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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

THE MANGA CULTURE IN JAPAN

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Many contemporary foreign visitors and observers have noticed the prevalence, ubiquity, and popularity of *manga*, or comics, in Japan. *Manga* is generally defined as:

- (1) "A picture drawn in a simple and witty manner whose theme is humor and exaggeration;
- (2) A caricature or a *ponchie* (*ponchi* picture), whose special aim is social criticism and satire;
- (3) That which is written like a story with many pictures and conversations." (Shinmura 1991: 24-34)

Manga as pictures and texts has traditionally been a significant part of Japanese popular culture, entertainment, art form, and "literature." Generally *manga* can be classified into many different categories such as editorial cartoon, sports cartoon, daily humor strip, advertising cartoon, spot cartoon, syndicated panel, magazine gag, caricature, comic strip, etc. (Mizuno 1991: 20-21) Being textual sources and a significant part of Japanese popular culture, *manga* can be an extremely important subject matter of comparative cultural studies, anthropology, and visual sociology.

A Brief History

Japan has a very long history of comics that goes back to ancient times. It seems that the Japanese have always enjoyed drawing and looking at pictures and caricatures. For example, Hōryūji Temple in Nara was built in 607 CE; it burned in 670 CE, and was gradually rebuilt by the beginning of the eighth century. It is the oldest wooden architecture in Japan, and probably the oldest in the world as well. Caricatures were found on the backs of planks in the ceiling of the temple during the repairs of 1935. These caricatures are among the oldest surviving Japanese comic art.

Chōjyū Giga, or "The Animal Scrolls," was drawn by Bishop Toba (1053-1140) in the twelfth century. The name of the scrolls literally means

“humorous pictures of birds and animals” and they depict caricatured animals such as frogs, hares, monkeys, and foxes. For example, a frog is wearing a priest’s vestments and has prayer beads and sutras, and some “priests” are losing in gambling or playing strip poker. The narrative picture scrolls are a national treasure of Japan. (Reischauer 1990; Schodt 1988; Shimizu 1991)

A style of witty caricature called *Tobae* (“*Toba* pictures”) was started in Kyoto during the Hōei Period (1704-1711). The name *Tobae* stems from Bishop Toba mentioned above, and it was used to refer to caricature. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Tobae* books, which were printed using woodblocks, were published in Osaka, a city center where publishing businesses were flourishing with a rapidly increasing population. From the Genroku Period (1688-1704) to the Kyōhō Period (1716-1736) so-called *Akahan* (a Red Book which is a picture book of fairy tales such as *Momotarō* (The Peach Boy) with a red front cover) was very popular, and *Tobae* books also became popular because they were like the variations of *Akahan*. The publication of *Tobae* books spread to Kyoto, Nagoya, and Edo, modern Tokyo. This marked the beginning of the commercialization of *manga* in Japan. *Manga* then became a commodity to be sold to the public whether it was hand-drawn or woodblock printed. (Shimizu 1991)

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Katsushika Hokusai (1760-1849) started publication of “*Hokusai Manga*,” which became a bestseller. Hokusai was fifty-four years old, and he was the first to coin the term *manga*. He was a very famous artist who left many masterpieces of multi-colored *Ukiyoe* woodprints of sceneries such as “*Fugaku Sanjū-rokkei*,” or “The 36 Sceneries of Mt. Fuji,” prints of flowers and birds as well as drawings of beauties and samurai. *Hokusai Manga* consisted of fifteen volumes, and it started to permeate people’s everyday lives along with “*Giga Ukiyoe*” and newspapers with illustrations.

“Japan Punch” was created and published in Yokohama in 1862 by Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), a British correspondent for the “Illustrated London News” from 1861 to 1887. Wirgman reported on the Namamugi Incident where some British men were killed by the samurai from Satsuma near Namamugi in 1862, the Satsuma—British War in 1863, which was a consequence of the Namamugi Incident, the bombing of Shimonoseki by the fleets of Britain, the US, France, and Holland (1863-1864), Harry Smith Parke’s (the British ambassador to Japan) meeting with the last Tokugawa

Shogun Yoshinobu in Osaka, etc. The events mentioned above happened at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and the conflict among the three powers—the Tokugawa Bakufu Government, Anti-Bakufu and the western nations, was a very appropriate subject for Wirgman's *manga*.

"Japan Punch" continued for twenty-five years and two-thousand-five-hundred pages, and was very popular among the foreigners living in the foreign settlements as well as the Japanese residents. The term *ponchi* (stemming from the English word "punch") started to refer to what we call *manga* today, and it replaced terms such as *Tobae*, *Ôtsue*, and *Kyôga*. Wirgman's *manga* influenced many Japanese artists such as Kyôzai Kawanabe. (Schodt 1988; Shimizu 1991)

A French painter George Bigot started a magazine called "*Tôbaè*" in Yokohama in 1887. It was a bi-weekly French style humor magazine that satirized Japanese government and society. Both Wirgman and Bigot influenced the development of modern Japanese comics. According to Schodt, "Wirgman often employed word-balloons [sic] for his cartoons and Bigot frequently arranged his in sequence, creating a narrative pattern." (Schodt 1988: 41)

One of the most important functions of Japanese *manga* in its long history is satire, and the satire of authority was most dynamic during the civil rights and political reform movement known as *jiyû minken undô* ("the freedom and people's rights movement"). The popular movement started at the beginning of the Meiji Period (1868-1912). In 1875 Taisuke Itagaki, Shojiro Goto, Shimpei Eto, etc., submitted a proposal for the establishment of the National Assembly. They had been highly influenced by the European thinkers such as Jean Jacques Rousseau as well as the liberal British thoughts of the day. (Reischauer 1990; Shimizu 1991) The so-called "*Manga Journalism*" emerged at this time, and *manga* started to influence Japanese political scenes as well. There were various factors that contributed to the emergence of mass production of *manga* satire in a very short time, among which are the advent of the technology of zinc relief printing, copperplate printing, lithography, metal type, photoengraving, and so on. The development of infrastructures such as transportation and mail service, and heightening of the civil rights movement also contributed to the process. *Manga* became "a true medium of the masses." (Schodt 1988: 41)

The freedom and people's rights movement was an anti-government movement by speech, and *manga* played an important role as part of the

“speech.” The main media was a weekly magazine by Fumio Nomura. Nomura came from the samurai class from Hiroshima and he published “*Maru Maru Chimbun*,” a weekly satire magazine from the Dan Dan Sha Company. The objects of Nomura’s satire were not limited to the government. They included the Emperor and the Royal family, and the Japanese government often oppressed Nomura. The magazine increased its sales as the freedom and people’s rights movement became more popular. (Shimizu 1991)

It was the 1920s through the 1930s when the modern Japanese *manga* started to establish itself and blossom. It was Rakuten Kitazawa (1876-1955) and Ipppei Okamoto (1886-1948) who “helped popularize and adapt American cartoons and comic strips.” (Schodt 1988: 42) Kitazawa drew *manga* for “Box Of Curious,” an English language weekly published in the foreign settlements in Japan. It was Yukichi Fukuzawa who found his talent and Kitazawa started to work for the Jiji Shimpô Company in 1899. Kitazawa created “*Tokyo Puck*,” a weekly, color cartoon magazine in 1905. (Schodt 1988; Shimizu 1991)

As far as the story *manga* is concerned it is only after World War II that it started to blossom. American comic strips such as: Blondie, Superman, Crazy Cat, Popeye, and Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck, were translated and introduced to Japan, a country that had been devastated by the war. The people craved entertainment, and they longed for the rich American lifestyle that was blessed with material goods and electronic appliances.

Starting in 1957, there appeared a new genre of *manga* called *gekiga*, or “drama pictures.” Artists such as Yoshihiro Tatsumi and Takao Saito started to refer to their art as *gekiga* rather than *manga* because their *manga* was much like a novel with pictures. *Gekiga* appealed to junior and senior high school students and later on university students as the readers aged. (Mizuno 1991; Shimizu 1991).

In 1959 Kodansha, one of the largest publishing companies, started to issue “*Shonen Magazine*,” the first weekly *manga* magazine, and in 1966 its circulation topped one million. Comics and television started to coexist in symbiotic relations, and many more weekly magazines followed “*Shonen Magazine*.” (Schodt 1988; Shimizu 1991)

Manga and its Popularity Today

In Japan, not only children but also many adults enjoy reading various kinds of comics at home, school, and work. People also read *manga* in public places such as in trains and subways as they commute to work, in the waiting rooms of hospitals, barbershops, and beauty salons, as well as in inexpensive restaurants and coffee shops as they wait for their orders.

Manga café's that offer many shelves of *manga* of various genres and a quiet space to read them for an hourly fee have been increasing in number in the last few years. According to Television Asahi's special on *manga* that was broadcast on 15 October 1999, there are about three hundred *manga* café's in Tokyo alone, and lately they have been replacing another type of popular Japanese entertainment establishment called "karaoke boxes" where people can privately enjoy singing with family and friends and order food and drinks.

There are two major types of *manga* cafes: a coffee shop type and a library type. In the former customers order drinks and food, and they can read *manga* for free. In the latter the café charges customers' hourly fees, and they can bring their own food or buy drinks in the vending machines in the café. Many big *manga* cafes have twenty-five thousand to thirty thousand copies of *manga*. ("T.V. Asahi" 27 March 1998)

So-called *Manga* Libraries are found all over Japan today, and many municipalities operate them. *Manga* museums and memorial halls of various *manga* artists are also very popular, and they are often one of the means for the villages, towns, and cities to attract tourists and make money.

Omiya in Saitama Prefecture has the municipal *manga* memorial hall for Rakuten Kitazawa, who became the first professional *manga* writer in Japan. It is the first publicly operated *manga* museum and opened in 1966. The admission is free. Kawasaki has a citizen's museum that exhibits many *manga* works. (Mizuno 1991)

The city of Takarazuka has Osamu Tezuka Memorial Hall that contains all of the comic works by Tezuka (1928-1989) who created such popular icons as Astro Boy, Phoenix, Kimba, the White Lion, etc. One of the characteristics of Tezuka's techniques was employing the same techniques used in the cinema for his comics. Tezuka, who gave up his medical training for *manga*, is considered the founding father of modern Japanese *manga*. He was born at the right time in the right place. In its first year of operation in 1995 the Tezuka Memorial Hall had five-hundred-forty thousand visitors, and two-hundred-fifty thousand people visited the

museum in 1996. (“T.V. Asahi” 14 October 1997; Schodt 1988)

Manga is often used as a facilitator for dissemination of information. Shin Fuji City government in Shizuoka created “*Manga Fuji Story*” that depicts and commemorates the city’s thirty-year history. (“T.V. Asahi” 7 October 1996) Many prefectural government such as Fukui used *manga* in order to explain their law of leaves for taking care of family members. (“T.V. Asahi” 17 May 1997)

Interestingly enough, comics are more than popular entertainment in modern Japan. So-called *kyôyô manga*, or “educational comics” are very popular among the Japanese. These are drawn/written with a specific educational purpose to teach the public certain subjects, technology, and information with *manga* drawings.

