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EDITOR'S INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the sixteenth volume of the *Japan Studies Review* (JSR), an annual peer-reviewed journal sponsored by the joint efforts of the Institute for Asian Studies at Florida International University and the Southern Japan Seminar. JSR continues to be both an outlet for publications related to Southern Japan Seminar events and a journal that encourages submissions from a wide range of scholars in the field. This issue includes a special topics section showcasing a variety of articles on Japanese language and linguistics, as well as additional articles, essays, and book reviews covering a variety of topics in Japanese studies.

This year's journal features a special section titled "Language and Linguistics," which includes three articles. "Strengthening Academic Curricula and Students' Future Careers by Enhancing Japanese Language and Cultural Understanding in International Cooperative Education" by Noriko Fujioka-Ito and Gayle C. Elliot discusses the importance of simultaneously strengthening Japanese language study and students' academic field. "Lexical Borrowing: A Case Study of the Language Contact Phenomenon in Japan and China" by Xuexin Liu describes and explains lexical borrowing in terms of linguistic transformation as an outcome of language contact based on selected representative data of the Japanese and Chinese languages. "Minority Language Education in Japan" by Rong Zhang and Xue Cao discusses the drawbacks of current language policies for minority groups in Japan and explores the possibility of developing a more efficient multilingual language curriculum.

Three other articles are included in this issue. "Japanese Professors Resist University Reforms During the U.S. Occupation" by Ruriko Kumano discusses Dr. Walter C. Eell's (an American educator who served as advisor on higher education during the Occupation) proposal for university governance and the reason for its rejection by Japanese academics. "From Samurai to *Manga*: The Function of *Manga* to Shape and Reflect Japanese Identity" by Maria Rankin-Brown explains *manga* (Japanese comics) and its role as a representation of the identity struggle faced by the Japanese as they negotiate an ultramodern world influenced by old world traditions. "School Rules and National Development in Postwar Japan" by Yuichi Tamura explores the changes in economy, popular culture, community, and family during Japan's postwar development that contributed to the responsibilities of schools in the socialization and social control of Japanese teenagers.

There is one featured essay, “Tsugaru Gaku: The Contributions of *Chihōgaku* to Japanese Studies” by Anthony S. Rausch. This essay discusses *chihōgaku* (regional studies) and its importance, given current economic instability that characterizes central government functions and the accordant decentralization that is influencing Japanese rural society.

Four book reviews are included in this issue. Susan Lee reviews *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* by Kim Brandt. There are two reviews by Daniel A. Métraux on *Making Waves: Politics, Propaganda, and the Emergence of the Japanese Navy 1868–1922* by J. Charles Schnecking and *Japan’s Holy War: The Ideology of Radical Shinto Ultrnationalism* by Walter A. Skya. Yuki Watanabe reviews *Otaku: Japan’s Database Animals* by Hiroki Azuma.

Steven Heine

Re: Submissions, Subscriptions, and Comments

Submissions for publication, whether articles, essays, or book reviews, should be made in both hard copy and electronic formats, preferably Word for Windows via email attachment (please inquire about other formats). The editor and members of the editorial board will referee all submissions.

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Visit our website at <http://www.asian.fiu.edu/jsr>. PDF versions of past volumes are available online.

All comments and feedback on the publications appearing in *Japan Studies Review* are welcome.

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SPECIAL SECTION

**Language and
Linguistics**

**STRENGTHENING ACADEMIC CURRICULA AND STUDENTS'
FUTURE CAREERS BY ENHANCING JAPANESE LANGUAGE
AND CULTURAL UNDERSTANDING IN INTERNATIONAL
COOPERATIVE EDUCATION**

*Noriko Fujioka-Ito
Gayle G. Elliott
University of Cincinnati*

Introduction

There has been dramatic concern for content-based curricula to strengthen the integration of the contents of students' academic fields and foreign language learning. Simultaneously, the impact of study abroad has been significant on U.S. college students' future careers. However, much research has been conducted regarding the effect of study abroad focused on language development while studying overseas (e.g., Carson and Longhini 2002; Segalowitz and Freed 2004). Norris and Gillespie's (2009) longitudinal study investigated the career impact of study abroad and continued use of foreign languages based on 17,000 participants in international education programs between 1950 and 1999. This study revealed positive effects from international education experiences by increasing internationally oriented careers with a graduate degree and changing career paths with international aspects.

Also, in the field of Japanese language education, the importance of enhancing Japanese language abilities and global views has been discussed. In 2007, the Association of Teachers of Japanese-Japanese for Specific Purposes Special Interest Group (JSP-SIG) was founded with the purpose of supporting teachers who integrate Japanese language courses with any specific fields such as business and technology. However, as Takami (2010) pointed out, the challenge is developing curricula to expand meaningful Japanese language learning environments by effectively integrating language, culture, and content so as to help students become global professionals.

At the University of Cincinnati (UC), cooperative education (Co-op) was first started. The International Co-op Program (ICP), created as an extension of the original Co-op specifically designed for companies operating in a global market, is one academic option. Therefore, as an example of an integration of students' academic fields and language education, this article discusses the importance of simultaneously

strengthening Japanese language study and students' academic field by describing: (1) background and curriculum of ICP at UC, (2) development for ICP Japanese courses including prior study results with regard to characteristics of engineering students to determine the suitable syllabus types for ICP students, (3) ICP Japanese course curriculum with the description of four phases of preparation for Co-op assignments in Japan, and (4) future directions for improvement.

University of Cincinnati Co-op Program

Herman Schneider, Dean of the College of Engineering at UC, developed the concept of Cooperative Education in 1906. Today, UC has the largest cooperative education program at any public university in the U.S., with more than 5,000 student placements annually and approximately 1,500 employers. Currently, the model of Co-op has been adopted by universities in almost 50 countries around the world. The Co-op Program provides students with multiple alternating work experiences that are integrated into the middle three years of a five-year baccalaureate curriculum. Ideally, the experiences provide professional growth experiences through increasing breadth or depth of knowledge in their academic fields. Through multiple progressive work terms, students can transfer learning between the classroom and workplace and prepare for further career paths.

The ICP is an academic option available to students participating in the UC Co-op Program. To participate, students must maintain a 3.0 GPA and be in good standing in the Co-op Program. The acceptance criteria ensure that students who undertake the language training are comfortable with their existing academic program. Following initial acceptance, the rigors of the preparation program increase the likelihood that students will succeed overseas. UC believes that once acceptance criteria are met, the program is self-selecting. Course content and the commitment required to complete the preparation program ensures that students eligible for international placement are highly motivated to succeed and have realistic expectations about living and working abroad.

The program is designed to fit into the student's existing curriculum, with one Co-op quarter shortened for intensive language instruction. The schedule is as follows: (1) In their freshman year, students apply to the ICP, (2) in their sophomore year, they take an ICP orientation course and begin engaging domestic Co-op assignments during winter and summer, (3) in their pre-junior year, they participate in domestic Co-op

assignments during winter and the first-half of the summer, and enroll in an intensive summer course on language and culture from August to Mid-September, (4) in their junior year, they take language enhancement courses during the autumn and winter quarters, participate in an intensive course for two weeks early in the spring and, finally, and work at Co-op sites in Japan for five months.

A model of the program structure is shown below:

YEAR	AUTUMN	WINTER	SPRING	SUMMER
1	Classes	Classes	Classes	Off
2	Classes	1st Co-op Classes	Classes	2nd Co-op
3	Classes	3rd Co-op	Classes	4th Co-op Short Co-op
				Six-week intensive Japanese
4	Classes Japanese language/ culture 364	Classes Japanese language/ culture 365	Two-week intensive language /culture in Japan	5th & 6th Co-op (in Japan)
5	Classes	Classes	Classes	

Through the ICP, students are provided not only with workplace skills but also with opportunities to develop effective communicative skills, problem solving abilities, life-long learning abilities, and global views through language and culture courses. This combination of academic experience in language and in their field, as well as practical work experience in the U.S. and abroad, enables ICP graduates to contribute to the international community after graduation.

Preparation Begins with Culture in the Co-op Education Context

As students prepare to participate in the UC Co-op Program, they enroll in a course titled “Introduction to Cooperative Education.” This course enables students to be successful in job search and workplace environments by preparing them to write a resume, be interviewed, and perform as a professional when they enter the workforce. These are the

skills students need to succeed as they embark on the first steps of their career. Similarly, the first component of the ICP preparation program is a course titled “Orientation to International Co-op.” As with the “Introduction to Cooperative Education” course, the ICP course is offered through the Division of Professional Practice and is intended to provide students with skills they need to successfully live and work in a foreign country.

The course is designed with several objectives in mind: first, to ensure that students understand the requirements of the ICP and will be eligible for placement in a Co-op job overseas; and second, to give students an overview of the three cultures represented by the ICP (Japanese, German and Spanish) based on developing a multi-cultural view. All are imperative to a successful international assignment. In addition to developing an understanding of other cultures as they relate to the U.S. culture, the course provides students with information which enables them to develop realistic expectations of their upcoming experience living and working in a foreign country, and provides them with coping mechanisms to adapt to their new culture.

Characteristics of Engineering Students in Language Learning

In order to effectively teach ICP students, it was important to consider characteristics of engineering students and develop specific curricula to meet their needs and learning style. Although ICP students are currently majoring in diverse programs from three departments – Engineering, Business and DAAP (Design, Architecture, and Art, and Planning) – the majority of students are engineering majors. Some studies have dealt with Engineering students’ learning styles and their beliefs about acquisition of knowledge.

According to the data Grasha (1996) reported, the Expert style was used more frequently by faculty teaching in the areas of mathematics/computer science and arts/music/theater than humanities and education areas. The Facilitator – which “[e]mphasizes the personal nature of teacher-student interactions, [g]uides and directs students by asking questions, exploring options, suggesting alternatives, and encouraging them to develop criteria to make informed choices (p. 154)” and Delegator – which is “[c]oncerned with developing students’ capacity to function in an autonomous fashion (p. 154)” – teaching styles occurred to a lesser extent in the classrooms of mathematics/computer science teachers than in other academic areas than individuals teaching in education and the arts/music/theater areas. However, there were no significant differences in

the profiles of students majoring in a variety of academic disciplines in Grasha's study. In Fujioka's study (2000), the results of the logistic regression analysis showed that the learners who have the Avoidant and Dependent learning styles were approximately 1.8 and 3.6 times more likely to major in engineering or science, respectively.

Whereas learning styles reveal learners' preferences for interacting with peers and instructors in classroom settings, the epistemological belief questionnaire (Schommer 1998), which elicits learners' preferences, tendencies, and habits, accounts for individual differences in learning. This was used to identify learners' multidimensional beliefs about the acquisition of knowledge. Using the epistemological belief questionnaire, Jehng, Johnson, and Anderson (1993) found that students in the social sciences and humanities had stronger tendencies to believe knowledge was more uncertain in comparison to students in engineering and business. According to Fujioka (2000), certain knowledge means knowledge with certainty and absoluteness. Learners with certain knowledge predict inappropriately absolute conclusions. In Fujioka's study (2000), the logistic regression analysis revealed that subjects who had an epistemological belief of Certain Knowledge were at about 2.1 times more likely of being an "Engineering and Science major." These results indicate that the students majoring in engineering or sciences tend to think that knowledge is certain and absolute, and strongly prefer instructor-led structured classes.

ICP Japanese Language Courses

Unlike other technical and business Japanese Language courses at the graduate level (e.g., at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Washington), ICP Japanese Language courses are designed for undergraduate students who receive language training for only eight months prior to their Co-op assignments in Japan. Thus, the effectiveness of Japanese language teaching that incorporates content areas alongside the development of students' language proficiency and cultural understanding is required.

Judging from the learner characteristics of engineering majors, the sequence of Japanese language courses required for the ICP students was designed using the proportional approach. Yalden (1980) originally developed a proportional syllabus for second-language learners. In this approach, the study of grammar remains in sharper focus throughout the first level more than the study of functions and discourse skills. Linguistic form gradually becomes de-emphasized, and communicative functions and

discourse skills are given more prominence as teachers and students progress toward the end of the advanced level. Adopting the notion of this proportional syllabus, the goals of the four phases of the Japanese program are gradually changing from establishing fundamental abilities of creating language structures, preparing for daily interaction with business people, and practicing communicative language use in real-life situations overseas.

The sequence of the four phases of Japanese language training is as follows:

COURSE	DURATION	MATERIALS
Summer Intensive	6 weeks 30 hrs/week Total: 180 hrs	<i>Genki 1: Integrated Course in Elementary Japanese</i> (Banno, E., Ono, Y., Sakane, Y., Shinagawa, K., and Tokashiki, K., 1999). <i>The Japanese Today</i> (Reischauer, E. O., and Jansen, M. B., 1995).
Fall Quarter	10 weeks 3 hrs/week Total: 30 hrs	<i>Genki 1: Integrated Course in Elementary Japanese</i> . <i>Getting Down to Business: Japanese for Business People</i> (Yoneda, R., Fujii, K., Shigeno, M., and Ikeda, H., 2006). Audio-visual materials (e.g., video/DVD, websites, etc.)
Winter Quarter	10 weeks 3 hrs/week Total: 30 hrs	<i>Getting Down to Business: Japanese for Business People</i> . Audio-visual materials
Spring Intensive	2 weeks 30 hrs/week Total: 60 hrs	<i>Getting Down to Business: Japanese for Business People</i> . Audio-visual materials

First Phase (Summer Intensive Course – Six Weeks from August to September)

The summer intensive course consists of language and culture components. The class meets for six hours a day and for five days a week. The primary objective of this course is to provide the students with a fundamental understanding of the Japanese language and culture. The language component is designed in terms of an analytical approach with considerations of communicative goals. College students (especially students in the engineering field) are usually able to analyze language structures; therefore, new grammatical items are taught first with English explanations. After completing written exercises at home, functional and communicative exercises are conducted in Japanese on the following day in order to better prepare students to live in Japan half a year later.

A curriculum designed for Japanese for professional purposes is needed to embrace the integration of language, culture, and content (Takami 2010). This summer intensive course adopts a content-based curriculum also and involves language acquisition that integrates the contents of the learners' academic fields such as engineering and the target language. To help the students develop specialized vocabularies such as technical terms, the students are assigned to write compositions with the aid of dictionaries. The topics of the compositions are selected based on domestic Co-op environments so that students have opportunities to use their specialized terminology in Japanese. Additionally, in the culture class, which meets for two hours every Friday, students are provided basic cultural information about Japanese society through lectures and discussion on geography, history, and industry using audio-visual aids and by visiting a Japanese company.

Second Phase (Fall Quarter Language Enhancement Course – Ten Weeks from September to December)

The second and third phases of the enhancement course period aim to build oral and literal communicative abilities using the Japanese that would be encountered in a business environment and to expose students to a wide range of Japanese social and cultural aspects. During the first fall quarter, the syllabus shifts from a grammar base to situational and functional emphases. Using a textbook that allows students to be familiar with common conversational expressions in a business environment, the students have opportunities to learn new vocabulary and practice role-plays in order to gain language and cultural competency (including the knowledge of business discourse). Additional materials (such as videos and DVDs) are used to expose students to a wide range of social and cultural aspects by

viewing foreigners' experiences in Japan. The class meets for three hours a week in fall and winter enhancement courses.

Third Phase (Winter Quarter Language Enhancement Course – Ten Weeks from January to March)

The third phase is a continuation of the second phase. However, the proportion of linguistic form exercises is reduced, whereas the proportion of oral practice in a larger discourse is increased. Students develop cultural as well as language competency and the knowledge of business discourse by using integrative activities (such as role-playing) in various business situations. Interview projects are assigned so that the students have opportunities to communicate orally with members of Japanese language communities. In addition, students learn how to write Japanese email messages in business settings.

Fourth Phase (Spring Intensive Course – Two Weeks in Japan from March to April)

The fourth phase is the final preparation and orientation period in Japan before students start their five-month Co-op assignments. This spring intensive course provides a bridge between the ICP students' language and cultural preparation on campus and their international Co-op assignments in Japan. This two-week in-country course takes place all day long and is designed to enable students to quickly assimilate and understand their new culture before they enter the professional or workplace environment.

During these two weeks, the students develop language proficiency and become accustomed to Japanese society and culture by having three hours of classroom instruction in the morning with a variety of field trips in the afternoon. These activities enable them to understand Japan as well as learn about the engineering field (by visiting companies, universities, and museums). This period plays a vital role of assimilating students into Japanese culture in real-life situations by providing the students with opportunities to hone their Japanese language skills in having intensive instruction and to use their linguistic, cultural and technical knowledge by interacting with people in Japan. The field trips supplement the classroom instruction by providing opportunities for students to understand Japan and learn about the engineering and technology fields in Tokyo in the following steps: (1) finding the topic in each student's specialty, (2) listing terminology on the selected topic, (3) conducting research during the field

trips, (4) writing the results of research, and (5) conducting oral presentations.

The preparation of this phase is important for success in international Co-op assignments. As the students adjust to a new geographic location, culture and language, the intensive course helps reinforce vital concepts from the on-campus preparation program while giving students ample opportunity to apply their knowledge of Japanese in context. As described above, this intensive course provides an environment where students adjust to their new culture, while still feeling the security of being with a group of familiar friends.

Limitations and Directions for Future Improvement

ICP students begin the summer intensive course with no background in Japanese language learning. At the end of the six-week course, most students are able to respond to questions on the most common features of daily life and convey meaning to interlocutors. This satisfies the standards of the Novice High level, according the oral proficiency guidelines of the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages [ACTFL] (1999).

When they return to Cincinnati following the international Co-op experience in Japan, the language proficiencies among students vary. Upon completion of the program, most students can reach the Intermediate level, where they can participate in conversations on general topics and satisfy personal needs and social demands. In our observation, how the students are engaged in learning Japanese and how much they try using Japanese determine different final proficiency levels. Therefore, we have been developing materials designed especially for students who are assigned Co-op jobs in Japan and want to continue to study Japanese.

It is ideal to have one or two courses whose objectives are to help the students develop specialized vocabulary; however, the ICP language training period is only eight months prior to Co-op assignments in Japan. Under this situation, an English-Japanese quick-reference dictionary, compiled to assist the engineering student or intern in learning vocabulary, has been developed by ICP instructors with the assistance of engineers and students majoring in engineering. This dictionary includes words chosen based on English vocabulary used at domestic Co-op sites and input from students who have traveled and worked in Engineering in Japan. Two needs analysis surveys about this dictionary were conducted several years ago with students who had Co-op assignments in Japan. Based on student

feedback, it has been revised. Additionally, online materials using the words included in this dictionary have developed so that students who have already completed the language courses prior to their Co-op assignments in Japan can individually continue to learn new technical words and develop language skills at work and also be able to meaningfully cultivate their overall language proficiency.

It is necessary to further develop materials enabling students to compare concepts of their home and target culture because focusing on vocabulary based learning might lack the incorporation into multiple-level cultural understanding. Using the General Electric (GE) website, we developed materials so that students can learn new terms in engineering and business fields and develop an understanding of Japanese industries. The sequences of activities of two example materials follow.

The first example of material is for enhancing an understanding of Japanese industries by reading a short (four-line) passage containing technical vocabulary (Appendix A). First, students comprehend engineering terms in the short passage. Second, students compare and contrast each enterprise at GE Japan. Third, students develop critical thinking skills by reviewing the manufactures of enterprises. The second example of material aims to develop listening comprehension and gain an insight into views of working women in Japan through listening to interviews of female employees (Appendix B). After listening to three career-oriented women's interviews, students summarize three women's viewpoints of their jobs and actually interview working women at their Co-op sites in Japan. Judging from piloting these activities with ICP students, it would be necessary to create individual projects online to monitor students' learning motivation and the progress of their language learning in Japan. Furthermore, various types of activities should be developed in order to satisfy a variety of students' specialties.

Conclusion

Programs like the ICP provide valuable learning experiences for students, particularly in schools (like UC) where the student population is largely drawn from rural areas (in this case, rural Ohio), and participation in the program allows them to experience their first time away from home. Although students are more "well-traveled" in recent years, many have never been outside the United States. Some, prior to going halfway around the world for their international Co-op assignment, have never been on an airplane. Through their Co-op experience in general and the ICP in

particular, they grow into strong professionals with the knowledge that they can do anything they choose. They develop a tremendous amount of self-confidence from the experience of moving alone to Japan and being required to function as a professional in Japanese, which they began learning only eight months before.

"I know I can succeed no matter what I encounter because at least I know it will be in English!"

This comment puts their experience into a completely different perspective. How many seniors, graduating *without* international experience, would even consider this "advantage"?

"No one event has changed my life as much as the ICP experience. I now fear no map, subway, adventure, entrée, beverage, or [highway]. My tolerance is now my strongest trait."

This two-part statement is the epitome of what occurs when students study abroad. They realize they are flexible, adaptable, willing to take risks, and can succeed in a new environment. They also, while still young enough to have it make a strong impact, develop Japanese language abilities and an understanding of and appreciation for cultural differences between Japan and the United States.

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Part 4: 「GE コンシューマー&インダストリアル事業」 「GE トランスポーテーション事業」 「GE ヘルスケア事業」のセクションを読んで、あなたがどのセクションで仕事がしたいかその理由を書いてください。

APPENDIX B**Material B: Listening Material on Understanding Japanese Industries
(Excerpt)****GE コンシューマー・ファイナンスコレクション（管理企画）アシ
スタントマネージャー黒澤直美**

Interviewer (R): 黒澤さんは、今までどのようなお仕事をされてきましたか。

Interviewee (E): 1992 年にミネベア信販に契約社員で入り、千葉にある回収センターでオペレーター業務をしました。その後、ミネベア信販が信販・カード事業を GE の営業に移し、1994 年 12 月に GE グループ企業になりました。1996 年に信販会社で初めての集中オペレーション・センターが府中にでき、その時に正社員になりました。

Listening Exercise • Interview Project (Examples)聞く前に

A 日本へ来る前、会社にいる女の人は、どのような仕事をしているかと思っていましたか。

B 日本に来てから、日本で仕事をしている女の人はアメリカで仕事をしている女の人と何が違うかと思いましたか。

Part 1: GE で仕事をしている三人の女の人のインタビューを聞いて、ブランクに書いてください。

Part 2: 日本で仕事をしている三人の女の人にインタビューをして、次のことを調べてください。

- a) 仕事で問題があったとき、どうしたか。
- b) 仕事をしていてよかったことは、何か。
- c) これからどのようなことをがんばってしたいか。

LEXICAL BORROWING: A CASE STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE CONTACT PHENOMENON IN JAPAN AND CHINA

Xuexin Liu
Spelman College

Introduction

There have been numerous studies of linguistic borrowing that focus on why a community of speakers incorporates some linguistic element into its language from another language. This is known as the phenomenon of “linguistic transference.” Research findings provide strong evidence that such transferences are most common in the realm of vocabulary in that the borrowing language may incorporate some cultural item or idea and the name along with it from some external source.¹ More specifically, this particular linguistic phenomenon is recognized as “lexical borrowing.” Different from previous researches, from cross-linguistic and cross-cultural perspectives, this paper describes and explains lexical borrowing in terms of linguistic transformation as an outcome of language contact. “Linguistic transformation” is defined as transformation (more commonly called “adaptation”) of one linguistic form in one language to another linguistic form in another language. “Language contact” is defined as the phenomenon where two languages come into contact at various cross-cultural and cross-linguistic levels.

Based on the selected representative data of lexical borrowing as observed in contemporary Japanese and Chinese, this paper presents a case study of the language contact phenomenon. In doing so, the borrowed lexical items are categorized into several areas of language contact, and linguistic transformation is described in terms of phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and semantic substitution. The study raises and answers three specific questions: What is meant by lexical borrowing through today’s language contact? What are the most common linguistic constraints (i.e., grammaticalization) on borrowed lexical items? What are the most important theoretical implications for understanding the nature, form and

¹ René Appel and Pieter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism* (New York: Edward Arnold, 1989); and Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1995).

function of lexical borrowing? Starting from some established theories of linguistic borrowing, this paper presents a model of lexical borrowing through language contact and its linguistic consequences.

Linguistic Borrowing as an Outcome of Language Contact

Linguistic borrowing is generally defined as transference of linguistic elements from one language into another, and it has been recognized as a universal linguistic phenomenon. Whenever a speech community incorporates some linguistic element into its contemporary language, linguistic borrowing occurs. Such a phenomenon has been long studied by scholars in various fields of linguistics, such as sociolinguistics, anthropological linguistics, contact linguistics and historical linguistics.² As most frequently observed in all studies of linguistic borrowing, linguistic transferences are most common in the realm of vocabulary, and this type of borrowing is specifically referred to as “lexical borrowing.” A number of linguists have proposed various hypotheses about the kinds of items which may be borrowed in situations of language contact.³ It has generally been argued that lexical material is the most easily borrowed.

As the term “lexical borrowing” suggests,⁴ the borrowing language may incorporate some items from some external source, that is, from some

² Einar Haugen, “The Stigmata of Bilingualism,” in Anwar S. Dil, ed., *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), 307–344; Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968); Uriel Weinreich, Shana Poplack, David Sankoff and Christopher Miller, “The Social Correlates and Linguistic Processes of Lexical Borrowing and Assimilation,” *Linguistics* 26 (1988): 47–104; and Carol Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

³ Einar Haugen, “The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing,” *Language* 26 (1950): 210–231; Pieter Muysken, “Linguistic Dimensions of Language Contact: The State of the Art in Interlinguistics,” *Révue Québécoise de Linguistique* 14 (1984): 49–77; and Edith A. Moravcsik, “Language Contact,” in Joseph Greenberg, ed., *Universals of Human Language*, vol. 1. *Method and Theory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1978), 93–123.

⁴ René Appel and Pieter Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*; and Suzanne Romaine, *Bilingualism*.

other language, to meet its lexical-conceptual needs. However, lexical borrowing may go beyond the actual needs of a language.⁵ Weinreich believed that the primary motivation for core borrowing was prestige.⁶ If one of the languages is of greater prestige than the other, then speakers tend to use more loanwords to display social status.⁷ According to some findings and explanations, the number of loans that could be ascribed to lexical-conceptual needs was negligible. The words that did seem to fill lexical-conceptual gaps were concentrated into semantic fields where influence from Anglophone culture was strong, such as sports and computers. The assumption is that the extent and type of interference that will occur in any particular instance of language contact cannot be predicted solely on linguistic grounds. The social value attached to particular forms in the dominant language can lead to interference.⁸

As a general and commonly accepted linguistic principle, when lexical items are borrowed, they are generally made to conform to the existing structural configurations of the borrowing or receiving language, including phonological structure (e.g., adaptation to the sound patterns of the borrowing language), morphological structure (e.g., adaptation to the morphological patterns of the borrowing language), syntactic structure (e.g., adaptation to the syntactic patterns of the borrowing language), and semantic structure (e.g., adaptation to the semantic patterns of the borrowing language).⁹ In addition to sociolinguistic and sociocultural

⁵ Einar Haugen, *The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953).

⁶ Uriel Weinreich, *Languages in Contact* (The Hague: Mouton, 1968).

⁷ Carol Myers-Scotton and John Okeju, "Neighbors and Lexical Borrowing," *Language* 49 (1973): 871–889; and Raymond Mougeon and Édouard Beniak, "The Extralinguistic Correlates of Core Lexical Borrowing," in John R. Rickford, ed., *Proceedings of NWAV–XV* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988).

⁸ Leslie M. Beebe, "Sociolinguistic Variation and Style Shifting in Second Language Acquisition," *Language Learning* 30 (1980): 433–448; and Raymond Mougeon, Édouard Beniak and Daniel Valois, *Variation in the Phonological Integration of Loanwords in a Bilingual Speech Community* (Toronto: Center for Franco-Ontario Studies, Ontario Institute of Education, 1985).

⁹ Appel and Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*.

motivations for lexical borrowing, one of the most significant findings of the previous studies is that lexical borrowing is one of the primary forces behind changes in the lexicon of many languages.¹⁰

It may be true that the filling in of lexical-conceptual gaps is not the only reason for lexical borrowing, but that there are various sociolinguistic and sociocultural motivations for lexical borrowing. What makes this study of lexical borrowing similar to, but also different from, the previous ones is that it describes and explains the phenomenon in terms of cross-linguistic variations in language-specific structural (i.e., grammatical) constraints on borrowed items as well as in terms of language contact as one of the major driving forces for lexical borrowing.

A Model of Lexical Borrowing through Language Contact

The traditional term “globalization” has also been used to describe the phenomenon of the westernization of weaker countries by spreading western values and dominance in politics, economics, science and technology, culture and language.¹¹ Different from the traditional notion of globalization, which is the frequent contact of languages that causes the weaker or endangered language to be threatened by the powerful or dominant language,¹² the current study claims that languages in contact are significantly affected by the worldwide rapid growth and exchange in communication and computer technology. Modern technology opens the doors for immediate spreading and exchange of new ideas or concepts across boundaries between countries. It is language contact that promotes lexical borrowing, leaving more room for choices and decisions but less room for language dominance and endangerment. In other words, lexical borrowing through language contact is a result of the introduction or, to some extent, exchange of new ideas or concepts, rather than the relationship

¹⁰ Romaine, *Bilingualism*; and Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*.

¹¹ Salikoko Mufwene, “Globalization and the Myth of Killer Languages: What’s Really Going On?” Presentation at The Second Annual International Conference of the Graduiertenkolleg Postcolonial Studies (November 4–6, 2003): <http://www.vwl.uni-muenchen.de/postcolonialstudies/program/PoE.htm>.

¹² Jean A. Laponce, “Minority Languages and Globalization,” (2004): <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2004/Laponce.pdf>.

between the weaker or endangered and the powerful or dominant languages. Thus, lexical borrowing through language contact becomes beneficial and lasting because such linguistic borrowing is strongly motivated by both conceptual and cultural influence and acceptance.

One of the major claims of this paper about the nature and function of lexical borrowing is that certain areas that are directly affected by language contact may import relatively new ideas or concepts from other languages, and such imported ideas or concepts are linguistically realized in the lexical items borrowed from the source language. Lexical borrowing through language contact bridges the lexical-conceptual gaps between the source language and the receiving language. This paper proposes that it is the specific language contact areas that impel lexical borrowing. Thus, borrowed lexical items are categorized into several areas of language contact: technology, world market, education, and culture.

One of the other major claims presented in this paper is that borrowed lexical items acquired through language contact must go through various linguistic transformations, and such transformations are language-specific. According to the representative instances of lexical borrowing investigated in this paper, five particular linguistic transformations as observed in those instances are identified: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, and substitution.

According to the idea above about the relationship between language contact and lexical borrowing and outcomes of borrowed items through linguistic transformations, a model of lexical borrowing developed through language contact. Figure 1 illustrates this model.

“Language contact” is on the top of the figure, symbolizing its driving force for lexical borrowing, and refers to cross-cultural and cross-linguistic influence in four specific areas: technology, world market, education, and culture. “Borrowed lexical items” include words and phrases that contain lexical content in each of these four specific areas of language contact. This paper claims that lexical borrowing occurs mainly for lexical-conceptual reasons. Such borrowed lexical items may go through five linguistic transformations: phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, semantic transfer, semantic creation, or substitution, depending on language-specific linguistic mechanisms of the receiving language.

