also approved of that. (p. 41) [T].

This may indicate that it took several years for Mori's idea of "good wives, wise mothers" to take root in society. In addition, classes directly useful to girls' and women's daily living, such as sewing, may have lowered the bar to their enrolment (Inagaki, 2007, p. 5). An annotation may be necessary for Hiraishi's analysis because the number of female students in middle-level education was still very small in 1895, even with the large increase in

numbers. There were 13,000 first graders in middle schools (equivalent to K-12 Year 7), and 800 in girls' high schools (MEXT, 1962, Section a).

Through education, female students were expected to become wise mothers who would raise wise children for the nation, as Mori declared. Koshiha (1981) criticized Mori's idea as emperor-centric and nationalistic (p. 55), because the duty for women had been emphasized to bear and raise imperial citizens who would be loyal to the Emperor (p. 53). Koshiha was in a girls' high school during the Pacific War and often annoyed with this imperial policy (pp. 53, 55-57). It is true that the original argument of Mori's gradually developed into a principle of motherhood, that was "to breed and proliferate", during World War II (Kimura, 1987; Kurasumi, 2008).

In this education for "good wives, wise mothers," the curriculum for girls' high school offered, "fewer academically demanding subjects as a whole and emphasized more household chores and sewing" (Kihira, 2000, p. 93) [IJ]. Moreover, Girls' High School Regulations in 1943 officially made English classes optional while they remained mandatory for boys until the third grade in middle schools (equivalent to K-12 Year 9, MFPB, 1943b). When English classes were offered to female students, they were limited to no more than three hours per week, and many girls' high schools decided to abolish English classes (Takahshi & Deki, 1993, p. 187).

Kihira (2000) observes that, "Middle schools, girls' high schools, and vocational schools were all equally categorized as the middle-level education. However, there were explicit differences among them, and middle school was the preferred institution for training elites" (p. 93) [IJ]. This statement corresponds to Koshiha's (1981) experience. When she was outside with her classmates after an air raid in 1945, she heard some male students of T Middle School (anonymous in the original) arguing about Nishida philosophy. Reading materials at Koshiha's school were restricted to literature or commentaries, and never included philosophy. The boys' argument made her realize the

differences in education between male and female students. English classes were abolished for some female students but not for male students, and even her pleasure reading was curtailed. Overhearing the above conversation was such a shock for Koshihira that she forgot about the air raid (p. 62). Because male and female students went to different schools, female students did not know what male students were studying at school, and vice versa, unless they had siblings of the other sex who were close to their ages. It was quite a shock for some female students to find out that they were studying things at a much lower level than their male counterparts. “It indicated the gap between male and female education” (Koshihira, 1981, p. 62) [TJ].

Kihira (2000) explains, “Girls’ high school has the word ‘high’, because it was the institution for ‘the highest education’ for females” (p. 93) [TJ]. In fact, if girls had chosen to advance their education, there were institutions for them to attend such as nursing and women’s higher normal schools, but female students enrolled in higher education comprised 0.6% in 1935 and 1.2% in 1945 respectively of the total female population of corresponding ages (MEXT, n.d.351, Table 8). Middle and higher schools (see Appendix B) were functioning as official preparatory institutions for universities and were exclusively for male students. This system automatically discriminated against female students who wanted to continue their education and attend university (Amakawa, Ara, Takemae, Nakamura, & Miwa, 1996, p. 20). Higher education was regarded as less relevant to female students. The government practically closed the door to higher education for female students, and the majority of female students themselves did not choose to continue their education when society was not supportive as mentioned earlier.

(3) *Employment of foreign teachers.* Many of the private Christian girls’ high schools, which pioneered middle-level education for female students, were to provide the students with “new Western views for human beings and society based on Christianity through English language education carried out by British and American women” (Tsuzuki, 1999, p.

132). Fujimoto conducted a study on the situation of the employment in 1925-1941 of foreign teachers in Osaka prefecture, the second largest prefecture (see Appendix D). There were 15 middle schools founded by the prefecture (Fujimoto, 2008a, pp. 184-190). Almost all of them had at least one foreign teacher. (Fujimoto, 2008b, p. 114). Fujimoto (2007) argues:

Foreign language education by foreign teachers in middle-level education for female students was all conducted in private schools. This definitely proves that male chauvinism doggedly existed in the modern era as well as the caste system, which had become more rigid, along with the politics by the *samurai* class [see *Buke seiji* in the list of Japanese Terms, p. viii], which occurred in the Middle Ages. (p. 183) [T]

Many of these foreign teachers at Christian schools were missionaries. They were supposedly paid by the churches they belonged to in their home countries for their activities as missionaries. The government or the prefecture did not use its budget to employ foreign teachers for female students.

The salaries for foreign teachers were as high as those for government ministers. Therefore, schools could not afford as many foreign teachers as they wished (Otaru University of Commerce, 2006). In the 1920s, the standard first annual income of a Japanese teacher at middle-level schools who graduated from higher normal schools or imperial universities was 1,200 yen. This was much higher than the salaries for office workers, according to Yamada (1992, p. 310). Ministers' annual income was 8,000 yen (Omi, 1931, pp. 120-121). In government schools, the official "foreign teachers" were only the Westerners. Chinese and Russian teachers were "contractors", and schools, themselves, had to employ them. Their salaries were somewhere between a quarter and a half of those of "foreign teachers" (Otaru University of Commerce, 2006). Even if Chinese and Russian teachers earned a quarter of the Western teachers, they still had much higher salaries than

Japanese teachers, with a quarter earning approximately 2,000 yen.

These foreign teachers were sometimes criticized for their high salaries, but it was quite a burden for them to be far away from their home countries to teach in the Far East (Otaru, University of Commerce, 2006). This may explain why Chinese and Russian teachers were earning less than Western teachers. Their home countries were physically much closer, and coming to Japan was not considered as difficult as coming from Europe or America. In Appendix H, a table is provided that indicates the numbers of foreign teachers in 1940 and 1941. It reflects the government's preference to educate future elites.

Elitism. At the beginning of the modern school system, equality of opportunity in education extended to providing all children with some education at elementary level. Then, in 1907, compulsory education extended to six years of elementary schools (MEXT, 2005). After the compulsory years, the government was interested only in educating a small number of elites, which did not extend to female students. The number of students who entered higher schools in 1940 was 6,343 (Ministry of Education, 1950a, pp. 272-273). The male population of the age of 17, the common age to enter higher school, is 739,600 in 1940 (Prime Minister's Office, Statistics Bureau, 1956, p. 28). The percentage of male students who advanced to higher schools is slightly less than 1%, which is borne out by the Education Division "only about one-half of one percent of children entering the elementary school" (GHQ, SCAP, CIE, Education Division, 1948, Vol. 1, p. 88).

Hofstede (1997) argued, "*Social classes* carry different class cultures. Social class is associated with educational opportunities and with a person's occupation or profession; this even applies in countries which their governments call socialist" (p. 17, italics in the original). Elitism was a social system that mass-produced the lower class at this time in Japan. People without higher education could not belong even to the middle class (Hofstede, 2010, p. 64). The approximate percentage of male students who advanced to higher schools in 1940 was less than 1%, which made the large majority of the population

the lower class if their social statuses had been decided only by their education.

In higher elementary schools (educational system in 1934, see Appendix B) and national schools, higher courses (educational system in 1944, see Appendix B) were categorized as elementary-level education by law, while being the same ages as the students in middle-level schools, which was categorized as middle-level education and only a few students enrolled. Many received elementary-level education, and fewer received middle-level education (Kihira, 1988, p. 173). Social status for the majority of commonalty was decided when they finished elementary schools, which was a very early stage of life, and would not usually change throughout their life, which will be discussed later.

Society had become, however, achievement-oriented in the capitalistic society (Onai, 2001, p. 108) after the Meiji period, when capitalism emerged (Kawamura, 1998, p. 78). It became possible to move between social statuses, as society had experienced a shift from being “attribution oriented to achievement oriented” (Onai, 2001, p. 108). The actual number who changed their status may not have been large, but the hereditary system was at least being challenged (p. 108). Yet the heredity peerage remained until 1947. Therefore, it can be assumed that both orientations co-existed. Aso (1960) argued that from the late Meiji period (approximately 1890s) to around 1928, elites had been mostly indigenous. They had lacked higher education and had no need to use the bureaucracy to acquire the position of an elite. After this time, elites had to have various combinations of attributes, such as mobility, education, and political networks, with no particular attribute dominant (pp. 161-162).

Although the hierarchy remained rigid, there was some room for social mobility. Education was a way to raise one’s social status. “Social success in life through education was presented as a new life philosophy, and this idea prevailed among many people. Educational institutes were, in fact, available only for a limited number of people, but the idea itself was widely accepted” (Onai, 2001, p. 124) [TJ]. The Education System Order

also asserted in its preamble that, “Learning is capital and assets for success in life” (Ministry of Education, 1872, pp. 2-3) [TJ]. Conversely, without education, it was generally difficult for the common people to advance their social status. Aso (1960) has pointed out that in any time period individuals who completed higher education had approximately 100 times more opportunities than those without it to become elites (p. 161), which accords with Hofstede’s argument (2010) that a higher education automatically makes one at least middle class (p. 64).

Education, however, was not free of charge beyond elementary level (Kokurhitsu Kyoiku Seisaku Kenkyusho, 2012, p. 5) except for normal schools (MFPB, 1886, p. 85) and military academies (Naikaku Kanpo-kyoku, 1887-1912, p. 933). Military academies became very popular among boys and as difficult as prestigious higher schools to enter after the Manchurian Incident in 1931 (Takeishi, 2005, p. 2021, see Appendix E). These schools were especially suitable for students who were good but from low-income families because they could receive higher education without tuition fees. Economic disparities had been much greater prior to the Occupation (Tanizawa, 1992; Tanizawa, Nakamura, & Harimaya, 2006; Yugami, 2003). Yet, even if parents were extremely poor and had no money for their sons’ education, there were ways for the sons to acquire a higher education--even if it was to be a teacher or a military officer--and leave the lower class by attending these tuition-free schools.

Although education was a way for social mobility, only 20% of the graduates of middle schools, essentially preparatory schools for higher education, passed the entrance examinations for institutions in higher education (Amakawa et al., 1996, p. 19). Keenleyside and Thomas (1937) provided a reason for limiting the number of people in higher education. They argued, “As, however, society cannot absorb all those who graduate at the higher institutions, so that the white-collared professions are overcrowded, it is expedient to limit the number of entries to higher institutions and universities” (p.

159). On the other hand, Inagaki (2007) states a large workforce was necessary in industries and the military. The government wanted to provide only future elites with middle-level and higher education (p. 6).

The white-collared professions included politicians and government officials, medical doctors, and business executives. It would lead to growth of society to have many white-collared professionals. There was a fear, however, that well-educated people would not be submissive to the government or perhaps may rebel, which will be discussed later. It was perhaps not that the government did not want to overcrowd the white-collared professions but did not want a well-educated population who were noncompliant and difficult to control. The government may have chosen to create a society that was easier to manipulate rather than to have social and economic growth.

Some of the elites were in the military also, and perceived the need for well-educated, intelligent men to advance the militaristic nation. The Amendments of the Orders for the Imperial Army Recruitment (*Rikugun Hoju-rei Kaisai*) issued in 1927 decreed that graduates of middle-level education and above were in a position that allowed them to be accepted as cadets in the military (MFPB, 1927, pp. 12-13). However, many of the students of higher-ranking universities were critical of the military as Morris (1943/1997) described.

Morris (1943/1997) taught at Tokyo Imperial University and gained the following impression:

Quite a few young people were critical of the military. Only a small number of them would have joined the military even today if they had the right to choose. The majority of my students were looking for every opportunity to avoid military training. They were also constantly showing passive resistance to the officers who provided the training guidance ... The students knew how to show their aversion to the military training. I have a feeling that the higher the level of the university

people graduated from, the more strongly they resisted joining the military. (p. 244)

[1]

The military of course needed some talented human resources. It is ironic that many such students were disapproving the military. This suggests that there would have been more people who were critical of the military and the government if higher education had been accessible to more people. Educating more people was something the authorities wanted to avoid because they did not want a larger population that was more difficult to control, such as the university students whom Morris described. The government perhaps wanted only a few brilliant leaders to steer the nation, an idea which is undemocratic.

The government was withholding information from all but most educated people. Erikawa (2008) describes the situation during the Pacific War. The government incited the general public to increase hostility toward the English language as well as the United Kingdom and the United States by removing English from, for example, signs in railway stations. However, English language education continued in institutions in middle-level education, although at a decreased level from peacetime, as the hours were reduced by law and some schools cancelled English classes as explained earlier. The government did not make any effort to educate the general population on world affairs, but guaranteed knowledge of foreign languages and international affairs to the people who achieved an education higher than the middle level. Also, students in the military academies were exempted from labour service and provided with education under better circumstances, including foreign languages, until the end of World War II (p. 105). Limiting the information that the general public could obtain enabled the government to control people's minds, according to Erikawa. It was easier for the government to manipulate the population when people only knew and believed what the government provided.

Regional inequities. The primary focus of this study is middle-level education, but regional inequities can be observed more clearly by examining higher education,

especially universities, which were the schools for elites and directly relevant to the government.

While statistical data for 1944 show the number of 48 universities (MEXT, 2001, p. 2), the *Overview of Schools in Higher Education in Japan, 1944 Academic Year (Zenkoku Jokyū Gakko Soran, Showa 19nen-do*, Obun-sha, 1945), which has the latest available list of the universities before the Occupation, records 50 universities, 46 in Japan and four in Taiwan, Korea, and China (pp. 9-10). The data do not match, but given that the latter document provides the names of the universities and is helpful to search for their locations, it will be useful here. According to this list, universities were concentrated in Tokyo. 21 out of 46 universities were located there, which formed 45.7% of all the universities in Japan, while the population in Tokyo comprised only 9.5% of Japan's population (MIC, Statistics Bureau, n.d.). The concentration in Tokyo was remarkable, compared with the number of universities in Osaka Prefecture, which totalled four. These statistics are as of 1944, and the situations were almost identical for several years both before and afterwards (MEXT, 2001, p. 2).

Data indicating geographical distribution of university students' hometowns before the Occupation are not available. However, this regionally imbalanced distribution of the universities indicates that some students who lived in less populated places needed to move to larger cities such as Tokyo to attend universities, there being no local universities. In addition to the universities, seven-year schools (see Appendix B) were concentrated in Tokyo: five out of eight were in Tokyo although eight "number schools" (see Appendix B), which were run by the government, were scattered throughout Japan (MEXT, n.d.352; Monbu Daijin Kanbo Bunsho-ka, 1926).

The Ministry of Education paid some attention to avoiding over-centralization of higher education, which resulted in wider distribution of public universities. Each prefecture had at least one public institution for higher education, either a university or a

specialized school. Yet it was difficult to ensure that distribution of private universities nationwide (Ministry of Education, 1953a, Chapter 5, Section 1.2). 17 out of 21 universities in Tokyo were private (Obun-sha, 1945, pp. 9-10). For economic reasons, it is natural for private schools to be established in more populated areas.

A large number of universities and students, including the highest-ranking ones, were concentrated in the Tokyo metropolitan area. These numbers indicate that Tokyo was the optimal place for educational opportunities. As for the English language education specifically, a gap in the environment for education was also found within a prefecture. Fujimoto (2008b) studied foreign teachers before the Pacific War in Osaka, the second largest city and prefecture in Japan after Tokyo, and concluded, “There were remarkable gaps in English language education by foreign teachers between boys’ and girls’ schools, also between the City of Osaka [the capital of Osaka Prefecture] and the other areas in Osaka Prefecture” (p. 114) [TJ]. Here again, a more populous place was equipped with a better learning environment in terms of English language education.

A study was conducted on a regional gap among other environmental factors that influenced people’s proficiency levels in English. Terasawa, T. (2009) sets one of his research questions as how the domicile of people at 15 years of age influences their proficiency levels in English. He made the following comparisons: (1) people who were born between 1913 and 1983; (2) people who lived in large or medium cities versus others (other small cities, towns, and villages); and (3) people who lived in non-farming areas versus farming areas at the age of 15. The study shows remarkable regional inequities among the people born between 1913 and 1933, with higher proficiency in English for people living in large cities and non-farming areas (p. 111). Larger cities were equipped with better educational facilities, which achieved better results, especially for people who were born between 1913 and 1933, which means they reached the age of 15, the target age for this particular study, between the years of 1928 and 1948.

4.2.5. English language education before the Occupation. During World War II, the military suppressed the government and controlled the nation. Society was influenced by militarism, and this also affected education. The literature discussed in this section pertains to English language education before the Occupation. The topics include circumstances of society, Japanese people's attitudes towards their professions and schoolwork, and volatility of "approved" textbooks in wartime.

Circumstances of society. Conditions of society and people's mindset may be influenced by national policies, especially when the people can be rendered "docile" (Foucault, 1975/1995, p. 136). Society was different in many ways before the Occupation. For example, in Imperial Japan, the Emperor was sacred and possessed extensive authority (The Constitution of the Empire of Japan, Chapter 1, 1889), and absolute submission to the Emperor and the authorities was the norm (SKP, 2004; Takemae & Nakamura, 1996). Moreover, the government was ultra-nationalistic and militaristic (Suzuki, 1972, p. 179), and economic disparities were much greater (Tanizawa, 1992; Tanizawa, Nakamura, & Harimaya, 2006; Yugami, 2003). During wartime, everything was devoted to winning the war.

Before the education reforms that were carried out during the Occupation, the school system was complex and inequitable to students in various ways (see Appendix B). The dual system of the middle-level education, explained in Appendix B, indicates that there co-existed a small white-collar class and a working class, and a clear line was found between them by having an academic course and a vocational course.

The undemocratic and militaristic government wanted the majority of the people to be obedient. Therefore, "from its inception in 1872 until the end of WWII, Japan's modern educational system was primarily a state instrument used to achieve national objectives and to mold students into useful and obedient citizens" (Kawai, 1960/1979, p. 183). Education had always been manipulated by the government.

Erikawa (2008) explains the government's intervention in education after the outbreak of Second Sino-Japanese War (1937). In 1938, the government started to control textbooks for higher schools and specialized schools while the war regime was strengthened. It regarded some contents, for example, love stories, as problematic in terms of decency, and prohibited them. On the other hand, foreign language education needed to become more practical, and increased contents of current affairs such as in technology, politics, economics, and diplomacy. Promoting science and reinforcing armament became a national policy, while foreign languages were considered to be a tool for learning about the enemy (p. 77).

This phenomenon appears to contradict the theory that the atmosphere of abolishing English language education was triggered by an article of Fujimura published in 1927 (Kawasumi, 1978, pp. 254-255). However, Erikawa discusses higher schools and specialized schools, which were the schools for elite candidates, while Fujimura regards middle school education as general education rather than education for future elites. The different attitudes toward English language education derived from different roles of the schools which the government and Fujimura viewed.

In 1942, the government reduced the required years to attend middle and higher schools by one year to acquire a larger supply of soldiers and workers in the munitions industry (Kihira, 2000, p. 96). At that time, for the military, establishing the Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere (see list of Japanese Terms, p. viii) was a goal. English was considered necessary to achieve this goal, as CGK (1943) provided reasons.

As the war progressed, English classes were cancelled or class hours were reduced in many schools, including in some middle schools (Suwa, 2001, p. 112). After 1943, most students in middle-level education and above were often assigned labour in places such as factories and farms to supplement the lacking labour force. Then, in the following year, the classes of all schools were cancelled except for the elementary schools, and the

government permitted students to perform labour services every day (MEXT, n.d.353, Chapter 2). The days at labour were counted as school attendance, thus, some students graduated with little education (Imazeki, 2001; Kihira, 2000; MEXT, n.d.353).

Since World War II, history education in Japan has consistently taught that the military should be reproached for the defeat, and the people were its victims. Yet, the actual circumstances were not so simple (Nishikawa, 2010, p. 3). Nishikawa (2010) argues that the Japanese believed that the nation would be rich with a strong military, from previous experience. They had great confidence in the military then, and cooperated with them and followed its orders despite seeing them as unreasonable. Following orders was not only a duty and imperative, but also considered a good deed as a citizen. With that confidence in the military, both the military and civilians spared no pains to show dedication (pp. 2-3).

Japanese people's attitudes towards their professions and school work. The Japanese appear to work hard. Japanese men in the older generations “were happy to spend long hours at work” and were labelled workaholics (Morrone & Matsuyama, 2010, pp. 373-374). Some American experts on Japanese education believe that Japanese students are diligent (Nordquist, 1993, p. 65). Societies can change, as the current younger generation actually insist that they prefer to be home rather than to stay at work (Morrone & Matsuyama, 2010, p. 374), and the notion that the Japanese are diligent may be in the process of changing. However, it is still common, and some explanations can be found.

In Hofstede's research, Japan scored high in both Masculinity Index Values (MAS) and Uncertainty Avoidance Index Values (UAI) as seen earlier. In the work context, Hofstede (2001) argues, “Between the two poles of *living in order to work* and *working in order to live*, masculine cultures are closer to the first and feminine cultures closer to the second” (p. 312). Work is very central in a person's life space in high MAS countries (p. 298). At school as well, the norm in high MAS countries is aspiration to be the best student

(Hofstede, 1991, p. 90).

On the other hand, people in countries with high UAI also prefer to work hard, at least to be always busy. People in low UAI countries also work hard if necessary, but they do not have the impulse that they always need to do something (1991, p. 122). Achievement at school is not specifically referenced with regard to with UAI, yet it stands to reason that students would show similar trends at school to adults at work. This diligence coexists with the collectivistic trait of the Japanese. Lombard (1913) described their idea of “working for everyone”:

The basis of Japanese morality is individual self-sacrifice; and to lose one’s self in accomplishing the will of the race, its supreme expression. Thus the sense of individuality, the strife [*shiz*] for self-realization, which may almost be termed the goal of Western ethical endeavor, is lacking or at least condemned as evil, while in its place is a racial consciousness and a glad acquiescence in that which is believed to be the will of the *Kami* and for the good of the *Kami* Land. (p. 21)

Human beings are naturally egoistic in general (May, n.d., para. 1), thus the idea of working for everyone may provide a good balance. However, a notion that prioritizes national interest rather than that of an individual could easily lead to totalitarianism, as it did with the Japanese society in wartime.

Shimizu (1992) explored reasons for Japanese diligence. He explained that labour was not only for survival but also performed to achieve people’s religious or social satisfaction in various cultures (p. 1). Views of the labour of the Japanese emerged from social order and religious ideas of Buddhism, Taoism, and Confucianism, which were introduced from China, and society highly valued this view (p. 5). Takanori (also known as Kinjiro or Sontoku) Ninomiya, a prominent agricultural leader and a philosopher in the 18th and 19th centuries, preached to farmers that their diligence would lead to the correct way of life (Naramoto, 1973, pp. 124-125). The Japanese traditionally viewed working

diligently as the way to self-cultivation. Shimizu (1992) reported examples as old as around the 9th century (p. 5). He also argued that in the case of the Japanese, their diligence came from needs to obtain high evaluation and confidence from the surrounding people (p. 5). This perhaps related to the concept of maintaining one's honour, or saving face, which is developed in collectivist societies (Hofstede, 1991, p. 61).

While the above researchers explained Japanese diligence in terms of culture and society, Turner (1991) argued, "The important questions are not about the simple, unified nature of 'Japanese culture' but rather about the *process* of making work meaningful in Japanese companies" (p. 104, italics in the original).

Volatility of "approved" textbooks in wartime. Textbooks used in school have always been government-designated or authorized by the Ministry of Education (MEXT, n.d.354), with the exception of a few years in the early 1890s (Erikawa, 2008, pp. 59-60). Erikawa (2008) states, "The restrictions on the materials for English textbooks were not as strict before World War II and contents which were appropriate for wartime were chosen according to judgements of the authors or publishers" (p. 8) [I].

The authors or publishers, however, could not always include what they truly wanted. The textbooks for the middle-level school, *English 1-3*, published in 1944 and 1945, were eventually approved by the Ministry of Education but "returned with a large amount of red tags in the editing process, because they did not fit with the views of the Ministry of Education (in fact the military behind it)" (Hoshiyama, 1983, p. 279) [I]. The military was requesting content that was more militant and appropriate for wartime when every citizen was expected to be deployed by the government under the National Mobilization Law.

Some of the old English textbooks have been compiled and reprinted, and are available now, *English 1-3*, among them. In fact, *English 3* was printed but was never distributed, because when the textbooks were ready, the government decided to cancel all the classes in the middle-level schools and above (Erikawa, 2008, p. 92). *English 4* was also

intended to be published for fourth graders (equivalent to K-12 Year 10), but the drafts were burnt by air raids, and the textbooks were never published (Hoshiyama, 1980, p. 59).

The contents of textbooks *English 1-3* for female students were different from those for male students, so there were six different textbooks. Table 4.5 categorizes the materials used for *English 1-3* for both male and female students. Erikawa (2008) describes the categories:

“Military Affairs” includes descriptions of battles, weapons, and soldiers. “Consciousness of Wartime” is content that would promote the readiness for supporting and fighting the war to the end. “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere” is content that contains local issues, resources of the countries mainly in Southeast Asia. . . . “Others” includes issues in Western countries, biography, letters, and history. When a topic contains two categories, each of the categories is assigned 0.5. (p. 98) [T]

Table 4.5

Number of Units for each Category of the Materials

Textbook		Wartime Subjects				Familiar Topics	Science	Issues in the UK	Allegories, Poetry, Reading	Others	Total
		Military Affairs	Consciousness of Wartime	Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere	Subtotal						
Middle school	1	4.5 (13)	2.5 (7)	1.0 (3)	8 (24)	18.5 (54)	0.5 (1)	4.5 (13)	2.5 (7)	0 (0)	34 (100)
	2	3.0 (10)	1.0 (3)	2.5 (8)	6.5 (21)	4.5 (15)	6.5 (21)	3.0 (10)	6.5 (21)	4.0 (13)	31 (100)
	3	3.0 (17)	2.5 (14)	2.0 (11)	7.5 (42)	0 (0)	3.5 (19)	0 (0)	5.0 (28)	2.0 (11)	18 (100)
Sub-total		10.5 (13)	6.0 (8)	5.5 (7)	22 (27)	23.0 (23)	10.5 (14)	7.5 (8)	14.0 (19)	6.0 (8)	83 (100)
Girls' high school	1	1.0 (3)	3.0 (10)	1.0 (3)	5.0 (17)	19.0 (66)	0 (0)	2.0 (7)	2.0 (7)	1.0 (3)	29 (100)
	2	0 (0)	3.0 (10)	3.0 (10)	6.0 (20)	6.0 (20)	1.0 (3)	9.0 (30)	7.0 (23)	1.0 (3)	30 (100)
	3	2.0 (11)	4.0 (22)	1.5 (8)	7.5 (42)	0 (0)	2.5 (14)	1.0 (6)	7.0 (39)	0 (0)	18 (100)
Sub-total		3.0 (5)	10.0 (14)	5.5 (7)	18.5 (24)	25.0 (29)	3.5 (6)	12.0 (14)	16.0 (23)	2.0 (2)	77 (100)
Total		13.5 (9)	16.0 (11)	11.0 (7)	40.5 (25)	48.0 (26)	14.0 (10)	19.5 (11)	30.0 (21)	2.0 (5)	160 (100)

Note. The grades 1-3 are equivalent to K-12 Year 7-9. Each number indicates the number of chapters that contain the concerned topic. The numbers in () show percentages. Adapted from “(1) Daizai no Naiyo Kubun (Categories of the Materials),” by Erikawa, 2008, p. 98. Copyright 2008 by Haruo Erikawa.

The *English 1–3* were perhaps the most militaristic series of textbooks in style, as the war was intensifying and the military needed to inspire the people to continue fighting. As Table 4.5 indicates, when materials specific to wartime such as the “Military Affairs,” the “Consciousness of Wartime,” and the “Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere,” are combined, the grand total of the three books is 27% for male students, and 24% for female students. It is not certain how satisfactory this percentage was for the Ministry of Education or the military. Figure 4.2. is an example of the “Military Affairs” from *English 1*. It is a lesson that uses simple questions and an answers, the questions starting with “What is” and “Where is,” and the answers containing nouns related to warfare. The textbook uses the word “Japanese” but “Nippon” (a Japanese word for “Japan”) when naming the country. This nomenclature was an instruction from the Ministry of Education (Hoshiyama, 1983, p. 279), but the reason for it is not stated.

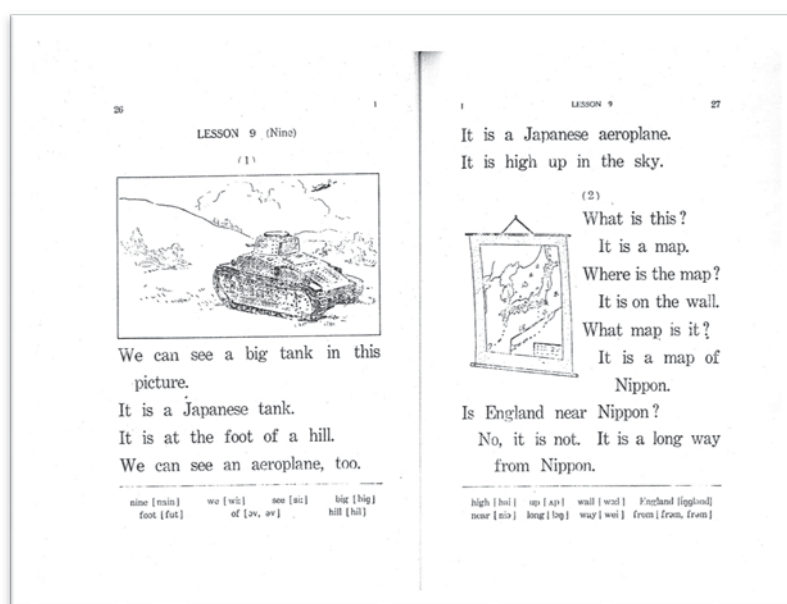


Figure 4.2. English 1, Lesson 9. (Aoki & Teranishi, 1944/1993, pp. 26-27)

Nationalism and a sense of unity, which appeared to be particularly important in wartime, were also promoted in textbooks. For example, the notes for “Lesson 32 Be a Good Japanese Boy!” (Figure 4.3.) advised, “Let the students realize the differences in

Chapter 4 Review of the Historical Literature (1)

behaviours and spirit between the British and the Japanese, while also comparing with the previous lessons ‘English Meals’ and ‘John’s Daily Life’” (p. 37) [T]. This lesson preached how students should live as “good and faithful Japanese subjects” (Aoki & Teranishi, 1993, p. 107). They get up before the dawn (p. 106), bow to the Imperial Palace, and thank their soldiers and sailors (p. 105). It also referred to the fighter aircraft “Zero” (p. 106).

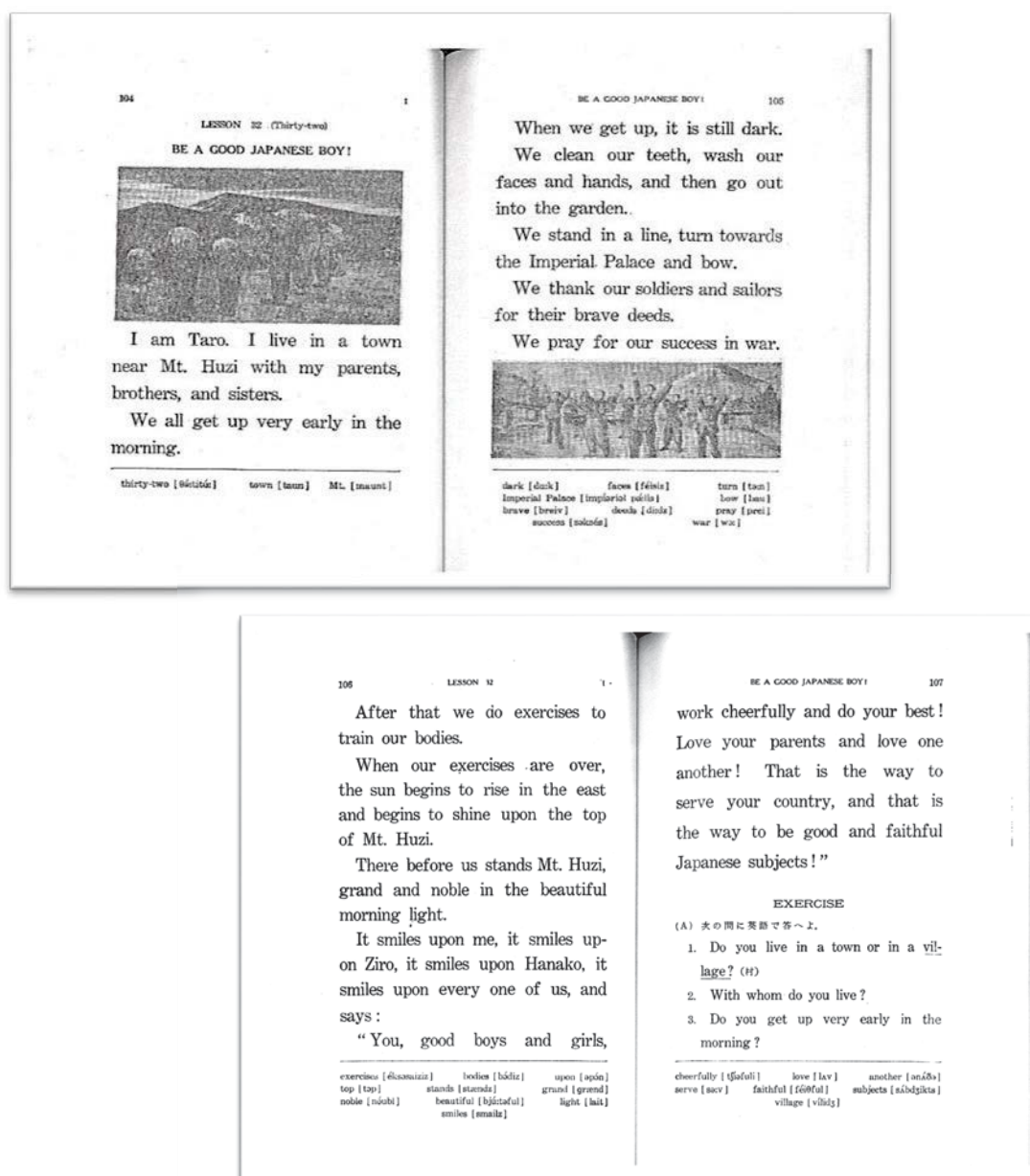


Figure 4.3. English 1, Lesson 32 Be a Good Japanese Boy! (Aoki & Teranishi, 1944/1993, pp. 104-107)

While this lesson showed a Japanese boy as a role model, one of the lessons notes

instructed readers to compare the lifestyles of Japan and the United Kingdom. One of the topics on the United Kingdom, “English Meals,” was intended to teach the time and the names of meals in English. The other, “John’s Daily Life” was intended to teach time and daily routines. The notes suggested that the students be reassured that Japanese boys were better behaved and of stronger or superior spirit to British boys.

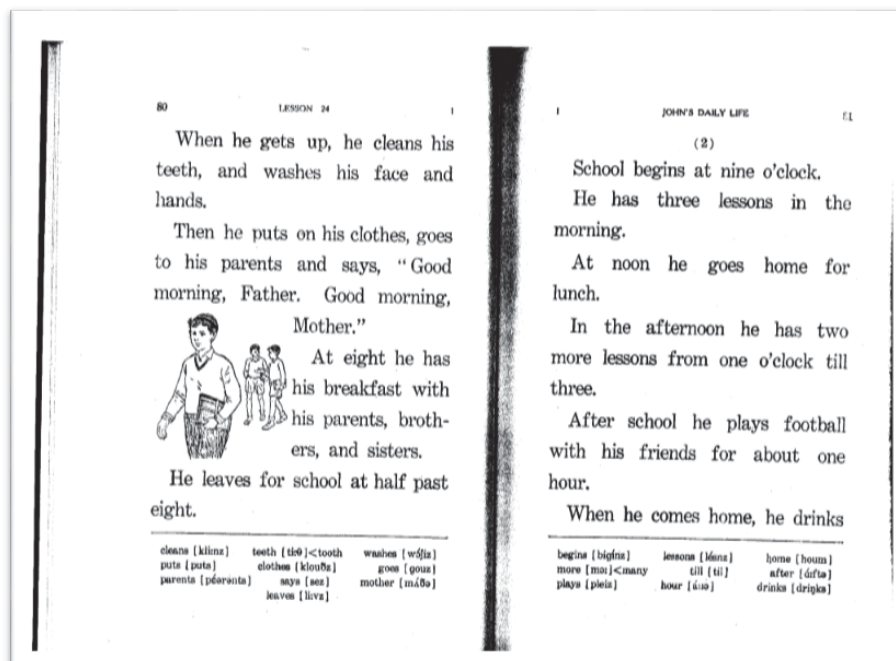


Figure 4.4. English 1, Lesson 24 John’s Daily Life. (Aoki & Teranishi, 1944/1993, pp. 80-81)

As shown in Table 4.5, the textbooks both for male and for female students devote roughly the same amount to wartime topics, but the breakdowns are different between the male and the female students. Military Affairs represents 13% for the subtotal of male students’ books and is the largest volume of the wartime topics. On the other hand, Military Affairs represents only 5% for the subtotal for female students, while comprising 3% and no material for female students in the first and second grades (equivalent to K-12 Year 7 and 8) respectively. However, the subtotal of Consciousness of Wartime for the male students totals 8% and that for the female students comprises 14%. Erikawa (2008) explains that these differences are derived from gender difference. It was highly possible for male students to go to a battlefield in the future and for female students

to support soldiers while remaining at home (p. 99). Thus topics deemed more suitable for each gender were selected.

The percentages of the wartime topics increased along with the grades both for male and female students: for male students, from 24% to 42% from first to third grade; and for female students, from 17% to 42% from first to third grade. For the third grade, for both the male and female students, wartime topics exceeded 40% of the textbooks. The government was perhaps expecting the students to become inspired to actively participate in the war as they aged and become more helpful when they graduated from middle-level schools, because they finished middle-level schools at around the age of 17 then, and for boys, the draft impended, especially after 1944.

The age for the draft was lowered by one year to 19 years of age in 1943 (MFPB, 1943e) with exceptions for students in higher education. They were granted draft exemptions until their graduation, from the age of 21 to 27 at the oldest for doctoral and research students (MFPB, 1943d). This exemption became more restricted in 1944, with students in humanities were no longer being eligible, and the exempted ages ranged from 20 to 24 years (MFPB, 1944a). In October 1944, the age for the draft was lowered further to 17 years (MFPB, 1944b).

Students were 17 years of age when they finished middle-level education and were expected to be ready for the actual battles in the case of male students, and to be ready to support males in the case of female students. As Hoshiyama (1983) asserted earlier, there were rifts between the views of the authors of these textbooks and the Ministry of Education, which, in fact, was the military. Hoshiyama (1983) provided some examples of the instructions from the Ministry of Education (pp. 279-281) and showed how the Ministry of Education had been fastidious about the details. The military may have been pleased if the content of the textbooks had been entirely militaristic, but the authors were paying more attention to the aspect of foreign language education (p. 278). These ratios

above were the results, it appears, of the power play between the military and the authors.

Science was another category that featured different treatment for male and female students: 14% for males and 6% for females. Notably, the textbook for the first-grade female students contained none. The contents of Science were “highly militaristic” (Erikawa, 2008, p. 101) [TJ]. “These contents reflect the national policy of the time, which planned to promote militaristic technology to execute total war” (Erikawa, 2008, p. 101) [TJ]. The government decided that these militaristically practical materials were unnecessary for girls to learn. The focuses of education for male and female students were different because the goals for male and female students were disparate. The Japanese mindset towards males and females at that time will be discussed in Chapter 7.

Significantly, all the textbooks, except for the one for the third grade male students, contained the category, “Issues in the United Kingdom”. The reasons for choosing the United Kingdom, as opposed to the United States, are unclear. Yet British English was the English language that was taught in Japan at that time, and it may have appeared natural to the authors to study the United Kingdom with their language. On average, the content percentages of “Issues in the United Kingdom”, in *English 1-3* were 8% for male students and 14% for female students. In particular for the second-grade female students, 30% of the textbook was devoted to these issues, while the textbook for the third-grade male students contained no material, displaced by militaristic content.

The contents on the United Kingdom in the textbook for the second-grade female students were, for example, female students, girls’ schools, tea parties, and meals (Erikawa, 2008, p. 100). They were some of the issues that might have been considered relevant to and interesting for Japanese female students.

Female students were, by definition, not elite candidates, but the textbook authors tried to provide both male and female students with the content such as “something that deepened students’ education with global, broad views; things British; different views

between the Japanese and the British; and something which enriched students' minds" (Hoshiyama, 1983, p. 278) [I]. Because the textbooks for female students had fewer militaristic materials than those for male students, more materials in other categories were needed, and "Issues in the United Kingdom" was one of the suitable categories to serve these aims.

Including many topics on the United Kingdom may have been viewed as approval of the British. CGK (1944) warned English teachers, however:

One of the main goals of English language education is to realize the dignity of our imperial country by comparing the situations of both countries, Japan and the United Kingdom. It is necessary for teachers to be cautious when they deal especially with contents on things British. Students should never envy the life in the United Kingdom. (p.4) [I]

The authors advised that all these units in the category, "Issues in the United Kingdom", were to raise the students' awareness of the dignity of their own country. These topics were organized for elite candidates to acquire international outlooks and education even if they concerned the enemy country (Erikawa, 2008, p. 101). Several years prior to this, "foreign languages were considered to be the tool to learn about the enemy" (p. 77), as mentioned earlier, and this idea persisted.

This 30% of "Issues in the United Kingdom" for female students as opposed to none for male students is the largest gender-based discrepancy in the textbooks. It appears that the authors were prioritising military topics from this point on for male students in the third grade. The Ministry of Education criticized the authors for being too apathetic and not being aware of the ongoing wartime situation (Hoshiyama, 1983, p. 279).

The government coordinated the means to achieve the primary goal of these textbooks, that is, competence in English language, with the militaristic national policy. It was done so as to let students learn the national policy along with acquiring skills in

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English. The government took advantage of every opportunity to promote solidarity among the people for its wartime aspirations. This government's purpose was the same for boys and girls because everyone had to unite, but the contents of their textbooks were different. Roles in the society were clearly separated between males and females, as males were expected to go to war, and females, to support them. It was in this context, that the participants in this study undertook their English language education.

Chapter 4 Review of the Historical Literature (2)

4.3. During the Occupation

Immediately after the defeat of World War II, Japan was occupied by the former Allied Forces for seven years (1945-1952). Many documents and research papers on this long Occupation are available, of which only the issues relevant to this thesis will be briefly discussed in this section. The circumstances of Japan under the Occupation will be discussed first, then followed by the subsequent topics: reforms in education, democracy under the Occupation, remaining and new disparities, attitudes towards the former enemy and their language, and English language education during the Occupation.