In 1977 Hanazono, a private university used Jyoji Akiyama’s “*Haguregumo*” as part of its entrance examination questions, and a public university also incorporated *kyôyô manga* in 1984. In 1985 works by Osamu Tezuka and Sampei Sato were also used in elementary school textbooks for the Japanese language. The publication of a book by Ishinomori Shotaro, “*Nihon Keizai Nyûmon*,” or “Introduction to Japanese Economy” followed. The book soon became a best seller, and this triggered publication of many more educational *manga*. “Introduction to Japanese Economy” was translated into English as “Japan Inc.,” and was published by the University of California Press in 1988, and its French version was published in Paris in 1989. (Shimizu 1991: appendix, 38-39) Interestingly the Ministry of Education established a prize for *manga* in 1990. (Mizuno 1991: 3)

There are different opinions about educational *manga*. Many lament the decrease of intellectual activity when people “read” *manga* while others say that *manga* does provide very important information, and it makes it easier to understand difficult concepts that are otherwise very hard to grasp. Pedagogically speaking *kyôyô manga* visually appeal to the comprehension of difficult materials, and when it works it is indeed a very effective and pragmatic teaching method. Many foreigners living in Japan and learning the language find *manga* a useful tool for studying reading and writing Japanese because of the use of *ruby*, notations of Japanese *hiragana*, a phonetic alphabet written next to the difficult Chinese characters. With or without *manga* Japan still boasts an illiteracy rate of less than one percent in the world.

Kyôyô Manga books are comparable to the “Beginners” series published in the US. They include many witty and comical drawings and explanations. The examples are “Marx For Beginners” (1976) by Rius, “Lenin For Beginners” (1977) by Richard Appignanesi and Oscar Zarate, and “Foucault For Beginners” (1993) by Lydia Alix Fillingham.

Western social scientists, psychologists, and journalists have pointed out some of the problematic areas of Japanese comics such as sexism, violence, adult materials, pornography, etc., that are not suitable for children. Many PTA’s (Parent Teacher Association) and other concerned citizen groups protested for the sake of innocent children claiming that some of the *manga* that are erotic, sexually explicit, and violent are educationally and morally inappropriate for minors. The Japanese government issued laws regulating the content and the ratings of comics in the early part of 1990s. (Ito 1994) Several regional Boards of Education established a rating system of putting “adult material” stickers for those *manga* appropriate for people over eighteen years old. These adult comics cannot be bought at a bookstore or a convenience store.

Some conversations, customs, life styles, and games from popular *manga* are used and imitated by the readers to spice up their ordinary every day lives, or to make them more humorous. However, some ended up as criminals. In 1997 some junior high school students started to engrave their arms with knives. This “game” came from a *manga* that depicted a boy who engraved letters on his arm with a knife. He then let a girl touch them, and she would fall in love with him. This game called *Inochi bori* (life-tattoo) was popular in the spring of 1997. The school prohibited their students from bringing knives to school, but a seventh grade student killed a female teacher with a knife in Tochigi in the same year.

An ex-employee of a loan company was arrested for extortion in 1999. He needed to collect money from his client, and he intimidated the latter by saying, “Sell your kidney. I think I can sell it for three million yen or something. Your eye can be sold for million yen.” The police found that the suspect got the idea from a scene in a *manga* called “*Minami no Teiô*” (“The King of Minami”). (“Yomiuri” 4 October 1999) The above cases testify that *manga* does have much influence on the social and cultural life of Japanese either positively as in the case of *kyôyô manga* or negatively as in the criminal cases imitating incidents from *manga*.

Manga as Big Business

Comic books and magazines are widely read regardless of sex, age, education, occupation, and social classes. *Manga* indeed is one of the most popular pastimes of people. Thus, the comics industry is one of the most successful and lucrative businesses in Japan today.

In 1998 the total number of comic magazines published in Japan was two hundred seventy-eight brands, and the number of the estimated copies published, including special and extra issues, was 1,472,780,000 copies. This was 2.8% less than that of the previous year. The estimated number of copies sold is 1,177,850,000, down 3.2% from the previous year (“*Shuppan Shihyo Nempo*” 1999: 223). T.V. Asahi Broadcasting Company in Tokyo quoted that the total number of publication in Japan is about 5.48 billion copies and the share of comics’ sales consists of about twenty-five percent, or 1.7 billion copies. This means 4,650,000 copies are sold every day. (“T.V. Asahi” 15 October 1999)

Weekly comic magazines in Japan usually have a few to several hundred pages printed on rather cheap, coarse, and poor quality paper. The magazines are easily disposable and recyclable. Japanese very rarely keep them stacked up in their small houses once ridiculed by a European official as the “rabbit hutch.” Some extra or special issues of *manga* magazines are as thick as the white pages of metropolitan cities in the US. The average weekly magazine has between eight and fifteen stories or episodes by various authors, and the cost is about two US dollars. The comic magazines in general also contain readers’ pages, advertisements of interesting goods, cigarettes, fashionable clothes, jewelry, shoes that make men three inches taller, etc. Adult comics also have advertisements for X-rated movies and videos as well as telephone clubs and “escort” and dating services. They may also have photographs of young, seductive, pretty women in scanty clothes or half-naked women.

The Japanese market for comics is indeed gigantic. Japan is a very rare country where comics are a major business. Weekly and monthly comic magazines sell millions of copies in a year, and so-called *mangaka* or comic writers are among the richest people in Japan whose annual income surpasses millions of dollars. The following lists the estimated copies published by the most popular magazines.

<u>Publisher</u>	<u>Brand</u>	<u>Readers</u>	<u>Estimated Copies</u>
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Kodansha	“ <i>Shukan Shonen Magazine</i> ”	boys	4,250,000
Shueisha	“ <i>Shukan Shonen Jump</i> ”	boys	3,600,000
Shueisha	“ <i>Young Jump</i> ”	adults	1,750,000
Shogakukan	“ <i>Shukan Shonen Sunday</i> ”	boys	1,700,000
Shogakukan	“ <i>Korokoro Comic</i> ”	boys	1,650,000
Shogakukan	“ <i>Big Comic Original</i> ”	adults	1,540,000
Kodansha	“ <i>Young Magazine</i> ”	adults	1,500,000
Shueisha	“ <i>Ribbon</i> ”	girls	1,350,000

(Nempo 1999)

Some famous *manga* artists are millionaires. In 1999 Goshō Aoyama, Fumiya Sato, Akira Toriyama, and Oda Eiichiro, all earned millions of dollars. (“T.V. Asahi” 17 May 1999) It is estimated that three hundred thousand to four hundred thousand people want to become *manga* artists. (Mizuno 1991: 75)

Manga is truly a popular culture not only in terms of its consumption but also in terms of the creation process. Unlike cinema and theater that require much capital and human resources to be popular and economically successful, *manga* does not require as much investment, formal education, good connections and so on. (Ishinomori 1998; Schodt 1988)

The tools necessary to draw *manga* are pencils, knives for sharpening pencils, erasers, pens, ink, brush, rulers, compass, white out, paints, paper, etc. *Manga* also is capable of depicting any scenes because its two dimensional format is capable of expressing anything a writer desires in his or her imagination even though it is really up to the ability of the creator to make it a masterpiece. The so-called “story *manga*” reads like a movie, which often was not made due to the lack of funds. (Ishinomori 1998; “T.V. Asahi” 1999)

Sexism in Comics

In Japan and elsewhere sexism, taxes, and death go together. Sexism in *manga* is no exception. Western observers, journalists, and social scientists have noticed that adult and youth comic magazines for men contain much male violence toward and maltreatment of women. (Bornoff 1991; Burma 1985; Ito 1994, 1995; Schodt 1988; Wolferen 1989)

Japanese women are depicted as having many Caucasian facial and body features that are exceptionally pleasing to Japanese aesthetics. They

have large, round, and shining eyes that usually take up one-third to a half of the face, long and thick eye-lashes, long noses, thin pretty lips, unproportionally large breasts, extremely small waistlines, and exceptionally long thin legs.

The weekly magazines for men often depict women as nothing more than commodities or sex objects, and sex appeal is a must in drawing these characters. They are often naked, but the frequent scenes of the process of undressing also appeal to Japanese male fantasy. (Ito 1995)

Nudity and sex sell very well in comics for men; voyeurism is also very common. Women must be seductive and close-ups of female bodies are very common: breasts, thighs, hips, crotches, bottoms, and vaginas that are often substituted with a picture of a clam or a flower. Interestingly, a snake or a turtle is often used to depict a penis in *manga*.

Interestingly enough Japanese men are depicted in two different ways: one type is those who have more good-looking Caucasian facial features with large, well-built bodies, long legs, and muscles that many young Japanese men desire. These male figures are *kakkoi*, or cool and sophisticated.

The ideal facial and body types are possibly a reflection of what Robert Christopher (1983) calls “the *Gaijin* complex,” which is an inferiority complex or very deep ambivalence that Japanese people feel toward foreigners (particularly Caucasians).

The other types of Japanese men depicted in *manga* are more true to their racial characteristics with small, slanted eyes, long trunks, slender bodies, and short, hairy, and skinny legs. The former type, the more ideal one, appeals to the fantasy of the readers who can vicariously experience the wonderful lives of those extremely handsome heroes. The latter type, which is more realistic, makes the reader identify with and relate better to the characters.

As in many popular storybooks, novels, and movies produced in Japan and elsewhere, men are often the main characters who are important to the story lines and women are often bystanders and cheerleaders. The men have unique, wonderful qualities—character, aspirations, dreams, goals, and careers in such occupations as sumo wrestling, boxing, baseball, golf, medicine, crime prevention, cuisine, cycling, and even crime (e.g., gangsters). The men occupy positions of power, privilege, status, and prestige. They are always in control. Women, on the other hand, are often

housewives, office workers, or girlfriends.

Many of the female characters play supportive roles at best. They do not show much personality and do not have their own opinions. If women are depicted in careers they are usually those in pink-collar occupations such as waitress, secretary, nanny, student, saleswoman, nurse, teacher, etc., even though many women in modern Japan are career women and are married to their occupations. The career women such as executives, detectives, photographers, spies, and television newscasters are often depicted as independent, intelligent, diligent, but also cunning, sophisticated, assertive, calculative, proud, and even violent.

Women in adult *manga* for men are depicted as having docile personalities. They are beautiful, innocent, quiet, obedient, kind, warm, and nurturing. They show much concern for their men whether they are their husbands, boyfriends, lovers, bosses, brothers, fathers, etc. The women accept their men as they are, respect them, and cater to their needs with much tolerance and patience. They want to help the men by all means when they are in trouble. At the same time some women are nothing but nymphomaniacs. They are sexually liberated, quite passionate and initiative when it comes to making love, and they may even engage in self-eroticism and sex with multiple partners. They are good at seducing men as if to test their feminine power, and of course a Japanese man loves to become her prey! (Ito 1994, 1995)

In sum, Japanese women are depicted in stereotypical gender roles that have two opposing sides. The angel type is soft, warm, and nurturing. The bitch type is intimidating, assertive, aggressive, cunning, and cold, yet they are very sexy.

Interestingly enough, there are many *manga* stories that are quite educational, informational, and beneficial for men. These include stories that revolve around the professional training, mental and psychological growth of the heroes, their lifestyles, philosophies, and dogged determination to be the best and win. The popular *manga* include occupations such as baseball player, brain surgeon, chef, serial killer, adventurer, sports-car driver, police officer, boxer, archeologist, etc. Many have few, if any, female characters in the stories, and the focus is more on the personality, psychology, learning, and socialization of the male heroes as they solve many problems of life.

Ladies' Comics

There is a genre of comics which is called *Redisu Komikku*, or "Ladies' Comics" that was established as a genre of *manga* in Japan in the early 1980s. Ladies' comics are very popular among women between the ages of fifteen and forty-four, and enjoy a wide market. The readers buy the *manga* in a nearby bookstore or convenience store, and usually they buy several different *manga* magazines at one time. The readers, however, do not read these comics as a hobby per se but mainly to kill time. (Erino 1993)

According to Erino (1993) who used to be an editor of one of the ladies' comic magazines, a typical heroine in these comics does not have a strong identity or the self as an independent individual. She does not value herself. She thinks she is not really worth anything, and she is not quite sure about the meaning of her life. However, sooner or later a prince charming will show up at her door and sweep her off her feet. Marriage and sex sell very well in Japan, too.