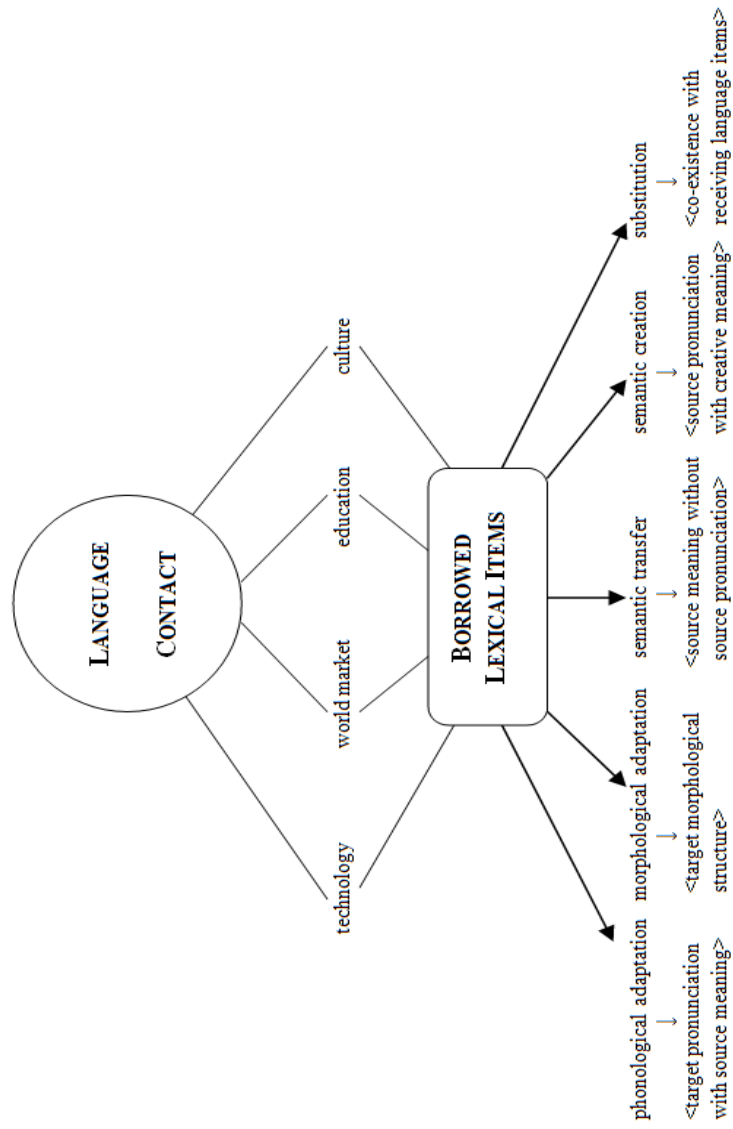


Figure 1. Lexical Borrowing through Language Contact and Linguistic Transformations

“Phonological adaptation” means that the receiving language employs the original pronunciation of the word or phrase from the source language with some necessary adaptation to meet the phonological structure of the receiving language, called “target pronunciation.” The source meaning (i.e., original meaning) of the borrowed items remains unchanged. “Morphological adaptation” means that the receiving language adapts the borrowed items to its special morphological structure, called “target morphological structure.” “Semantic transfer” means that the receiving language only borrows the meaning of the word/phrase from the source language without borrowing its source pronunciation. This is done by meaningful translation. “Semantic creation” means that the receiving language only employs the pronunciation of the word or phrase of the source language, usually with some phonological adaptation, and adds some meaning to it. Thus, such an added lexical meaning is actually created rather than borrowed from the source language. “Substitution” means that if the borrowed item is used for a concept which already exists in the culture of the receiving language, rather than “addition” if it is a new concept. Thus, the borrowed item co-exists with the equivalent item of the receiving language.

Lexical Borrowing and Linguistic Transformations

As mentioned earlier, this study recognizes language contact as one of the major driving forces for lexical borrowing. The representative instances of lexical borrowing are categorized into the four areas directly affected by global influence. Table 1 includes such instances of relatively recently borrowed lexical items from English to Japanese.¹³

Table 1. Lexical Borrowing: English → Japanese

Areas of Language Contact	Source Language (English)	Receiving Language (Japanese)	Phonetic Spelling (Romanization)
<i>Technology</i>	1. Webpage	ウェブページ	<i>Uebbupēji</i>
	2. Computer	コンピューター/電	<i>Konpyūtā/denshikeisanki</i>

¹³ Mizue Sasaki, *Yoku tsukau kakakanago 5* [Academic Japanese Expressions Handbook Series 5] (Tokyo: Aruku, 2001).

		子計算機	
	3. Laptop	ラップトップ	<i>Rapputoppu</i>
	4. Email	メール/電子メール	<i>Mēru/denshi+mēru</i>
	5. Digital camera	デジタルカメラ	<i>Dejitaru kamera</i>
	6. Internet	インターネット	<i>Intānetto</i>
	7. Network	ネットワーク	<i>Nettowāku</i>
	8. Flash memory	フラッシュメモリー	<i>Furasshu memori</i>
	9. Save	セーブする/保存する	<i>Sēbu+suru/hozan+suru</i>
	10. Update	アップデートする/更新する	<i>Appudēto+suru/kōshin+suru</i>
World Market	11. Internet market	インターネット市場	<i>Intānetto+shijō</i>
	12. Online shopping	オンラインショッピング	<i>Onrain shoppingu</i>
	13. Credit card	クレジットカード	<i>Kurejittokādo</i>
	14. Mortgage	住宅ローン	<i>Jūtaku+rōn</i>
	15. Loan	ローン	<i>Rōn</i>
	16. Conveni(ence store)	コンビニ(コンビニエンス)	<i>Konbini (konbiniensusutoa)</i>

		トア)	
	17. Hotdog	ホットド ッグ	<i>Hottodoggu</i>
	18. Coca-Cola	コカコー ラ	<i>Koka kōra</i>
	19. Pepsi-Cola	ペプシコ ーラ	<i>Pepushi kōra</i>
	20. Supermarket	スーパー マーケッ ト	<i>Sūpāmāketto</i>
Education	21. TOEFL	トーフル	<i>Tōhuru</i>
	22. Internship	インター ンシップ	<i>Intānshippu</i>
	23. Fulbright	フルブラ イト	<i>Furuburaito</i>
	24. Panel discussion	パネルデ ィスカッ ション	<i>Paneru deisukasshon</i>
	25. Symposium	シンポジ ウム	<i>Shinpojiumu</i>
	26. Fellowship	フェロー シップ	<i>Ferōshippu</i>
	27. Online course	オンライ ンコース	<i>Onrain kōsu</i>
	28. Seminar	セミナー	<i>Seminā</i>
	29. Test	テスト/試 験	<i>Tesuto/shiken</i>
	30. Course	コース/課 程	<i>Kōsu/katei</i>
Culture	31. Rap	ラップ	<i>Rappu</i>
	32. Hip Hop	ヒップホ ップ	<i>Hippuhoppu</i>
	33. Tip	チップ	<i>Chippu</i>

	34. Privacy	プライバシー	<i>Puraibashī</i>
	35. Online game	オンラインゲーム	<i>Onrain gēmu</i>
	36. Popular	ポピュラー/人気	<i>Popyurā/ninki</i>
	37. Single-mother	シングルマザー	<i>Shingurumazā</i>
	38. Image	イメージ/印象	<i>Imēji/inshō</i>
	39. Kiss	キスする/接吻する	<i>Kisu+suru/seppun+suru</i>
	40. Housekeeper	ハウスキーパー/家政婦	<i>Hausukīpā/kaseifu</i>

As illustrated in Figure 1, five linguistic transformations may result in transforming borrowed items into the receiving languages, depending on the language-specific structural (grammatical) constraints on borrowed items. Language-specific structural constraints means that different receiving languages make borrowed items to fit into their existing linguistic structures, including phonological structure, morphological structure, and semantic structure through necessary linguistic transformations. In other words, different receiving languages may adopt different linguistic transformations to make borrowed items become part of their lexicons. Such cross-linguistic variations in transforming borrowed items into the linguistic structure of receiving languages are clearly reflected in the instances of lexical borrowing from English to Japanese and those from English to Chinese.

Before we examine the instances of lexical borrowing presented in Table 1, it becomes necessary to mention briefly about the Japanese writing system and phonological structure. Around the 9th century, the Japanese developed their own writing system based on syllables: hiragana (ひらがな, 平仮名),\ and katakana (カタカナ, 片仮名). Hiragana and katakana each consist of 46 signs, which originally were kanji but were simplified over the centuries. Even though one can theoretically write the whole language in

hiragana, it is usually used only for grammatical endings of verbs, nouns, and adjectives, as well as for particles, and several other original Japanese words which are not written in kanji. The katakana syllabary was derived from abbreviated Chinese characters used by Buddhist monks to indicate the correct pronunciations of Chinese texts in the 9th century. At first there were many different symbols to represent one syllable of spoken Japanese, but over the years the system was streamlined. By the 14th century, there was a more or less one-to-one correspondence between spoken and written syllables. The word katakana means “part (of kanji)” syllabic script. The “part” refers to the fact that katakana characters represent parts of kanji. Since the 20th century, katakana has been used mainly to write non-Chinese loan words, onomatopoeic words, foreign names, in telegrams and for emphasis. Before the 20th century all foreign loanwords were written with kanji. In addition to hiragana and katakana, kanji (漢字) are the Chinese characters that are used in the modern Japanese logographic writing system along with hiragana, katakana, Arabic numerals, and the occasional use of the Latin alphabet.

The Japanese sound structure is made of moras instead of syllables (as the katakana and hiragana phonetic writing systems explicitly do). The Japanese mora may consist of either a vowel or one of the two moraic consonants, /N/ and /Q/. A vowel may be preceded by an optional (non-moraic) consonant, with or without a palatal glide /j/.

Mora Type	Example	Japanese	Moras per Word
V	/i/	<i>i</i> 胃 ‘stomach’	1-mora word
CV	/te/	<i>te</i> 手 ‘hand’	1-mora word
CjV	/kja/	<i>kya</i> きゃ (‘surprised’ or ‘scared scream’)	1-mora word
N	/N/ in /jo.N/ or /jo.n/	<i>yon</i> 四 ‘four’	2-mora word
Q	/Q/ in /mi.Q.tu/ or /mi.t.tu/	<i>mittsu</i> 三つ ‘three’	3-mora word

(Note: V = Vowel, CV = Consonant + Vowel, CjV = palatal glide + Vowel, N = moraic consonant, Q = moraic consonant. The period represents a division between moras, rather than the more common usage of a division between syllables.)¹⁴

¹⁴ “Mora and Syllable Structure,” Wikipedia, accessed January 30, 2010, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Japanese_phonology#Mora_and_syllable_structure.

In the writing system, each kana corresponds to a mora. The moraic /Q/ (i.e., the first half of a geminate cluster) is indicated by a small “tsu” symbol called a *sokuon* (subscript つ in hiragana or ツ in katakana). Long vowels are usually indicated in katakana by a long dash following the first vowel, as in *sābisu* サービス (service). In Japanese, all moras are pronounced with equal length and loudness. Japanese is therefore said to be a mora-timed language.

It becomes obvious that the fundamental Japanese sound structure is CV with the possibilities of V only, N as the word final moraic consonant or Q as the word internal moraic consonant. Otherwise, the Japanese sound structure (e.g., phonological structure) requires every sequence of sounds to end in V.

Table 1 shows that all the lexical items borrowed from English are adapted to the target (i.e., Japanese) phonological structure and written in katakana, except few instances with the possibility: katakana and kanji (to be discussed later). The adaptation to the target phonological structure is clearly indicated in all the instances of the borrowed lexical items. Once a lexical item is borrowed from English into Japanese, an extra V is added to the word final position, for example: 1) Webpage: *uebbupēji* (vowels /u/ and /i/ are added), 2) Computer: *konpyūtā* (vowel /a/ is added), 6) Internet: *intānetto* (vowel /o/ is added), 13) Credit card: *kurejittokādo* (vowel /o/ is added to each word), and 22) Internship: *intānsshippu* (vowel /u/ is added). This word final vowel addition is observed in every borrowed item. Thus, phonological adaptation, as one of the basic linguistic principles governing lexical borrowing, is fully observed in the Japanese data. It should be noted that in the instances of the words “Internet” (*intānetto*) and “internship” (*intānsshippu*), no vowel addition becomes necessary since, in Japanese, N is regarded as a mora (i.e., a syllable). It should also be noted that the original lexical meaning of each of the borrowed items remains unchanged after the phonological adaptation.

It is interesting that sometimes a borrowed item may be written in katakana and kanji. For example, in 4) Email: 電子メール, 11. Internet market: インターネット市場, and 14) Mortgage: 住宅ローン, one part of the word or phrase is written in katakana and the other part is written in kanji. It is observed that if a certain part of the meaning of the word or phrase already exists in the receiving language, this part is written in kanji. This provides evidence that only “borrowed” items or meanings are written

or recorded in katakana. Such a linguistic phenomenon can be analyzed as a type of so-called code-mixing.¹⁵

In addition to phonological adaptation, some instances in Table 1 show that morphological adaptation comes into play. Morphologically speaking, in modern Japanese there is a special “kango-suru” (-する, “to do”) structure to produce a compound verb, that is, a noun of the Chinese origin (kango) plus “suru” to form a compound verb.¹⁶ For example, in *shuzaihōmon-suru* (interview), *benkyō-suru* (study), *gōkaku-suru* (pass), *kakunin-suru* (check), *fukusha-suru* (copy), *kaisetsu-suru* (comment), and *chōsen-suru* (challenge), a noun is in combination with “suru” to form a compound verb. Accordingly, a borrowed noun which contains the verbal meaning of its equivalent verb must be adapted to this special morphological structure called the “katakanago-suru” structure, that is, a borrowed noun written in katakana is combined with “suru” to form this particular compound verbal structure. This morphological adaptation is shown in 9) Save: セーブする/保存する, 10) Update: アップデートする/更新する, and 39) Kiss: キスする/接吻する. In Japanese there are many other borrowed items that are morphologically adapted to this structural pattern.¹⁷ For example, in *adobaisu-suru* (advise), *intabyū-suru* (interview), *kyanseru-suru* (cancel), *pasu-suru* (pass), *chekku-suru* (check), *kopī-suru* (copy), *komento-suru* (comment), and *charenji-suru* (challenge), such borrowed nouns are all combined with “suru” to form so-called compound verbs.

In addition to phonological adaptation and morphological adaptation, another peculiar phenomenon is under observation: during the process of lexical borrowing, although all borrowed items are written or recorded in katakana, certain borrowed items are also written in kanji, that is, katakana and kanji are both used for the same borrowed items. For

¹⁵ Romaine, *Bilingualism*; Longxing Wei, “The Bilingual Mental Lexicon and Speech Production Process,” *Brain and Language* 81 (2002): 691–707; and Myers-Scotton, *Contact Linguistics*.

¹⁶ Masayoshi Shibatani and Taro Kageyama, “Word Formation in a Modular Theory of Grammar: Postsyntactic Compounds in Japanese,” *Language* 63 (1988): 451–484.

¹⁷ Xuexin Liu, “A Lexicon-driven Approach to ‘Suru’ in Japanese Lexical Structure,” *Proceedings of the 20th Annual Conference of the Southeast Association of Teachers of Japanese*: 34–45.

example, in 2) Computer: コンピューター/電子計算機, 9) Save: セーブする/保存する, 10) Update: アップデートする/更新する, 29) Test: テスト/試験, 30) Course: コース/課程, 36) Popular: ポピュラー/人気, 38) Image: イメージ/印象, 39) Kiss: キスする/接吻する, and 40) Housekeeper: ハウスキーパー/家政婦, both katakana and kanji are used for the same borrowed item. This phenomenon can be understood as substitution. “Substitution” occurs if the borrowed item is used for a concept which already exists in the receiving language or culture, and addition occurs if the borrowed item is a new idea or concept.¹⁸ As commonly observed, while “addition” is driven by lexical-conceptual gaps, substitution is driven by the co-existence of the “imported” foreign idea or concept and the equivalent “native” one. The choice between the two is more stylistic (e.g., formal vs. informal and traditional vs. modern) than linguistic. The issues of stylistic variations in linguistic choices and subtle semantic differences between borrowed items and their equivalent native ones are beyond the current scope of discussion.

Table 2. Lexical Borrowing: English → Chinese

Areas of Language Contact	Source Language (English)	Receiving Language (Chinese)	Phonetic Spelling (Pinyin)
<i>Technology</i>	1. Webpage	網頁	<i>Wǎngyè</i>
	2. Computer	電腦/電子計算機	<i>Diànnǎo/diànzǐ jìsuànjī</i>
	3. Laptop	筆記本電腦	<i>Bǐjìběn diànnǎo</i>
	4. Email	郵件	<i>Yóujiàn</i>
	5. Digital camera	數碼照相機	<i>Shùmǎ zhàoxiāngjī</i>
	6. Internet	英特網/因特網	<i>Yīngtèwǎng</i>
	7. Network	網絡	<i>Wǎngluò</i>
	8. Flash memory	U 盤/閃盤	<i>U+pán/shǎnpán</i>
	9. Save	存盤/保存	<i>Cúnpán/bǎocún</i>
	10. Update	更新	<i>Gēngxīn</i>

¹⁸ Appel and Muysken, *Language Contact and Bilingualism*.

World Market	11. Internet market	網絡市場	<i>Wǎngluò shìchǎng</i>
	12. Online shopping	網上購物	<i>Wǎngshàng gòuwù</i>
	13. Credit card	信用卡	<i>Xì yòngkǎ</i>
	14. Mortgage	房貸/房租貸款	<i>Fángdài/fángzū dàikuǎn</i>
	15. Loan	貸款	<i>Dàikuǎn</i>
	16. Conveni(ence store)	便利店	<i>Biànlìdài</i>
	17. Hotdog	熱狗	<i>Règǒu</i>
	18. Coca-Cola	可口可樂	<i>Kěkǒu kělè</i>
	19. Pepsi-Cola	百事可樂	<i>Bǎishì kělè</i>
	20. Supermarket	超市/超級市場	<i>Chāoshì/chāoji shìchǎng</i>
Education	21. TOEFL	托福	<i>Tuōfú</i>
	22. Internship	實習	<i>Shíxí</i>
	23. Fulbright	富布賴特獎學金	<i>Fùbùlǎitè jiǎngxuéjīn</i>
	24. Study abroad	國外留學	<i>Guówài liúxué</i>
	25. Symposium	專題研討會	<i>Zhāngtí yántǎohuì</i>
	26. Fellowship	伙伴關係	<i>Huǒbàn guānxì</i>
	27. Online course	網絡課程	<i>Wǎngluò kèché</i>
	28. Seminar	研討會	<i>Yántǎohuì</i>
	29. Visiting scholar	訪問學者	<i>Fǎngwèn xuézhě</i>
	30. Sister school	姐妹學校	<i>Jiěmèi xuéxiào</i>
Culture	31. Rap	街舞	<i>Jiēwǔ</i>
	32. Hip Hop	說唱/嘻哈	<i>Shuōchàng/xīhā</i>
	33. Tip	小費	<i>Xiǎofèi</i>
	34. Privacy	隱私/私密	<i>Yǐnsī/sīmì</i>
	35. Online game	網絡遊戲	<i>Wǎngluò yóuxì</i>
	36. Popularity	人氣	<i>Rénqì</i>
	37. Single-parent	單親	<i>Dānqīn</i>

	38. Talk show	脫口秀	<i>Tuōkǒuxiù</i>
	39. Mistress	二奶	<i>Èrnǎi</i>
	40. Housekeeper	家政/家政員	<i>Jiāzhèng/ jiāzhèngyuán</i>

The above description and analysis of the English → Japanese lexical items provide the evidence that borrowed items must go through necessary linguistic transformations, such as phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation, and substitution. However, as claimed in this study, different receiving languages may need different linguistic transformations in order for borrowed items to be embedded in its existing linguistic structure. Although the current study only makes a comparison between Japanese and Chinese in linguistic transformations, the assumption that particular linguistic transformational rules governing lexical borrowing are required for the linguistic structure of a particular receiving language. In other words, some linguistic transformations must be applied to some particular receiving languages but not necessarily to other receiving languages. The description and analysis of the English → Chinese lexical borrowing provides such evidence.¹⁹

Table 2 includes some typical instances of relatively recently borrowed lexical items from English to Chinese. The instances immediately indicate that though those borrowed items are mostly the same ones as borrowed into Japanese, there is no phonological adaptation in order for those items to be embedded in the Chinese language. Almost all the borrowed items are in fact semantically translated into Chinese. This phenomenon is called “semantic transfer,” that is, the receiving language only employs the source meaning of the borrowed item through translation without keeping its source pronunciation. Take a few for example, in 1) Webpage: 網頁, 13) Credit card: 信用卡, 25) Symposium: 專題研討會, and 39) Mistress: 二奶, only the meaning of the borrowed item is semantically transferred into Chinese without its source pronunciation.²⁰

¹⁹ Shangwu Cishu Yanjiu Zhongxin, *Xinhua xinciyu cidian* (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 2003).

²⁰ 二奶 is translated from “mistress,” meaning a woman who has a continuing extramarital sexual relationship with a man, especially, a man who provides her with financial support, such as food, dwelling place and money. The reason why the Chinese language borrows the word “mistress”

Another interesting example of meaningful translation is that in 23) “Fulbright,” a proper name without its lexical content, is translated into “富布賴特” with the addition of “獎學金” to make the word semantically meaningful.

However, it is possible that the source pronunciations of certain words or phrases may be kept if Chinese does not possess the relevant or appropriate words or phrases in Chinese literal translation to reflect their original meanings. For example, with few exceptions, “microphone” is translated into “麥克風” with its source pronunciation, and “talk show” is translated into “脫口秀” with its source pronunciation.

Semantic transfer does not include the proper names (i.e., names of individual persons and names of countries, cities, institutions, etc.). For example, “Obama” is translated into “奧巴馬,” “New York” is translated into “紐約,” and “Fulbright” is translated into “富布賴特,” all of which are translated into Chinese with their source pronunciations.

Different from phonological adaptation as observed in English → Japanese lexical borrowing, Chinese, as a receiving language, relies on semantic transfer thorough meaningful translation. This special phenomenon should be explained in terms of the nature of the Chinese language. Most Chinese characters during the initial phase are logographic signs, indicating both the sound and meaning of the morphemes they represent. More specifically, Chinese is recognized as a “pictographic” and “ideographic” language (“pictographic” characters bear a physical resemblance to the objects they indicate, and “ideographic” characters employ more diagrammatic method to represent more abstract concepts). In such a language, both concrete and abstract meanings are represented by particular characters. In other words, characters themselves contain their lexical content. It is for this particular language-specific reason that

from English lies in the fact that in the “old” China (i.e., before the communist liberation of the mainland China in 1949) a man was legally allowed to have more than one wife (the second wife was called “二奶,” and the third wife was called “三奶,” and so on), and the English word “mistress” reflects a relatively new and spreading phenomenon that some rich or powerful men have 二奶 for a continuing extramarital sexual relationship. This social phenomenon is called “包二奶,” meaning that such a man is financially responsible for his mistress’ life.

phonological adaptation does not apply to Chinese as a receiving language; otherwise, the original foreign sounds through Chinese phonological adaptation will make semantic transfer meaningless or even ridiculous.

In addition to this very special phenomenon of semantic transfer, another interesting observation of English → Chinese lexical borrowing is called “semantic creation.” Contrary to semantic transfer, which is a translation of the lexical content of the borrowed item, semantic creation is to “create” or “add” an arbitrary meaning to the borrowed item which does not contain any specific semantic meaning or lexical content in its original form. For example, in 18) Coca-Cola: 可口可樂 (delicious/tasty and enjoyable/pleasant), 19) Pepsi-Cola: 百事可樂 (everything enjoyable), and 21) TOEFL: 托福 (thanks to you), “Coca-Cola” and “Pepsi-Cola” are the names of the products, and “TOEFL” is an abbreviation for “Test of English as a Foreign Language.” The Chinese translation makes each of them arbitrarily meaningful, as shown in the brackets. The purpose of semantic creation is to make certain products attractive to potential consumers. It should also be noted that such semantic creation exploits the source pronunciation for the selection of meaningful Chinese characters (see Figure 1).

Semantic creation also applies to the items borrowed from other languages into Chinese. For example, from German to Chinese, in BMW: 寶馬 (bǎomǎ), 寶 (bǎo) means “treasure” and 馬 (mǎ) means “horse,” two together meaning “treasure horse,” and in [Mercedes] Benz: 奔馳 (bēnchí), 奔 (bēn) means “running” and 馳 (chí) means “quickly,” two together meaning “running quickly.” Although these two German automobiles are recognized as being world-top class, their names are simply those of the automobile companies without any specific lexical content about the products themselves. It is through such a particular linguistic transformation (i.e., semantic creation) that such names become semantically meaningful and attractive. Of course, it is possible that such borrowed items may retain their source pronunciation without semantic creation depending on the translator’s intention.

It also becomes clear that although “morphological adaptation” applies to Japanese, it does not apply to Chinese. This is because all lexical items borrowed from English can easily fit into the Chinese morphological structure, and thus no such adaptation becomes necessary. A further difference between Japanese and Chinese lies in the fact that while “substitution” may occur in Japanese, it does not occur in Chinese. As

explained earlier, Japanese has three components as the composition of the language: hiragana, katakana and kanji, each playing its own specific role in the Japanese linguistic realization. Fundamentally different from Japanese, Chinese does not possess any other means to write or record borrowed items. In other words, all borrowed items go through either semantic transfer or semantic creation and are written in Chinese characters even though Chinese may possess similar concepts of the borrowed items.

Conclusion

This case study of lexical borrowing regards today's language contact phenomenon as one of the most important factors in linguistic transference. This is because new ideas or concepts in certain common areas, such as technology, world market, education and culture, can easily spread across boundaries between countries, especially in today's worldwide interaction and exchange. One of the major claims presented in this paper is that lexical borrowing goes beyond the lexical-conceptual needs on linguistic grounds and is an unavoidable outcome of languages in contact on global grounds. The typical instances of lexical borrowing observed and discussed in this study indicate that it is language contact in various areas of contemporary human life that makes relatively new concepts accepted by different countries. If today's lexical borrowing is understood in terms of language contact, it can be predicted that more and more lexical borrowing will occur across boundaries of countries and thus more and more concepts will be shared universally. Lexical borrowing in terms of language dominance alone becomes insufficient in explaining such a global linguistic phenomenon.

This case study also relates global lexical borrowing to linguistic transformations. The other major claim is that borrowed lexical items must go through various linguistic transformations, and such transformations are language-specific linguistic rules for different receiving languages to embed borrowed items in their existing linguistic structures. Although such transformational rules are universal in the sense that they may apply to various receiving languages, they may not necessarily apply to all receiving languages. As illustrated in this paper, while phonological adaptation, morphological adaptation and substitution apply to Japanese as the receiving language, only semantic transfer and semantic creation apply to Chinese as the receiving language. Although both Japanese and Chinese borrowed the same lexical items from English, they adopt different universally available linguistic transformations in making borrowed items

part of their respective languages. Thus, while Japanese makes borrowed items sound “foreign” through phonological adaptation, Chinese makes borrowed items sound “native” through semantic transfer. In addition, different receiving languages may exploit borrowed items to serve their own special purposes. Thus, while Japanese borrows certain lexical items to substitute its existing lexical items, Chinese borrows certain lexical items and create their meanings to enrich its lexicon.

Based on the observations and explanations of lexical borrowing through language contact and language-specific linguistic transformations from different perspectives, this case study offers a new window into the nature of lexical borrowing and linguistic solutions of borrowed items.

MINORITY LANGUAGE EDUCATION IN JAPAN

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Introduction

Japan is regarded as a monolingual community traditionally owing to its geographical and historical reasons. However, with more and more foreigners rushing to the country in recent years, minority communities have formed and are getting involved in various aspects of social life in Japan. Although Japan has made progress in internationalization and globalization, unfortunately foreigners are not treated equally as to the question of language rights. Minority groups are expected to assimilate to the Japanese language and culture. There are seldom any substantial efforts that have been made to help Japanese people understand minority languages and cultures, and bilingual education for minority students is not supported by the government. It is true that minority people gradually get used to the Japanese way of thinking and doing things, but they often get confused about their own identities and lose their own cultures and languages at the same time. This paper discusses the drawbacks of the current language policies for minority groups in Japan by analyzing the possibility and necessity of further developing a more efficient language curriculum from a perspective of multilingualism and multicultural promotion. It is argued that bilingual education functions as a device to promote real intercultural communication and improves the relationship between immigrants and the host country.

In recent years, “intercultural communication” is the term frequently used in Japan to describe the features of a modern society. The promotion of intercultural communication is considered one of the current missions of both the central and local governments in order to help Japan become better involved in international society. Efforts have been made by the Japanese government to advance the internationalization process within the country, especially in the field of ELT (English Language Teaching). Special learning time for English is set up for children in primary schools and foreign teachers are employed to help create a foreign ambience in class.

It is clearly stated in the policy of MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2010) that the central government agency in charge of intercultural communication promotion which Japan aims at “cultivating Japanese citizens living in the international community.” Consequently, the main purpose of establishing English classes for primary students is the intention of strengthening the intercultural competence of Japanese students so that Japan can hold a more favorable position in situations of negotiation with other countries.

However, the policy reflects only one side of the true implication of intercultural communication, which should signify a two-way exchange of ideas and information. It is noted that the Japanese government has put much emphasis on the issue of increasing the ability of Japanese students to convey various messages to other nations, but no sufficient attention has been paid to the question of how to receive and accept information from other ethnic groups (Zhang 2006; Kirk 2006; Oto 1995; Zhang and Mok 2009).

The situation of minority language education in Japan is explained from the perspective of intercultural communication, highlighting the significance of integrating bilingual education into the current foreign language education system and criticizing the trend of making use of intercultural communication theory based on a fragmented understanding. This study proposes that intercultural communication awareness and abilities of Japanese students can be strengthened if they are exposed to various foreign languages and foreign cultures.

Policies of Intercultural Communication Education in Japan

Before discussing the connotations of intercultural communication, it would perhaps be better to clarify the meaning of the more fundamental concept – culture. Culture “emerges as a very broad concept embracing all aspects of human life” (Seelye 1987:13) and “consists of all the shared products of human society” (Robertson 1981:55). It refers to “the deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meaning, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving” (Samovar and Porter 1994:11).

Intercultural communication can be defined as an exchange of cultural information between or among different ethnic groups. According to Lustig and Koester (1999:42), intercultural communication indicates “a

symbolic process in which people from different cultures create shared meanings” and intercultural competence relies mostly on “the capacity and ability to enter other cultures and communicate effectively and appropriately, establish and maintain relationships and carry out tasks with people of these cultures.” In other words, mutual understanding is the most important feature of intercultural communication and efforts are needed to help students improve their abilities and capacities in order to accept foreign cultures. “An effective intercultural communication skill is being aware of cultural differences that exist among various cultures and finding the best approaches to minimize misunderstands, stress, and frictions that occur when an individual needs to interact with people of different cultural backgrounds or live within a different culture” (Oto 1995).