4.3.1. Under the Occupation. On September 2, 1945, the Instrument of Surrender was signed aboard the USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay. On the same day, the first directive was released and the Occupation began (General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, GHQ, SCAP, 1945, p. 3). Prior to that, General MacArthur, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), landed in Japan on August 30, 1945 (GHQ, SCAP, 1945; MacArthur, 1964/2001). Americans had heard about the situations in Japan immediately after its defeat:

A group of zealous young soldiers opposed to the Emperor's decision to surrender had staged a coup d'état in the neighborhood of the Imperial Palace and at Atsugi Airport. The coup failed, and the soldiers committed ritual suicide in front of the palace. Even worse, on the day the war ended, a special attack wing of the Japanese air force had taken off from an airfield in Kyushu. No one returned. (Gordon, 1997, p. 24)

Therefore, the Allies had not expected the degree of compliance they actually encountered (Gordon, 1997; Ward & Shulman, 1974). Ward and Shulman (1974) observed, "the overwhelming majority of the people were orderly, compliant, and in a

remarkable number of cases, positively cooperative and helpful. Against the immediate background of Japan's wartime and prewar national record this was, to say the least, surprising" (p. 716). Orr (1954) provided similar descriptions of the Japanese during the first year of the Occupation (p. 204). Wunderlich (1952/1998) also recalled, "The Japanese were exhausted, hungry, confused, and hopeless in the middle of destruction. They, however, showed no hostility against the occupation forces and maintained self-discipline, politeness, decency, thrift, and diligence" (p. 75) [TJ]. The Japanese were docile (Doi, 1952). They may also have learned that there was no use in resisting SCAP, which will be discussed later.

America's ultimate objectives of the Occupation included complete disarmament and demilitarization of Japan, to respect individual liberties and fundamental human rights, and form democratic and representative organizations (Division of Special Records, Foreign Office, Japanese Government, SRFO, 1949/1989b, p. 93). Reforms were conducted to achieve these goals, and some of the circumstances will be described in this section from the perspectives of the following: organizations and administrations of SCAP, power issues, and cultural conflicts between Americans and the Japanese.

Organizations and administrations of SCAP. SCAP also refers to the offices of the Occupation, and detailed explanations of its organizations and functions are found in documents such as *Reports of General MacArthur* (MacArthur and his General Staff, 1966/1994) and *History of the Nonmilitary Activities of the Occupation of Japan* (GHQ, SCAP, 1952). Under SCAP, GHQ was created to control the Japanese government, and the Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) took effect on September 25, 1945 (GHQ, SCAP, 1945, p. 3). It functioned as one of the special staff sections to advise SCAP on policies related to public information, education, religion, and other sociological and cultural issues of Japan. GHQ's goal was to implement fundamental reforms throughout Japanese society in order to foster a democratic and peaceful nation, and the educational

system was considered the cornerstone of this effort (MEXT, n.d.361, paras. 1-2).

CIE consisted of seven divisions, including Education Division (GHQ, SCAP and the Far East Command, 1950, p. 153.), which were instituted in June 1946 (Orr, 1954, p. 89). The Education Division was:

Responsible to the Chief of Section for accomplishment of the educational objectives of the Occupation: to insure elimination of militarism and ultra-nationalism in doctrine and practice from all elements of the Japanese educational system and to insure the inclusion of new courses of instruction in school curricula as necessary for proper dissemination of democratic ideals and principles; for liaison with other staff sections of GHQ and with the Japanese Ministry of Education and educational institutions and agencies for guidance and assistance to Japanese in administrative reorganization and the initiation of laws, ordinances, regulations, and training programs in field of education, and the preparation and publication of textbooks, manuals, and teaching materials. (p. 154)

Recruiting the staff for the Education Division was difficult because in the post-war period, “the tendency was to return home, not to leave it” (Orr, 1954, p. 89); “many professional educators did not wish to work directly under a military officer” (Hall, 1949/1971, p. 57); and an education job under SCAP “could not be considered a professional advancement for educators of the caliber that was needed” (p. 57). Orr (1986) explained that the Division had been staffed with “many specialists with appropriate experience” (p. 120) [TJ]. Out of 22 people, “nine . . . in civilian life, had been teachers and administrators in American secondary schools and 10 had been college and university teachers and administrators” (Orr, 1954, p. 85). Yet, the Division could not attract any qualified people who would match the posts in need (Orr, 1986, pp. 120-121).

The Japanese government also considered this lack of experts in education problematic. The then Minister of Education Maeda was critical about this situation.

Maeda (1956) recounted, “Many of those who carried out the Occupation administration of education were persons of extremely limited knowledge and experience in the field” (pp. 415-416). He also reported, “These people came and tried to take concepts, systems, and skills which had in America been carried out only on a local basis, and to extend and apply these, all at once, just as they were, over an entire nation” (p. 416). Maeda continued describing some disagreements the Ministry had, which regardless did not change the Division’s policies.

As for the chain of command, the relationship between SCAP and the Japanese government was “to use the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it” (SRFO, 1949/1989a; GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949). SCAP gave orders to the Japanese government, and the Japanese government promulgated the orders to the people. It may appear that SCAP was manipulating the Japanese government. Yet, Smith (1963) argued that this measure “gave Japanese officials experience in managing a democratic form of government” (p. 161). While it is true that the Japanese officials may have seen how democratic decisions were made in SCAP from time to time, Yoshimi (2003) offers the countervailing view: “Needless to say, throughout the occupation, Japan was in no position to determine its own future without negotiating with an overwhelmingly powerful ‘other.’ This was true of all the spheres of life, from economics and politics to culture and lifestyle” (p. 435). When the Japanese and SCAP disagreed, Smith (1963) wrote, “It was generally SCAP that made the final determination as to the direction that a particular reform would take” (p. 161).

Power. Orders from SCAP were absolute. Naito (1982), a then official at the Ministry of Education, recalls that one of the policies that SCAP emphasized the most was education. The Ministry of Education had some anxiety about educational reforms, but the orders from SCAP were supreme orders and had to be followed (p. 31). At that time, the minister and all heads of bureaus were experts in education, but the circumstances did not

allow them to speak. The actual Minister of Education was SCAP (p. 33).

Some are critical about SCAP's strict policies on textbooks. Nakamura (1985) argued:

Despite its objectives [democracy, freedom of publication, freedom of speech, decentralization, etc.], SCAP continued to use the same centralized Ministry of Education as during the war. SCAP's censorship was stricter than the original censorship conducted by the Japanese government, and it contradicted its policy on freedom of publication and speech. (pp. 52-53) [TJ]

The Japanese had to follow the orders from SCAP, but "Japanese officials were not always sincere, reliable, and cooperative" (Wunderlich, 1952/1998, p. 242) [TJ]. Officials of the Ministry of Education could be deliberately uncooperative, especially on reforms of significant matters for the nation and reforms which weakened their own prestige. SCAP was intolerant of these uncooperative attitudes. One time, Lieutenant Colonel Donald R. Nugent, the Chief of Education Division of CIE, hit the table and said, "If you don't submit textbooks translated into English for the censor, I will put all of you into jail. Is this clear?" (pp. 241-243) [TJ]. Resistance only caused offense to SCAP, and the Japanese had to obey. A Ministry official explained:

I opposed many of the changes. . . . Many times we objected, but the sheer force of SCAP made us accept a program. There will be a re-reformation once more after SCAP leaves. . . . We sincerely believe that SCAP has undertaken many unwise moves. (A Ministry official, cited in Doi, 1952, p. 103)

Even when the Japanese appeared to comply, they were not always willing to follow orders. In the third year of the Occupation, a Ministry official declared, "It became pretty tiresome to have to listen to some adviser tell us how to do everything--especially when there were many who were not as competent as they might have been" (A high Ministry official, as cited in Doi, 1952, p. 103). When SCAP instructed the Ministry

officials how to do everything and the officials acquiesced, it was far from “practicing democracy” that Smith (1963, p. 161) previously defended.

Cultural conflicts. As discussed in Chapter 2, Americans and the Japanese demonstrate different cultural characteristics. In the Education Division, the Japanese general docility may have limited the number of conflicts with SCAP. Yet, for example, “The educational focus on individualism did not come easily” (Misco, 2004, p. 63). This is because individualism contradicted Japan’s traditional values (Tomoda, 1988, p. 87), and Doi (1952) attributed this to Buddhism, the dominant religion of the Japanese people then (pp. 280-283). As discussed in Chapter 2, there is a broad difference in individuality between the United States and Japan. According to Hofstede (2001), the United States is the most individualistic of all countries. Therefore, imposing individualism in American ways in such a short time was problematic.

Doi (1952) interviewed a high Ministry of Education official in 1951. The official reported:

It is difficult to say exactly why, but we prepared ourselves to do whatever was requested. And perhaps that was an error on our part for many of the officials made commitments, said “yes” to reform proposals, which we all knew could not be carried out under the conditions of the period. Later this constantly got us into difficulty with SCAP, and undoubtedly many SCAP people think we were not sincere in our attempts to cooperate. (p. 71)

This is a complex example of intercultural encounters. The Japanese, who were accustomed to hierarchy, generally could not oppose sovereigns with absolute power even if directions had appeared unreasonable to them. It was their duty to try their very best to follow the orders. On the other hand, Americans might well become untrusting of the Japanese who always accepted orders and could not complete them after all. There appears to have been little evidence of compromise.

4.3.2. Reforms in education. Despite the above constraints, the Japanese accepted Occupation reform proposals because of “(1) The fear of reprisal for non-compliance; (2) the desire to give Occupation authorities all indications of cooperation; and (3) the public pressure on Japanese authorities to comply with proposals to ‘democratize’ Japan” (Doi, 1952, p. 78). This section will provide an approximate account of reforms in education in chronological order. First, important directives will be considered. Then, curriculum change, the United States Education Mission, laws for the new school system, confusions in schools, and perspectives on reforms will be discussed.

Four fundamental directives on education. On September 15, 1945, before the Occupation authorities announced any reform plans in education, the Ministry of Education published a paper entitled *The Educational Policy for the Construction of a New Japan* (MEXT, n.d.371, para. 1). The fundamental goals of education include “cultivating a commitment to the love of peace” (para. 2). Yet, as it was only after a month of the end of the war, the paper only proposed the framework.

Starting on October 22, 1945, four fundamental directives on education were issued: (1) SCAP’s memorandum on Administration of the Educational System of Japan (October 22, 1945); (2) SCAP’s memorandum on Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials (October 30, 1945); (3) SCAP’s memorandum on Abolition of Governmental Sponsorship, Support, Perpetuation, Control and dissemination of State *Shinto* (*Kokka Shinto*, *Jinja Shinto*) (December 15, 1945); and (4) SCAP’s memorandum on Suspension of Courses in Morals (*Shushin*), Japanese History, and Geography (December 31, 1945) (SRFO, 1949/1989b; Kihira, 1988; Naito, 1982). Orr (1954) included a fifth directive, SCAP’s memorandum on “Committee of Japanese Educators” (January 9, 1946) (pp. 116-117). This directive did not contain specific policy but “was to have significant and far-reaching influence on the future course of educational reform” (pp. 126-127). This directive announced that SCAP requested a

visit of an Educational Mission from the United States for a month to study the Japanese educational system and advise SCAP and the Ministry of Education on educational matters (SRFO, 1949/1989b, p. 217).

Among these directives, the first outlined general policies to abolish militaristic and ultra-nationalistic education and to promote democracy, peace, and fundamental human rights. On December 4, 1945, the Cabinet agreed on “Outlines of Reforms on Education for Females (*Joshi Kyoiku Sasshin Yoko*),” which declared equal levels of middle-level education for both sexes and opened higher education to female students (Miyahara, 1974, pp. 23-24).

Along with these aspects of eliminating militarism and ultra-nationalism, SCAP found four basic defects in the Japanese school system: (1) It discriminated against the majority of children on the basis of economic and social factors; (2) it was discriminatory on the basis of sex; (3) it failed to offer within the six year period of compulsory education the experiences essential to active and successful participation of all classes of people in the life of the country; and (4) it contained too many “blind alleys,” and thus led to frustrations for many of the individuals entangled in this system (SCAP, CIE, 1948, p. 161). One of the fundamental problems was that education was not universal. Concrete plans for reform had to wait for the visit of the United States Education Mission.

Curriculum Change. On curriculum change, Oliva and Gordon (2012) propose 10 general axioms. The list includes, “Change is both inevitable and necessary, for it is through change that life forms grow and develop” (p. 22), and “a school curriculum not only reflects but also is a product of its time” (p. 23). In the case of occupied Japan, these axioms were true, especially with regard to SCAP, when it planned extensive reforms to implement democratic education in Japan. Extensive reforms are supported by Oliva & Gordon (2012). One of their axioms of curriculum development suggests that curriculum development is more effective if it is a comprehensive process, rather than a “piecemeal”

process (p. 31). Where the change is on a large scale, time to implement and adjust to the change, and resources to support it, are vital (Dandridge, 1993; Fullan, 1993). Yet, the education reform in Japan could afford neither “needed time” nor “sufficient personnel” (Oliva & Gordon, 2012, p. 31) characteristic of successfully implemented change.

Gibbs (1998) assembled a set of conditions for successful curriculum change which represented current orthodoxy: a shared vision (Common & Egan, 1988; Fullan, 1993; Louis & Miles, 1990; Renner, 1990; Thompson & Deer, 1989), a sense of ownership (Common & Egan, 1988; Dandridge, 1993; Fullan, 1993; Thompson & Deer, 1989), wide consultation (Braithwaite, 1990; Dandridge, 1993; Fullan, 1993), recognition of what the change involves (Common & Egan, 1988; Dandridge, 1993; Fullan, 1993; House, 1974; Waugh & Punch, 1987), support from external bodies (Berman, 1981; Thompson & Deer, 1989; Waugh & Punch, 1987), support from within the schools (Fullan as cited in Gibbs, 1998; Louis & Miles, 1990; Smith & Andrews, 1989; Thompson & Deer, 1989), and the absence of “environmental turbulence” (Miles, 1983, Thompson & Deer, 1989), such as funding cuts, low morale of teachers, and media hostility (pp. 182-183).

Some case studies of curriculum change (for example, Buchanan & Engebretson, 2009; Gibbs, 1998; Kyriakides, 1997) suggest that it is perhaps the ideal to have all the conditions listed above, but difficult to do in reality, as the circumstances in Japan also showed. Gibbs (1998) confessed, “Throughout the development of the NSW [the state of New South Wales, Australia] primary English syllabus not one of these conditions was successfully realized” (p. 183). She stated:

Factors commonly identified as leading to successful curriculum development and implementation appear to be somewhat idealized and out of kilter with current social and political realities, both in Australia and internationally. Many of the conditions espoused by theorists are simply unrealistic. (p. 194)

In her case, the curriculum change owed much to its having been based on an

understanding of current theory and up-to-date pedagogy in relation to the target subject (p. 194). Gibbs suggested, “The rapid politicization of education, and increased levels of, often misinformed, media attention to educational issues need to be given greater weight in the processes of curriculum change” (p. 194).

Considering the case of Gibbs and both cases in Japan when English language education became optional for female students during the war and when SCAP reformed education, curriculum change may become more difficult without those proposed conditions, but it can be implemented. Curriculum change is out of scope of this thesis and will not be discussed further here.

The United States Education Mission. MacArthur wanted to help Japan. “I made a public statement that ‘SCAP is not concerned with how to keep Japan down, but how to get her on her feet again’” (MacArthur, 1964/2001, p. 284). At the request of the Occupation authorities, the United States Education Mission (USEM) was sent to Japan (USEM, 1946). The Education Mission was in Japan for most of the month of March 1946 and submitted its report to SCAP on March 30 (Orr, 1954, p. 130). The members included eminent educational experts, and their report, different from the four fundamental directives, demonstrated insights and views of the members as experts (Kihira, 1988, p. 175). Japanese educators created educational reform recommendations, such as a 6-3-3 school system (six years of elementary, three years of lower secondary, and three years of higher secondary-level education, see Appendix B) and decentralization of the Ministry of Education (Hamada, Terasaki, & Nakano, 1979, p. 78), and submitted them to the Mission prior to its visit, and these recommendations by the Japanese educators basically matched the Mission’s suggestions in their report (Hamada et al., 1979; Kurosawa, 1980; Tsuchimochi, 1991).

The Mission Report was significant for the following reasons: (1) It criticized the existing standardized and undemocratic education system and emphasized liberal and

democratic education; and (2) The Report provided not “orders” but “recommendations” (Sato, 1991, p. 36). Yet the Report contained a statement of approval from General MacArthur, and as a result, it established the general policy for educational reform in Japan. As such, it served as a practical guide for post-war educational reforms in Japan (Anderson, 1959; Naito, 1982; Tsuchimochi, 1990).

Adopting the recommendations precipitated some conflicts between SCAP and the Japanese educational experts. For example, the Mission members “knew next to nothing about Japan, its history, its language or its educational system” (Beauchamp, 1995, p. 83), and the Report was “tantamount to the wholesale adoption of the American educational system and its philosophy” (Pyle, 1978, p. 163). The Japanese educators stated that educative norms differ according to the history and circumstances of each country (Japanese Education Reform Committee, 1950, p. 3), while “many Japanese educators and particularly the university professors were conscious only of their own wider experience or greater erudition and tended to be supercilious toward these American educational officers [in CIE] and their ideas” (Kawai, 1960/1979, p. 189).

One of the most conspicuous conflicts was the reform in the Japanese writing system. The Japanese writing system consists of four sets of characters and letters: *Kanji*, *Hirakana*, *Katakana*, and *Romaji*. In brief, *Kanji* is a set of ideograms imported from China around the first century CE that are often called Chinese characters. *Hirakana* and *Katakana* (sometimes called *Kana*) are syllabograms, developed from *Kanji*. *Romaji* is the Roman alphabet, or Latin script, used as phonograms. A Portuguese missionary adapted the Roman alphabet to the Japanese language in the Muromachi period (1336–1573) (Hitachi Solution & Service, 2006).

Robert K. Hall, a leading figure in the CIE, regarded the use of these sets as too complex and attempted to simplify the Japanese writing system by romanization (Orr, 1986; Tsuchimochi, 1991). In the Report, USEM (1946) stated, “The complete

abandonment of both Kanji and Kana and the adoption of some form of Romaji” (p. 21) as one of their proposals. This proposal was included in secret by Hall, because some CIE members did not agree with him (Tsuchimochi, 1991).

The Japanese Education Committee (*Nibon-gawa Kyoiku Inukai*), which comprised Japanese education experts, was created in February 1946 at GHQ’s request to work alongside USEM (MEXT, n.d.372, para. 1). The committee members resisted the idea of romanization (Tsuchimochi, 1991, p. 32). Some CIE members, such as Gordon T. Bowles, an adviser to USEM and a representative of the Department of State, and Lieutenant Colonel Nugent, Chief of Education Division of CIE Section, also opposed the idea (pp. 35-36). Bowles said, “[This is] a drastic change of Japanese written language. The matter of the language reform had to be decided by Japanese themselves, not by outsiders. . . . This is a matter of the Japanese culture and arts” (p. 35). With opposition from CIE chiefs such as these, the USEM Report was adopted as a guideline but the language reforms were not implemented. In his “Statement” when releasing the Report on April 6, 1946, MacArthur opined, “Some of the recommendations regarding education principles and language reform are so far reaching” (USEM, 1946, p. iii).

Two months after the first visit of the Education Mission, in May 1946, the Ministry of Education released a teacher’s manual, *A Guide for the New Education*. It pointed out the significance of the four fundamental directives on education and conveyed the new philosophy of education, such as respecting humanity, personality, and individuality; improving scientific standards as well as philosophical and religious education; and promoting democracy. “Throughout the entire Guide, strong emphasis was placed on the development of the individual personality and the cultivation of a respect for humanity” (MEXT, n.d.373, para. 3).

Three months later, in August, the Education Reform Committee, directly responsible to the Prime Minister, was convened. The Committee embodied three unique

characteristics: its establishment had originated at the behest of GHQ; it included leading representatives from every educational field; and it was unfettered by bureaucratic structures. Though the operations of the Committee were performed independently of other Ministries, a Steering Committee was established consisting of the chairman of the Education Reform Committee and representatives from the Ministry of Education and CIE, to ensure that communication and coordination would be maintained between the three agencies chiefly involved in the process of educational reform (Kihira, 1988; MEXT, n.d.374). Combining the fundamental ideas and principles of the *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan, A Guide for the New Education*, and the proposals of the Education Reform Committee, the Fundamental Law of Education was created (MEXT, n.d.375, para. 4).

Laws for the new school system. In March 1947, the Fundamental Law of Education was enacted after days of intensive discussions where the initiative was taken by CIE (Takemae, 1980, p. 142). This law states that the aims and philosophy of education should include equal access to education, co-education, and education in specific fields. Enacting this law marked a significant shift from edicts to laws in legislation for education. The aim of education is stated in the first article of the Law:

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving to nurture the citizens, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour and have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with the independent spirit, as builders of the peaceful state and society.
(MEXT, n.d.376.)

Some criticize this Law for its aims and philosophy not being clear and concrete, compared with the Imperial Rescript on Education (Hamada et al., 1979; Naito, 1982). The Ministry of Education's view was that the content of the Imperial Rescript was not a problem but was ill-used during the war; they wanted to retain it. SCAP, however,

considered the Imperial Rescript to represent wartime thinking, and should be eliminated. What it represented was more important than its content (Takemae, 1980, pp. 143-144).

Based on the Fundamental Law of Education, the School Education Law was promulgated also in March 1947. This Law formally introduced the new education system. Structurally, the most notable feature of the new education system was the unification and rationalization of the entire school system, from kindergartens to universities. Regular schools, which provided general education, were organized into

1. Six years of primary education (elementary schools)
2. Three years of lower secondary education (junior high schools)
3. Three years of upper secondary education (senior high schools)
4. Four years of higher education (universities) (see Appendix B).

Within these levels of education, the first two, totalling nine years, became compulsory and is often called the 6-3 system. The School Education Law also declared:

Measures were taken to ensure an equal education for all citizens: sexual discrimination was abolished; scholarships and other forms of financial aid were made available to citizens who would otherwise have difficulty attending school; part-time attendance and correspondence courses were made available in upper secondary schools and universities; and special schools for the handicapped were integrated into the regular school system. (MEXT, n.d.377)

In addition, any graduate of an upper secondary school was entitled to apply for entrance to a university, and graduate schools were incorporated at the top of the new educational system (MEXT, n.d.377; Naito, 1982).

Initially the Prime Minister and the Minister of Education were reluctant to launch the new school system, including the 6-3 system, due to the financial difficulties, but SCAP pressured the Japanese to inaugurate it in April 1947, because it regarded the new school system as the decisive measure to counter militarism and ultra-nationalism and promote

democracy. It began in April 1947 at SCAP's instigation (Naito, 1982; Sukemoto, 1998). While Naito (1982) and Sukemoto (1998) believed that SCAP had forced the early start of the 6-3 system, Hamada et al. (1979) contended:

As for the implementation [of the 6-3 system], the Japanese staff, including the chief and the manager responsible to him, were determined to launch in April 1947 and were preparing for it. The staff in CIE, the ones of the same level as us, were in agreement. However, the Minister and the subordinate officer of the Ministry of Education and the Chief of CIE, the approximate equivalent to the Minister of Education, did not approve. I have to think that they were told not to implement it because Japan could not afford it in terrible financial circumstances. But we were determined to do it. (p. 57) [TJ]

According to this, it was not SCAP which forced the early start of the new school system.

In any event, the new education system was conducive to providing equal opportunities. Table 4.6 shows the percentage of the students who advanced to upper secondary education.

Table 4.6

Percentages of Lower Secondary School Graduates Continuing onto Upper Secondary Schools

Year	Grand Total	Regular Course			Special Courses	Technical Colleges
		Total	Full-Time	Part-Time		
1950	42.5	40.7	1.8	...
1955	51.5	50.7	43.9	6.8	0.8	...
1960	57.7	57.3	51.7	5.6	0.5	...
1965	70.7	70.2	65.6	4.7	0.1	0.3
1970	82.1	81.4	77.7	4.4	0.1	0.6
1971	85.0	84.3	80.1	4.2	0.1	0.6

Notes. The percentage is derived by dividing the number of students continuing onto upper secondary schools by the number of lower secondary school graduates. Adapted from "Table 7-4. Increase in the Percentage of Lower Secondary School Graduates Continuing onto Upper Secondary Schools" (MEXT, n.d.378). Copyright by the MEXT.

The enrolment of lower secondary schools, junior high schools, has always exceeded 99% since it became compulsory in 1947 (MEXT, 2001, p. 25). The proportion of both male and female students who advanced to middle-level education was approximately 25% as of 1940 (MEXT, 1999, para. 11).

Confusions in schools. During the Pacific War, some teachers were questioning ultra-nationalism but still had to teach this to their students (Koshiba, 1981, p. 60). Other teachers firmly believed that they were teaching their students the right things. Some felt responsible for what they had been teaching during the war and were distressed to think about explanations to their students (Awaya, 1980; Kanazawa, 1967; Nagai, 1972; Nakazono, 2000).

While some teachers were burdened with guilt and regret, some students had developed mistrust of adults. Inking, or censoring, their “sacred” textbooks indicated that everything they had learned for years was wrong (Edayoshi, 2010; S.T., 2004). New textbooks appeared, but “the contents were really different from what we had seen. I was not sure what to believe and unsatisfied, but the teacher did not explain much” (Edayoshi, 2010) [I].

Those same teachers who had promoted militaristic and ultra-nationalistic education then started promoting peace and vowed to fight against imperialism. “Students were confused,” and “I was not quite satisfied with the teachers’ attitudes” (Koshiba, 1981, p. 64). The teachers had been very strict and intimidating, but “the same teachers became affable. Because we were still very young, the confusion of these two different time periods we ‘had to witness’ led to distrust of adults” (Kawatsu, 1986, pp. 47-48) [I]. When Japan surrendered, the teachers suddenly changed their attitudes and “started supporting American democracy and approved capital punishment of the war criminals, while they were quiet about their responsibilities on the war and wartime education and carried on under the new status-quo. Their behaviours exacerbated our distrust toward

them” (p. 49) [TJ]. Adults who used to chant slogans abandoned them and started saying the opposite. “I was 13 and did not understand why adults changed. But I strongly felt that our beliefs and words were absolutely treacherous” (U. Y., anonymous, circa 2005) [TJ].

Perspectives on reforms. Lieutenant Colonel Mark T. Orr, a former Chief of the Education Division of CIE, stated that legislation of education reforms were completed by mid-1948 (Tsuchimochi, 1996, pp. 3-4). Despite the various conflicts between SCAP and the Japanese discussed earlier, reforms were conducted at the direction of SCAP. Some of the Japanese officials feared the staff of SCAP (Doi, 1952, p. 69). A Japanese university professor declared, “At first no one minded if a SCAP official was domineering. We all expected that” (p. 70). A high Ministry of Education official recalled, “It is difficult to say exactly why, but we prepared ourselves to do whatever was requested” (p. 71). These recollections imply that the new education system was created under the directions of SCAP, but some affirm that the facts were “not that simple and some were not always passive” (Hamada et al, 1979, p. 13) [TJ]. One of the examples was that some ideas that the Japanese proposed to USEM were included in their Report.

The reforms postulated democracy, but the Japanese government aimed to sabotage the process of democratization (Moore, 2000; Yoshimi, 2003). High officials of the government had had the power to control the nation, but the circumstances had changed. Democracy meant loss of power for them; furthermore, they had to obey the orders of SCAP. Some may have felt that they lost face and it was humiliating. Democracy was promulgated and became the new standard. Still, “acceptance may be made by a conquered people of new laws and formal statements of policies; yet, the perspectives and attitudes of the individuals variously affected by such objective changes may remain substantially unchanged” (Doi, 1952 pp. 3-4). This corresponds to Giroux’s statement on democracy referred to in Chapter 2. True democracy does not automatically reveal itself. It is something that each citizen needs to comprehend, accept, and practice. Japan is still

struggling, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

In 1950, a survey on education was conducted, targeting people over 20 years of age to determine how they perceived the new education system. 39% approved of it, citing the reason of equal opportunities for education, while 22% pointed out the diminished quality because only selected students had attended school in the old system and the teaching quality was better (Many teachers had been purged or had resigned by then.) (Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1950, p. 5). In terms of the 6-3 system, 70% approved, while 22% regarded it as “too long” due to financial constraints (40% of the 22%) and obstacles to helping the family business or farming (26% of the 22%, pp. 7-8). This indicates the different views on education that parents embraced. For some parents, especially the ones who were self-employed, their children were regarded as a part of the work force, and their education was not the priority. In addition, moral education was suspended by SCAP as stated earlier, which some believed led to a failure of ethics. Some students confused freedom with insolence (p. 4).

The opinion poll may not have fully reflected the people’s true thoughts and feelings, especially criticism. Doi (1952) explained:

Laymen, in general, did not consider themselves qualified to tell professional educators what should be the aim and content of education. The Japanese in general have a much higher regard for learning, learned men, and those who teach than do Americans. (p. 235)

Some people, who hesitated to express their true feelings as laymen, may have answered positively or “I do not know.” Therefore, this survey may not have completely reflected the subjects’ true ideas and feelings.

4.3.3. Democracy under the Occupation. Prior to the Occupation, the Japanese practiced democracy, albeit briefly. It was known as “Taisho Democracy,” which operated approximately from 1913 to 1925 (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records, National

Archives of Japan, JACAR, 2010-2014). After this, the nation turned its back on democracy again. When SCAP introduced democracy, people had forgotten its concept because Taisho Democracy may have not been long-lasting enough to embed the concept of democracy into people's minds.

Wunderlich (1952/1998) described the conflicts between totalitarianism and democracy that have periodically occurred in Japanese history, and how they influenced philosophy in education (p. 26). The timing of the changes of the people's attitudes that Holtom stated in the section of "Faddism" corresponds to the changes in the politics and education policies that Wunderlich explained. This indicates that politics, education policies and people's minds are all closely related.

After a long period of totalitarianism, excluding the period of Taisho Democracy, both education and people's mindsets were far from democracy, and it was not easy for them to comprehend it. People acquired freedom and democracy precipitously, at least on the surface, and it caused some confusion because of their lack of understanding (Doi, 1952; Gordon, 1997; Hashimoto, 2009; Wunderlich, 1952/1998). A conversation between two Japanese people reported by a *Time* Correspondent illustrates how people were finding their way:

"Formerly," said a brown-kimonoed matron, "the Emperor was the focus of the state. Now where is the focus and what can we strive for? If it is for democracy, what is the exact goal? No one seems able to tell us our objective."

"The new constitution," replied the Japanese high school teacher leading the talk, "has as its focus the building of responsible citizens in a responsible democratic state. But we, too, are deeply puzzled about making the focus effective."

("Report Card," 1949, p. 30)

This conversation was reported in May 1949. It had been over three and half years since the Occupation had started, and people still had not found ways to practice democracy.

The Japanese people found themselves in a democratic and an occupied state. Democracy and the occupied status do not coexist easily. Some letters to MacArthur contained people's voices that questioned the independence of the Japanese people's will (Kawashima, 1993, p. 23). Democracy started with an anomaly. In addition to that, "Those in the most responsible positions, the various heads of the Headquarters sections, were, with one or two exceptions, military men. (The Civil Information and Education Sections was not one of these exceptions)" (Doi, 1952, p. 115). It is easy to presume that these sections with military men were functioning as the military, where the superior's orders are absolute and far from democratic.

Doi (1952), who was a member of CIE, stated, "There is no question that the entire organization or structure of the civil Occupation Forces was bureaucratic" (p. 115). A Japanese educator explained, "The control that SCAP has over Japanese education is even more bureaucratic than that formerly possessed by the Japanese bureaucrats" (Doi, 1952, p. 105). Some of the Japanese who were dealing with CIE felt the "hard hand of the conqueror behind the 'democratic method'" (p. 106). There existed a few CIE officials who welcomed constructive criticisms from the Japanese, but most of them construed criticism as an indication of negativism and stubbornness (pp. 95-97). Several examples exemplified CIE imposing its power on the Japanese officials and educators. There were also misunderstandings caused by cultural differences that resulted in distrust on each side (Doi, 1952; Murata, 1970).

SCAP wanted drastic and rapid changes, while ignoring Japanese educators' suggestions, which led to conflicts stated above (Doi, 1952, pp. 106-108). Even with these problems and conflicts, however, it is true that democratic elements were strengthened with a contribution of post-war education, while being modified in Japanese ways (Beauchamp, 1995, p. 85).

4.3.4. Remaining and new disparities. The new era started with democracy

which the occupation forces brought. Yet, some of the existing disparities remained, and furthermore, some new issues arose. After the war, the government needed to resolve post-war problems in broad areas and implement the substantial reforms led by SCAP. The changes in systems were extensive, and some people's mindsets did not shift immediately, as Doi (1952) indicated (pp. 3-4). In this section, the remaining disparities, which are discrimination against women, elitism, and regional inequities, will be discussed first. Then, new disparities, such as the deficiency of English language teachers, and quality of English language teachers, will follow.

Discrimination against women. Democracy in the United States, the democratic role model for the Japanese, was far more advanced than in Japan. Yet, even in the United States, women's participation in the work force was lacking. Gordon (1997), for example, described the situation at GHQ. "There were two hundred thousand Allied personnel stationed in Japan, and only sixty of them were women: a ratio of over three thousand to one" (p. 25). Gordon was the only woman who participated in creating the new Constitution of Japan. Even though the number of women was small, they could be posted for a responsible position and participate in important decision-making.

In March and April 1952, a national poll was conducted on people between the ages of 16 and 59 in response to a request from the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO). It was conducted to understand people's attitudes toward social issues six and a half years after the Occupation started. It is presumed that various reforms were progressing and people became accustomed to democratic thinking for those years. One of the questions was, "When females are asked questions or asked for their opinions, some say 'I do not know anything because I am a female.' Do you think that is an acceptable answer?" [I]. The choices were, "(1) That is not good, (2) It is only natural for females, and (3) I do not know" (Sorifu, Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1953, p. 18) [I]. Table 4.7 is an excerpt of the percentages of the people who agreed with this idea.

Table 4.7

Percentages of the People who Think that Women do not Need to Know

Ages	Males	Females
Under 20 years old	6	3
⋮	⋮	⋮
50-59	10	16
Total (16-59 years old)	6	10

Notes. Created from “Josei no chii ni taisuru taido [Attitudes toward females’ status] (Sorifu, Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1953, p. 18). Copyright by the Cabinet Office, Government of Japan.

The total, which contains all the respondents aging from 16 to 59, indicates more females than males thought that it was acceptable for females not to know, 10% and 6%, respectively. Significantly, the results show a clear difference between ages. Only 3% of females under 20 years of age agreed, while 6% of males under 20 years of age did. Twice as many females in this generation, but still fewer than the older generation, thought that females did not need to know much about the world. Many fewer girls in this generation than the total of females agreed; whereas, for the ages between 50 and 59, the percentages were 16% for women and 10% for men. 16% is the highest percentage of all the generations and over 5 times more females than those under 20 years old. A majority of the females under 20 years of age thought that women should have knowledge and their own opinions.

This particular question, however, may not have extracted as much real feeling from the respondents as it could have. The democratic idea that males and females were all equal should have been understood by then. Therefore, it was common knowledge that the attitude, “I do not know because I am a female,” was old fashioned and anti-democratic. Many people may have avoided acknowledging this attitude no matter what their true feeling was.

The notion that, “I do not know anything because I am a female” was the norm

before democracy. This attitude was reflected in the education system, and many girls' high schools did not provide English classes, as discussed earlier. When the new education system started, academic levels of students, in general, were remarkably low due to the cancelation of classes toward the end of the Pacific War. In particular, girls' English proficiency levels were "seriously low, beyond imagination" (Erikawa, 1998, p. 194) [TJ]. For example, results of the entrance examinations for a normal school (see Appendix B) showed the largest difference in English of all the subjects. The average percentages of the total correct answers of all the subjects were 47.1% for male students and 35.2% for female students. For the English examination, the percentages of the correct answers were 38.7% for male students and 6.7% for female students, while the majority of the female students attained zero (pp. 194-195). English was seen as completely irrelevant to the life of most female students during the war.

It was perhaps a serious issue for teachers also to have students of widely varying levels in the same class. When co-education started, gender disparity only slowly decreased along with the increase in the number of female students proceeding to higher education (Terasawa, T., 2009, p. 118). This suggests that education for female students had been treated in a tokenistic manner.

The conditions, such as guaranteeing equal opportunity for education in the Fundamental Law of Education and declaring gender equality in the Constitution, did not transfer to daily life. According to Hofstede (1991), most leaders rarely show interest in the concepts of democracy imposed by another country (p. 219). Some men wanted to maintain their superior positions, while some women did not actively "seek their own liberation" (Freire, 2007/1970, p. 164).

Elitism. Equal opportunity of education was guaranteed, and the new school system was implemented in 1947. It was a new start for the education field. However, the middle-level schools that existed before the new school system were schools for the elite

and they, especially private schools, did not relinquish that status because many of the teachers and the students at private schools were the same as those before the Occupation. Elite schools continued to train future elites and were often equipped with the environment for that purpose. Table 4.8 presents the numbers of foreign teachers who taught in junior high schools and the numbers of junior high schools in the 1949 academic year. In this Table, there is a clear difference between public and private schools.

Table 4.8

The Numbers of Foreign Teachers in Junior High Schools^a and the Numbers of Junior High Schools^b (1949 Academic Year)

School Categories	Foreign Teachers			Junior High Schools
	Men	Women	Total	
Government-run	0	0	0	95
Public ^c	3	0	3	11,542
Private	144	100	244	782
Total	147	100	247	12,419

Notes. Created from *Monbusho 77 Nenpo* [Ministry of Education 77th Annual Report] (Monbusho, Chosa Fukyu-kyoku, Tokei-ka, 1951, ^app. 138-139. ^bp. 133).

^cPublic schools excludes government-run schools.

The numbers of schools provided by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau (MIC, e-Stat) are slightly different: government-run 95; public 13,317; private 788; and the total 14,200 (2013). The reasons for these discrepancies are unknown. As the table shows, the foreign teachers were almost exclusively employed in private schools, approximately 30% of which had one or more foreign teachers. This may have been because some private schools were financially better off than national or public schools, or Christian schools. Foreign missionaries returned to schools soon after schools resumed (Iris Girls' Academy Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkai, IGAHHI, 1991; Kawano, 2008). The government had paid very high salaries to foreign teachers until several years before, but with its financial difficulties (Hamada et al., 1979; MEXT,

n.d.391), it perhaps no longer had such a large budget.

The learning environment strongly affects students' proficiency levels in English. Terasawa, T. (2009) found that the increase in the number of people who had higher skills in English after World War II did not derive from opportunities for lower status students to study English. It was and still is rather significantly influenced by their social and family environments (p. 116).

Regional inequities. As described earlier, the Tokyo metropolitan area was a very different place from other areas in Japan before the end of World War II. The number of universities increased to 76 in 1948 when the new school system was implemented also for higher education, and 31 of 76 were in the Tokyo area (MEXT, n.d.392; Monbusho, Chosa-kyoku, 1948), including the highest-ranking schools. Tomoda (1968) argued that location of universities had a significant influence on high school students advancing to higher education (p. 304). Students in elementary and secondary education who lived in an area that had a university were positively affected (p. 294). As of 1953, the total numbers of both universities and their students in six prefectures represented approximately two thirds of those of the entire nation. These six prefectures were Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto, Fukuoka, Hyogo, and Aichi, with the largest cities in Japan. This centralization was more significant for private universities. 52.6% of the universities and 63.4% of their students were concentrated in Tokyo (Ministry of Education, 1953b).

Large cities had advantages also in resources for education. Both the interim textbooks and new ones for the new school system were in short supply and distributed to larger cities first ("6-3sei Hossoku", 1947; Erikawa, 1994; "Kyokasho wa Todoki", 1947). Academic levels of students were low in general, but this problem was more serious especially for students in remote areas (Erikawa, 1994, pp. 139-141).

Tokyo is the largest city and consists of various areas such as business districts, residential areas, and farming areas. Sugiyama and Horii (1958) described regional inequities

within Tokyo. They compared junior high school students in cities, farming areas, and the areas in between them in Tokyo. Their questions enquired: if English classes were necessary; if parents were able to help their children with studying English; and how much time the students spent studying English. The results showed that the students in farming areas were overall disadvantaged in studying English and considered English language education unnecessary (pp. 16-17).

Aizawa (2005) finds that a deficit in English language education was especially conspicuous in remote areas in the late 1950s. Both students and teachers felt that studying English was of no use. A teacher could not answer the student who asked why they needed to study English (p. 192). This was several years after the Occupation ended, and English was not as enthusiastically studied as at the beginning of the Occupation. The fact that teachers as well as junior high school students posed this question indicates that the question was not due to the generation gap but the regional one.

The deficiency of English language teachers. After World War II ended, people started trying to resume their ordinary lives. However, according to the Ministry of Education, the number of schools devastated by the war was estimated at 3,556, which constitutes over 12%; more than 2 million students lost their places to study. With financial difficulties and a scarcity of building materials, the complete recovery had to wait until 1962 (MEXT, n.d.391, para. 1). While the reconstruction of school facilities progressed slowly, the Ministry of Education immediately began abolishing various ordinances that were related to the wartime system, and directed on August 28, 1945 that schools resume by mid-September (MEXT, n.d.393, para. 2). Schools were administered under the old system until the new school system was introduced in April 1947.

Similarly, there was a shortage of teachers. “In the history of education of our country, the deficiency of teachers is more critical than ever” (“*Atarashii Sensei*”, 1949, p.2 [T]). The situation in junior high schools was especially serious. As of April 30, 1947, a few

weeks after the new school system started, the average shortfall of teachers was 19.1% (27,379 teachers in need). The smallest deficiency concerned Japanese teachers, with 9.7% (1,867 teachers needed), compared to foreign languages, with 30.1% (3,543 teachers needed). English language education was most dire (Mombusho Chosa-kyoku, 1948, p. 164). Numbers were only obtained after “desperate efforts to find teachers” (Erikawa, 2002, p. 97) [TJ]. 3,543 was the number in deficit, even after acquiring every available teacher, including those without a certificate (Erikawa, 2009; Naito, 1982; Takanashi & Deki, 1993; Torii, 1980). Some teachers had to teach different subjects to overcome the shortage (Takanashi & Deki, 1993, p. 202).

A major reason for this deficiency was the Pacific War. 39.4% of the graduates of a normal school lost their lives in the war (Erikawa, 1998, p. 191). Furthermore, there was a tendency for middle school teachers in the old system to regard teaching in junior high schools in the new system as a demotion, and they resisted teaching there (Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1958; Monbusho, Chosa Fukyu-kyoku, Chosa-ka, 1949). Most English teachers in middle schools in the old system moved to senior high schools in the new system (Imura, 1971; Torii, 1980).

In this atmosphere, the municipal offices posted newspaper advertisements for teaching positions (Hiroshima Shiyakusho, 1958, p. 644). One school in Tokyo even built accommodation for teachers and searched for teacher candidates (“*Sutato wa Suruga*”, 1947). “Every single day, principals went to search for teachers with the help of every connection” (Naito, 1982, p. 57) [TJ]. Yet, “There were many teachers who were hired only to fill a position, and many of them quit soon” (Sakurada’s personal notes as cited in Sukemoto, 1998, p. 159) [TJ]. Schools needed more teachers, therefore they transferred the teachers from the old national schools (the elementary level, see Appendix B), many of whom did not possess certifications for lower secondary education.

Soon after the schools resumed, these uncertified teachers represented

approximately 50% of all teachers (MEXT, n.d.394). In 1946, the number of teachers without certifications exceeded 54,000 (GHQ, SCAP, CIE, Education Division, 1948, p. 283). As of December 1947, uncertified teachers comprised 85.9% in physical education and 79.5% in English language education. Most English teachers were untrained except in some private and government-run schools (Imura, 1971; Naka, 1969). Deficiencies among English teachers were highest of all the subjects, and of the small number of registered English teachers only 20.5% were certified.

In addition, teachers in all subjects had little experience. Approximately 50% of all the teachers had less than five years of teaching experience (*“Kosha to Kyoin”*, 1951); some became teachers without any experience because they needed a job (Torii, 1980, pp. 73-74). Kihira (2000) recalls, “We were employed only with a diploma but without a teacher certification” (p. 102). This suggests that junior high schools were so desperate to attract teachers that they could not afford to be concerned about other important issues such as the teacher candidates’ abilities in teaching, class management, and establishing rapport with students.