Many Japanese women love the unordinariness in an ordinary every day life in Japan that can be found in ladies' comics. The key words for their success are often marriage, hypergamy, and finding a good-looking, cool, reliable, kind, sensitive, and loving man with a very nice income and security that comes with his career. The man has money, fame, and social status that the woman can also enjoy once she marries him. She must remain beautiful and nurturing. He is the very reason why she exists in this world. The only requirement for her is to love her husband and children. (Erino 1993)

The stories almost always have a happy ending, and many are nothing but a Japanese version of Cinderella stories. Unlike Harlequin Romance novels that depict the ultimate in romance and the possibility of the impossible taking place in one's mate selection, the stories in Japanese ladies' comics are ordinary enough for the Japanese women to identify and relate to. The fiction is more realistic, down- to-earth, and the majority of heroines are so-called OL's, or "office ladies" who work for companies and do very menial jobs such as making copies and coffee.

The OL's who appear in ladies' comic are not satisfied with their current situations. Their lives are rather routine and boring. However, they do not have anything particular that they really want to do or accomplish, either. Their lives lack excitement. (Erino 1993)

As with comic magazines for men, the editors of ladies' comics' magazines are almost always men. Certain male bias always shows up in the stories. The messages carried in many *manga* are those that women are better off being married with children; women should go with the flow in a male-oriented Japanese society instead of against it; it is easier to rely on a man and belong to him; and so on. Much ambivalence is also found between too much expectation for the young women to be independent and at the same time marry and have children, and between working as hard as men and serving them by making tea or coffee in the office. Many heroines expect the role of a parent in men, and they often expect to be supported financially and emotionally.

Starting with the publication of "VAL" and "FEEL" in 1986, more and more erotic and sexual scenes were drawn, and the trend escalated for a long time. Ladies' comics were often associated with female pornographic comics then, but the frequency of sexual scenes subsided by the early 1990s. Today, the major publishers such as Shueisha ("YOU"), Kodansha ("BE LOVE"), and Futabasha ("JOUR") publish ladies' comics that focus more on the realistic everyday life stories, life-styles, careers, social problems, philosophies of life, and even compassion. Some stories that appeared in the ladies' comic that were published in the early part of 2000 are quite touching. They invoke much emotion and heightening of social and psychological awareness as if they are great novels. They are indeed simple enough for anyone to understand; yet some are quite powerful and touching as they invoke the reader's empathic understanding as well as love and compassion. They deal with topics such as abortion, career decisions, mother-child relationship, and entangled love relationships, PTA, sexism, domestic violence, divorce, traditions, sorrows of life, and injustice. Many stories have ordinary housewives, mothers, and office workers as their heroines, but many others also have professional women including doctors, nurses, cooks, attorneys, police women, teachers, and detectives who inform the readers of their professional knowledge and specialties that are very useful and practical in every day life. Some popular ladies' comics had been made into popular movies and television programs by the end of the 1990s.

Today's ladies' comics are divided into two categories. The first one is a socially conscious comic for general readers mentioned above, and the other one is a pornographic category where sex is the main course. In spite

of the frequency of the sex scenes, safe sex or concern for pregnancy is not a concern of a *manga* artist or an editor, and much dangerous sex goes on in these comics. (Erino 1993: 104)

Conclusion

Manga is one of the genres of the most popular entertainment, art, and cultural production of Japan. It has a very long history and consists of a major mass culture artifact as well as a huge successful business. The story *manga* category started to blossom after World War II, and it was Osamu Tezuka who established the art and influenced the development of Japanese modern *manga*. Today, billions of copies of *manga* are sold all over Japan, and many are translated into the world's major languages.

Just like other literature genres, *manga* carry much of cultural values, norms, and fantasies of the people. The un-ordinariness found in everyday life *manga* fascinates millions of readers every year. As an agent of socialization, *manga* often provides norms—what is appropriate and inappropriate in our social life. It is very influential for children and adults alike because it “teaches” the readers the roles, expectations, rights, duties, taboos, and folkways of Japanese society whether the reader is aware of it or not. Especially in the areas of sexual norms and relations, Japanese *manga* are often perturbing. Women are often exploited and oppressed sexually, economically, socially, and politically in many *manga* stories for men. (Ito 1994; 1995)

Manga is originally made up of two elements: play and satire. Modern Japanese *manga* have more “play” elements, and their function as “satire” is decreasing. A single picture cartoon seems to have lost much power over the years. (Mizuno 1991; Shimizu 1991)

The comics industry has entered a mature stage, and there have been demands for adult comics as the readers aged. Some *manga* series have been running for more than thirty years, and the readers first started to read them when they were in school; now they are middle-aged. (“Men’s Walker” 12 October 1999)

Animation of comics has been increasing yearly, and starting in October 1999, dramatization of comics is in. There are many new television drama series and soap operas that are based on the comics’ characters and stories. Many characters and personas found in the comics are imaginary, unique, individuals with strong characters, but with good casting television

stations are able to attract very good audience ratings. (Nempo 1999: 237) It is also less risky to dramatize if the *manga* had been very popular and successful, and other media such as the cinema, video games, radio, and theater are interested in broadcasting as well. (“Men’s Walker” 10/12/99)

The animation films and movies are exported to East Asia, Europe, and the US-Japanese *Anime* (from the English word “animation”) has also been very influential in the west in recent years. For example, the popularity of *Pokemon*, an abbreviation for “pocket monster,” has become a social issue in the US in 1999 because many pre-teens are addicted to it as they go see the movie, watch the television series, collect cards, and trade them. “Time” magazine featured *Pokemon* in its November 1999 issue. Japanese *manga* has become a world phenomenon affecting many people in many countries.

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THE ASPECTS OF AUTHORITARIANISM AMONG JAPANESE PEOPLE IN JAPANESE CULTURE AND SOCIETY

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According to Bob Altemeyer (1996), authoritarianism or right wing authoritarianism (RWA) is defined as a personality trait involving three attitudinal clusters in people who tend to respond in the same ways to perceived established authorities, sanctioned targets, and social conventions. (p. 6) The attitudinal clusters *conventionalism*, *authoritarian aggression*, and *authoritarian submission* are not only correlated but also strongly connected to ethnocentrism. Using the concept of RWA as well as T. W. Adorno, Else Frankel-Brunswick, Daniel Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford (1982), work on the authoritarian personality, particularly Levinson's discussion of ethnocentrism, this paper explores authoritarianism in Japanese society.

Collectivism in Japanese Culture

According to Harry Triandis and Sumiko Iwao, cultural constructs among different societies are understood in terms of "the extent to which cultures emphasize individualism or collectivism." (Iwao and Triandis 1993: 429) Triandis with K. Leung, M. J. Villareal, and F. L. Clack (1985) defines collectivism as:

[A] social pattern consisting of closely linked individuals who see themselves as parts of one or more collectives (family, co-workers, tribe, nation); are primarily motivated by the norms of, and duties imposed by, those collectives; are willing to give priority to the goals of these collectives over their own personal goals; and emphasize their connectedness to the members of these collectives. (quoted in Realo, Allik, and Vadi 1997: 94)

Given this definition of collectivism, it is argued that the construction of Japanese culture is oriented toward collectivism rather than individualism, since individuals tend to be viewed as part of an "interconnected social web" in which "a sense of self develops as a person discerns the expectations of others concerning right and wrong behavior in particular situations." (Bower 1997: 248) Therefore, in a collectivist society,

individuals usually give priority to the collective self over the private self, especially in situations when these two come into conflict. This tendency to surrender one's private self to the collective self is, according to Triandis, et. al. (1985), called personal collectivism or *allocentrism*.

Even though allocentrism can be found in both collectivist and individualist cultures, Susumu Yamaguchi, David Kuhlman, and Shinkichi Sugimori (1995) found that there are higher allocentric tendencies among people in collectivist cultures (e.g. Japan, Korea) than in individualist cultures (e.g. the US). However, within collectivist cultures, there are differences among individuals in their "general disposition to accept collectivistic elements from their own culture and to activate them," depending on different interpersonal relationships that individuals have in different social contexts. (Realo et. al 1997: 97) Realo et. al. (1997) argues that "it is possible that one individual is very dependent and collectivistic in his or her attitudes toward authorities (vertical collectivism) but relatively less dependent in the relations with peer (horizontal collectivism)." (p. 95) Also, different cultures emphasize particular elements of collectivism among various types of collective trait-like attributes. This suggests that there are variations not only in allocentric tendencies among individuals within a collectivist culture, but also that there are differences in cultural inclination to certain types of collectivist elements or trait-like attributes.

Despite diversity within collectivist cultures, there are some major personality dimensions or allocentric tendencies that are shared by different collectivist cultures. (Realo et. al. 1997) These major personality traits can be summarized as obedience, submission and acceptance to collectivistic attitudes, norms, values, tradition, and authority which are also found among high RWAs in Altemeyer's authoritarian model, since RWAs demonstrate a strong conformity to conventional social norms and customs that determine how people ought to act. (Altemeyer 1996: 11) This indicates there is a connection between allocentric tendencies and some aspects of authoritarianism, especially with respect to *conventionalism*.

Allocentric tendencies are also related to authoritarianism in that both of them are accompanied by fear of rejection from in-group members. (Yamaguchi et. al. 1995) Rejection from the in-group is regarded as a punishment since allocentrics and high RWAs both tend to be psychologically and emotionally dependent on the in-group. This psychological attachment to the group enforces a sense of belonging that demands obedience and submission to the in-group authorities. Yamaguchi et. al. (1995) claims that there is a positive relationship between allocentric

tendencies and expectations of reward and/or punishment in-group settings. The person's concern about punishment and/or reward can motivate him/her to behave in an allocentric way and sacrifice self-interest for in-group interests. The group norms associated with reward and/or punishment by the in-group play important roles in manipulating the psychology of individuals to behave "properly" in order to be accepted as members of the group. The psychological need among the allocentric for belongingness to the group can be translated to submission to authority in moralistic terms, or what Altemeyer calls *Authoritarian submission*.

While fear of rejection from the in-group develops within the group and strengthens conformity and submission to authorities, fear of the external world promotes hostility and aggression against the out-groups. High RWAs see themselves as a "moral majority" since they believe that they are allied with the authorities who determine how people ought to act and behave. (Altemeyer 1996) By considering outsiders to be threats, high RWAs establish a rigid boundary between the in-group and out-group to protect group purity. This in-group-out-group dichotomous distinction not only promotes the in-group unity, loyalty, and identification before outsiders (Altemeyer 1996), but also provides motivational basis for prejudice against out-groups. (Adorno et. al. 1982) Prejudice, in turn, provides a conventional outlet for aggressive impulses, which motivates authoritarians to target those who are unconventional, such as social deviants and certain minority groups. (Altemeyer 1996: 10) As Levinson (1982) stresses, those individuals who have strong and rigid adherence to conventional values tend to "look down on and to punish those who were believed to be violating conventional values." (p. 156) Therefore, conventionalism is highly related to ethnocentrism and authoritarian aggression in hierarchical social relations between the in-group and out-group. (Levinson 1982)

The development of authoritarian aggression in the prejudiced Japanese can be explained in terms of in-group-out-group interaction, which involves out-group rejection. According to Adorno et. al. (1982), the in-groups are conceived of as superior in morality, power, status, and ability relative to the out-group by developing an opposite and negative view toward out-groups as people of subordinate, weaker, and lower socioeconomic status. This unequal power relation between in-groups and out-groups is based on the ethnocentric belief that each individual/group must stay at its own level in society. The notion of "natural position" in hierarchical and authoritarian terms is interpreted as a "necessity" by ethnocentrists to keep the out-group

subordinated and segregated. (Levinson 1982: 150) In this respect, idealized Japanese self-identity or “Japaneseness” is an important concept to understand the general frame of mind of prejudiced and ethnocentric people in Japan.