Japan is a heavily culture-bound country (Cornelius, Martin and Hollifield 1995). It is a society based on high collaboration, conservative spirits and self-discipline with strong cultural stereotypes (Zhang 2006). English is the prescribed language to be taught as the first foreign language in national junior high schools throughout Japan. In most cases, attitudes of Japanese people toward different cultures have been greatly influenced by this policy. The dominant force of English has diluted the distinguishing characteristics of other languages and cultures, and Japanese students are seldom offered any opportunities to experience and become exposed to other foreign cultures (Modiano 2001).

The excessive self-consciousness in the intercultural communication education policy of Japan has been investigated in ELT as well as in sociolinguistic fields. Zhang (2006) pointed out the deficit in foreign language education policy in Japan and demonstrated the importance of offering more opportunities to Japanese students to learn about other cultures. Aoki (2001) connected the strong self-culture consciousness to the reality of inefficient English education in Japan. Manifesting that lack of common sense in intercultural communication has become one of the factors hindering the development of intercultural communication education. Thorp (1991) and Neustupny (2000) analyzed cultural friction between Japanese and foreigners, drawing the conclusion that foreign cultures are considered negatively in this interaction because of the strong attachment to Japanese culture.

In sum, “active exchanges of ideas and genuine involvement become the basis for intercultural communication” (Zhang and Mok 2009). Willingness to engage with other cultures and accept new concepts from other ethnic groups is the first step to realize true intercultural

communication. Conflicts caused by misunderstandings and cultural differences can be solved by improving the intercultural awareness of all parties involved (Oto 2005).

As Harmer (1998:52) summarized the four tasks in teaching a foreign language – “there are four things that students need to do with a new language: be exposed to it, understand its meaning, understand its form (how it is constructed) and practice it” (see also McKay and Hornberger 1996) – students need to be exposed to the culture when they are being taught a foreign language. Seelye (1987:29) further emphasized that it is of crucial importance to teach culture to students at very early stages, that is, “during the first two years of foreign language study.” It could be argued that a higher chance of solving the problem of conflicts among different ethnic groups would come with the efforts of introducing more information about minority groups within the country and helping Japanese students acquire a better understanding about cultural differences.

Minority Groups in Japan

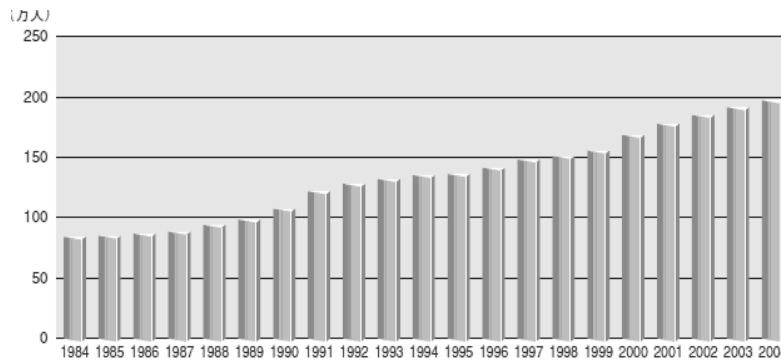
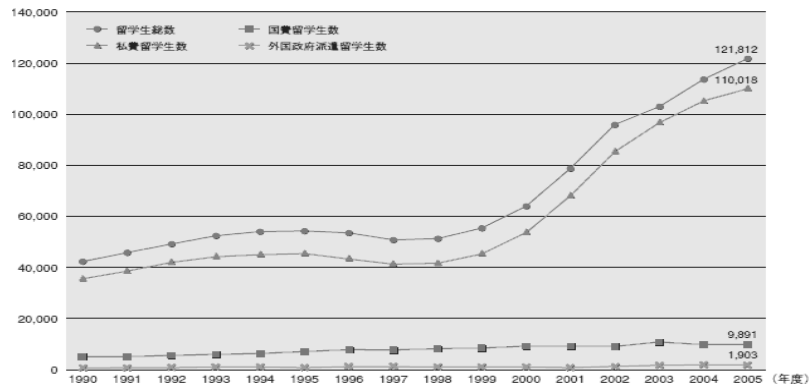


Table 1. Number of Foreigners in Japan
(Scale: Ten Thousand People)

Historically, Japan has not been a monolingual and monocultural nation. Minority groups such as the Ainu and the Ryukyuan were able to maintain their identities before the assimilation policy of the Japanese government in the 18th century. The Japanese government established regulations to “civilize” the Ainu by converting them (often forcibly) to

Japanese customs and lifestyles” (Siddle 1997:22). Japanese was announced to be the only acceptable language in the classroom. Similar policies were established in the case of Ryukyuan. “The myth that Japan is a monoethnic, monolingual country is a fabrication, a strategy for creating a national identity....Japanese language and language policies have been used as tools by the government in its effort to assimilate minority cultures” (Kirk 2006).



**Table 2. Number of Accepted Foreign Students in Japan
(Scale: Ten Thousand People)**

Realities in modern Japanese society show a strong tendency for large populations of non-Japanese residents to get involved in the daily life of Japan. With the rapid increase of foreign students in institutions of higher education and foreign workers being employed or married in Japan, minority groups such as Brazilians, Koreans and Chinese have grown significantly in Japan. With this increase, conflicts between minorities groups and local residents have been occurring more frequently than ever before. According to the Japanese Ministry of Justice Immigration Bureau (2005), the total number of foreign residents in Japan reached 1,973,747, and the figure shows an increasing tendency (Table 1). Table 2 indicates the number of foreign students accepted by Japanese educational institutions at various levels. Many of them choose to work in Japan because Japan is in great need of a working population to overcome its demographic crisis. This has largely facilitated the employment of foreigners. The influx of immigrants began in the 1970s, but peaked in the 1980s and 1990s. Though the number of foreigners officially registered occupies only 1.63% of the

entire Japanese population, 52.9% of the foreigners are in their 20s and 30s, according to data from the Japan Immigration Bureau. They help solve the social problem in Japan caused by the unprecedented increase in retirees relative to the size of the work force, according to studies from the National Institute of Population and Social Security Research (2010).

Immigrants bring to Japan their native languages and cultures, and these have made a strong impact on every aspect of Japanese society. Unfortunately, Japan is not well prepared to accept new cultures and languages. This is because intercultural communication activities are carried out on the basis of a national policy that seeks to promote Japanese language and culture around the world. This often takes the form of a one-way delivery of Japanese culture, with little attention being paid to the idea that Japan needs to better understand other cultures and languages (Zhang 2006). As the minority groups started to “assert their ethnic and linguistic identities” (Riordan 2005), conflicts between immigrant groups and local communities have been observed in cultural encounters. Immigrants demand equal social rights and mutual understanding because they are contributing to Japanese society just as the local people do.

The coexistence of multi-forms of culture is the most distinguished feature of internationalization and globalization. “National political reactions can either welcome cultural diversity as multiculturalism, where cultural pluralism is accepted as an asset, or adopt assimilation, where minority cultural populations are expected to abandon their linguistic heritages and conform to the majority language and cultural norms” (Eckford 2007; see also Lotherington 2004). Policies in Japan towards intercultural communication “are inadequate to cope not only with Japan’s present linguistic matrix, but also with the dramatic growth of immigration, which Japan relies on to fuel its growing labor needs” (Eckford 2007).

Enhancing Intercultural Communication in Japan by Promoting Bilingual Education

The problems with the language policies of Japan have been pointed out by many researchers. Eckford (2007) remarked that “the demand for efficient implementation of language policy in Japan is immediate.” Kirt (2006) criticizes that the language policies of Japan are “far more inductive to a reinvigorated community.” They have been characterized as being “non-interventionist,” which implies a choice preferring “normal rapport between the main linguistic group and the minorities evolve on its own.... This almost invariably favors the dominant

group” (Answers.com, Language Policy, accessed Aug. 7, 2010). Vaipae (2001) classified the current situation of linguistic education in Japan into a category in which the language issue is being treated as a problem, rather than a right and a source. She further demonstrated her concern by stating the following in a publication created by a Ministry of Education Study Group: “There is no difference in enrolling foreign students....Teaching should be done according to the Japanese curriculum. There is no need for their native language education” (Ministry of Education Study Group 1996 cited in Vaipae 2001:199). Japanese is the only acceptable language in public schools and “MEXT continues to review texts for appropriacy in language and content as well as create a singular curriculum for the entire country” (Kirk 2006). Obviously, minorities in Japan are linguistically marginalized by language and policy because multicultural or bilingual education is not supported by the Japanese public education system (Eckford 2007).

The Japanese as a Second Language (JSL) Program is an educational plan set up by MEXT and integrated into public school curriculums. It aims, through this research and implementation, to lead to the “successful linguistic and cultural assimilation of new immigrants into Japanese society” (Eckford 2007). However, surveys conducted by MEXT (2005) show that at least 16% of children in need of JSL support did not receive such instruction. In some areas, JSL programs do not even exist or unqualified teachers are hired to fulfill the goal (Cummins 1997). The JSL program “facilitates the acquisition of the majority language, with little consideration paid to the education of the language minority students” (Garcia 1997).

Students of immigrants registered in public schools, especially children born to foreign parents, are in great need of bilingual education. Their linguistic deficiencies have prevented them from making progress in academic learning and they are compelled to adapt to Japanese society (Hayashibe and Jiang 1998). Furthermore, studies have shown that native language proficiency is the factor that mostly affects the Japanese language acquisition by language minority children (Cummins and Nakashima 1985). Well-developed linguistic skills in the first language will be transferred to the second language (Cummins 1998). Children with higher linguistic competency in their native languages tend to make faster progress in their Japanese learning. Therefore, “it is important and necessary that the students maintain and further develop their native language ability” (Mu 2006, 2008).

Bilingual education is a bifacial issue that determines much of the discussion. This is because bilingual programs “can be considered either additive or subtractive in terms of their linguistic goals, depending on whether students are encouraged to add to their linguistic repertoire or to replace their native language with the majority language” (U.S. History Encyclopedia: Bilingual Education 2008). The key point here is that bilingual education programs need be designed in a manner that is “linguistically, culturally, and developmentally appropriate for the students” so that the additive aspects are amplified and the effectiveness of bilingual education systems can be maximized (U.S. History Encyclopedia: Bilingual Education 2008). “The chances of developing functional bilingualism will be dramatically reduced if foreign students are not given a reasonable amount of exposure to their L1 (first language) and in addition are denied the chance of developing appropriate skills in their L2 (second language)” (Eckford 2007).

“Language is a powerful device to increase dialogue between different ethnic groups and strengthen mutual understandings with each other due to its close association with culture” (Zhang and Mok 2009). Thus, it can be used as a tool to help smooth intercultural communication within a multi-cultural community (Pavlenko, Blackledge, Piller and Dwyer 2001; Zhang and Mok 2009). “We need to collaboratively work toward a system dedicated to quality education for all students, a system that focuses on an individual’s needs within society, not society’s needs for individuals” (Cadiero-Kaplan 2004:107).

Conclusion

Since the Japanese government is planning to invite more visitors to the country and establish its image as a globalized nation, it should enhance the education regarding foreign languages and cultures, so that real intercultural communication is carried out. It is the responsibility of the host country to help immigrants preserve their original languages and cultural heritages through special educational and national policy integration. Generosity and tolerance towards minorities are required from all sectors of society, but the amalgamation process for minorities within the mainstream of the society may take much more time than expected. Bilingual education takes the advantage of minorities’ linguistic sources, which act as a lubricant between the local community and the minority groups.

Minorities need to be better grasped so that mutual understandings can be reached between different ethnic groups. “They are not only eager to

acquire necessary information, which aids their acclimatization to the new social environment, but also anxious to attain a sense of being recognized, accepted and respected” (Zhang and Mok 2009). Therefore, innovative reconsideration about the bilingual education issue will make the current educational practices more effective for cultural integration. It is the responsibility of the host government to help immigrants and their later generations to complete their scholastic learning smoothly and obtain employment opportunities (Eckford 2007; Zhang and Mok 2009).

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Articles

JAPANESE PROFESSORS RESIST UNIVERSITY REFORMS DURING THE U.S. OCCUPATION

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Introduction

In April 2004, Japanese national universities underwent a drastic transformation, which consisted of a conversion from so-called ivory towers to “national university corporations” (*Hōjin-ka*). The reformed universities are supposed to become more accountable to taxpayers and more responsive to the needs of society. Non-academic advisors and consultants have been brought in to achieve this goal.¹ However, before 2004, university autonomy (e.g., governance solely by the faculty, thereby excluding any external influence) had been guarded jealously.

Sixty years earlier, when the United States occupied Japan from 1945 to 1952, Dr. Walter C. Eells, an American educator who served as advisor on higher education in the CIE (Civil Information and Education Section) at occupation headquarters, criticized Japanese national universities for their lack of accountability and advocated a new system of governance: the board of trustees.

Japanese professors vehemently rejected his plan, which contained ideas that were alien and dangerous to them. The reason for their opposition was that such a system would destroy their long-cherished university autonomy, over which they had a virtual monopoly. In 1948, Shigeru Nanbara, the president of Tokyo University at the time, made the following statement to an occupation officer on behalf of his and six other national universities: “University people themselves, more than anyone else, must guard...the mission of the university.”² His statement epitomized the belief

¹ Shinichi Yamamoto, “Universities and Government in Post-War Japan,” *The Canadian Journal of Higher Education* 34/3 (2004): pp. 119–120; Shinichi Yamamoto, “National Universities Before and After Incorporation,” *Daigaku kenkyū* 35 (2007): pp. 22–23; and Akira Arimoto, “Market and Higher Education in Japan,” *Higher Education Policy* 10/3-4 (1997): p. 207.

² Shigeru Nanbara and the other six presidents of national universities to Orr, Education Division, the CIE, “On the Proposal to Establish Boards of

held by Japanese academics as to how national universities should be governed.

Most, if not all, studies on educational reform during the U.S. occupation accuse Dr. Eells of being the instigator of the Red Purge in universities.³ His association with the anti-communist movement eclipses his other important actions, such as his conspicuous role in the controversy over the introduction of a board of trustees as a system of governance for national universities.

This paper discusses Eells' proposal for university governance and the reason for its rejection by Japanese academics. The analysis reveals the vast difference between the views held by Japanese professors and an American educator with regard to "the mission of the university." Historical developments in higher education in Japan nurtured a distinct sense of autonomy at national universities, which hindered reforms from within. Indeed, this study will show that self-perpetuating isolationism among Japan's academia had and still may have implications for the reform of higher education.⁴

Trustees in National Universities" (July 15, 1948) p. 1; box 29, Joseph C. Trainor Papers, the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

³ Hideo Takemura, "The Role of the National Government in Japanese Higher Education, 1868–1980" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pittsburgh, 1982), p. 162; T. John Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking: Experiences from Higher Education* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1978), p. 51; and Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982), p. 258.

⁴ In Japan, there are three categories of universities: national (*kokuritsu*), public [municipal] (*kōritsu*), and private (*shiritsu*). In this paper, I have focused on the national universities, and used national and publicly funded universities interchangeably. As of April 2004, there were 88 national, 77 public and 545 private four-year higher educational institutions. See Roger Goodman, "W(h)ither the Japanese University? An Introduction to the 2004 Higher Education Reforms in Japan," in J.S. Eads, Roger Goodman and Yumiko Hada, eds., *The "Big Bang" in Japanese Higher Education: The 2004 Reforms and the Dynamics of Change* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2005), p. 5.

Universities for the State in Prewar Japan

Modern higher education in Japan began in 1886 with the establishment of Tokyo Imperial University. In prewar Japan, imperial universities were at the top of a higher education pyramid, with Tokyo Imperial and Kyoto Imperial Universities being the most dominant.⁵ In particular, Tokyo Imperial reigned at the pinnacle of the education system and became the center of academic research and a site for training high-ranking government officials to meet the requirements of Imperial Japan.

Meanwhile, a number of individuals founded private higher education institutions. However, the government did not provide any financial support to these private schools because it considered them to be “breeding grounds of anti-establishment thought,” nor did it bestow the legal status of university (*daigaku*) upon them until the early twentieth century.⁶ For the oligarchic leaders of the Meiji period (1868–1912), the purpose of higher education was not to pursue knowledge for its own sake but to support the progress of the empire. In fact, Article I of the 1886 Imperial University Ordinance (*Teikoku daigakurei*) states explicitly that “the mission of an imperial university is to serve the state.” The Ordinance of 1881 described faculty members of imperial universities as “civil servants.”⁷

In the still-fragile stage of a fledgling modern nation-state, Japanese leaders, fearing public censure, excluded a clause pertaining to

⁵ A decade later, the Japanese government founded Kyoto Imperial University (1897). Another five universities, Tōhoku (1907), Kyūshū (1910), Hokkaidō (1918), Ōsaka (1931), and Nagoya (1940) were founded during the prewar period.

⁶ Takashi Tachibana, *Tennō to tōdai* [Emperor and Tokyo University] (Tokyo: Bungei shunjū, 2005), 1: 156; Akito Okada, “A History of the Japanese University,” in J.S. Eads, Roger Goodman and Yumiko Hada, eds., *The “Big Bang” in Japanese Higher Education*, (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2005), p. 32.

⁷ Tetsuya Kobayashi, *Society, Schools, and Progress in Japan* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1976), p. 29; Michio Nagai, *Higher Education in Japan: Its Takeoff and Crash* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1971), p. 21; and Byron K. Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University, 1868–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 60.

academic freedom from the Meiji Imperial Constitution. Against this political and cultural backdrop, in a country where there was no guarantee of academic freedom, professors at imperial universities fought for the right of free inquiry.⁸

University Autonomy in Prewar Japan

Originally, the governance of national universities had a hierarchical chain of command with the Education Minister at the top. The education ministry possessed comprehensive powers for regulating imperial universities. On behalf of the emperor, an education minister appointed the university presidents as well as the university council (*Hyōgikai*), which was the highest organ of university governance and was obligated to report all proceedings to the minister. The concept of university autonomy, an essential prerequisite for academic freedom, emerged as a result of a number of critical events at Tokyo Imperial and Kyoto Imperial Universities.⁹

The Tomizu Incident of 1905 helped establish the concept of university independence and freedom from undue government control. During 1903 to 1905, as Japan and Russia prepared for a violent showdown, seven professors from Tokyo Imperial, headed by Professor Hirono Tomizu, harshly criticized the Japanese government's policy towards Russia. The Education Minister, breaking the tradition of first consulting with the university president, suspended Professor Tomizu. Other faculty members, sensing an imminent threat to their own freedom of inquiry, demanded that Tomizu be reinstated. The ensuing fight between the Education Ministry and the faculty worsened steadily over a period of

⁸ Teruhisa Horio, *Educational Thought and Ideology in Modern Japan: State Authority and Intellectual Freedom*, trans. Steven Platzer (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1988), p. 72.

⁹ For studies on the development of university autonomy in prewar Japan, see Byron K. Marshall, *Academic Freedom and the Japanese Imperial University, 1868–1939* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992); Masao Terasaki, *Nihon ni okeru daigaku jichi seido no seiritsu*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Hyōronsha, 2000); Doo Soo Suh, "The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Japanese Universities Before 1945" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1953); and Akio Ikazaki, *Daigaku jichi no rekishi* (Tokyo: Shin nihon shuppansha, 1965; Rpt. 1968).

nearly two years. Eventually, the Prime Minister intervened by dismissing the education minister and reinstating Tomizu.¹⁰

In 1913, the Sawayanagi Incident at Kyoto Imperial University set the precedent that the faculty members of each department, rather than the university president, should have control over matters concerning personnel. The newly appointed president at Kyoto Imperial, Seitarō Sawayanagi, forced the early retirement of seven professors citing incompetence. Other professors protested and declared that the competency of a scholar could be judged only by other scholars in the same field. Because of Sawayanagi's refusal to yield to the faculty's demand, the faculty representatives appealed directly to the education minister, who agreed with their argument. Humiliated, Sawayanagi resigned. Encouraged by this victory, the faculty members demanded that they also be allowed to elect a president from among themselves, a new, if not revolutionary, practice that the minister also approved. Thereafter, the faculty members of each department exercised autonomous power over personnel matters and other internal governance issues.¹¹

By 1920, all the imperial universities followed a system of *de facto* university self-governance. The faculty chose a president from among themselves and accounted for two-thirds of the university's council members, with the remaining third consisting of departmental chairmen sitting *ex officio*.¹²

This autonomy, which was virtually a monopoly of power in the hands of the professors, protected them even during the long year of war, albeit with one exception. This was the "Takigawa Incident" of 1930, the only case in which the independence of an imperial university was breached. When the ultranationalist groups pressured the education ministry to ban two books written by Yukitoki Takigawa, a law professor at Kyoto Imperial University, the president of the university advised the education

¹⁰ Doo Soo Suh, "The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Japanese Universities Before 1945," p. 320.

¹¹ Akio Ikazaki, *Daigaku jichi no rekishi*, p. 37; Suh, "The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Japanese Universities Before 1945," pp. 321–326.

¹² Byron K. Marshall, "Growth and Conflict in Japanese Higher Education, 1905–1930," in Tetsuo Najita and J. Victor Koschmann, eds., *Conflict in Modern Japanese History: The Neglected Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), pp. 282–283.

minister to consider the scholarly opinions of other competent professors. However, under intense pressure from the Justice Ministry and the Home Ministry, the Education Minister fired Takigawa. As a show of protest, the president of Kyoto Imperial and all other law professors resigned. However, their action did not result in a retraction of the education minister's decision.¹³ Because of their long struggle for their independence of thought before and during the war, Japanese academics developed an aversion to any external interventions in the governance of their universities.

The Allied Occupation and Educational Reform

Imperial Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers on August 15, 1945. The Allied forces, under the leadership of the United States, occupied Japan from September 1945 to April 1952. President Harry S Truman designated U.S. Army General Douglas MacArthur as the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP). The ultimate aim of the occupation was what is now called a "regime change" – an ideological transformation of Japan's authoritarian system to democracy. The Civil Information and Education Section (CIE) of the General Headquarters (GHQ) was in charge of the educational reforms.¹⁴ Within the first three months of the occupation, the CIE abolished all restrictive laws and established freedom of thought. In addition, the CIE expected that Japanese educators and scholars to initiate further reforms.

¹³ Ikazaki, *Daigaku jichi no rekishi*, pp. 60–61; and Suh, "The Struggle for Academic Freedom in Japanese Universities before 1945."

¹⁴ Department of State, Office of Intelligence Coordination and Liaison, "Progress in the Field of Education in Japan since the Surrender" (December 9, 1946) Intelligence Research Report OCL-4119.097.3 Z1092 No. 4119S, p. 1 and p. 57, in *O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Reports, Part II Postwar Japan, Korea, and Southeast Asia*. Microfilm (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1977), on reel 3 of six microfilm reels; and Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP), SCAP, CIE, Education Division, *Education in the New Japan* (Tokyo: General Headquarters, SCAP, CIE, Education Division, May 1948), 2: 58. For a well-documented study on educational reforms, see Toshio Nishi, *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952* (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1982).

In early March of 1946, MacArthur invited 27 education specialists from the United States to visit Tokyo. Headed by Dr. George D. Stoddard, they formed the U.S. Education Mission, which was tasked with investigating the entire education system in Japan and presenting recommendations for reforms. To facilitate the work of the Mission, MacArthur ordered the education ministry to establish the Japanese Education Committee. This committee consisted of 29 educators, most of whom were prominent professors at either national or private universities. The ministry appointed 56-year-old Dr. Shigeru Nanbara (1889–1974), President of Tokyo Imperial University, as the Chairman of the Committee.¹⁵

The Japanese Committee provided information about Japan's prewar and wartime education to the U.S. Education Mission. The American educators, in turn, suggested ways to encourage elementary and secondary education to move toward teaching democracy. Regarding higher education, both the American and Japanese parties agreed that academic freedom should be guaranteed and that universities needed to participate more actively in society. According to Nanbara, the American educators praised the governance system within Japanese imperial universities as democratic because faculty members' votes determined the outcome of personnel and policy decisions.¹⁶

At the end of its three-week stint, the U.S. Mission presented its report to MacArthur. The Mission made detailed recommendations for primary and middle schools, but it said hardly anything about higher education except regarding academic freedom. The American educators

¹⁵ "Japanese Educational Reform Committee" (September 17, 1946) p. 1; box 33, Joseph C. Trainor Papers, 1933–1980, the Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University. For a detailed study on the discussion between the Mission and Japanese educators, see Gary H. Tsuchimochi, *Shinsei Daigaku no tanjō: sengo shiritsu daigaku seisaku no tenkai* (Tokyo: Tamagawa daigaku shuppanbu, 1996).

¹⁶ "Japanese Educational Reform Committee" (September 17, 1946) p. 1; Shigeru Nanbara, "Shin daigakusei no mondai [Problems in the New University System]" (Remarks at conference of the university administrators, February 14, 1949) in Masao Terasaki, ed., *Nanbara Shigeru kyōiku kaikaku: daigaku kaikaku ronshū* [Nanbara Shigeru's Essays on University Reforms] (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā, 2001), p. 353.

did, however, say that higher education must not be “the privilege of a few,” as was the norm in Japan.¹⁷

These American specialists emphasized the importance of the decentralization of administration as a means to restore and fortify academic freedom and university autonomy, because, for them, democratization implied that administration was supposed to be as responsive to the ordinary people as possible. They insisted that the education ministry’s control be limited to examining “the qualifications of a proposed institution of higher education.” They recommended that faculty members should govern “academic affairs” and establish “national associations of teachers, professors, and of universities.”¹⁸

In response, the Japanese Association of University Professors (JAUP), modeled after the Association of American University Professors (AAUP), was established on December 1, 1946 and chaired by Nanbara. Moreover, Article 23 of the New Constitution included the phrase, “Academic freedom is guaranteed.” This short sentence has been interpreted as a solid guarantee of “university autonomy and the right of academic professionals to academic investigation and expression,” and as legal protection against undue control by the state.¹⁹

Japanese Initiatives in Education Reform

The U.S. Education Mission’s recommendations served as a blueprint for postwar educational reform. However, Donald R. Nugent, then

¹⁷ United States, Department of State, *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, Department of State Publication 2579, Far Eastern Series 11 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1946), pp. 47–56, 61; Gary H. Tsuchimochi, *Beikoku kyōiku shisetsudan no kenkyū* (Machida-shi: Tamagawa daigaku shuppanbu, 1991), p. 217; and Tokiomi Kaigo and Masao Terasaki, *Daigaku kyōiku* (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1969), p. 569.

¹⁸ United States, Department of State, *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, pp. 25, 50, 61–62.

¹⁹ Tatsunosuke Ueda, “Beikoku daigaku kyōju rengō to ‘daigaku no jiyū’” [The Association of American University Professors and the Freedom of the University], *Kaihō* 5 (1950): p. 62; Lawrence Ward Beer, *Freedom of Expression in Japan: A Study in Comparative Law, Politics, and Society*, 1st ed. (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1984), p. 253.

the acting Chief of the CIE, gave assurances that “the Japanese will take the initiative in adopting the reforms proposed by the American Mission, and [the] CIE will act merely in an advisory capacity.” To that end, the CIE requested that the Japanese Committee, which had worked with the U.S. Mission, be elevated to a more “authoritative” position that would be “autonomous and independent” of the education ministry.²⁰ The CIE established a fundamental policy that was to reduce the education ministry’s power.

Nugent became the Chief of the CIE in May of 1946 when the first chief, Brigadier General Ken R. Dyke, returned to the United States. In contrast to Dyke, who had a limited knowledge of Japan, Nugent knew Japanese education very well. He had earned a B.A. and an M.A. in Education, and a Ph.D. in Far Eastern History from Stanford University. From 1937 to 1941, he taught in Japanese schools and colleges. During the war, he joined the Marines and underwent intensive training in Japanese and psychological warfare. He was the key person who upheld the policy within the CIE of respecting Japanese initiatives.²¹

In August of 1946, the Japanese Education Reform Committee (JERC) was established as “a cabinet level group” that would operate autonomously and would be free from the control of either SCAP or the

²⁰ Department of State, Office of Research and Intelligence, Division of Far East Intelligence, “Situation Report – Japan, Comments on Current Intelligence” (May 24, 1946), p. 5, File 097.3 Z1092 No 3479.10. Microfilm. (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1977), on reel 4 of six microfilm reels; “Japanese Educational Reform Committee” (September 17, 1946), p. 2; box 33, Joseph C. Trainor Papers; and SCAP, CIE, Education Division, *Education in the New Japan* 1: 144–145.

²¹ Donald R. Nugent, interviewed by Harry Wray, *Harry Wray Oral History Collection: Interviews & Correspondences*, Meisei daigaku sengo kyōikushi kenkyū sentā [Meisei University, Center of Study on History of Postwar Japan Education Reform], Hino-shi, Tokyo (February 1980); and Eiji Takemae, *Inside GHQ: Allied Occupation of Japan and Its Legacy*, trans. Robert Ricketts and Sebastian Swann (New York: Continuum, 2002), p. 181. Long after the Occupation ended, Nanbara commented that Nugent kept his word until the end of the Occupation and it was fortunate for Japan that Nugent was the Chief of the CIE. See Terasaki, ed., *Nanbara Shigeru kyōiku kaikaku: daigaku kaikaku ronshū*, pp. 187–188.

education ministry.²² At the first JERC meeting, Nugent said, “We give you complete freedom. Since this educational problem is yours alone, feel free to discuss matters openly and arrive at your own decisions. We will never interfere with you.”²³ Although he made sure that the JERC took the U.S. Mission’s recommendations into account, especially with regard to the decentralization of educational administration, Nugent wanted the JERC to be in charge.²⁴

Reforms proceeded smoothly. In March of 1947, the Fundamental Law of Education, which provided a legal basis for equal opportunity in education, was enacted. Based on this egalitarian principle, the School Education Law, in the same month replaced “the old discriminatory educational ladder” in the dual-track (“the brightest vs. the not so bright”) system with a single-track system of six years of primary education, three years of middle school, three years of high school, and four years of university.²⁵ In theory, universities were transformed from elite institutions into egalitarian ones to serve the needs of all the people. This shift to a new system required that drastic changes be made in the existing institutions of higher education.

During this restructuring, conflicts emerged between the JERC and the CIE with regard to the governance system in national universities. It

²² SCAP, CIE, Education Division, *Education in the New Japan* 1: 145; Department of State, Office of Intelligence Coordination and Liaison, “Progress in the Field of Education in Japan Since the Surrender” (December 9, 1946) 097.3 Z1092 no. 4119S, p. 47 in *O.S.S./State Department Intelligence and Research Report: II, Postwar Japan, Korea, and South Asia*. Microfilm. (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1977), on reel 3 of six microfilm reels; and SCAP, CIE, Education 3 Division, *Education in the New Japan* 1: 144–145.

²³ Masao Terasaki, ed., *Nanbara shigeru kyōiku kaikaku: daigaku kaikaku ronshū* (Tokyo: Nihon tosho sentā, 2001), pp. 187–188.

²⁴ Joseph C. Trainor, *Education Reform in Occupied Japan: Trainor’s Memoir* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1983), p. 222.