Another reason for the teacher deficiency was resignations. The Purge of educational personnel was conducted by the second fundamental directive on education issued by SCAP. It was to purge militaristic and ultra-nationalistic educators, based on one of the terms of surrender in Potsdam Declaration, which required the elimination for all time of the authority and influence of militarism (GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949, p. 10). This directive triggered the resignation of 115,778 teachers by May 7, 1946, approximately 29% of all teachers.

By October 1947, approximately 650,000 educators were examined to be purged; of these, 2,623 were disqualified by the screening committee and a further 2,717 were automatically purged (a total of 5,340) without further examination. In addition, a sizable number of educators relinquished their positions voluntarily to avoid the screening process

(MEXT, n.d.395, Section 3).

The screening was conducted among colleagues, and Hall (1949/1971) regarded it as democratic (p. 432), but it constituted “nothing but a witch hunting atmosphere” (Krämer, 2007, p. 154) [TJ] in some schools. The Japanese conducted the screening, but the final decision on dismissal was made by SCAP in some cases (Yamamoto, 1999, p. 97). The Japanese were often stricter about this purge, and there were teachers who had been considered unqualified by the Japanese but were approved by SCAP and returned to work (p. 111). Some of the reasons for approval were that the said person was only following orders, engaging in ordinary Japanese conduct during the war, or that evidence was inadequate (p. 99).

One educator described the purge, “We all said things during the war, but some of us were less fortunate in that we said the things before too many people so some remembered or it appeared in the papers. The whole thing was unreasonable” (cited in Doi, 1952, p. 75). While SCAP spared some educators from the purge as stated earlier, others faced unreasonable accusations. Iketani (1969) was charged by SCAP with inciting of anti-American ideas among his students. It was a simple misunderstanding by SCAP, but the staff would not listen to him and shouted at him with a condescending and coercive manner. It took him seven months to prove his innocence while being repeatedly summoned. Another teacher came to the attention of an American officer when he was on a school trip with his students. They were cleaning their trash from lunch in the precinct of a *Shinto* shrine. The teacher was purged soon because *Shinto* was taboo then. It was very easy to be purged (pp. 53-56). The small population of teachers declined further this way. The criteria for the purge appear to have been inconsistent.

The actual number of the resignations due to the purge is, however, unknown. The major reason for their resignations was the upcoming purge, which was legislated in 1947 (“*Kyoshoku Tsuibo*,” 2006), but there were also others. One was low salaries (Doi, 1952;

GHQ, SCAP, 1950; “*Hitome o Sakete*,” 1948). After World War II, the economic conditions were dire. The retail price index in Tokyo in 1945 was 3.084 and increased to 309.5 in 1951, more than a 100-fold increase in six years (Cabinet Office, 2006). The cost of living was soaring and the salaries of teachers were hardly sufficient. For example, in December 1945, elementary school teachers between the ages of thirty and forty who received a monthly salary of 143 yen required 350 yen to live and Imperial University professors who received a monthly salary of 313 yen needed 1,100 yen to meet expenses (GHQ, SCAP, CIE, Analysis and Research Division, 1948, p. 10). Some teachers had a second job as shoeshines far away from school so that no colleagues and students would see them (“*Hitome o Sakete*”, 1948).

Another reason was student strikes at schools, especially at the elementary and secondary levels, charging the teachers with arrogance and high-handedness. Some teachers chose to leave the school rather than face the continued humiliation of students’ attacks (Doi, 1952, p. 71-75).

Quality of English language teachers. When the new school system started, many English teachers were suddenly needed. Many schools increased English classes in exchange for the suspended subjects (Erikawa, 1998, pp. 192-193), such as morals (*Shushin*), Japanese history, and geography (SRFO, 1949/1989b, p. 219). Yet, many teachers were uncertified, and some teachers who were students during the Pacific War studied English very little (Takanashi & Deki, 1993, pp. 201-202). Some English teachers did not know correct pronunciation and pronounced words as they were written: for example, the word “sometimes” was pronounced as [so-mé-chi-mess], “11” followed the Japanese pattern of ten-one, and “12” was ten-two. (Erikawa, 2008, p. 134).

The low teaching standard affected students’ proficiency levels in English. Depending on the school, class hours per week varied from zero to five and above because English was optional. Quality of the teachers and class hours determined the

students' proficiency levels. Practically all students who advanced to senior high schools studied English in junior high school. Yet, the proficiency levels in English of the new students in senior high schools varied widely, and it was a serious problem in every senior high school (Iketani, 1969, pp. 45-46).

Under these circumstances, it became more urgent to train future teachers than ever. In 1947, The Education Reform Committee decided that the training of teachers should be placed within the university system. In addition, in 1949, the Law for Licensing Educational Personnel was promulgated (MEXT, n.d.396). At first, these teachers' colleges were unpopular, and the enrolment of the new students for the course to become elementary and junior high school teachers was as low as 69.5% of capacity in 1950 (Education Reform Council, 1950, p. 154). Not only was the enrolment low but also the candidates' academic abilities were greatly inferior to those in the other departments (p. 156).

Along with the low academic levels of the students, educators in teachers' colleges were also lacking. The former normal schools, the secondary-education level, were incorporated in higher education, and there were "not enough educators who were qualified as professors" (Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyusho, 1974, p. 558). The colleges were able to secure only 807 educators, 56.8% of those needed (p. 557). The majority of the teachers in junior high schools were unqualified, and the conditions of teachers' colleges were poor. The Ministry of Education decided to start a series of training programs for the in-service teachers ("*Kanpi de Sensei*", 1949).

4.3.5. Attitudes towards the former enemy and their language. English language education in schools did not operate smoothly for various reasons. Yet, almost all the junior high schools offered it, and many students started studying English. In this section, the focus will move to society and examine how society perceived their former enemy and their language after the defeat. The section includes the English conversation

boom, post-war poverty state, and attitudes toward the former enemy.

English conversation boom. From August 1945 to around 1952, when the Treaty of Peace with Japan, also known as the Treaty of San Francisco, was signed and enforced, a phenomenon called the “English conversation boom” occurred (Kihira, 1995, p. 111). “The population that wanted to be able to speak English exploded” (Fukuda, 1991, p. 30) [I]. Some of the most conspicuous events were the publication of *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual (Nichibei Kaiwa Techo)* and the radio program called *Come Come English*.

One month after the surrender in August 1945, *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual* was released. This book sold 3.6 million copies in three months (Hokkaido Government Board of Education, 2008), and this fact was “a symbol of the zealous English conversation boom of this period” (Kihira, 1995, p. 113) [I]. A very popular magazine during World War II, *Photographs Weekly (Shashin Shubo)*, had approximately 2-3 million readers (JACAR, n.d., para. 3), but the price was as low as 10 sen (Hiratsuka, 2011, p. 51), while the *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual* was 80 sen (Shimomura, 2003), 8 times more expensive but still reasonable, compared with the prices of other magazines and newspapers (Hiratsuka, 2011, p. 51). “English language education after World War II started with the unprecedented English conversation boom” (Erikawa, 2008, p. 15) [I].

At around the same time, in September 1945, Nippon Hoso Kyokai (NHK), which is the public broadcasting station and has a network nationwide, started broadcasting an English conversation program titled *Practical English Conversation (Jitsuyo Eigo Kaiwa)* on the radio. NHK broadcast several radio programs on English conversation between 1945 and 1985, and *English Conversation (Eigo Kaiwa)*, much better known as *Come Come English (Kamu Kamu Eigo)*, broadcast from February 1, 1946 to the end of March 1951, boasted the highest listenership, had a great influence, and became legendary (Kihira, 1995, pp. 113-114). The nickname, “*Come Come English*” was named after the opening song that started with the line, “Come, come, everybody.”

“It was, in fact, this opening song that made this program acquire national popularity” (Fukuda, 1991, p. 30) [TJ]. The song used a Japanese traditional children’s song that everyone knew and whose lyrics were changed by the instructor to different ones in English. This melody was so familiar that even infants came to know the name of the instructor of the program and sing the song in English (p. 30). The program was so popular that fan clubs were created nationwide (Fukuda, 1991, p. 30). The program received 500,000 fan letters (p. 50).

In 1941, only 45.8% of the households in Japan subscribed to the radio broadcast (Takonai, 2006, p. 154). The radio program *English Conversation* enjoyed ratings as high as 32% (Erikawa, 2008; Imura, 2003). There were also people who wanted to listen but could not for reasons such as working during the broadcast time, or not owning a radio. Some students who did not have a radio listened to the program played loudly by neighbours for the purpose. Some dropped in to a shop on their way home and listened to the program (Fukuda, 1991, p. 31). Therefore, the ratings would have been higher than 32% if radios had been more common. A large number of people wanted to study English.

The opening song helped the program to attract more people, but Fukuda (1991) also ascribed its popularity to the influence of the time period:

“A new era starts now. English skills will become a basic requirement.” This idea filled the entire nation in a flash. People were poor and struggling to survive, and the 15 minutes [the length of the program per day] brought the United States, the symbol of the wealth, close to them. *Come Come English* satisfied both desires of the listeners: to be able to speak English, and to have a feel of America and Americans’ wealthy living. (p. 30) [TJ]

The listeners presumed that many Americans would come to occupy Japan and English would be necessary to make a living. As Nabae (2006) observed, “Enthusiasm for English tended to rise when the Japanese faced events that appeared to require English skills”

(para. 2). The Japanese also admired Americans' lives which were greatly different from theirs. Yano (2008) remarks:

Their adoration and inferiority complex toward Westerners have not changed in the 120 years since Fukuzawa Yukichi argued that Japan should emulate the advanced nations of the West and dissociate itself from the backward Asian countries to avoid being exploited by the Western imperialists, using the slogan *datsu-a nyuu-oh* ("Leave Asia and enter the West"). (p. 139)

The people detested the West during World War II, but their adoration and inferiority complex toward Westerners since the Meiji period never left them. This explains why, immediately after the end of World War II, the English conversation boom instantly began, and people completely changed their attitudes toward the United States. As discussed in a previous section, the extreme attitudes of antipathy and infatuation for the West has alternatively and repeatedly emerged in the history of Japan. This was another cycle. T. S. (anonymous, 2004) recalls that once the War ended, English, which had been prohibited, became an object of favour. English teachers became very popular (para. 2).

Americans brought their culture with them. "Numerous powerful cultural influences--jazz, fashion, sexual culture--spread out from the American bases and took root very soon after the beginning of the occupation" (Yoshimi, 2003, p. 439). Many young Japanese singers suddenly were required to entertain the occupation forces on their bases and in recreation facilities. They needed to sing in English (pp. 438). Japanese singers performed in various genres such as jazz, country, and rockabilly; some of them did not speak any English, but sang in English while memorizing all the lyrics phonetically (Furmanovsky, 2008; Thompson, 1992). These singers released songs in Japanese for the Japanese audience but also sang some cover songs in English. Many of the audience did not understand the lyrics in English. They may have simply liked the melodies of some

songs or had the adoration for American culture. Some young people may have listened to songs in English just to act as grownups or be in the latest fashion to “gain prestige” (Smelser, 1962/2011, p. 248).

Many publications refer to the fact that post-war English language education started with the English conversation boom, but no reference can be found to the people who were not part of the boom. Yet, many people’s lives were impoverished, and some were too poor to study English.

Post-war poverty state. Japan was defeated and impoverished when World War II ended. Japan then grasped the nation’s state of poverty not in terms of the poverty rates but by the low rates of the household consumption. Therefore, international comparisons based on the poverty rates are unreliable.

The Public Assistance Act prescribed that approximately 40% of the average standard of living of city workers’ households was the lowest standard of living and established it as a livelihood assistance standard (Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, 1956, p. 6). In 1946, the number of people receiving monthly assistance was approximately 2,730,000, and in 1947, 2,810,000 (p. 14). The average workers’ monthly income in Tokyo in February 1947 was 2,017 yen 14 sen (Keizai Antei Honbu, 1947, p. 41), and the average monthly cost of living deficit in the same month in Tokyo for people living on an average salary was 344 yen 44 sen (p. 11). These economic conditions also affected their diet. The normal nutrition requirement for the Japanese then was approximately 2,150 Calories and 75 grams of protein per day (p. 47). In 1946, they ingested 1,700 Calories and 60 grams of protein (p. 49). These facts illustrate people’s harsh living conditions. These numbers only denote “average” conditions. For example, circumstances of at least 2,810,000 people in 1947 living on welfare were much more difficult.

The basic living needs have to be met first. People who needed to worry about their daily food could not join the boom and start studying English unless they had chosen

to work for Americans. Maslow (1943) suggested the basic needs that motivate human behaviour. It forms a hierarchy, and when more fundamental needs are satisfied, new or higher needs emerge. In ascending order, these needs are

1. Physiological--Survival, such as food, water, oxygen, and rest;
2. Safety--Security, orderly, and freedom from fear, anxiety, threats, and chaos. A social structure of laws and limits assists in meeting these needs;
3. Love--Love, affection, and belongingness. Affectionate relations with friends, family, and a partner;
4. Esteem--Self-respect, respect of others, achievement, attention, and appreciation;
5. Self-actualization--The sense that one is fulfilling one's potential and is doing what one is suited for and capable of. For example, a musician must make music, an artist must paint, or a woman desires to become an ideal mother (pp. 372-383).

Maslow's hierarchy of needs is illustrated in Figure 4.5. The needs at each level must be fairly well satisfied before the needs at the next level become important as explained. Thus, physiological needs such as food are more important than anything else.

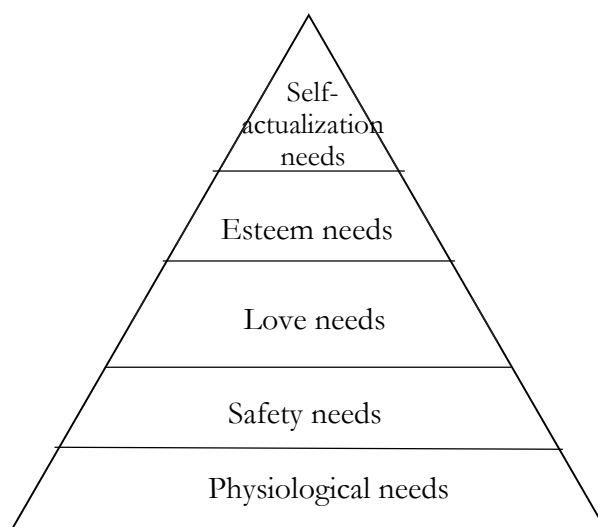


Figure 4.5. Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

Learning is categorized in the esteem needs, which is three tiers above physiological needs. This theory explains the state of the people who were preoccupied with meeting their physiological needs and not interested in the English conversation boom.

Attitudes toward the former enemy. English, the language of the former enemy and a target of hatred, became not only accepted but also a boom immediately after the defeat. Yet, not all people's minds were so easily shifted. Hata and Sodei (1986) recollected:

The majority of people were thinking that the entire country was burnt by incendiary and atomic bombs, and they were completely defeated. They ended the war with the "sacred decision" of the Emperor, but if they get a chance someday, they will regain their power and re-establish the country as before [with the military]. (p. 17) [TJ]

Hata and Sodei also recounted, "Around August 16, the day after the end of World War II, enthusiastic young officers who were not convinced that the war had ended crowded around the senior officers and asked why they could not keep fighting" (p. 18) [TJ]. Senior officers appeased their subordinates who wanted to continue fighting by telling them to wait for a forthcoming chance to retaliate (p. 18).

The broader Japanese population had complex feelings toward the American occupation policies. They were looking forward to reform while concerned about preserving the Imperial system. In mid-September 1945, however, the news reported the negative comments of MacArthur and SCAP on the fall of the status of Japan, and Japanese soldiers' cruelties in the Philippines. The majority of Japanese then intensified their hostility toward America and their sorrow as a defeated nation (Kawashima, 1991, p. 217).

The hatred toward the former enemy lingered for some time. When the occupation forces came to Japan as the conqueror, they expected some resistance from the

Japanese, but in reality, they saw remarkably compliant people. Before World War II, Japan was aggressive and proud of its military strength. It perhaps appeared very odd to the Americans to see the Japanese come to behave very differently in a short period of time.

The following illustrates how the Japanese welcomed MacArthur. A photograph of his arrival at Atsugi Airport in Kanagawa prefecture was in the newspaper, and an announcer on a radio program commented on the picture:

General MacArthur, who put his hand on Lieutenant General Eichelberger's shoulder, showed enough dignity and confidence, but at the same time, he looked kind and sincere enough to reach the bottom of people's hearts. We were surprised to see his casual attitude and envied it greatly, as we had only known very formal and serious Japanese generals. We thought "that's why America won" again, and felt encouraged and comforted while thinking "it is fortunate for our future to have this kind of person as the supreme commander to manage Japan." (The transcript of a radio program as cited in Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 167) [T]

"This comment was broadcast only 40 days after his arrival. . . and 10 days after the meeting of MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito" (p. 167), which makes it around the 7th-10th of October. The Japanese were fighting against the Allied Forces and hated them only two months before this broadcast. This change of attitude is dramatic. The announcer was clearly praising MacArthur highly. "News items would be usable only if they had been cleared through the GHQ Public Relations Office" (MacArthur and His General Staff, 1966/1994, p. 238). Therefore, the announcer needed to say something favourable to SCAP regardless of whether or not he truly believed it. A partial purpose of the favourable comments on MacArthur, which can appear as propaganda, could have been to increase pro-American feelings.

MacArthur brought the Japanese better lives and hopes through various reforms.

Some people considered him better than the Emperor as he accomplished something which some people had long hoped for but had never been realized (Hata & Sodei, 1986, pp. 168-169). Many changes needed to be made as most things had been run by militarism, totalitarianism, and feudalism. The changes SCAP made are stated in writings, for example, *Reminiscences* (MacArthur, 1964/2001), *Political Reorientation of Japan* (GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949), and *History of the Nonmilitary Activities of the Occupation of Japan* (GHQ, SCAP, 1952/1990). These contributed to MacArthur's continuous popularity.

Takemae and Amakawa (1986) argued the reasons for the Japanese praising MacArthur:

MacArthur democratized Japan. He released holdings and peasants, and made them landed farmers. He supported labourers' unions and labour movements, and reformed education, albeit with some problems. He made various democratic changes. Therefore, Japanese people regarded him as a democratic reformer rather than a general or a strategist. (pp. 21-22) [TJ]

Japanese society began to become democratic, but it must have taken some time for the reforms to take place and become embedded. Given that he was already popular well before the completion of the reforms (Hata & Sodei, 1986; Kawashima, 1993), the reforms were not the primary reason for MacArthur's popularity at the early stage of the Occupation. Moreover, these reforms were not necessarily relevant to everyone.

One recollection explains reasons for changing attitudes toward the United States in the earlier stage:

Russia wanted to divide Japan by half and take one for Russia and the other for the United States, but MacArthur opposed it, while thinking that the Japanese would not be persuaded. Another idea was to make the Emperor a commoner. However, MacArthur decided to retain him as the symbol of Japan and a human being, because the Emperor had been important for the Japanese, being worshiped as the

living god. These accomplishments were reported and considerably softened the people's feelings toward the United States. (K. H., anonymous, 2004, para. 5) [I] MacArthur explained, "As they [the Japanese] increasingly sensed my insistence upon just treatment for them, even at times against the great nations I represented, they came to regard me not as a conqueror, but as a protector" (MacArthur, 1964/2001, p. 283).

According to Sodei (2002), among all of MacArthur's accomplishments, the most impressive ones for the Japanese were to have had food provided and have had veterans and civilians returned from the battlefields and the old territories, to be reunited with their families. Many of the letters to MacArthur mentioned these issues and showed appreciation for them (p. 431). Food was so scarce that a rumour spread that 10 million people would die from starvation (Shibata, 1999, p. 109). MacArthur stated (1964/2001):

As soon as the complete exhaustion of Japanese food resources was confirmed, I issued an order forbidding the consumption by the occupation forces of local food and requested Washington to begin at once shipment of relief supplies. The effect was instantaneous. The Japanese authorities changed their attitude from one of correct politeness to one of open trust. The press, which had been dubious at first, now began to voice unanimous praise. (p. 285)

SCAP may have released its food stock before Washington, but Japan had to wait until May 1946 for Washington to start exporting food to Japan (Shibata, 1999, p. 112). Therefore, the primary reason for MacArthur's popularity in the early stage must be the treatment of the Emperor.

MacArthur was well aware of "the common spirit of the Japanese that they would die for the Emperor" (Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 16) and honoured it to win their hearts and minds. Chapter 1 of the Constitution of Japan (1946) declared the Emperor's new status and roles as the national symbol without powers in the government (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, n.d.). Yet, the most significant event occurred on September 27,

1945. Emperor Hirohito himself visited MacArthur at the U.S. Embassy, and a photograph of them was released in the newspaper two days later.

Prior to that, immediately after MacArthur's arrival in Japan, some members of SCAP urged him to summon the Emperor to the headquarters as a show of power, but he decided to wait until the Emperor would voluntarily come to see him, because summoning the Emperor "would be to outrage the feelings of the Japanese people and make a martyr of the Emperor in their eyes" (MacArthur, 1964, p. 287). In fact, the meeting would soon take place. The censorship of the Home Ministry actually withheld this photograph of the Emperor and MacArthur from publication, regarding it as disrespectful to the Emperor. SCAP protested the Home Ministry's action, because it had thwarted an opportunity to propagate SCAP's power, and immediately had the withholding revoked. The photograph appeared in the newspapers two days after the visit, on the 29th, and informed the Japanese in whose hand the power was then, as SCAP had originally planned (Kawashima, 1991; Nakazono, 2000). "No other photograph that has ever existed throughout the history of Japan was as influential as this In short, this one photograph clearly indicated in a second who the true ruler of Japan then was" (Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 167) [T]. After this day, the antipathy for the United States that had ruled the public reversed. The living deity of Japan, whom the Japanese had believed in and worshipped, visited MacArthur. It was not that MacArthur asked for his presence at the Imperial Palace. The announcer who described MacArthur's arrival on the radio apparently received this message and decided to follow his new ruler and praise him.

The Emperor's visit to MacArthur sent a wave of astonishment throughout the nation (Kawashima, 1991; Nakazono, 2000). A student of a girls' high school expressed, "I heartily thought that society would be different from what it had used to be" (Takami, 1991, pp. 295-296) [T]. Takami (1991) continued, "It was truly unprecedented," "just unbelievable based on the conventional 'common knowledge'," "I suppose all the Japanese

were surprised,” and “it was an event that surprised the sky and shook the earth” (pp. 295-296) [I]. It was genuinely an event that the Japanese could not have even imagined, and “this visit could be a factor to entirely shift the admiration of the citizens for the Emperor to the obedience for the order of GHQ” (Kawashima, 1991, p. 218) [I].

People’s attitudes toward MacArthur were demonstrated in letters to him. Kawashima (1993) explained that MacArthur had received as many as 540,000 letters during the Occupation. SCAP considered these letters important to making the occupation policies and read every one of them. They sent the related sections full translations and sometimes with the original letters for important issues and summaries for the others (p. 19). Kawashima (1993) observed that many of the letters had used the highest-ranking-honorific forms of the language that was used for the Emperor (p. 21). MacArthur was as respected as the Emperor by many Japanese. It was another expression of faddism.

The idea emerged that Japan could be remade while depending on the Occupation policies. People did not mind being influenced by the United Kingdom and the United States (Awaya, 1980; Awaya & Nakazono, 1998). As of October 1945, “It appears that people trust the U.S. military more than the Japanese military” (Awaya & Nakazono, 1998, p. 333) [I]. The national sentiment then notably favoured the United States. At the same time, the majority of people wanted to retain the Imperial system, while some criticized the Emperor for his responsibility for the Pacific War (Nakazono, 2000, p. 40).

The change in the Japanese people’s attitudes toward their former enemy was extreme. They suddenly had a more positive and worker-like attitude. However, some point out that this change represents a characteristic of the Japanese to worship the powerful (Kawashima, 1993; Hata & Sodei, 1986). The Japanese may tend to think that as long as the past cannot be changed, they should try to justify it, find its meaning, and

rationalize it. (Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 168). There is a saying, “Let yourself be rolled up in a long thing” (Inoue, 1992, p. 260) [TJ] meaning that it is better to obey the power holders because resistance is in vain (p. 260). It can be said that Japan has been for centuries and still is a hierarchical society, and the people have learned that they could not resist the higher ranking. Dower (2000) referred to this Japanese trait by quoting Emperor Hirohito during the meeting with MacArthur. The Emperor’s concern was revealed in his statement, “There were still many remnants of feudalism in the Japanese mind and . . . it would take a long time to eradicate them” (as cited in Dower, 1999, p. 517). “In the emperor’s view,” Dower explains, “One of the most glaring of such ‘feudalistic traits,’ . . . was the blind ‘loyalty’ that led Japanese to follow their leaders without thinking for themselves” (p. 517).

4.3.6. English language education during the Occupation. English language education after World War II started spontaneously with the English conversation boom in society before English classes began in junior high schools with the new school system. Junior high schools were newly established, and faced many problems from the start as previously discussed. Yet, English language education, which had been eliminated in many schools, returned to schools, moreover virtually in compulsory mode. In this section, first, the background of English language education, then English textbooks will be discussed.

English language education for everyone. CIE asked the Japanese to write courses of study first of all, but the Japanese did not know what they were to begin with, and they mimicked the American Course of Study (Konno, 1998, p. 110). The *Suggested Course of Study in English* was published in March 1947 for teachers to use in the coming new academic year started in April. Prior to creating the *Suggested Course of Study in English*, the Ministry of Education conducted a survey in Tokyo in October 1946 to research approximately 1,000 parents’ thoughts on English language education in junior high schools. The Ministry of Education proposed that each region conduct this kind of survey

because there might be disparities between Tokyo and other areas in demands for English. This is why the Ministry of Education decided to make English language classes elective despite the fact that 82% of the parents wanted English to be mandatory. The Ministry of Education devolved responsibility to each region and did not actually conduct surveys in other areas itself and just hypothesized there were disparities (Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyusho, 1947/1980, pp. 2-5). This hypothesis, in fact, was confirmed by the situations explained in a previous section on regional inequities.

English language education in junior high schools, however, was virtually mandatory (Imura, 2003; Kawasumi, 1978; Shimizu, 2010). English language education was previously a privilege for the elite, but the start of junior high schools instantly made it open to all (Erikawa, 2008, p. 34). Many junior high schools provided mandatory English classes as “the school’s choice”, and the students could not decide according to their needs. Because English classes were officially optional in junior high schools, senior high schools did not include English in their entrance examinations for some time, but gradually inaugurated them around 1950 (Imura, 2003; Kawasumi, 1978).

The guidebook of English language education, *Suggested Course of Study in English*, was created by a committee in the Ministry of Education under the supervision of CIE. The word “suggested” in the title contrasts sharply with its predecessor, *Principal Points of Teaching (Kyoju Yomoku)*, which was used prior to and during the Pacific War and mandatory (p. 121). With the *Suggested Course of Study in English*, details of the actual classes were open to teachers. Many teachers actively made efforts to improve English language education (Kihira, 1988, p. 195).

Textbooks. World War II ended in August 1945, and school resumed in the following month, September, as the Ministry of Education had ordered (MEXT, n.d.393). Students only had old textbooks with some militaristic statements which would not be approved by SCAP. Then for the next academic year, 1946, interim textbooks were

published. New textbooks for the new democratic society were prepared for the new school system and appeared in 1947. In this section, the transition of the textbooks for the first few years of post-World War II will be reviewed concerning inking textbooks, interim textbooks, and new textbooks for the new school system.

(1) *Inking textbooks*. “The Ministry of Education first presented its thinking about postwar educational policy in a paper entitled “The Educational Policy for the Construction of a New Japan” published on September 15, 1945” (MEXT, n.d.371, para.1). It prescribed that, “textbooks will be thoroughly revised to comply with the new educational policies; until such a revision has been completed, portions for correction or deletion will be indicated” (para. 4). Five days later, the Ministry of Education issued a notification called “Regarding Treatment of Textbooks After World War II (*Shusen ni Tomonau Kyoka-yo Toshō Atsukai-kata ni Kansuru Ken*)”, and inking of textbooks started (Arimitsu, 1979; Erikawa, 2008, Hirata, 1991; Ministry of Education, 1945; Nakamura, 1985). Students only had textbooks published during the war, and they had materials unsuitable for the new Japan. Therefore, they had to eliminate all the inappropriate words, sentences, paragraphs, and even illustrations and pictures, with ink (Takanashi & Deki, 1993, p. 196). The Ministry of Education pointed out sections that had to be covered, and the rest was left to the teachers in the field (Arimitsu, 1979, p. 36).

Some authorities regarded this treatment as concealment work, because the military burnt some confidential documents to hide them from the Allied Forces when the war ended. In the same way, the government wanted to hide militaristic materials in textbooks before SCAP sees them (Yomiuri Shimbun Sengo-shi Han, 1982, p. 25). Others thought, “SCAP would forgive our conduct if it realized that the Ministry of Education had taken care of the problematic areas after the war [to prepare education more suitable for the new era]” (p. 26) [TJ]. It is not clear what kind of conduct was mentioned. These people hoped that SCAP would appreciate their autonomy to cooperate.

Inking textbooks was strictly enforced, including English textbooks. English textbooks would be the first ones to attract SCAP's attention because the members could understand the textbooks most easily without translation for the most part. Yet, "It is unknown if the Ministry of Education provided any concrete directions on deletion for English textbooks" (Erikawa, 1994, p. 111) [TJ]. The goal was to delete the militaristic materials in textbooks, and the deletion was so comprehensive that some of the textbooks became almost useless (Nakamura, 1985, pp. 45-46).

Militarism and ultra-nationalism, in doctrine and practice, including para-military training, had to be eliminated from the educational system (GHQ, SCAP, 1949, p. 424). The first fundamental directive on education issued on October 22, 1945 made mention of textbooks:

c. The instrumentalities of educational processes will be critically examined, revised, and controlled in accordance with the following policies: (1) Existing curricula, textbooks, teaching manuals, and instructional materials, the use of which is temporarily permitted on an emergency basis, will be examined as rapidly as possible and those portions designed to promote a militaristic or ultra-nationalistic ideology will be eliminated. (SRFO, 1949/1989b, p. 206) [TJ]

Prior to this first memorandum, education reforms that the Japanese government had been making, including inking textbooks, appeared to SCAP to be based on inconsistent policies and were unsatisfactory (Nakamura, 1985, p. 8).

The last inking instructions from the Ministry of Education were issued on January 25, 1946 under orders from SCAP (Ministry of Education, 1946, pp. 355-370). School inspections by the occupation forces were strengthened, and in many schools, textbooks were inked for fear of being exposed for violating SCAP orders. Inking was not willingly performed, according to Nakamura (1985, p. 53).

As for English textbooks, differing from textbooks in other subjects, inking was

not officially instructed, and recollections of the people concerned vary. One former English teacher stated that they had inked all the places that had concerned State *Shinto*, extreme nationalism, and militarism (Iketani, 1969, p. 42). Another recalled that they did not ink English textbooks at all (Imura & Wakabayashi, 1980, p. 137).

Inking textbooks, in fact, was an offensive conduct both for teachers and students because textbooks were regarded as sacred before the Occupation (Economic Planning Agency, 1995; Hayama, 1990), being provided by the Emperor (Kuwabara, 2011, Section 6). Therefore, Kuwabara (2011) was puzzled and hesitated a little (Section 6). Murata (1973) recalled the inking project as an upheaval of his sense of values:

Inking textbooks, above all, uprooted my sense of values. We made some ink darker than usual to blacken the sacred textbooks with which we even had been told to escape in air raids. I was despondent when I finished blackening practically everything. At first, it was refreshing to break the taboo. When we finished, the textbooks were almost all black and heavy with wet ink with the distinct smell of the ink. I could not help starting to feel distrust for the textbooks. (p. 13) [T]

Murata also stated that the distrust of the textbooks, and education, had transferred to distrust of teachers. The teachers' attitudes toward the students dramatically changed. They had been very strict and very often violent, but as soon as the war finished, they suddenly became kind to the students. His distrust decidedly intensified. The teachers appeared sullied to him by falling in line with the new power structure (Murata, 1973, pp. 16-17). The inking project was conducted as an emergency measure to secure textbooks for classes, but the consequences were more than a simple "deletion of problematic parts."

(2) *Interim textbooks*. These were re-edited versions of the old textbooks which were published before the war and did not contain many militaristic materials (Imura, 2003, p. 159). The interim textbooks the Ministry of Education had officially approved and published in 1946 were used only for one year (Erikawa, 2008, pp. 129-130). They were

distributed to bigger cities first in general such as Tokyo and delayed in many other places.

Moreover, the number of the textbooks was insufficient for every student (Erikawa, 1994,

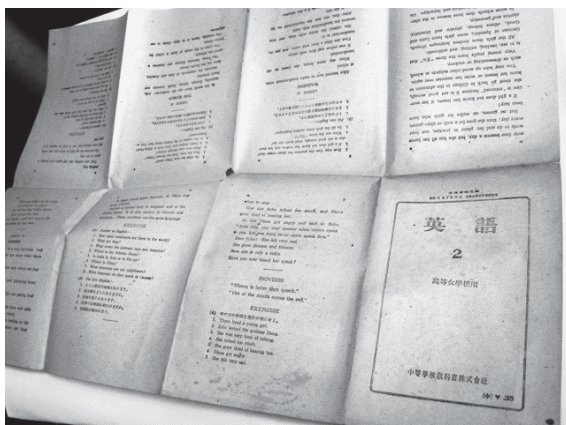


Figure 4.6. Interim textbooks. Retrieved from “Blog, Erikawa’s Office (*Erikawa Kenkyu-shitsu Burogu*),” By H. Erikawa, 2013, April 2. Copyright 2013 by Haruo Erikawa.



Figure 4.7. Interim textbooks with covers and binding done by students. Retrieved from “Blog, Erikawa’s Office (*Erikawa Kenkyu-shitsu Burogu*),” By H. Erikawa, 2012, October 15. Copyright 2012 by Haruo Erikawa.

p. 123). Therefore, inked textbooks continued to be used for some time (Naito, 1982, p. 53).

The interim textbooks were not bound, and the quality of the paper was very poor. They did not appear to be textbooks, with such a poor quality, and some thought that they were newspapers (Nakamura, Kimoto, & Nagasaki, 1994, p. 78). Jiro Arimitsu (1946), then the director of the Textbook Bureau in the Ministry of Education (*Monbusho Kyokasho Kyokucho*), described the interim textbooks as quite miserable-looking. Although their

appearance was poor, they excluded topics unsuitable for the new educational policies. Their contents were chosen to raise people who respect humanity and contribute to constructing a democratic nation and international amity (p. 2). On the other hand, Erikawa (2008) is critical that the authors could only revise the militaristic and ultra-nationalistic contents, but could not include materials that embodied ideas of democratic education (pp. 130-131).

(3) *New textbooks for the new school system.* The Ministry of Education released new English language textbooks, *Let's Learn English 1-3*, in time for the new school system starting in April 1947 (Takanashi & Deki, 1993, p. 200). According to Arimitsu, creating new textbooks under the supervision of CIE was a difficult task for the Japanese, because the ways in which textbooks were used differed between American and Japanese schools. CIE presented guidelines for the new textbooks and did not give approval unless the drafts conformed. The guidelines included that a textbook must be in accord with the educational purposes of each subject. Therefore, it should have elements that society expected for the subject. Students' interests, abilities, and daily activities must be reflected in textbooks. These all made sense to the compilers, but they were confused about how they could specifically put everything together to make a textbook (Arimitsu, as cited in Hamada et al., 1979 pp. 38-39).

The Occupation authorities had responsibility for determining what was acceptable and what must be deleted or rewritten (Doi, p. 1952, p. 76). During the five years of this censorship, few of the Ministry officials or compilers ever voiced an objection to CIE's decisions (p. 77). An American who was checking those manuscripts observed:

One would think that there would be more complaints. The other day Mr. ____ crossed out practically half the manuscript. The Ministry compiler just looked at the deletions, shook his head and walked out. That woman compiler is the only one who made anything like a complaint so far—she said we always crossed out

the best stories in the National Language readers. (as cited in Doi, 1952, p.77)

The compilers had to clear a double censorship, that of the Ministry of Education and of CIE. Therefore, they were perhaps more careful and spent more time writing than usual. Yet, CIE unrelentingly rejected their manuscripts. The compilers did not complain, which indicates a clear relationship of the ruler and the ruled. The American above observed, “One would think that there would be more complaints.” SCAP, after all, may have been aware neither of the docility of the Japanese nor their culture. The utterance of the woman compiler that CIE always cross out “the best stories in the National Language readers” supports this view. CIE apparently did not find those stories good.

After passing censorship and being published, the new textbooks, which students were supposed to start using in April 1947 under the new school system, were in the same situation as the interim textbooks and delayed in many places (Takahashi as cited in Erikawa, 2008, p. 116). According to *Asahi Newspaper* (*Asahi Shimbun*, “63sei Hossoku,” 1947), “The first graders of middle school [equivalent to K-12 Year 7] who are the key [of the new school system] are nearly immobilized rather than progressing. As for English textbooks, 690,000 copies have been distributed out of the total necessary number of 1,290,000” (p. 2) [TJ]. This delay was due to the scarcity of various materials caused by war damage. Chuto Gakko Kyokasho (CGK), the publisher of the interim textbooks, wrote in their *Conspectus of Business in the Fifth Term (Dai 5-ki Eigyo no Gaikyo) from the 1st of June, 1945 to the 31st of May, 1946*:

The abilities to print and bind are extremely limited now because losses, including machinery, from the war are enormous. Also the scarcity of food is greatly affecting the efficiency of the workers. It is truly difficult to complete producing and distributing this tremendous number of textbooks within a short period of time. (as cited in Erikawa, 2008, pp. 114-115) [TJ]

It finally became possible in 1948 to maintain a steady supply of presentable textbooks to

the school children (Doi, 1952, pp. 132-133).

Lets' Learn English 1-3 were created based on the survey conducted by the Ministry of Education mentioned earlier. Two notable differences from the textbooks during the Pacific War were that the characters were not Japanese but Americans (Okuno, 2009, p. 71), and the topics were about students' daily living rather than classroom situations (Kihira, 2004; Okuno, 2009). With some overlapping period, *Jack and Betty: English Step by Step (1st Step-3rd Step)* were published after *Let's Learn English*. Jack and Betty are children of a middle-class, white American family. The contents were ostensibly based on democratic views and middle-class American culture and living, which soon became Japanese young students' dreams (Yamada, 1997, p. 84). *Jack and Betty* was one of the representative examples of English textbooks for introducing democracy and American culture to young Japanese students although these textbooks were an idealized version of democratic American society not only for the Japanese, but for Americans by focusing only on a middle-class white family.

The first edition of *Jack and Betty*, published in 1949, was adopted at approximately 40% of junior high schools, and the following year, at 70-80% of junior high schools. This series has 10 editions and continued to be published for 22 years until 1971 (Imura, 2003; Kihira, 1988). Among other basic frameworks, there was a policy, "Never include sombre topics," because Japan at that time "was filled with dark news, did not have enough commodities, and was in the sublime poverty" (Inamura, 1986, pp. 120-122). That is why "there are some descriptions of rich America and liberal America" (Kihira, 1988, p. 186). Kihira (1988) criticized *Jack and Betty*:

The authors regarded English language education as a part of social studies and set a goal as "to learn real problems comprehensively that may occur in social life" (Inamura, 1986, p. 113), while deciding, "Never include sombre topics." Considering this attitude, describing the wealthy living of Americans appears to be

a mere escape from the reality of the harsh life of the Japanese. It is quite doubtful if those descriptions would give students hope and courage to have prospects for a truly bright future for Japan. (p. 189) [TJ]

Although there were also other problems in the textbooks (pp. 189-193), the limiting of topics to Jack and Betty's life at home and school was positively accepted among schools, and their unique conversation style was also supported (p. 194).

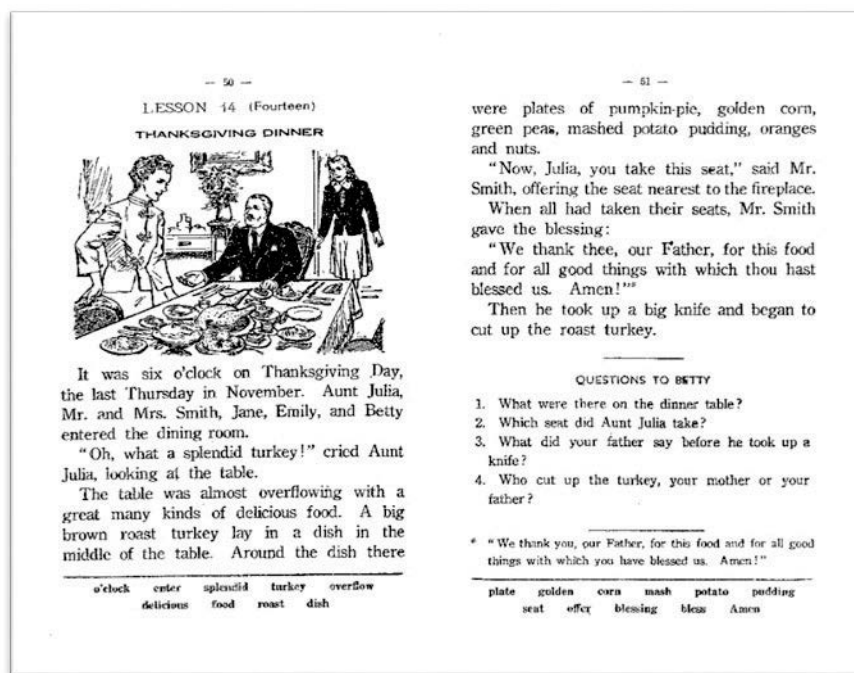


Figure 4.8. Jack and Betty 3rd Step, Lesson 14 Thanksgiving Dinner (Hagiwara, Inamura, & Takezawa, 1948/1993, pp. 50-51)

Many people remember *Jack and Betty* as a representation of Americans' wealthy life, such as large houses, food, cars, and appliances. Students were deeply impressed with Americans' merry life supported by wealth (Iwamoto, 1999, pp. 104-105). Figures 4.8. and 4.9. are examples of these. Students who possessed little in the restoration period naturally envied the United States (Murakami, 2007, p. 208).

Horikawa (1992) recalled that Americans' lifestyles, such as having a washing machine and two cars, had been far beyond what the Japanese students could imagine and aspire to (p. 23). Students remember about food and technology such as cars and appliances, but these topics represent only 4.1% of the context. The authors' purpose was to provide English language lessons along with American social life. They did not aim to communicate the materialistic wealth of the United States (Iwamoto, 1999, p. 105).