Japaneseness is originally constructed around the popular public discourse of *Nihonjinron*, which stresses biological and genetic bases for the distinctiveness and superiority of the Japanese people and culture. (Weiner 1997: 2-3) The “racial” or “blood bonded” Japaneseness emphasizes a homogeneous and idealized self while rejecting “others” as out-groups, including both external others (foreigners or non-Japanese residents) and internal others (minorities such as *Ainu*, *Okinawan*, *Burakumin*,¹ Japanese Korean, and *Nikkeijin*²). This idealized identity of the in-group strengthens the boundary between the in-group and out-group, which in turn contributes to the creation of negative stereotypes of the out-groups as a negation of the in-group.

The stereotypes of out-groups play important roles in justifying prejudice and ethnocentrism toward the out-groups since ethnocentrists believe that the out-group possesses an “intrinsic evil” of human nature, such as aggressiveness, laziness, and power seeking, which is dangerous not only to their own group, but also to society as a whole. (Levinson 1982: 148) Tsuda (1998) explored the structure of Japanese ethnic prejudice toward Japanese-Brazilians (*Nikkeijin*) in Japanese society. Tsuda found that anti-Japanese-Brazilian prejudice developed from negative images of low socioeconomic status and educational levels that are reinforced by perceptions of Brazil as a backward, undeveloped country. Also, Japanese prejudice against Japanese-Brazilians is based on the stigma of their past emigration legacy which, in the eyes of some Japanese, resulted in the loss

¹ *Burakumin* are not a racial or ethnic minority, but they have been discriminated against for centuries because they are considered to be the descendants of the former outcasts.

² *Nikkeijin* refers to descendants of Japanese who emigrated to South America particularly Brazil and Peru during 1868 and 1973. *Nikkeijin* started returning to Japan in the later 1980s in search of jobs in Japanese factories responding to a labor shortage for unskilled job. The Japanese government offered special visa arrangement for *Nikkeijin* up to the third generation while maintaining a strict immigration policy on other foreigners who attempt to work in Japan. (Sellek, 1997; Tsuda, 1998)

of Japanese cultural heritage while Brazilian cultures are regarded negatively. (Tsuda 1998) Even if those prejudiced Japanese have never had contact with Japanese-Brazilians, imaginary stereotypes reinforce the feeling of difference and are transformed into a sense of threat, hostility, and rejection against out-groups. (Levinson 1982) The roles of imaginary stereotypes of out-groups also explain why anti-Semitism exists in Japan even though the majority of Japanese have never met or had contact with Jews in Japanese society. (Goodman and Miyazawa 1995) As Levinson (1982) stresses, the ethnocentrists lack an ability to approach individuals as individuals since they are unable to identify with humanity as a whole but tend to see individuals collectively as a sample specimen of reified group. (p. 148)

Stereotypes also reflect ethnocentrists' psychological need to "place all the blame for group conflict upon out-groups." (Levinson 1982: 149) Scapegoating is one example of an action that fulfills this need. For instance, immigrants, especially those from the Middle East and Asia, are the most likely to be given the role of scapegoats. They are often considered to be responsible for various social problems such as the increase in crime rates, social instability, creation of foreign-populated slums, and the increase of certain diseases such as AIDS. (Tsuda 1998) In some instances, out-groups are even regarded as responsible for natural disasters. In fact, a number of Japanese Koreans were blamed for the 1921 Great Kanto Earthquake that caused at least 105,000 deaths and many cases of missing persons in the Kanto region. (Masuda, Yamamoto, and Inoue 1979: 330) Stereotypes of out-groups, along with Scapegoating, make the highly prejudiced Japanese believe that out-groups ought to be attacked, eliminated and/or segregated as dangerous elements, which in turn justifies their irrational conduct.

Although ethnic minority groups are most likely to become targets of ethnocentrists, victims are not always members of a particular racial or ethnic group. Rather, ethnocentrists target almost every group that is "different" or unconventional, since ethnocentrism is strongly connected to conventionalism and authoritarian aggression. (Altemeyer 1996: 10) Sakamaki (1996) argues that Japanese society, which is generally characterized as highly homogeneous and conformist, easily marginalizes the "deviant," no matter how subtle their differences are. Japanese schools are an example that shows how certain individuals become victimized as the deviants in a relatively closed social environment:

[A]n odd nuance of speech or appearance is enough to invite ostracism, and in a society where conformity is everything, no stigma weighs heavier than the curse of being different. Too fat or too short; too smart or too slow—all make inviting targets. Many Japanese children who have lived abroad deliberately perform poorly in, say, and English classes so as not to stand out. (Sakamaki 1996: 39)

Once someone is considered to be different or odd in his/her appearance behavior, punishment such as rejection by peers and other members within the deviant's own group is sanctioned. This rejection becomes a serious social problem known as *ijime*, or the bullying that has led fourteen Japanese students to commit suicide in the past fifteen months. (Sakamaki 1996)

The phenomenon of bullying in Japanese schools also illustrates the interplay of attitudinal clusters of authoritarianism-conventionalism, authoritarian-submission and authoritarian-aggression in relation to ethnocentrism. These variables are correlated and all three have to do with the "moral aspect of life—with standards of conduct, with the authorities who enforce these standards, with offenders against them who deserve to be punished." (Levinson 1982: 162-3) It is predicted that authoritarian disposition may be found in the personalities of those Japanese students who act out the bullying. First, those perpetrators of the bullying are highly conventional people whose behavior is characterized by strong adherence to group conformity. When someone is targeted for bullying, conventionalists tend to participate regardless of their own beliefs since, like high RWAs, they tend to lack the ability to make their own decisions and evaluate things for themselves. (Altemeyer 1996) Fear of punishment from members of the in-group can be another element that explains why some individuals obey the authorities. Second, those Japanese actors who engage in bullying also have elements of aggressive authoritarianism in their personality structure. Like high RWAs, Japanese actors develop hostility toward those who are thought to deserve punishment and justify such irrational acts based on a belief that proper authority approves of the acts. Who then represents the proper authority? Such authority may exist only as imaginary since "authority" can be anyone who not only enforces but also simultaneously obeys the group norm against perceived offenders. In some instances, however, teachers represent authority, especially when they tolerate the bullying or do not take it seriously until the situation gets worsened. Some teachers even take the initiative to conduct group punishment against

“misfits.” In fact, it is reported that half of the members of *Nikkyoso* or Japan Teacher’s Union believed that, “keeping order sometimes required corporal punishment.” (Wolferen 1990: 91) This suggests that school bullying reinforces conformity and order, which in turn contributes to the preservation of power of the real authority in school hierarchy.

School as a Socialization/Moralization Organization

It can now be inferred that there is a relationship between authoritarian personality traits found in RWAs and allocentric tendencies and authoritarianism perceived among Japanese people. The next question to be asked deals with development of authoritarian personality traits among the Japanese. Considering culture as a shaper of behavior and the personalities of individuals brings attention to a mechanism of the socialization process in which cultural values are internalized.

According to Realo et. al. (1997), “during socialization, an individual internalizes different patterns of [collectivism] that can be found in the specific subjective culture and transforms them into his or her own cognitive systems.” (p. 96) Social institutions such as schools, families, working places, and political institutions provide sites for the cognitive process in which cultural values are internalized.

According to Brian Mcveigh (1998), the school system in Japan constitutes a moralizing and socializing organization that distributes cultural and group norms in a hierarchical environment. V. Lee Hamilton and Joseph Sanders (1995) point to egalitarianism and hierarchalism as another cultural dimension by suggesting that, “macro level factors such as cultural inclination toward collectivism or hierarchy can influence perceptions of organizations and the actors within them.” (Hamilton and Sanders 1995: 71) Mcveigh (1998) views moral education, which is an integral part of the educational system in Japanese schools, as an important socialization mechanism in the school hierarchy. Moral education provides, “a discourse that the average Japanese finds understandable, acceptable, and desirable,” (Mcveigh 1998: 128) with its emphasis on discipline, conformity, obedience, and group identity. Even though there are variations among schools (i.e. liberal and conservative; private and public, etc.), many schools tend to establish a variety of regulations governing students’ behavior, dress standards and school curriculum. For instance, it is observed, especially in conservative schools that teachers carefully monitor students not only in for their behavior but also for their appearance. In fact, many conservative schools employ strict rules about school uniforms, hair length and style, and

posture and positioning of the body (Sakamaki 1996), to try to make students identical in appearance. The strict school regulation of their appearances, even at a superficial level, aims to make students develop a collective identity and sense of belongingness to the school as members of the group.

Belongingness is enhanced through various types of group activities, school events and ceremonies. Participation in such group-oriented activities promotes loyalty, responsibility and cooperation within larger groups. (Mcveigh 1998) Students are therefore expected to act more as a part of the larger groups than as individuals. Indeed, as a part of the group, students are expected to promote their own in-group's harmony and to behave in the right way as specified by in-group norms. (Iwao et. al. 1993: 429-430) However, these expectations do not mean that students always automatically agree with or believe in what school authority tells them to do. Rather, there might be an inner conflict between self-presentation (the public self) and self-perception (the private self) among students over particular issues. Yet this confrontation rarely appears on the surface since presenting such a psychological conflict is socially considered to be immature. (Tsuda 1998) Therefore, the social boundaries between the public self and private self are legitimated and this in turn strengthens a sense of group unity and harmony.

Uniform school curricula also contributed to the development of authoritarian personality structures among school children. All textbooks used in public schools (except for colleges and universities) have to pass the screening process under the supervision of the Education Ministry before they are published. (Sunazawa 1998) Additionally, the national government exerts influence on curriculum development, which attempt to achieve uniformity in teaching and in selection of textbooks. (Tanaka 1995)

Uniformity in teaching and curriculum development resulted in minimizing opportunities for the students to develop such abilities as critical thinking, asking questions, and analytic skills. Like high RWAs, Japanese students are likely to "receive little training in making their own decisions and evaluating things for themselves." (Altemeyer 1996) In fact, students tend to accept what teachers tell them to do and become more concerned about mastery of subjects based on memorization than on developing uniqueness and creativity. With their strong attachment to the in-group, Yamaguchi et. al argues that, "allocentrics are expected to conform to group standards and cannot logically emphasize their uniqueness in group setting." (Yamaguchi et. al 1995: 660) Since

uniqueness stresses individuality, which is opposed to collectivism, allocentric people tend to be more concerned with being “*hitonami*,’ or average as a person,” (Bower 1997: 248) than with viewing one’s uniqueness as advantages over others to pursue personal goals. Indeed, as long as students appear to be average, they do not need to worry about “standing out” and falling victim to bullying.

Obedience to authority is another important cultural value that moral education emphasizes in the hierarchical school environment. Students are socialized to understand and accept hierarchy through interpersonal relations that are organized in a vertical line: they must respect those who are above them and stay in their proper place in the vertical social relationship between teachers and students as well as between senior and junior students. This indicates that students identify themselves as subordinates in relation to the authority in the hierarchy, and at the same time they develop a strong sense of belongingness to the group as part of the system. As Neil Lutsky suggests (1995), “the development of effective authority obligations typically requires long periods of socialization to clearly defined roles, exposure to well-established patterns of behavior, and ongoing displays of institutional legitimacy—all reinforced by the potential exercise of reward and coercive power.” (p. 59) This “long periods of socialization” is what moral education in Japanese schools intends to provide from early childhood through adolescence for the Japanese people. Furthermore, students came to realize that hierarchy exists not only within their own school but also among different schools based on school reputation, which corresponds to the economic-bureaucratic hierarchy in the world of business.