²⁵ “Fundamental Law of Education,” in *Education in the New Japan* 2: 109; SCAP, CIE, “Mission and Accomplishments of the Occupation in the Civil Information and Education Fields” (Tokyo: Civil Information and Education Section, 1949), p. 11; and Takemura, “The Role of the National Government in Japanese Higher Education, 1868–1980,” pp. 148–149.

was the newly appointed advisor on higher education, Dr. Walter C. Eells (1886–1962), who triggered the conflict. The CIE hired Eells, then 61 years old, in March of 1947, when the new education laws had just been passed.²⁶ After obtaining a Ph.D. in Education from Stanford University, Eells had taught at Whitworth College, the U.S. Naval Academy, Whitman College, and his alma mater. At Stanford, he earned a national reputation as a scholar in the field of junior college education. In 1938, he became the first full-time executive secretary of the American Association of Junior Colleges, in Washington, D.C. In 1945, he assumed a government position as chief of the Foreign Education Division of the Veterans Administration.²⁷ Two of his colleagues recalled that Eells had the ability to “press for his point of view in the face of stiff opposition because it was unthinkable [for] him to accept second best.”²⁸ Eells demonstrated such persistence in Tokyo.

The CIE and the Japanese education leaders agreed on one thing: the power of the education ministry should be diminished, preferably eliminated. However, there was little consensus about where the current powers of the ministry should be redistributed.²⁹ The CIE’s insistence on decentralizing governance originated from its conviction that the central power should be transferred to local boards of education. Decentralizing the elementary and middle school levels of the education system was not difficult:³⁰ in December of 1947, the JERC prepared the Board of Education Bill, whereby an education committee would be established in each prefecture and manned by locally elected people.

²⁶ Walter C. Eells, “Preface” (May 15, 1954) Walter C. Eells Papers, Whitman College Manuscript Collection, Penrose Library, Whitman College, WA.

²⁷ *Who Was Who in America with World Notables*, vol. 4, 1961–1968 (Chicago: Marquis-Who’s Who, 1968), s.v. “Eells, Walter Crosby.”

²⁸ Curtis Bishop, “Walter C. Eells,” *Junior College Journal* 33/6 (1963): p. 3; and Ernest V. Hollis, “Walter Crosby Eells, 1886–1962,” *School and Society* 91 (1963): p. 242.

²⁹ Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan: Trainor’s Memoir*, p. 238.

³⁰ Masako Shibata, *Japan and Germany Under the U.S. Occupation: A Comparative Analysis of Post-War Education Reform* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005), p. 85.

However, the JERC had a different idea for universities. Most of the JERC members were university professors who whole-heartedly agreed with the CIE that the universities should be independent of the education ministry. This consensus had resulted in the School Education Law of March of 1947, Article 59, which reads, “the university shall have a faculty meeting to discuss and deliberate over important matters.”³¹ This law did not specify the role of the ministry in the administration of national universities. The JERC was of the view that publicly funded universities should be absolutely free of governmental control except in cases wherein funds had to be allocated.³²

Since the departure of the U.S. Education Mission, the Education Ministry had been making desperate efforts to retain its enormous power. In November of 1946, the Ministry had established a less public but ultimately just as powerful special committee to deliberate on the standards for the new university system. But the CIE, ever vigilant, instructed that this new committee should be totally disassociated from the ministry. In July of 1947, this new group evolved to become the University Accrediting Association (UAA) (*Daigaku kijun kyōkai*). The UAA was independent of both the education ministry and the JERC.³³

Members of the CIE’s Higher Education Section, especially Eells, was pleased with this CIE-initiated development. Although Eells’ superior, Education Section Chief Mark T. Orr, like Nugent, respected the Japanese autonomy and urged that there be less instruction from GHQ, Orr’s staff were concerned that their own suggestions were always being ignored. They wanted a Japanese committee that would follow their advice. Given a new opportunity to exert influence over an “independent UAA,” Eells and the other discontented staff members attended every session of the UAA.³⁴

³¹ SCAP, CIE, Education Division, *Education in the New Japan 2*: p. 122.

³² Saburō Ienaga, *Daigaku no jiyū no rekishi*, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Hanawa shobō, 1962; Rpt., 1965), p. 104.

³³ Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan: Trainor’s Memoir* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1983), p. 229; Takemura, “The Role of the National Government in Japanese Higher Education, 1868–1980,” p. 140.

³⁴ Hitoshi Ōsaki, *Daigaku kaikaku, 1945–1999* (Tokyo: Yuhikaku, 1999), pp. 67, 71–72; and Takashi Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku* (Machida-shi: Tamagawa daigaku shuppanbu, 1999), p. 82.

The UAA was, in fact, operating under the direct supervision of the American advisors.

Eells stated at one meeting that the UAA should review the CIE's new plan for there to be local boards of education for public universities. To Eells' acute disappointment, the UAA members opposed the plan, arguing that (1) Japanese public universities had been established for national and not local needs; (2) local boards of education would not have the ability to understand the mission of universities, thereby lowering the quality of the universities; (3) the plan would expose the universities to political and economic manipulation, i.e., intrusions in faculty autonomy; and (4) local governments did not have sufficient funds to support universities. The JERC also opposed the plan, citing similar reasons.³⁵

Eells rejected these arguments put forward by Japanese academia. According to Eells, the education ministry's power had to be decentralized thoroughly.³⁶ In fact, the SCAP (GHQ) tried to give each prefecture more power, in much the same way as the federal system operated in the United States. Eells believed that each prefecture should have its own public university, and that Japan's public universities should be like America's state universities. In reality, Japan is smaller than California and Japan's prefectures are instead similar in size to the small counties in California. Nevertheless, Eells still believed that giving autonomy to local people was the true beginning of democratization.

In early January of 1948, Eells handed Orr a document entitled, "Suggested Plan for Publicly Controlled Universities in Japan Higher Education Unit," in which it was proposed that each publicly funded university should have its own local board of trustees. Eells prescribed that "some intermediary administrative advisory organ between the ministry and

³⁵ John T. Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking: Experiences from Higher Education* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1978), p. 49; Takashi Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku*, pp. 76–78; Shibata, *Japan and Germany Under the U.S. Occupation*, pp. 89–90; and Kaigo and Terasaki, *Daigaku kyōiku*, p. 587.

³⁶ Harry Wray, "Senryōki ni okeru kyōiku kaikaku [Trilateral Relationship: SCAP, the Ministry of Education and the Japan Education Reform Committee]" in *Tennō ga baiburu o yonda hi* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1982), p. 67.

the faculty councils” was necessary to supervise the overall administration of the university.³⁷

In publicly supported universities in the United States, the trustees’ most important function is to appoint a president or chancellor. Although faculty members have independent jurisdiction over the curriculum within their own departments, their power over budgetary and personnel matters is limited to only offering recommendations.³⁸ Eells believed that this American system would be a perfect model for Japan because it would restrict the control exercised by the education ministry and make each university more accountable to taxpayers. However, elitist Japanese professors found it difficult to understand the rationale underlying Eells’ proposal.

Structural changes in Japan’s school system did not correspondingly alter the mentality of these Japanese educators, whose uniform conviction about the mission of the university was set in the prewar era: universities were for a select few who would become leaders of industry, science, commerce, and politics in Japan, and only the professors themselves could make decisions with regard to academic standards, the content of courses, and the selection of personnel. Leaders in the Japanese education system had no trust in lay people who were less educated and who, until recently, had followed the military government’s orders. The academic elite believed that a “philosopher king” should govern the university. To the professors, governance by lay people was the equivalent of anarchy by the ignorant.

Eells, at the March of 1948 meeting of the UAA, informally solicited members’ opinions regarding introducing a board of trustees into the system of governance. Their reaction was “most emphatically negative.”³⁹ When the JERC learned about Eells’ proposal, they, too, opposed it strongly.

³⁷ Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku*, pp. 79–80; Ōsaki, *Daigaku kaikaku*, pp. 139–140; and Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking*, p. 48.

³⁸ Burton R. Clark, “United States,” in John H. Van de Graaff, ed., *Academic Power: Pattern of Authority in Seven National Systems of Higher Education* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1978), pp. 111–112.

³⁹ Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan*, p. 238; and Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku*, pp. 82–84.

Eells vs. Nanbara

The Board of Education Bill was passed on July 15, 1948, and the education ministry lost its control over public elementary and secondary schools. The ministry, however, did retain control over publicly funded universities. Despite strong opposition from Japanese academics, Eells continued to advocate the implementation of boards of trustees in national universities. His next proposal was a more comprehensive reform package called the “Eells’ plan.”⁴⁰ According to his recommendation, each prefecture would have one national university, which would consist of liberal arts and education departments so as to offer “both cultural and vocational education.” These universities would be governed by boards of trustees. Eells argued that because universities should meet the needs of society, private citizens representing the public should decide policies, personnel, and curricula. From his perspective, the absence of such representation was absolutely undemocratic.⁴¹

When Eells proposed to Chief Orr that the CIE recommend his new plan to the JERC for adoption, other CIE officers opposed such a move, arguing that the proposal went against the CIE’s policy of encouraging Japanese initiatives. Thus, tension arose within the CIE between those who were encouraging the Japanese to make their own decisions and those like Eells who wanted to effect a change in Japanese higher education. Eells believed that unless the occupation authorities exerted pressure, the Japanese would not change anything.⁴²

⁴⁰ Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan*, p. 238; Shibata, *Japan and Germany Under the U.S. Occupation*, p. 85; Kaigo and Terasaki, *Daigaku kyōiku*, p. 594.

⁴¹ Department of State, Division of Research for Far East, Office of Intelligence Research (OIR) “Political Activities in Japanese Universities and Colleges” (September 21, 1949) p. 3, File 097.3A1092. No. 5003C. Microfilm. (Washington, D.C.: University Publications of America, 1977), on reel 5 of six microfilm reels; Shigeru Nanbara, “Storm Over the University Law: Reasons Given Opposing Education Ministry Plan,” *Nippon Times* (July 20, 1949); Genichi Ōyama, “No More Eells’ Tōsōki” *Chūō Kōron* (November 1968): p. 175; and Terukitsu Tanakadate, “Daigaku no jichi to gakusei no hōteki mondai 8,” *Kōsei hodō* 185 (1981): p. 52; Ōsaki, *Daigaku kaikaku*, p. 152.

⁴² Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku*, p. 81.

CIE Chief Nugent had to reiterate the CIE policies to Eells. Eells would not compromise on his beliefs. The Eells' plan was eventually approved by Nugent and then presented by Eells to the education ministry as an official policy of the CIE.⁴³ The education ministry divulged Eells' plan to certain JERC members, including the President of Tokyo University, Nanbara. Representing the other six presidents of Japan's former imperial universities, Nanbara expressed his vigorous objections in a letter to Orr dated July 15, 1948.

Nanbara argued that a university was supposed to be "a special, social organization" whose mission was to search for the truth and provide liberal education and specialized training to create professionals. Under the Eells' plan, Nanbara wrote, vocational training would become the major objective of university education, thereby reducing the value of pure research and scholarship and lowering academic standards. Moreover, he continued, academic independence would be gravely compromised by the intrusion of a board of trustees who would have their own non-academic agenda. Nanbara insisted that a university must be an organization that was protected from political interference.⁴⁴

By referring to the prewar Tomizu Incident and the Sawayanagi Incident, Nanbara explained how university autonomy had developed "as a result of long years of effort by university elders and professors and lived to this day as a priceless heritage." He emphasized that, unlike the United States, Japan was still an unstable democracy, and hence the radical backlash of reactionary forces would certainly arise again and try to destroy it. He posed a rhetorical question, "What would happen if universities loosened their guard and allowed people who do not understand the sacred mission of universities to manage them?" He repeated his belief that

⁴³ Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan*, p. 238.

⁴⁴ Shigeru Nanbara and the other six presidents of national universities to Orr, Education Division, the CIE, "On the Proposal to Establish Boards of Trustees in National Universities" (July 15, 1948), p. 1 (Original in English); box 29, Joseph C. Trainor Papers, the Hoover Institution Archives; "Storm Over the University Law: Reasons Given Opposing Education Ministry Plan," by Shigeru Nanbara, *Nippon Times* (July 10, 1949); and Department of State, Division of Research for Far East, Office of Intelligence Research (OIR), "Political Activities in Japanese Universities and Colleges" (September 21, 1949), p. 3.

“university people themselves – more than anyone else – must guard...the mission of the university.” The Eells’ plan, in which “only four of thirteen board members” would be selected from among university personnel, was meant to disempower faculty members. Nanbara maintained that, even in the United States, the board of trustees system had its critics. If such a system were introduced in Japan, he continued, “it would stultify the tradition and strong points of Japanese universities cultivated by years of indefatigable efforts...and would...give rise to fresh dangers and evils.”⁴⁵

Orr forwarded Nanbara’s letter to Eells, who immediately responded in a memorandum to Orr. “Such a narrow and restricted concept of a university,” Eells wrote, was unacceptable and Japanese universities tended to remain “highly monopolistic and bureaucratic” and therefore “quite unresponsive to broad social needs.” He believed that Nanbara’s view limited a university to an elite group of individuals who were isolated in an ivory tower. He stressed that national universities, supported by “public funds,” “belong to the people” and were supposed to be accountable to the public, and, therefore, should not be exclusive.⁴⁶

Eells did concur that universities must be protected against unwarranted interference and reassured Nanbara that academic freedom and tenure, as set out by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP), would be put into practice.⁴⁷ He also admitted that the board of

⁴⁵ Shigeru Nanbara and the other six presidents of national universities to Orr, Education Division, the CIE, “On the Proposal to Establish Boards of Trustees in National Universities” (July 15, 1948), p. 1; Shigeru Nanbara, *Nihon to Amerika* (Tokyo: Asahi shinbunsha, 1950), p. 36; OIR, “Political Activities in Japanese Universities and Colleges” (September 21, 1949), p. 3; Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking*, p. 51; and Shigeru Nanbara, “Storm over the University Law: Reasons Given Opposing Education Ministry Plan,” *Nippon Times* (July 20, 1949).

⁴⁶ Advisor on Higher Education to Chief, Education Division, “Comments on Statement by Seven University Presidents Regarding Boards of Trustees for National Universities” (July 24, 1948), p. 1; box 29, Joseph C. Trainor Papers; “Daigaku kanrihō no shōten [Focal Point of the University Governance Law],” *Asahi shimbun* (August 13, 1949).

⁴⁷ Advisor on Higher Education to Chief, Education Division, “Comments on Statement by Seven University Presidents regarding Boards of Trustees for National Universities” (1948), pp. 1–2.

trustees system was “not foolproof,” but believed that it would “minimize the dangers” that Nanbara foresaw. In his letter to Orr, Nanbara had presented an alternative, the so-called “Nanbara’s plan,” in which a National Education Committee in Tokyo, comprised of educators, experts in education, and Diet members, would replace the education ministry. Nanbara wrote that this committee would approve the presidents and deans selected from among faculty members at each national university and oversee the budgets and administration of the national universities.⁴⁸

Nanbara’s plan exposed the unspoken fact that he still favored a centralized, top-down administration. Nevertheless, he demonstrated his respect for lay people by suggesting that each university should form an *advisory* committee composed of an equal number of both university professors and lay members. Eells argued that Nanbara’s plan had “the probability of being more bureaucratic and dictatorial” than the education ministry itself and would ignore public interests. In addition, he argued that financial matters and the selection of personnel should be assigned to the local board of trustees for each university instead of a centralized national council in Tokyo. He concluded that many of Nanbara’s objections to the plan to introduce boards of trustees were “not necessarily valid” and that his (Eells’) plan “quite adequately” addressed Nanbara’s concerns.⁴⁹

The education ministry had, in fact, received Eells’ plan from the CIE in July of 1948, but had kept it on hold for three months because it was known that Nanbara and other Japanese education leaders opposed it strongly. In mid-October of 1948, the ministry publicized the Eells’ plan as its own, entitling it “The Outline of the Proposed Law Governing Japanese Universities” (*Daigaku hō shian yōkō*) or commonly the “University Law.” University professors and students rejected it vehemently.⁵⁰ Nanbara now

⁴⁸ Shigeru Nanbara and the other six presidents of national universities written to Orr, Education Division, the CIE, “On the Proposal to Establish Boards of Trustees in National Universities” (1948), pp. 5–6.

⁴⁹ Advisor on Higher Education to Chief, Education Division, “Comments on Statement by Seven University Presidents Regarding Boards of Trustees for National Universities,” p. 3.

⁵⁰ Hata, *Sengo daigaku kaikaku*, p. 117; Kaigo and Terasaki, *Daigaku kyōiku*, p. 593; Ōsaki, *Daigaku kaikaku*, p. 141; Takemura, “The Role of the National Government,” pp. 149, 68; “Daigaku kanrihō o kisō [Formulating a Draft University Law],” *Asahi shimbun* (August 6, 1949);

publicly expressed his objections to Eells' plan and presented his alternative idea as the JERC's plan. Debates over Nanbara's and Eells' plans were widely publicized in major newspapers. Other Japanese academic associations drew up their own proposals, most of which gave no decision-making power to outsiders.

Japanese academics were determined to thwart the proposed University Law, while Eells was equally determined to push it through. In "Plans for Higher Education in 1949," a CIE document, Eells stated that "no project is more important for 1949" than the proposed University Law because "it involves one of the basic purposes of the Occupation...namely the decentralization of control of all education."⁵¹ While Eells was working hard to implement his version of "decentralization," the JERC had been developing its own scheme to gain greater autonomy from the education ministry.

The enactment of the Special Law on Public Servants in Education (*Kyōiku kōmuin tokureihō*) in January of 1949 was a major victory for the professors of national universities because (1) the education ministry lost its power of veto, e.g., the ministry had to issue appointments solely on the basis of recommendation of the university president, and (2) the faculty meeting had the power to appoint and dismiss professors and administrators. This law affirmed the traditional practice of university autonomy that had originated in the prewar imperial universities.⁵²

However, this was seen as only a temporary arrangement because the upcoming controversial University Law was expected to specify the governing system of national universities in greater detail. Nevertheless, encouraged by their recent victory, Japanese academics in unison with students opposed the University Law.

At this critical juncture, the Red Purge stormed through university campuses, threatening to take away the precious privileges of autonomy that academia had fought so hard to acquire. In July of 1949, Eells

and Pempel, *Patterns of Japanese Policymaking: Experiences from Higher Education*, p. 54.

⁵¹ Walter C. Eells, "Plans for Higher Education in 1949," in "Preface and CIE documents," *Walter C. Eells Papers*, n.d., pp. 18–19.

⁵² Shinichi Yamamoto, "National Universities Before and After Incorporation," *Daigaku kenkyū* 35 (2007): p. 21; Ienaga, *Daigaku no jiyū no rekishi*, p. 105.

addressed Niigata University at its opening ceremony and advocated that, to protect academic freedom, universities must oust communist professors who were slaves to the Communist Party.⁵³ From November of 1949 to May of 1950, Eells visited 30 universities nationwide to advise faculties and administrators to fire communist professors. The CIE was under the impression that universities were dealing ineffectively with the ever-mounting student activism and the potential threat of communist professors. The CIE, and particularly Eells, believed that, although the Japanese people were strongly anti-communist, the universities did not reflect such public sentiment because of the “university autonomy” that protected even dangerous hardcore communist professors “from any external influence.” Eells continued to insist on the implementation of the board of trustees to remedy this flaw.

Although the CIE inundated the Japanese education leaders with suggestions, the CIE left the details of the reforms to the Japanese universities. The CIE’s attitude allowed Japanese leaders to reject Eells’ recommendation and maintain the status quo. In the midst of the heated debate among the Japanese over Eells’ anti-communist statement, the education ministry shelved the proposed University Law in August 1949, and instead formed the so-called “Draft Committee” to discuss a new National University Administration Bill.⁵⁴ With the successful rejection of the proposed University Law, Japanese professors continued to enjoy traditional autonomy throughout the duration of the Red Purge. Yet the universities now faced enormous pressure to participate in the Red Purge. Some universities did fire communist professors, but Japanese academics still believed that their autonomy minimized the damage caused by the Red Purge.

The Red Purge convinced Japanese academics that the political situation in Japan was unstable and that universities needed to remain vigilant against detrimental external influences. Not surprisingly, the Draft Committee, established in August of 1949, adopted a modified version of Nanbara’s plan, which was sent to the Diet in March of 1951. However,

⁵³ Walter C. Eells, Advisor on Higher Education, “Convocation Address: Opening of Niigata University” (July 19, 1949), in “Niigata University,” Walter C. Eells Papers.

⁵⁴ “Daigaku kanrihō o kisō [Drawing up a Draft University Governing Law],” *Asahi Shimbun* (August 6, 1949).

because this new university bill was attacked so strongly by various opponents, it was abandoned during the Diet session in October of 1951, thereby maintaining the status quo of the university governance system.⁵⁵

Despite the tremendous pressure to undertake reform under the American Occupation, Japanese universities retained their autonomy, which excluded any external influence. Yet establishing a means by which national universities could be made accountable to the public remained an unresolved issue. A heated debate on university reform continued throughout the ensuing decades.

Eells was well aware of the difficulty of achieving reform. In early 1951, before his departure from Tokyo, Eells wrote a report that contained 32 recommendations for reform in Japanese higher education. He was aware that Japanese academics would not heed his recommendations because their understanding of the “general concepts of university freedom and autonomy” differed vastly from his. For his recommendations to be implemented, he wrote that, “both reeducation of the present educational leaders and the development of new ones” would be necessary.⁵⁶ Even though the system did change, there were still prominent Japanese academic leaders who retained an old elitist attitude and resisted reform. True reform still had a long way to go.

Conclusion

The Eells vs. Nanbara debate reveals stark differences of understanding between Japanese academia and U.S. educators about the mission of a university and its system of governance. Eells introduced a concept of the public university that was derived from the U.S. context and the idea that taxpayers should have a major say in university governance. He believed that U.S. democracy was an ideal model for a new Japan. Eells wanted the people to participate in the administration of public institutions. He was convinced that was the best and only way to nurture democracy in the Japanese people. Eells trusted the ordinary people.

⁵⁵ Kaigo and Terasaki, *Daigaku kyōiku*, pp. 610–612; and Hans Martin Krämer, “Reforms of Their Own: The Japanese Resistance to Changes in Higher Education Administration under the U.S. American Occupation, 1945–1952,” *Paedagogica Historica* 43/3 (2007): 343.

⁵⁶ Walter C. Eells, “Improvement of Higher Education in Japan,” *Higher Education* 8/11 (1951), p. 129.

Nanbara, representing the nation's academic elite, emphasized that a national university was a sacrosanct organization that had a mission to search for the truth and to educate a select few. To him, a university was an elevated institution, which had a position equivalent to that of the church in the West. He believed that such churches should be above the masses and separate from secular political entanglement. Moreover, their special mission could be accomplished only by highly educated "clergy" such as Nanbara himself. Common people were not "bright enough" to understand the university. He had no trust in the people. Therefore, the elite, the professors themselves, should govern and protect the university from lay people.

With such an elitist attitude, Japanese university autonomy had developed into a Japanese "tradition." Prewar Japan's regimented and intolerant ideological environment had created an exclusive and isolated sphere in which professors had struggled for independence and freedom. In achieving their goals, they succeeded in building an ivory tower. In the name of university autonomy, Japanese professors isolated themselves from the outside world and imparted their expertise to a select group of students. There was no room in that tradition for accountability to taxpayers.

During the American Occupation, the once almighty authority of the Education Ministry was reduced. Eells advocated the introduction of boards of trustees to govern universities. Of course, Japanese academia refused to accept this proposal: they would not change their tradition because of external influences or from within.

After the occupation ended, the Education Ministry reversed the course from one of decentralization to one of recentralization and regained everything it had lost and more. The ministry's control was strengthened in the name of accountability to the public. In Japan, public interest was equated not with that of local people but with that of central government.

The 2004 reform, the so-called "Big Bang" in Japanese higher education, aimed to reduce national expenditure and make national universities more accountable to the public. The reform has made a huge difference: national universities have become "corporations."⁵⁷ The "Bang" was initiated and driven by the government in Tokyo.

⁵⁷ The "Big Bang" theory in education reform is discussed in Kazuyuki Kitamura and William K. Cummings, "The 'Big Bang' Theory and

The reform has led to the loss of some of the privileges that the universities had hitherto enjoyed. The authority of the university president, who is still selected from among professors, has been elevated. The newly created board of directors (*yakuinkai*) is designed to work as a top management team comprised of board members (*riji*), who are appointed by the president and one external member. Yet there are no university governors to whom the president is required to report. The Management Council (*Keiei kyōgikai*) is composed mostly of members from outside the university, as in a board of trustees, but the Council plays only an advisory role to the president. The “faculty meeting,” as the ultimate decision-making organ, has been stripped of its power and now only acts in an advisory capacity to the president.⁵⁸

Surprisingly, there was no particular opposition from the universities to these reforms. This was because the national universities, faced with serious population decline and financial difficulties, had to become more efficient and responsive to the public in order to survive.⁵⁹ Another explanation for the lack of resistance is the generational change in the personnel who make up the university administration. There were no longer professors with firsthand experience of the trauma of the prewar and wartime period. The so-called “argumentative generation,” who had championed university autonomy as the primary issue affecting higher education, was now in the process of retiring.⁶⁰

The current generation of professors, who have no experience of serious conflict with the government, do not appear to have inherited a sense of university “tradition” from their mentors. They therefore tend to

Japanese University Reform,” *Comparative Education Review* 16/2 (1972): 303–324.

⁵⁸ Sachi Hatakenaka, “The Incorporation of National Universities: The Role of Missing Hybrids,” in J.S. Eads, Roger Goodman and Yumiko Hada, eds., *The “Big Bang” in Japanese Higher Education: The 2004 Reforms and the Dynamics of Change* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2005), pp. 71–72.

⁵⁹ Goodman, “W(h)ither the Japanese University?,” p. 18.

⁶⁰ Shinichi Yamamoto, “Government and the National Universities,” in Jeremy S. Eades, Roger Goodman, and Yumiko Hada, eds., *The “Big Bang” in Japanese Higher Education* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2005), p. 101.

obey the government's guidance and do not dwell on the meaning of protection of the "mission of university." Eells predicted that Japanese professors might need to be reeducated if change was to be affected. It appears that he was right. Current Japanese professors, highly educated in the culture of pacifism and peace at any cost, do not seem to appreciate "academic freedom" because it appears to be ubiquitous. The government in Tokyo will never cease to try to reaccumulate every piece of power that it has lost over 50 years ago. However, it may only take one governmental act of violation against academic freedom for the new academia suddenly to wake up and launch anew a life-and-death battle to preserve freedom of inquiry. This new fight is likely to resemble the old. However, perhaps our struggle for academic freedom is not one that is either "old" or "new," but part of the timeless quest for the dignity of humanity.

**FROM SAMURAI TO MANGA:
THE FUNCTION OF MANGA TO SHAPE AND REFLECT
JAPANESE IDENTITY**

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Literature has various functions: to instruct, to entertain, to subvert, to inspire, to express creativity, to find commonality, to heal, to isolate, to exclude, and even to reflect and shape identity. The genre of *manga* – Japanese comics – has served many of these functions in Japanese society. Moreover, “Manga also depicts other social phenomena, such as social order and hierarchy, sexism, racism, ageism, classism, and so on.”¹ Anyone familiar with *Bleach*, *Dragonball Z*, *Inuyasha*, *Full Metal Alchemist*, *Pokémon*, or *Sailor Moon*, can attest to manga’s worldwide appeal and its ability to reflect societal values.

The \$4.2 billion manga industry, which comprises nearly one quarter of Japan’s printed material, cannot be ignored.² While comics in the West have been regarded, for many years, as light-hearted entertainment (*Archie* comics), or for political commentary (the *Doonesbury* series) the manga industry in Japan grew to encompass genres beyond what the West offers. These include: action, adventure, comedy, crime, detective, fantasy, harem, historical, horror, magic, martial arts, medical, mystery, occult, *pachinko* (gambling), romance, science fiction, supernatural, and suspense series, reaching a wider audience than that of Western comics. Even the daily news in manga form is now available.³

This development of manga as a significant part of Japanese society also illustrates the long history established by Eastern philosophy

¹ Kinko Ito, “A History of *Manga* in the Context of Japanese Culture and Society,” *The Journal of Popular Culture* 38/3 (2005): 456–475.

² Daniel H. Pink, “Japan, Ink: Inside the *Manga* Industrial Complex,” *Wired* (accessed October 22, 2007, http://www.wired.com/techbiz/media/magazine/1511/ff_manga?currentPage=all).

³ News Manga (accessed October 24, 2007, <http://newsmanga.com>).

and the blending of modern Western cultural ideals, which overall illustrates Japan's ability to co-opt outside influences, resulting in a product that is uniquely Japanese. This hybridization in the form of manga reflects the identity struggle that the Japanese face as they negotiate an ultra-modern world influenced by old-world traditions.

Like other literature, manga has been shaped by and reflects the historical, social, and cultural influences of its time. Early manga reflected ideals of early Japanese thinking, which evolved over time. Expressed simply, early Japanese philosophy and culture is a mix of Zen Buddhist principles and Shinto beliefs. Suzuki Daisetz defines Zen as "one of the products of the Chinese mind after its contact with Indian thought...a discipline in enlightenment."⁴ This combination of Taoist and Zen Buddhist beliefs found its way to Japan from China and Korea, thereby influencing Japanese philosophy and way of life to embrace ascetic ideals.⁵ As a complementary way of life in Japan, Shinto emphasizes the natural world as an influence in how the world functions. These two philosophies formed the early beliefs to which people adhered, and which later influenced the principles the samurai class adopted. This adaptation showed the Japanese ability, early in its history and culture, to co-opt and shape new ideas to suit the Japanese purposes and way of life.

From the time Japan established its samurai class in 1192, and later restricted access to its borders in the early 17th century to the mid-19th century when the U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry arrived in Japan, a collectivist, high-context society that respected power distances was developed.⁶ A series of repressive and controlling shoguns and rulers – who employed the services of samurai warriors⁷ – created the behavior and ideals that are still observed and enacted in Japanese society today, even

⁴ Daisetz T. Suzuki, *Zen and Japanese Culture* (New York, NY: MFJ Books, 1959), pp. 3, 5.

⁵ Ito, "A History of *Manga*."

⁶ Richard H. P. Mason and John G. Caiger, *A History of Japan*, Revised ed. (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 1997); Geert Hofstede (accessed October 24, 2007, <http://www.geert-hofstede.com>); and Boye Lafayette De Mente, *The Japanese Samurai Code: Classic Strategies for Success* (Boston: Tuttle Publishing, 2004), p. xiv.

⁷ Stephen Turnbull, *Samurai: The World of the Warrior* (Oxford: Osprey Publishing, 2003), p. 202; Mason and Caiger, *A History of Japan*, p. 282.

after the samurai lost power in the late 1800s and early 1900s. Although the behaviors of the “aristocrats” were originally mocked by early artists (such as Hokusai Katsushika), and manga’s satiric function extended its popularity, the ideals eventually came to represent Japan to its own citizens and foreigners.⁸ These ideals include the Japanese values of “restraint, conformity, and consent”⁹ in behavior, and were in contrast to the values of the Western world it would eventually encounter. While “[Americans] prize self-assertion, individuality, and iconoclasm...Japan is an archipelago of confined spaces, and its strict social formalities have evolved to help millions survive in them.”¹⁰ The established rigid hierarchies often constrain behavior, displaying “high degrees of homogeneity...collectivity, and conservatism,”¹¹ which sometimes leads to the criticism that Japanese are too rigid and closed to outsiders. This behavior could be interpreted as such, but it also conveys what Japanese view about themselves.