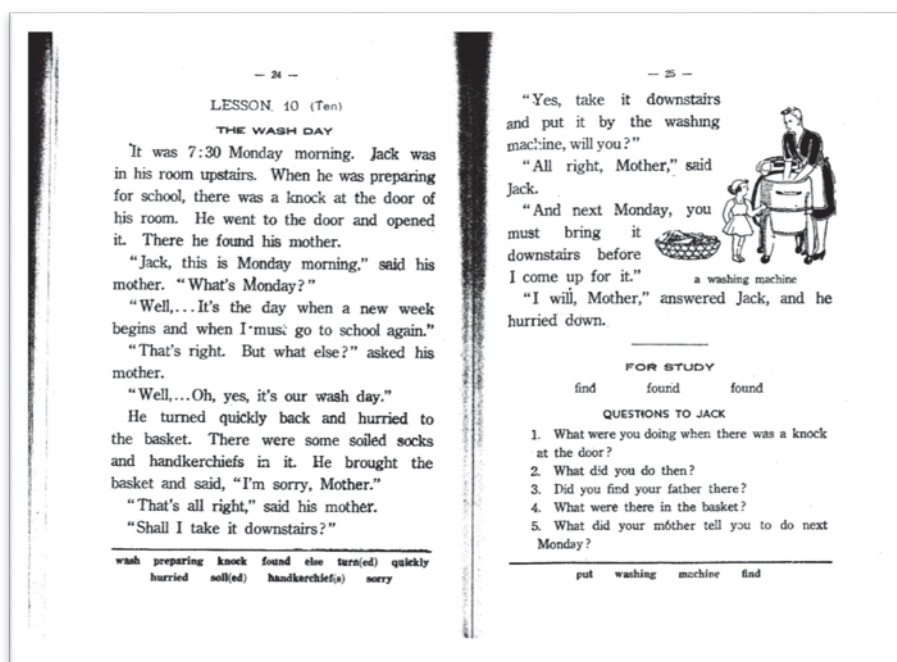


Figure 4.9. Jack and Betty 2nd Step, Lesson 10 The Wash Day (Hagiwara, Inamura, & Takezawa, 1948/1993, pp. 24-25)

During the Occupation, “democracy” was a key word of the time (Erikawa, 2008, p. 135). The *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, the members of which paid their first visit to Japan in March 1946, with its liberal democratic principles, became the official guidelines for educational reforms for SCAP (USEM, 1946). However, English language textbooks did not contain many topics that would illuminate democracy for several years. Hagiwara (1949), one of the authors of *Jack and Betty*, wrote, “We have to remember that a goal of reading is not to teach the ‘contents’ of the stories but [functions of] the ‘English language’ by reading the stories” (p. 3) [I]. The contents were less

important for the authors because the goal of English classes was to acquire skills (p. 3).

The Ministry of Education, however, decided to stipulate that textbooks needed to contain materials which instruct peace and democracy in the *Suggested Course of Study in English* issued in 1951 (Sengo Kyoiku Kaikaku Shiryo Kenkyukai, 1951/1980, p. 746). Horikawa (1992) was inspired by the intimated American spirit behind the descriptions of their rich living in *Jack and Betty*. He remembered that the last chapter of “Jack and Betty, 3rd Step” (1951 edition) had been about sportsmanship and democracy. It appeared to him that this story revealed the philosophy of the American democracy (p. 23).

Jack and Betty reflected the democratic mood of society at that time, but the time still supported more differentiated gender roles in the United States before the Women’s Liberation Movement. Yamada (1998) criticized anti-democratic situations reflecting gender roles in *Jack and Betty*, such as the mother telling the girls to help her clean and cook while she does not ask Jack. Yamada argued that the democratic spirit of the Constitution implemented in 1947 should not have been forgotten in compiling English textbooks (pp. 140-141).

All chapters of *Jack and Betty* were supervised by CIE, but written and compiled by the Japanese. Iwamoto (1999) hypothesized that the images of the United States and its people and culture that the Japanese had had then may not have been actual but may have been created by the Japanese, and explained the Americanization in Japan through *Jack and Betty*. Yamada (1997) and Kihira (1988) both tried to explain the popularity and longevity of this particular series of textbooks. Especially for the first several years of the Occupation, Japanese society was intoxicated by rich and strong Americans (Yamada, 1997, p. 80). In that atmosphere, the idealized, limited view of U.S. culture which *Jack and Betty* provided attracted people, also “describing it in conversation was a new teaching method for the Japanese *Jack and Betty* lost its popularity when the Japanese regained a more realistic view about SCAP and the lives of Americans” (Kihira, 1988, p. 201).

Chapter 5 Methodology

5.1. Data Sources and Collection

This study is a qualitative, phenomenological study, located in the fields of education, political studies, and history. In addition, cultural issues are important to this study, since it deals with the Occupation period when a Western culture imposed itself on Japan. Documents relevant to these fields and this period were analysed, and interviews were conducted to explore the following research questions:

1. How did education, especially English language education, at middle level schools in Japan during World War II and the subsequent Occupation, reflect the policies and shed light on the apparent mindset of the political power holders of the times?
2. How might Japanese culture and the Japanese psyche explain some of the responses to those events?
3. What was the perceived impact of these policies on teachers and students of English during these two periods?

5.1.1. Documents. Most of the official documents originated from two organizations. One data set was American: General Headquarters (GHQ), Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), Civil Information and Education Section (CIE); and the other was Japanese: the Ministry of Education of Japan or the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), which is the former Ministry of Education, reformed in 2001 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). These documents describe various aspects of the Occupation, such as its policies, objectives, and progress, as well as English language education during World War II and the Occupation. As well, the National Diet Library in Tokyo retains publicly accessible copies of all U.S. documents regarding Japan during World War II and the Occupation, the originals of which are held in The National Archives and Records Administration in the United States

(National Diet Library, 2014).

Other sources include opinion polls, published statistics, and some magazines. These are helpful to understand the overall goals of the Ministry of Education and SCAP during the period studied, how these were reflected in the curricula of English language education, and the people's reactions to them. In addition, the official gazettes were useful for understanding details of legal issues, such as laws and regulations.

5.1.2. Interviews. Another measure of collecting data was interviews. Since the participants' narratives were "rooted in history, but situated in personal, cultural, institutional and public ways of speaking about the past" (Columbia University Libraries, Columbia Center for Oral History, n.d., p. 2), this study incorporates an aspect of oral history. Notwithstanding concerns about the participants' memories as stated earlier, "oral history is now considered one of the most effective ways to preserve and transmit memory, experience and values" (p. 2). This sub-section will describe the purposes, procedures, and analysis of the interviews.

The purpose of the interviews was chiefly to explore the last of the research questions shown above: What was the perceived impact of the policies of English language education on the students and teachers of English during World War II and the Occupation? Interviews were conducted with nine people: three men and six women. To conduct these interviews, recruitment of the research participants was necessary.

Procedures of the recruitment of the research participants. The focus of the research is on middle level schools in the old school system and junior high schools in the new school system after 1947. Therefore, the research participants needed to have undertaken the level of education concerned during the target period. It was preferable to find respondents who experienced both phases of English language education during World War II and the Occupation, because they could compare these different periods themselves and narrate their thoughts and feelings. Ideally, the cohort would have

attended different types of schools, as it was deemed more informative to have a heterogeneous group rather than a homogeneous one. Schools were categorized in two different types:

1. Public schools.
2. Schools influenced by foreign cultures.

Schools in category 2 were likely to be private. Public schools usually follow the lead of the Ministry of Education by implementing policies consistent with the prescriptions of the Ministry, while most of the private schools have more autonomy in their decision-making and enact these accordingly within the framework provided by the Ministry of Education.

Several measures were taken in an attempt to recruit research participants, which was not a straightforward task. First, letters asking for help to find potential research participants were sent to seven alumni associations, including two alumni associations to which the researcher belongs. Follow-up letters and emails were sent if the gatekeepers did not initially reply. Eventually, a staff member from each of the researcher's two alumni associations responded, and appointments were then made to meet the gatekeepers. The researcher telephoned these gatekeepers twice before leaving the United States for Japan to reconfirm the appointments. Prior to the appointment with one alumni association, the committee members decided at a council to provide access to a list of the members who were around the target ages. The gatekeeper of the other alumni association also provided a list of potential participants and telephoned several potential research participants.

Another alumni association replied to a follow-up email that was sent a few weeks after the initial one. It declined to provide any kind of information of its members to an outsider. Its regulations were definitive, and there was no room for further explanation or negotiation. The remaining four alumni associations did not respond to any of the letters or follow-up emails.

Two research associations in Japan were also contacted. While in Japan, the

researcher requested help in finding potential research participants via a mailing list of one research association and at meetings of both associations. None of the members who were present at the meetings knew of any potential participants. Nor was a response obtained from the mailing list.

Another means of recruitment was the Internet. Messages seeking potential research participants were posted on the bulletin board systems of local societies for seniors along with emails sent to their administrations. However, this generated no responses. Social networking services such as Facebook, Twitter, and Mixi (one of the social networking services in Japan) were also utilized. Unfortunately, the attempt to gain cooperation from several associations and societies as well as social networking services did not bear fruit. Ultimately, the most efficient method of recruitment was the researcher's personal connections: her own two alumni associations and her friends and family.

After securing the research participants, appointments for interviews were made by telephone. The locations of interviews were always the participants' choices: coffee shops, their houses, a workplace, or an alumni office. Public places such as coffee shops were perhaps one of the most convenient places for people to meet a stranger for an interview. However, coffee shops were not usually the best places to conduct interviews, as they could be noisy and distracting, and less private. It was sometimes uncomfortable to have people around us who were curious about what we were doing. Therefore, a house or an office was more suitable if the circumstances allowed.

Research participants. Nine people—three men and six women—eventually agreed to contribute to this research. All these people had completed at least middle level education, which was optional prior to 1947. English language education was generally provided in middle level schools and above, thus research participants had to have attended middle level schools.

The following list provides brief descriptions of the research participants, in order of their birth dates. Pseudonyms are used for the names of the research participants, teachers, and schools relevant to them throughout the thesis to protect their anonymity. Appendix D indicates locations where the participants lived when they were in middle level school, with the exception of Yoko, who lived in China:

1. Yoko was born in 1923. She was born and raised in the Japanese territory in China, and she was monolingual. Her first language was Japanese as the family lived in a Japanese residential area and she attended Japanese public schools. She states that she did not understand the Chinese language very much because it was unnecessary in her daily life in China. She finished girls' high school (see Appendix B), married a Japanese man, and stayed in China until the end of World War II. Her husband had been drafted, so she had to repatriate herself alone with a baby. Date of interview: April 13, 2012.
2. Chizuko was born in 1924. She was born and raised in Yokosuka, where an Imperial Naval base was located, and attended a private Buddhist girls' high school in Yokohama. After graduating from girls' high school, she continued her education to become a nurse. She went as a nurse to Taiwan (ruled by Japan at the time) during World War II, and was repatriated after Japan's defeat. She continued working as a nurse for some time in Tokyo, then found a job at an American base there. In 1967, she moved alone to the United States. Date of interview: January 10, 2012.
3. Kiku was born in 1928. She was born and raised in Hiroshima. She attended a public girls' high school. Date of interview: July 29, 2011.
4. Hisami was born in 1928. She was born and raised in Hiroshima. She attended a private Christian girls' high school and advanced to a specialized school (see Appendix B) in the same school corporation. During the Occupation, she lived in

Tokyo for some time. Date of interview: April 18, 2012.

5. Nami was born in 1930. She was born and raised in Hiroshima. Her father was a Christian pastor and spent some time in the United States before the Pacific War, while other family members remained in Japan. Nami socialized with some foreign missionaries and their families due to her father's profession. She attended a private Christian girls' high school and advanced to college, majoring in English in the same school corporation. She was among the first students of the college after the education reform. Date of interview: June 30, 2011.
6. Hideo was born in 1931. He was born and raised in Hiroshima. He attended a public middle school, then moved to a rural area and attended a public agricultural school there. He advanced to high school under the new school system. Date of interview: June 14, 2011.
7. Michi was born in 1931. She was born and raised in Hiroshima. She attended a public girls' high school there. She continued her schooling when the new school system started and finished senior high school. Date of interview: July 29, 2011.
8. Toshiya was born in 1932. He was born and raised in Tokyo. He attended a government middle school. The school was not a military academy, although the Chancellors of the school corporation during World War II were retired Admirals. Toshiya continued his education under the new school system and advanced to Tokyo University, the highest-ranking university in Japan. After university, he entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He was sent to Princeton University in the United States for two years, sponsored by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and following this he began his career as a diplomat. Date of interview: June 23, 2011.
9. Shigeki was born in 1935. He was born and raised in Fuji, Shizuoka. Shigeki attended a public junior high school and was one of the first junior high school students under the new school system launched in 1947. He is the only research

participant who did not experience middle level education before the reform. He advanced to senior high school after graduating from junior high school. Date of interview: June 22, 2011.

The information above is arranged in tabular form in Appendix I. In addition, Appendix F displays the periods of middle level or lower secondary education of the research participants along with some major political occurrences at the time.

The backgrounds of the research participants are diverse: For example, the years in which they were born range from 1923 to 1935—the ages range from 10 to 22 when World War II ended; one of them was a former diplomat; two of them were repatriates from the former Japanese territories; all five members who were born and raised in Hiroshima were victims of an atomic bomb; and the participants attended different types of schools (Hisami and Nami went to a same school). A high proportion of the research participants from Hiroshima is due to the location of a gatekeeper. The wide range of the research participants' ages is significant, as the age difference of 12 years would be likely to affect individual views. Each of these participants has varying experiences culturally, academically, and socially.

Method. The research method consisted of semi-structured, face-to-face, in-depth interviews lasting approximately 60 minutes. Each interview was with an individual, with the exception of two participants who were friends, and wanted to be interviewed together. The interviews, all of which were conducted in Japanese, were undertaken between June 14, 2011 and April 18, 2012, mostly in Hiroshima and Tokyo, Japan. One interview was conducted in the United States. The interviews intended to ask the following points:

- How politics influenced the research participants' lives.
- The nature of English classes during World War II and the Occupation, and the participants' recollections and opinions of these.

The research participants were encouraged to talk freely but since the interviews were

semi-structured, the orientation of the conversation was controlled to minimise irrelevant data.

Lichtman (2010) explains the advantages of in-depth interviewing:

The purpose in this style of interviewing is to hear what the participant has to say in his own words, in his voice, with his language and narrative. In this way, participants can share what they know and have learned and can add a dimension to our understanding of the situation that questionnaire data or a highly structured interview does not reveal. (p. 143)

In-depth interviewing is consistent with the phenomenological approach that is employed for this study. It also allowed the researcher to ask the participants further questions and to explore responses in more detail.

The researcher prepared prompting questions for the interview in the hope of obtaining answers or implications for the overarching research questions. The questions focused on the participants' experiences, thoughts, and feelings at the time when they were students, and were based on perspectives such as power, oppression, and egalitarianism in society. These points of view were selected because the participants had lived through the significant hierarchical, militaristic, and democratic changes of the target period. Appendix J outlines some of the questions that were prepared to guide the interviews and for confirmation of the participants' circumstances.

5.2. Data Analysis

All interviews were recorded except for the pair of friends; one refused to be recorded because it felt uncomfortable and the other empathized. The recorded interviews are stored in the researcher's IC recorder, computers, and on USB drives. All the interviews were transcribed and are stored in the researcher's computers and USB drives. The University of Technology, Sydney (UTS), Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) presents some requirements for data storage. For example, record must be stored

in a secure area with access limited to authorised users. The recorded data are stored, observing the requirements directed by the UTS, HREC.

The recorded interviews were transcribed and analysed using a phenomenological approach to examine through a critical lens how politics and ideology influenced English language education in Japan. As Willig (2001) points out, “Qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with meaning. That is, they are interested in how people make sense of the world and how they experience events” (p. 9). Qualitative researchers, especially those influenced by phenomenology, attempt to interpret what the observed language or the behaviour means for the informant (McLeod, 2000/2007). Phenomenology fits this research, as “Phenomenological research is used to answer questions of meaning. This method is most useful when the task at hand is to understand an experience as it is understood by those who are having it” (Cohen, 2000, p. 3). Phenomenology is also designed “to describe and understand the essence of lived experiences of individuals who have experienced a particular phenomenon” (Lichtman, 2010, p. 75), such as being English language students in a particular context. These former students experienced one of the most extensive education reforms in the history of Japan as well as changes of sovereign power. This study explores how they perceived their experiences, and how their perceptions and recollections might inform our understanding of the times, as well as social and educational theories, policies and practices.

Van Manen (1990) noted two specific purposes of the interview in phenomenological research:

- (1) It may be used as a means for exploring and gathering experiential narrative material that may serve as a resource for developing a richer and deeper understanding of a human phenomenon, and (2) the interview may be used as a vehicle to develop a conversational relation with a partner (interviewee) about a meaning of an experience. (p. 66)

Similarly, Roulston (2010) observes,

Social science researchers who focus on generating data to examine participants' lived experiences have made frequent use of phenomenological interviews. The purpose of this kind of interviews is to generate detailed and in-depth descriptions of human experiences. (p. 16)

There was no need to conduct a large-scale survey as the research is about how individuals perceived their situations and the education reforms of the time and, as already mentioned, securing research participants proved to be difficult. Phenomenology was used to explore the experiences and thoughts of the research participants through their own perceptions. According to Smith (2013), "In recent philosophy of mind, the term 'phenomenology' is often restricted to the characterization of sensory qualities of seeing, hearing, etc.: what it is like to have sensations of various kinds" (section 1 para. 4). However, this research adopted the traditional phenomenological approach, which focuses "on subjective, practical and social conditions of experience" (para. 8), because neural activities, that is, "sensations of various kinds" (para. 4), were not the focus of this particular research.

This research is designed to study "conscious experience as experienced from the subjective or first person point of view" (Smith, 2013, para. 2). The content of each participant's "lived experiences" (Lichtman, 2010, p.75) was investigated because each participant had his or her own story to tell, even if he or she had shared the same phenomena as other participants.

A phenomenological approach allows the researcher to investigate how the participants, the "first persons," perceive themselves. This means different perspectives on the same or similar incidents are likely to arise. The researcher can capture these individual details with this approach. Phenomenology was therefore considered an appropriate approach to help in understanding individual experiences and to investigate especially the research question about participants' perceptions.

5.3. Ethical Issues

The research participants were to discuss their experiences during World War II and the Occupation. It was important for the researcher to make sure that the research participants were as comfortable as possible when sharing their memories, which could be unpleasant. The research participants were made aware of their rights before the interviews, observing the guidelines presented by the UTS, HREC, such as the right to decline to answer any question, the fact that they could withdraw from the research at any time, and that they could review their responses if they wished. Armed with this understanding, the research participants signed the consent form.

When an interview was conducted at a coffee shop, the expenses were met by the researcher, with a few exceptions, and all respondents were offered a modest compensation for their time in the form of boxes of confectionery valued at 1,000–1,500 yen (12–18 Australian dollars) per person. Consistent with Japanese cultural practice, the gifts were graciously accepted.

All of the participants were aware that they would not be identified in any way. Each participant was accorded a pseudonym and all the data were identified or labelled using this pseudonym. All correspondence with potential and actual participants was confidential and separately stored. The pseudonyms are used for this thesis, and for all resulting publications, presentations, etc. The researcher is able to identify the participants, having interviewed them, but they will be unidentifiable to other people.

5.4. Problems Encountered in Collecting and Analysing Data

5.4.1. Finding research participants. Recruiting research participants was not anticipated to be problematic, as Japan enjoys long life expectancy. The World Health Organization (2014) ranked Japan number one in 2012 with 84 years of life expectancy at birth. The requirement that the research participants needed to have experienced at least middle level or lower secondary education meant that respondents were at least 80 years

old at the time of the interviews. During the search for potential research participants, it became clear that despite Japanese longevity, physical and mental wellbeing might be problematic. One of the potential research participants who had agreed to have an interview was hospitalized and had to cancel the interview. The researcher also tried to find former English teachers and obtained a small amount of information about former teachers who had taught during the target period, but unfortunately, no former English teachers were well enough for an interview, and none of the rest were English teachers. Confidentiality and privacy policies of some organizations also caused problems by not releasing any information about their members.

5.4.2. Interviews. Some research participants remembered more clearly the things that they were interested in, or that had a strong impact on them, rather than their schooling. This is understandable as it has been a long time since then. The fact that their memories are fading emphasises in part the significance of this study. One of the things they remembered well was the scarcity of food. Another was the atomic bomb in Hiroshima for those who actually experienced it. Five research participants lived in Hiroshima and were victims of the atomic bomb. Understandably, memories of people who were in Hiroshima in World War II are very often associated with the atomic bomb. The research participants were encouraged to speak freely, but it was sometimes necessary to steer the narratives so as not to spend too much time on their experiences of the atomic bomb.

5.4.3. Method. Apart from difficulties in securing potential research participants, people often hesitated to participate when they knew that it would be for a doctoral thesis as they thought they could not say anything helpful for an academic work. Sharing one's own experiences for an academic purpose was awkward for some research participants. Many of them hesitated to participate in the research if it meant they had to sign the consent form because it suggested rigid formalities and the idea that they could not make a

mistake. One of the participants did not sign until the interview was finished and she had found out that there was nothing formal about the interview and there was nothing to worry about. While the purpose of a consent form is clear, it can become a little problematic in a culture like that of Japan, where verbal promises are mostly the norm for other than official events or business contracts.

Because it was difficult to find potential research participants, any candidate who showed even a modicum of interest to cooperate was welcomed. As already mentioned, two of the research participants were friends, and they agreed to have an interview only if they were together. Interviewing friends together had been anticipated to result in rich data, as the participants could be more relaxed, but in reality, this resulted in some unrelated chatting.

Following data collection, validating findings through strategies such as member checking or triangulation is supported by many qualitative researchers (Creswell, 2008; Creswell & Miller, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; McLeod, 2000/2007; Merriam & Associates, 2002), but member checking can be difficult to conduct as the research participants are not always available to participate in follow-up interviews or discussions (McLeod, 2000/2007, p. 240). As well, it is typical for many Japanese people to be quiet even if they disagree with others (Nisbett, 2003). Moreover, there is no guarantee that the things with which the majority agreed are the truth (Walton, 2006). Further cooperation also means consuming more of the participants' time. This is not easy to request unless rapport between the interviewer and the participants is established, which does not usually happen within a 60-minute interview. One of the participants clarified before the interview that an interview was the only participation possible. Therefore, member checking was not conducted.

5.5. Summary

For this study, the data were collected from documents and interviews to generate answers to the research questions. The documents include publications on education during World War II and the Occupation and education reform during the Occupation issued by GHQ, SCAP and the Ministry of Education of Japan along with opinion polls, statistics, and some magazines.

The interviews were conducted with nine participants with quite diverse backgrounds. They were located through the help of institutional gatekeepers and the researcher's friends and family. Prior to the interview the research participants were told about this research and informed of their rights, and they gave informed consent. There were some intercultural problems encountered in relation to the interviews. However, the semi-structured interviews were smoothly conducted, which allowed the participants to talk freely within the loose conversational framework. The research participants are not identifiable and have been given pseudonyms. The interviews were conducted in both public and private places, according to the participants' choices. The interviewees were asked about their experiences, thoughts, and feelings during their time as students, with the questions based on socio-cultural perspectives such as power, oppression, and egalitarianism in society.

The collected data were analysed through a phenomenological approach. Phenomenology was selected as it allows the researcher to examine how the participants perceived themselves. A phenomenological approach was an appropriate method for this study as it helped the researcher capture individual details and is compatible with the use of interviews.

In the next chapter, findings from the interviews with the research participants and the documents will be outlined.

Chapter 6 Findings

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with nine participants. The collected data were first individually analysed after being transcribed, then cross-analyses were undertaken. The backgrounds of the nine participants were quite diverse, thus each of their experiences was unique. Therefore, in order to facilitate the process of comparing and contrasting each participant's experiences, individual case studies were compiled first, in reference to the research questions, and taking into consideration the respondents' contexts. The codes that emerged were initially loosely categorized, primarily based on their similarities—for example, similar events and experiences they discussed. The categories were as follows: textbooks, class instructions, attitudes toward English, treatment of English teachers, cancellation of English class, male chauvinism, elitism, geographical disparities, new and remaining disparities, the English conversation boom, English language schools, and the occupation forces. These categories were then sub-divided by the periods of time, as follows:

1. Before World War II (from 1935 to December 7, 1941).
2. During the War (from the December 8, 1941 to August 15, 1945).
3. After the War and during the Occupation (from August 16, 1945 to 1952).

Each of the three periods above embodies its unique characteristics in English language education. However, the most significant changes were made during the Occupation by General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (GHQ, SCAP); thus the codes are divided into two periods—before and during the Occupation.

Further examination of the codes was then carried out to refine the categorization. The themes generated through this procedure are described in Appendix K. Not all themes applied to all participants. For example, English became an elective only for female students, whereas for males it remained compulsory in status. Also, two of the

respondents, Kiku and Michi, did not have English classes when they entered girls' high school (see Appendix B).

As a result of cross-analyses of the data, six themes were discerned: three themes prior to the Occupation and three themes during the Occupation. These are shown below, in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1

<i>Themes</i>	
Before the Occupation	During the Occupation
English language education before and during World War II	Textbooks
The language of the enemy	Remaining disparities and new problems
Disparities in education	Attitudes towards the old enemy and their language

As Table 6.1 shows, the themes before the Occupation are (a) English language education before and during World War II, (b) the language of the enemy, and (c) disparities in education. Those during the Occupation are (a) textbooks, (b) remaining disparities and new problems, and (c) attitudes towards the old enemy and their language. These themes will be discussed in the remainder of this chapter, which is a collective representation of what the researcher has learned through interviews. In addition to the findings from the interviews, some information derived from primary historic sources and documents will also be provided in this chapter. For the purposes of reading this analysis, a name appearing without a year of publication accompanying it can be presumed to be that of a research participant. Please also see Appendix C for translations of the Japanese terms shown in italics.

6.1. Theme Period: Before the Occupation

During World War II, especially during the Pacific War, “panopticism” (Treilhard,

as cited in Foucault, 1973, para. 7) was in force in Japan. All people were under incessant surveillance under the Public Security Preservation Law (*Chian Iji Ho*). Approximately 80,000 people were arrested during the 20 years the law was in effect, not including those arrested after 1944, about whom records do not exist (The Ohara Institute for Social Research, Hosei University, 1965, p. 119). Between 1937 and 1943, 6,417 people were sent to the prosecutor's office and 1,686 of these were prosecuted (p. 120). Between 1937 and 1940, only one defendant was sentenced to capital punishment. However, after 1941, when the Public Security Preservation Law was revised, the government enforced the law more extensively with heavier punishments (p. 114). For example, in the Sorge Case (*Zoruge Jiken*) in 1941, two defendants were executed (pp. 120, 169). In addition to those executed, a large number of suspects died in prison or during interrogation (p. 119).

Under these circumstances, people were afraid of being targeted by the police force. The government established a surveillance network throughout the country, the *Tonari Gumi* system (refer to list of Japanese Terms, p. ix). If someone had been reported for unpatriotic conduct or statements, he or she would be suspected as a spy and summoned by the military police or the special higher police (refer to list of Japanese Terms, p. ix) for interrogation. If the suspect was convicted, he or she faced imprisonment or capital punishment, depending on the severity of the crime (The Ohara Institute for Social Research, Hosei University, 1965). However, all the research participants remember *Tonari Gumi*, rather, as mutual aid. They did not recollect being overseen and uncomfortable.

For example, Yoko remarked, "I didn't feel anything repressive." However, when she was asked if she was able to say anything she wanted to say about the government or the military, Yoko strongly denied it. "No, no. We couldn't say anything negative about the government or the military. *Never.*" Other participants responded similarly. None remembered being overseen or uncomfortable, but none was free to express any criticism

of the regime. They responded that the circumstances had always been that way, and being uncritical was the way they had to be. They also stated that it had been natural to live in that kind of situation, and they had not thought about it particularly. The remaining sections on the period before the Occupation will examine the experiences of the participants in this panoptic society.

6.1.1. English language education before and during World War II. One of the characteristics of English language education of this time period was that the military, the power holder of the time, came to control education. Another was that the line between education for future elites and others was more distinct than it came to be during the Occupation. In this section, English language education before the education reform by SCAP will be discussed with respect to two thematic categories: the contents of textbooks and teachers' attitudes.

Contents of textbooks. Toward the end of World War II, when Japan's situation became seriously worse because of continual annihilation and withdrawal from battle lines (Kato, Ke., 2009), the government demanded more participation in the war effort from the people, including students. For example, the Cabinet created guidelines to establish systems to mobilize students in wartime in 1943 (Naikaku Seido Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, 1985). Following this trend, and with the military behind the Ministry of Education, published textbooks then turned militaristic (Hoshiyama, 1983).

Although the series of textbooks, *English 1-3*, was the only English reading textbook for the middle-level schools published during the Pacific War (Committee for the Bibliographical Database on Foreign Language, 2004), the textbooks which had been published previously were used as well. According to Erikawa (2008), "78 foreign language textbooks, including German and Chinese, were authorized between 1941 and 1944" (p. 87). Participants other than Toshiya may have used textbooks published prior to *English 1-3*, as Toshiya was the only one who remembered using a textbook which contained

militaristic materials. In fact, it appears that he used *English 1*, considering his description of his textbook:

The textbook consisted of militaristic sentences like “an airplane is flying,” and “a tank is running,” and “we worked at the airport as our labour service,” and so on. And there were about ten lines of these things in one page . . . We studied this kind of militaristic textbook a page or two a class.

Toshiya entered middle school (see Appendix B) in 1944, which corresponds with the year of publication of this textbook. The Chancellor of Toshiya’s school corporation at the time was a former Admiral. This may have influenced the school’s choice of their textbooks.

Teachers’ attitudes. English teachers’ attitudes toward teaching differed in Toshiya’s and Chizuko’s schools, an elite and a non-elite school respectively. This will be further discussed in the later section on disparities among schools. Teachers at Toshiya’s school appear to have trained selected elites among the most capable students, and teachers at Chizuko’s school do not appear to have taken the trouble to teach the language of the enemy to female students who would not pursue further education. These teachers also needed to worry about attending to their teaching schedule under the constant observation as Chizuko mentioned.

According to Toshiya, their teachers did not care a great deal whether most students were keeping up with their lessons; they were training future elites. They were aiming to reach higher. This was the opposite attitude of Chizuko’s English teacher, who cared little if the students understood the lessons. They were not aiming to reach higher, either. Chizuko explained:

The Ministry of Education was sort of watching [the English teachers] at that time because English was a troublesome language to use, you see? So I guess that the teachers taught us half-heartedly. That’s why we did not study hard. All we needed

to do was just to translate English into Japanese and hand it in. Just like that, so it wasn't a big deal.

These English teachers were not enthusiastic about teaching this troublesome language.

Chizuko added:

[The teachers] just kept moving one chapter after another. They were never sure if the students really understood, but they had to follow their teaching schedules, so they just went on. They didn't teach with care. The students who did not understand the lesson failed. The teachers had to stick to their schedules.

At this girls' high school, it appears that the teachers' focus was just to conform to their agenda. In any case, Chizuko did not perceive that her teachers were concerned about their students' progress in English. When telling about this episode the first time she showed disapproval, but on a retelling of it she appeared empathetic for the teachers because they were always under scrutiny.

6.1.2. The language of the enemy. It appears contradictory for the government to tell the people to avoid using English on one hand, and to instruct schools to provide foreign language classes on the other hand. This is an example of the tendency of the government to treat well-educated people and cadets differently from the majority. The government controlled more closely the kinds and amounts of information it gave to the common people than to the well-educated elite (Erikawa, 2008), which included some of the participants of this study.

This section will discuss the learning of English during the time it was regarded as the language of the enemy from the following points of view: (1) students' attitudes toward studying English, (2) treatment of English teachers, and (3) cancellation of English classes.

Students' attitudes toward studying English. Some students continued to study English at school even when the use of English was shunned in society. Their thoughts and attitudes about studying the language of the enemy at the time will now be explored.

Hideo was looking forward to starting English class at school, as it was a new experience for him. He described the students and teachers in these English classes:

English was the language of the enemy, and we avoided English. So some students were unwilling to study English. But on the other hand, others were enjoying learning a new language. The teachers were always enthusiastic about teaching despite the circumstances.

Hideo, himself, was not worried about English being the language of the enemy.

One of his classmates once said, “I didn’t study English very hard because it was the language of the enemy.” Hideo said, “The attitude toward learning English depended on the individual students.” All the participants of this study who had English classes reported being interested in learning a new language. All of them also considered it natural to study English even though it was the language of the enemy because their schools were providing it. Thus, they did not question the study of English. Hideo explained, “I was a good student, and I wanted to do well in class, so I would study hard whatever I was expected to learn. It didn’t matter at all if it was the language of the enemy.” Similarly, Toshiya observed, “I suppose the first graders in middle school [equivalent to K-12 Year 7] studied whatever was offered without having any opinions or questions.” These students who did not feel any resistance to studying English may have had different experiences from the ones who came to detest not only the enemy but also their language.

The populace at that time was under mutual surveillance with the *Tonari Gumi* system. This situation confirms the argument of Treilhard (as cited in Foucault, 1973) about living in the panoptic society. Chizuko, for example, recalled, “If I caught someone using English loanwords, I would call out, ‘You used English. You are unpatriotic!’” Chizuko described herself having been very patriotic. Hisami also remembered that she had had a burning passion to be patriotic. Yet, Hisami’s passion was not as obvious as Chizuko’s, as she did not criticize other people as unpatriotic, as Chizuko did.

In this hostile environment for English, it was risky to study English outside school. Around 1942, the English language school that Nami's father had run for about a year after returning from the United States gradually lost students and finally closed. The English after-hours language school previously had some students of higher schools (see Appendix B) where English was mandatory. If they entered the military after finishing their education, they needed to know their enemy's language, according to Chizuko. Yet, they gradually stopped attending. Others, who were not students, but coming for their hobby or additional education stopped coming for fear of appearing suspicious, because there was no reason for these people to study the language of the enemy. They were perhaps afraid of being observed by enthusiastically patriotic people. The time when English began to be avoided differs, however, according to Hisami. She remembered that people had started replacing English loanwords with Japanese words around 1944, when she was in the fourth grade of girls' high schools (equivalent to K-12 Year 10).

During World War II, there were patriotic slogans that attempted to motivate all the Japanese to cooperate and fight against the Allied Forces (Hosaka, 1985), for example, "A hundred million people, single mind" [I], "Proceed! A hundred million fire balls" [I]. These slogans appear to represent many people's attitude at that time. Figures 6.1. and 6.2. are posters of such slogans. Thus, the entire nation was avoiding English, with the exception of a few places such as schools. Toshiya remembered that English words in baseball had been all switched into Japanese. However, he did not know that English was avoided in society. Baseball was the only example that he could remember with regard to rejecting English words. For example, "strike" was "*yoshi* (good)", and "ball" was "*dame* (bad, no good)." Therefore, he did not appear to have a guilty conscience about studying English. Rather, he stated:

There were some returnees from abroad at school. We had one or two returnees in each class who spoke natural, authentic English. And we all envied them. That

means we didn't feel any resistance against English.

Toshiya's school always had some returnees whose fathers had finished their terms working abroad. One of these returnees later became a diplomat, as did Toshiya.



Figure 6.1. Slogan: Luxury is our enemy.

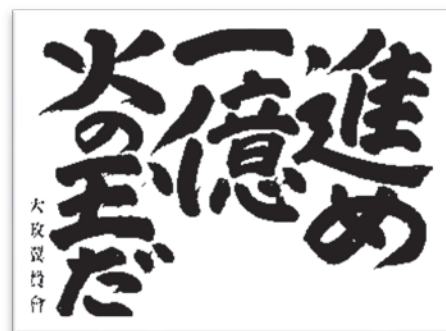


Figure 6.2. Slogan: Proceed! A hundred million fire balls.

Treatment of English teachers. The Japanese began to despise English because it was the language of the enemy. Teachers of the reviled language also became the targets of hatred, and their lives became restricted. Some participants described the circumstances of their English teachers.

As of April 30 1940, there were many American missionaries teaching at Hisami and Nami's school corporation, Iris Girls' Academy: three in the girls' high school and four in the women's specialized school (see Appendix B), but they all left for the United States at the end of the year, except for a Russian and an American teacher. Despite their desire to stay, they thought their leaving would be better for both the city and the school, as some aggressive citizens were campaigning against the school (Iris Girls' Academy Hyakunen-shi Hensan Inkaï, IGAHHI, 1991). Many foreign teachers in other schools also had to leave Japan unwillingly. None of the participants had native English speakers as their teachers before the end of World War II.

After foreign teachers had left, Japanese teachers of English continued teaching in some schools. Nami's father had been a pastor all his professional life and an English teacher for a while after he returned from the United States. People who had connections with the United States were suspected as spies by the military police and the special higher police. Nami's father was one who came under suspicion. Nami recalled:

If people knew that he spoke English, they saw him as a spy People could tell that he didn't belong to them, because he dressed differently. He just wore what he had at home. What he had brought back from America.

The military police were interrogating "suspects," and they summoned Nami's father as well. But it was mostly children who called him a spy. Nami recalled that some people were cold and gossipy in their discussions with and about him, and their children may have overheard them. Chizuko remembered that some English teachers had been shunned, although she did not provide any details.

Civilians could be vicious to English teachers, but this treatment was much less severe than that from the military police and the higher police. They harassed some of the teachers because they were officially entitled to do so. One of Nami's English teachers, Ms Shibata, had graduated from university in the United States and returned to Japan, then taught English. In 1945 Ms. Shibata, as well as the principal, vice-principal, and other teachers who had graduated from universities in the United States or had something to do with Christianity were often summoned by the military police, or else the military police came to school, because those teachers were suspected as spies. According to Nami, "The entire school was somewhat in an unsettled atmosphere." Nami continued, "Several people from school, including Ms. Shibata, were summoned to the military police and each one was interrogated for more than 10 days." Although slightly inconsistent with Nami's statement, a record shows that the interrogations continued five or six days (IGAHHI, 1991).

When the students saw the military police visiting their teachers, they had no idea why the police came and why they wanted to speak to their teachers. Therefore, the students felt uneasy and worried, but they gradually learned the reasons for their visits, according to Nami. Whether intentionally or not, the military police were harassing the students by making them feel uneasy and scared. After the days of interrogation and long-term harassment, four of the teachers and workers were eventually forced to resign due to the politics at school (IGAHHI, 1991).

Although there were some people who did not like to have English teachers around them or actually harassed the teachers, many students, including all the participants, respected their English teachers and treated them in the same ways as other teachers. Hideo explained:

We did not alienate the English teachers because they were teaching English . . .

What mattered was the teachers' character or their human nature, not what they were teaching. The students followed the teachers if they were good teachers, despite the fact that they were teaching English, the language of the enemy.

Hisami remembered her English teacher as "a very nice person." She did not care at all what subject the teacher was teaching.

Chizuko had a favourite English teacher, Mr. Yamamoto, whom she described as "nice and fashionable, and good-looking." Yet, he disappointed her when they were on a school trip, and he and some students, including Chizuko, were on the same aerial cablecar with a foreigner at a tourist attraction. The foreigner talked to the students, but they did not understand him. Chizuko was looking forward to hearing what Mr. Yamamoto might say. But he did not say anything. Chizuko complained, "Mr. Yamamoto knew better than we, and he could have shown us English in practice. But it didn't happen, and I was very disappointed." This episode disappointed her, but her respect for Mr. Yamamoto did not change as "they [English teachers] knew a language that we did not know, even if they

could not actually use it. I thought they were great.”

Cancellation of English classes. Rendering English language education for female students optional resulted in cancellation of classes in some girls’ high schools. Some of the schools, including middle schools, gradually stopped providing English classes (Erikawa, 1998; Suwa, 2001).

The male participants did not suffer from cancellation of English classes even while the war progressed. English became elective or unavailable only for female students. Neither Kiku nor Michi had English classes when they entered their girls’ high schools.

Nami was able to study English only for her first year at girls’ high school before World War II ended. When English study was cancelled at her school, all of the English teachers had to teach something else, although Nami could not recall what they taught. These teachers were in a better situation as they did not have to leave the school and pursue completely different occupations, even though they may have been teaching outside their area of expertise (Iketani, 1968; Kurosawa, 1999). Cancellation of English classes sometimes resulted in dismissal from teaching (Chiba University, 1981; “Henpenroku, Eigo Kyoin”, 1942). It is not certain if there were English teachers who accepted the cancellation as natural due to the circumstances at that time.

At Nami’s school, even while Ms. Shibata was repeatedly summoned by the military police, the students did not feel any resistance to studying English with her. For Nami, to study with the teachers there, whoever they might be, as well as to stop studying English were both “the right thing to do because it was the school’s decision.” When English classes were cancelled, she had few regrets about it despite the fact that she had enjoyed studying English. Nami was obedient and accepted situations as they arose without question. However, other students, such as Yoko and Hisami, did have regrets.

Yoko recalled, “I really wanted to study English. Everyone did.” Her reasons were, “I guess everyone thought English was a fashionable language to learn. Studying English

made me feel that I was a bit smarter. You know, like A, B, C.” When she studied Chinese, she did not feel so clever because many Chinese characters were used in the Japanese writing system and the Chinese language did not appear completely different to her. She also hypothesised, “The Japanese may have seen the Chinese as less important at that time.” In those days, some areas of China were under the control of Japan. As well, according to Yoko, most of the domestic servants for the Japanese were Chinese. Senses of both superiority and inferiority affect people’s behaviours and attitudes, and they tend to behave and think accordingly (Peters, Beutel & Elliott, ABC News, and ABC News Productions, 1970/2011).

Yoko was still very young then, but she was raised in that atmosphere. She explained that there were some other students as well who had the same idea as herself. When her school cancelled English classes without explanation to the students, Yoko wondered why. Yoko and her friends enjoyed studying English and did not want it to be cancelled. Of course, they could do nothing about it. She heard that the teacher had become sick, so she presumed that the teacher was too sick to come back to school. Whether this was so, or just the stated reason, can only be conjectured.

Hisami also wondered about the reasons for the cancellation, as she wanted to continue studying English, but she did not even think about asking the teacher for the reasons. She appraises herself as “easy-going.” Even if Yoko and Hisami wondered, they never actually asked the teachers, because students were expected to be obedient (Koshiba, 1981).

As the female participants stated, all of them who still had opportunities to study English at school were enjoying their classes. Yet, when English classes were cancelled, their reactions varied. In addition, the fact that the only female students suffered from the cancellation reflects the wartime mindset and the unquestioned privileges that males enjoyed at the time.

6.1.3. Gender-based disparities in education. The social hierarchy in Japan was much more rigid and influential before the introduction of democracy, and education above the middle level was reserved for a limited number of people. And even within that elite group of students, some disparities were evident. Two significant disparities emerged from the participants' stories, namely, discrimination against women's education, and English language education in Christian girls' high schools and other girls' high schools.

Discrimination against women's education. The cancellation of English classes discussed above appears consistent with discrimination against women; neither of the male participants experienced it. Not only in English language education, but also education in general, discrimination against females prevailed. When the Education System Order issued in 1872 commanded that all children go to school, attendance remained low, especially for girls, despite the efforts of the Ministry of Education. Parents considered that education for females could be harmful for their lives (MEXT, n.d.343). This belief was resistant to any challenge.

When Michi was asked about her intention to continue her education after graduating from her girls' high school, she immediately replied, "I had to get married." It was not that she had a fiancé then, but she and her family thought that further education might not be good for Michi's marriage prospects. If a woman were more educated than or as educated as a man, he would not have wanted to marry her, as there were expectations that he should be superior to her (Oka, 1979a). Therefore, discrimination against women and elitism in education overlap, as elites were solely men, resulting in wholesale exclusion of women. Michi was the only one who professed the importance of marriage in her life rather than advancing education. She asserted clearly that marriage was the path she needed to take and other futures were unthinkable for her.

English language education in Christian girls' high schools and other girls' high schools. Male and female students followed different school regimes under the old

system, such as the Middle School Regulations for male students and the Girls' High School Regulations for female students (Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, MFPB, 1943b). This was illustrative of the discrimination against women. For example, the curricula were different, and female students were provided "fewer intelligent subjects" (Kihira, 2000, p. 93) [TJ]. Girls' high schools were set at a lower academic level than middle schools, although both were categorized as middle level education (Kihira, 2000). Within that lower level, there were disparities in English language education.