Family as Socialization Organization

Family is another important institution that provides socialization through the parent-child relationship. Adorno et. al (1982) claims that family background and early childhood experiences in the parent-child relationship are important components of a theoretical attempt to understand authoritarianism. The development of authoritarianism also can be traced during early childhood in the Japanese family through parental influence on the children. Failure in adjusting one’s behavior during the socialization process is often considered to be proof that one is “deviant” from society, and parents are often thought to be responsible for almost everything about their children’s behavior and conduct until children are socially considered to be full adults when they turn twenty years old. Because of such socially

perceived parental roles, moral education of children within the family is a central concern among Japanese parents.

One of the most circulated Japanese newspapers, “*Yomiurishinbun*” (Yomiuri newspaper), conducted a public opinion survey on various issues concerning the family. (*Yomiurishinbun* 1998) Three thousand adult individuals were randomly selected throughout Japan and asked to complete survey questionnaires. When respondents were asked to list important aspects of socialization with their children as parents, fifty-six percent of the respondents stressed “punishment when necessary” followed by fifty-three percent stressing that “discipline[d] children [with] socially acceptable manners and rules,” forty-four percent stressing “increase [in] communication and time to spend with children,” forty-four percent and “encourage and reward children as much as possible.” When focusing on a specific age group (thirty to forty years old) of these respondents, in which grade and/or junior high school children are mostly concentrated, about sixty percent of these respondents chose punishment and discipline as important aspects of parent-child relationships. This indicates that the parents aged thirty-forty with grade/junior high school children tend to employ more strict and punitive attitudes toward childbearing than any other age groups. (*Yomiurishinbun* 1998)

Even though it is not said that less authoritarian parents simply come to exhibit a more authoritarian tendency (or reversibly authoritarian parents become less authoritarian) when their children reach a certain age, the parents’ attitudinal orientation to authoritarianism or non-authoritarianism in the socialization process can be modified by various external factors such as changes in political, economic and sociocultural conditions. In this sense, Adorno et. al.’s concept of the fixed and unchangeable nature of authoritarian personality traits appears to be too simplistic. An alternative to such views is the social learning theory, to which Altemeyer is inclined, a stance that came to gain greater attention from social scientists:

[I]n a contextual, historical sense, the manner in which the experiences with the family and the respective psychological characteristics are transformed is determined to a great extent by the current situation, the prevailing political and cultural environment, educational influences, and influences of the media. (Hopf 1993: 133)

From the view point of social learning theory, the reasons why Japanese parents of grade/junior high school age children are more likely to

support strict discipline and punishment can be partly explained by their response to changes in the social environment surrounding the children. For instance, once children enter grade school, their interpersonal relations occur not only within the family but also in public spheres, especially in schools where conformity and obedience are stressed. Additionally, by the time children enter junior high school, they must be strictly disciplined to survive the excessive educational competition since academic achievement is viewed as a key measure of potential for success. Therefore, school and family as socializing institutions reinforce each other to internalize cultural values and social norms in the mind of children.

Considering academic prestige and socially acceptable behaviors as keys to success in Japan, parental influence on children becomes an important factor in achieving such goals. Since children's new experiences in school appear to be a turning point for many parents to modify their socialization strategies, my focus needs to be placed on those parents who tend to be inclined to authoritarianism during the child's "examination years." A typical case is found among those parents who push children to climb the established educational ladder to success. These parents are said to be highly conventional since they readily adapt a rigid and externalized set of values based on cultural and social norms: "what is socially accepted and what is helpful in climbing the social ladder is considered 'good,' and what deviates, what is different, and what is socially inferior is considered 'bad.'" (Frenkel-Brunswik 1982: 257)

Many Japanese parents in conventional families start exerting more pressure and control over the children to succeed academically as well as socially in early childhood. Once children enter the preparation period for entrance exams, those conventional parents often start restricting children's private activities such as their hobbies, sports, and social life to make children devote themselves to academic achievement. (Tanaka 1995) For instance, many parents send their children to *juku* or "cramming schools" to prepare their children for upcoming entrance exams. It is reported that 64.2% of students between the ages of twelve and fifteen attend "cram schools." (Sakamaki 1996) Most parents view cramming schools as a key to pass entrance exams, and at the same time they feel they should follow what other parents do. It is true that those children who do not attend one of those "cramming schools" have problems in finding playmates after regular school (Tanaka, 1995), since these private schools have become so common.

As for the children, they are expected to respond enthusiastically to parental expectations and to obey what parents tell them is in their best interests. The acceptance of the order from parental authority cannot be realized, according to Karel van Wolferen (1990), without considering the child-mother relationship. In fact, since mothers feel greater responsibility for the performance of her children, they make considerable efforts to motivate, encourage, scold, punish, bribe, and do anything that might make children become “good.” (Tanaka 1995) In the typical Japanese socialization process:

[I]deas of proper conduct are instilled into the child less by reference to a universal scheme of how the word works than by manipulation of the child’s emotions. He or she leans to recognize good or bad behavior generally by its effect on the mother’s disposition. One result of this is that the *kyoiku mama* (“education mother”) is able to instill in her child very strong feelings of guilt, which she uses as a spur. (Wolferen 1990: 88)

Feelings of guilt associated with the child’s fear of displeasing the parents make children submissive to parental authority, which enforces “good behavior” along with punishment and/or reward and coercive power. As Frenkel-Brunswik (1982) points out, “a relative lack of mutuality in the area of emotion and shifts of emphasis onto the exchange of ‘goods’ and of material benefits without adequate development of underlying self-reliance, forms the basis for the opportunistic type of dependence of children on their parents.” (p. 258) The emotional dependence, fear, and feelings of guilt among children regarding parental authority in the conventional Japanese family in turn contributes to the disposition of authoritarianism that involves superficial identification with the powerful while rejecting the inferior and weak.

Conclusion

As socializing institutions, schools and families play important roles not only in reproducing cultural ideology and social norms but also work to internalize them in children. However, these two institutions are not entities that are independent or separate from each other. Rather, family and schools are strongly connected and enforce one another by powerfully influencing the disposition of personality among Japanese children. Furthermore, the family often functions as a mediator that connects school discourses to the broader economic system through the familial socialization process. In fact,

there are intimate relationships between the school system and the business world in the sense that Japanese schools operate “as a sorting mechanism and recruiting agent for placement in the various overlapping hierarchies.” (Wolferen 1990: 83) Therefore, moral education is also designed to provide a “normative knowledge linking state interests and individual subjectivity’s [which] allows an understanding of the unspoken role of invisible ideologies.” (Mcveigh 1998: 126) In this view, moral education is used as an instrument to internalize an external organization (state) within its subjects or citizens as they are socialized to obey established authority and respect social order from early childhood, with the help of family authority. Therefore, as Wolferen (1990) stresses, socialization processes in school and families combine to produce a “generation of disciplined workers for a techno-meritocratic system that requires highly socialized individuals capable of performing reliably in a rigorous, hierarchical, and finely turned organizational environment.” (p. 83) This indicates that authoritarianism is strongly linked not only to Japanese culture but also to the larger economic system.

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THE APPROPRIATION OF JAPANESE ZEN BUDDHISM IN BRAZIL

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The news through the grapevine was that the Japanese abbot, who had been in Brazil for some years, had lost his position at the temple Bushinji, in Liberdade (a Japanese neighborhood in the city of São Paulo). The headquarters of the *Sôtô Zenshu* school¹ in Japan, under strong pressure Japanese-Brazilian community, released him from his services. After several months, the Brazilian nun Claudia Dias of Souza Batista took his place. Ordained in Los Angeles in 1980 (when she received the Buddhist name of Koen) and having lived six years in a monastery in Nagoya, Koen returned to Brazil in 1994; soon after she was invited to the abbess position. Ironically, the Japanese-Brazilian community preferred an indigenous Brazilian nun to a genuine Japanese monk.

Historically, the Japanese-Brazilian community maintained some diacritical cultural traits preserved and away from Brazilian society (such as language and religion) to maintain its ethnic identity. (Saito and Maeyama 1973) Although second and third generations have begun assimilating Brazilian culture (Cardoso 1973) and are quite integrated in the country, the abbess position of the only Zen Buddhist temple in São Paulo is not one that the community can leave in the hands of a “foreigner.” Buddhism is a fundamental aspect of the Japanese world vision and of the Japanese social structure. How, then, was a Brazilian nun to get the highest position inside a

¹ Sôtô is the Zen Buddhist sect brought to Japan by the Japanese monk Dôgen (1200-1253) after a trip to China. *Zen* is the Japanese word that corresponds to *dhyâna* in Sanskrit and *ch'an* in Chinese. Its meaning is concentration or meditation, that is, Mahayana Buddhism meditation. Mahayana Buddhist developed in China, Korea and Japan. Japanese Zen Buddhism is the result of an amalgam of Indian Buddhism and Chinese Taoism and its introduction to Japan. Zen Buddhism values the direct and personal experience rather than intellectual and rational speculation and iconic worship. This differentiates it from traditional Buddhism. Hence, meditation (*zazen*) and paradoxical thought in the form of *kôan* (questions without rational logic) play a fundamental role in the transmission of knowledge (Heinrich Dumoulin, 1992).

Buddhist sect and, still, how could she be accepted by the Japanese-Brazilian community?

If we examine the above more closely we will see what happened. The Japanese *Roshi* (abbot) came from a context in which Zen Buddhism was highly institutionalized and structured due to its nine centuries of history in Japan. Moreover, due to the patrilineality and primogeniture, which are both part of the rule of succession within Japanese society, the young men who enter the monasteries to become monks are firstborn children of families that possess monasteries. Consequently, laity becomes a profession as any other, a way of making a living inside a rigid structure.²

Facing this situation, the *Roshi* decided to leave Japan in search of a more “active” Zen Buddhism. Having worked with Shunryu Suzuki *Roshi* in San Francisco in the 1960s, Moriyama *Roshi* shares Suzuki’s ideas that foreigners have “a beginner’s mind (*shoshin*), one which is empty and ready for new things.” (Suzuki 1970: 21) When interviewed, he said that in Japan, monks’ interests were directed towards social practices and commission received by services rendered to the community (funerals and worship of ancestors) rather than spiritual work. Meditation (*zazen*), debates with the abbot (*dokusan*), studies of the dharma,³ retreats (*sesshin*) and manual labor done inside the monasteries (*samu*) that aided in the path to Enlightenment were not regularly practiced properly. However, upon arriving in Brazil, the *Roshi* was faced with a Japanese-Brazilian community that demanded him to perform the same practices which he was not willing to do in Japan: “the masses” (sic—as the members of the sect denominate the rituals in Brazil), weddings, funerals and worship of ancestors, instead of a practice founded in the spirituality of the meditation.

² “During the past century Sôtô Zen, like all Buddhist institutions in Japan, has witnessed tumultuous changes. Its population of clerics has changed from (at least officially) one hundred percent celibate monks to more than ninety percent married priests who manage Zen temples as family business. [Sôtô Zen] operates only thirty-one monasteries compared to nearly fifteen thousand temples, the vast majority of which function as the private homes of married priests and their wives and children (William Bodiford, 1996: 4,5).

³ Word originated of *dharman*, which appears in the Vedas and has the sense of decree, law, practice, obligation, morality and religion. Buddhism uses *dharma* meaning Buddha’s law or teaching (*Tricycle* magazine, 1997: 63).