For those of older generations, the Japanese strong sense of national identity is often inseparable from their individual identity due to thousands of years of collectivistic behavior. For many in Japan, the following principle applies: “There are no ‘foreigners’ in Japan, only ‘outside persons,’ or *gaijin*. This concept of the ‘outside person’ seems to encapsulate Japan’s image as an exclusive, inward-looking, self-contained country, sealed off by blood and tradition.”¹² This does not mean that “outsiders” are not appreciated; they are simply not part of the “in-group.” From early times, Japanese mythology (commissioned by royalty) set up the idea of the Japanese as superior and separate. For hundreds of years, this assumption was not publicly questioned, especially when there was nothing with which to compare their identity due to limited outside interaction. This was instrumental in shaping a strong national identity for the Japanese, and individual identities were also tied to this national identity.

⁸ Ito, “A History of *Manga*.”

⁹ Roland Kelts, *Japanamerica* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 23.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ray T. Donahue, *Japanese Culture and Communication: Critical Cultural Analysis* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1998), p. 235.

¹² Paul Gravett, *Manga: Sixty Years of Japanese Comics* (London: Laurence King Publishing, 2004), p. 10.

In this society, the samurai class was most influential in shaping ideals. “What Japan was she owed to the samurai. They were not only the flower of the nation, but its root as well. All the gracious gifts of Heaven flowed through them. Though they kept themselves socially aloof from the populace, they set a moral standard for them and guided them by their example.”¹³ This moral standard exists even today. The samurai, who “evol[ed] from a courtly duelist to a professional soldier carrying a gun, and finally to a pampered ward of the state,”¹⁴ lived by a code called *Bushido*, or the “Way of the Warrior.” This is composed of eight virtues, all of which are still strong influences in today’s Japanese society. These virtues, which encompass tenets and philosophies from Buddhism, Shinto, and Zen are: justice, courage, benevolence, politeness, sincerity, honor, loyalty, and self-control.¹⁵ Lafayette De Mente writes, “The influence of the samurai code of ethics on Japan’s arts, crafts, literature, poetry and other aesthetic and intellectual pursuits remained virtually intact [...], continuing to imbue them with a distinctive character that is found only in Japan.”¹⁶ The image of a physically, intellectually, and morally superior being – in the form of a samurai warrior as a representative of Japanese identity – was strongly inculcated in not only Japanese culture and society, but in Western beliefs as well.

After Commodore Perry’s arrival, and with increased interaction with other nations, the Japanese started to adopt Western ideals, which caused confusion among the people about their sense of national, and thereby, individual identity. The government became enamored with the West and implemented policies to adopt Western ideals, clothing, and even language, which led to even further confusion about a national identity. Moreover, the post-WWII generation had to deal with the U.S. government’s overhaul and restructuring of Japanese society, education, and government. This complete shift led to a nation needing to establish a new identity for itself in an industrial, Western-dominated world, if it were

¹³ Inazo Nitobe, *Bushido: The Spirit of the Samurai* (Boston: Shambhala Library, rpt. 2005), p. 121.

¹⁴ Tom O’Neill, “Japan’s Way of the Warrior,” *National Geographic* (December 2003): pp. 100, 107.

¹⁵ Nitobe, *Bushido: The Spirit of the Samurai*, p. vii.

¹⁶ Lafayette De Mente, *The Japanese Samurai Code: Classic Strategies for Success*, p. xvi.

to survive within the structure imposed on it. The idea of the chivalrous, strong, and cultured samurai warrior now no longer encapsulated Japan's identity. Manga artist Ishinomori Shotaro (as he is popularly known) once said, "Looking back connects us to the future. If the past is recorded inaccurately, how can we look the world in the face?"¹⁷ He deemed it necessary for the current generation to understand the past in order to determine one's ideals and one's responsibilities. In a land where the ancient co-exists with the modern, this understanding of the past is integral if one is to understand one's place within both present and future spheres.

For a large portion of the post-WWII Japanese population, the search for a national identity has involved looking to the West to *embrace* ideals of the West. In some cases, this entailed, upon orders from General Douglas MacArthur's General Headquarters (GHQ), the change of school curriculum by banning the teaching of Japanese *shushin* (morals and ideals) and introducing the study of the English language.¹⁸ Prior to WWII, Japan's education consisted of "ideas and problems of moral indoctrination,"¹⁹ (which was based on the samurai Bushido Code). It also included changing the most basic of items linked to Japanese identity, such as clothing and food, from Japanese kimono and *obento*-style lunches of rice with fish to a lunch that included milk and canned fruit.²⁰ For others, it meant embracing technology and globalization. For some, such as famed author and political activist Yukio Mishima, this was expressed as the desire to reinstate the samurai *shushin* and ancient traditions to recapture a national identity. "The ongoing success of *jidaigeki manga* [historical dramas depicting chivalrous heroes dying glorious deaths in battle in pre-modern Japan] suggests that, while the samurai no longer have a place in the modern nation, their lives and legends answer a yearning for continuity with Japan's non-Westernized heritage."²¹ An example of this is Sanpei Shirato's *Ninja Bugeicho* (Secret Martial Arts of the Ninja)²² that "dealt with various social issues in a feudalistic setting and attracted many

¹⁷ Sharon Kinsella, *Adult Manga: Culture & Power in Contemporary Japanese Society* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2000), p. 93.

¹⁸ Yoko Rankin, Personal Interview (March 13, 2009).

¹⁹ Mason and Caiger, *A History of Japan*, p. 249.

²⁰ Rankin, Personal Interview (March 13, 2009).

²¹ Gravett, *Mang*, p. 98.

²² Ito, "A History of Manga," p. 467.

university students and adults.” Sociology professor Kinko Ito further writes, “The kind of manga that emerged after WWII reflected what was going on in Japanese society – politics, culture, economy, and race and ethnic relations – at the time of publication.”²³

This idea, embraced by many Japanese who yearn for a revival of old traditions, has often provided a romanticized vision of samurai ideals: “Perhaps the most romanticized element of the samurai in popular culture is their strict adherence to a code of morals rooted in principles of honor, loyalty, devotion, and martial arts practice.”²⁴ A key reason for these romanticized stereotypes could be to render a sense of pride and nationalism to the current.²⁵ Believing that the ideals of one’s country are based on honorable codes is key to establishing a positive national identity and, by extension in Japan, a personal identity. Manga plays a role in this.

Manga’s Popularity and Function in Shaping Identity

One may wonder what makes manga so popular in Japan. At the heart of any item’s popularity is the fulfillment that the purchase provides the consumer. With the manga reader in Japan, this could be the desire to avoid boredom while using public transportation (some 27 million people live within the Tokyo metropolis, almost all using public transportation), or to be entertained in a stressful world.²⁶ Moreover, living in crowded cities and working long hours, many Japanese seek relaxation. Because Japanese people needed some form of entertainment to escape the busy academic and work demands, casual reading – as a silent, solitary activity – became popular. “[This] allows [the reader] to leave behind daily formalities and experience, if only vicariously...the more liberated realms of the mind and the senses.”²⁷ Manga are cheap enough in price for people to buy daily, if they choose to, and is an inexpensive form of entertainment and escape, which is integral to those who cannot escape the confines of the city for relaxation.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Nino Moscardi, “The ‘Badass’ Samurai in Japanese Pop Culture,” SamuraiArchives (accessed March 13, 2009, <http://www.samurai-archives.com/bsj.html>).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Gravett, *Manga*, p. 96.

²⁷ Gravett, *Manga*, p. 13.

Another function of manga may be to meet one's desire to maintain group consciousness and harmony (which is prominent in Japan) by participating in reading manga that one's peers are reading. Manga's popularity may also be because it was a genre introduced to children who simply continued reading until they were adults, thereby hooked on the tradition and ease of reading an entertaining pictorial adventure or romance. This relates to the role that manga plays to shape and reinforce Japanese identity.

Since manga is a literary art form that originated in Japan, reading it is a traditionally Japanese experience. "Graffiti" on temple walls dating back to the 6th and 7th centuries depicted animals and people. The first picture scrolls of the *Chojugiga* (The Animal Scrolls) in the 12th century are some of the oldest surviving depictions of narrative comic art, often attributed to the Bishop Toba.²⁸ These typically showed animals in priests' clothing (Buddha is often represented as a frog), reminding people of Buddhist precepts, which reflected the relatively "royal identity" of Japan as a Buddhist country. "When not constrained by religious themes, many of the old scrolls ran positively wild, with a robust, uninhibited sense of humor much like that of today's comics," meeting the entertainment needs of everyday people who could relate to them.²⁹ Zen Buddhist pictures were also drawn to remind viewers of Buddhist principles, but these pictures were generally restricted to clergy and aristocracy, or rich families who could afford to commission works. *Otsue* (amulets in picture form) became popular for common folk in the mid-17th century. This evolved to the development of secular art in the form of wood-block prints (*Ukiyoe*) depicting ordinary life (for entertainment purposes). Reading manga gives one a sense of something completely Japanese in that the Japanese have an "appetite for pictorial art."³⁰

During the Edo Period (1600–1867), a rigid class system was implemented by the feudal dictatorship, which attempted to freeze social change.³¹ Any form of political dissent (including art) was banned, and, as an extreme measure, Japanese were not allowed to communicate with

²⁸ Frederik Schodt, *Manga! Manga! The World of Japanese Comics* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), p. 28.

²⁹ Frederik Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, p. 29.

³⁰ Gravett, *Manga*, p. 18.

³¹ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, pp. 32–33.

foreign nations. *Ukiyoe* woodblock prints and religious works (such as ambiguous haiku) were the only acceptable forms of printed work, mainly attributed to Hokusai Katsushika (1760–1849), who was believed by some to be “the first person in Japan to coin the word manga.”³² By the 1850s, Japan had a tradition of “entertaining, sometimes irreverent, and often narrative art” which contributed to the overall acceptance of manga as a legitimate form of literary art.³³

After Western influences arrived in Japan, European-style cartoons were introduced and emulated.³⁴ The Western cartoonists Wirgman and Bigot introduced two elements that would be important to the development of Japanese manga: (1) word bubbles; (2) arranging stories “in sequence, creating a narrative pattern.”³⁵ This shift in cartoons also came with a rebirth of manga to act as a visual purveyor of Japanese ideals. The simplicity of the artwork contributes to the overall Japanese aesthetic. Manga images are drawn using bold, stark lines with very limited detail to develop the background. Historically-established Zen principles of simplicity govern the flow and development of the lines in the artwork. White space often predominates and simplistic lines often allude to ideas the reader must imagine. In the 21st century, this style continues to draw readers who can identify Japanese manga at a glance because of its unique character features and flowing lines accented with sound effects.

Effects of World War II

Literary journal editor and lecturer Roland Kelts makes mention of Japanese artist Takashi Murakami, who theorizes that “the dropping of the atomic bombs created a trauma in Japanese culture for which there was no precedent in world history. Publicly at least, and perhaps sensing no other option, the majority of Japanese wanted to forget their post-traumatic stresses and move forward quickly.”³⁶ But the pain of rebuilding a broken nation would not be so easily forgotten. Manga artists used this medium as a way to make sense of injustice and inexplicable behavior. The manga *Barefoot Gen* addressed these feelings directly.³⁷ Other comics, such as

³² Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, p. 35.

³³ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, p. 37.

³⁴ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, p. 38.

³⁵ Schodt, *Manga! Manga!*, p. 41.

³⁶ Kelts, *Japanamerica*, pp. 25–26.

³⁷ Gravett, *Manga*, p. 57.

Katsuichi Nagai's series *Garō*, addressed themes of injustice against lower classes in feudal Japan. Japan was not, however, only obsessed with WWII. Issues of social change were prevalent in other art. Frederik Schodt, leading authority on manga, claims, "I do think there was a creative exuberance created at the end of the war by the lifting of controls on speech and the fundamental realignment of [Japanese] society....But if artists had anything political to say, it was more related to a larger political struggle, between progressive leftist forces and those more conservative and traditional. In the '60s and '70s, far more manga artists were reacting to social change and Vietnam than to World War II or the bomb."³⁸ Themes of inequality and a loss of innocence crop up in many manga series, leading one to conclude that a strong sense of social justice prevails as part of the national identity of Japanese, despite not having a samurai class to carry out that justice. Manga at this time also reflected the clear-cut "good-versus-evil" themes created in a post-atomic society. As the world has become more globalized, however, changes in determining who is good and who is evil have led to changes in manga's function.

Roland Kelts comments, "The intensity with which we yearn for a lost world is frequently proportionate to the discomfort we feel in our own."³⁹ Manga is a necessary means of escape for many who are uncomfortable in the world they currently inhabit. This leads to manga and anime often showing the world as it used to be or as it could be from a utopic or dystopic perspective. It also means perhaps blurring the lines between good and evil, as evidenced by manga artist Shin Kibayashi comment: "...the world has changed. Nobody is sure who is good or who is evil....The whole world is becoming borderless and unstable. The manga world's ambiguity has become realistic."⁴⁰ This has resulted in the criticism that manga are only about over-exaggerated science fiction or sexual fantasy with women depicted in a degrading manner, or as "beautiful, innocent, quiet, obedient, kind, warm, and nurturing."⁴¹ While there is an element of fantasy to some manga, others are gritty and all-too real, reflecting the harsh realities of a stressful world.

³⁸ Kelts, *Japanamerica*, p. 27.

³⁹ Kelts, *Japanamerica*, p. 58.

⁴⁰ Amelia Newcomb, "Japan Cracking U.S. Pop Culture Hegemony," *The Christian Science Monitor* (December 15, 2008).

⁴¹ Ito, "A History of Manga," p. 11.

Many manga, moreover, strive to capture lost innocence and confusion of traversing these unknown domains. Several modern series, such as *Inuyasha* and *Naruto*, express this theme of trying to find one's true identity through different quests and adventures through a world that has different rules (often magical) from the one we inhabit and thereby explore one's character and identity. Female manga artists also became popular, depicting struggles of gender identity that reflected the feminist movement of the time. *Shojo* (female) manga such as *The Rose of Versailles* in the 1970s dealt with identity issues particularly relevant to women. "[Manga artists'] exploration of the fluidity of gender boundaries and forbidden love, in particular, allowed them to address issues of identity of deep importance to them and their readers."⁴² Series such as these also created a new audience for comics: independent females entering the workforce en masse, experiencing independence for the first time and thereby needing to establish a new modern identity.

Hayao Miyazaki, an artist famous for his anime movies – an extension of manga – deals with themes of desiring innocence and acceptance of characters as they struggle with their own identities. While his movies are known more for the commentary on ecological themes, the characters also struggle with their identities. His most recently depicted character, Ponyo, leaves her restrictive ocean home to seek happiness and acceptance from humans as she evolves from a fish into a human (a homage to *The Little Mermaid*). His characters, Kiki (*Kiki's Delivery Service*), Chihiro/Sen (*Spirited Away*) and Sophie (*Howl's Moving Castle*), seek truth about who they are and long for acceptance of their true selves while on a quest. This search often takes place by interacting with characters they did not expect to encounter. While this theme is sometimes found in literature – such as in the story of *Musashi*, one of Japan's most famous swordsmen, or in the travel narratives of haiku master Bashō – intimate interaction with strangers in daily Japanese life is not the norm. In this way, manga and anime break from conventions of Japanese behavior and show a need for a new exploration of Japanese identity independent of that proscribed by one's group.

Although Japan has adopted many outward Western characteristics, such as wearing blue jeans and t-shirts, much of society has retained its in-group/out-group structure to emphasize loyalty to those

⁴² Gravett, *Manga*, p. 79.

within their in-groups. People associate almost exclusively with those with whom they either grow up, with whom they go to school or with whom they work. Social groups, where one would typically expect to branch away from work colleagues, for example, such as sports clubs, are comprised of people from one company or school, so even social activities are completed within established groups, which are often separated along gender lines. There is not much spontaneous intermingling among those of differing socioeconomic status or from different neighborhoods, let alone with foreigners: “This loyalty to the group produces the feeling of solidarity, and the underlying concept of group consciousness is seen in diverse aspects of Japanese society.”⁴³ As mentioned, this attitude is prevalent throughout society. Takeuchi writes:

Japanese in groups are usually indifferent to outsiders. However, when outsiders are invited to come with appointments, they are treated courteously as formal guests. If they should try to join one’s group without any contact, however, they would never have a warm welcome and might secretly become people who should be refused admittance and excluded from the group.⁴⁴

This attitude is often adopted to protect the group from members who might cause a disruption in harmony. This also means there is potential for people to become ostracized should they not cooperate with a group. This behavioral expectation sometimes has negative outcomes for those excluded from groups.

Many of these out-of-mainstream individuals find solace in the world that manga offers. They spend hours browsing online manga websites and chatting with other manga fans. Many create alternate identities for themselves online, even living imaginary lives together. “I met my boyfriend in an online manga forum. We have a good relationship because we understand and accept each other for what we are,” says Sayaka Sato, a

⁴³ Roger J. Davies and Osamu Ikeno, eds. *The Japanese Mind: Understanding Contemporary Japanese Culture* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2002), p. 195.

⁴⁴ Y. Takeuchi, *Nihonjin no kodo bumpo [Japanese Social Behavior]* (Tokyo: Toyo keizai shinposha, 1995), p. 213.

35-year-old woman who suffers from bi-polar disorder and has been unable to maintain a relationship with others because she is reluctant to reveal that she suffers from this disorder. She says that she does not want to play the role that her mother played in life: “staying home to raise us while my father went to work. I want to be my own person, but I don’t know who that is yet,” she admits. Sato and her boyfriend each have alternate identities online and met in person but prefer to maintain their relationship online to avoid awkward in-person interaction. “We are both only children. We don’t really know how to relate to each other when we are together, and this is painful to admit because humans are social creatures. But although something is missing in me, my boyfriend is the same, so we accept each other. I feel sometimes I can be more honest through my manga identity,” says Sato. Because Sato lives in a culture where manga is popular, she has a way to interact socially with others who also embrace the manga lifestyle. She is not alone, however, in her exploration of a new identity.

Journalists covering Japanese business news write about a growing trend of Japanese young men called *shōshoku danshi* (grass eaters) or *shōshoku kei* (herbivores), who are “named for their lack of interest in sex and their preference for quieter, less competitive lives” away from corporate Japan in contrast to *nikushoku kei* (carnivores) of the corporate world.⁴⁵ This indicates a generation of young men seeking an alternate identity than that which their parents established. Japanese editor and columnist Maki Fukasawa writes:

[This] behavior reflects a rejection of both the traditional Japanese definition of masculinity and what [Fukasawa] calls the West’s ‘commercialization’ of relationships under which men needed to be macho and purchase products to win a woman’s affection. Some Western concepts, like going to dinner parties as a couple, never fit easily into Japanese culture....During Japan’s bubble economy, Japanese people had to live according to both Western

⁴⁵ Alexandra Harney, “The Herbivore’s Dilemma,” Slate [Foreigners Section] (July 15, 2009), http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2009/06/the_herbivores_dilemma.2.html ; and Tomoko Otake, “Blurring the Boundaries,” *The Japan Times* (May 10, 2009), <http://www.japantimes.co.jp/text/fl20090510x1.html>.

standards and Japanese standards. That trend has run its course.⁴⁶

This change in Japan's society has led to people needing a new way to view themselves in this evolving society. Some theorists estimate that "60 percent of today's men aged 20-34 fall somewhat into the [herbivore] category."⁴⁷ In addition, Harney introduces a 22-year-old college dropout named Yoto Hosho and explains that "many of Hosho's friends spend so much time playing computer games that they prefer the company of a cyber-woman to the real thing. The Internet, he says, has helped make alternative lifestyles more acceptable."⁴⁸ Hosho believes that the lines between men and women in his generation have blurred."⁴⁹ Fukasawa theorizes that "it may be that Japan's efforts to make the workplace more egalitarian planted the seeds for the grass-eating boys."⁵⁰ Others theorize that Japan's post-war peace for over six decades has led to less pressure for men to be the manly soldier. Moreover, Otake writes that "Japan has long had a tradition of men acting like women in public places, such as in kabuki" and in manga.⁵¹ This act of seeking a new identity shows the struggle of Japanese youth to negotiate the realities of their world.

Along with these young men seeking a new identity comes a whole generation of women who also seek an identity other than that of the traditional homemaker. This struggle is often depicted by characters (usually teenage girls) in manga who defy established order and set themselves as renegades against society. Gender roles are often blurred and issues revolving around gender identity are also explored in the *manga* written for young women.

For others, the world of manga *kissa* (comics cafés), fanimation events, manga/anime conventions, a national museum, and "cosplay"

⁴⁶ Maki Fukusawa, quoted in: Alexandra Harney, "The Herbivore's Dilemma," Slate [Foreigners Section] (June 15, 2009) http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/foreigners/2009/06/the_herbivores_dilemma.2.html.

⁴⁷ Tomoko Otake, "Blurring the Boundaries."

⁴⁸ Alexandra Harney, "The Herbivore's Dilemma."

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Tomoko Otake, "Blurring the Boundaries."

(costume play) offer legitimacy to the fans. “Cosplay” also entails gathering with other fans to recreate certain scenes from their favorite anime or manga (in the similar style of Civil War reenactments or Renaissance Fairs in the United States). Doing so allows manga fans to maintain an identity (that of their manga character) while not being rejected for their “real” identity. This allows people to often break the social boundaries and expectations that are set up by society by engaging in a common activity. Few other activities in Japan allow such a breach. “But, paradoxically, the strict codes of etiquette and behavior that govern daily life in Japan also allow for an extraordinary degree of creative and social permissiveness – the freedom to explore other identities, to test the limits of possibility,”⁵² *manga kissa*, and cosplay events allow one to create an alternate identity to replace the staid, constricted day-time personality.

While not exactly common, some extreme fans (called *otaku*) even prefer relationships with manga characters and form new identities as partners of 2-D paper characters. Journalist Lisa Katayama writes of men who imagine that manga characters on body pillows are their partners. One such character, Nisan (not his real name), pretends his pillow is his real girlfriend: “He treats her the way any decent man would treat a girlfriend – he takes her out on the weekends to sing karaoke or take *purikura*, photo-booth pictures imprinted on a sheet of tiny stickers.”⁵³ He claims that he wants to get married, but says, “Some [otaku] have so little confidence that they’ve just given up, but deep inside their souls, they want it just as much as anybody else.”⁵⁴ For fans who do not find acceptance from live women, the manga characters take their place, solidifying their identity as both “losers” who cannot find a woman to love them, but also as people who find acceptance in the world of manga. This isolated individual is not absent in Japanese manga. Many characters are set apart from society, struggling to fit in. In the series *Absolute Boyfriend*, for example, the main character, still in high school, is bullied and does not fit in with schoolmates. She purposefully purchases a futuristic android boyfriend who is programmed to be devoted to her. She is the “renegade” character who acts outside of the societal norms while trying to fit in. While this loner or outsider is seen as an anomaly in society, there is one place where characters such as these are

⁵² Kelts, *Japanamerica*, p. 23.

⁵³ Lisa Katayama, “Love in 2-D,” *The New York Times* (July 26, 2009).

⁵⁴ Ibid.

expected and romanticized: in Japanese manga. The lone renegade is often a hero in manga.

This idea not promoted within a polite society rife with bowing. The fantasy world of manga, as mentioned earlier, acts as both an individual act of escape into one's mind, as well as an overt physical refusal to interact with others in a polite manner (if one is reading, one is not interacting with others). Mitsuba Wajima, an amateur manga artist, says, "Shojo manga showed me people who were brave enough not to follow the same path everyone else does, people not fitting into the system. For me their stories were lessons that you can think of your life in another way."⁵⁵ For many, life in another way means rejecting the corporate tradition established after WWII and finding a new identity.

This struggle is often depicted by manga characters exhibiting behavior and characteristics of the romanticized samurai of old. Originally, manga was blamed by Americans for being overrun with "Bushido" type qualities, helping to fuel Japanese nationalism. Especially by targeting younger audiences such as teenage boys, pride in one's own history can be more easily instilled. This is not to say that these romanticizations were done to promote nationalistic rebellion, though that may be true in some cases, but are more so done in order to give the Japanese an international identity in a world in which defining oneself is extremely difficult.⁵⁶

The samurai was an easily recognized character representing Japan's strengths with a firmly established identity: "The samurai is the cowboy, the knight, the gladiator, and the *Star Wars* Jedi rolled into one."⁵⁷ They were also members of Japan's highest class, and as such, "indulged in such refined cultural pursuits as flower arranging, composing poetry, attending performance of Noh drama and hosting tea ceremonies."⁵⁸ This Romantic/Byronic character is seen in manga characters as a mix of Japanese strength with Western physical features. This blend of Eastern tradition (samurai) with a Western archetypal character shows the Japanese penchant for taking principles from elsewhere and making them uniquely Japanese. The Byronic character shows up in popular manga, such as *Naruto* and *Fullmetal Alchemist*, but also shows up in female characters

⁵⁵ Gravett, *Manga*, p. 81.

⁵⁶ Nino Moscardi, "The 'Badass' Samurai in Japanese Pop Culture."

⁵⁷ Tom O'Neill, "Japan's Way of the Warrior," p. 107.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

flouting convention. This familiar character allows Japanese to accept him as a credible visual representation based in Japanese tradition while searching for a new identity as a modern entity, thus providing the Japanese with a character that mirrors his or her own search for a modern identity.

The reading of manga acts to reinforce Japanese identity as a mix of varying principles and beliefs, but also strengthens one's sense of nationalism and patriotism. Since manga reflects Japanese ideals, the act of reading manga is a uniquely a Japanese experience for the Japanese reader. Manga perfectly encapsulates the struggle of the Japanese to find an identity that can fit within the modern world.

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SCHOOL RULES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN POSTWAR JAPAN

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Lifestyle guidance [in Japan] is a set of disciplinary practices meant to mold student lifestyles and attitudes both in and out of school. It encompasses the kinds of classroom management or disciplinary activities familiar to American teachers but is more far-reaching in its meticulous regulation of the students' use of time, their appearance, movements, and their home life.¹

Contrary to descriptions in envy-laden reports on Japan's education system issued periodically by American educators, Japanese schools are little more than "sweatshop assembly lines" where students are slandered, bullied, and sometimes beaten into rigid conformity.²

School rules (*Kōsoku* or *Seitokokoroe*) are central in Japanese students' lives. I vividly remember my experiences in the early 1980s when every aspect of the students' attires and lifestyles was regulated by schools. Our hairstyles were prescribed, and we had to wear an uncomfortable Prussian-style school uniform. Teachers routinely checked students' hairstyles and appearance, and when they found violations, students were placed on probation. At my school, one physical education teacher was the designated barber who would shorten students' hair in case of violations. Corporal punishment was frequently used in the process of enforcing regulations. There was a discursive acceptance of the tight control of students by school authorities in those days, and criticism by parents or local residents was either non-existent or too negligible to be a major factor.

¹ Rebecca I. Fukuzawa, "The Path to Adulthood According to Japanese Middle Schools," in Thomas P. Rohlen and Gerald K. LeTendre, eds., *Teaching and Learning in Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 303.

² Ronald E. Yates, "Bully Backlash Vaunted Japanese Schools Face Rebellion Over Dangerous Discipline, Failing Creativity," *The Chicago Tribune*, November 8, 1988.

Because of its significance for Japanese teenagers' lifestyles, scholars have extensively examined the regulatory nature of the Japanese educational system. The first line of analysis focuses on the constitutionality of school rules. Rules are scrutinized and often criticized as violating some articles in the Japanese Constitution.³ The second line of analysis compares Japanese schools with those in other nations. In such analyses, school rules are frequently compared and listed as one embodiment of the hyper-regulatory Japanese school system.⁴ The third type of analysis explores the question of historical contexts in which Japanese schools established such detailed rules to monitor students in and out of schools.⁵ They identify cultural traditions of conformity rooted in Confucianism and the surge of student violence in the late 1970s and the early 1980s as significant conditions for the emergence and implementation of rigid rules.

This paper attempts to cast an additional insight to the question of social contexts of Japanese school rules. While both cultural traditions of group conformity and the surge of student violence were important in the construction and enforcement of detailed regulations by schools, they do not fully explain how the use of school rules gradually increased during Japan's

³ Takeshi Hayashi, *Fuzakeruna kōsoku* [Give Me a Break, School Rules] (Tokyo: Komakusa shuppan, 1987); Hideo Sakamoto, *Kōsoku no kenkyū* [Research on School Rules] (Tokyo: Sanichi shobo, 1986); and Japan Bar Association, *Gakkō seikatsu to kodomo no jinken* [School Life and Children's Rights] (Tokyo: Japan Bar Association, 1985).

⁴ Eiji Koizumi, *Chuugaku kōkōsei no seitoshidō* [Student Instruction for Junior and Senior High Students] (Tokyo: Shōgakkān, 1989); Tsuneo Nakane, *Gakkō no jitsujō* [Current State of Schools] (Tokyo: Fūbōsha, 1989); Merry White, *The Japanese Educational Challenge: A Commitment to Children* (New York: The Free Press, 1987); Gerald LeTendre, *Learning to Be Adolescent* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); and Shoko Yoneyama, *The Japanese High School: Silence and Resistance* (London: Routledge, 1999).

⁵ Harry Wray, *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices* (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1999); Ken Schoolland, *Shogun's Ghost: The Darkside of Japanese Education* (Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 1990); Edward R. Beauchamp, *Japanese and U.S. Education Compared* (Bloomington, IN: Phi Delta Kappa Educational Foundation, 1992); and Karel Van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power* (New York: Vintage Books, 1989).

postwar transformations. In this paper, I will discuss changes in economy, popular culture, community and family during Japan's postwar development, which contributed to the expanded responsibilities of schools in socialization and social control of Japanese teenagers. Taking an analytical approach that emphasizes an affinity between social contexts and specific institutional practices, this paper offers an additional dimension in the gradual career of Japanese school rules and will provide insight on how school regulation of students' lifestyles may change as a nation moves toward development.⁶

Japanese School Rules

In this section, I describe school rules in Japan in order to give a sense of the social phenomenon studied. Typically, Japanese school rules regulate three aspects of student lives: appearance, deportment and off-campus lifestyles. In the 1970s and the early 1980s, Japanese secondary schools had detailed rules that strictly monitored student appearance. Hideo Sakamoto examined the rules of more than one thousand secondary schools and found these rules were typical among them.⁷

- Hairstyles: (Male) Front hair must not reach the eyebrows, the sides must not reach the ears, and the back must not reach the collar of the uniform. (Female) Bangs must not reach the eyebrows, and if the hair reaches the shoulders, it must be tied back.
- The following modifications to the hair are prohibited: perming, dyeing, bleaching, mohawk styles, shaving eyebrows. Also, the use of ribbons, colored pins, gels, and hair oil is prohibited.
- School Uniform: (Male) A black uniform with a stand-up collar. Five buttons on the front, two buttons on each sleeve. The bottoms of the legs of the trousers must be 20 to 24 cm in width. (Female) A navy-blue sailor suit. A skirt must be knee length. A blouse must not be so cropped so that the clothes worn under it are visible.
- School Bags: Students must use a black leather bag chosen by the school.

⁶ Information for this article is gathered as a part of a larger project on Japanese education, which involved a library archival data collection and interviews of school teachers and administrators in Japan during my three fieldworks (1998, 1999, and 2002).

⁷ Hideo Sakamoto, *Kōsoku no kenkyū*.

- Shoes: black or white canvas shoes with laces. Shoes with colored lines or with designs are prohibited.
- Socks: White. Colored lines or designs are prohibited.
- Belts: Black, dark blue or brown, and must be about 3 centimeters in width. A showy buckle is prohibited.
- Raincoat: Only female students may wear a raincoat, and it must be the cream-colored one authorized by the school.