Hideo "had quite a few hours of English at school"; Nami, who went to a Christian girls' high school that emphasized English language education more than other girls' high schools (Fujimoto, 2007; Iris Girls' Academy Junior and Senior High Schools, 2012; Tsuzuki, 1999), recalled that they had two English classes a week. When the Ministry of Education officially announced making English classes optional for female students in 1943 (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, MEXT, n.d.511), Iris Girls' Academy was one of the few girls' high schools that retained them. Therefore, Nami considers that she was "in a better situation that we had English classes at school." Nami heard that some girls' high schools did not offer English classes. She was advised of this by some new students who had gone to different girls' high schools, then entered Iris Girls' Academy after the new school system commenced. However, as Erikawa (1998) stated, "Girls' high schools stopped offering English class one after another" (p. 190) [TJ], Iris Girl's Academy eventually cancelled English classes. Erikawa's statement corresponds to all the female participants' situations, except for Chizuko and Yoko, who were not in girls' high schools around this time. Michi and Kiku went to different girls' high schools from each other and in fact did not have any English classes during World War II.

When Chizuko was in a girls' high school, foreign language lessons were offered for up to three hours per week in many girls' high schools (MFPB, 1901). Chizuko went to a private Buddhist girls' high school, then to a nursing school of the Japanese Red Cross.

She remembered, “We had two hours of English a week at our girls’ high school.” However, “nursing school did not offer any.” She continued, “Private girls’ high schools like Christian schools were teaching English. You know? English was an important subject there. There were three Christian girls’ schools in Yokohama [see Appendix D], and the students there were studying English.” The Ministry of Education decided to offer either English or French, or both, in girls’ high schools (MFPB, 1901), and Chizuko indicated, “There was a French Mother Superior at Yokohama Girls’ High School,” which suggests that they had French classes there. Christian schools were often founded by foreign missionaries, and conditions for foreign language learning were much better there than at other girls’ high schools, some of which had none.

Hisami spoke about the English class at school that her older sister had taken. Hisami and her sister both went to a private Christian girls’ high school where English language education was emphasized along with Christian education. Although the foreign teachers were preparing to leave Japan and no longer teaching when Hisami entered the school, during her sister’s time English classes were divided according to the students’ achievement levels. English classes were taught by Americans, and the students in the most advanced class had to speak English in the entire class. This school was the only girls’ high school in the city of Hiroshima that had foreign teachers, according to Nami.

Hisami’s sister was very fortunate to be in a better learning environment, compared to Chizuko’s school in Yokohama. While Chizuko respected her English teachers, she had some negative feelings toward them because of their unenthusiasm, as explained earlier. Her negative feelings were not limited to how the teachers conducted the class, she also complained about their ability to use English. She explained that her English teachers could not pronounce the sounds that did not exist in the Japanese language:

Their pronunciation was awful. Especially, they could not pronounce “f”, “v”, “th”, etc. Right? They skipped what they couldn’t pronounce. They managed somehow

without using the words which contained those sounds. They didn't correct our pronunciation. Never. They didn't teach us, like you need to bite your lower lip to pronounce "F" and so forth.

These complaints apparently emerged from a comparison with a teacher at an English language school she later attended after World War II, which will be discussed later.

The regulations for girls' high schools were more lax than those for middle schools and permitted girls' high schools to provide no English classes, even though English was positioned ostensibly as a required subject (MFPB, 1895). Foreign teachers of English were employed almost exclusively by private Christian schools in the case of girls' high schools because the government did not employ any for female students (Fujimoto, 2007). Iris Girls' Academy was consistent with this, and it appears to have provided better English language education than other girls' high schools.

6.2. Theme Period: The Occupation

Equal education for all citizens was ensured by the Fundamental Law on Education implemented in April 1947. This made English language education, which had been reserved for the students over middle level education, accessible to everyone by making lower secondary education, that is, junior high school, mandatory. Because of this, the percentage of the students advancing to middle level education grew from approximately 25% in 1940 to more than 90% in 1950 (MEXT, 1999). This made English language education accessible to practically everyone. In the following sections, the periods during the Occupation will be studied with regard to the contents of textbooks.

6.2.1. Textbooks. Japan was defeated in August 1945 and needed to start anew. New textbooks were in demand, but it was impossible to prepare them in the month before schools resumed. Students had to cover with ink some content deemed inappropriate for the new Japan until they were provided with interim textbooks in 1946 (MEXT, n.d.371).

Shigeki remembered that he had inked various textbooks other than those for English when he had been in the sixth grade, before his English classes commenced. He stated, “The teacher said, ‘the occupation forces had ordered us to erase some sections with ink, so everyone, put some ink over this part, and this part.’” Shigeki was upset, thinking, “Americans are egocentric.” What Shigeki understood was that they covered some parts with ink, “because we would become anti-American if the education policy remained the same.”

Hideo also experienced inking textbooks. He recounted:

We erased the bad places with ink. The places bad for GHQ. You could sort of see it through the ink what had been written, but we erased them with ink anyway. So it might have been a show of cooperation to GHQ that we were cooperative.

The puzzling thing is that Nami, a year older than Hideo, did not ink her textbooks. She explained, “We didn’t have that kind of textbook. Everything was burnt in Hiroshima. So we didn’t erase things with ink like in other places.”

Nami described their textbooks of the time when she had returned to school in February, 1946:

The textbooks were stencilled. We had a mimeograph at school. The mimograph had been relocated to the countryside with other things. . . . I think that the teachers had stencilled whatever they had wanted to teach and handed it out to the students.

Hideo also recalled, “After the war, we did not have any decent textbooks. They [the interim textbooks] were printed on the paper just like newspaper. We folded them and used them. We studied with that kind of textbook.” The interim textbooks were provided in the form of a newspaper rather than a book. However, no matter how poor the quality may have been, it was seen as better than nothing. The severe scarcity of the interim textbooks forced many students to use the inked textbooks for some time (Erikawa, 1994;

Naito, 1982).

Delivery of the new textbooks, which students were supposed to start using in April 1947 under the new school system, was delayed in many places due to the limited capacity for printing and binding (Chuto Gakko Kyokasho as cited in Erikawa, 2008). Shigeki's school was one of those that did not have the new textbooks for some time. He entered junior high school in 1947 when the new school system was established, and everything was supposed to start afresh. Shigeki recalled, "There were new textbooks, but it took a long time for them to get published, and we had to use old textbooks."

Shigeki spoke about the new textbook for the new school system that they had finally received. It appeared to him that neither the Japanese government nor SCAP tried to introduce democracy through English textbooks, or use them as propaganda to provide favourable impressions about America and Americans. He remembered, "Many of the chapters of the English textbooks were something like short stories." Other participants also agreed that they had not recognised any pro-democratic content in the materials. Although there were a few English textbooks that contained some sections on democracy (Horikawa, 1992), the participants used different textbooks, according to both Shigeki and Nami. No participants remembered reading democratic content in English textbooks. Such content became more prevalent after 1951 when the Ministry of Education issued *Suggested Course of Study in English*, which included content intended to promote peace and democracy (Sengo Kyoiku Kaikaku Shiryo Kenkyukai, 1951/1980).

6.2.2. Remaining Disparities and New Problems. Immediately after the War, the lack of teaching facilities and teachers was serious and needed to be urgently addressed. School facilities had been extensively damaged during World War II (MEXT, n.d.392), with Nami recalling that her school building, located in Hiroshima, was so damaged that snow blew into the classroom and everyone was freezing.

When the academic year started with the new school system, most of the junior

high schools were not yet fully ready. A school was fortunate if it had its own facilities and a sufficient number of certified teachers. Thus there were new kinds of disparities among schools alongside those that remained from the previous system. In this section, both the remaining disparities and the problems emerging after World War II will be discussed. The topics will be: disparities among schools, regional disparities, and students' low proficiency levels of English.

Disparities among schools. There were disparities among schools because the traditionally elite schools generally remained so after World War II. In terms of English language education, elite schools were providing better education, as witnessed by Toshiya at his boys' school, and by Nami and Hisami at their Christian school for girls. Even so, until the reforms of 1947, regulations allowed girls' high schools to offer fewer hours of English classes per week than middle schools.

Hideo first attended a local public middle school. English was the only foreign language that was taught there by a few Japanese teachers. On the other hand, the school Toshiya attended was a government seven-year school (see Appendix B), one of the higher-ranking middle schools, and many of the graduates advanced to Tokyo Imperial University (now Tokyo University), the highest-ranking university in Japan.

Elitism in education persisted. According to Toshiya, all the eight "number schools" (see Appendix B) had native speakers of English as English teachers, and all the seven-year schools also had foreign language teachers from France, Germany, and the United Kingdom respectively. The Ministry of Education required students to choose one foreign language among English, German, French, Chinese, Malay, or others until 1947 (MFPB, 1943b), thus some schools only provided English, as Hideo's school did. However, at Toshiya's school, the students had choices of three foreign languages, and two classes per week were offered with these foreign teachers and one class with a Japanese teacher. According to Toshiya, "The students who could not follow the class gave up: 'We don't

understand this. Objects and prepositions and so on are useless.' About a half of the class were like that." The teachers did not appear to worry about this fact, and were concerned only for the good students. This attitude of the teachers did not change, at least while Toshiya was a student there. In other words, elite schools continued to teach in the same ways they had done before the War.

Nami was fortunate to have other opportunities to learn English outside the school because of her father's profession as a pastor. She had close relationships with foreign missionaries. The missionaries and their families, and Nami and her family, invited each other to their houses and sometimes stayed overnight. She even joined a three-day summer camp for foreign missionaries' families. She was the only Japanese national there and managed to speak in English for the entire time.

While many of the schools were suffering from a shortage of English teachers, none of the participants, other than Hideo, recounted it. Hideo felt that his new school, an agricultural school, did not have qualified English teachers. Hideo first stayed in Hiroshima alone for his education in middle school after his parents moved to a house in a rural area where his father's parents had lived and had a farming property. However, it became difficult for him to find affordable food for himself after a few months, and his parents told him to move and live with them in the countryside. Hideo moved in spring in 1946 when the new academic year started. In the new location, there was no regular middle school, and only one agricultural school.

When school resumed after World War II, according to Nami, Iris Girls' Academy started only with Japanese teachers. The teachers included the existing ones, newly graduated ones from the English Department of specialized school of the same school corporation, and war veterans. Nami did not think that there were any uncertified teachers because the new teachers they had were graduates of the English Department of their own specialized school. This was an advantage of schools like Nami's, which had within them

specialized schools. Nami and Hisami's school as well as Toshiya's school were private and a part of a school corporation. There were some private schools which formed a school corporation and often contained educational institutions from kindergarten to college or university. These schools may have been self-sufficient in supplying new teachers as needed.

However, Hideo had English class in an agricultural school which was very different from that in his previous regular middle school. In middle school, the students appeared to respect and treat their English teachers in the same way as the other teachers even during the war, but the vocational school may have treated them with less regard, or treated English class as less important than other classes, such as in agriculture. "There were English teachers, but I wondered if some of them really had a teaching certificate."

Hideo also recounted:

English teachers in the regular school were better than the ones in the vocational school. Some English teachers in the vocational school taught English because they studied it until they had graduated from university. It was an odd job for them because their specialties were in agriculture. Their pronunciation was absolutely awful [compared with the teachers in middle school]. Because I had English classes in that low quality, I didn't learn much.

He continued, "When I think about it now, the agricultural school I went to may not have considered English language education as important."

Hideo was losing interest in English because of mediocre, unsatisfactory instruction. By contrast, the Japanese teachers of English at Toshiya's school were required to obtain a higher level of English as there were always returnee students who spoke fluent English. One of Toshiya's classmates was a returnee from abroad who subsequently worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Toshiya envied his friend's ability to speak English. He recalled:

His father was a diplomat, and he spent his elementary school years abroad and spoke English all the way through. So his English was so much better than mine, and still is . . . I was often impressed. Like, his pronunciation and so on.

Toshiya added, “There were some returnees from abroad at school. We had one or two returnees in each class who spoke natural, authentic English. And we all envied them.” These students returned to Japan as their fathers—always fathers—presumably finished their terms abroad. Their fluency in English inspired others in class. This did not occur in many schools.

When English classes restarted, Iris Girls’ Academy regained its previous reputation as a school that emphasized English. According to Nami, the school operated without foreign teachers for approximately a year. In September 1946 one missionary returned to school, as did two others the following year, and English was taught again. Iris Girls’ Academy was the only one that employed foreign teachers in the region at that time. In contrast to the period during the war, when some citizens harassed foreign teachers, when the war was over, the teachers’ return was welcomed, as Nami described:

Some public schools were reorganized, and some students had to change schools. New students were saying that they came to our school because we had foreign teachers. The number of applicants in the next year greatly increased. English language education was the feature of the school.

Hisami was already in the specialized school of the same school corporation. She majored in health, and her English teachers were Japanese, but she also received some help from an American missionary who had returned to school.

Except for some of the largest cities, such as Tokyo and Osaka, and cities with international ports, such as Yokohama and Kobe, foreign teachers were not readily available at least in the early stage of the Occupation. Therefore, Iris Girls’ Academy attracted many female students who wanted to study English with native English speakers.

Nami and Hisami were in a better situation in terms of foreign language learning, but the learning environment at Toshiya's school may have been one of the best at that time. The school offered a variety of foreign language classes, despite the fact that foreign language education was optional (Gakushu Shido Yoryo Detabesu Sakusei Iinkai, 2007a).

Toshiya selected English for his foreign language, and his school had both American and British teachers, including Elizabeth Gray Vining and Reginald Horace Blyth, who are both well known as the then Crown Prince's tutors. Vining came to Japan after World War II, but Blyth, a researcher of Japanese culture, had lived in Japan since 1936 and introduced *haiku* to English-speaking countries (Terebess Hungary, n.d.). The fact that Toshiya's school employed eminent teachers such as these suggests that the school did not spare any effort to provide the students with a high quality education.

Japanese teachers at that time taught grammar, and foreign teachers taught with an apparently content-based instruction, which is different from the majority of teaching methods employed currently in public junior high schools in Japan, where foreign teachers are functioning primarily as an assistant of a Japanese-national teacher (Aihara, 2004; Kawaguchi, 1988). Toshiya referred to Mr. Blyth's class:

We didn't have so-called English conversation class, but Mr. Blyth taught in English. So we didn't understand him much, but he spoke slowly and he was used to teaching Japanese students. So the class was moving somehow. . . . Mr. Blyth used an easy book. Something like a storybook for children. We read it, and he would ask us, "What does this word mean?" And if there was a sentence like "Mother is doing so and so," he asked, "Does your mother cook for you?" or "Is her food delicious?" or something like that. So if you want to call it a conversation class, maybe it was.

The students in Toshiya's school learned grammar from Japanese teachers of English and then hopefully used that grammatical knowledge when they spoke with foreign teachers.

In fact, “The students became good enough to get the gist of what the teacher was saying.”

Regional inequities. As discussed earlier, education in general was more important and competitive in large cities before the Occupation, and this remained the case during the Occupation. In 1953, the numbers of universities and students in six large prefectures represented approximately two thirds of those of the entire nation, and 63% of the private university students were in Tokyo (Ministry of Education, 1953). With a greater proportion of highly educated people, Tokyo provided students with more choice of schools. Inequities were also seen in English language education between rural and urban areas, it being perceived as less important in remote areas (Aizawa, 2005).

Hisami felt, “People in Tokyo were quick learners. They were different from us.” She added, “Their pronunciation was good, too. They were used to hearing authentic English with some foreigners around them.” She felt that Tokyo was different from Hiroshima, her hometown. The interesting thing is that she did not feel the English conversation boom despite attending an English language school in Tokyo. When Hisami was asked about the reasons for her taking English classes in Tokyo, she replied, “Well, I had time, and maybe because I liked English.” This comment suggests that she went to a school for extended education after finishing specialized school, and it just happened to be English. It was not because of the English conversation boom.

Hisami had to return to Hiroshima when she became ill, but after her recovery she did not feel that she wanted to go to an English language school again. She did not feel any pressing enthusiasm in Hiroshima to study English. This accords with the literature which argues that both students and teachers in the remote areas were doubtful about the usefulness of English (Aizawa, 2005).

One may think that in Hiroshima, victims of the atomic bombs may have had extra animosity to the occupation forces. However, this was not so for the research

participant. Hatred lingered for some of them, but it gradually dissipated. All five recalled that the occupation forces were nothing more and nothing less than other people. They were the same as the other people.

Students' low proficiency levels of English. Students were compelled to be at labour during the last period of World War II, and those days at labour were counted as school attendance. Therefore, some students graduated with little education (Imazeki, 2001; Kihira, 2000; MEXT, n.d.p). Some of these students advanced to a higher level of schools without fully completing the lower level.

Nami still had a few years of girls' high school remaining when the school resumed. Classes were held in a temporarily repaired structure. In addition to the state of disrepair of the school's facilities, lessons were also different from normal in Nami's eyes. Nami described her class:

We were in the transition period [to the normal state of schooling]. So the teachers taught classes subjectively. They taught what they wanted to teach. It was maybe like a *juku* ["cram"] school (see the list of Japanese Terms, p. ix).

Her description is based on the mimeographed textbooks, which she thought the teachers made for themselves. That is why she thought the teachers were teaching what they wanted to teach. This may be a misconception on Nami's part.

Nami graduated from high school under the new school system. She then moved on and entered the college of the same school corporation, majoring in English. Some of the teachers there were Fulbright returnees. Nami explained:

These teachers said to us, "It would go well this way," "This is the way in which it is supposed to be done." They emphasized, "This is supposed to be . . . ," "It should be . . ." It was the stage of trial and error. The college just opened, and we were the first students. So the teachers told us that it had to be done this way because they had learned it that way abroad. Then, the students could not keep up

with the teachers.

The teachers also assigned a large amount of reading in English. Nami complained, “Even if the teachers told us to read this much, it was way too much for us to read in English.” She confessed, “We had to read it even if it was too much in English, so we read a Japanese translation instead.”

6.2.3. Attitudes Toward the Old Enemy and Their Language. As previously noted, when English was the language of the enemy, social pressures did not allow its use. However, once the Occupation started, the Japanese felt that they needed to study American English because they realized that the occupation forces, that is mostly Americans, had become the rulers. People’s perceptions about their old enemy and English will be discussed under the following themes: the English conversation boom, English language schools, and the occupation forces.

The English conversation boom. As mentioned in Chapter 4, *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual (Nichibei Kaiwa Techo)* was published in September 1945 and its great sales demonstrated people’s interest in studying English. What had once been the language of the enemy became popular within a few weeks of war’s end. The change was swift and dramatic. All the participants lived through this boom, but perceived it differently.

Chizuko considered herself to have been very militaristic and used to call out people who demonstrated “unpatriotic” behaviour. For example, she would call out, “No permanent!” During World War II, there were slogans that cautioned against luxury, and respected simple life choices such as, “Until we win, we won’t want” [TJ] and “Luxury is our enemy” (Figure 6.1.) [TJ]. The permanent wave hairstyle was considered to be luxurious because at that time the waves were created by electric power which should not be wasted, and the “No permanent” movement developed in 1939 (Kodaira City Library, n.d.). The Army Ministry, Intelligence Bureau (*Rikugun-sho, Jobo-bu*) ordered abstinence from the permanent wave hairstyle, which was effectively prohibited (Nihon

Pamanentowebu-eki Kogyo Kumiai, 2011). Chizuko conceded her patriotism during the war, but all the negative feelings for the Allied Forces and English evaporated when the war ended. Chizuko mused:

The more intense you were in negating English, the faster you bounced back. . . . I had been very enthusiastic about doing A, but when the circumstances changed, I switched from A to B, then to C. I switched one thing after another quite a bit.

She meant that if she found something interesting or she must follow, she enthusiastically embraced it. She also followed the direction of the populace. Her attitude represented the faddishness of the Japanese (Hays, 2013).

While Chizuko changed her attitude toward English along with those around her, Toshiya's attitude did not change. He did not realize the shift in the ways the public treated English. Toshiya always regarded studying English as important. He was not a part of the phenomenon, despite being a member of his University's English Speaking Society (ESS, see the list of Japanese Terms, p. viii). When asked about the English conversation boom or the enthusiasm for English during the Occupation, Toshiya was familiar with the phenomenon. He recollected:

Yes, yes. The enthusiasm for English. Yes. The enthusiasm for English was, uh, people might have been feeling an urgency to learn it, or they might have been worried that they might be in trouble at work if they didn't understand English.

When he applied to the ESS in the university, there were too many applicants, and this must have been a part of the phenomenon. He explained:

If ESS had not tested the applicants, hundreds of students would have become members of ESS. . . . The test was to write a love letter to someone you loved, and we all tried our best to write one, and about one out of three passed.

Only one third of the applicants passed, but there were nevertheless 70 to 80 freshmen as new members of ESS. It was one of the largest clubs in the university.

These swarming ESS applicants were only one aspect of the phenomenon. The radio program *English Conversation (Eigo Kaiwa)*, also known as *Come Come English (Kamu Kamu Eigo)*, enjoyed high ratings (Kihira, 1995), too. The active demand for ESS and *Come Come English* illustrates the high popularity of English at that time, but Toshiya recalled, “At that time, people may have thought that English was necessary more than they actually needed. In reality, it wasn’t so necessary, was it? Like for people who worked for companies.” He also stated, “So when you think about it, they didn’t have to be pressed like that. But they may have thought that they would not get promoted at work if they didn’t study English.”

As Toshiya pointed out, it was not that everyone needed English. Similarly, Nami perceived that people did not feel any necessity to study English, even in the areas where the occupation forces were stationed, as discussed in the following section. Nami did not see any particular enthusiasm for studying English at school, either. She explained:

It was not like some students jumped onto English. We just did what we were instructed to do at school. Maybe some students had a strong desire to study English, but no such students were around me. We were saying that students at our school were not so enthusiastic.

However, Nami remembered seeing some people who wanted to learn English on the street. She continued:

We would go to English language school nowadays, but there were no such things at that time [in Hiroshima]. So when people saw foreign missionaries on the streets, some would come up to them and ask if they would teach them English.

As with Nami, Shigeki did not particularly feel excited about studying English at school. Rather, he started enjoying songs in English. For many people, studying conversational English was the boom, but for Shigeki, it was rather the boom of music in English. He remembers that rockabilly was popular. He explained, “We had surging waves of songs in

English. It sounded so fashionable to sing in English. Many people came to like them, and young people, everyone sang in English when they were to sing. There was that kind of atmosphere.” Shigeki continued, “Everyone thought singing in English was more fashionable than singing in Japanese.”

Singing songs in English was very popular, because English-speaking Americans “definitely looked fashionable” to Shigeki. However, he had only few opportunities to see the occupation forces. There was a military base in Gotenba, which was approximately 40 km (Keisan Kyori, n.d.) from where Shigeki lived, and some soldiers rarely passed by. Therefore, Shigeki was only familiar with English songs, not English speakers. After Shigeki started working, his boss suggested that he study English, but he did not feel any necessity for it at all in his life. He did not have any English-speaking customers, only Japanese. His liking for music in English did not motivate him to study English.

Kiku did not care for studying English after the war, either. She did not feel that it was relevant for her, as by the time the war was over, she had graduated from girls’ high school, and never had an opportunity to study English at school. She did not find any reason to start studying it after World War II. Michi did not feel English was necessary, either. It was enough for her just to take care of the requirements in English class at school. In contrast to Kiku and Michi, Hideo found it interesting to study English at his previous school. Hideo explained, “If I had stayed at the regular school, if I had gone to junior high school [instead of the agricultural school], I would have learned English much more.” He lost interest in studying English while he was in the agricultural school and never regained his interest even during the English conversation boom.

Chizuko described the living conditions at that time. “It was a tough time just to lead daily lives. We thought that we would need English, but it was pretty hard to go to an English language school. Only some special people could afford it.” When asked about *Come Come English*, she replied, “There were some people who were listening to it. But

other people did not have that luxury, because they had to work when *Come Come English* was being broadcast on the radio.” As well, radios became very scarce and expensive after the war. According to the Japan Radio Museum (2007), the production of vacuum tubes, a part of the receiver, lagged behind demand for three to four years, and prices in general soared after the war. “The prices of radios became 25 times higher than during the war. When the prices after the war were considered, they became 3-4 times higher at the end of 1947 than a year before” (Second section) [TJ].

People wanted to study English but not everybody could afford it. Chizuko was in the same situation. “I was living alone and needed to support myself. To tell the truth, I was financially in a very difficult situation at that time.” One of the reasons that Chizuko decided to work in an American military base was to study English while she was working. She thought that she would learn some English there while making her living.

Chizuko felt that women also needed an education from then on, and she wanted to study English because it was a tool for her survival. Yoko was in a different situation. She was married, and her husband was earning their living. She was busy taking care of their children and household chores. Yoko did not actually experience the English conversation boom, but she considered that English would be necessary from that time. However, studying English was something she did not consider relevant for herself. She and her husband had barely enough money to live on and support their children.

Yoko knew that *Come Come English* was broadcast on the radio, but she did not listen. She explained, “I didn’t have anything when I came back to Japan.” Her husband’s family, with whom Yoko and her family stayed, had one radio, but it was a nephew’s and no one else was allowed to touch it. The nephew was not listening to the program, either. Yoko stated, “I didn’t think about studying English. Maybe some did, but we were barely surviving.”

The English conversation boom was certainly a very large social phenomenon, but

not all the participants were a part of it, largely due to their financial circumstances, and its irrelevance to their daily lives. English was not important enough for them to spend their scarce money on.

English language schools. With English no longer seen as the language of the enemy and the English conversation boom beginning, English language schools outside the school system were in demand.

Hisami and Chizuko went to different English language schools, both in Tokyo. Before the Occupation, male and female students went to separate schools. Thus, it was the first time both for Hisami and Chizuko to study with male students. Hisami stated, “It was nice. I liked it better. There were various people in class,” while Chizuko recalled, “Men were noisy and coarse. But they were motivated.”

Hisami went to her English language school in the 1950s. She took classes in the afternoon. She was helping with the household chores at her family’s friends’ house in Tokyo. It was very common for young unmarried women to stay home and help with their mothers’ chores (“Josei Nito,” 2012) and to prepare for their future married life. Hisami had three older sisters, so she did not need to stay with their parents to help with their household chores.

While Hisami was in Tokyo, she helped with the chores for a while but had enough of them and decided to go to an English language school. She went there three times a week and enjoyed studying there. The ages of the students ranged widely: “There were some young students and some people in their 30s.” The contents of the textbook were basic, and the students repeated after the Japanese teacher in class. Hisami stated, “I enjoyed the English language school, and it was nice to have various people in class.”

As Hisami enjoyed studying English, she made efforts to continue. After World War II, food rations were so inadequate that one of the judges who strictly obeyed the law and never bought food in the black market died of starvation (“Hanji ga Yami,” 1947).

When Hisami was in Tokyo, the scarcity of food was still severe. Hisami recalled, “I sold one of my books on dietetics after all” to buy some food in the black market. She did not leave her books at home in Hiroshima but took them with her to Tokyo, which suggests their importance to her. Her living situations were not very easy, yet she did not consider quitting the English language school, but continued attending classes.

Chizuko also decided to go to an English language school in Shinjuku, Tokyo, soon after World War II. Chizuko was working as a nurse during the day and took evening classes. While Hisami started attending because she had some extra time and she liked English, Chizuko recollected, “Women changed. Women started thinking that we needed more education.” Chizuko stated that she had been living alone and not have to worry about taking care of other family members. She became interested in English. She recalled, “English was popular. We all thought that we had to know English to some extent.” She did not remember exactly how many students there had been at school, but she described it as “really a lot,” and “many of them were workers, not students. More and more people who were working during the day came to study English in the evening.”

Chizuko liked her teacher there. “She was quite strict and straight-forward.” The teacher was very enthusiastic and prepared the textbooks for her classes (at Hisami’s time, published books had again become available at these English language schools). The contents were very practical and conversational, and were perhaps in high demand at that time, with many English-speaking SCAP soldiers around them. Chizuko lamented, “I really should have continued to go. The teacher was really very good. But it became difficult. She was strict.” She also mentioned, “There were too many students, and I could not really study.” Chizuko did not specifically mention her economic status as a reason for discontinuing English school at this point, but she referred to it on a different occasion during the interview. Therefore, tuition costs appear to be a factor as well. Both Hisami and Chizuko liked the English language school, while their motives for studying English

differed.

The occupation forces. With the unprecedentedly large English conversation boom happening, it appears that people forgot that the Allied Forces had been their enemy. However, some people remained hostile to their former enemy, and others harbored a mixture of favourable and unfavourable feelings toward them.

Although Shigeki subsequently came to like songs in English, he was one of many people who still hated Americans very much for some time after the war. Dropping the atomic bombs made it impossible for him to forgive Americans, although he lived in Fuji, Shizuoka, which is close to neither Hiroshima nor Nagasaki (see Appendix D), and he had no personal relationship with the victims of the atomic bombs. He did not understand why Americans had to kill so many civilians, and could not pardon them. He could not transfer his hatred to friendliness as easily as some other people. Shigeki did not like being manipulated by Americans. It was not enough for Americans to make Japanese students ink some parts of their textbooks but they also made the Japanese diet more Western-style by introducing meat and bread. Shigeki claimed that, “Americans changed what the Japanese had eaten to have Japan keep importing a lot of beef from the United States. Everything was controlled by Americans. It was mortifying, but we had to be under the thumb of Americans.”

While Shigeki did not like being forced to change by the Americans, he was grateful that Americans supplied some food to the Japanese. He commented, “Food was just so scarce, and Americans gave us some food. I guess there were some positive aspects to Japan losing the war.”

Hideo also loathed Americans for a while for dropping the atomic bombs. He was also afraid that the Allied Forces would start attacking them again as he continued seeing their fighter aircraft flying over them, even in November 1945. People’s fear of war also manifested later in the result of a public opinion poll on social education conducted in

early 1953. A question was asked about the most troubling or disturbing issue at the moment. Respondents were to choose only one answer, and the results were as follows: (1) economic issues 21%, (2) war 11%, (3) jobs 7%, (4) re-armament 6%, and none 17% (Sori-fu, Kokuritsu Yoron Chosa-sho, 1953, p. 9). The total becomes 17% when war and re-armament are combined. More than seven years had passed after the end of World War II when this poll was conducted, but many people were still fearful of war, despite Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution renouncing war (see Appendix L). This was perhaps a reaction to the Korean War and the Cold War. Hideo was angry with and afraid of the Allied Forces, yet at the same time he, too, appreciated the food SCAP provided.

Hisami was the only person who clearly stated that she had few negative feelings for the Allied Forces even during the war, although she embodied burning patriotism at that time. She recalled:

I was just so desperately trying to escape from the air raids. I didn't think about the enemy at all. But when I heard a girl behind me kept saying, "Damn Americans," I realized for the first time that she was right. I guess I was really easy-going.

Hisami was perhaps in a minority in not loathing the enemy even while she was being attacked, but Hata and Sodei (1986) have observed, "After two to three months, that feeling [we will retaliate] completely disappeared. . . . I am presuming that it happened not only to me . . . but to many people" (p. 19) [TJ]. Nami felt that the occupation forces were just some other people. She was indifferent.

During the Occupation, Nami did not remember seeing many occupation forces in the city. She explained that Hiroshima had not been like Kure (see Appendix D), which is approximately 26 km from Hiroshima and was the largest naval arsenal of the country during the war (City of Kure, 2012). She did not feel English-speaking people were particularly friendlier or more intimidating during the Occupation. She explained, "When we went to Kure, it was like some foreign country. I was going, 'wow. Many Australians?'"

People in Kure may have thought that they needed to study English, but Nami disagreed. She explained:

They may have thought so, but they actually did not have any relationship with the occupation forces. People may have seen them, but that was about it, because the occupation forces brought their own food and so on from their countries.

Her indication about food accords with the literature (MacArthur, 1964/2001, p. 285). The fact that the occupation forces did not need to shop outside their bases decreased interaction with the local Japanese. While Australians were in Kure, Americans and the British were in Etajima (see Appendix D), an island approximately 7.5 km and 6 km from Hiroshima and Kure respectively (City of Etajima, 2013), and where the Imperial Japanese Naval Academy had been. The occupation forces were stationed there (Japan Maritime Self-Defense Force, The First Service School, 2008). Nami recalled:

The Naval Academy was on the tip of the island and away from the residential areas, so the residents there did not have much relationship with the occupation forces there, either. . . . We [some students at Iris Girls' Academy] were invited to sing there. The soldiers said "Hey" or something to us, but we would never speak to them.

Nami explained that the girls neither felt scared of them nor saw them as special. The soldiers were just other people to them. But while Nami was ambivalent, Toshiya enjoyed the time with the occupation forces.

Toshiya understood English well enough to point out when his older brother, also a future elite, made a mistake in his translation. Toshiya's family spent some time in Kamakura (see Appendix D), which is approximately 60 km from Tokyo (Keisan Kyori, n.d.), after their house in Tokyo was fire-bombed. He became friends with soldiers of the occupation forces in Kamakura and often talked to them.

Toshiya had another opportunity to communicate with Americans in English

outside the class. There was a baseball ground at his school, and it was kept intact even during the war, which was rare, as many people wanted to utilize ground to grow food. When Toshiya and his school baseball team were practising, some Americans of the occupation forces often came and played games with them. The Americans were happy that they had found a place to play. The students always welcomed the Americans because playing games with them was fun and the Americans always gave them 10 or so balls that were almost new.

Toshiya did not mention how much conversation they had in English, but he described one communication between a teacher and the Americans:

The occupation forces were often coming to school. Then, a teacher [a Japanese teacher of English] visited. We were watching him arrive. Then he spoke to the Americans. The boys were curious and came around the teacher and the Americans. And the teacher asked, “Where is your camp?” Then an American mumbled something. Then the teacher said, “Ah, yes.” And the conversation was over. Then, we thought that the teacher only could do that much. He bothered to come out of the building and walked to the place where we were playing baseball, and he was about to talk to the Americans about something. [We could have just ignored them and left to get dressed, but] we were curious and surrounded them in our dirty uniforms to see what was going to happen. Then, he went, “Where is your camp?” and “Blah, blah, blah,” and, “Ah, yes.” That was it. Then we thought, “Oh, he can’t communicate [in English].”

After entering Tokyo University, Toshiya became a member of ESS there. ESS members visited American officers’ houses after dinner twice a week in a group of six or seven. There would be about the same number or more of Americans there, and they talked over coffee and dessert for about two hours. Toshiya remembered:

I didn’t really understand what the Americans were saying. But I said what I

thought three or four times in each visit. I contemplated what to say, and I only said what I could. I guess everyone was doing the same, so the conversation somehow continued.

They discussed various issues such as politics, the economy, and Japan-U.S. relationships. The students were from Tokyo University and were intelligent, so the American officers also may have found it interesting to talk to them.

The majority of the people may have forgotten the hatred they once had toward the former enemy (Hata & Sodei, 1986). Chizuko stated, "I loved MacArthur. The biggest reason was that he acknowledged the imperial system." Chizuko respected Emperor Hirohito so much that she recounted:

I felt funny. I could not help crying when I saw the Emperor [Hirohito] at the San Francisco Airport on TV when both of the Emperor and Empress visited America together for the first time [in royal history, in 1975]. I was thinking how he was feeling because we lost the war.

Chizuko confessed that, "I don't feel this way to the present Emperor [Akihito]." She explained, "I didn't think that the Emperor was the god, but I saw him as the somewhat special sovereign. So I thought we had to follow his orders." For Chizuko, Emperor Hirohito was so important that he had to remain in the position. For her, the acknowledgement of the imperial system was the best thing that MacArthur did.

Attitudes toward their former enemy varied from person to person. The hatred of the people who had continued to loathe the Allied Forces eventually evaporated. One of the participants had personal interactions with the occupation forces, but the occupation forces largely stayed inside their bases in some regions. Therefore, they and the local Japanese did not engage one another in those areas, which contributed to diminishing people's interest in studying English.

6.3. Summary

This chapter has discussed findings from the interviews with participants. The themes emerging from the analysis are categorized into two different periods: before and during the Occupation. The themes before the Occupation are (1) English language education before and during World War II, (2) the language of the enemy, and (3) disparities in education. Those during the Occupation are (1) textbooks, (2) remaining disparities and new problems, and (3) attitudes towards the old enemy and their language.

6.3.1. Before the Occupation. Six of the research participants studied English before the Occupation. They reported that many students appeared to study English in the same way as other subjects because English was provided as a part of the curriculum. Some of their teachers, however, did not appear to be highly interested in students' progress. As teachers of the language of the enemy, English teachers were in a difficult situation outside the classroom, with many foreign teachers having to leave Japan and some Japanese teachers of English losing their jobs. Outside of school, some people were hostile to English teachers and the military police regarded them as spies. Most of their students generally respected their teachers for their characters, rather than condemning them for what they were teaching.

English classes were cancelled in girls' high schools but not in boys' schools, where they and other foreign language classes remained mandatory. This reflects the male privilege of the time, and possibly the wartime mindset. Some girls accepted the cancellation without question, while others wondered about it, but not openly. Along with higher-ranking boys' middle schools, both public and private, some private Christian girls' schools continued to employ native speaker English teachers. Students at these schools could hear English spoken authentically, while students who had Japanese teachers never learned correct pronunciation.

6.3.2. During the Occupation. Four of the six research participants continued to

attend English classes after the war, and two began studying English in this period. When school resumed after World War II ended, the first thing they needed to do was to cover militaristic or ultra-nationalistic statements and pictures with ink. Interim, poor-quality textbooks arrived for use only in 1946. Japan was trying to renew itself as a democratic country but none of the participants recognized any democratic statements or topics in their English textbooks.

In April 1947, the new school system was enforced and most junior high schools started providing mandatory English classes. The old elite schools and Christian schools continued to provide better English language education. Some schools provided English classes with both foreign teachers and certified Japanese teachers, but because of the scarcity of teachers, specialists in other subjects were required to teach English.

After schools resumed, there was a disparity between teachers' expectations and students' abilities. Teachers wanted their students to reach certain proficiency levels, but the students were lacking prerequisite knowledge and skills. Better education, including English language education, was available in larger cities, especially in the Tokyo metropolitan area. People in remote areas gradually came to the view that English was less relevant to their daily lives and lost enthusiasm for studying it.

An English conversation boom started immediately after the War with the arrival of the American Occupation forces. ESS became popular, and the advent of conversation manuals, radio programs and popular songs attracted students to private English language schools, even though many of them struggled to pay for the tuition. Negative feelings towards English speakers dissipated as the relationship between the Japanese civilians and the occupation forces thawed.

The findings from the analysis of documents and interviews presented in this chapter will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 7 Discussion

The research questions for this study are as follows:

1. How did education, especially English language education, at middle level schools in Japan during World War II and the subsequent Occupation, reflect the policies and shed light on the apparent mindset of the political power holders of the times?
2. How might Japanese culture and the Japanese psyche explain some of the responses to these events?
3. What was the perceived impact of these policies on teachers and students of English during those two periods?

In order to discuss these questions, the findings presented in Chapter 6 will be discussed in two sections, according to the periods before and during the Occupation. Many of the topics discussed are directly related to the research questions, and others are necessary to provide some background information.

In the first section, “Before the Occupation,” the findings will be analysed from the following three perspectives: incessant surveillance, disparities in English language education, and the language of the enemy. The second section, “During the Occupation,” will focus on English textbooks for the new era, remaining disparities and new problems, and attitudes towards the former enemy and their language. The perspectives are similar to the themes shown in Table 6.1. (p. 164), except for the inclusion of “incessant surveillance.” This perspective was included because the government’s incessant surveillance was not only oppressive to the Japanese people, it also influenced their attitude towards English language education. In the order of their birth years, the female research participants are Yoko, Chizuko, Kiku, Hisami, Nami, and Michi, and the male participants are Hideo, Toshiya, and Shigeki (see Appendix I).

7.1. Before the Occupation

7.1.1. Incessant surveillance. As previously discussed, until the end of World War II, the Japanese exercised control through education and government propaganda, and incessant surveillance through the *Tonari Gumi* system (Dear & Foot, 2005; Kitahara, 2002-2004; General Headquarters, Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers, GHQ, SCAP, 1949; refer to the list of Japanese Terms, p. ix). While it was a troubled environment, the people had an ability to filter out circumstances that were disadvantageous to themselves (Festinger, 1957). For example, none of the research participants reported feeling uncomfortable about the incessant surveillance or having negative impressions on the *Tonari Gumi* system. They were perhaps so accustomed to their situations that they did not even consider the fact that they were never free to criticize the regime. Also, they were too young to pay attention to the circumstances.

In addition to the ability to filter out negativity or become accustomed to it, the underlying Confucian principles of Japanese society may have played a role. Kin (2006) argues that the Japanese sense of values was based on Confucianism and realized primarily in *Bushido* (see the list of Japanese Terms, p. viii), the principles for *samurai*. According to Kin (2006), Confucianism has five practice items of virtues. Three of these are relevant here: “Proper rite (*rei*)” refers to the loyalty that one dedicated to the lord, “humanness (*jin*)” and “righteousness or justice (*gi*)”. These set out ways of sacrificing for the lord and one’s family as the right way to live, it being virtuous to endure this without expressing personal complaints and desires. “It can be said that *Bushido* constituted ethics, which was created with modified Confucian principles by the regime” (p. 48) [I]. Kin’s argument explains the description of Japanese self-sacrifice by Lombard (1913). The class of *Samurai* was abolished in 1872, four years after the demise of the Tokugawa Shogunate. The *Samurai*, however, obtained the status of teachers, and the philosophy of self-sacrifice was

introduced to the general public in the Meiji period (1868-1911), following the Tokugawa Shogunate (Yoshino, 1968).

The *Tonari Gumi* system was supported by the people's belief that they all had to unite and cooperate to win the war, a goal that was promoted by the government through mass media such as *Weekly Photographs (Shashin Shubo)*. This belief corresponds to a collectivistic-oriented Japanese society. The supreme expression of Japanese morality was to sacrifice self in accomplishing the will of the race (Lombard, 1913). The *Tonari Gumi* system was implemented in 1940 and abolished in 1947 by an instruction originating from GHQ and issued by the Home Ministry (GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949; Hirokawa Town, 2008). The people were constantly observed for at least five years, until the end of World War, and even if they had felt that this was unjustified, they were powerless to change the system. The phrases, "for the Emperor" and "for the nation," were very often used to justify many unreasonable things ("Kodomo-ra Senjo ni", 2014). The people could not resist in a totalitarian society. They were also afraid of being labelled unpatriotic and becoming a target of the police forces.

Even outside their own *Tonari Gumi*, civilians watched each other, and the special higher police and the military police (see the list of Japanese Terms, p. ix) controlled dissident talk and behaviour. Some people were enthusiastically trying to be patriotic by overseeing other people's behaviours. Chizuko and Hisami's stories suggest that there were many people who were eager to be profoundly patriotic and were perhaps competing with one another to demonstrate patriotism. The comments of the participants in this study suggest that all they could do was to try to ignore the constant surveillance. They may have filtered out the fact of being observed and also become habituated to that situation (McDougall, 2012; Thorpe, 1963). Similar tensions, trade-offs and ideological differences exist today with security cameras, airport security checks and the like (Richards, 2013; Yesil, 2006). Yet, one of the primary differences between the *Tonari Gumi* system and

present forms of surveillance is that the *Tonari Gumi* system attempted to put the people's thoughts under control of the government with the Public Security Preservation Law (*Chian Iji Ho*) and the Bureau of Thought Supervision (Beauchamp, 1995; Hitachi Systems & Services, 2006).

The surveillance of education was no exception. How English language education, in particular, was regarded before the Occupation will now be analysed from the perspectives of, first, the disparity between societal approaches to male and female learners of English, and among female learners themselves, and second, the perception of English as the language of the enemy.