The conflict became more serious when the Japanese *Roshi* found a group of Brazilians very interested in learning meditation and the teachings of the Buddha and Dôgen. From the moment these Brazilians entered the temple and began to interact with the Japanese-Brazilian community, conflicts began and resulted in the *Roshi's* leaving. Some of his Brazilian followers also left the temple and founded a new Zen center in São Paulo, where the *Roshi* is a spiritual mentor. The Brazilian abbess took his place in the temple and soon started putting in practice all the activities so strictly or, according to some, more strictly than they would be done in Japan. One practitioner said:

“When Moriyama was in charge of the temple, I felt he tried to adapt Japanese Zen to Brazilian culture, it was more flexible. With Koen, as she recently arrived from Japan, I feel she tries to maintain the patterns and rules by which she lived in Japan. She tries to impose everything, the rhythm, behavior and discipline of the Japanese practice. She is very inflexible.” (Cida, forty-year-old astrologer)

The ethnic identity of a group is built in relation to another group. In this context “the concrete intergroup relationships and conflicts” should be examined, “simultaneously in the symbolic level and in the level of the social relationships.” (Durham 1986: 32) Conflicts emerge when ethnic identity is threatened, that is, when two groups use the same values to identify themselves.⁴ The Japanese community in Brazil attempted to preserve and retain some of its cultural traits that are now part of a global domain. In this context, one can understand the tension on the issue of which group: Japanese immigrants and their descendants, Brazilians of non-Japanese origin, has the “true” ancestors’ culture. (Oliveira 1976: 5; Rocha 1996: 30, 86-99)

⁴ Here there is a conflict of motivations, practice and aspirations that is similar to the American one. In the US there is a conflict between what is called “white Buddhism” practiced by the white upper middle class and upper class that praises meditation as a path to enlightenment and the so called “ethnic Buddhism”, of the immigrants, which is basically devotional and oriented to the community. For further discussion on the concepts of “white” vs. “ethnic Buddhism” see Fields, 1994: 54-56; Foye, 1994: 57; Nattier, 1995: 42-49; Prebish, 1993: 187-206.

Nevertheless, we must be careful not to think of cultures as “organically binding and sharply bounded.” (Robertson 1995: 39) Between the Japanese community and Brazilian society at-large there are Japanese descendants who were educated in both Japanese and Brazilian culture and, as a result, display mixed cultural patterns. They dwell in the interstices of society and comprise a small group of practitioners who, beginning to go to the temple because of family pressure, end up attending the activities offered for indigenous Brazilians. Many descendants told me in interviews that one of the factors for the choice of “Brazilian Zen” over the “Japanese community Zen” was the language spoken. Most descendants do not understand Japanese, the language spoken at the rituals for the Japanese community. They feel more comfortable among indigenous Brazilians because their Zen activities are conducted in Portuguese.

The Appropriation of Zen Buddhism in Brazil

In addition to developments in São Paulo, other Zen Buddhist centers emerged in Brazil. In 1985, the Center of Buddhist Studies (CEB) was created in Porto Alegre (capital of the Rio Grande do Sul State). CEB was comprised of practitioners from several Buddhist schools. In 1989, also in Porto Alegre, the Japanese monk Ryotan Tokuda inaugurated the temple *Sôtô Zen Sanguen Dojô*. This temple exclusively focused on Zen Buddhism.⁵ Since there are non-Japanese immigrants in Porto Alegre, the practitioners of this temple are indigenous Brazilians. Accordingly, this practice emphasizes daily meditation, retreats and studies of the *dharmā*, distinguishing Brazilian Zen from the traditional Japanese practices of “masses” and funerals.

The Japanese monk Tokuda founded the Zen Buddhist *Sôtô* monasteries of Morro da Vargem, in Ibiracú, in the State of Espírito Santo, and Pico dos Raios, in Ouro Preto, in the State of Minas Gerais, respectively in 1977 and 1985. Today, their abbots are indigenous Brazilians, who were disciples of Tokuda and studied in monasteries in Japan. According to the Brazilian magazine *Isto É*: “the Zen monastery Morro da Vargem is visited annually by four thousand people, and receives seven thousand children of the State, who go there to learn environmental education.” (*Isto É* 03/12/97: 62) Besides maintaining an ecological reserve

⁵ More recently, *Sôtô Zen Sanguen Dojô* followed the orientation of Moriyama *Roshi* from the São Paulo Zen Center and his French disciple Zuymio Joshin.

and the Center of Environmental Education since 1985 (Paranhos 1994: 151), the monastery established the “*House of Culture*” to patronize fine artists who should devote themselves to creation away from the city. The monastery Pico dos Raios is also linked with the external community. Monk Tokuda teaches acupuncture to the monastery’s practitioners who offer this service to the community.

These monasteries attract urban people who are not necessarily Zen Buddhists, but are interested in oriental religions and meditation. How then, did these Brazilians who have a Catholic background make such symbolic migration to Zen and what is the meaning of a religion as Zen, Buddhism in Brazil today?

BUDDHISM AND NEW PATTERNS OF BEHAVIOR

The Western Construct of Zen

In this century one can see the immense expansion of religion, or, as Pierre Bourdieu says, “the expansion of the market of symbolic goods.” (1982) After the 1950s, with the territory redefinitions, increase in laicism, implementation of mass communication, internationalization of economy and immense migratory flows, new life expectations were created. As the century comes to a close, there is a spiritual search out of the western canons, such as the Catholic or Protestant religions. People seek holistic movements that are characterized by symbols attached to nature and to the idea of healing the planet and the individual.⁶ Therefore, movements connected to a way of life that integrates man and nature. In the eyes of the west, Eastern religion seems to address this search. The idea that a new lifestyle that included meditation and a connection with the sacred would bring health and happiness paved the way for the popularization of several Buddhist sects, among them Zen.

In the US, the counterculture movement of the 1950s and 1960s aided the popularization of Zen Buddhism among indigenous Americans. In Brazil, its arrival was due more to its connection with the Japanese-

⁶ “Disease is lack of harmony, it is opposed to healing, which is the way to the psychophysical (physical body), psychological (emotions and feelings) and psychospiritual (subtle energy) liberation. The path to healing has as a goal health, that is, enlightenment. The way to transform disease into health is the spiritual practices, purification and accumulation of merit and wisdom (through virtuous actions). The Buddhist body is a healthy and enlightened body.” (Lama Shakya in a workshop in São Paulo, 1996).

Brazilian community than this search for inner spirituality. Even though attempts at publicizing Zen Buddhism within Brazil by Brazilians (Gonçalves 1990; Azevedo 1996) began as early as the 1960s, it started to be popularized among indigenous Brazilians in the late 1970s (Paranhos 1994) and grew to a religious phenomenon by the 1990s. (Rocha 1999b)

In order to understand which Zen Buddhist discourse was appropriated in Brazil by indigenous Brazilians after the 1970s, one must realize that there is a pervasive frame of reference in the European and North American form of Zen. The appropriation and construction of Zen took place in many Western countries and have had a similar departing point. D. T. Suzuki (one of the first Japanese to write on Zen in English), and the Kyoto School scholars were fundamental for the creation of a main discourse of Zen in the West. As Robert Sharf observed, “for Suzuki, Zen was ‘pure experience—a historical, transcultural experience of ‘pure subjectivity’ which utterly transcends discursive thought.” (Sharf 1993: 5) Sharf argued that Suzuki was writing during the period of Nationalistic Buddhism (Meiji New Buddhism—*Shin Bukkyō*) “as a response to the Western universalizing discourse.” Under this pressure Suzuki and several other writers such as Okakura Kakuzō, Watsuji Tetsurō, Tanabe Hajime and Nishida Kitarō, influenced by the ideas of *nihonjinron* (the discourse on and of Japanese uniqueness), struggled to recreate Japanese national identity as something special, which was identified with the Way of the Samurai (*shido*) and Zen Buddhism. For these authors, Zen, as the very essence of the “Japanese Spirit,” denotes the cultural superiority of Japan. Moreover, because it is an experience and not a religion, Zen was able to survive the Enlightenment trends of the west and was viewed as rational and empirical. (Sharf 1993)

The global expansion of Zen Buddhism carried *Shin Bukkyō* ideas with it. However, it was appropriated, indigenized and hybridized locally. Similarly, Brazilian Zen took part of this process of “glocalization”⁷ of Zen Buddhism.

The Non-Japanese Brazilian Construct of Zen

The interviews that I conducted with indigenous Brazilian practitioners showed that the interest in Zen Buddhism occurs via the US, through the

⁷ For further analysis of the term “glocalization” and the local-global problematic, see Roland Robertson, “Glocalization: Time-Space and Homogeneity—Heterogeneity,” in: *Global Modernities*, M. Featherstone, S. Lash and R. Roberston (Eds.) (London, Sage, 1995).

media,⁸ books on Zen, movies⁹ and travels. In fact, all of the people interviewed described their first contact with Zen through books. (Rocha 1999a) The US is a strong source of ideas and materials on Zen for several reasons. One reason is that the English language is readily accessible to Brazilians than Japanese. In fact, most of the books on Zen available in Portuguese were originally in English. Moreover, due to the fact that these practitioners come from the intellectual upper middle class and the vast majority is of university graduate liberal professionals, many of them can read the books in English before they have been translated. Some buy books on Zen on the Internet at the site <http://www.amazon.com> and/or subscribe to American Buddhist magazines, such as *Tricycle*. Some practitioners even choose to travel to Zen Centers in the US, as outlined below:

“In San Francisco, I felt Zen is more incorporated [than in Brazil]. There, the abbot is a whole unit; it seems Zen is already incorporated in his personality, emotion, action, and intellect, in his whole being. So much so that the lectures aren’t on classical texts. People go there and open their hearts, they open their mouth and speak, what comes out is Zen. Koen san [the Brazilian nun] lived in Japan for many years, she comes from a Japanese culture, which sometimes has a difficult interaction with the Brazilian way of being. There [in the US], the monks are American and the community is already forty years old. So they have a local color, the main core of Zen was preserved, but it is not so much Japanese. I felt more affection there, which is a western thing. When I left I went to say good-bye to the abbot and he hugged me! When I arrived here, I went to the temple to hug people and it didn’t work.” (Olga, fifty-year-old economist)

“After I arrived home from a *sesshin*, I looked up a book about the experience of *zazen* by an American nun, Charlotte Joko Becker. Her talks with her disciples were published in two volumes. She is also a westerner, so she understands well what goes on in the mind of a westerner that

⁸ The word Zen is fashionable in the West: one sees Zen perfume, shops, beauty parlors, restaurants, magazine articles and architecture. In Brazil, it is a common expression to say someone is “Zen,” meaning very peaceful and tranquil.

⁹ The recent Hollywood movies “The Little Buddha,” “Seven Years in Tibet” and “Kundun,” were very successful in Brazil. Even though they dealt with Tibetan Buddhism, they are directly associated with Buddhism itself and not specifically Tibet.

embraced Zen Buddhism. She speaks as we do; we understand very well what she says about the psychic processes, about the psychology of a western person, in this case of a Brazilian person. I really didn't feel any difference. The American style of Zen is closer to ours." (Maria Helena, forty-nine year old University lecturer)

"I think the Americans and Brazilians have a similar language to talk about Zen." (Cida, forty-year-old, astrologer)

Dwelling in the cities, these practitioners have diverse motivations from the immigrants and descendants who seek to reaffirm their ethnic identity through religion. Mass, urban society, especially in Brazil, is characterized by abandonment, isolation; poverty, violence, lack of liaisons; break of the family nucleus; competition in the labor market and lack of leisure time. Since Catholic tradition was unable to find an answer or overcome these demands, alternatives were sought—among them, religion. The very religion, which gives concrete and effective answers for the individual to live this present moment, will be the one(s) of choice. For the lower social classes, the answer is in the Evangelical Churches and the Afro-Brazilian religions, where the symbolic effectiveness happens in the present time. Accordingly, urban upper middle-class Brazilians seeks Zen Buddhism because it appeals intellectually to them as a philosophy of life. Their main concerns are, among others, to relieve stress and to acquire inner peace, turning this symbolic field into a miscellany of religion and leisure.¹⁰

"I became more focused and my anxiety has decreased with Zen practice. Now I find more satisfaction in life. Zen practice means tranquility to me, the fruition of living in the present moment." (Cida, forty-year-old astrologer)

"I went through various other practices before I found Zen. It answered my needs of harmonization. Because my job is very stressful and I have to deal with a lot of people, I need harmony in everyday life. Life in big cities is very stressful." (Bernadette, thirty-seven year old advertiser)

¹⁰ Leisure in the sense of breaking with daily life not seeking a mere entertainment, but looking for an inner spirituality in order to obtain knowledge of the self. This concept was taken from interviews with practitioners.