These regulations were not very popular among students. According to a survey of 10,000 secondary school students from five prefectures in 1989,⁸ hairstyle regulations were the most unpopular rule among students. Sixty-six percent of junior high students and 50.8 percent of senior high students listed rules on hairstyles as the rule they liked least. The second least favored was the rule on school uniforms (45.4 percent of junior high students and 50 percent of senior high students), followed by the rules on personal possessions and off-campus activities.

Schools have schedules and routines and they also seek to maintain environments in which hundreds of individuals feel safe and can concentrate on learning. In addition to regulating students' appearance, schools exert some level of control over the management of time and space. The following are typical examples of rules on students' conduct at school that are concerned with safety, etiquette and the establishment of daily routine.

- When the bell rings, sit at your designated desk and be prepared for class.
- You may not run in the hallways.
- You may not enter the classroom if you are late by more than five minutes to the class.
- In class, you must not chat and must keep your back straight to avoid the possibility of dozing off.

Some schools had far more detailed regulations on on-campus conduct by students.

⁸ National Education Institute, "Kōsoku ishiki chōsa [Survey on School Rules]," in *Minken kyōiku jihō* [National Education Institute's Education Report] (1989).

The following are examples of the meticulous rules over students' class participation and cross-gender interaction.

- You must raise your right hand to be called upon.
- You must raise your left hand to be called upon, and when called, you must say "hai (yes)" clearly and stand up before you speak.
- When boys and girls talk to one another, there must be at least three students together, and there must be at least two meters between the students.

School regulations were not confined to students' behavior within school buildings. Schools assumed a vast array of off-campus duties that would be considered parental tasks in the United States. The following are some examples of rules on students' off-campus behavior.

- After school, you must go home directly using the school-authorized route.
- If you stop at a store or a friend's home after school, you must submit a note from your parents to the school for permission. Permission will not be given if the reason or the place is unsuitable.
- You may not engage in any activities prohibited by law. This includes driving, smoking, alcohol-drinking, and pachinko (gambling).
- You may not enter video arcades, the bowling alley, and coffee shops.
- Unless accompanied by parents or a chaperone, you may not enter entertainment places including video arcades, karaoke boxes, skating rinks, and movie theaters.
- From May to September, you must be back home by 7:00pm. From October to April, you must be back home by 6:00pm. In case you need to go to *juku* (cram school) after the curfew, you must submit a note from parents for permission.
- You may not hold any part-time or full-time jobs.
- At home and in the school district, remember you are a junior high school student, and make sure you conduct yourself accordingly.

It is important to note that school rules may vary from school to school, thus the above is not to be viewed as a standardized list that accurately reflects the

rules of all schools in Japan, but is provided to give readers an idea of relatively pervasive rules in Japanese secondary schools in the 1980s.

Explanations of School Rules: Cultural Legacy and the Surge in Student Violence

Why did schools establish and enforce these detailed rules? What contexts legitimized these rules as a necessary and beneficial educational practice? One causal condition emphasized to explain the implementation of detailed school rules is the increase in student violence in the late 1970s and the early 1980s.⁹ From 1973 to 1982, violence against teachers by junior high school students increased every year. The number of cases (772) in 1981 was more than ten times as many as that of 1973 (71 cases).¹⁰ Not only the quantity, but also the severity of violence escalated. The youth division chief of the National Police Agency, an equivalent of the FBI, commented in 1981 during a panel discussion on student violence that juvenile delinquency changed qualitatively toward more violent types and many cases were reported as triggered by minor disagreements. He also pointed out that recent cases had involved violence against teachers that was rarely seen in the previous era. For example, in September of 1981, a ninth-grader attacked his teacher with a knife because he was forced to cut his long hair. In January of 1982, sixteen ninth-graders entered the teachers' lounge and beat up ten teachers present.¹¹ Unlike the relatively minor actions such as kicking a teacher's leg, which were prevalent prior to this period, some students in the late 1970s and the early 1980s took highly violent actions against teachers.

School authorities responded to this surge in student violence by implementing stricter enforcement of school rules. In the 1982 Student Guidance Data Report, the Ministry of Education called for 1) routine checks for student compliance with rules, 2) a teachers' patrol in the school and school district for prevention and early detection of potential problem students, and 3) establishment of regular interaction with parents and the school community for

⁹ Van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, pp. 92–93; Nakane, *Gakkō no jitsujō*, pp. 187–196; and Japan Bar Association, *Gakkō seikatsu to kodomo no jinken*, p. 133.

¹⁰ Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryō* 17 [Student Guidance Data Report 17] (1982), p. 14.

¹¹ Nakane, *Gakkō no jitsujō*, pp. 183–184.

a unified approach to students' problems.¹² Many schools enforced rules on student appearance rigorously, and teachers routinely patrolled places such as shopping malls and video arcades to be certain that their students were not loitering after school.

While it is undeniable that schools did respond to the increase in student violence by implementing rules more rigidly, the student violence in the 1970s and the 1980s cannot explain the fact that school rules did exist continuously throughout Japan's modern period. Hideo Sakamoto emphasizes that the original form of school rules was already in place in 1873 and the content of rules has since been "surprisingly persistent."¹³ Therefore, in order to fully grasp the development of school rules, social contexts prior to the surge of student violence need to be examined.

Another line of analysis, which helps us understand the persistence of school rules, focuses on Japanese cultural tradition rooted in Confucianism and the feudal system, which places higher value upon groups than individuals. Edward R. Beauchamp argues:

In order to understand the evolution of the Japanese system of education, one needs to know that it reflects a very long history of essentially Confucian ideas and values, including a deeply rooted respect for learning and for those who devote their lives to learning. There is also a culturally embedded emphasis on group conformity and a hierarchical social structure. Citizens are expected to defer to authority and to contribute to a harmonious social order rather than pursue personal goals, which are perceived as selfish individualism.¹⁴

Harry Wray also relates disciplinary practices and the homogenization of students' lifestyles to the Confucian tradition of cooperation, obedience and respect for authority. He argues that one of the "attitude[s] shaping Japanese education is a minimum emphasis upon individualism and independence. Adherence to one's principles and insistence on personal autonomy are characteristically considered to be signs of a stubborn, uncooperative,

¹² Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryō* 17, pp. 61–62.

¹³ Sakamoto, *Kōsoku no kenkyū*, p. 23.

¹⁴ Beauchamp, *Japanese and U.S. Education Compared*, p. 9.

righteous and excessively aggressive person.”¹⁵ Ken Schoolland sees the root of school rules in the Japanese feudal system in which Confucian virtues of vertical loyalty, harmony and cooperation were highly valued:

The shogun’s rules concerning dress and behavior parallel those of the school rules covering every detail of dress and behavior in schools. Young people are still commanded to wear drab, dark, precisely tailored uniforms. Those few who refuse can be subject to interminable punishment, both physical and psychological.¹⁶

These scholars explain school rules in terms of cultural values of harmony, loyalty and conformity, which are consistent with Confucianism and Japanese feudal values.

It is feasible that cultural legacies rooted in Confucianism contributed to the shaping of school rules, but some aspects of the social history of school rules are left unanswered by this emphasis. While one can detect the robust continuity of the types of school rules throughout Japan’s modern education history, there has been an increase in the number of rules during the postwar period, but *prior to* the surge of student violence. Yoshikuni Noguchi reports in his study of a history of hairstyle regulations at junior high schools in Kobe City that students in the 1940s had a variety of hairstyles but in the 1960s, all male students’ hair was closely cropped and all female students had bobbed hairstyles.¹⁷

Akio Moriyama reports a similar finding that the close-cropped hairstyles and school uniforms became mandatory in Okazaki City in Aichi Prefecture in the 1950s and the 1960s.¹⁸ The Ministry of Education published a student guidance report in 1966 in which it presented how to utilize existing school rules fully for the purpose of developing an “ideal Japanese.”¹⁹ Thus, in

¹⁵ Wray, *Japanese and American Education*, p. 47.

¹⁶ Schoolland, *Shogun’s Ghost*, p. 164.

¹⁷ Yoshikuni Noguchi, *Dōnaru marugari kōsoku* [What Will Happen to Close-Cropped Hair Rule?] (Kobe: Human Booklet, 1991), pp. 28–29.

¹⁸ Akio Moriyama, *Marugari kōsoku: tatta hitori no hanran* [Close-Cropped Hair Rules: Solitary Protest] (Tokyo: Fūbōsha, 1988), pp. 121–123.

¹⁹ Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryō* 2 [Student Guidance Data Report 2] (1966), pp. 147–154.

order to fully grasp the social history of school rules, we must also explore the postwar contexts of the 1950s and 1960s.

This paper attempts to answer the questions left unanswered by the two prevailing explanations. How did schools justify regulations during the postwar development in the 1950s and the 1960s? What social contexts of the 1950s and 1960s led to the production and enforcement of more rules in some schools? I suggest that rigid guidance of students through school rules was legitimized in postwar Japan as a means to respond to changing responsibilities of schools. In the period between 1945 and the mid-1970s, Japan underwent tremendous changes in economy and culture, which were critical in increasing the responsibilities of schools for socialization and social control. First, the rapid industrialization beginning in the 1950s made industry and families dependent upon schools: the industrial sector required schools for the provision and training of disciplined workers, and families depended on schools to be a major socialization force for children after the increase of nuclear families and the declining involvement of fathers who were required to work long hours in the restructured industrial system. Second, the rise of consumerism as a cultural consequence of economic development challenged traditional cultural values and practices, which further legitimized the use of school rules to rebuff the impact of emerging cultural values on youth. Third, increasing competition in the so-called “examination hell,” reflecting Japanese style of educational equality and meritocracy, further legitimized school rules that were seen as a means to prevent students from being distracted and focus on academic work. In this paper, I will identify these economic, cultural, familial and educational contexts in which schools’ involvement in socialization and control of students expanded.

Economic Development and Schools

The industrial development of Japan provided a context in which schools increasingly undertook the responsibility of socializing students for prospective employment as participants in a bureaucratically-organized workforce. A high school principal in Nara Prefecture pointed out that:

In the prewar period, the individuals were trained at schools to contribute to politics. But in the postwar period, schools helped students to develop in a way that they would contribute to the economy.²⁰

²⁰ Personal communication, June 17, 1999.

At the end of the Allied Occupation in 1952, Japan's per capita consumption was a mere one-fifth that of the United States. During the period between 1953 and 1973, the Japanese economy grew rapidly with an average annual growth rate of 8 percent. By 1968, Japan had surpassed West Germany to become the world's second largest economy. After 1973, Japan's economy grew rather steadily compared to the rapidity of the previous two decades, but its growth rate remained higher than most other industrialized nations. By 1986, Japan's per capita gross national product surpassed that of the United States.

The expansion of industry required mass production of a disciplined workforce.²¹ Of this period, Thomas Rohlen concluded that "they [Japanese high schools] are best understood as shaping generations of disciplined workers for a technomercitocratic system that requires highly socialized individuals capable of performing reliably in a rigorous, hierarchical, and finely tuned organizational environment."²² Since the early 1950s, industrial and business leaders had urged the Japanese government and the Ministry of Education to reorganize the educational system and curriculum to meet the needs of industry.²³ In 1952, the Japan Federation of Employers requested the development of vocational programs at secondary schools. In July 1960, the Economic Advisory Committee affiliated with the Prime Minister's Office issued a report in which it proclaimed that "it is essential to promote manpower development as part of economic policy....Manpower development can be attained by raising the educational standards of the nation and thereby instilling broad knowledge, the ability to make accurate judgments, and a proper sense of values." In the 1962 White Paper on Education, the Ministry of Education concluded that "it is unnecessary to emphasize the significance of education for the development of society, but recently, various studies specifically attested to the significant relationships between education and economic development of a

²¹ Ikuo Amano, "Sangyō shakai to gakkō kyōiku [Industrial Society and School Education]" in Yasumasa Tomoda, ed., *Kyōiku shakaigaku* [Sociology of Education] (Tokyo: Kōbunsha, 1982), pp. 112–114; and Andrew Gordon, *A Modern History of Japan: From Tokugawa Times to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 245–258.

²² Thomas P. Rohlen, *Japan's High Schools* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), p. 209.

²³ Kaori Okano and Motonari Tsuchiya, *Education in Contemporary Japan: Inequality and Diversity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 39.

nation.” Mikio Sumitani, who was a member of the National Economy Commission in the 1960s, stated that “demands for education were long based on the desires of the people who wanted to learn. But recently, demands come from industry rather than people, and educational practices are refurbished by the requirements of industry.”²⁴

School rules became a useful tool for economic development when Japan’s industrial sector needed many disciplined workers. A 33-year veteran teacher’s comment in our personal communication reflects this perceived benefit for school-to-work transition.

When students finish school and start working, they have to go to work on time, get along with superiors and co-workers, and cannot have a hairstyle or dress that is repulsive to others. At schools, we try to teach students these requirements of society.²⁵

This comment indicates that school rules were seen as a part of educational strategy to prepare students for the expectations of the industrial workplaces. Postwar national drive toward economic development provided a contextual ground to strengthen the legitimacy of school rules.

Schools and Cultural Changes Following Economic Development

Economic development in the 1950s and the 1960s influenced not only people’s work, but also their culture and lifestyle. Ralph Larkin contends that “the bourgeois culture, with its emphasis on thrift, saving, frugality, and fear of indebtedness” erodes as a society reaches the condition of “post-scarcity.”²⁶ Japanese education, with its ties to industry, teaches values and norms that are helpful for industrial development. However, the dividend of such economic development may pose a destructive force to the cultural values and norms that enabled it.

Daniel Bell also captures the above point, arguing that “the contradictions of capitalism...have to do with the disjunction between the kind

²⁴ Teruhisa Horio, *Gendaishakai to kyōiku* [The Contemporary Society and Education] (Tokyo: Iwanami, 1997), pp. 6–7, 93–94.

²⁵ Personal communication, May 29, 1998.

²⁶ Ralph W. Larkin, *Suburban Youth in Cultural Crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 33–35.

of organization and the norms demanded in the economic realm, and the norms of self-realization that are now central in the culture.”²⁷ On one hand, the norms of the economic realm encourage (or even require) individuals to conduct lifestyles in accordance with “the Protestant ethic and the Puritan temper” characterized by hard work, “frugality,” and “sobriety.” On the other hand, the growing hedonistic culture (Bell calls this the “fun morality”) encourages “pleasure, instant joy, relaxing and letting go.” Individuals are pulled into culturally contradictory directions creating a “sense of disorientation and dismay that marks public mood today.”²⁸

Their characterization of cultural consequences of economic development is applicable to the historical period of Japan after industrial take-off. Japan experienced a “consumption revolution” in the 1960s.²⁹ The per capita income of Japanese people increased by 3.7 times between 1965 and 1974. Technological development and mass production lowered the price of products such as televisions, air conditioners, washing machines and refrigerators, making them affordable for the majority of Japanese people. Between 1966 and 1975, the diffusion rates of television increased from 0.4 percent to 90.9 percent of all households, of washers from 78.1 percent to 97.7 percent, and of refrigerators from 68.7 percent to 97.3 percent. In 1958, when the Ministry of General Affairs started an annual survey of social class identification, 72.4 percent of respondents identified themselves as middle class, with 37 percent as mid-middle class and 17 percent identifying themselves as lower class. In 1964, 87.1 percent responded as middle class, with 50.2 percent as mid-middle class, while only 8.5 percent responded as lower class. In 1973, those who identify as middle class reached 90.2 percent with 61.3 percent as mid-middle class. Those who identified themselves as lower class dropped to 5.5 percent.

Economic prosperity, urbanization, cultural patterns of the West that were increasingly imported into Japan and television changed the daily lifestyles of teenagers in Japan. Students received more information about various products or entertainment spots through television or printed media sources. Magazines for youth began publishing in the late 1950s and the 1960s

²⁷ Daniel Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), p. 15.

²⁸ Bell, *The Cultural Contradictions of Capitalism*, pp. 55, 71–72.

²⁹ Ministry of General Affairs, *Seishonen hakusho* [Youth White Paper] (1985).

and set fashion trends such as short skirts, jeans, and long curly hairstyles.³⁰ Development of public transportation allowed students to have access to activities in cities, where most entertainment spots, such as movie theaters and bowling alleys, were located. In cities, there was an increase in student involvement in disorderly or illegal conduct, such as hooliganism, use of illicit drugs, and shoplifting.³¹

The Ministry of Education stated its concern in 1966 that “the economic prosperity that Japan has been enjoying has produced hedonistic tendencies and a spiritual vacuum. If this continues, the long-range prospects of sustained prosperity are threatened.”³² In the student guidance report, the Ministry directed schools to ensure that students would not be distracted by various forces of temptation. Some of the specific recommendations in the report are rules on greetings, language, entry to entertainment places, and students’ possessions. Not only do the industrial sectors demand for many disciplined workers but also the intensification of consumption culture and the predicted decline in conformity to cultural values and norms, which could jeopardize the future of Japan’s economic development further legitimized rigid regulations on student appearance, deportment and lifestyles.

Work, Family, and School Rules

Industry was not the only Japanese institution increasingly dependent upon schools. In this section, I discuss the intensification of families’ dependence on schools to discipline and socialize children. Families’ declining role in socializing and disciplining children resulted from the increasing number of “salarymen” (salaried male employees), who were required to work long hours or even move to a different city alone in order to meet the demands of rapidly developing economy of Japan. Parents requested schools to set up rules when family discipline became less effective due to the work conditions set by the economic sector.

Japanese schools’ responsibilities extend beyond the school setting. Western observers often point out that teachers in Japan take “responsibility over what in the United States would be considered private matters.”³³

³⁰ Natsuki Iwama, *Sengo wakamono bunka no kōbō* [Postwar History of Youth Culture] (Tokyo: Nihon keizai shinbun-sha, 1995), pp. 48–50.

³¹ Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryō* 2, p. 216.

³² Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryō* 2, p. 217.

³³ Rohlen, *Japan’s High Schools*, p. 42; Also, a similar observation has been

Thomas Rohlen, reflecting on his 1974 fieldwork notes, stated:

I have, in my notes, many instances of either parents asking a high school teacher to shape up their wayward or unmotivated child, or of teachers going to parents and telling them what must be done to bring a student back into line.³⁴

How did Japanese teachers come to take on these responsibilities? In order to understand the processes that led to the expansion of roles undertaken by schools, one must examine the impacts of work conditions on family.

The restructuring of the Japanese economy after World War II has led to an increase in salarymen. The proportion of salarymen in all working age males increased from 45.5 percent in 1955 to 67.6 percent in 1980. During the same period, those who engaged in agriculture decreased from 41 percent to 10.9 percent.³⁵ These data indicate that salaryman employment increased significantly during rapid economic development. Salaryman families tended to live in communities near urban areas where their companies were located. Thus, as the number of salaryman families increased, the dominant form of family structure shifted from extended to nuclear. A salaryman tended to put in long hours of work at a company, thus husbands' participation in children's socialization declined.³⁶ In many instances, a salaryman was ordered to work in a city far away from where his family purchased a house, and because of the housing costs and educational disadvantages that would result from a school transfer, a husband transferred alone.³⁷

made in the following works; Merry White, *The Japanese Educational Challenge: A Commitment to Children* (New York: The Free Press, 1987); Gregory J. Walko, "Japanese Lower Secondary School Education: An Overview," *The Clearing House* 68/6 (1995); and Morley Young, "The Dark Underside of Japanese Education," *Phi Delta Kappan* (1993), 130–132.

³⁴ Rohlen, *Japan's High Schools*, p. 197.

³⁵ Ministry of General Affairs, *Seishonen hakusho*, p. 110.

³⁶ William K. Cummings, *Education and Equality in Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 86–89; and Van Wolferen, *The Enigma of Japanese Power*, pp. 159–163.

³⁷ Because admission to a high school is given to students who successfully pass an entrance examination immediately after junior high school, high school students face difficulty in transferring from one school to another. Also, many

The Ministry of General Affairs points out the consequence of a salaryman's family's socialization pattern:

The children whose fathers engage in agriculture or are self-employed have opportunities to see their fathers work. That increases their appreciation and respect toward fathers. On the other hand, children who grow up in salaryman families have little opportunity to see their work. Also, *tanshinfunin* (solitary occupational transfer) eliminates the physical presence of fathers for duration of time. The decline of family socialization compared to the previous generation stems from the lack of a father figure in children's lives.³⁸

With the advent of economic restructuring, the salaryman lifestyles in urban areas, and the predominance of the nuclear family with declining involvement of fathers in the socialization processes, disciplinary dimensions of socialization within the family declined.

In the midst of their declining capability to discipline their children, families relied on schools to provide disciplinary guidance. Rohlen said, based on his fieldwork in Japan in 1974, that "of the two sides to parenting, affection and discipline, it is the latter that most parents want teachers to provide. In fact, Japanese parents typically look to the teacher for the discipline that they feel their affection for their children prevents them from exercising fully."³⁹ A high school principal in Kyoto claimed that off-campus lifestyle regulations were necessary to help families whose socialization capability was in decline.

Students spent only one-third of their time at school. If we didn't do anything about the other two-thirds, any efforts we made at school would have been in vain. If students' parents

students and parents are reluctant to move to a different school or locale where their chance to pass college entrance examinations would be lessened. Thus, instead of moving the whole family to a different city, a father moves alone to the new post. See Yoshio Sugimoto, *Introduction to Japanese Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 95.

³⁸ Ministry of General Affairs, *Seishonen hakusho*, p. 110.

³⁹ Rohlen, *Japan's High Schools*, pp. 196–197.

were all well-prepared for teaching them what is proper for high schoolers, we didn't worry about their off-campus lives, but the reality was that many parents could not discipline teenage children.⁴⁰

A high school principal in Yagi City in Nara Prefecture recalled that parents requested school rules on various aspects of students' off-campus behaviors.

Most high schools prohibit students to get a moped license, even though Japanese law allows that anyone sixteen years or older can obtain a license and drive a moped. Often times, this regulation has been criticized since it limits individuals' rights granted in the law. But the fact is that this rule was initially requested by parents who could not convince their children not to drive a moped. When parents faced difficulty in correcting children's behavior, they came to schools and asked us to create and enforce rules.⁴¹

Another teacher told me that rules on bags, clothes and off-campus activities were created because parents found it easy to instruct children if they could cite school rules as a reason for their disciplinary action.⁴² Schools established detailed regulations and involved in students' off-campus lives in part as a response to the requests by parents. A nation's rapid industrialization required many salarymen to devote times and energies to work, thus undermining the disciplinary function formally fulfilled in family contexts. Parents depended on schools for guidance and discipline, and some school regulations were implemented in response to parental requests.

Examination Hell

Another important development that influenced families' dependence on schools was "examination hell." Parents whose children were preparing for entrance examinations requested schools to set more rules, so that students are prohibited from activities that might lessen their devotion to academic progress. Off-campus rules limiting the number of hours students could watch

⁴⁰ Personal communication, June 17, 1998.

⁴¹ Personal communication, June 17, 1999.

⁴² Personal communication, June 12, 1999.

television each day and banning admittance to video arcades, shopping malls and bowling alleys, were created at the time when the entrance examination system set clearly the track that led to success and stability.

Japanese entrance examinations were the gateway to the status of salaryman, which connoted middle-class lifestyle and security by life-time employment. Ezra Vogel comments that:

...no single event...determines the course of a young man's life as much as entrance examinations and nothing requires as many years of planning and hard work. These arduous preparations constitute a kind of rite de passage whereby a young man proves that he has the qualities of ability and endurance necessary for becoming a salaryman."⁴³

The intensity of the entrance examination is signified in the phrase, "four pass, five fail," meaning that those students who sleep four hours a day would pass while those who sleep five hours would fail.⁴⁴ After World War II, aspiration for success through the examination system was intensified. In 1935, only 19 percent of students attended post-compulsory education, and only 3 percent of the age-group attended universities. In 1960, high school and university attendance rates were 58 percent and 10 percent respectively, and by 1970 they reached 82 percent and 24 percent. Responding to the increasing educational aspiration, many universities were established. In 1945, there were 48 universities in Japan. By 1950, the number increased to 201, and by 1980, the number of universities in Japan had reached 446.⁴⁵ However, the increase in the number of higher education institutions did not lessen the competitiveness in the entrance examination, mainly because social prestige of the universities was strictly ranked and the potential for employment, high earnings and

⁴³ Ezra F. Vogel, *Japan's New Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), p. 40; For other sources that make similar points, see Ikuo Amano, *Nihon no Kyōiku System* [Japanese Education System] (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1996), pp. 54–60; and Nobuo Shimahara, *Adaptation and Education in Japan* (New York: Preager, 1979), pp. 77–90.

⁴⁴ David Lee Stevenson and David P. Baker, "Shadow Education and Allocation in Formal Schooling: Transition to University in Japan," *American Journal of Sociology* 97/6 (1992), p. 1642.

⁴⁵ Amano, *Nihon no kyōiku shisutemu*, p. 59.

promotion depended upon which university one attended.⁴⁶ The impact of the university entrance examination trickles down in the educational structure. Attending a high school with academic prestige increases the chance to pass the entrance examination for a prestigious university. Thus, the competition at the high school entrance examination is heightened, requiring junior high school students to dedicate their time for study.

Parental concerns about children's academic achievement, coupled with parents' declining ability to discipline their children as discussed in the previous section, contributed to the development of school rules on off-campus behavior. For example, a student guidance section chief of a junior high school in Kyoto told me that, in the 1970s, schools created a rule prohibiting students from entering video arcades that became popular and accessible in Japan. Parents requested schools to regulate students because the lure of video arcades might "distract students from what they were supposed to do."⁴⁷ Tetsuo Shimomura reports how parental concern about a student's academic progress led to rules limiting the number of hours during which students could watch television, as well as requiring students to eat breakfast.⁴⁸ In order to maintain children's focus exclusively upon academic preparation for entrance examinations, distractions such as television, and entertainment such as bowling or movies, needed to be lessened. Parents whose influence as disciplinarians had been diminishing turned to schools to regulate these potential distractions so that students would be able to focus upon their studies.

Discussion

This paper examined the affinity between social contexts of Japan's postwar development and school rules. Explanation based on cultural legacies rooted in Confucianism is vague to help us understand why some school rules were created in specific periods of economic and cultural development from the 1950s to the 1970s. This paper also questioned causal significance attributed to the surge in student violence because school rules had been an important part of Japanese education *before* violence in schools increased in the late 1970s. Although student violence in the late 1970s had significant

⁴⁶ Amano, *Nihon no kyōiku shisutemu*, pp. 59–60.

⁴⁷ Personal communication, June 12, 1999.

⁴⁸ Tetsuo Shimomura, "Kōsoku to seitoshidō wo kangaeru [Investigating School Rules and Student Guidance]," *Kyōiku shinri* 37 [Educational Psychology 37] (1989), pp. 8–9.

effects on schools' stricter enforcement of rules, this does not lead us to a full understanding of why schools set up those rules in the first place. In this paper, I have examined how particular contexts of Japan in the postwar period were consistent with the rationales of school rules, thus increasing their legitimacy and feasibility.

At a time of rapid economic and cultural development, responsibilities of schools in socialization and social control processes increased in Japan. Although this study deals with a single country, my findings can be a starting point for further conceptualization of the relationships between development and school regulations. As a conclusion to this article, I present the following four hypotheses that I hope will guide future attempts to understand such relationships:

1. In the process of economic development, the industrial sector needs disciplined workers who are loyal and conform to the structure and culture of the workplace. Schools meet the needs of the industry by setting regulations that train students for future careers.
2. As economic development contributes to the dissemination of non-traditional culture, a concern that individualistic culture accompanied by economic development may undermine the future of national progress increases. Schools respond to such concern by setting up and enforcing rules in order to lessen the impact of newly emerging culture on youth.
3. As the nuclear family increases and fathers work away from their homes for longer hours, socialization of children, especially in the disciplinary aspect, is less fulfilled in the family context. To make up for the decline of family socialization and discipline, schools set up rules to teach students appropriate attire and behavior.
4. In a nation with an established road to success through the entrance examination system, schools respond to demands by parents to regulate students' off-campus lifestyles so that students can concentrate on preparation for entrance exams.

I hope these four working hypotheses will make a modest contribution to setting a course of future research on the relationships between national

development and school rules. By comparing and contrasting with the processes of the emergence of school regulations in other countries, I hope future study will yield knowledge on the differences between nations on how school regulations are shaped in the process of national development. Such dissimilarity, in turn, will provide an opportunity to further understand the underlying operation of a possibly unique mechanism in Japanese institutions.

Featured Essay

TSUGARU GAKU: THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF CHIHŌGAKU TO JAPANESE STUDIES

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Japanese Studies, like any place-focused area of academic inquiry, can be narrow or broad depending on how one frames the field so as to generate interest. The focus of Japanese studies is obviously on the nation-state, but the trajectories of global economics and popular culture over the past three decades have caused a shift of emphasis in some research quarters from concentration on business to examining cultural phenomena such as *manga*, or comics. As the paradigm of “Japan as Number One” of the 1980s gave way to Japan’s “Lost Decade” of the 1990s, and the popularization of manga led to its ubiquity in multiple cultural centers around the world, one wonders what will drive the next thematic orientation of Japanese Studies. It is in this context that what is termed *chihōgaku* (also *chiikigaku*; Regional Studies) in general, and more specifically the emerging field of a highly place-specific body of research and literature called Tsugaru Gaku (Tsugaru Studies) becomes meaningful. As this article point outs, not only does the more focused study of the places of Japan brought by *chihōgaku* constitute an important turn in Japanese Studies overall, but the various studies of place that are being undertaken with this trend also make contributions in the continuing evolution of these places. This is significant given the current economic instability that characterizes central government functions and the accordant decentralization that is influencing Japanese rural society.

The Contributions of Studying Place

Various perspectives highlight the contributions that studying place can make, both to Japanese Studies as a whole and to the fate of the places that are being examined.

Regional, Area and Cultural Studies: The Value of Place in Japanese Studies

Taking *chiikigaku* from an applied scientific point of view, Hamamatsu (2003) sees the field as organized on two sets of opposing principles – “individuality” versus “comprehensiveness,” and “subject curiosity” versus “problem resolution” – which yields research as well as

real-world contributions in four outcome areas: identity confirmation, comprehensive understanding, specific problem resolution, and cooperative comprehensive outlooks. Identity confirmation, based on the combination of “individuality” and “subject curiosity,” aligns with folklore studies and arises out of focus on historical themes and geographic areas of interest. Comprehensive understanding, based on “comprehensiveness” and “subject curiosity,” operates to organize and disseminate this particular identity in a manner that contributes to its integration with other knowledge. Specific problem resolution, based on “individuality” and “problem resolution,” contextualizes the specific characteristics of a place within the context of a specified issue or social problem in a manner that some action, usually in the form of local government policy, can be undertaken. Finally, cooperative outlooks, based on “comprehensiveness” and “problem resolution,” organizes understanding into a broader scheme, a national policy level for example, such that the actions of multiple actors, often with divergent agendas, can be brought together. Hamamatsu concludes by bringing these separate outcomes, and the processes they yield, together into one unified discipline, *chiikigaku*, which, given the combined specialized efforts of multiple researchers, can contribute knowledge formation and problem resolution at local, national or international levels.