7.1.2. Disparities in English language education. Because of hierarchical and paternalistic nature of Japan before the Occupation, women and girls experienced restriction and discrimination in their education, including English language education. Discrimination against females resulted from the interrelated attitudes of both the government and society. This section will examine discrimination against females' education and the influence of Christian girls' high schools (see Appendix B).

Discrimination against females' education. Education was highly valued in Japan. One of the primary reasons was that education was a way to advance one's life (Nishitani, 1996). In Japan, since at least the Meiji period, which began in 1868, the people with education and power were traditionally the men. The social system had long been this way. It is often the case that people adapt to the demands of their social world (Adler, 1979, p. 32). Therefore, those who found it unfair may not have tried to change these social systems, but adapted regardless, or may not have questioned it at all. Education for females was not considered as important as for males, and little was expected of female students in terms of their academic performance, even by many of the female students themselves (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, MEXT, n.d.611). The fact that females conceded their circumstances accords with the literature

(Benner & Graham, 2011; García Coll, et al., 1996; Peters et al., 1970/2011; Stone & Han, 2005). The sense of inferiority lowers self-efficacy and achievement levels.

With such clear gender roles, education for female students to become “good wives, wise mothers” at girls’ high schools was a measure for them to advance their lives by marrying above themselves (Onaka, 1991). After completing their education, at whatever level, marriage remained an important milestone for women, who had to prepare themselves for married life beforehand. Therefore, many young single women learned about household chores by helping their mothers at home, as did participant Hisami. The fact that males were meant to advance their lives through education and women through marriage explains the disparities in education levels. A woman would depend on her husband to live, which reinforced the lower value placed on women.

Another research participant, Michi, was asked if she had had any intention to continue her education after girls’ high school, and she promptly said no. Her promptness and certainty suggest that she thought that completing her education at the girls’ high school was the path she was to take. For Michi, getting married was much more important than advancing her education. With few other choices available, this was the course of life the majority of women took. Figure 7.1. shows a cycle which was difficult for many women to break.

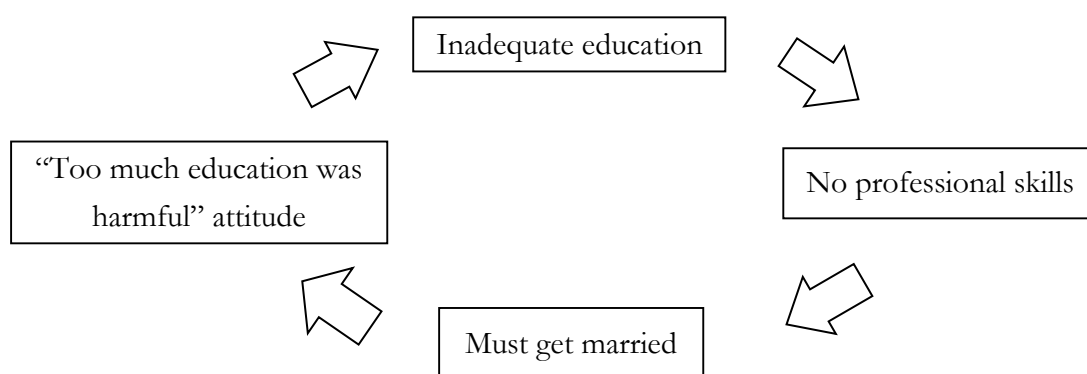


Figure 7.1. The cycle that many Japanese women experienced before the Occupation.

With inadequate education and few professional skills, women could not become economically independent and had to resign themselves to being reliant on men. Too

much education for a woman could also be harmful for marriage if her husband thought she might be superior to him. As well, arranged marriages, which represented approximately 70% of the marriages from 1930 to 1944 (Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare, 2011), would become more difficult for young women who stayed in school longer. An extended education was therefore considered unnecessary for women. Michi and Kiku regarded even girls' high school as additional education.

While some girls' high schools provided their students with no foreign language classes, the Ministry of Education had directed middle schools (see Appendix B) to offer English, German, French, Chinese, Malay, and other foreign languages to male students (Ministry of Finance, Printing Bureau, MFPB, 1943b). At the time, French appeared to be the most important language to learn in Europe (Imura, 2003), and the Japanese government offered the other foreign languages to support the government, the economy, and the military. These were the exclusive domains of men. Therefore, only for male students was foreign language education mandated.

This discriminatory attitude towards female students also applied to their study in general. Some female students were shocked to discover that the proficiency standard of the lessons for them were lower than for male students. It was “such a shock that I forgot about the air raids” (Koshiba, 1981, p. 62) [IJ]. However, the proportion of students who were dissatisfied with this situation was not large, as the goals for the majority of female students were to marry and become wise mothers, as they had been instructed. Uehara's (2006) survey supports this. When former students of girls' high schools in Okinawa were asked about the lower levels of their English lessons compared with those of male students, only two out of 49 answered, “they were dissatisfied” (p. 35) [IJ].

Christian girls' high schools. The Nobility Ordinance (*Kazoku Rei*), effective from 1884 to 1947, approved the hereditary peerage (*Kazoku*, MFPB, 1884). The social class of the peerage was fairly rigid, based on their pedigree. In contrast with this emphasis

on pedigree and family's social standing, other factors contributing to one's social status might be acquired or originated from one's abilities, such as income, education, and social prestige. This social status was fluid, while the peerage was static (Buraku Kaiho, Jinken Kenkyu-sho, 2001). One's social status could be raised or lowered due to his success or failure, for example in his business, but his social class or caste remained the same. Even with this fluidity of the social status, people retained the ideology of feudalism and did not perceive a sense of the individual being independent of the feudalistic hierarchy (Yoshino, 1968).

Since elitism contributed to the rigidly defined social hierarchy in Japan, education was one way to progress to a higher social status. In that sense, the door was open for capable male students to be successful if they wished, regardless of their social class. However, the proportion of the population that could avail itself of education beyond the compulsory level was small. This was one of the factors that produced disparities in education.

In terms of English language education, private Christian girls' high schools offered more opportunities than other girls' high schools, even though no girl's education was considered elite (Fujimoto, 2007). The disparities were obvious after the government made English language education an elective for female students, but were more significant prior to the time around 1941, when many foreign teachers left Japan. These disparities partially originated from how schools were founded. As an example from this study, there was much disparity between Hisami's older sister's school and Chizuko's school. Hisami's sister had American teachers for her English classes and spoke only English in class, while Chizuko and her classmates spoke minimal English without knowing the correct pronunciation. However, it was still considered better to have some English language education compared with none, as was the case for Michi and Kiku, for

example. It may also have been enough at that time to know how to read and write with few opportunities to actually interact with English speakers.

Chizuko admired her teacher, Mr Yamamoto, and naively believed that he could speak English fluently because he was a teacher and an expert in his field. Therefore, Chizuko was quite disappointed when Mr. Yamamoto failed to communicate with a foreigner on the aerial cablecar. Chizuko referred to this twice during the interview, which suggests the strong disillusionment she felt. This idea is consistent with Hofstede's (2001, 2010) argument about students' expectation and respect for their teachers in cultures with larger Uncertainty Avoidance Index and Power Distance Index. While one can only speculate, Mr Yamamoto had perhaps never spoken to foreigners in his life, as there were fewer native English speakers in Japan in the 1930s. As of 1940, the number of native English speakers, such as British, Canadian, American, Australian, and New Zealand nationals, living in Japan was 4,048 (Naimusho Keibo-kyoku, 1935-1942/1980). Even if he had decided to speak to the foreigner on the aerial cablecar, he might not have understood what the foreigner replied, as Mr Yamamoto was probably not used to listening to the spoken English of people other than the Japanese. Mr. Yamamoto might have thought that he lost face in this event in front of his students, but it was not the case, at least for Chizuko.

Chizuko attended a private school, but not a Christian one. For girls, native teachers of English almost exclusively taught in private Christian schools, whereas for boys, they were present in public schools as well (Fujimoto, 2007). If female students wanted better English language education, their only option was a Christian school, even if some students may have found it conflicted with their religious faith.

7.1.3. The language of the enemy. The prohibition on the use of English, the language of the enemy began in 1940 and was voluntarily perpetuated by civilians, some of whom were fanatically cooperative with the government. Some people, such as Chizuko,

were being purely patriotic and some would obsessively criticise those who used a single English loanword. This may have functioned as an outlet of their repressed feelings, according to Horio (2001).

By contrast, Toshiya, a future elite, did not even know that English was being boycotted. Future elites were excluded from the prohibition and continued to study English. The inconsistent treatment with regard to English education was a reflection of the government's discriminating attitudes towards elites and others.

English as the language of the enemy will be discussed now from the following perspectives: students' attitudes toward studying English, treatment of English teachers, teachers' attitudes toward teaching English, and English classes becoming optional.

Students' attitudes toward studying English. While broader society was moving toward banning English, some schools, especially for male students, persisted with English classes. Avoiding English outside schools was a means of displaying patriotism, and this affected some students' learning in school. Some very patriotic individuals, including a number of Hideo's classmates, felt uncomfortable about studying English, even if it was required at their schools. On the other hand, Chizuko, an older participant, who had already finished her English language education when the public started showing hostility toward English, did not need to think of herself as having English classes at school and could freely accuse "unpatriotic" people who used English loanwords in the street.

All of the participants of this study felt that it was natural to study English at school because English formed part of the school curriculum. They were conscientious and compliant students, conforming to the virtue of diligence. Yet, it was a totalitarian society. Before the Occupation, the Japanese regime regarded the nation as more important than individuals, the philosophy of *samurai*. In fact, the Confucian practice items of virtues, *rei*, *jin* and *gi*, underpinned totalitarianism, and the National Mobilization Law,

legislated in 1938 (Tokko Shinbun-sha, 1938), embodied this attitude (Hiratsuka City Museum, n.d.). Controlled by their government, people were trying to unite against the enemy. Therefore, some students did not focus on studying English because it was the language of the enemy. An English educator noted, however, that this provided an excuse for those students who were not diligent about studying English (“Henpenroku, Eigo Kyoiku,” 1942).

According to Toshiya, all students in his class envied returnees from abroad who spoke authentic English. Their focus was to improve themselves in whatever they were studying and paid little attention to the public’s hostile attitudes toward English. Toshiya was unaware of any students who were unwilling to study English because they considered it the language of the enemy.

The government’s inconsistent attitudes toward English confused people who were involved in English language education. While the Ministry of Education did not prohibit English language education in schools, antipathy towards English led even male students to abandon their avid study of English in private English language schools such as that of Nami’s father. Not only English teachers, but also students became targets of observation. This compromised their rights and the opportunities to teach and to study English.

For Hideo, the attitudes towards English during the war depended on the individual student. Each student had his or her own attitude toward studying English. Even if it was the norm that the entire nation should unite to fight against the enemy, not all the population agreed to a boycott of studying English. This indicates that school curricula were regarded as very important and the public conceded the use of English in that context.

There is a saying in Japan, “If you hate a monk, you also hate his surplice” (Inoue, 1992, p. 65) [I], which means if one loathes someone, he or she will come to dislike

everything about that person. Some students, such as Hideo, neither complained about studying English at school nor blindly believed that they should despise the language of the enemy. School curriculum was important for them. If the school offered something for study, they were to study it, as Toshiya observed. These students could be said to loathe the enemy but not their language. In any event, the students who studied English diligently and those who were reluctant to do so were all doing what they were told to do. The difference was which path they chose to follow, their school's or the public's. At least they had a choice, while adults were compelled to avoid using English. None of the participants who needed to make a choice hesitated to follow their schools' decision. School curriculum was most important for them.

In 1942 when English was prohibited in society, some English educators criticized aggressive eliminators of English, claiming, "They are nothing but disgusting" ("Henpenroku, Eigaku Jihyo", 1942, p. 220) [TJ]. Morris (1943/1997) pointed out that the majority of people were realistic and knew that English was necessary, for example, for trading with foreign countries (p. 106). Given these statements and the positive attitude of some students, only the most fervent haters of English may have been enthusiastic about shunning the English language, at least around 1942. This corresponds to Hisami's recollection, that is, the public began replacing English loanwords with Japanese words around 1944 when she was in the fourth grade of girls' high schools (equivalent to K-12 Year 10).

Even though students did not use English outside the school, English was still a mandatory subject in middle schools. Hideo was interested in English, considered himself a good student and wanted to do well in class, so he, along with other research participants, studied diligently whatever was mandated. Toshiya also said he did not resist studying English, as he was unaware that English was shunned in society. In fact, he was the only participant of this study who was unfamiliar with the ban on English. This is surprising, as

it seems to have been common knowledge that government had prohibited it. Toshiya had lived through those days and had some experience of playing baseball, in which English loanwords were all converted into Japanese. The location where Toshiya lived, Tokyo, could have been one factor, but Chizuko, also from the Tokyo area, was certainly aware of it. In any case, English was only one of many foreign languages that were taught, and Toshiya considered them all equal. He explained, “I suppose the first graders in middle school [equivalent to K-12 Year 7] studied whatever was offered without having any opinions.” Similar views were mentioned by other participants.

Students and parents would not argue with their teachers and schools, especially during the Pacific War, when obedience became absolute (Koshihara, 1981). Non-experts were required to keep quiet in public, even if they actually did not agree with the practices of a school (Doi, 1952).

Treatment of English teachers. Chizuko went to a girls’ high school in the late 1930s. Many of the Japanese teachers of English were not trained in listening to and speaking English (Imura, 2003). Chizuko appears to have assumed that Mr. Yamamoto did not understand what the foreigner said in the aerial cablecar, which would be one, but not the only, plausible explanation. However, students in general would regard their teachers as much more knowledgeable than themselves, especially in the teachers’ specialties. Chizuko expected this notion to be confirmed during the aerial cablecar incident and wanted to be reassured that this was the case. Despite her disappointment, the fact that Chizuko continued to respect Mr. Yamamoto accords with the literature on students’ respect for their teachers (Hofstede, 2001, 2010; Reed, 1937).

After most of the foreign teachers and native English speakers left Japan, English continued to be taught by Japanese teachers, even though the antagonism toward English persisted. The English language school that Nami’s father owned closed down around 1942 because the students gradually ceased attending. Some people called Nami’s father a

spy. The students respected him as a teacher but were cautious and stopped learning from him. Because the general atmosphere at that time did not yet appear to be hostile toward the English language as mentioned earlier, it is not clear if this type of harassment was conducted only by more aggressive people or if it was harsher in some locations, such as the more conservative or rural areas.

According to Nami, people did not only cry out “unpatriotic” when they observed someone using English words, they also paid attention to English speakers because they could be spies. Similar suspicions for the fellow citizens were held against the U.S. citizens of Japanese descent in the United States during the War (United States National Archives and Records Administration, n.d.).

While using English words was rather superficial, it was still prohibited by the government. Violation of the regulations, especially those created to support the war effort, was considered unpatriotic and inexcusable. Such people could be arrested. It was important for the police to brand the arrested as lawless people who resisted the nation under the Public Security Preservation Law (Ogino, 2010). Therefore, English speakers needed to be careful about the surveillance networks of civilians, the military police and the special higher police. The military police not only intimidated students, but also actually interfered with students’ learning by visiting schools and summoning teachers. They did this to expose rebels and spies. “Its [Power’s] legitimacy is irrelevant. Might prevails over right” (Hofstede, 2010, p. 77). Hofstede (2010) argues that in a society in which power distances are large, power precedes the choice between good and evil. Under the circumstances, it is easy to understand that some students were reluctant to show enthusiasm for English.

While the military police were harassing the English teachers, some civilians were also acting against them. The hostile attitudes toward English and English speakers were not initially harsh, as mentioned earlier. The civilians only wanted to be patriotic and

cooperative with other people, and to fight together against the enemy, as Chizuko did. While more and more people approved of this attitude and joined the movement, the degree of their antagonism grew due to the competition for patriotism among people. The people who called these English teachers and speakers spies did not actually know them well, and so acted on little or no evidence. People who were eager to ban the use of English were trying to be cooperative to win the war, but they were in fact, obstructing education for students by harassing English teachers. People involved in the English language education, including teachers and students, underwent unjust treatment. Especially, females faced multiple discrimination along with the gender discrimination.

While the English language was regarded as the language of the enemy, English language teachers were as respected, as were other teachers at least in school. Hisami thought that her English teachers were respectable, good teachers. None of the participants in this study indicated they showed hostility towards these teachers. The research participants continued to respect their teachers even if the teachers were suspected of being spies and repeatedly summoned by the military police. As Hideo said, it depended on the teachers' personalities whether students respected them.

Teachers' attitudes toward teaching English. Teachers' attitudes can affect the learning environment for the students, and the English teachers of this period were responsible for providing a positive and motivating learning environment for the students. As with Yoko, Chizuko received her English language education before the Pacific War, just as society was moving toward boycotting the use of English. Chizuko recalled that English teachers were under surveillance of the Ministry of Education when she was in girls' high school. There was no freedom to argue about the policies, and teachers could but comply (Koshihira, 1981). Anyone, such as one's supervisors, colleagues, and neighbours, could report anti-government behaviours to the authorities. In terms of the method of observational control alluded to in Chapter 2, panopticism was functioning

effectively.

The situation of being observed was apparently disturbing for some English teachers. Chizuko felt that her English teachers were not teaching enthusiastically. She said some students failed because their teachers did not appear to care if the students understood the lessons. Chizuko's hypothesis about the reason for the teachers' unenthusiastic attitudes correlates with the literature. For example, some teachers feared being viewed as "the liberals," which diminished their motivation in teaching English (Chiba University, 1981, pp. 1315-1316). In addition, what Chizuko was observing here is that when a teacher is not enthusiastic about conducting a class, the students may sense it, and this can create an atmosphere that will distract them from learning diligently. Chizuko blamed not the teachers but the times, and she was rather sympathetic towards the teachers because they were constantly observed and could not delay their teaching schedules. While students felt obligated to obey their teachers, Chizuko's sympathy emerged from respect. She recalled that she had not study diligently, but she had basically respected the teachers as they were more knowledgeable than the students. Teachers in Japan were respected much more before the Occupation (Tsuzuki, 1999) when the power distance was even greater than when democracy was introduced.

The Japanese have traditionally viewed working diligently as a way of self-cultivation. Yet, Chizuko, her English teachers, and perhaps some of Chizuko's classmates who were failing in English, do not fit the generalization. It is important to feel that one's work is meaningful, according to Turner (1991), and this was absent during the period when English was prohibited.

At that time a large number of graduates of universities and specialized schools (see Appendix B) were granted teaching certificates for middle-level schools without having any teacher training (MEXT, n.d.612). This means their students' expertise in

English may have been severely undermined by the teachers' poor linguistic skills, particularly their inadequate English pronunciation.

Hideo's English teachers in middle school were "always enthusiastic about teaching despite the circumstances," while Chizuko's English teachers taught half-heartedly. This difference between the teachers' attitudes could have resulted from the different types of students each teacher had. On the one hand, when Hideo was in middle school, English remained mandatory until the third grade (equivalent to K-12 Year 9, MFPB, 1943b), and the teachers were responsible for teaching future elites. On the other hand, when Chizuko was in girls' high school, English was basically mandatory with some exceptions. The status of English language education was quite similar to the middle school in Hideo's time, but Chizuko's English teachers may have felt uncertain about taking the trouble to teach the language of the enemy to female students. The teachers may have felt they were not teaching potential elites, who did not need to be educated as highly as male students, and would not need English in the future, unless the students wanted to become English teachers.

The English teachers of the other participants were all enthusiastic about teaching, but not all were fortunate enough to teach in rewarding circumstances. It is easy to understand how some of them gradually became demoralised when English classes became elective, there were few students to teach because of anti-English attitudes and, as Chizuko and Nami explained, teachers became constant targets of observation. Some teachers may have felt that they lost face by being publicly mistreated.

Kurosawa (1999) recalled a question that his English teacher had asked his students in his first lesson in middle school. He asked, "Why do we study English, the language of the enemy?" (p. 18) [TJ]. After spending the entire class discussing this, the teacher provided a reason, which was "to know your enemy." (p. 18) [TJ] Kurosawa suggested the teacher had done this for two reasons: one was to answer the most critical

question that many English teachers had, including Kurosawa's teacher himself; and the other was to inspire the students who were questioning the significance of studying the language of the enemy and were negligent in studying it (p. 18).

As evidenced in discussions in *English Language Youths (Eigo Seinen, 1940-1943)*, many English teachers tried to convince themselves that they were patriotic and contributing to society by teaching the language of the enemy. These teachers were well aware of their oppressed circumstances, but they needed to convince their students that they were not studying something meaningless or worse, especially those who were reluctant to study the language of the enemy.

There is a proverb in Japanese, "Select a big tree if you want shelter [from the rain]" (Inoue, 1992, p. 283) [T]], which means that it is better to select a person with power if one demands protection. This attitude corresponds to the description, "In [the Japanese people's] almost traditional respect for superior force, they took up their subordinate role in the experiment and gave to the world and to their conquerors the appearance of willing and sincere collaborationists" (Doi, 1952, p. 1). As evident also in these teachers' uncertainty about their attitudes toward teaching the language of the enemy, the Japanese have a tendency to look for "a big tree" to protect them and tell them what to do. This tendency to subservience and obedience would have made the governments' panoptic control easier.

English classes became elective. English classes lost compulsory status for female students in 1942 (Society for Historical Studies of English Teaching in Japan, HiSET, n.d.; Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, MIC, 2010b), but many girls' schools cancelled English classes altogether. Classes were also cancelled in some middle schools, but none of the male participants had their English classes cancelled until April 1945, except for elementary schools, all classes were cancelled (MEXT, n.d.353). This regulation also changed the lives of teachers and students at normal (teacher training)

schools (see Appendix B), where some students had to abandon their future hopes to become English teachers because of its bleak prospects.

While some English teachers lost their jobs, others were fortunate enough to remain at schools to teach subjects other than English, as Nami observed. This disadvantaged both the teachers and the students because the teachers were not qualified to teach other than English and had less expertise in these other subjects. None of the participants knew any former teachers who had been dismissed, nor were they aware of the impact of such dismissals on these teachers and their families. The English teachers at Iris Girls' Academy all remained at the academy, according to Nami, but some of the British national teachers at other schools did resign. Some of the English teachers who had only a few students to teach and were the target of constant observation found this situation intolerable (Yaguchi, 2007). Iris Girls' Academy strongly recommended that the students take English classes after the Ministry of Education rendered them optional (Iris Girls' Academy Hyakunen-shi Hensan Iinkai, IGAHHI, 1991). Classes were subsequently cancelled, but students did not ask for explanations for this. Being an obedient student to the teachers and to the school was a requisite (Koshihara, 1981, p. 57), and this natural compliance was expedited by the thought control conducted by the government.

At Yoko's school, students were told English classes were cancelled due to the teacher's illness. It was early in the period when English was considered the language of the enemy and to be avoided. Rather than hire another English teacher, the school cancelled classes. While it is possible the school was trying to avoid conflict by providing the students with false information about the teacher becoming ill, Yoko nonetheless believed the teacher was too sick to return to school. This occurred around 1934, taking into account Yoko's birth year (see Appendix I). Chizuko, who is a year younger than Yoko, also reported on the anti-English atmosphere at that time. Their statements support

a proposition that the atmosphere leading to the abolition of English language education started in the late 1920s as discussed in Chapter 4.

The female research participants wanted English classes to continue, but were not sufficiently desperate or confident to ask the teachers for the reasons for the discontinuation, or enter a protest against the elective status of English classes as, for example, Koshiha (1981) did, even while knowing that being an obedient student to the teachers and to the school was essential. Nami, Yoko and Hisami all complied with the decision that had been made for them. Nami enjoyed studying English at school even if it was the language of the enemy. Yet she did not find the cancellation of English classes particularly strange. An example of a large power distance can be observed. She was just quietly following the direction that the school had provided for the students. For Nami, still in her early teens, what the school decided was something the students did not question. In this way, students' reactions to the cancellations varied. Some resisted, some wondered but obeyed the school's decision, and others accepted it without question. This sort of compliance is a tenet that originated with Confucianism, which teaches that it is very important for one to be good to one's parents at home and obedient to elders in society (Kanbun Taikai, n.d.)

Towards the end of the War, cancellations of English classes occurred not only in girls' high schools but also in some middle schools (Suwa, 2001). A speech held in the Diet on the abolition of English language education demonstrates that some very enthusiastic civilians asked for more than what the government had ordered because they were compliant and trying their best to be patriotic (Morris, 1943/1997). As the government controlled the kinds and amounts of information given to the populace by segregating education for the elite (Erikawa, 2008), people in general did not realize that by demanding a ban on English they were also eliminating information sources and the right to learn for

themselves. They were unconsciously participating in the censorship that the government was exercising.

Some schools voluntarily cancelled English education because of social pressure, which did not emanate only from the government but from the populace. “People movements” can become a strong force, as seen in the phenomenon of the English conversation boom during the Occupation. Boycotting English was another such phenomenon. Mass media led the movement, and many people followed. The Japanese tend to be faddish (De Tarde, 1890/1903; Hays, 2013), so things can quickly grow into a social movement.

As will be described in Section 7.2.3, the public in a compliant society may tend to follow a fad. They are conditioned not to rebel. To rebel, it is necessary to think and decide for themselves and be strong, because they are not going with the flow but against it. Therefore, people in an obedient society may hesitate to make decisions for themselves. They “do not like to think for themselves” (Takahashi, 2006, p. 137) [TJ]. Here again, they want “a big tree” (Inoue, 1992, p. 283), that is, someone else with power to tell them what to do. Once a fad has been created, it may be easy to control the masses living in an obedient and collectivistic society.

The decision of the Ministry of Education to make English classes elective for female students was a regulation that appeared to be contrary to its essential function of providing educational opportunities for all students, male and female, but the prevailing view was that female students did not need much education and were less important than male students. Few people publicly resisted the cancellation. The Japanese did not balk at self-sacrifice for the nation and the Emperor. Self-sacrifice in accomplishing the will of the race was the supreme expression of the Japanese morality (Lombard, 1913). Along with the propaganda of the mass media led by the government, boycotting English became a faddish movement. People also believed that patriotism and unification were indispensable

to win the war, as represented in some wartime slogans. The movement for boycotting English developed from people's beliefs and preferences for faddism, patriotism, and unification.

The government was involved in the ban of English to some extent, especially at the early stage. It appears that it started with simple hostility but eventually deprived the public of their ability to collect information and acquire knowledge, which made it easier for the government to control the flow of the information to the public (Erikawa, 2008, p. 105). The government agitated against everything related to the enemy countries. It intended that the people should unite with shared hostility against the Allied Forces in order to win the Pacific War. As well, encouraging the people's hatred toward the English language could have been a deliberate strategy to weaken the potential for "linguistic imperialism" (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47) in Japan. These facts may suggest that the priority for the government was to win the war, and a strong yet obedient society was necessary to accomplish this goal. Because English language education was not its focus, the study of it was merely engulfed in that surge.

7.2. During the Occupation

At the end of World War II, the Allied Forces decided that Japan would be occupied mainly by the United States and would undergo reforms in various fields led by General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ, SCAP). One of the most important changes was that English language education, which had been available only to a small number of elites before the Occupation, was extended to everyone in lower secondary education (junior high school) and above. Foreign language education was notionally optional from 1947 (Ministry of Education, 1947/1980) to 2002 (Gakushu Shido Yoryo Detabesu Sakusei Inkai, GSYDSI, 2007a, Article 53), but it was mandatory in practice (Imura, 2003; Kawasumi, 1978; Shimizu, 2010). Educators faced various challenges because such changes to government policies, along with changes in

Japanese society itself, were affecting the goals of lower secondary education. The following section addresses some of these challenges, namely, English textbooks for the new era, remaining disparities and new problems, and attitudes towards the former enemy and their language.

7.2.1. English textbooks for the new era. As the Occupation began, almost all Japanese students in junior high school started studying English, including female students, and new English textbooks needed to be created to suit the new era. This section will analyse the use of English textbooks from during this period, looking first at the textbooks before 1947, including inked textbooks and interim textbooks, and then the provision of textbooks for the new school system.

Textbooks before 1947. The Ministry of Education had initiated the project of inking textbooks before the Occupation began, and SCAP continued it (Arimitsu, 1979; Erikawa, 2008, Hirata, 1991; Ministry of Education, 1945; Nakamura, 1985). When the Ministry issued a notice to resume schooling by mid-September 1945 at the latest (MEXT, n.d.621), only a month after World War II ended, the first thing that students were required to do was to ink their “sacred” (Economic Planning Agency, 1995; Hayama, 1990) textbooks.

There were two types of post-war officials. Some wanted to hide the writings unfavourable to Japan, and others wanted to show that they were ready to cooperate with SCAP (Yomiuri Shinbun Sengo-shi Han, 1982). Covering textbooks with ink was the way that satisfied both groups of officials. It was arguably hypocritical for SCAP to limit free speech by covering textbooks with ink, but their primary objective was to eliminate militarism and ultra-nationalism. As Hideo reported, they covered the places “bad for GHQ” with ink. However, the fact that prior to SCAP’s inspections, the Ministry of Education anticipated SCAP’s reactions to those contents implies those places were “bad for the Japanese government when SCAP saw them.”

Hideo also recalled, “You could sort of see it through the ink what had been written.” Inking was not a perfect means of covering inappropriate passages if students were able to manage to see what had been written, as was inevitable given the nature of ink. The ink was still dark enough to hide the things underneath, and some extra effort was necessary to see them. The cooperative attitudes of the Japanese were made clear. It mortified the students in a defeated society that they had to show their cooperative attitudes toward the former target of hatred by blackening their sacred textbooks.

While Hideo viewed the inking project as a potential show of cooperation with SCAP, Shigeki recollected that his teacher had said that inking textbooks had been ordered by SCAP, and so Shigeki deduced it was “because we would become anti-American if the education policy remained the same.” This statement supports a view that education had been controlled to nurture anti-American Japanese sentiments. Many people, in fact, remained hostile to the Allied Forces for a month or so (Hata & Sodei, 1986; Kawashima, 1991). The inking project started when many people were still antagonistic, including Shigeki. Therefore, the inking project made Shigeki angry with the Americans; he thought that education policy might have been reformed to change the Japanese people’s hostile attitude in order to conduct the Occupation as smoothly as possible.

Students inked some content now deemed “inappropriate” in their textbooks, places that had been all “appropriate” during World War II. The content of sacred textbooks had been regarded as the truth, with the students faithfully believing it. Only weeks later, their teachers, who were the objects of trust and respect, told students to cover large parts of the textbooks with ink because “they became incorrect.” While many of these students did not hate Americans further for this, they then came to distrust their teachers (Murata, 1970). Unconditional obedience began to falter, and this affected both teachers and students. However, they could do nothing but follow the order.

Nami recalled that they did not cover their textbooks with ink because everything

had been burnt in Hiroshima and they had had no textbooks left. This seems plausible, but Hideo lived in Hiroshima and his house was also burnt. It is possible, though, that some of his textbooks escaped being burnt. Nami returned to school in February 1946 and the entire inking project had been finished by the time she came back to school. Possibly, that is why she did not experience the inking of textbooks and was of the view that this was not done in Hiroshima. Yet, it is unknown why she did not see the textbooks which had been inked by other students, either. The occupation forces held inspections of at least five schools every month in each prefecture, which included investigating if inking had been properly completed (Abe, 1983, pp. 110-114). Therefore, inking should have been conducted in all schools.

Covering text with ink was an emergency measure, and these textbooks were not for long-term use. After several months of using these inked textbooks, interim textbooks slowly became available to students in 1946 (Erikawa, 1994). The poor quality of the textbooks was so conspicuous that the memory of it remained with the research participants. Hideo's recollection accords with the literature about the quality of interim textbooks (Arimitsu, 1946; Erikawa, 2012, 2013; Nakamura, Kimoto, & Nagasaki, 1994). What Nami thought were textbooks handmade by their teachers may have been in fact the interim textbooks used only in 1946 (Erikawa, 2008). It is possible that these books were of such poor quality that Nami believed that they were handouts which their teachers had stencilled, or they may have actually been the interim textbooks stencilled by the teachers because many schools had insufficient interim textbooks for all the students and some teachers copied the original and handed them to the students (Erikawa, 2008). However, it appears most likely, as Hideo pointed out, that the teachers copied the interim textbooks and not that "the teachers had stencilled whatever they had wanted to teach" as Nami referred to those textbooks, because the teachers needed to follow the curriculum that was prescribed by the Ministry of Education. None of participants recognized any writings

related to democracy in the interim textbooks. Democracy had not yet been specifically introduced as a part of curricula.

Textbooks for the new school system. Shigeki received new textbooks when he entered junior high school, but neither he nor the other research participants could remember the textbooks containing materials about democracy and life in the United States. The Ministry of Education did not include materials that actively promoted such things. This had to wait until 1951 when the Ministry of Education revised the *Suggested Course of Study in English* issued in 1947. This revised version stated that textbooks needed to contain materials that promoted peace and democracy (Kokuritsu Kyoiku Kenkyusho, 1951/1980). Therefore, students did not learn about peace and democracy in English language textbooks until six years after the Occupation began. The *Course of Study* includes the word “suggested.” This was to be used as a guide for teachers instead of the pre-Occupation syllabi that teachers had been expected to follow without deviation (Ando, 1993; Konno, 1998). The Ministry of Education became less controlling while responding USEM’s recommendation to decentralize the power of the Ministry of Education (GHQ, SCAP, CIE, Education Division, 1948; Hall, 1949/1971).

All participants of this study had already finished junior high school before a series of the most popular and enduring English textbooks titled *Jack and Betty* were published in 1949. According to Hagiwara (1949), one of the authors, the primary goal of English language education was to teach the English language itself rather than the content of the stories. For Hagiwara, promoting peace and democracy through materials in the textbooks was not as important as acquiring skills in English. The textbooks also included information about America’s high standard of living, and Japanese students, many of whom were in poverty, were very impressed with it (Horikawa, 1992; Iwamoto, 1999; Murakami, 2007; Yamada, 1987).

The textbooks contained some clear gender-role materials (Yamada, 1998), which remained unnoticed at that time, especially by the Japanese who were accustomed to a male-centric society. Despite this, an image of American democracy was evident. There were no contents that overtly referred to democracy, but students somehow felt the concept of democracy as a subtext (Horikawa, 1992).

7.2.2. Remaining disparities and new problems. The concept of democracy was introduced, and most public schools became co-educational. Compulsory education was expanded from six years to nine years. These factors played a part in generating equal opportunity of education. However, disparities in education remained. Systems can be changed in one day, but people's minds sometimes do not change so easily. Reforms that had to do with social prejudices, such as fundamental human rights and gender equality, had to wait some time, and some reforms are still waiting to be embedded in society. In addition to the remaining disparities, new ones appeared. The following sections examine discrimination against women, elitism, regional inequities, and the circumstances of English language teachers.

Discrimination against women. People in general were less aware of gender equality in post-War Japan than the present. One of Toshiya's English teachers, who was British, appears to have used a textbook, prior to *Jack and Betty*, which reflected gender stereotypes of the time. Textbooks like *Jack and Betty* reproduced some customary gender stereotypes, which was ironic, as in so doing, they perpetuated some of the sexism familiar to Japan. This, however, was not remarkable at that time in the male-privileged Japanese society, even while the younger generation was adopting democratic ideas, as shown by a survey on social issues (Sorifu, Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1953). Over 90% of respondents to this poll thought that females needed education. The fact that the large majority of the young females believed they needed education, as Chizuko did, shows that they were becoming aware of their positions in the new society. Some older women were

more reluctant to change. The interviews with the research participants also suggest that the concept of gender equality appeared to be widely accepted in society at the time.

It appears that men wanted to retain their superior status (Gordon, 1997, p. 121) and some women resisted change. These people's attitudes have frustrated changes, and prompted Beauchamp in the 1990s to state: "Problems of discrimination against women and minorities remain" (Beauchamp, 1995, p. 85). The Japanese government has also been found wanting on this issue (Ito, 2010; Takenobu, 2010; Yoneda, 2011). For example, legislation to correct the wage differences between men and women remains to be enacted (Takenobu, 2010), and United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) was critical in pointing out in July 2009 that efforts by the Japanese government to eliminate discrimination against women had been unsatisfactory (Ito, 2010; Yoneda, 2011).

Elitism. The education system was reforming, and education became available to all children, but neither the facilities nor content of education were the same for all. Public junior high schools had only recently opened and needed some time just to start operating effectively. The Japanese government may have been slow to respond in this regard (Ito, 2010; Takenobu, 2010; Yoneda, 2011).

While equality of educational opportunity came to be guaranteed, the middle schools already existing remained schools for the elite because many of the teachers and the students at those schools were enrolled before the Occupation. Therefore, elitism persisted. Foreign teachers of English were almost exclusively in private schools in 1949 (Monbusho, Chosa Fukyu-kyoku, Tokei-ka, 1951). The fact that schools employed foreign teachers in addition to Japanese teachers of foreign languages could indicate that the school prioritised foreign language education to the extent of employing foreign teachers with much higher salaries (Otaru University of Commerce, 2006). There was a vast difference between these students in advantageous situations and those who had no

foreign language education at all. According to Hata (2003), teachers at elite schools did not hesitate to fail students before the Occupation, and their attitudes did not change when the new school system started. This corresponds with Toshiya's recollection that students like him studied hard because they did not want to fail.

Before the Occupation, all of the seven-year schools and eight "number schools" (see Appendix B) employed foreign teachers, Toshiya recalled. Toshiya's school offered French, German, and English with native speakers of each target language. Thus, several of the 244 teachers at Toshiya's school were foreign (see Table 4.8 in Chapter 4). There were several foreign missionaries at Nami's school, too. As Nami explained in Chapter 6, some female students converted from public to private Christian schools to take English classes with foreign teachers. In addition to resolving the issue of faith, this required their families to provide extra funds (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Statistics Bureau, n.d.61).

Hideo experienced two types of school: a regular middle school and a vocational agricultural school. It was natural for him to compare the content of English classes in both schools. At the agricultural school, Hideo was bored with his unsatisfactory English classes, which were sometimes instructed by teachers with no qualification for teaching English, such as an agriculture teacher. On the other hand, Toshiya enjoyed classes that were taught by both foreign and Japanese teachers, including eminent ones. The boredom sapped Hideo's motivation levels and he lost his interest to study English. The circumstances in Toshiya's school were quite different from those in other non-elite schools. Study-abroad programs were available and some returnee students from abroad spoke authentic English in Toshiya's class. These returnees were good role models for the other students. Toshiya was chosen as a candidate for a study-abroad program, but he was more interested in playing baseball and turned down the invitation. For Toshiya, what for some people would have been the opportunity of a lifetime, especially just after the War,

was less important than baseball. He was happy with his choice.

As a member of the elite during the Occupation, Toshiya had more choices than other students, and he eventually studied English in the manner he preferred. While at university, he had opportunities to communicate with American officers twice a week as a member of English Speaking Society (ESS, see the list of Japanese Terms, p. viii).

English classes were also held in other middle-level schools such as normal schools and youth schools (see Appendix B), but the number of classes per week and the quality of learning was superior in elite schools (Erikawa, 2006). The quality of foreign language education also differed in Toshiya's and Hideo's middle schools. Moreover, the English language education that Chizuko received contrasts starkly with that received by Toshiya. This further reflects elitism in education at the time.

Regional inequities. From the end of World War II, networks of information and transportation began to develop in Japan. This already small country “shrank” further, which diminished regional inequities. However, during the Occupation, before most people had televisions, there were much larger disparities between regional areas and cities. Televisions were prevalent throughout in Japan in 1964 when Tokyo hosted the Olympic Games (Japan Broadcasting Corporation, 2013; Katei Denki Bunka-kai, 2010.) This section will focus on regional inequities in demands for English.

The Tokyo metropolitan area, with a population of about five million in 1947 (MIC, Statistics Bureau, e-Stat, 2011), appeared to be a very different place from the rest of Japan, with education in larger cities being more important, more available, and more competitive than in smaller centres. The concentration of schools in the Tokyo area remained constant before and during the Occupation, and better education was on offer there. The opportunities related to English both in and beyond the classroom would not have been available to Toshiya had he lived outside the Tokyo area. While Hisami was in Tokyo, she noticed that students there were quick learners. Chizuko stated that her

English language school had many students, and enrolment was increasing. English was much more relevant to people in the Tokyo area than in other areas because SCAP and some of the occupation forces' bases were located in Tokyo. Other foreigners would also have been more numerous there than in other areas of Japan.

The English conversation boom in the early stage of the Occupation swept not only Tokyo but also the whole nation and raised demands for English even in remote areas. English classes with American missionaries attracted many students to Nami's school. This was in Hiroshima, which had population approximately 224,000 in 1947 (MIC, Statistics Bureau, 2011). People in smaller cities were also enthusiastic about studying English. Sakurada (as cited in Sukemoto, 1998) explained that in Matsuyama, Ehime Prefecture, with a relatively small population of approximately 148,000 as of 1947 (MIC, Statistics Bureau, 2011), "English was so popular that not only middle-school students but also students in youth schools and even young farmers came to study English" (p. 159) [T].

English was still a novelty, and many people throughout the nation were curious about it. However, demands for English gradually diminished in the rural areas as time passed (Aizawa, 2005; Sugiyama & Hori, 1958). The research participants who lived outside the Tokyo area were, in fact, not interested in continuing their English language education after graduating from school. By contrast, when Hisami was in Tokyo, she was so enthusiastic about studying English that she made extra efforts to find the money to continue studying English. Yet that passion was lost when she returned home to Hiroshima, where English did not seem to be considered as important as in larger cities. These facts support the argument that locale affected people's learning (Terasawa, T., 2009).

Circumstances of English language teachers. Because of the scarcity of teachers caused during the War by deaths and the purge directed by SCAP during the

Occupation, teachers were needed in every subject. However, the shortage of English teachers was most dire, with a shortfall of 3,543 teachers (Ministry of Education, Chosa-kyoku, 1948). The scarcity of English teachers and their inadequate qualifications became so serious that many students had to resign themselves to a substandard level of English language education.

Among the research participants, Chizuko and Hideo referred to an unsatisfactory teaching standard on the part of their English teachers. Although Chizuko received her schooling before the Occupation, Hideo was still in school when the new school system started. It is not clear how accomplished in English Hideo's English teachers were at the agricultural school, but Hideo found the English teachers there unsatisfactory in comparison with the English teachers in his previous middle school. One can easily imagine that English classes led by agriculture teachers or those of other subjects would be substandard.

The literature confirms such situations of low quality of teaching as Hideo's circumstance (GHQ SCAP, CIE, Education Division, 1948; Imura, 1971; Kihira, 2000; MEXT, n.d.394; Naka, 1969; Sukemoto, 1998). The quality of English language education varied from school to school due to the teachers' competence. Also, the number of English classes provided per week differed because English was optional. These factors affected students' proficiency levels of English when they proceeded to senior high schools (Iketani, 1969).

Iketani (1969) observed that it was challenging for teachers to deal with this disparity in proficiency among students (pp. 45-46). At the same time, the students at lower levels may have been shocked to discover the difference between their own proficiency and the higher levels of other students. To have different proficiency levels was a natural outcome with English becoming optional. The ideal situation would have been that teacher education was reformed first to prepare for the start of the new school

system. However, this would have taken several years and SCAP and the Japanese government wanted to launch the new school system as soon as possible (Naito, 1982; Sukemoto, 1998).

English teachers at Toshiya's school were also troubled. When one of the English teachers tried to engage in conversation with the American soldiers who came to play baseball with the students, there were certain expectations among the students. They thought that their English teacher would be able to communicate in English without a problem and were curious about what kind of conversation would arise. Therefore, this was disappointing for the students. The teacher was used to hearing the British accent, and the American accent was perhaps unfamiliar to him.