According to a lay monk who works in the *Bushinji* temple in São Paulo, many of the practitioners who come to meditate for the first time are going through a difficult moment in their lives.

“When a new practitioner arrives here, he/she is usually going through a difficult moment, a crucial moment...his cultural background is western, is Christian or Jewish. He is very close to the concept of miracle. When you are emotionally sick, you go to a hospital, you go to a Candomble, Umbanda,¹¹ to a priest or to a temple. This works as anesthetics, it calms you down. ...People arrive at the temple hoping that they can find the answer to their troubles here. But when they sit to meditate hoping for tranquility, this is their goal, everything starts to hurt, the whole body starts to hurt...and then the mind is in pain too. And when they start to cry? When they start to know themselves? There are people who don't want to know about this. They are afraid, they are looking for the miracle, they don't want to see the horror of their troubles. Sometimes people leave the temple very agitated. Their idea of meditation is of being in heaven. Only one out of ten people who come here for the first time end up staying.” (Hoen, forty-nine year old lay monk, computer consultant)

Another characteristic of the population who seeks Zen Buddhism is that they are in search of their “inner self.” Frequently, people I interviewed said they sought Zen meditation as a way to learn about themselves. Zen meditation worked in place of psychotherapy or in conjunction with it.

“Self-understanding is one of the main things I look for in *zazen*.”
(Leonardo, twenty-two year old student)

“I don't know if you heard Sensei's lectures...She says that to know yourself is to know Buddha's way. On the other hand, there is psychology. What is psychology? Is to know oneself. ...I think *zazen* gives you this knowledge about yourself. It is a wonderful tool in this sense.” (Haruo Hirata, thirty-nine year old economist)

Zen Buddhism can be an activity of leisurely moments. Many Brazilian practitioners go to meditation sessions on the weekends and retreats on holidays. The consumption of goods is easily identifiable in the sales of

¹¹ Brazilian-African religions.

books, magazines,¹² courses, retreats, clothes and utensils for meditation, as if *satori* (Enlightenment) itself were possible to be obtained in the same way as you acquire merchandise.

“Enlightenment is now regarded as a fetish, an image of power, a merchandise. The possibility of a trance, of a touch of energy, of a hug of divine love, etc., is so desired in the present social context as the acquisition of a car, an appliance, a trip to a famous place. Thus, religious advertisement has already incorporated the mimetic desire of ownership as any other advertisement of the consumption society.” (Carvalho 1992: 153)

Most of the practitioners interviewed had a common Catholic background. Buddhism is different from Catholicism in that it is based on the absence of God and the idea that everybody is his own Buddha (literally “Enlightened being”). Through meditational practice, discipline or devotion (depending on the Buddhist school), anyone can attain Enlightenment and become a Buddha. In Buddhism, the way to realization does not involve something similar to the Christic identification as in Christianity; the “Son of God’s” support does not exist. Enlightenment is not seen as a union with a Supreme Being, but as an accomplishment of a supreme state. However, these two symbolic universes—Catholicism and Zen Buddhism—are not exclusive: many practitioners associate the figure of Jesus Christ to that of Buddha, both bringing a word of wisdom to humanity. (Rocha 1999a)

The New Age movement, from the late 1970s as a development of American counterculture and the Age of Aquarius, it questioned the role and the meaning of religion. Similar to Buddhism, the New Age movement had as a principle the notion that we are all God, and therefore we should seek an inner spirituality not attached to the ego so that we could contact the “true I/God.” (Heelas 1996: 2, 3, 19) Brazilian practitioners subscribe to such New Age ideas. In the interviews conducted, they mentioned the absence of God and the individual responsibility for their own Enlightenment as reasons for their attraction to Zen Buddhism.

¹² There are four magazines published quarterly in Brazil. Two of them are exclusively Zen Buddhist: “Flor do Vazio” is published in Rio de Janeiro, “Caminho Zen” is published in Japan by the *Sôitô* School in Portuguese, for the Brazilian market. “Bodhigaya” and “Bodhisattva” are two Buddhist magazines that comprise articles mainly on Zen and Tibetan Buddhism.

Moreover, in Buddhism, men and nature are part of the same whole. Nature was not created to serve men as dictates the Christianity. To that respect Robert Bellah says:

“The biblical arrogance in relation to nature and the Christian hostility to impulsive life were both, strange to the new spiritual atmosphere. Thus, the religion of the counterculture was not, in general, biblical. It was drawn from several sources, including the American Indians. Its deeper influences, however, came from Asia. In several ways, Asian spirituality offered a more complete contrast to the rejected utilitarian individualism than biblical religion. Asian spirituality offered inner experience instead of external accomplishment, harmony with nature instead of exploitation of nature and intense bond with the guru instead of a relationship with an impersonal organization. Mahayana Buddhism, above all, under the form of the Zen, supplied the most important religious influence to the counterculture.” (Bellah 1986: 26)

Most of the practitioners interviewed referred to this connection between Zen and nature to explain their choice of religion as one practitioner noted:

“...The way Buddhism sees nature is different from Christianity. For Buddhism, there is life in all the elements of nature besides men themselves. There is life in the plants, rocks, mountains, and water, in everything. But in Christianity, things are different. I realized this reading the Genesis, which deals with creation. There it says God created the animals to serve men. That shocked me. Men took their ethnocentrism too far. Men subjugated animals and plants. Today we are watching the destruction of the planet...Buddhism has a different way of approaching this problem. And this is fundamental for me. To integrate nature is for me a spirituality which has to do with my life story.” (Maria Helena, forty-nine year old University lecturer)

Furthermore, *Zen Quarterly*, a magazine published by the *Sôitô* School of Zen Buddhism in Japan, also subscribes to this discourse and deals frequently with the ecological issue in its articles:

[A]s we approach the twenty-first century with the mindfulness of compassion and non-violence, our Buddhist challenge is to cultivate the Buddhist teachings that will stop the crimes against the environment and will reform our money-oriented world. (Okumura 1998)

The French anthropologist Louis Dumont argues that in the contemporary world religious practice is a choice of private forum, since “the dimension of value, which hitherto had been projected spontaneously in the world, was restricted to...the spirit, the feeling and man’s volition.” (Dumont 1985: 240) In a process of *bricolage*,¹³ the practitioner chooses characteristics of different practices to condense them into a spiritual quest. Thus, each practitioner constructs his/her religion as a unique praxis, different from all the others, mixing various traditions in order to build a new contemporary spirituality.

There are several groups of practices, associated with Zen Buddhism in Brazil, which are recurrent in the interviews: practices of healing (Yoga, Shiatsu, Do In, T’ai Chi Ch’uan, Acupuncture), practices of self-understanding (many kinds of psychotherapy, Astrology), martial arts (Ai Ki Do, Karate), eating habits (vegetarianism, macrobiotics), and other religions (Spiritualism, African religions, Mahikari, Rajneesh/Osho). As one practitioner said:

“I don’t think there is only one line of thinking. Only one line of thinking can’t supply all your needs. You have to pick some things that have to do with you, and if you think that something is too radical to one side, you should look for something on the other side. I think you will end up disappointed if you pick only one thing...There’s a word nowadays that has everything to do with the end of the millennium, when you stop following only one thing, it is ‘holism.’ You take something without worrying with lines of reasoning. You know I don’t care much for strict lines of reasoning. I think you have to get the whole, the essence, because everything is basically the same, all these practices say similar things.” (Ricardo, twenty-seven year old physician)

“Meditation, as we are learning here [in a Zen retreat], can be a holopraxis [holistic practice] too. It will never be an affiliation, the exclusive form of work or technique. I’ll never do this again in my life. I want to stay absolutely free. The moment we live decides which practice we should do. I think we have to be open to the different praxis, which are offered to us. I like to have a plurality of instruments at hand.” (Francisco, fifty-nine year old business consultant)

¹³ In concept of “bricoleur” given by Claude Lévi-Strauss in *La Pensee Sauvage*.

This approach to religious practice is justified using the Zen Buddhist idea on “non-attachment.” According to Buddhism, what causes people to suffer is their attachment to things and their lack of understanding that everything is impermanent. This ignorance of impermanence creates the expectation things will be the same. There is a famous Zen saying: “If you see the Buddha, kill the Buddha” meaning you should not get attached to the idea of the Buddha, but practice it. This is interpreted, by practitioners, as the impossibility of one religion being the permanent answer to their spiritual needs. The same practitioner praises Zen Buddhism as a religion that does not request loyalty:

You have to keep picking the little things you believe in and they will work for you as a step to go further. So, you leave things behind when you have no use for them anymore. You shouldn't say ‘I believe in this...’ It's funny because the monk himself said this. ‘You cannot get attached to Zen Buddhism.’” (Ricardo, twenty-seven year old, physician)

Moreover, due to this process of *bricolage* and hybridization, being a regular practitioner in one place does not stop someone from doing the same in another. It is possible that the same person participates in meditations and retreats at a center of Tibetan Buddhism, and, at the same time, goes to a Japanese Zen Center and is ordained lay monk/nun in both places, receiving Tibetan and Zen names. (Paranhos 1994: 155)

In fact, Zen, Tibetan, Korean and Singhalese monks are more and more present in many Brazilian cities, especially São Paulo. *Dharma Centers* (Brazilian Buddhist centers) bring their spiritual mentors from abroad (in general twice a year) so that they can give workshops, promote spiritual retreats and disseminate their teachings.¹⁴ Many followers undertake regular

¹⁴ Among the *Tibetan Dharma Centers* of São Paulo are: *Shi De Choe Tsog*, whose mentor is Gangchen Rimpoche; *Tibetan Center Chagdug Gonpa Brasil*, coordinated by the American Lama Tsering Everest and by the mentor Chagdug Rimpoche; *Tibetan Center Maha Bhodi*, whose mentor is Geshe Kelsang Gyatso; *Nyingma Institute*, whose mentor is Tartang Tulku and the *Tibetan House* (located at the Associação Palas Athena). In São Paulo there is also the Temple *Sôtô Zenshu Bushinji*, directed by Koen Murayama, and the Zen Buddhist Center *Cezen*, whose mentor is Moriyama *Roshi*, both connected to the Japanese Zen Buddhism; the *Dharma Center Sanata Dharma Saranam*, coordinated by Artur Eid, whose mentor is

trips to the centers, which originated the religion, such as in the US, Japan, Nepal, India or Tibet. These *Dharma Centers*, widespread around the city, help to disseminate this new holistic view of life. These Brazilian centers have joined the eastern religious circuit, whereby the Brazilian practitioners travel to other centers around the world sharing the same ideas and lifestyle. This metropolis propitiates a spiritual encounter with the East due to the readily available information through mass communication and technology. It is then the middle and upper middle classes who inhabit these urban sites, which are attracted to Eastern religions and who become part of the transnational religious circuit. José Carvalho refers to a cosmopolitan religious practice:

“The progressive construction—instead of a plunge in the tradition—of syncretic systems, more and more spiraled are supported by a religious culture in constant enlarging movement. That is, through a process of massive diffusion, since a kind of universal religious culture is more accessible to everyone, this religion is build from standard information of how the religions of the world were—of the Aztecs, Incas, Chinese, Japanese, Indians, etc. Everything is molded in a kind of religious common knowledge, which emerges as ‘pan-traditional’ or cosmopolitan.” (Carvalho 1992: 153)

This association of different practices and religions, which marks the end of the century, incorporates a holistic view of the individual that is opposed to the fragmentation of the modern societies. Zen Buddhism, as a universal religion, appeals to westerners also because of this holistic perspective. Thus, Brazilian Zen Buddhists have appropriated their new religion into their daily lives in order make sense of the modern world.