Taking up Asian Studies, and by extension, Japanese Studies, on the basis of the inherent tension within Area Studies between the particularity of a specific world region versus the universalism that is sought in most social science disciplines, Svambaryt (2005) asserts that, inevitably, the focus on place of such studies must be subject to the methodologies of Area Studies. These are largely supported by the theories of the multiple traditional academic disciplines that compose it. While based on highly specific factual information about the geography and history, the economic and political institutions, and the demographic trends operating in a specific part of the world or place within a nation-state, Area Studies-oriented inquiries that address broader themes are primarily concerned with comparisons and with speculations on the differences among countries and peoples. In terms of what such Area Studies research can accomplish and contribute to Japanese Studies, Svambaryt outlines two important approaches. The first supports the intensive study of the particular languages, cultures and histories of Japan, and is devoted to expanding the factual content of Japanese Studies. It is on the basis of this work that the second approach is possible, which is to encourage innovative thinking and practices related to the specific study of Japan, and, in this

sense, use the specific content of Japan Studies to contribute to the development of the methodologies of Area Studies in general.

Schafer (2009) expanded on these arguments under the broader disciplinary scope of Cultural Studies, citing Yoshimi (1998) in asserting that Cultural Studies in Japan must focus on using the “resources and experiences at hand” in order to “find within Japan’s historical and social context the origins constituting the core of contemporary media, pop-cultural, and technological culture” (159). However, as this local re-articulation brings with it the risk of particularization and self-orientalization, Schafer asserts the importance of Japanese Studies engaging in three additional intellectual tasks. The first is to adopt a foundation based on common terminology and comparable theoretical perspectives, opening up the possibility for wider access by the international academic community. The second is to ensure a pluralization of Japanese intellectual thought in such a way as to contribute to an emerging more-global articulation of Cultural Studies at large. In this sense, Japanese intellectualism can make a contribution to a global Cultural Studies phenomenon, but only if based on the prevailing global frameworks. The third task Schafer identifies for Japanese Studies is to overcome its inherent nationalism by re-examining the socio-cultural entity of Japan against the background of East Asia.

Local Studies: The Value of Studying Local Places for Those Places

Knapp (2003) outlines a framework that facilitates an understanding of the nature of places and their evolution as human and social institutions. The framework is based on the relationship between the institutional sphere of society and the individuals of that society, as this relationship forms the fundamental meeting place where a particular and unique social consciousness of the society is continually reproduced. Place is a phenomenon that is structured in the process of one’s everyday life and hence is based on the day-to-day practices of individuals. Place is also where individuals produce and continually reproduce their material and intellectual existence, which is structured through participation in social institutions and the actions and interactions with other people in these institutions and through the meanings that emerge on this basis. Although allowing this progression is neither uniform to all places, subject to a pre-ordained order, nor a part of all place trajectories. Knapp outlines how the institutionalization of a place on any analytical level occurs through four stages: the assumption of a territorial shape, the development of a

conceptual or symbolic shape, the development of the sphere of institutions of the place and the establishment of the place both as part of a system and as part of the consciousness of the place.

The first stage occurs as a place achieves its boundaries and becomes identified as a distinct unit, a fundamental requirement for the emergence of a local consciousness among inhabitants. The development of the place, both physically and conceptually, occurs simultaneously with the development of the institutions of the place, as this includes processes that establish the symbolic significance of the place that depends on communication between individual practices and emerging institutional structures. The turning point is when the co-emergence of conceptual entity and the institutions that are producing it becomes sufficient to yield a stable local consciousness. The existence of the place became complete with the full establishment and ongoing maintenance of the institutional structures in the place, the external relevance of the symbolic significance of the place and the continuance of the local consciousness among the inhabitants of the place.

Mang (2007) outlines the understanding of place as being based on six attributes on place, which are combined as dyads to understand the place in its reality, both historical and contemporary. The first dyad is made up of two places: being “bounded and distinctive in its identity,” which outlines how, as space becomes place through building definitional boundaries and meaning, it also acquires traits that set it apart from other comparable places; and being a “place as interconnected and nested,” which indicates that place relates to a distinctive spatial location, but one that is defined in its relationship to other places, as a nested phenomenon. This implies that there must be a balance between the internal identity of place and its connection with surrounding places. If a place becomes too inward, a closed-system will result; if a place becomes too open, the place as distinct will disappear.

The second dyad is comprised of “place as concentrating and enriching,” which holds that places organized the space within into a value and meaning-rich environment, together with “place as value-adding,” which implies that the creation of place is to engage in locating and identifying oneself within a larger place. This dyad holds that places must have meaning both internally, for the people of the place and externally, by being able to transform in the limited case or to create in a more expanded approach meaning for other places. Schafer (2009) expanded on these arguments under the broader disciplinary scope of Cultural Studies, citing

Yoshimi (1998) in asserting that Cultural Studies in Japan must focus on using the “resources and experiences at hand” in order to “find within Japan’s historical and social context the origins constituting the core of contemporary media, pop-cultural, and technological culture” (159). However, this local re-articulation brings with it the risk of particularization and self-orientalization. Schafer asserts the importance of Japanese Studies engaging in three additional intellectual tasks. The first is to adopt a foundation based on common terminology and comparable theoretical perspectives, opening up the possibility for wider access by the international academic community. The second is to ensure a pluralization of Japanese intellectual thought in such a way that contributes to an emerging more-global articulation of Cultural Studies at large. In this sense, Japanese intellectualism can make a contribution to a global Cultural Studies phenomenon, but only if based on the prevailing global frameworks. The third task Schafer identifies for Japanese Studies is overcome in its inherent nationalism by reexamining the socio-cultural entity of Japan against the background of East Asia, the essence of value adding.

The third dyad is based on a combination of place as “dynamic and evolving,” which combines the two dimensions of continual change with meaningful evolution, and place as “magnetic and ordering,” which holds that this meaning can be seen as attractive in its own right and organized in such a manner that it can be understood. Places must avoid becoming entrenched in patterns that present obstacles to change, while also maintaining their central cohering and unique patterns.

If *chihōgaku* and the specific case of Tsugaru Gaku are to be seen as contributing in some meaningful way to Japanese Studies, it will be based on whether such place-based studies can be assessed as contributing to this range of theorizing regarding the value of place in a particular area of study as above. If *chihōgaku* and the specific case of Tsugaru Gaku are to be seen as contributing in some meaningful way to the places on which they are based, this contribution will be based on whether such place-based studies can be assessed as contributing to the emergence, stable existence and future evolution of that place, as outlined above.

Chihōgaku and Tsugaru Gaku

According to Kanemori (2000), writing in the publication titled *Zenkoku chiikigaku handobukku* (National Regional Studies Handbook), there was an increasing level of *chiikigaku* (Regional Studies) activity

throughout Japan in the late 1990s, yielding 76 local “regional studies” groups at the time of publication. Organized by prefecture and municipalities, universities and other educational institutions, as well as non-profit organizations and citizen groups, this *chiikigaku* consisted of “excavating the appeal and potential in local history and culture, production and nature of these places” (Kanemori 2000:1). The emergence of Tsugaru Studies can be identified, in the form of the recently established semi-scholarly annual periodical *Tsugaru Gaku* (*Tsugaru Studies*, vols. 1–4) and two recently-published books, one in Japanese and the other bilingual (Japanese–English), bearing the titles *Tsugaru Gaku* (as for the periodical) and its English counterpart, *Tsugaru Studies*. The *Tsugaru Gaku* volumes focus on broad Tsugaru themes, along with articles and essays that describe local regional and folk beliefs, archeological history and contemporary society. The two books are more constrained and focused, constituting a more educational approach to Tsugaru Studies through what can be seen as “lecture note” chapters, twelve in one and fifteen in the other, of themes covered in a Tsugaru Studies course delivered at Hirosaki University, the largest university of Aomori Prefecture that is located in the heart of the Tsugaru District. In this periodical and these books, it is clear there is a notable local effort and interest, both in this place called Tsugaru and in the major educational institution in the place called Tsugaru, to establish a body of literature dedicated to what is being called Tsugaru Studies.

To further contextualize Tsugaru Studies as being representative of the potential of *chihōgaku* as an emerging theme in Japanese Studies, the following questions are important. Are these efforts, the assorted works they yield, simply a cumulative attempt to record the specific characteristics of a relatively unexamined place – and if so, is this attempt justified on the basis of legitimately unique characteristics and realized in a level of descriptive framing of value? Or rather, do these efforts contribute, in some substantive way, to a better understanding of Japan, both on a level beyond simply additional descriptions of additional places as well as by providing an advance in Japanese Studies as a whole?

In the inaugural volume of *Tsugaru Gaku*, the editors included a transcript of their original brainstorming session, which included ample references to the value of focusing on the specific characteristics of Tsugaru as the basis of Tsugaru Studies. In the second volume, an essay by Akasaka Norio (2006) considered this inward gaze, taking as an example the importance of making a transition in the orientation of a place-based body of research and writing known as Tōhoku Studies (the broader area within

Japan where the Tsugaru district is located) from simply place to something more, signaling a shift toward Tōhoku Studies as something more, whether Japanese Studies or Area Studies. The same argument can be made for Tsugaru Studies: if it is to be anything beyond local “navel-gazing,” then it must produce content that extends outside its own sphere of influence and speaks to academic interests on a wide scale and in an engaged manner. Contextualizing a relatively descriptive orientation, Sawada and Kitahara’s (2008) stated purpose in editing *An Introduction to Tsugaru Studies* was to provide a highly accessible introduction to the area for international students, who come to Tsugaru with a mix of differing academic objectives with varying levels of both Japanese and English skills. A significant portion of the initial effort in undertaking the work of establishing Tsugaru Studies must be in providing a window on the world that is Tsugaru in English. It is inevitable that the work of translating facts is a first step; the danger is that this first step can come to, if not replace, and detract from the effort of aiming for more meaningful content and conclusions. On the other hand, there is also the question as to how this local body of research contributes to the place internally, in parts of Hamamatsu’s *chiikigaku* outline and in Knapp’s and Mang’s frameworks for understanding the nature of places.

The Tsugaru District

The Tsugaru District comprises the western half of Aomori, the northernmost prefecture of Honshu, Japan. Aomori is the eighth largest of Japan’s 47 prefectures with a population of about one-and-a-half-million, which equals the sixth-lowest population density (154 residents per square kilometer, versus 335 for Japan as a whole and 5,410 for Tokyo; all data is from Yano tsuneda kinenkai 2006). The prefecture has negative population growth and a highly aged population (more than 20 percent over 65 years of age overall and as high as 30 percent in some towns and villages). Hirosaki City (population approximately 180,000) and Mount Iwaki (1,625 meters) are the core features of the Tsugaru District.

Far from Tokyo and the major political and commercial centers to the south, Aomori Prefecture has been characterized by limited access throughout its history. A rail link with the south connected Aomori to Tokyo’s Ueno Station in 1889, with the northernmost extension of the Tōhoku Expressway, providing a high-speed ground link from Tokyo to Aomori City (completed in 1986) and full-scale jet service capability to Aomori Airport (completed in 1987). The Shinkansen line to Hachinohe

City, located on the Pacific Ocean side of the Prefecture (completed in 2002), with the extension to the prefectural capital Aomori City completed in 2011. Aomori ranks low on virtually every economic indicator: from employment and income, to industrial production and small business sales. Annual per capita income for the Aomori Prefecture ranks 45th nationally and half that of Tokyo, with monthly real income per working household ranked 37th nationally. Fourteen percent of the prefectural labor force works in the primary sector, with another 25 percent in the secondary and just under 60 percent in the service sector.

The name “Tsugaru,” originally written as 津刈, first appeared in the *Nihon Shoki* (*Chronicle of Japan*), Japan’s oldest official history that dates back to the early-eighth century (Guo, et. al. 2005). Currently, the name is written with two *kanji*, 津軽, the first meaning “harbor” or “overflowing,” and the second, “light of weight.” Tsugaru can claim an ancient cultural heritage with the discovery of the Jōmon-Period (ca. 10,000 BCE–ca. 300 BCE) Sannai Maruyama archaeological site in the early 1990s. The site is one of the largest in Japan and has yielded a massive number of artifacts, including lacquerware, jade pendant heads, stone masks and pot shards that all dated from the early to mid-Jōmon period. Tsugaru Tamenobu (1550–1607) founded the castle town of Hirosaki in 1590, with the important task of defending the Tokugawa territories fell to the Tsugaru clan, providing the area its unofficial name. The Hirosaki Domain was reorganized into Aomori Prefecture in 1871, and although the political center was moved to Aomori City, the samurai of Hirosaki played an important role in the development of the new prefecture. In 1896, the Eighth Divisional Military Headquarters was established in Hirosaki, making it a Meiji “military capital.” Lacking the major industries that accompanied Japan’s imperialistic expansion of the period, this favor bestowed by the Meiji government was important economically as well as in terms of image.

Throughout the post-war period of national economic growth, poverty in Tsugaru has forced locals to seek work outside the area, in what is called *dekasegi*, a seasonal labor migration to the major metropolitan areas of Tokyo and Osaka. As outlined by Tanaka and Yamashita (1999), *dekasegi* peaked in the mid-1960s, during the height of the period of high economic growth in Japan, with numbers steadily declining since then. Most of the men worked as manual laborers in the construction industries, with the women working in the bar trade. *Dekasegi* continues today, with

some Tsugaru locals choosing it as a long-term lifestyle choice, with the availability of local seasonal agricultural work and the prospect of higher-than-local wages validating the *dekasegi* labor pattern as opposed to seeking long-term, stable local employment.

As part of the process of establishing the Tsugaru Domain, the Edo-period Tsugaru lords tapped into the symbolic power of religion, ordering construction of the Iwaki Shrine at the foot of Mount Iwaki and an area of temples in Hirosaki City itself. Belief in the Tsugaru *itako*, the blind female shaman believed to be able to communicate with the spirits of the dead, has long been prevalent and deeply rooted throughout the area and was an essential part of life in Tsugaru in times when many were dying of illness and poverty (Suda, et al. 1998). Tsugaru is also famous for its festivals, many of which are music and dance accompaniments to Shintō and Buddhist practice and which can be traced pre-modern times. The *Neputa* and *Nebuta* festivals of Tsugaru also speak to beliefs and practices of the past; however, these festivals are in fact more agricultural and community-oriented in origin than religious, an important indicator of the importance of the agricultural vis-à-vis the spiritual in the history of Tsugaru. As a cultural center through the Edo period, a variety of cultural figures emerged in the Tsugaru district beginning at the end of the Meiji period, among them novelists, poets and social critics respected for their contributions to modern Japanese intellectualism and literature (Guo, et. al. 2005). *Tsugaru-shamisen* and other local performing arts as well as Tsugaru lacquerware and the work of woodblock artist Munakata Shikō (1903–1975) have become highly regarded representative forms of Tsugaru's cultural base.

Tsugaru Studies

As will be outlined in detail below, what currently constitutes the now-emerging Tsugaru Studies is a mix of work that focuses on highly specific local themes, which reflect diverse disciplines and are published in various formats for different audiences in several languages. While the majority of what is being produced is in Japanese, there are now attempts on the part of numerous researchers to produce work related to Tsugaru in English. There are translations of Tsugaru-originating literary works into English, constituting a Tsugaru Literature component of Tsugaru Studies. There are also works in the social sciences as broadly considered, primarily in Japanese, but with translations into English in some cases and original work in English in others. There is a broad category of this work that is

targeted toward general local interest, and thus, produced in Japanese. This body of social scientific research can also be considered predominantly descriptive and consisting of descriptions of social phenomenon within established disciplines such as history, sociology, anthropology and ethnomusicology covering such specifically local themes as the establishment of the area and origins of the early ruling families, histories of early educational institutions, the history and current circumstances of local crafts and performing arts, and contemporary social phenomenon such as media and urbanism, identity and community as they operate in Tsugaru.

Tsugaru Studies: Local Academic Publications in Japanese

The content of regional studies consists of a local and often highly specific facts validates the form and content of the local publications, which may form a Japanese language basis of an emerging Tsugaru Studies. There is one main text that has emerged in Japanese, titled *Tsugaru Gaku* (Tsugaru Studies) and two main local periodical publications, *Tsugaru Gaku* and *Chiiki Gaku* (Region Studies), that constitute an ongoing basis of this creation of Tsugaru Studies, each with a distinctive profile in terms of academic standards and general accessibility at a local and national level.

The text *Tsugaru Gaku*, edited by Tsuchimochi (2009) and based on lectures provided to Japanese students in a general education course on Tsugaru conducted at Hirosaki University, is comprised of twelve chapters covering: Hirosaki Neputa Art, the history of Tsugaru shamisen, the culture and history of Tsugaru *nuri* lacquerware, local author Ishizaka Yōjirō, Dazai Osamu's history at Hirosaki High School, Tsugaru dialect in poetry, the world of Terashima Shuji, contemporary Tsugaru literature, the history of the Hirosaki clan, the introduction of Western ideas to Tsugaru (parts I and II), and the history of Hirosaki High School (all translations from Japanese to English are by the current author). Functional as a course text, *Tsugaru Gaku* offers much in the way of establishing a knowledge base for Tsugaru Studies in Japanese.

Contrasting the text *Tsugaru Gaku* are the periodicals, for which the range of topics that constitute the content as well as the range of research, literary approaches, and objectives represented is nothing short of inspiring. These are primarily for local, and to a lesser degree, regional and national consumption, with the caveat that local consumption represents the widest range of readers, with regional and national readership comprised more of specialists dedicated to area studies as an academic discipline. *Chiiki Gaku*, with the subtitle "Toward Understanding (the) Region," was

first published in 2002 by the Hirosaki Gakuin University Regional Comprehensive Cultural Research Center and now includes seven volumes (as of 2009). Published in Hirosaki, the content is predominantly Tsugaru-centered, but also includes regional themes originating in other areas and is highly academic in its appearance and approach.

The periodical *Tsugaru Gaku*, clearly Tsugaru centered in name as well as content, was first published in the fall of 2005, with volumes 2, 3 and 4 coming semi-regularly thereafter. Published by the *Tsugaru ni manabu kai* (The Tsugaru Studies Group), in cooperation with the Tōhoku Cultural Studies Center of Tōhoku University of Art and Design, and joining other northern Tōhoku Studies research periodicals – *Aizu Gaku*, *Sendai Gaku*, *Morioka Gaku*, and *Murayama Gaku* – each volume is based on a theme that constitutes a public lecture for Tsugaru Studies, held in the summer at Hirosaki University, but also accepts contributions from other institutions and accepts both academic- and essay-style articles in objective and form.

The four themes have been the central mountain and river of the area (Mount Iwaki and the Iwaki River), the life of the people of the Tsugaru area (*Tsugaru-jin no jinsei*), the power of Tsugaru as a place realized in memory (*ba no chikara chi no kioku*) and Tsugaru as a source of energy (*jawameku Tsugaru*). In addition to being organized to appeal to general readers through content of local interest, use of abundant photographs and a highly attractive layout with varying text fonts (a significant contrast to *Chiiki Gaku*), is a shift in focus from highly locally specific work in the early volumes to more universal and theoretical work being included in the content in later volumes. Whereas Volume 1 includes a majority of articles that could be considered as focusing explicitly on local content, Volume 2 saw an increase in the number of “universalistic” articles and Volume 3 saw the inclusion of “theoretical” content.

Examples of explicitly local content can be seen in such titles as *Snow Patterns on Mt. Iwaki* (Vol. 1), *Remembering the Ground Blizzards* (Vol. 2), and *Tsugaru-theme Artwork* (Vol. 3), whereas articles that connect to universalistic academic themes can be seen in *Origins of Religious Beliefs Associated with Mt. Iwaki* (Vol. 1), *Media and Tsugaru Life* (Vol. 2) and *Praying at the Mountaintop* (Vol. 3), for example. Finally, theoretical connections and contributions can be seen in such content as *Memories from Places: the Creativity of Space* (Vol. 3) and *The Latent Power of Place: Tsugaru* (Vol. 3).

Tsugaru Gaku, Volume 1

Theme: Mount Iwaki and the Iwaki River: the Fixed Points for Observing Tsugaru

Views of the Iwaki River: Gazing at Mt. Iwaki

Table Discussion: Mt. Iwaki and the Iwaki River as the Center of Tsugaru Life

Lifestyles near the River

The Jōmon Era in Tsugaru

Snow Patterns on Mt. Iwaki

Cosmology and the Tsugaru Area

Folktales of the Tsugaru Area

Wildlife of Mt. Iwaki

Mt. Iwaki and the Oyama Sankei

The DNA of Tsugaru Festivals

Origins of Religious Beliefs Associated with Mt. Iwaki

Historical Perspectives on Tsugaru

Tsugaru Gaku, Volume 2

Theme: Life of the Tsugaru People: the Will to Escape and a Longing to Return

Tsugaru and Relations with the Frontline of Old Fukui Prefecture

Remembering the Jifubuki (Ground Blizzard)

Apples of the Iwaki River Area

Tsugaru People

Photos of Tsugaru Life

Background to Tsugaru Life

Discussion of Tsugaru Life

Hallowed Ground of Tsugaru

The Humor of the Tsugaru People

Archeology of Tsugaru Life

Media and Tsugaru Life

Building Tokyo: Living in Tsugaru

Population Decline in Tsugaru: the Succession of Generations

From Tōhoku Studies to Regional Studies

Tsugaru Gaku, Volume 3

Theme: Memories of Place from the Power of Place

Tsugaru-themed Artwork

The Komise (Small Store) Street

The Leaders of the Tsugaru Paddy Area Development
 Remembering Tsugaru
 Mt. Iwaki and the “Let’s Walk” Oyama Sankei Event
 Praying at the Mountain Top
 Hallowed Ground of Tsugaru
 The Power of a Life Lived in a Cold Climate
 Remembering Old Scenes: Art and Maps of the Past
 The Latent Power of Place: Tsugaru
 Memories of Place from the Power of Place
 Memories from Places: the Creativity of Space
 The Key to the Future of Regional Culture
 The Power of Connecting to a Place

Tsugaru Gaku, Volume 4

Theme: Tsugaru as a Source of Energy

A Tsugaru Photo-essay

Stories of Hirosaki Castle

Lecture Theme 1: Tsugaru as Modernistic Dynamism

Peninsula as Tsugaru

Modernism at the Edge

Seasonal Labor Migration and Care Culture

Lecture Theme 2: The Magnetism of Heartful Songs

Tsugaru Melodies that Gush Forth

A Genealogy of Tsugaru Heartful Songs

Prayers Accompanying the Nitta Area Development

Regional History based on the Flow of Water: Towns on Local Rivers

Fieldwork: Hirosaki University Sociology Research Group and Ikarigaseki Village

Composers from Tsugaru: Uehara Gentaro

Tsugaru Studies: Research and Literary Works in English

The academic and literature-based works that are connected in some way with Tsugaru and have been published in English contrast drastically with the wide-ranging character of the content of the periodicals *Chiiki Gaku* and *Tsugaru Gaku*. This section outlines the academic and literature-based work that exists on Tsugaru in English, efforts that helps to create Tsugaru Studies at an international level.

Academic-oriented Tsugaru Research in English

In the mid-1990s, two researchers at Aomori University attended a lecture on the origins of Tsugaru *shamisen* music given by Daijō Kazuo, an independent Tsugaru shamisen historian and player. The content inspired the two to take up translation of Daijō's *Tsugaru shamisen no tanjō: minzoku genō no seisei to ryūsei* (1995), producing in 1998 *The Birth of Tsugaru Shamisen Music: the Origin and Development of a Japanese Folk Performing Art*, which was published with support from the Aomori Regional Social Research Center and by Aomori University Press (Suda, et. al. 1998). The primary theme of the book is historical, but the content references such universal social scientific themes as creative marginality and the characteristics of creativity in traditional music production. Interest in and further research and publication on Tsugaru shamisen can be seen to also have created with Groemer's *The Spirit of Tsugaru* (1999), to where numerous academic papers have now been published on the subject (see Peluse 2005, Johnson 2006).

The efforts of one Tsugaru-based academic to read a local newspaper every day for one year yielded *A Year with the Local Newspaper: Understanding the Times in Aomori Japan, 1999* (Rausch 2001). While a personal endeavor in its origin, the contents of *A Year with the Local Newspaper*, predominantly being a selection of newspaper articles translated into English and contextualized with necessary background information, link to universal sociological themes that include peripherality and revitalization and portray a year of life in contemporary rural Japan.

A group research effort in early 2000 produced a multi-disciplinary and multi-perspective view of Tsugaru, resulting in *Tsugaru no rekishi to bunka wo shiru* (*Knowing Tsugaru's History and Culture*) in 2004, with an English version titled *Tsugaru: Regional Identity on Japan's Northern Periphery* and published with a Japan Foundation Grant a year later (Guo, et. al. 2005). Reflecting the disciplinary background of the contributors, the themes taken up include the establishment of Tsugaru identity and the transformation of this identity in the 20th century, Christianity in Tsugaru, the "Tsugaru" literature of Dazai Osamu and Osabe Hideo, and Tsugaru shamisen music and Tsugaru nuri lacquerware. According to one review, the work "not only improves our understanding of the Tsugaru region of northern Japan, but also highlights the importance of regional studies and suggests a variety of ways in which regional identity can be assessed and used to improve overall understanding of Japan's past

and present” (Penny 2005: 216). However, the book ultimately makes only a limited contribution to Area Studies, as it lacks both any reference to Area Studies as a research objective as well as any attempt to integrate the separate pieces into a holistic whole.

In 2008, two Tsugaru-based researchers collected and translated 15 papers in a text titled *An Introduction to Tsugaru Studies*, with the purpose of creating a textbook “for international students studying regional culture at Hirosaki University” (Sawada and Kitahara 2008: 3). Almost an exact mirror of the textbook *Tsugaru Gaku*, the text covers history, culture – comprised of language, literature, music and crafts, folklore, and nature. Complete as a textbook that serves as an introduction to the place, the book offers a further contribution in this regard in its inclusion of chapters on the Ainu of Honshu, the characteristics of Tsugaru dialect, three highly local crafts (lacquerware, indigo dying and kogin stitching), the local spirit mediums called *itako* and the Shirakami-sanchi (Shirakami Mountain Area) World Heritage Site.

Tsugaru Literature in English

The first piece of literature that most readers interested in Tsugaru look to is Osamu Dazai’s 1944 work aptly titled *Tsugaru*, which was translated into English in 1985 as *Return to Tsugaru: Travels of a Purple Tramp* (by Kodansha International) by James Westerhoven and revised and republished in 1998 as *Tsugaru* by Access 21 Publishing Company of Aomori City, Aomori Prefecture, Japan. Known for its dark and pessimistic portrayal of Tsugaru, the notoriety of the work in Japanese has brought the attention of many literary and Japan Studies scholars alike.

However, more indicative of the emergence of Tsugaru Literature as Tsugaru Studies are two translation efforts undertaken after 2000. In 2007, Sawada translated the works of Ishizaka Yōjirō’s autobiographical *Wagahi wagayume* into *My Days, My Dreams*, subtitled with *Stories from a Boyhood in Northern Japan* (Ishizaka 2007). It is interesting to note Ishizaka’s rejection of Dazai’s use of his own sense of inferiority, presumably based on his place of birth, to provide the despair that comprises much of his work, opting instead to portray Tsugaru as a place where “the sky is blue, the clouds are white, the apples are red and the women are beautiful” (Ishizaka 2007: 11). The six short stories of Ishizaka’s are titled: *Manners and Customs* (1933), *The Mural* (1934), *The Mountain* (1934), *Yanagi Theater* (1940), *The Holy People* (1935), and *Mountain Hot Springs* (1941).

A similar work, but one more extensive in scope in that it includes several authors and a variety of genres, and with contextualization of the place that provided the backdrop for the literature, is *Voices from the Snow: Tsugaru in Legend, Literature, and Fact*, edited by James Westerhoven (2009), of Dazai's *Tsugaru* fame. The work includes two stories by Kyōzō Takagi, translated as "Grannies' Lodge" and "Yasaburō's House," three by Osabe Hideo, translated as "Tsugaru Jonkarabushi," "Tsugaru Yosarebushi," and "A Voice in the Snow." The work also includes a descriptive chapter on Tsugaru songs and ballads, a chapter that presents two Tsugaru legends, and five "academic essays" that contextualize the place, the culture, Tsugaru shamisen music, Tsugaru folk religion, and Tsugaru beliefs regarding *oni* (demons).

Conclusion: The Contribution of Tsugaru Studies

The objective of this article was to identify what the current *chihōgaku* trend can contribute to Japanese Studies overall and to identify what this *chihōgaku* activity in its highly localized form can contribute to the places. The paper opened by introducing outlines and assertions by several researchers that can guide in such an assessment and followed by detailing the trend of Tsugaru Gaku, as Tsugaru Studies of the Tsugaru District of Aomori Prefecture, as an example of *chihōgaku* that presently developing.

Taking up first what Tsugaru Gaku can offer to Japanese Studies, Hamamatsu's (2003) systematic approach to understanding *chihōgaku* yielded four outcome areas: identity confirmation, comprehensive understanding, specific problem resolution and cooperative comprehensive outlooks. The *Tsugaru Gaku* periodical can be viewed as addressing local "identity confirmation," essentially putting down the foundation of local identity in a print form for local consumption. The research work that has been translated into English along with that that has been originally published in English contributes to a "comprehensive understanding and outlooks" outcome, as it organizes and disseminates this local knowledge for external consumption, presumably by an informed audience. While no "specific problem" consciousness has been identified in Tsugaru, some of the themes taken up do relate to such broader national (if not international) issues such as a rural aging population and the dynamics, economic and social, of decentralization within a nation-state.

Tsugaru is clearly fulfilling Svambaryt's (2005) focus on language, culture and history as contributing to a factual expansion of

Japanese Studies, in both the Japanese research as well as the research produced in English. Success in adopting common terminology and effecting a pluralizing of Japanese intellectual history as espoused by Schafer (2009) rest more on the attention of translators and English-based researchers in regard to the former point and more with the acceptance of Tsugaru Gaku as legitimate within the broader Japanese intellectual community than with the Tsugaru Gaku researchers themselves in regard to the latter.

As for what Tsugaru Gaku can offer to Tsugaru itself in terms of Knapp's (2003) four stages, the assumption of a territorial shape is impossible for Tsugaru, as is the development of institutions since the historical trajectory of the area saw a dramatic post-Edo period shift from being a Tsugaru clan-controlled frontier domain to becoming a part of a prefecture stretching from the west to east coast in 1871. That notwithstanding, the conceptual and symbolic shape of Tsugaru has remained tremendously powerful, not just in the local agricultural and cultural commodities of the area, but in language, practice, and custom; for example, in *Tsugaru ben* (Tsugaru dialect), in the literature of Tsugaru, and in the notion of *Tsugaru jikan* (Tsugaru time), the practice of being just a bit late to everything, together with being patient of others also being just a bit late to everything. This has yielded a contemporary symbolic presence and a place consciousness for Tsugaru, which includes place awareness outside of Tsugaru, irrespective of the institutional structures component that Knapp prioritizes.