This episode, along with Mr. Yamamoto's episode on the aerial cablecar, provides an example of losing face in front of students. Compared with countries with high Individualism Index Values (IDV) such as the United States (IDV 91) and Australia (IDV 90), the most and the second-most individualistic countries respectively, Japan is more collectivistic (rank 22, IDV 46, Hofstede, 2010, p. 215). Hofstede (2010) argues that one of the concepts bred in the collectivist family is *face*. Losing face, in the sense of being humiliated, is an expression that penetrated into the English language from the Chinese. Face describes the proper relationship with one's social environment, which is as essential to a person and the family as his or her physical face. The importance of face is the consequence of living in a society that is very conscious of social contexts. (p. 230). Ho (1976) explained that gaining face was unimportant but losing face was a serious matter. It would affect one's ability to function effectively in society. Face is lost "when the individual, either through his action or that of people closely related to him, fails to meet essential requirements placed upon him by virtue of the social position he occupies" (p. 867). These explanations suggest that these incidents of the English teachers might have

affected the relationships with their students, but this was not the case. Toshiya found this episode amusing, and Chizuko continued to respect Mr. Yamamoto.

Along with the teacher's inadequate teaching levels, students who had had English classes towards the end of World War II encountered other problems. Classes were only nominal and students actually took part in labour services and received little education. They advanced to the next grade or graduated and attended an upper level school without reaching expected proficiency levels. Nami's English teacher, who had studied with a Fulbright scholarship and returned to Japan, had ideal ways to conduct classes and goals for the students to accomplish, but faced the low levels of student English proficiency. There was a large gap between the teachers' goals and the students' ability. The teacher was at a loss because he could not provide lessons that were appropriate for the level of English majors in college. Nami and other students were frustrated because the teacher's expectation was too high for them. Such educational problems existed for both teachers and students.

7.2.3. Attitudes towards the former enemy and their language. During the Pacific War, the Japanese shunned use of English words and the Roman alphabet. They eradicated everything related to the enemy. However, when the Occupation started a few weeks after the surrender, the humiliated Japanese had to welcome General MacArthur, the former enemy, as their new ruler. This section will explore the subsequent changes in the Japanese people's attitudes to Americans and the English language from the perspectives of Japanese faddism, the English conversation boom, and the occupation forces.

Japanese faddism. For the Japanese, World War II prompted a resurgence of "strong reassertion of self-sufficient nationalism" (Holtom, 1947, p. 74), and the Japanese believed that everyone needed to loathe the Allied Forces in solidarity. It is comfortable for people in a fashion trend to be a part of a group and to be similar to others (Frisby &

Featherstone, 1997; Le Bon, 1895/1897; Nakajima, 2000; Suzuki, 1977), and this applies to the Japanese as well. Japan scores mid-way on the Individualism Index, ranking 22/23 out of 53, IDV 46 (Hofstede, 2001, p. 228) and demonstrates a high preference for communitarianism (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000). Therefore, faddism may manifest more in Japan than in individualistic societies such as the United States and Australia, which rank 1 and 2 out of 53, IDVs 91 and 90, respectively (Hofstede, 2001, p. 215).

Along with mutual surveillance, the prohibition of English during World War II appears to be partially attributed to Japanese faddism, a propensity to follow the latest craze. The “burning passion” for patriotism that people such as Chizuko and Hisami possessed is evidence of that trend. The competition for patriotism among people was convenient for the government and can be explained by its totalitarianism as well as the Japanese people’s tendency for communitarianism or collectivism (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 2000; Hofsted, 2001). Everyone set out to be as patriotic as possible to benefit the country. Many people also adopted fads perpetuated by the mass media (Nakajima, 1998), an example of the time being *Photographs Weekly*. The “invisible pressure” (Nakajima, 1998, p. 5) [TJ] of trends propelled people to participate in the fad.

According to Hays (2013), “Japanese people become instantly hot and instantly cold” (para. 1). This resonates with Chizuko’s comments in Chapter 6 about always moving from one thing to another. Chizuko was just following the crowd and being enthusiastic about each fad. In addition, the Japanese people, who were defeated and possessed nothing, dreamed of being strong and wealthy again, like the Americans. Everything American therefore appeared wonderful, including music (Hata & Sodei, 1986; Yoshimi, 2003). They were loving the monk and his surplice. In the late 1950s, rockabilly, which Shigeeki liked, achieved “enormous popularity . . . However, by this time the

connection with the occupation forces was no longer obvious” (Yoshimi, 2003, p. 441), but the infatuation for songs in English persisted.

The fact that the ESS was popular reflected the fad for English conversation. Several years had passed since the Occupation started when Toshiya joined the ESS, yet there were still hundreds of freshmen applying to be members. The youngest research participant, Shigeki, started studying English in 1947. Exposure to English for Shigeki was different from that of the other participants. He had heard General MacArthur speaking on the radio even before he started studying English. Shigeki recalled that singing in English sounded fashionable. People had not heard Western music for years, and something “new, foreign, and different” is fuel for a fad (De Tarde, 1890/1903; Frisby & Featherstone, 1997).

The English conversation boom. The English conversation boom immediately after World War II was another fad. Many people became interested in studying English (Kihira, 1995; Fukuda, 1991; Erikawa, 2008). It may have been most vibrant, as many fads are, in its early stages (Ikeuchi, 1968; Simmel, 1911/1967). It was a return to a period of “an infatuation and worship” (Holtom, 1947, p. 73) of the West. It was a typical example of “epidemics of foreign imitation” (De Tarde, 1890/1903, p. 254). The Japanese were tired of wartime life, and everything new and foreign was admirable. The United States was the new ruler and the symbol of wealth and power. Everything American “possess[ed] in crowds a contagious power as intense as that of microbes” (Le Bon, 1895/1897, p. 122). No political propaganda for the English conversation boom is recorded. People soon realized that English would become necessary and promptly sought it out *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual (Nichibei Kaiwa Techo)*. In this spontaneous boom, English teachers, who were once treated as spies, became stars (T. S., anonymous, 2007).

People’s motives for studying English varied, with the reasons as well as the ways they studied English reflecting an individual’s financial status to some extent. Motives for

studying English ranged between having it as a hobby to needing it as a survival skill. Some people wanted to study English so much that they asked foreign missionaries on the street, total strangers, to teach them English, as Nami recalled.

None of the research participants who attended English language schools recalled what their tuition fee was. Yet, students had to pay extra money for tuition when many people were trying to live from hand to mouth daily. English language schools were a luxury. Chizuko, the second-oldest participant, had returned from Taiwan after World War II, and continued to work as a nurse. She was interested in studying English, even though she admitted that she had followed one fad after another. Studying English was another fad for her, but she also thought, “Women have changed. Women need to study, too.” She went to an English language school in Shinjuku, Tokyo, for a short period of time. She stated that “only some special people,” who were better-off, could afford to attend English schools. She was sufficiently motivated to pay the high tuition from her frugal living expenses but eventually needed to stop, partially for financial reasons.

The idea, “Women need to study, too” was an accomplishment of a group of women, including both Americans and Japanese, led by Lulu Holmes, Adviser to Supreme Commander, Allied Powers on Higher Education for Women in Japan, and Lieutenant Ethel Weed, Chief of the Women’s Information Sub-unit in CIE. According to Uemura (1995), this group of women exerted themselves to raise Japanese people’s awareness of the importance of education for females (p. 102). Chizuko captured that movement and began to practice herself.

Another option for learning English was the radio program, *English Conversation (Eigo Kaiwa)*, much better known as *Come Come English (Kamu Kamu Eigo)*, (Fukuda, 1991; Kihira, 1995). However, Chizuko did not have a radio, which was expensive, and was working when the program was broadcast, so listening to the program was not an option for her. It was quite timely and fortunate for Chizuko that she found a job with the

American military. English was both a means for Chizuko to make her living and something to study as a woman in the new era.

English was linked to profession for Toshiya as well. He said, “[People who were a part of the boom] might have been worried that they might be in trouble at work if they didn’t understand English.” Toshiya spent a long time overseas, both as a student and a diplomat, although this was after the Occupation ceased. Since his return to Japan, he has had large-scale business relationships, including international trade. For him, therefore, the link between English and business is quite natural. From Toshiya’s point of view, studying English was undertaken in order to perform better in his profession and was a continuation of the study he found interesting before the Occupation. Toshiya was a future elite, whose education was undertaken in order to perform better in his profession.

English appeared to be fashionable to Shigeki. English was a “fashionable” (Shigeki; Yoko) language because those who lived in the United States, their dream country, spoke English. According to Yoko, the Americans had power and wealth, and were “tall and well-built. They were much better looking than the Japanese, who were worn out, emaciated, and seedy looking.” This attitude could be based on the “[Japanese people’s] adoration and inferiority complex toward Westerners [that] have not changed in the 120 years” (Yano, 2008, p. 139).

Such was “the unprecedented English conversation boom” (Erikawa, 2008, p. 15) [TJ], of which “the root was longing for ‘freedom and wealth’, which was seen in American soldiers” (Kihira, 2000, p. 98) [TJ]. Kihira’s statement corresponds to the motives of people such as Shigeki. A large number of people had positive attitudes toward English and its speakers at that time. There were many people who had business with the occupation forces in mind, but there were also many people who were simply enamoured of the United States. Shigeki’s boss at work suggested that Shigeki study English to utilize it in business with the occupation forces, and Shigeki, who liked the United States and its

music, soon realized the importance of business with Americans through the boss's suggestion. However, many Japanese perhaps held unrealistic aspirations regarding the use of English in business, as interactions with the occupation forces were limited, according to Nami, Shigeki, and Toshiya.

In contrast with the other participants, Hisami did not notice the English conversation boom, despite being in Tokyo, the centre of it, and attending an English language school. Hisami often described herself as easy-going, and she may have not paid much attention to her circumstances. Hisami was eager to attend school because she had liked English and had time available. Other research participants were either uninvolved in the boom or failed to notice it. As Toshiya explained, some people first thought that they would need to study English but came to realize that they did not need it in reality. Their locations and financial status were among the main factors for their decision. According to Nami, the people who lived near the bases also soon came to realize that English was actually unnecessary for them.

English had less relevance to some female participants. Kiku had no English language education at school, given that she attended a girls' high school, and English had little to do with her life. Similarly, Michi was more preoccupied with marriage than studying English when her school started providing English language education. Many girls did not advance to girls' high schools, thus finishing girls' high school was perhaps an add-on for Michi, marriage being foremost in her mind.

Hideo moved to an agricultural school in a remote area and did not see any necessity to study English other than to get good grades at school. The change from a regular middle school to an agricultural school marked a significant change in his education. When he was in a middle school, he liked English, but when he moved to an agricultural school, he lost interest in studying English and became curious about agriculture. Hideo stated that he did not notice the English boom. This was perhaps due to

his location. He lived in a less-populated place than Matsuyama where young farmers were enthusiastic about studying English, and the agricultural school was the only school he could attend.

When locations were considered, even the people who lived near the bases did not find any particular necessity to study English. According to Nami, the students at her school where American missionaries taught English did not show strong enthusiasm to study English, either. This is not very convincing, however, because many of the new students of Nami's school did choose to come to this school because it employed foreign missionaries, who were also English teachers, and they wanted to study English with them.

There was certainly enthusiasm for studying English during the boom, but it was only for the people whose basic needs were already met. Maslow's hierarchy of needs suggested that physiological needs such as food are more important than anything else (Maslow, 1943). There were many people such as Yoko who were barely surviving and could not even consider studying English. Yoko grew up in China, and she was having some difficulties, not only financially but also emotionally. Yoko recalled that she had to familiarise herself with Japanese culture. She was preoccupied with learning the ways of living with her in-laws and understanding culture of a rural area in Japan.

Studying English could be costly. Tuition fees at English language schools may have made this the most expensive of all the means to study English other than private tutoring. Even so, Chizuko recalled, "really a lot" of students were enrolled and many of them were adults. English language schools, in a sense, opened the door, especially to continuing education for adult students. The schools Chizuko and Hisami attended were teaching only conversational English, which was different from high schools and universities where the students were studying more academic materials such as literature. There was a clear line between the goals of schools under the school system and private foreign language schools like the ones Chizuko and Hisami attended, especially before

1951. That year saw the publication of the new *Course of Study* for senior high schools, with its suggestions more practical English (Sengo Kyoiku Kaikaku Shiryo Kenkyukai, 1951/1980).

While Hisami was in Tokyo, she decided to attend an English language school because she had some extra time. She could have attended a more traditional, practical school for her future married life as other young women were doing, for example, a cooking school or a sewing school. Hisami was so short of money that she had to sell some of her important books for food, but she did not leave the English language school. Hisami was hesitant to admit it for some reason, but she mentioned that she liked English and wanted to study it.

During the Occupation, the concepts of democracy, including gender equality, began to spread throughout Japanese society. Owing to the rising popularity of English, many people, including women, started studying English. As Chizuko stated, women realized that they, too, needed an education. The results of a 1950 opinion poll about co-education show that approximately 55% approved of co-education, 23% disapproved, 18% answered that it depends on the situation, and 4% did not know the answer. No specific proportions of the respondents' gender were provided (Kokuritsu Yoron Chosasho, 1950, p. 11). Among the research participants, Hisami enjoyed having male students in class, while Chizuko, who attended English language school soon after World War II, had mixed feelings.

The Occupation forces. It was very difficult for some Japanese to accept their defeat, and their hatred toward their former enemy lingered. As shown in Chapter 6, some of the participants of this study stated that they loathed Americans for a while. In this section, the change of Japanese attitudes towards Americans will be examined.

For Chizuko, the acknowledgement of the imperial system was “the best thing of all” that MacArthur did, because Emperor Hirohito was so important for her that he had to remain in position. This sentiment accords with the literature (K. H., anonymous, 2004; MacArthur, 1964/2001). Understanding the importance of the Emperor for the Japanese was the key to shifting the Japanese people’s attitudes toward SCAP. As Chizuko’s example shows, the relationship between Emperor Hirohito and MacArthur boosted MacArthur’s popularity and at the same time established his status as “the true ruler” (Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 167) [I]. The Japanese were so accustomed to their hierarchical society that they did not question this new situation. They received democracy but continued living under a hierarchy with a different ruler.



Figure 7.2. General MacArthur and Emperor Hirohito (September 27, 1945)

The photograph of the rulers together at their first meeting (Figure 7.2.) suggested their positions to the world. The Emperor wore a morning coat and stood up strait, while MacArthur was in “extremely casual attire” with “even more pointed body language” (Selwyn-Holmes, 2012). His informal appearance shocked many (Selwyn-Holmes, 2012), and *Life* wrote “MacArthur did not trouble to put on a tie for the occasion” (“Ex-God Descends,” October 22, 1945, p. 40). Along with MacArthur’s attire and body language,

the difference of their body sizes was metaphoric for the difference of their power, as Yoko mentioned earlier.

Under the reign of MacArthur, the form of English language taught in Japan changed from British English to American English. Harkness, the Elementary Education and Textbook and Curriculum Branch Chief in the Civil Information and Education Section (Wray, 2000), actually requested this change (Erikawa, 2002). Some British English remained in the textbooks published in the early phase of the Occupation so as not to perplex teachers excessively (Takanashi & Deki, 1993). This change was presumably not so much of a problem to students as they had not had learned very much during World War II, in any case, but English teachers now had to study American English before they taught classes.

Shifting from British to American English was natural for SCAP, which was “overwhelmingly powerful” (Yoshimi, 2003, p. 435) and generally made the final determinations (Smith, 1963, p. 161) that sometimes challenged Japanese culture. In the field of education, for example, USEM’s recommendations focused on education suitable for individualistic societies like America (Misco, 2004) and staff members in CIE crossed out half the manuscript of a new textbook that the Ministry compilers regarded as best stories (Doi, 1952). CIE and USEM both tried to change the Japanese writing system (Orr, 1986; Tsuchimochi, 1991b, USEM, 1946), which was seen as a matter of “the Japanese culture and arts” (Bowles, as cited in Tsuchimochi, 1991). However, these conflicts were between SCAP and the Ministry of Education and/or the Japanese Education Committee, and so the public remained oblivious to them. As a result, these challenges to Japanese culture generally did not compromise people’s admiration for MacArthur.

MacArthur also gained popularity by providing food aid through SCAP and repatriating veterans and civilians from the battlefields and the old territories. Many people, including some of the research participants, specifically praised MacArthur for this support

(Hata & Sodei, 1986). The Japanese had been so hungry during the war that they were reduced to eating, for example, potato stalks. The Americans did not provide the Japanese with the rice that was their staple food but handed out American-style food such as bread—called “MacArthur’s bread”—made by the wheat flour that the United States provided. MacArthur became known as “the ruler who feeds” (Hata & Sodei, 1986, p. 169) [TJ].

The cost of these measures, however, was actually covered by some of the tax money that Japanese people paid as End of War Handling Fee (*Shusen Shori-ji*), which was between 23% and over 30% of the national budget (Kokushi Daijiten Henshu Iinkai, 1986). This topic is beyond the scope of this study and will not be discussed here.

MacArthur’s popularity has also been credited by some researchers to particular traits of the Japanese. Many Japanese admired power holders (Hata & Sodei, 1986; Kawashima, 1993). Hata and Sodei (1986) stated, “Japanese people were quick in changing their attitudes” (p. 255) [TJ], which corresponds to the faddishness of the Japanese, as exemplified by Chizuko. People were used to being ruled and felt comfortable in that situation (Hata & Sodei, 1986). They also may have learned that it was better to be quiet rather than resist the higher echelons of authority. During the Occupation, the United States was the “long thing,” the power holder, for the Japanese to be “rolled up” in (Inoue, 1992, p. 260). As Chizuko explained (see Chapter 6), people may have needed to be flexible enough to fit themselves to the turbulent society by forgetting about the wars and defeat of the past.

The Occupation lasted seven years and most people gradually grew accustomed to it. The Japanese government and officials who directly negotiated with SCAP sometimes encountered difficulties (Gordon, 1997; Naito, 1982), but the general public had always followed the authorities. It mattered little to the people whether it was the Japanese government or SCAP who was ruling. Some people even preferred to be ruled by

Americans because their lives were better than they had been during the war (Kawashima, 1993).

SCAP commented in the “Message to the Japanese People on the First Anniversary of the Constitution”, which was released on May 3, 1948: “Ceaseless vigilance must be maintained” but democracy was “now firmly planted” (GHQ, SCAP, Government Section, 1949, p. 788). The democratic system was embraced smoothly in Japan.

According to Nami, some of the bases of the occupation forces existed at a distance from the Japanese residential areas, and the soldiers had little interaction with the local Japanese. Yet the occupation forces and the local Japanese enjoyed some friendly interaction. For example, students in Nami’s school were invited to local bases to sing, the ESS members at Toshiya’s university had conversation sessions with American officers, and the baseball team at Toshiya’s high school occasionally played baseball with American soldiers. This environment favoured the spread of the English language.

As the literature indicates, there were occasions when SCAP exercised its power upon the Japanese, and created an oppressive atmosphere. However, Toshiya, who had personal relationship with the occupation forces, experienced only friendly encounters. The other participants who had no or few interactions with the occupation forces did not report any coercion.

7.3. Elitism and the Current State of English Language Education

The influence of politics on English language education is not confined to history, but persists on many levels today. The current government, under Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, has promoted elitism by increasing control over English language education. This elitism currently supports the English language education industry, as becomes evident in the discussion that follows.

Prior to the Occupation, English language education was the preserve of elites. Broader access to English language education began in the early stage of the Occupation and access quickly extended to many people, practically all junior high school students, as discussed earlier. English language education has always been tied to business. In many cases, an individual's financial status was one of the determinants for the quality of English language education attainable, mediated by having native speakers of English as tutors, English language schools, radio broadcasts, and books. Even during the English conversation boom, some people did not study English because they could not afford it, while others felt English was irrelevant to their lives.

Since then, linguistic imperialism has taken hold and English has become the global lingua franca. "Approximately one in four of the world's population are now capable of communicating to a useful level in English", according to Crystal (1997/2012, p. 69). Moreover, "This figure is steadily growing---in the early 2000s that means around 1.5 billion people. No other language can match this growth" (p. 6). English has assumed relevance for increasing numbers of people.

Under these circumstances, the Japanese government has focused more attention on English language education. The influence of politics on English language education is patently evident today. In October 1998, the government announced that English language education would become mandatory, and that notice took effect in April 2002 (GSYDSI, 2007e, Article 53). In March 2003, the government announced five-year plans called "*Eigo ga Tsukaeru Nihon-jin' no Ikusei no Tame no Kodo Keikaku* (Action Plans to Foster 'Japanese who can Communicate in English')". One of the goals was for students to be able to communicate in English when they completed their secondary education; for teachers, it was that almost all would attain high proficiency levels in English along with advanced teaching skills. The plans included suggestions to accomplish these goals, along with the target scores of official English language proficiency tests, such as TOEFL. The

suggestions include, for example, dividing students into smaller groups according to their proficiency and undertaking more class activities using English (MEXT, 2003). In 2012, the class hours per week for English were raised from three to four in junior high schools (MEXT, 2015a, Section 3).

English proficiency levels for Japanese students have not shown much improvement. A further measure of proficiency in English has been established by the Council of Europe. The Council of Europe (2014) provides Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment (CEFR) as “a common basis for the elaboration of language syllabuses, curriculum guidelines, examinations, textbooks, etc. across Europe” (p. 1). The CEFR was created for language learners to “use a language for communication and what knowledge and skills they have to develop so as to be able to act effectively” (p. 1). The assessment created by the CEFR consists of six levels: from A1, the lowest, to C2, the highest levels (p. 23). The MEXT (2014a) shows that the average level of Japanese high school seniors in English is still no higher than CERF level A2 (p. 9).

On the other hand, the MEXT proposes the idea that students whose scores are 71 or higher on TOEFL be regarded as having scored the full mark on the English examination for the National Center Test for University Admissions (*Daigaku Nyushi Senta Shiken*, MEXT, 2014a, p. 29). English language education at school does not appear to be effective, judging from Japanese students’ poor showing in the CERF, but students need certain scores for university entrance examinations.

The Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry also referred to the importance of English. It regretted the unsatisfactory proficiency level of the Japanese in TOEFL scores and announced that the government was introducing university reforms to raise the international competitiveness of Japan’s tertiary sector (Ministry of Economy, Trade and Industry, 2002, p. 212). In “*Gurobaru Jinzai Ikusei Senryaku* (The Project for Promotion of

Global Human Resource Development)” announced in 2012, the MEXT urged English language teachers (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2012, p. 14), applicants and current students in universities (p. 15), and government officials (p. 21) to take TOEFL and TOEIC tests. As of 2014, the scores of the native-speakers of Japanese on TOEFL remain relatively low compared to those of other Asian-language speakers, such as those of Chinese, Korean, and Thai (Educational Testing Service, 2015, p.13).

The Project for the Promotion of Global Human Resource Development aims to reinforce the international competitiveness of higher education in Japan by prioritizing resources for the 37 hand-picked institutions (MEXT, 2015b) out of 779 (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, MIC, Statistics Bureau, 2015). Apart from higher education, in 2014 out of 4,963 senior high schools (MIC, Statistics Bureau, 2014), only 56 were designated as developers of global leaders (MEXT, 2014b). The government clearly demonstrated its engagement with English language education by promoting these projects at secondary and tertiary levels. Despite the broader accessibility of general education, elitism in English education persists. These projects focus not only on English language education, but also include, for example, combatting or exploring international issues, such as water supply and world peace, developing negotiation skills, and learning about local government (MEXT, 2014b), and the widespread implications of English as the world’s “lingua franca.”

The demand for English is increasing, but English language education at school appears ineffective at achieving high standards, as stated earlier. There is some scope for the English language teaching industry to respond to this deficiency. English language education at present is a large-scale industry. Since English is the global language and the government increasingly emphasizes English language education, many parents want their children to be capable of communicating in English. Benesse, one of the leading companies in the education business in Japan, conducted a survey of after-school lessons

for students from kindergarten to junior high school in 2007. The results show that 85-90% of elementary school students are involved in some kind of after-school lessons, including music, sports, arts, and foreign languages. This percentage decreases to approximately 60% in junior high school because some students cease taking these lessons and begin *juku schools* (see list of Japanese terms, p. ix), and after-school activities at school. Among these after-school lessons, English language is sufficiently popular to rank in third place, after swimming and music. More than 25% of the survey participants take English classes outside of school (Benesse, 2007). This number does not include English classes at *juku schools*. In a similar survey conducted in 2013, the percentage of students taking after-school lessons was recorded at 80% of elementary school students and 41.3% of junior high school students, and English retained its third place after sports and music (Benesse Kyoiku Sogo Kenkyusho, 2013). This decrease can be attributed partially to the recession. In all, 27% of respondents answered that they economised on education because of recession (Benesse, 2013).

Low proficiency levels in English (MEXT, 2014a) include those who take English lessons outside of school. One may speculate that this indicates that after-school English lessons are not always effective. It is unknown, however, how much each student has improved as a result of the after-school lessons.

Despite the decrease in the number of the students who take English lessons outside of school in 2013, 90.9% of junior and 91.1% of senior high school students considered that English will be necessary in their daily lives when they finish schooling (Benesse Kyoiku Sogo Kenkyusho, 2014). In line with the government's emphasis on TOEFL and TOEIC, English language schools will increase the number of preparation classes for these tests, and numbers of people taking these classes will continue to increase, as those tests originally only attracted students who were planning to study abroad. The recession notwithstanding, business in English language education is likely to grow in the

long-term, since it enjoys strong support from the government, regardless of its political motives. When education becomes commercialised, it more clearly reflects financial gaps because more money equates to more choices and potentially better options for the well-heeled.

English language education became accessible universally after World War II. English language education is still for all, but the outcome of English classes at school may not be equitable. Better English language education appears reserved for a small number of elites, who are selected for government-sponsored projects, as well as for people who can afford English language education beyond school.

7.4. Summary

7.4.1. Before the Occupation. The network of mutual surveillance called *Tonari Gumi* was in effect during World War II in Japan. The *Tonari Gumi* system also functioned as mutual aid in the neighbourhood, and this aspect was much more clearly remembered by the research participants as children than was mutual surveillance. Nevertheless, this mutual surveillance restricted their freedom of speech. The *Tonari Gumi* system placed some English speakers and teachers under constant surveillance in ways that also affected their students.

In addition to lacking freedom, the hierarchical society was inherently unequal and discriminated against women in particular. However, women had adapted and the gender disparities remained natural for them and many were oblivious to the inequality of education. Advanced education was considered unnecessary for women and could present an obstacle for marriage, because men generally preferred brides with less education than their own.

The government paid inadequate attention to education for girls, which created disparities in English language education between private Christian girls' high schools and other girls' high schools. Private Christian girls' high schools often had foreign

missionaries to teach their native languages. Their students took foreign language classes in the target languages, while the students and many teachers in other schools had no exposure to authentic listening and speaking in the target languages. If female students aspired to better English language education, they needed to attend a private Christian school. In addition to higher tuition fees in these schools, some female students may have had conflict in terms of their religious faith. Male students faced no such dilemmas.

The majority of people were realistic and knew that English was necessary for international business. Some criticized the aggressive “English haters.” Outside school, some motivated people were taking classes in private English language schools. Around 1942, even before the banning of English was complete, both English teachers and students started to become targets of observation and eventually many of them abandoned their rights and opportunities to teach or study English. The negative propaganda against English launched by the government developed into a citizen-led patriotic fad.

The circumstances for English language education worsened, but the attitudes toward studying English depended on the individual student. Future elites in Toshiya’s school, as well as other research participants, cared little about English being the language of the enemy, and they studied it in the same way as their other subjects. The school provided English lessons, and students and their parents did not object. The Japanese in general believed that laymen should defer to experts’ decisions. English was, however, banned in other places, and using an English loanword outside of school was deemed unpatriotic. Many students thought that they were to study whatever the schools offered without question, while the hostile atmosphere toward English confused and discouraged some students.

English teachers faced difficulties. English speakers were regarded as spies and became targets of observation in the surveillance network of civilians. Civilians only wanted to be patriotic and cooperative with other people in their fight against the enemy.

Yet, most foreign teachers left Japan unwillingly, and private English language schools closed down. The military police not only made students feel uneasy and scared, but also obstructed students' learning by visiting schools and interrogating teachers. Some of the students may have become uncertain about studying English because of these visits and this unsettled atmosphere. In addition, these incidents were perhaps sufficiently intimidating for the students to conclude that they should be subservient to the authorities. Absolute submission to the national policies was expected from every individual, including students and English teachers.

Although English was regarded as the language of the enemy, English language teachers were respected, as were other teachers at schools. Students respected their teachers for being knowledgeable and also found the teachers' personalities important. English teachers found themselves questioning the purpose of English language education, and defending it to their students. While there were enthusiastic English teachers, others showed less enthusiasm under the unfavourable circumstances, deliberately or otherwise. In addition, some English teachers at girls' high schools taught half-heartedly, believing no further education to await female students. It was difficult for some English teachers to find their work meaningful. Others received inadequate teacher training or were unconfident in their English skills. This lack of skill in teaching English, along with the unfavourable attitudes in classrooms that derived partially from the government's policies, lowered some students' motivations for studying English.

When English language study became optional in girls' high schools in 1942, many schools decided to cancel classes. Some teachers lost their jobs, and some students abandoned future hopes to become English teachers because their prospects looked grim. English teachers who retained their jobs required additional effort to inspire both their students and themselves to continue English language education. The Ministry of Education deprived not only English teachers of their jobs but also students, especially

female students, opportunities for studying English. The government considered that female students did not need much education and were less important than male students. It was mostly female students who suffered from the cancellation of English classes. Cancellation of English classes, discrimination against women, and elitism overlapped and emerged from government's undemocratic mindset.

7.4.2. During the Occupation. After World War II, English language education, previously reserved for the elite, became available to everyone. The Ministry of Education decided that English classes would be optional in junior high school. This decision countered the majority view and, in fact, many schools mandated English classes. The Ministry of Education gradually relinquished control, reflecting USEM's recommendation to decentralize the power of the Ministry of Education.

New textbooks had to be created to suit the new society, but schools were to resume within a month after the end of the war. Thus, as an emergency measure, students were told to ink their old textbooks to cover inappropriate parts. Inking textbooks served two purposes: one was to conceal the writings inconvenient to the Japanese government; the other was to demonstrate cooperation with SCAP.

When the inking project began, many people were still antagonistic towards the Allied Forces. Some students who knew that SCAP had ordered inking became angry with SCAP. However, others who did not know that SCAP was responsible focused their distrust towards Japanese adults. The inking project suggested to students that what they had believed until that time was almost all false. This was both deeply shocking for students and painful for teachers when they thought about the students' feelings. After several months of using these inked textbooks, interim textbooks slowly became available to students in 1946. Democracy was not specifically introduced as a topic of study. Topics to promote peace and democracy began appearing in English language textbooks after 1951.

The new English textbooks for the new school system commenced in 1947. Of all the English textbooks published subsequently, the most popular and enduring series of English textbooks was named *Jack and Betty*. Through these textbooks, students encountered idealised American culture and America's high standard of living, albeit embodying gender-role and racial discrimination. While there was no content overtly promoting democracy, the concept of American democracy was nonetheless evident. Through the content of *Jack and Betty*, the American lifestyle, including democracy, became aspirational for Japanese students.

As democracy was introduced and the new school system launched, the younger generation began to consider that females, too, deserved education. However, some disparities in education persisted. Older people in particular resisted change and discriminatory gender roles remained. Nor was the government earnest about improving conditions for women. Another dimension of disparity was elitism. While some students were enjoying better learning environments at elite schools, others were taking English classes taught by teachers whose field was not English language education. Elite schools continued to train future elites. Location was another source of disparity in English language education. Prestigious schools were concentrated in the Tokyo metropolitan area. Regional inequities in demands for English that once were negligible became magnified as time passed. People in the Tokyo metropolitan area maintained their educational advantage.

Exacerbating old disparities, a scarcity of teachers resulted from deaths during the War and the purge by SCAP. Securing a large number of English language teachers became urgent; many new English teachers were uncertified and unqualified. The quality of English language education varied among schools accordingly. As well, the number of English classes provided per week differed because English was optional. These factors affected students' English proficiency levels as they proceeded to senior high school.

English language education at school during the Pacific War was at one time irrelevant to students because English was prohibited in society, but it became more relevant after the war. English language education in the modern era began with the Occupation. The English conversation boom began spontaneously and grew rapidly. Many people felt the necessity to study English. Motives for studying English may have varied from survival to admiration. This movement reflected the faddish characteristics of the Japanese. There were various ways to study English, ranging from radio programs to native-speaker tutors, and costs varied. Some people had to stop studying English or sell their belongings to pay for tuition due to their financial difficulties. Many of the supporters of the boom had a longing for freedom and wealth, which was exemplified by the American soldiers, and held positive attitudes toward English and its speakers. English teachers suddenly became popular; they transformed from spies to stars.

During the boom, English language schools were popular. They offered the experience of co-education. The majority of people approved of co-education, and a survey showed that over 90% of men supported education for women. Studying English may have satisfied women in at least two ways: being a part of a fad, and studying as a woman in the new era. These language schools provided conversational English while responding to the needs of the public, which was different from academic English studied within the school system.

Although the boom was of an unprecedented scale, some people remained unaffected by it because of their location or financial circumstances. Many people in remote areas felt little need for English. They did not interact with the occupation forces. Many people were also barely surviving, their basic needs being unmet.

When the occupation forces entered Japan immediately after World War II, many Japanese continued to loathe their former enemy and were determined to retaliate someday. Despite the fact that there were some cultural conflicts, the occupation forces

made efforts to enhance friendship with the Japanese and SCAP undertook many reforms that brought to the Japanese greater equality and better lives. The hostile attitude dramatically dissipated when the Japanese understood that the Emperor had visited MacArthur and they learned who the true ruler was. Moreover, the Japanese trait of fawning over power contributed to MacArthur's popularity. He became very popular and almost as revered as the Emperor. The Japanese liked him and his surplice, English.

7.4.3. Elitism and the Current State of English Language Education. The influence of politics on English language education is not simply a matter of history. The government has recently increased its control over English language education, which is promoting elitism. This elitism continues to influence the English language education industry.

During the Occupation, English language education developed ties with business, such as English language schools. However, English was less pervasive globally at that time. English has become the global language and has become crucial to being internationally competitive. The MEXT made English classes mandatory, and the government recommends that people in various fields take TOEIC and TOEFL tests. The results of this and other elitist initiatives is that better English language education is reserved for a small number of elites, who are selected for government-sponsored projects, as well as for people who can afford English language education outside of school. The government, English language education, and business in English language education are closely interrelated, which is likely to continue shaping English language education and its provision.

Chapter 8 Conclusion

This chapter will provide a brief summary of the study, relate the findings to prior research, and make some recommendations for future studies.

8.1. Summary of the Study

This thesis has focused on English language education in Japan before and during the Occupation, when Japan experienced a significant political shift, with a different ruler and system during each period. The study investigated causes with regard to the democratization of education and society, as well as the changed status of English and English teachers, and the effects of these changes on students. The study also investigated, among other phenomena, the role of Japanese culture in the changes that occurred at the time.

For this qualitative study, the data were collected from documents and interviews to generate answers to the research questions. Semi-structured interviews were conducted on nine research participants: three men and six women. The interviewees were asked about their experiences, thoughts, and feelings during their time as students, with the questions based on socio-cultural perspectives such as power, oppression, and egalitarianism in society.

The collected data were transcribed and analysed through a phenomenological approach from a standpoint of critical pedagogy. A phenomenological approach was helpful for understanding each research participant's different experiences and thoughts while experiencing similar phenomena. Each research participant dealt with English and with the new regime in a different way according to their circumstances and personality. Their individualities mediated their responses to the situations of the time.

From the analysis, six themes were generated: three themes prior to the Occupation and three themes during the Occupation. The themes prior to the Occupation

are (a) English language education before and during World War II, (b) the language of the enemy, and (c) disparities in education. Those during the Occupation are (a) textbooks, (b) remaining disparities and new problems, and (c) attitudes towards the old enemy and their language.

The following section briefly summarises answers to each research question from this study. Responses to some of the questions overlap because the questions interrelate. For example, one of the interview questions concerns Japanese culture and psyche, and an answer to that question has implications other questions. The Japanese are said to possess a faddish trait, and this may have led to the English conversation boom.

8.1.1. Research question 1. How did education, especially English language education, at middle level schools in Japan during World War II and the subsequent Occupation, reflect the policies and shed light on the apparent mindset of the political power holders of the times?

During World War II, sexist attitudes prevailed in Japan as they had done for centuries. Sexism, as a subset of elitism, created disparities in English language education, not only between the education of male and female students, but also between private Christian girls' high schools and other girls' high schools.

Another issue that reflected the politics was designating English as the language of the enemy. This was foreshadowed by prohibiting the use of the English language in public, including English loanwords and the Roman alphabet. Optionalization of English classes in girls' high schools reflected this idea as well as sexism.

The military also controlled English language education. For the students who continued English language education either as optional or mandatory, the Ministry of Education with the military behind it, prepared remarkably militaristic English language textbooks, reflecting its intentions for the War.

The power holders' disregard for fundamental human rights was evident, for

example, when English teachers and students became targets of observation and had to abandon their rightful opportunities to teach and study English. While English classes in girls' high schools became optional, many schools decided to cancel English classes rather than continue them as optional. This may be seen as a means to censorship by limiting their sources of information. Consequently, some teachers lost their teaching jobs and had to change profession. Others remained at school, teaching a different subject, as discussed in answer to question 3, below.

During the Occupation, SCAP planned democratic reforms in education based on the recommendations of the United States Education Mission (USEM). English language education, which was previously reserved for future elites, became available virtually to everyone. However, because English language learning was officially rendered optional, it was still governed by elitism and regional disparities. In addition, the government was still not fully committed to improving women's circumstances.

SCAP sometimes challenged Japanese culture to promote reforms, including in the field of education. For example, some of the USEM's recommendations for creating new textbooks were focused on the principles of individualism, and SCAP did not always approve the values of the Japanese compilers who were creating textbooks for the new school system.

One of the reforms was the purge. The SCAP purge included educators, which resulted in a critical scarcity of English teachers. SCAP's priority was to eliminate personnel who were militaristic and ultra-nationalistic, even if this resulted in teacher shortages. Outcomes of this, however, included mediocre instruction and further disadvantages for students.

8.1.2. Research question 2. How might Japanese culture and “the Japanese psyche” explain some of the responses to these events?

Fairly large power distance has always prevailed in Japan. Females had been

regarded as inferior to males in Japan for a long time. The Japanese only knew a gender-biased society and took it for granted. Marriage was deemed important for women, and too much education for women could be seen as an impediment to marriage in a culture where male superiority was assumed. Therefore, before the Occupation, the majority of people did not believe that females needed the same educational opportunities as men. English language education also came to be considered unnecessary for female students toward the end of World War II. The Ministry of Education decided that female students should study subjects that would reinforce the “home-front,” such as home economics and disaster prevention, rather than foreign languages and mathematics.

Before the Occupation, when the use of English was prohibited in public, the government used a popular magazine, its own publication, *Photographs Weekly* (*Shashin Shubo*), to disseminate negative propaganda against English. This developed into a nationalistic fad led by citizens who wanted to prove themselves patriotic and cooperative, and to fight together against the enemy. Because they were serving the Emperor, their patriotism, perhaps ironically, sometimes became competitive. This trend of prohibiting the use of English extended to making English language classes optional in girls' high schools. The Japanese psyche had conditioned students to obey their teachers and schools without question. Therefore, most students accepted their school's decision without resistance even when they could not make sense of its reasoning. As well, the Japanese embraced a widespread belief that lay people should defer to expert opinion. They looked to authority rather than making decisions for themselves.

Similarly, faddishness on the part of the Japanese ignited and maintained the English conversation boom once it became apparent that the occupation forces, English speakers, were coming to take charge. This was a reversal in attitude toward the English language. This boom reflected other Japanese traits of collectivism and fawning over power. Collectivism, bolstered by faddism, can create a trend. These Japanese traits explain

MacArthur's popularity, which contributed to the success of the Occupation. Cultural conflicts were inevitable between two different cultures, but SCAP held overwhelming power and Japanese traits, such as fawning over power and collectivism, fed into this dynamic.

8.1.3. Research question 3. What was the perceived impact of these policies on those teachers and students of English during these two periods?

Before the Occupation, due to a monopoly of single-sex schools, most students were unfamiliar with the education of the students of the opposite sex. When female students discovered the inferiority of their content of study, some became angry with its unfairness, but most were indifferent, because marriage was their important goal and the Japanese were accustomed to gender disparities, and to compliance.

When English was deemed the language of the enemy, English teachers were suspected as spies and became the targets of observation. They had to try to convince themselves and their students of the significance of English language education. Some teachers lost motivation for teaching, and these circumstances lowered some students' enthusiasm for studying English. Later, when English classes became optional or were cancelled in girls' high schools, some teachers lost their teaching positions and had to teach a different subject, or change profession altogether. The Ministry of Education deprived not only English teachers of their jobs but also students, especially female students, of opportunities for studying English. Allowing English classes in girls' high schools to be optional influenced middle schools in particular, and some of them decided to cancel English classes. Under the circumstances, some students decided to abandon their future hope to be English teachers, which led to subsequent shortages in adequately trained teachers.

Inadequate English language education at the end of World War II became a serious problem both for students and English teachers. Except in schools for future elites

and cadets, students had learned little or no English. They advanced to the next grade or graduated and attended an upper level school without reaching the expected proficiency levels. The teachers could not conduct lessons at their target levels, and the students were frustrated by not being able to meet the teachers' expectations. On the other hand, the majority of English teachers themselves had received inadequate English language education during the war. The purge by SCAP also reduced the number of English teachers, which forced schools to employ untrained English teachers. As a result, many students had to suffer mediocre English language education. This lowered some students' motivation to study English.

Through the inking project, some students, who did not know that SCAP was responsible, developed mistrust toward Japanese adults. The pre-existing trusting relations between teachers and students began to falter. The inking project suggested to students that what they had believed up to that time was almost all false. This was deeply shocking for students. It was also painful for teachers when they considered their students' feelings.

At approximately the same time as the resumption of schools, the English conversation boom arose among the populace. This transformed English from the language of the enemy to the most popular foreign language. It suddenly changed the erstwhile suspected spies to stars. Female students were also afforded the opportunity to study English as part of this new fad, as well as new-found calls for equality. However, some of the participants, especially those outside the Tokyo metropolitan area, were not involved in this unprecedented boom for reasons such as regional and financial difficulties. In the early stage of the Occupation, many people wanted to prepare themselves for interactions with the occupation forces, especially in business, but in most areas this occurred only rarely. As a result, people gradually came to lose interest, especially outside the Tokyo metropolitan area, which was both the location of GHQ and the centre of better education. Studying English also required extra expenses, which was a problem

when many people were in poverty.

8.2. Relation to Prior Research

As discussed in Chapter 4, research on education reform during the Occupation has a variety of focuses, ranging from identifying the characteristics of the textbooks before and during the Occupation to describing conflicts between CIE and the Ministry of Education or Japanese education specialists. This section will discuss how the findings of this study relate to those of the previous research.

Many findings of this study are consistent with previous research (for example, Arimitsu, 1946; Erikawa, 2012, 2013; Hofstede, 2001, 2010; Onaka, 1991; Reed, 1937). Some disparities in education also support previous findings (Aizawa, 2005; Fujimoto, 2007; Koshihara, 1981; Uehara, 2006).

While there are some findings which correspond to those of prior research, others in this study shed new light on the period. One example is the prohibition of the English language in public during World War II. As previous research has shown, English was first designated as the language of the enemy by the government, who began prohibiting its use in public. The populace all followed the trend with some aggressive English-haters. Everyone displayed solidarity in public (Hiratsuka, 2011; Kitaoka, 1999; Takanashi & Deki, 1993). However, Toshiya, one of the research participants, was unaware of this.

Previous research also established that the English conversation boom immediately after the War began in an unprecedented scale. This is supported by, for example, the number of copies of the *Anglo-Japanese Conversation Manual (Nichibei Kaiwa Techo)* sold and the high listenership of *Come Come English*. These descriptions may suggest that everyone was involved in the boom (Erikawa, 2008; Fukuda, 1991; Imura, 2003; Kihira, 1995). Yet, this study showed that many of the research participants who lived outside the Tokyo metropolitan area did not participate in the boom for various reasons, and some were even unaware of it. It was indeed a remarkable phenomenon, but its influence, contrary to

previous understandings, was far from ubiquitous.

8.3. Limitations and Recommendations

This study has a number of limitations. The most obvious is the small number of research participants. Despite the various measures taken to find suitable respondents, only nine people could be interviewed. The geographic range of participants was also limited due to the role of the gatekeepers. Statements of the participants as well as the researcher's analysis are necessarily subjective. The researcher is a Japanese woman who has no war experiences and views phenomena from that particular standpoint. In addition, when the original texts were in Japanese or French, the researcher translated them, albeit as faithfully as possible. As is the case with any translation, meaning can be compromised. Nevertheless, while the research participants' recollections were on their experiences approximately 70 years ago, given that their memories were largely consistent with each other and with what is known about the historical events, they can be regarded as acceptably trustworthy.

To build on the results of this study, finding another population of research participants would be a possibility, but a diminishing one, given the age of the respondents. The primary locations of the research participants were Tokyo and Hiroshima. Other locations could be used to establish a broader range of participants. Further research, such as examining reasons of the English majors for choosing the Department of English when English was shunned in society, may prove fruitful. While the number of English majors at Tokyo Imperial University significantly dropped during the Pacific War, those at teacher training institutes, such as Tokyo Arts and Sciences University, did not. Why did some still aspire to become English teachers in such a hostile environment? A further study might elicit the thoughts of Japanese people on the relationship between education and politics. Finally, one may wish to investigate other post-World War II interventions by the United States, especially the relations between Americans and citizens of countries affected by

U.S.-led interventions or incursions, such as Cuba, Vietnam, Iraq or Afghanistan, which have met with considerably less success than the Japanese Occupation.

This thesis explored how the power holders, such as the Japanese government, the military, and SCAP, influenced English language education and how these decisions affected stakeholders, especially students. The importance of recording eye-witness accounts cannot be emphasized enough, as their numbers are rapidly decreasing; at least one of the research participants, Chizuko, passed away during the conduct of this study.

As discussed throughout this thesis, history has demonstrated how politics, education, people's mindset and culture can interrelate. In addition, issues beyond an individual's control, such as gender and a difference in birth date of only a few years' could dramatically affect one's life course and options. The government sometimes does not pay enough attention to fundamental human rights, and this can cause disparities in education.

Any of the artefacts used could be based on incomplete memories or bias. Nevertheless, each of them complements the others, and contributes to confidence in completing a jigsaw puzzle by confirming or disconfirming prior "knowledge." It is hoped this thesis has contributed to this process, and may serve as a basis for further investigation.

Appendix A

Examples of Publications

1. History of English Language Education

1.1. During World War II. Erikawa, H. (1998). Shihan gakko ni okeru Eigo-ka kyoiku no rekishi (2): Showa-ki [History of English language education in normal schools (2): The Showa period]. *Nihon Eigo Kyoiku-shi Kenkyu*, 13, 173-202; Erikawa, H. (2003). Kaigun shuen-ki no Eigo kyoiku [English language education in the Navy at its demise]. *Nihon Eigo Kyoiku-shi Kenkyu*, 18, 39-66; Erikawa, H. (2005). Nippon rikugun no Eigo kyoiku-shi: 1930nendai iko no yonen gakko, yoka shikan gakko o chushin ni [History of English language education in the Japanese Imperial Army: Primarily on army cadet schools and military academy preparatory schools]. *Nihon Eigo Kyoiku-shi Kenkyu*, 20, 65-90; Horiuchi, T. (2010). Senji-ka ni okeru tekikokugo “Eigo” kyoiku no doyo: Zasshi “Eigo Seinen” o tsujite [Unrest of the education of “English”, the language of the enemy, in wartime: Examining the journal “Eigo Seinen”]. *Seiji-gaku Kenkyu*, 42, 65-92. Retrieved from http://www.clb.law.mita.keio.ac.jp/pls-committee/seijigakuKenkyu-42/seijigakuKenkyu-42_05.pdf; and Konno, T. (1990). Senchu no Eigo kyoiku: Showa 18nen seitei chugakko kyoka kyoju yomoku “gaikokugol-ka” o chushin ni [English language education during World War II: Middle school syllabus for foreign languages enacted in 1943]. *Nihon Eigo Kyoiku-shi Kenkyu*, 5, 91-99. Retrieved from https://www.jstage.jst.go.jp/article/hisetjournal1986/5/0/5_91/_article/-char/ja/.

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Appendix B
School Systems

1. Before the Occupation

Between 1881 and 1947, there was a dual system of middle-level education in Japan. One system was the regular type of school education, and the other was education for working youths. In 1899, the revised Middle School Order made middle schools preparatory schools for universities. In the same year, the Girls' High School Order decreed that the qualifications for entering girls' high schools should be the same as those for boys entering middle schools, but the curriculum was a year shorter and the levels were lower than middle schools. These middle schools and girls' high schools were positioned as regular schools, and vocational schools were collateral. In addition, the great majority of students had to take a path from higher elementary schools to supplementary vocational schools (Kihira, 1988) and other types of vocational schools (Imura, 2003).

The school systems were highly complex before the Occupation, thus Figures B1 and B2 are simplified to show only the relevant parts.

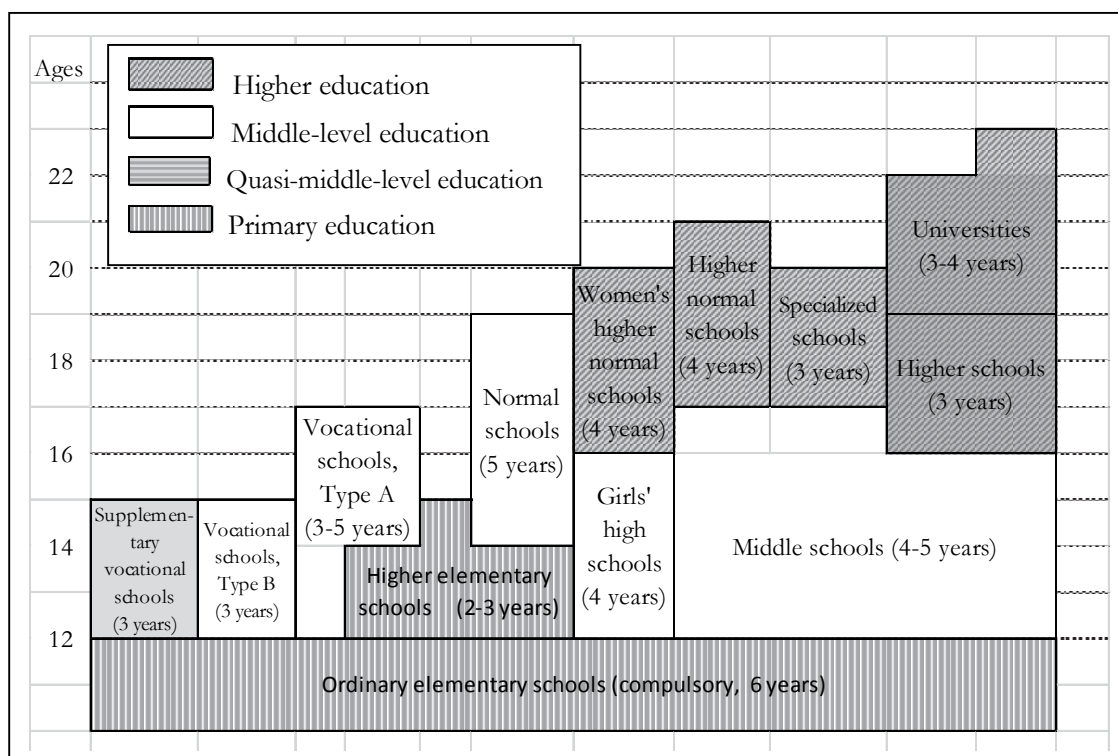


Figure B1. School system in 1931.

Normal schools are teacher training schools, and higher normal schools are for training future teachers for middle-level schools (MEXT, n.d.B1). Girls' high schools are called "high schools" but they belong to middle-level education. Primary education is divided by ordinary elementary (compulsory) and higher elementary (optional) schools (Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, 1907). Adapted from *Two Hundred Years of English Language Education in Japan (Nihon no Eigo Kyoiku Nihyaku-nen)* (p. 87), by M. Imura, 2003, Tokyo, Japan: Taishukan. Copyright 2003 by Motomichi Imura; *School System in 1919, Figure 6 (Gakko Keito-zu, Dai6zu, Taisho 8nen)*, by MEXT, n.d.B2, and

Appendices

Educational System in 1931, by MEXT, n.d.B3. Copyright by MEXT; *Official Gazette* (Kanpo) (p. 529), by Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, 1907, Tokyo, Japan: Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau; and *White Paper on Education, 1962 Academic Year (Kyoiku Hakusho, Showa 37nen-do)* (Chapter 2), by Monbusho Chosa-kyoku, 1962, Tokyo Japan. Copyright by MEXT.

Higher schools consisted of “Number schools,” “Name schools,” seven-year schools, and others. Number schools are the eight government higher schools that were founded first. Each school had a designated number for its school name according to its order of foundation, such as Dai-ichi Koto Gakko (Higher School Number One). Name schools are named after the place names of their locations, such as Yamaguchi Koto Gakko (Yamaguchi Higher School). Seven-year schools are ones that offered four years of middle-level education and three years of higher education (MEXT, n.d.352; Shogakkan, n.d.). There were eight seven-year schools in Japan, five of them were in Tokyo and three of these five were private (Takahashi, 1994).

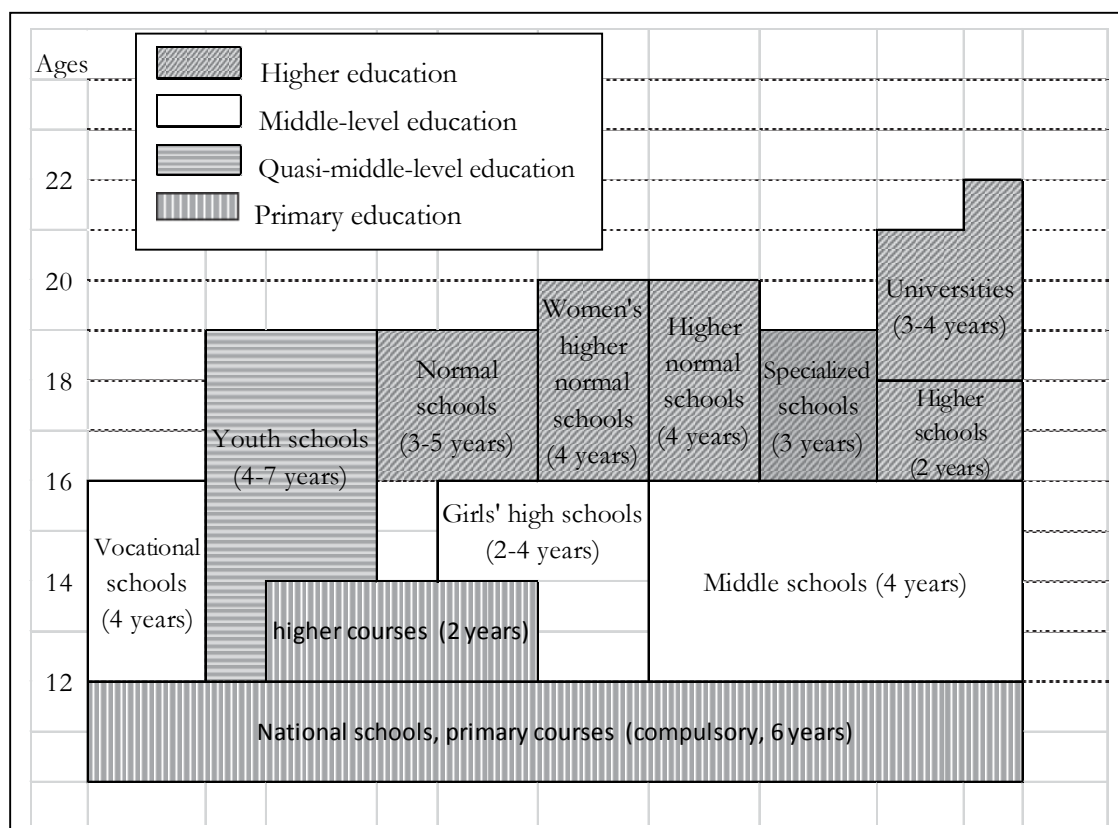


Figure B2. School system in 1944.

Different types of vocation-related schools were consolidated in 1943 (Ministry of Finance Printing Bureau, 1943). Youth schools were established in 1935 to take care of the working youth from 12 to 19 years of age (MEXT, n.d.B5; Monbusho Chosa-kyoku, 1962). Normal schools became the same level as specialized schools in 1943 (Chosa-kyoku, 1962). Adapted from *School System in 1944, Figure 7 (Gakko Keito-zu, Dai7zu, Showa 19nen)*, by MEXT, n.d.B6, and *Educational System in 1944*, by MEXT, n.d.B7.; and *White Paper on Education, 1962 Academic Year (Kyoiku Hakusho, Showa 37nen-do)* (Chapter 2), by Monbusho Chosa-kyoku, 1962, Tokyo Japan. Copyright by MEXT.

2. During the Occupation

The new school system started in 1947. Changes to the school system began with reform of compulsory education and gradually moved up to higher education, which was effectively completed in 1950 (MEXT, B8).

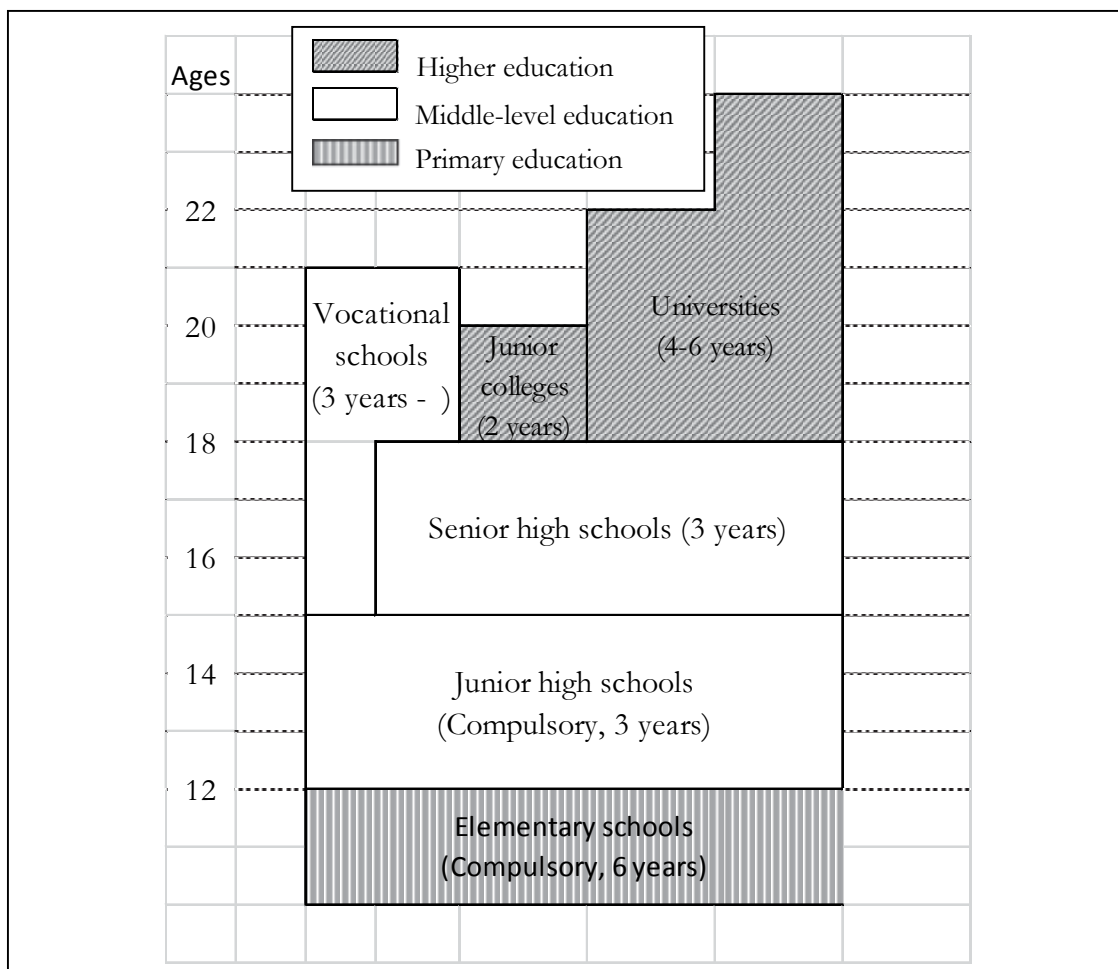


Figure B3. The mainstream school system in 1949.

Compulsory education was extended to nine years in 1947 (MEXT, n.d.377). Secondary education consists of lower, i.e. junior high schools, and upper, i.e. senior high schools, secondary education (MEXT, n.d.394; n.d.B11). Junior colleges are a part of higher education but were originally created as temporary institutes (MEXT, n.d.B8). Adapted from *Figure 8, School System in 1949* (*Gakko keito-zu, Dai 8ju Showa 24nen*), by MEXT, n.d.B12, Tokyo, Japan; *White Paper on Education, 1962 Academic Year* (*Kyoiku Hokusho, Showa 37nen-do*) (Chapter 2), by Monbusho Chosa-kyoku, 1962, Tokyo Japan. Copyright by MEXT.

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*Appendix C***A List of Japanese Names Translated into English**

This list shows in alphabetical order the researcher's English translation of the Japanese names. The column on the left is the English translation. Publications are excluded.

1. Legislation

Amendments of the Orders for the Imperial Army Recruitment	Rikugun Hoju-rei Kaisei
Education System Order	Gakusei
Girls' High School Regulations	Koto Jogakko Kitei
Guidelines for Basic Policies about Establishing the Wartime Nation Thought	Senji Kokumin Shiso Kakuritsu ni Kansuru Kihon Hosaku Yoko
Guideline of Decisive Battles Education Measures	Kessen Kyoiku Sochi Yoko
Middle Level School Order	Chuto Gakko Rei
Middle School Regulations	Chugakko Kitei
Nobility Ordinance	Kazoku Rei
Outlines of Reforms on Education for Females	Joshi Kyoiku Sasshin Yoko
Public Security Preservation Law	Chian Iji Ho
Regarding Treatment of Textbooks After World War II	Shusen ni Tomonau Kyoka-yo Toshō Atsukai-kata ni Kansuru Ken
Regulations for Organizing Classes	Gakkyu Hensei to ni Kansuru Kisoku
Wartime Emergency Measures Policies on Education	Kyoiku ni Kansuru Senji Hijo Sochi Hosaku

2. Institutions and Organizations

Army Ministry, Intelligence Bureau	Rikugun-sho, Joho-bu
Asahi Newspaper	Asahi Shimbun
Foreign Affairs Police	Gaiji Keisatsu
Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University	Hiroshima Bunrika Daigaku
Intelligence Bureau	Joho-kyoku
Japanese Education Committee	Nihon-gawa Kyoiku Inikai
Middle-level School Textbooks	Chuto Gakko Kyokasho
Preparatory School of Accounting at the Imperial Japanese Army Academy	Rikugun Yoka Shikan Gakko Keiri Gakko Yoka
Project to Pass on the Wartime Experiences to the Next Generation	Senso o Kataritsugu Purojekuto

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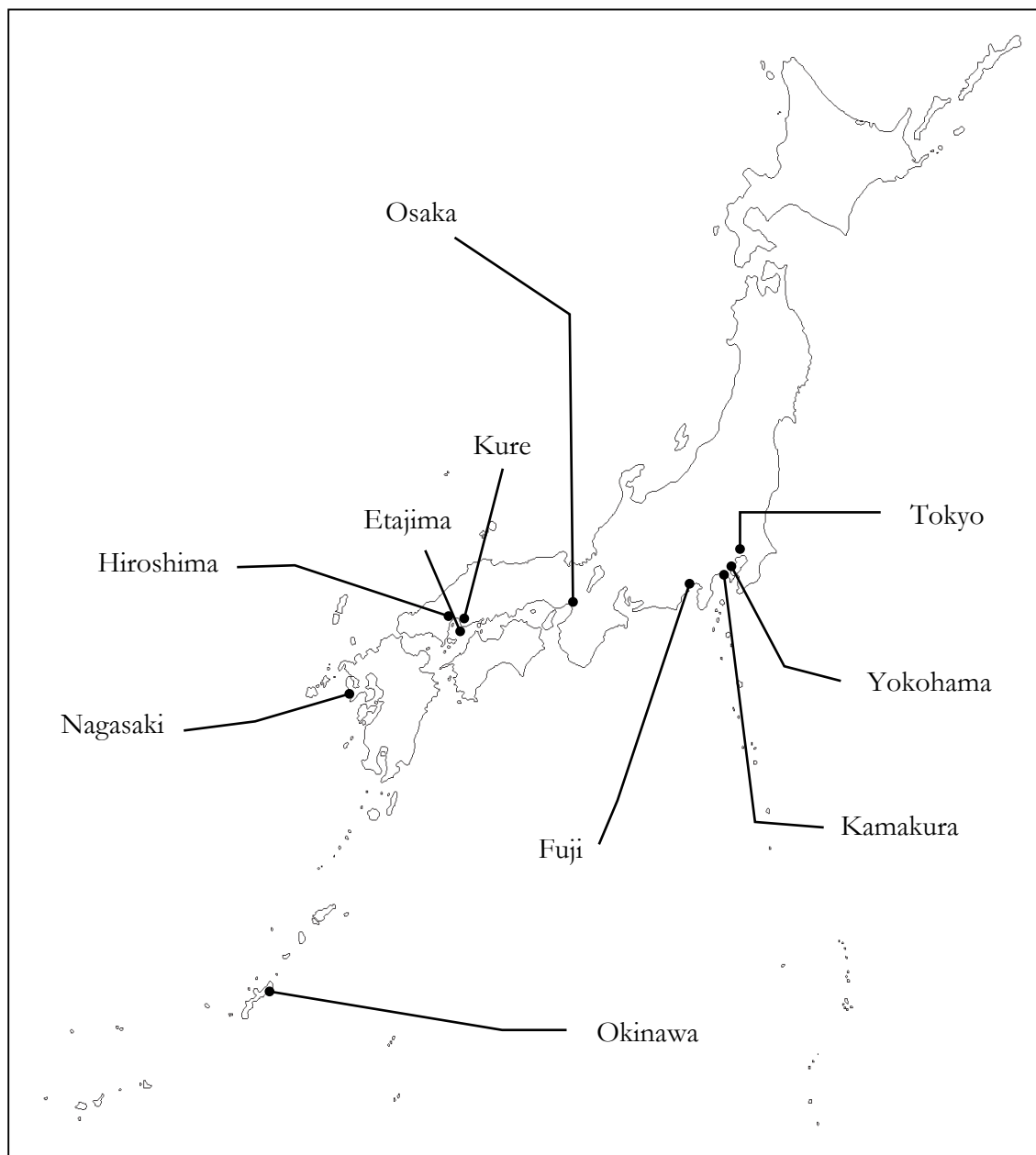
Tokyo Arts and Sciences University	Tokyo Bunrika Daigaku
Tokyo Girls' School	Tokyo Jogakko

3. Others

Blog, Erikawa's Office	Erikawa Kenkyu-shitsu Burogu
"Come Come English"	"Kamu Kamu Eigo"
Courses in Morals	Shushin
Director of the Textbook Bureau in the Ministry of Education	Monbusho Kyokasho Kyokucho
End of War Handling Fee	Shusen Shori-hi
"English Conversation"	"Eigo Kaiwa"
Humanness	Jin
Peerage	Kazoku
"Practical English Conversation"	"Jitsuyo Eigo Kaiwa"
Proper rite	Rei
Righteousness or justice	Gi
Sorge Case	Zoruge Jiken
State Shinto	Kokka Shinto, Jinja Shinto

Appendix D

The Locations of the Middle Level Schools Attended by Participants (Except for Yoko) as well as Other Places Referred in the Thesis.



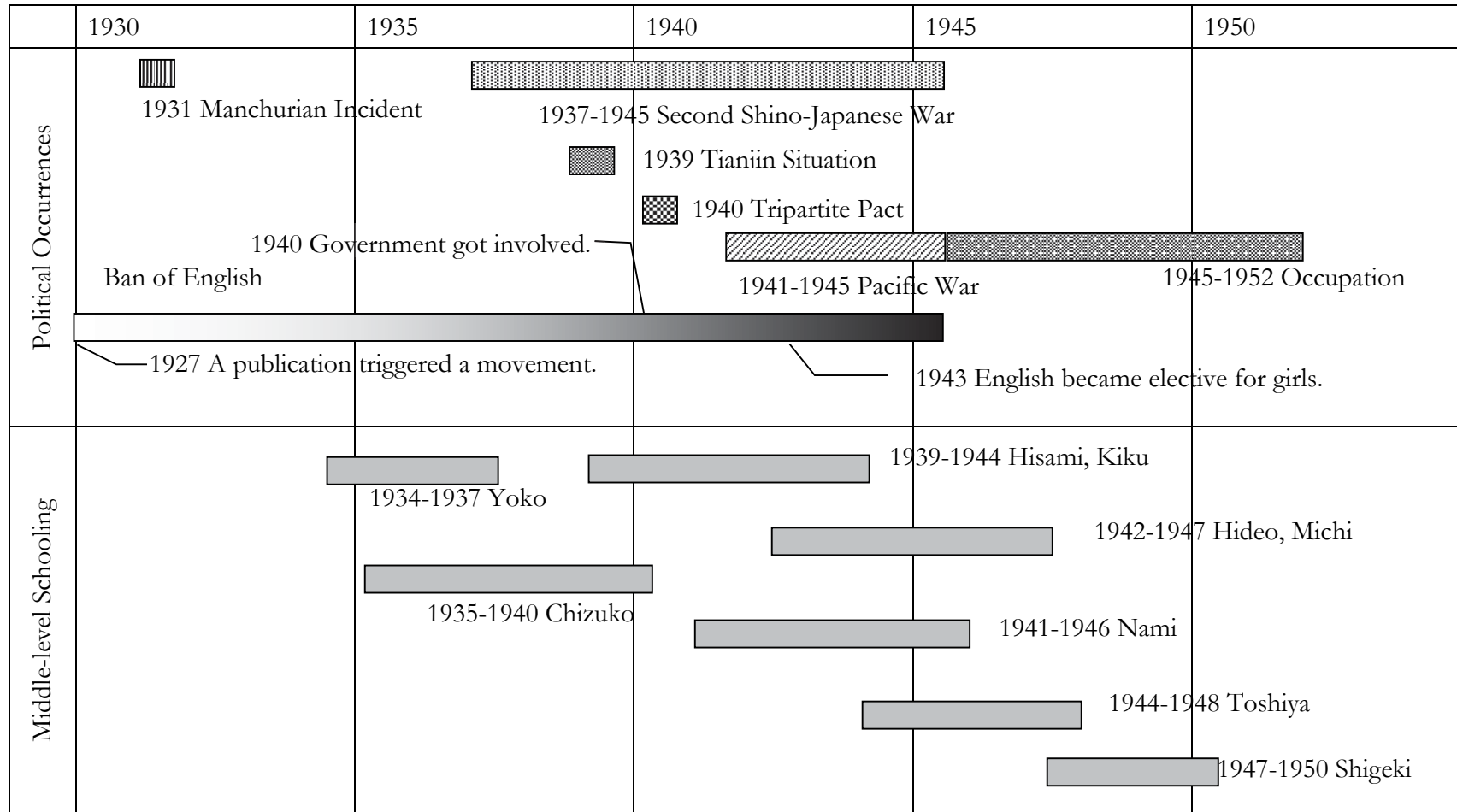
Appendix E

Summary of Warfare Between the Manchurian Incident and the Pacific War

Starting Date	Ending Date	E v e n t
1931	1933	<p>Manchurian Incident</p> <p>The Japanese military blew up a railroad of the South Manchurian Railway and blamed the Chinese military for the demolition. Japan began a military campaign and occupied most of Manchuria, establishing it as Manchukuo in 1932.</p>
1937	1945	<p>Second Sino-Japanese War</p> <p>This war began when, during hostilities between China and Japan, the Chinese military shot at the Japanese military around the Marco Polo Bridge in the suburbs of Beijing. During this period, World War II started in Europe in 1939. Japan declared war in 1941 and fought the Pacific War while also fighting against China.</p>
1939	1939	<p>Tianjin Situation (Blockade of the British Concession in Tianjin)</p> <p>An assassination occurred in the British Concession in Tianjin. The Japanese government requested an extradition by the United Kingdom but was refused. This worsened the Japanese government's negative feelings toward the United Kingdom. Subsequent negotiations did not progress, and with an ultimatum having been refused, the Japanese military eventually blockaded the British Concession in Tianjin. Later diplomatic negotiations ran into difficulties, but this case was finally settled with considerable compromise by the United Kingdom.</p>
1941	1945	<p>Pacific War</p> <p>Japan declared War against the Allied Forces in December 1941 and surrendered on 15 August 1945.</p>

Appendix F

Political Occurrences and the Periods of the Participants' Middle-level Schooling



*Appendix G***The Numbers of English Majors in Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University and Hiroshima Higher Normal School**

Table G1

The Number of Students in Department of English Language and Literature and the Entire School in Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University, 1943

Grade		Department of English Language and Literature	Total of the Entire School
First	Male	10	171
	Female	2	2
Second	Male	12	167
	Female	0	0
Third	Male	12	129
	Female	1	2
Total	Male	34	467
	Female	3	4
Grand Total		37	471

Note. As of the 30th of April 1943. The number of international students was excluded in the original. Created from “Names of the Students in Each Department” (Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University, 1943, pp. 106-107).

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Table G2

The Number of Students in Humanities, Third Department (Bunka Dai2bu) and the Entire School in Hiroshima Higher Normal School, 1943

Grade	Humanities, Second Department ^a	Total of the Entire School
First	29	257
Second	24	268
Third	25	210
Fourth	15	147
Total	93	882

Note. As of the 30th of April 1943. Created from “The Names of the Students in Each Department” (Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University, 1943, pp. 238-239). The number of international students were excluded in the original.

^aHumanities, Second Department (Bunka Dai2bu) is the equivalent of Department of English Language and Literature (Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University, 1942, p. 29).

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- Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University. (1943). Hiroshima Bunrika Daigaku, Hiroshima Koto Shihan Gakko, Hiroshima Rinji Kyoin Yoseisho ichiran, Showa 18nen-do [Hiroshima Arts and Sciences University, Hiroshima Higher Normal School, a catalogue of Hiroshima Provisional Teacher Training Schools, The academic year of 1943]. Hiroshima, Japan: Author. Retrieved from <http://dl.ndl.go.jp/info:ndljp/pid/1461409>

*Appendix H***Employment of Foreign Teachers**

Due to their high salaries, the number of the foreign teachers employed by the Japanese government was limited. The table below indicates the number of foreign teachers in 1940 and 1941.

Table H1

The Number of Foreign Teachers

Year	Middle Schools			Girls' High Schools			Higher Schools ^a		
	N/P	Private	Total	N/P	Private	Total	N/P	Private	Total
1940	4	14	18 ^b	1	40	42 ^c	*	*	63 ^d
1941	*	*	*	*	*	*	56	4	60 ^e

Note. N/P = national/public.

^aNormal schools are not included. ^bMinistry of Education, 1950a, pp. 218-219. ^cpp. 239-244. The total does not match, but this is as is. ^dp. 272. ^eMinistry of Education, 1950b, pp. 362-363.

It is not clear if “foreign teachers” meant Westerners at this time, but it appears so. The total of foreign teachers in 1940 is 123. According to the document of the Foreign Affairs Police (*Gaiji Keisatsu*), the number of teachers who were foreign nationals was 415 at the end of 1941 (Naimusho Keibo-kyoku, 1941/1980, pp. 457-458). Considering many teachers from English-speaking countries left Japan before that time, the number should have been larger in 1940.

In addition, Fujimoto's study (2007) on the situation of employment of foreign teachers in Osaka Prefecture, the second largest prefecture in Japan, used records taken from those of Osaka Prefecture and Osaka City. According to Fujimoto, 15 foreign teachers were employed in the prefectural middle schools in Osaka Prefecture, while the names of only four foreign teachers appear in the documents of the Ministry of Education as teaching in national and public middle schools nationwide. This difference may also indicate that the Ministry of Education had counted only the Western teachers. It is unknown how Christian missionaries who also taught the English language were categorized. They may have been excluded from these numbers in the table.

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Appendix I
Information on the Participants (Age Order)

Name	Sex	Birth Year	Year When Entered Middle Level School	Age When WWII Ended	Place of Middle Level School	Type of School
Yoko	Female	1923	1934	22	Manchuria	Public GH
Chizuko	Female	1924	1935	20	Yokohama	Buddhist PGH
Kiku	Female	1928	1939	17	Hiroshima	Public GH
Hisami	Female	1928	1939	16	Hiroshima	Christian PGH
Nami	Female	1930	1941	14	Hiroshima	Christian PGH
Hideo	Male	1931	1942	14	Hiroshima	Public/Vocational ^a
Michi	Female	1931	1942	14	Hiroshima	Public GH
Toshiya	Male	1932	1944	13	Tokyo	Government/Private ^b
Shigeki	Male	1935	1947	10	Fuji, Shizuoka	Public

Note. GH stands for girls' high school. PGH stands for private girls' high school. The birth years of Yoko and Chizuko are one year apart, but their ages when WWII ended were two years apart. This is due to their dates of birth. WWII ended in August, and Yoko's birthday is before August. The same reason applies to Kiku and Hisami, and Nami, Hideo, and Michi.

^aHideo first went to a public middle school and moved to a public agricultural school after World War II. ^bToshiya's school used to be a government school and became private after World War II.

Appendix J

Sample Interview Questions

The questions asked during interviews varied because interviews were semi-structured. The following are sample questions. All interviews were conducted in Japanese, therefore the original questions were prepared in Japanese. English translations are provided after the original.

1. Original (in Japanese)

1.1. 英語の授業

- (1.1.1) 戦時中の英語の授業はどのような内容だったか。
- (1.1.2) 戦時中、敵国語の学習に対する意欲はどうだったか。
- (1.1.3) 戦後、英語学習に対する意欲はどうだったか。

1.2. 英語教員、授業に対する政治の影響

- (1.2.1) 戦時中の英語教師の待遇はどうだったか。また、敵国語の教師のことをどう思っていたか。
- (1.2.2) 占領軍がやって来て、英語教師の待遇は変わって見えたか。敵国語から一転、突然英語の人氣が沸騰したわけだが、その人氣の言語を教えている教師についてどう思ったか。
- (1.2.3) 占領時、英語の学習についてどう思ったか。

1.3. 民主主義

- (1.3.1) 占領下、民主主義を英語の授業(たとえば教科書)を通して教えるということはあるか。
- (1.3.2) 民主主義が実際に導入されてどう思ったか。民主主義の世の中だと実感するような出来事はあったか。

2. Translation (in English)

2.1. English language classes.

- (2.1.1) What kind of content did your English textbooks have during World War II? What did you study in English classes?
- (2.1.2) How motivated were you to study the language of the enemy during the War?
- (2.1.3) How motivated were you to study English after the War?

2.2. The influence of politics on English language teachers and English classes.

- (2.2.1) How were English language teachers treated during the War? What did you think of the teachers who taught the language of the enemy?
- (2.2.2) During the Occupation, did the treatment of English language teachers change from how it was during the War? English became very popular. What did you think about the teachers of this very popular language?
- (2.2.3) What did you think of English language education during the Occupation?

2.3. Democracy.

- (2.3.1) During the Occupation, did you study democracy in English classes, for example, through textbooks?
- (2.3.2) What did you think about democracy when it was introduced? Can you remember any episodes that felt democratic to you?

Appendix K

Themes for Each Time Period

The themes that emerged from the interviews with the research participants are shown in Tables K1 and K2. Table K1 shows themes and thematic sub-categories for the period before the Occupation, and Table K2 for the period during the Occupation.

Table K1

Before the Occupation

Participant name	Theme BO 1: English Language Education before and during World War II	Theme BO 2: The Language of the Enemy	Theme BO 3: Disparities in Education
	Thematic sub-categories: BO 1.1: Textbooks. BO 1.2: Class Instructions.	Thematic sub-categories: BO 2.1: Attitudes toward English. BO 2.2: Treatment of English Teachers. BO 2.3: Cancellation of English Classes.	Thematic sub-categories: BO 3.1: Male Chauvinism. BO 3.2: Elitism.
Yoko	BO 1.2 – Labels on cans. BO 1.2 – No dictionaries. <i>(Teacher – Japanese woman)</i>	BO 2.1 – Wanted to continue studying. BO 2.3 – Sorry about the cancellation.	BO 3.1 – English cancelled.
Chizuko	BO 1.1 – No militaristic materials. BO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method. BO 1.2 – Under surveillance of Min. of Ed. BO 1.2 – Teaching half-heartedly. BO 1.2 – Moved on regardless of students’ understanding.	BO 2.2 – Treated coldly. BO 2.2 – Respected English teachers. BO 2.3 – Nursing school – no English class. <i>(Civilian employees in the military)</i>	BO 3.1 – Nursing school – no English class. BO 3.2 – No conversation skills in English. BO 3.2 – Bad pronunciation.

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	<i>(Girls' high school – English)</i> <i>(Christian girls' school – English & French)</i> <i>(Teachers – Japanese men)</i>		
Michi		BO 2.3 – No English class.	BO 3.1 – No English class.
Kiku			
Hideo	BO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method. <i>(Teachers – Japanese)</i>	BO 2.2 – Treated coldly. BO 2.2 – Respected English teachers. BO 2.3 – Nursing school – no English class. <i>(Civilian employees in the military)</i>	
Shigeki			
Toshiya	BO 1.1 – Militaristic materials. BO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method. <i>(English class even during evacuation)</i>	BO 2.1 – No consciousness of the language of the enemy. BO 2.1 – No resistance in learning English.	BO 3.2 – Evacuated and provided classes.
Nami	BO 1.2 – Take roles in the dialogues.	BO 2.1 – “The language of the enemy” did not matter. BO 2.1 – Enjoyed English. BO 2.2 – Regarded as spies. BO 2.2 – Summoned by the military police. BO 2.3 – Cancellation was OK.	BO 3.1 – English class cancelled.

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Hisami	<p>BO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method.</p> <p><i>(Sister – foreign teachers, only English)</i></p> <p><i>(Japanese teachers)</i></p>	<p>BO 2.1 – “The language of the enemy” did not matter.</p> <p>BO 2.2 – Enjoyed English.</p> <p>BO 2.2 – Foreign teachers had to leave.</p> <p>BO 2.3 – Sorry about the cancellation.</p>	BO 3.1 – English class cancelled.
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Table K2

During the Occupation

Participant name	Theme 1: English Language Education for Everyone	Theme 2: Remaining Disparities and New Problems	Theme 3: Attitudes towards the Old Enemy and their Language
	<p>Thematic sub-categories:</p> <p>DO 1.1: Textbooks</p> <p>DO 1.2: Class instructions</p>	<p>Thematic sub-categories:</p> <p>DO 2.1: Elitism</p> <p>DO 2.2: Regional</p>	<p>Thematic sub-categories:</p> <p>DO 3.1: The English conversation boom</p> <p>DO 3.2: English language schools</p> <p>DO 3.3: The occupation forces</p>
Yoko			<p>DO 3.1 – Nothing to do with the boom.</p> <p>DO 3.1 – No radio.</p> <p>DO 3.1 – English – extra money.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Hated MacArthur.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Scared of the occupation forces.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – No matter whoever rules, populace always had to obey.</p>

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Chizuko			<p>DO 3.1 – English was a must.</p> <p>DO 3.1 – Could not listen to <i>Come Come English</i> (work).</p> <p>DO 3.2 – Popular.</p> <p>DO 3.2 – Taught pronunciation.</p> <p>DO 3.2 – Women needed more education.</p> <p>DO 3.2 – Practical.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Loved MacArthur.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Kept moving on while changing way of thinking.</p>
Michi			DO 3.1 – Cool about the English boom.
Kiku			DO 3.1 – Nothing to do with the English boom.
Hideo	<p>DO 1.1 – Inking textbooks.</p> <p>DO 1.1 – No democratic materials.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Grammar in the 3rd grade.</p>	<p>DO 2. – Teachers of other subjects taught English in agricultural school.</p> <p>DO 2. – Bad pronunciation (agricultural school)</p>	<p>DO 3.3 – Appreciated the food supply.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Mixed feelings.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Scared of being attacked again.</p>
Shigeki	<p>DO 1.1 – Inking textbooks.</p> <p>DO 1.1 – No democratic materials.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Recitation.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Grammar.</p> <p><i>(Teachers – Japanese)</i></p>	DO 2. – Deficiency of teachers.	<p>DO 3.1 – Popular music in English.</p> <p>DO 3.1 – Cool Americans.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Hated Americans.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Appreciated the food supply.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Uncomfortable about Japanese diet becoming Americanized.</p>

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Toshiya	<p>DO 1.2 – Foreign teachers</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Class in English.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Grammar important.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – Lots of vocabulary.</p> <p><i>(English class at school is insufficient for communicating in English).</i></p>	<p>DO 2.1– Returnees.</p> <p>DO 2.1– Studied in the US.</p> <p>DO 2. – Sufficient number of teachers.</p> <p>DO 2. – Relationships with English speakers.</p>	<p>DO 3.1 – Popular ESS.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – No negative feelings for the occupation forces.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Made friends with them.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – Played baseball.</p>
Nami	<p>DO 1.1 – Mimeographed textbooks.</p> <p>DO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method.</p>	<p>DO 2.1 – Sufficient number of teachers</p> <p>DO 2.2 – Teachers—Japanese and foreign</p> <p>DO 2. – Large class (not enough rooms).</p> <p>DO 2. – Ideals and reality.</p> <p>DO 2. – Relationships with foreign ministries.</p>	<p>DO 3.1 – Not so enthusiastic about studying English. Just did what they were told to do.</p> <p>DO 3.1 – Asked foreign missionaries to teach English.</p> <p>DO 3.2 – No English language schools in Hiroshima.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – No special feelings for the occupation forces.</p>
Hisami	<p>DO 1.2 – The grammar-translation method.</p> <p><i>(Performed in English)</i></p>	<p>DO 2.2 – People in Tokyo had better pronunciation and learned more quickly.</p>	<p>DO 3.1 – Did not listen to the radio (ill from the a-bomb).</p> <p>DO 3.1 – No English boom in Hiroshima.</p> <p>DO 3.2 – Attended English language school while selling her books to live.</p> <p>DO 3.3 – No feelings for the occupation forces.</p>

Appendix L

The Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan

The Constitution of Japan was enforced on 3 May 1947. The Article 9 declares renunciation of war:

Article 9. Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes.

In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, n.d.)

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