Taking Mang's (2007) thematic dyads to understanding place, the first holds that place has identity and is interconnected. As above, Tsugaru clearly produces an identity (despite it not having definitional boundaries) and is nested as part of Aomori Prefecture, the Tōhoku District and as well, as part of the *chihōgaku* trend that has produced the northern Tōhoku Studies research periodicals – *Aizu Gaku*, *Sendai Gaku*, *Morioka Gaku* and *Murayama Gaku*. On the other hand, its interconnectedness is ultimately limited for no other reason than by virtue of Tsugaru's geography. Tsugaru is at the end of the road on the northern-most and western-most tip of Honshu Island. As for the second and third dyads, the assessment becomes more complex. The second dyad is comprised of place as enriching and value-adding, with the third dyad comprised of place as dynamic but with order. The degree to which Tsugaru Gaku contributes to the dynamism and enrichment of Tsugaru life is fairly limited, if for no other reason than, first and foremost, the efforts to "produce" Tsugaru Gaku are less about creating

local culture than cataloguing, describing and interpreting local culture. However, these efforts can be seen as bringing order to an otherwise confused and little understood expanse of local knowledge by locals and creating a value-added component to this culture, simply through its dissemination within and outside the area.

As a concluding statement, it would appear that the social science work of *Tsugaru Gaku*, produced in Japanese and as well in English as *Tsugaru Studies*, can make a contribution to Japanese Studies. However, one could also say that this depends less on the efforts of the local researchers than on the attention to and willingness to engage with this body of work on the part of the Japanese *chihōgaku* academic community and the Japanese Studies international community. It would also appear that the dissemination of *Tsugaru Gaku* within Tsugaru, through the local publications can make a contribution to the place that is Tsugaru, through identity confirmation as well as bringing order out of chaos and creating value in image – all despite a lack of distinct boundary and accordant institutional structures. While this can be said based on the social science-based work of the periodicals and research, the role of *Tsugaru* literature, while lending to this conclusion, also begs for further analysis. Indeed, the *chihōgaku* phenomenon in general, and *Tsugaru Gaku* and *Tsugaru Studies* specifically, provide for the perfect case study for untangling the complex, yet combinative contributions of social science research and local literature published in Japanese for local consumption in the sustenance of place and the same social science-oriented research, along with the translated literature of *Tsugaru* published in English for external consumption in the advancement of Japanese Studies.

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Book Reviews

Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007. 320 pp. ISBN 978-0822340003 (paperback), \$24.95.

Reviewed by Susan Lee

As its title indicates, historian Kim Brandt's *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* is an examination of the Mingei movement and its active deployment and complicity in the political maneuverings of a colonially ambitious Japan during the interwar era. *Mingei* was a neologism coined in the mid-1920s by Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889–1961) and soon developed into a theory and institution that privileged the beauty of folk-craft made by unknown craftsmen of rural Japan as the supreme expression of an innately native aesthetic. The book springs from the research and analysis of the author's Ph.D. dissertation, "The Folk-Craft Movement in Early Showa Japan, 1925–1945" (Columbia University, 1996) and constitutes a welcome addition to critically rigorous examinations of the Mingei phenomenon that have appeared in the past two decades.¹

According to the author, what distinguishes *Kingdom of Beauty* from other studies of Japanese folk-craft is her attempt to expand the discourse on Mingei by widening the focus away from Yanagi, the canonized aesthetic genius and the movement's putative "founder." Brandt effectively demonstrates that the complex of concepts and values connected to Mingei cannot be attributed to one man nor limited within the bounds of an aesthetic theory. Contrary to the arguments of the standard narrative, not only were many more individuals, as well as institutions, involved in the

¹ Prominent publications in the English language are Brian Moeran's *Folk Art Potters of Japan: Beyond an Anthropology of Aesthetics* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1997), itself a reworking of an earlier publication, *Lost Innocence: Folk Craft Potters of Onta, Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), and Yuko Kikuchi's *Japanese Modernisation and Mingei Theory* (New York: Routledge, 2004). Scholars writing in Japanese have included Takenaka Hitoshi, *Yanagi Sōetsu, mingei, shakai riron: karuchraru sutadizu no kokoromi* (Tokyo: Akashi shoten, 1999) and Hamada Takuji, *Mingei undō to chiiki bunka: mintō sanchi no bunka chirigaku* (Tokyo: Shibunkaku, 2006).

far-reaching movement, the concept of Mingei wielded influence in state policy within and without the national boundaries and mobilized reforms to daily life patterns and habits of the Japanese and “East Asian” peoples. Furthermore, Mingei served as an effective tool for Japan in her colonialist projects.

Brandt focuses on the time span between 1920 and 1945 as she identifies distinct phases in which the concept of Mingei and the scope of its meanings shifted in dramatic ways. Chronologically organized, Chapter 1 examines the activities of Korean pottery enthusiasts Yanagi, Asakawa Noritaka (1884–1964), and Akaboshi Gorō (1897–?) in the mid-1910s to mid-1920s. These men’s appraisals of Koryo (935–1392) and Choson (1392–1910) dynasty ceramics earned them positions of authority in the world of ceramics connoisseurship; their analyses and ruminations also served as the building blocks of a new theory of folk-craft. Chapter 2 describes the “process” (p. 38) of the “defining and redefining of Mingei” that occurred over the span from the late 1920s to the early 1930s.

As the author argues, in contradiction to the conventional canonization of the “Mingei triumvirate” of Yanagi, Hamada Shōji (1894–1978), and Kawai Kanjirō (1890–1966) as the master aesthetes who “discovered” the true value of Japanese folk-craft in the mid-1920s, the concept of Mingei was constituted over many years and “within a larger social and cultural context” (p. 39). In fact, it wasn’t merely the domestic environment, but broader fields in which many different voices in various places of the world were concerned with the role of art in rapidly changing modes of life. The discovery of folk art issued from the “nineteenth-century impulse to idealize the national past” and constituted an “antimodernist reaction against urban industrialization” (p. 1); William Morris (1834–1896), John Ruskin (1819–1900), and the British Arts and Crafts movement are just a few examples of the world-wide phenomenon. However, in the Japanese case, activists such as Yanagi saw in valorization of the “folk” a means not only to overcome the perceived ills of modernity but also an effective instrument in the effort to stem domination by imperialist Western powers.

In Chapter 3, Brandt discusses recognizably sharp changes in the ways Mingei was further redefined (evident in the newly coined term “new Mingei” or *shin Mingei*). Changes were effected in production and consumption of Mingei as it began to be marketed to a wider group of middle-class consumers. With Chapters 4 and 5, the author focuses on the relationship between Mingei activism and institutions complicit in the

state's colonialist projects. The first of these final chapters looks at domestic efforts to cultivate what was perceived as a truly native way of life (*seikatsu bunka* or "daily life culture"), a step in the fascist effort to cultivate a sense of ethno-national unity. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, the state didn't just recognize "the potential for an updated national aesthetic" (p. 5), but they saw in Mingei a means to reform everyday behavior. The "idealized vision of rural productivity" (p. 136) and the "social harmony of premodern communal forms" (p. 126) imagined and celebrated in the theory of Mingei was actively promoted by the state as the style of living (*seikatsu bunka*) to be adopted by all Japanese. The latter chapter takes the reader to Korea, north China, Manchukuo, and Okinawa as Mingei activists became involved in the construction of a "Greater East Asian culture" (*Dai tōa bunka no kensetsu*) (p. 196); the imagined community of "East Asians" fit the rationale for Japanese domination.

Kingdom of Beauty makes a valuable contribution to the critical examination of folk cultural discourses in Japan in the interwar era. While discovery of the folk and its deployment in modernist and antimodernist projects is evidenced in many parts of the world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the import of the discourse in Japan and its long life and breadth of influence is noteworthy. Brandt does an excellent job of highlighting significant events within the twenty-five-year span that is the focus of her study. The narrowed boundaries of her examination allows her to conduct a historically grounded analysis of the movement; the reach of Mingei ideas and its associations with other movements with shared conceptual and political foundations can easily allow the material to become unwieldy.

However, at certain points in her discussion, widening the context of her analyses may have yielded intriguing insights. For example, a brief discussion on how the movement compared to and intersected with similar projects (such as the proletarian arts movements of the 1920s and 1930s) would have been welcome. The flow of ideas, objects, and people across national boundaries marked both phenomena. Many non-Japanese activists saw in Mingei and proletarian literature and art a means to resist Japanese colonialism. How were the concepts underlying the theory so malleable to serve such varying ends? Furthermore, *Kingdom of Beauty* could have further explored the many fascinating areas of ambivalence both in the theorization and practice of Mingei production and promotion. What of the conflicts between its fundamental tenet of privileging the unknown craftsman and the vital role of celebrity "artist" potters like Hamada Shōji?

The author could also have done a better job of recognizing the contributions of scholars such as Moeran, Kikuchi, Takenaka, and Hamada to the recent field of literature on Mingei, thereby engaging with salient issues within this body of scholarship. In sum, however, Brandt's *Kingdom of Beauty* is a well-written and thoughtful addition to the important phenomenon of the global concern with the "folk" and the significant political and cultural uses the concept yielded (in case of Japan, continues to yield) to various agents in recent history.

J. Charles Schencking, *Making Waves: Politics, Propaganda, and the Emergence of the Japanese Navy 1868–1922*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005. 283 pp. ISBN: 978-0804749770 (hardcover), \$60.00.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

Any visitor to Tokyo at the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868–1912) would have stared in disbelief if told that Japan would become one of the world's great naval powers in less than half a century. Early Meiji Japan was a poor agricultural state with a small weak army and no navy to speak of. The effort by the Satsuma and Choshu domains and their allies to overthrow the Tokugawa shogunate in the late 1860s was accomplished by army units with only marginal naval support. Strategic concerns of the new Meiji governments in its early years revolved around consolidating control and suppressing potential armed rebellions at home rather than trying to project Japan's power overseas. As author J. Charles Schencking, a professor of Japanese history at the University of Melbourne, notes that due to the seclusionist policies of the Edo period (1600–1868) “the Meiji government...inherited neither a spirited naval tradition nor state-of-the-art equipment to serve as the foundation for future naval development” (2).

Despite this rather inauspicious beginning, by the time of the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), Japan had developed a powerful enough navy to demolish the Russian navy. By the early 1920s, Japan possessed the third largest naval fleet in the world which its military successes in the Sino-Japanese (1894–1895), Russo-Japanese Wars, and World War I commanded respect both in Japan and abroad. Naval expansion accelerated in the 1920s and 1930s despite warnings from some quarters that in a naval race Japan could never effectively compete with the vast resources of the United States and that southward expansion might precipitate a conflict with the Americans, the British or other Western powers. By 1938, Japanese military spending reached an astounding 70 percent of Japan's total overall expenditures.

Professor Schencking's goal is to analyze the growth of Japan's navy into a major world force. This expansion required not only access to the most modern naval technology, but also the know-how and large amount of money needed to sustain this growth. Acquiring funding required that naval leaders develop strong political skills and useful political alliances. Schencking writes:

Though often overlooked by military historians interested in battles or military hardware, navies required vast amounts of annual funding to purchase, construct and maintain warships, land-based infrastructure, naval institutions, and personnel. To fund such programs, admirals in navies around the globe, but particularly those in countries with newly emerging navies that possessed no naval tradition to build upon, found it necessary to implement imaginative and persuasive means to persuade politicians and the public to support the expensive cause of naval development. In doing so, navies significantly altered politics, empire and society in pursuit of their narrower and more parochial concerns, namely larger budgets. Nowhere was this more evident than in Japan. Moreover, owing to Japan's constitution, nowhere did a military service exhibit a greater ability to shape national policies, society and empire than in Japan. (5)

Japan's military expansion came a century ago when other major powers were also building up their armies and navies. Political power in Japan in the early twentieth century began to shift away from the narrow oligarchy that had guided Japan through the earlier years of the Meiji era and into Japanese politicians and parties in the Diet. Having to work with Japan's elected politicians necessitated the formation of political alliances, and fortunately for naval leaders, they found beneficial allies in the Seiyūkai political party, the chief parliamentary force in late Meiji and early Taishō (1912–1926) periods:

The Seiyūkai, under the cabinets of Yamamoto, Hara and Saionji, supported naval expansion primarily because of the political stability that working with the navy brought to politics and also because party leaders quickly realized the need to accommodate and work constructively with non-party elites in order to gain further access to positions of power and influence, above all the prime ministership. With political stability and an important nonparty elite ally, the Seiyūkai obtained greater power, and once in a position of elite-level influence, implemented policies their leaders desired and programs they coveted geared toward further

increasing party power....It was a party of pragmatic opportunists, a trait the Seiyūkai shared with the navy. (225)

Naval leaders worked hard to cultivate public support for its major expansion programs. Voters who are impressed with the navy and imbued with a sense of nationalism might be inclined to vote for politicians and a party that supported a growing naval program. The navy became very adept at producing pro-navy propaganda and vast displays of pageantry including flotillas of ships on Tokyo Harbor. Mastering the art of winning political and popular support opened the way for the necessary funding for a bigger and more modern navy.

Professor Schencking's *Making Waves* is an impressive scholarly achievement. This work is especially important because there have been very few published works in the West on the building of Japan's modern navy. The author's key contribution here is his study of the political process involved that made this expansion possible. In this sense, it is truly a piece of groundbreaking scholarship. Although Schencking has an occasional penchant for meandering sentences that seem to go on forever, his writing is generally lucid and reader-friendly. His research is based on an impressive body of research materials. In short, *Making Waves* is a masterpiece that belongs on the shelves of every major university library.

Walter A. Skya, *Japan's Holy War: The Ideology of Radical Shinto Ultrationalism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. 385 pp. ISBN 978-0822344230 (paperback), \$26.95.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Métraux

Even though I have studied, researched, and taught modern Japanese history for over four decades, one of the great mysteries I have encountered is the true essence of the fanatical nationalism that appeared in Japan in the late years of the Meiji era and became a major force from the late 1920s to the end of World War II. Numerous scholars have written about various aspects of this nationalism, but it is very difficult to find a coherent study that attempts a very in-depth comprehensive view of this phenomenon. Perhaps the closest more popular study is George Wilson's seminal work, *Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki 1883–1937*, but this book concentrates almost entirely on the life and thought of just one man. The great benefit of Walter Skya's *Japan's Holy War: The Ideology of Radical Shinto Ultrationalism* is that while there is a very excellent chapter on Ikki that updates Wilson's now-outdated book, Skya looks at the whole panorama of Japanese fascism.

Many Western scholars often carelessly lump Japanese "fascism" with that of Germany or Italy, but even a superficial study of Japanese nationalism before World War II reveals vast differences. Walter A. Skya, a Visiting Assistant Professor of History at Colby College, asserts that this nationalism evolved from a fundamentalist Shinto movement promoted by a group of writers in the late 1800s and early 1900s. This ultrationalism focused on the unique qualities of Japan and suggested the Emperor of Japan was sacred and that Japan possessed a divine oneness that made it superior to other states.

Skya finds many parallels between this Shinto-based ultrationalism and contemporary radical Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. The strong reaction of some Japanese nationalists to their nation's adoption of many Western ideas, such as liberal democracy and socialism, is somewhat similar to the ideology of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and the subsequent growth of radical Islam. Skya notes that this "transformation of the ideology of State Shinto in contestation with liberal democracy and socialism strongly suggests that creeping democracy and the secularization of the political order in Japan in the early twentieth century were the principal factors responsible for breeding terrorism and radicalism,

a political trajectory from secularism to religious fundamentalism similar...[to Iran]...and in the broader radicalization of much of the Islamic world” (p. 10).

Skya’s main thesis is that there was a major shift in the thinking and direction of State Shinto in the Taishō and early Showa eras. He explains that “while the fundamental structures of the Meiji state remained largely intact, a hidden revolution in the realm of religious thought and state ideology had taken place...By the end of the 1930s, extreme nationalists had taken over the state by employing radical religious fundamentalist ideas to sublate the advocates of all competing ideologies” (p. 12). There were, of course, many Japanese with competing ideologies who tried to contest the moves of the ultranationalists, but by the end of the 1930s, these extremists had succeeded in their mission to take over the state and to crush the advocates of competing ideologies.

Part of the blame, Skya contends, for this development was in fact the Meiji constitution itself. Its framers refused to put in any balance of power institutions that are found in many Western constitutions. All power was put in the hands of the Emperor, so whichever group dominated the core of the government in effect could dispose of any opposition. The constitution made the office of Prime Minister fairly weak and the military an independent branch subject only to the control of the Emperor. Thus, no government could be formed without the consent of the military, which in turn could embark on military adventures without any checks imposed by the Prime Minister or any other branch of government.

Another of Skya’s key themes pertains to the worldview of Shinto ultra-nationalists. Their goal was the establishment of a new world order based on the concept of Japanese imperial rule that was to replace the Wilsonian-inspired world order of “democratic internationalism” that had been institutionalized through the League of Nations after World War I. Again, it was this so-called “divine oneness” of the Japanese nation that was an attribute not shared by any other people. China, for example, was not such a nation, but rather a congregation of people who occupied a territory of no sacred significance. Therefore, the rule of the Japanese emperor should have encompassed the globe since no other people could stand on an equal level with the pure Japanese in their sacred land. Thus, the worldview of these proponents of Shinto ultranationalism was that the war that they waged in the Pacific was a civilizational and religious conflict between a divinely governed theocratic Japanese empire and a secular global order created and controlled by the imperialist nations of the West.

Here we see also a dose of pure racism where the Japanese saw themselves as being superior not only to other Asians, especially Chinese, but also to the Europeans and Americans. Clearly, the phrase, “Asia for the Asians,” meant an Asia dominated by the Japanese. Interestingly, my own research on the Asian writings of American author Jack London (1876–1916) indicates that he was one of the first Western writers in the very early 1900s who perceived this disturbing trend in the thinking of some Japanese that he met.

Skya adds that this attitude of the superiority and uniqueness of the Japanese nation made it impossible for Japan to have any true Asian allies during the war. How could they, when Japan at the time clearly saw itself as being superior to any of the nations that it was invading, and believed that Japan should be the leader of a new world order which other Asian nations should follow for their own good? “Asia for the Asians” was clearly Asia for the Japanese.

This work is an in-depth study of the ideology of State Shinto from the promulgation of the Meiji Constitution in February 1889 to the publication of the *Kokutai no hongi* [Fundamentals of Our National Polity] and Japan’s intensified invasion of China in 1937. Skya notes that “one of the significant discoveries of this study is that a transformation of the internal structure of the ideology of State Shinto did occur from a theory of constitutional monarchy inspired by Imperial Germany, established by Ito Hirobumi and his colleagues, to a theory of absolute monarchy in the political thought of Hozumi Yatsuka in the late 1890s, and then to mass-based totalitarian ideologies in the constitutional theories of Uesugi Shinkichi and Kakehi Katsuhiko in the Taisho period” (p. 10).

Skya interestingly contends that the transformation of the ideology of State Shinto came, as noted above, in a rather dramatic contestation with the proponents of liberal democracy and socialism, and that the apparent trends towards democracy and the secularization of the nation’s political order early in the last century were the main factors responsible for breeding the terrorism and radicalism of the early Showa period. This transformation saw the movement from a quasi-religious or quasi-secular state constructed by the Meiji oligarchs to Hozumi Yatsuka’s traditional conservative theocratic state of the 1890s and later to the more radicalized and militant forms of extreme religious nationalisms in the state theories of Uesugi Shinkichi and Kakehi Katsuhiko in the 1920s. Skya sees a clear parallel between these developments and the political trajectory from

secularism to fundamentalism in the Islamic Revolution in Iran in 1979 and in the broader radicalization of much of the Islamic world since the 1980s.

Skya clearly demonstrates that, despite the uniformity of its main goals, Shinto ultranationalism was a very diverse movement with many thinkers and no clear leader. The main sections of the book consist of very detailed chapters on some of the various ideas of the movement's main architects including Hozumi Yatsuka, Kita Ikki, Uesugi Shinkichi and Kakehi Katsuhiko. The chapters are especially illuminating because none of these writers and thinkers has received much publicity in the West with the possible exception of Kita Ikki – the same might be said of Japan. I have had many Japanese students in my classes here in the United States and at Doshisha Women's College in Kyoto. I have always asked these students if they are familiar with the life and writings of Kita Ikki, and I have never had one student say that she is familiar with him. It is as if he never existed.

The careful reader will come away with a very detailed overview of prewar Japanese fascism. The book is very detailed, very well written, and carefully researched. *Japan's Holy War* is a classic work that should be on the reading list of any scholar of Japanese history who wishes to gain some deeper insights into the direction of Japanese politics from the late 1920s through World War II. A Japanese translation of this book should be made as soon as possible. Skya is to be commended for this major academic achievement.

Hiroki Azuma, *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2009. 144 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8166-5352-2 (paperback), \$17.95.

Reviewed by Yuki Watanabe

Jonathan Abel and Shion Kono's translation of *Otaku: Japan's Database Animals* provides intellectually rich insights into Japan's postmodern pop culture context, written in a style that is accessible to interested readers outside the academic cultural studies profession. The book's author, Hiroki Azuma, is a leading cultural and literary critic in Japan who has published extensively on Japan-specific pop culture phenomena as well as more general or abstract issues in cultural criticism and social communication theory. According to Azuma (as translated by Abel and Kono), *otaku* is "a general term referring to those who indulge in forms of subculture strongly linked to anime, video games, computers, science fiction, special-effects films, anime figures, and so on" (p. 3). This definition, however, gives far too limited sense of the implied stigma and explicitly pathological connotation Japanese speakers have in mind when they use the term today. Perhaps this missing connotation in Abel and Kono's translation of *otaku* can be explained by its rapid evolution.

Otaku was originally published in 2001 as an inexpensive paperback in Japan and found a wide audience despite its academic content and tone. Since there was no other book that had examined this nascent global subcultural phenomenon with such critical and theoretical perspective, *Otaku* provided a long awaited introduction to this specific area of Japanese popular culture criticism.

Azuma begins his discussion by examining *otaku* as consumers (and producers) of cultural products. He points out the similarity between current postmodern social structure and essence of *otaku* culture. Two aspects of postmodern society occupy Azuma's main focus: dysfunctional grand narratives and the omnipresence of simulacrum. He states that, with the end of modernity, grand narrative, or the cohesion of the social entirety, quickly weakens. At the same time, the distinction between originals (which includes commodities, works of art, etc.) and their copies weakens correspondingly. This gives rise to the dominance of an interim form called simulacrum. In the case of *otaku* culture, Azuma observes these trends, where the "original" takes the form of narratives by the main author (i.e., grand narrative) and copies or derivative works are played out in the

consumer culture. According to Azuma, grand narratives are boiled down to the level of the dysfunctional among the otaku consumers and replaced by what he calls grand non-narrative.

In Azuma's formulation, grand non-narrative is a collection of characters and settings, or simply a database, which provides users with a space to create their own meaning in the form of derivative works and other small narratives (i.e., simulacra). Once otaku take interest in an object, they endlessly re-arrange and play with derivative works, often circulated in the form of consumer products. For Azuma, the grand non-narrative manifests in otaku culture as database consumption. Rather than being guided by a linear narrative, otaku consumption is defined by a strategic stripping away of narrative or well-defined order, to make room for *otaku* consumers to play, replay; form, unform; create relational meaning, and then let it melt away. To illustrate this, Azuma refers to variety of anime works, which include visual novels, videogames, and popular television series. Azuma cites *Mobile Suit Gundam* as an example of grand narrative and contrasts it with *Neon Genesis Evangelion* as an example of grand non-narrative. Azuma proposes "the double layer structure" of otaku consumption, which consists of consumption in the form of derivative works and other forms of simulacra on the surface level and database consumption (i.e., grand non-narrative) on the deeper level.

Azuma's work (in Abel and Kono's rendering) ruminates extensively on the concept of "animalized" consumers in postmodern society. The term is based on an idea that Alexander Kojève, a Russian-French philosopher, uses in *Interpretation to the Reading of Hegel* (Kojève, 1969) to describe the state of American consumers in the post-WWII. Kojève interprets Hegel as positing that humans define their humanity by negating their environment, and refers to American consumer society as "animalistic" as opposed to humanistic, based on his observation that postmodern consumers readily accept the commodified environment and their role in its cycle of feeding and constructing wants, needs and desires. Azuma points out that Kojève had written admiringly of Japanese consumers, contrasting their "snobbery" (in post-WWII Japan) with "animalistic" consumers in the U.S. This observation of Kojève was possibly attributable to the reminiscence of samurai codes of ethics encouraging virtuous persons to risk their lives for the sake of honor.

Azuma, however, claims that otaku consumers in Japan are also "animalized" just like postmodern humanity in general. Here, Azuma's account is as follows. In postmodernity, where grand narrative is

dysfunctional, the “grand empathy” of the modern world, where authentic emotional experience has more outlets, becomes ambiguous, as the ratio of uncommodified to commodified space in the lives of most consumers shrinks. Consequently, well-established domains of emotional experience, such as consumption of drama (or other forms of relatively small or linear narrative) rarely find analogs in the social worlds in which consumers reside. Instead, people’s thirst for “meaning” is satisfied in solitude, reducing it to “animalistic needs.”

Indeed, otaku’s obsessive pursuit of “*moe*-elements,” such as maid costumes and images of young girls with cat ears or other anime pop culture markers, seem, by multiple criteria, more “animalistic” than humanistic. Yet, according to Azuma, a pop culture enthusiast himself, this “animalistic” behavior is rational, neither higher nor lower than modernist cultural expression. Azuma contends that animalism, in the sense of consumers actively mixing in the environment of cultural production rather than seeking lines of demarcation on which to separate themselves from it, offer opportunities for constructing new social values and standards, at least in the fictional world. In turn, Azuma argues that this active construction in fictional space can, at least in theory, spill over to effectively deal with real social problems and build ties between people in a postmodern world where social values and standards are dysfunctional. In this sense, the animalistic behavior of otaku is a rational means to adapt to the postmodern social world that “drifts about materially, without giving meaning to lives” (p. 94). Azuma goes as far as claiming that the functions of *moe*-elements are “not so different from those of Prozac or psychotropic drugs” (p. 94).

Azuma insightfully describes a chronic problem of postmodern capitalism, brilliantly delineating it from those of the modernist cultural milieu. As the grand narrative weakens, ideals, values, and senses of tradition are lost. To fill this void, people turn to animalized consumerism, through which consumers take a newly active (if uncritical) role in continuously inventing and fulfilling needs. Animalized consumers such as otaku are inevitably vulnerable to increasingly sophisticated mechanisms of social control. In Azuma’s stark but oddly optimistic view, consumers live to satisfy their needs without questioning or regretting their behavior, specifically, the economic process that animalized them in the first place. Consumers’ lives may not be any better because of animalized consumption, but at least it will be stable and safe. This, in any case, is the viewpoint one hears written in Abel and Kono’s translation of Azuma.

Azuma's book has been cited on numerous occasions by newspapers and literary commentators as an attempt to explain otaku consumers using the concepts of postmodern theory. Azuma, however, counters that his book is less an investigation of otaku using postmodern theory than an investigation of postmodern theory using the cultural text (i.e., data) provided by the otaku phenomenon. Azuma sees consumer culture transitioning from its past forms in modernity to otaku culture writ large, virtually everywhere that postmodernity has reached. Regardless of whether anime and its icons are the elements of the database, the Azuma's message is database consumption, to which he wants the insights and his label of otaku culture to apply widely. The book's Japanese-language title is *Dōbutsu-ka suru posutomodan: Otaku kara mita Nihon shakai* [Animalizing Postmodernity: Japanese Society as Seen Through Otaku] perhaps better conveys Azuma's stated goal.

The term "database animal" in the English title is perhaps misleading since, at the level of "database," otaku consumption still maintains "virtual, emptied-out" humanity and at the level of simulacrum and the "animality" coexists with that humanity in a dissociated manner. Azuma wants the word "database" to apply far beyond a set of characters or settings of specific anime series to a wider system consisting of collections of grand non-narratives of otaku culture more generally. In either case, otaku behavior seems to be a symbolic representation of bleak (the consequence of compression of open semiological space crowded out by dramatically more extensive commodification of social interactions) state of postmodernity. Azuma writes, "the world drifts about materially, without giving meaning to lives" (p. 95). This elegiac tone Azuma uses at the conclusion of the second chapter indicates his sincere concern for the simultaneously oppressive and creative power of our evolving culture.

Azuma's 2007 sequel to *Otaku* was titled *Gēmu teki riarizumu no tanjō: Dōbutsuka suru posutomodan 2*, [A Birth of Game-like Realism: Animalizing Postmodernity 2]. In it, Azuma examines the possibilities of changing the more dire aspects of postmodernity. One interesting issue he raises that relates directly to *Otaku*'s thesis of database consumption is what happens if one tries to create a narrative in postmodernity. He analyzes how the narratives that do appear in the postmodern non-narrative environment serve equally to weaken modernity's grand narratives, taking up the examples of light novels and "cute girl games." Azuma is an interesting figure as both cultural critic and cultural producer. He has worked in the production of light novels that are themselves elements in the

otaku culture he analyzes. Azuma's attempts to apply academic theories of postmodernity to critique and construct popular culture are not mere intellectual experiments but are rooted in his deep conscience as one of the leading intellectuals in contemporary Japan. Readers will appreciate both the acuity of Azuma's descriptive insights and his sincere intention to act for the benefit of consumers.

In the final chapter of *Otaku*, Azuma turns to the HTML language for designing websites as an interesting application of his theses. Here, he uses the concept of "hyperflatness" to draw an analogy between the computer screen and "database" consumption. Azuma deftly describes how what one sees on the computer screen when visiting a website is a combination of image files and an invisible database. Although there are attempts to guide and entice clicks, there is no linear structure. Azuma convincingly argues that the simultaneity of a website's database in parallel layers reflects the postmodern world image with astonishing congruence. The role of narrative in modernity contrasts, again and again in Azuma's view, with the absence of narrative in postmodernity. In the database world of postmodernity, small and grand narratives are no longer directly connected. Rather, many small narratives can be created from the same grand non-narrative (i.e., database), which is why its status as narrative is in question and the label non-narrative applies. Azuma's insight here seems right on the mark, with deep parallels between computer coding (i.e., the system of production in the Internet economy) and the social system it generates (and is generated by other means to support it).

Otaku offers a colorful integration of serious or high-brow cultural analysis juxtaposed with kitsch images from Japanese popular culture. The book pioneered in describing specifics of Japanese otaku culture and attempted to break new ground equally on the theoretical front, with the distinction between narrative and database consumption, and the philosophical implications and antecedents of animalistic consumption. Its profound content suggests numerous further applications, which will undoubtedly prove fruitful in analyzing consumer subculture in Japan and beyond. Today, various forms of otaku subculture can be found outside Japan, and postmodern capitalism spreads globally as nation states' political power weakens and their cultural terrains blend into a form recognizable and amenable for secularization. This book should be of interest, not only to scholars of Japanese Studies and cultural criticism, but also to fans of manga, anime, video games, and other Japanese pop cultural forms. For those who are interested in postmodern critical theory, *Otaku* will offer

tangible examples, specific references, and a style of writing that is likely to be well received by graduate students in a variety of humanities programs. For those who study Japanese culture and society, this book will provide source material for the cultural phenomena that is, at least partly, responsible for resurgences in enrollments (among American fans of anime) in Japan-related courses. For enthusiastic English-speaking consumers of Japanese pop culture, this book will reveal a theoretical account of the structure of pleasure from a leading voice in the analysis and production of that culture. Readers from a wide variety of perspectives will benefit from Abel and Kono's translation. They deserve praise for the precision in the translation of Azuma's language and for bringing this important work to wider audiences.

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