Conclusion

It is stimulating to map the population that practices Zen in Brazil. By focusing on the aspirations, motivations and lifestyles of Brazilian Zen practitioners, we understand how something *a priori* “foreign” to an eminently Catholic country is borrowed and hybridized into local cultures. Buddhism has a tradition in Brazil, on the one hand, of ethnic affirmation of Japanese immigrants and descendants as well as a search for a fulfilling

Bhante Henepola Gunaratana, from Sri Lanka; and the Zen Buddhist Korean temple *Tzong Kwan*, whose mentor is Pu Hsien.

religious identity for urban demands. Zen Buddhism is the preference of the urban upper middle class, a more intellectualized population, which associates Zen to a philosophy of life rather than as a religion.

Practitioners affirmed, “Zen Buddhism teaches us to live daily life, to search for inner peace, to have a more holistic viewpoint.” All the people interviewed made a point of choosing attributes of different religions and constructing their own, as a *bricoleur* would do. Each person had an idea of the sacred, which was constructed by him or her. The central practice of Zen Buddhism, meditation (*zazen*), is seen as an individual practice and Enlightenment (*satori*) is seen as the result of this individual effort. Brazilian Zen Buddhists desire to take responsibility for their own *karma* and *satori*. Additionally, Zen Buddhism is chosen because it is a “simple” religion, that is, it has no dogmas and it is connected to everyday life.

Essentially, Brazilian Zen is part of the process of *glocalization*. The Western construct of Zen, built during the counterculture and New Age movements, is appropriated and hybridized into the local “Brazilian color.” The ideas the west attributes to Zen are the main qualities that make Zen the religion of choice for the Brazilian intellectual upper middle class. These include thoughts on rationality, empiricism, and individual experience, Zen’s “down to earth” and “concrete” approach to daily life and the individual responsibility for your own *karma*. With globalization, a cultural hybridization is taking place (Featherstone 1995; Pieterse 1995), and it is likely that this urban sector of Brazilian society finds transcultural affinities with their counterparts elsewhere. The rapid flow of information through books, newsletters, internet, e-mailing lists, trips abroad to retreats and Zen Centers, visits from monks/nuns/*Roshis/gurus* to Brazilian centers, causes Brazilian practitioners to absorb and indigenize, or in the words of Jan Pieterse, “to make a *mélange*” of foreign influences and local creations.

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FROM THE BANNING OF MORAL EDUCATION TO THE CREATION
OF SOCIAL STUDIES IN OCCUPIED JAPAN, 1945-1947

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Japan's defeat in World War II was a devastating defeat that led to self-reflection on the reasons for Japan's humiliating fate. Initially, some Japanese viewed the nation's conquest only as the result of weaknesses in technology and science. Accordingly, the conservative establishment attempted unsuccessfully to prevent any fundamental change in the *kokutai* (national polity). Ultimately, however, many Japanese concluded that the causes went to the very soul of the nationalistic, militaristic and State Shintoistic prewar and wartime educational system. It was easy in that context to realize that one subject, *shushin*, had played a key role in distorting Japanese thinking from 1910, especially from the 1930s onward.

Objectively speaking, the essence of *shushin* was not inherently bad. The original motivation for the course offering from the early Meiji Period (1868-1912) came from the thinking of Meiji leaders that Japanese parents and Shintoism and Buddhism, unlike Christianity in the west, did not teach public ethics and morality. To fill that vacuum the Meiji leaders moved to the conclusions that moral education courses should be offered for each grade of elementary schools and the best way of teaching appropriate public ethics that would strengthen national unity and love of nation, respect for order, and place a high value on harmony would be to select models exemplifying those values. They decided to provide textbooks, short narratives of famous western and Asian heroes such as Confucius, Shotoku Taishi, Benjamin Franklin, and Florence Nightingale who exemplified qualities such as honesty, respect for elders and parents, compassion, duty, diligence, justice, community consciousness, responsibility, sensitivity, cooperation, loyalty, philanthropy, etc. After the promulgation of the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 and a resurgence of Japanese nationalism, the Ministry of Education decided to make each ethic or moral

mentioned in the Rescript as the sole source of morals and to provide heroic examples illustrating the value for each of the elementary school year.¹

By 1910, especially from the 1930s, the Imperial Rescript was interpreted in an increasingly narrow manner, western heroes declined, military, ultra-nationalistic, and very loyal Japanese increased. *Shushin* became a course that taught a narrow, ultra-nationalistic, militaristic, and State Shintoistic content and created self-sacrificing, obedient, passive, fanatically loyal imperial subjects out of those youngsters who finished their schooling at the elementary level.² *Shushin* taught in the Meiji Period (1868-1912) had merit, but that content taught after 1910 became indoctrination and orthodoxy.³ The American men and women who staffed the Education Division of the CIE, however, thought ethics and morality belonged exclusively to the home and churches. Schools had no business teaching morals. Japanese needed more internationalism than nationalism; more love of peace and development of the individuals' civic qualities than praise for military heroes and virtues that created docile, sheep-like subjects who followed trends blindly.

Immediately after Japan's surrender, semi-voluntary steps were taken by the first postwar Minister of Education, Maeda Tamon, and the Textbook and School Education Bureaus to transform *shushin* into new civics courses that would integrate the best aspects of pre-1932 *shushin* and

¹ Kaigo Tokiomi and Naka Arata, *Nihon kyokasho taikai kindai hen* [A Compilation of Japanese Textbooks: Modern Edition] (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1962). Harry Wray, "Change and Continuity in Images of the Kokutai and Attitudes and Roles towards the Outside World: A Content Analysis of Japanese Textbooks, 1903-1945." Ph.D. diss. (University of Hawaii, 1971).

² Harry Wray, "Militarism in Japanese Textbooks, 1903-1945," in Hilary Conroy and Alvin Coox, eds. *China-Japanese Relations: The Search for Balance* (Santa Barbara, CA: A.B.C. Clio Press, 1977).

³ Robert King Hall, *Education for a New Japan* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1949); Harold (Harry) J. Wray, "A Study in Contrasts: Japanese School Textbooks 1903 and 1941-45," *Monumenta Nipponica* 27, 2 (Spring 1973). Actually, the 1918-1922 national language and moral education textbooks reflected positive aspects of post-World War I internationalism, pacifism, and Taisho democracy. Harry Wray, "A Temporary Balance Between Internationalism and the Kokutai, 1918-1931," *Asian Forum* 5, 4, (1973).

the civics that had been taught at the fifth-year-level of middle schools from 1931. That altered thinking and Taisho Period (1912-1926) liberalism characterized Maeda, a career bureaucrat and Quaker, a former labor representative at Geneva, and chairman of the Japan Society in New York from 1935 to 1940.⁴ Through civics Maeda hoped to encourage scientific, rational and logical thinking; humanistic and international attitudes; preservation of the *kokutai*; and a determination to make a contribution to the world as a cultured, peaceful country. In a nation where willingness to act are generally achieved in a top-down fashion, Maeda's actions produced a favorable climate for political education to create citizens rather than submissive subjects. The Mombusho, however, like other government organs, was clearly aware that an Allied Occupation would require an ushering in of more democratic concepts and practices.

Ministry actions taken after 2 October 1945 revealed a determination by the Mombusho to anticipate SCAP's suspension of *shushin*, history, and geography, on 31 December 1945. Arimitsu Jiro, Textbook Bureau Chief after 15 October 1945, kept a valuable diary for this entire period. Entries on 2, 9, 11, 15, and 23 October 1945 show that Maeda spoke unequivocally of the need for civics education "within each school subject as well as a separate subject" to make a Japanese-type democracy a "possibility" through the "perfection of humanity" and the rearing of "responsible citizens" possessing a strong sense of "critical judgment."⁵

⁴ Kaigo Tokiomi, *Nihon no kyoiku: Sengo Nihon no kyoiku kaikaku* [Japanese Education: The Reform of Postwar Japanese Education] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1969), I, pp. 43-45. Kaigo Tokiomi was the editor of this ten volume set and the writer of the section on social studies in volume I. Until SCAP documents were open these volumes provided a one-sided, but most thorough research to that time. Katsuda Shuichi, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika* [Postwar Education and Social Studies] (Tokyo: Kokudoshsha, 1972), I, pp. 20, 44; Okatsu Morikhiko, *Kyoiku katei: Sengo Nihon no kyoiku kaikaku* [Education Curriculum: Reform of Postwar Japanese Education] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1969), VII, p. 14; Yomiuri Shimbun Sengo Shihan, *Kyoiku no ayumi* [The Path of Education] (Tokyo: Yomiuri Shimbunsha, 1982), pp. 20-39.

⁵ Arimitsu Jiro, *Arimitsu nikki* [Arimitsu's Diary] (Tokyo: Daiichi Hoki Shuppansha, 1989), pp. 801, 821, 827-30, and 838. Arimitsu was a career bureaucrat in the Ministry from 1927 through 1948.

Maeda's words and actions were echoed in the compilation section of the Mombusho's Textbook Bureau and other parts of the Ministry. Kubota Fujimaro, Youth Section Chief in the People's Education Bureau of the Mombusho, approached Katsuda Shuichi with the proposition that they organize a committee for the reform of moral education.⁶ Katsuda, a graduate of Kyoto University's philosophy department and chief secondary education compiler for morals and civics in the Textbook Bureau's First Compilation Section, concurred immediately. Meetings within the Ministry on 27 and 29 September 1945 respectively led to two decisions: one, to produce a draft on civics; second, to create a Civics Education Reform Committee (*Komin Kyoiku Sasshin Inkai*) that would include prominent private scholars to give the Mombusho direction on that subject. Katsuda and Kubota successfully recruited Toda Teizo (chairman), Watsuji Tetsuro, Inada Masatsugu, Okochi Kazuo, Tanaka Jiro, and (later) Munakata Seiya.⁷ Two points need to be made regarding the date of this committee's inception. Maeda already had called for the "complete transformation" of civics and the formation of the committee in speeches on 15-16 October. Furthermore, SCAP had also issued a directive on 22 October 1945 calling for materials to produce active citizens as rapidly as possible.⁸ These two top-down actions indicate that the Civics Education Reform Committee came into existence more as a result of Maeda and SCAP's initiative than as a result of pressure from below.

In his subsequent writings, however, Katsuda emphasized that compilers enthusiastic response to compiling civics materials demonstrated progressive thought and pent-up dissatisfaction with moral education and

⁶ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 20.

⁷ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 20. Katsuda Shuichi and Okatsu Morihiko, "Gakusha shido yoryo no kaisei mondai" [Problems in Revising the Courses of Study], in *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi* [The Path of Social Studies Education], Umene Satoru and Okatsu Morihiko, eds. (Tokyo: Shogakukan, 1959), p. 13.

⁸ Kaigo, *Nihon no kyoiku*, I, p. 42; Kodama Mitsuo, ed. *Education in Japan* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1983), p. 94. This source includes the reports of the United States Education Mission to Japan (USEMJ) and the United States Education Mission to Germany, a training manual for Civil Affairs Training Schools, and "Education in Japan," a source compiled for the orientation of the USEMJ.

their conservative superiors. Certainly it was true that Katsuda, Takeuchi Yoshitomo, Baba Shiro, and two others who joined the Mombusho from the early fall of 1946 to create social studies, Shigematsu Takayasu and Ueda Kaoru, gradually moved to the political left, Takeuchi and Katsuda a little more so. In fact, after leaving the Mombusho, Katsuda became a supporter of the radical Japan Teachers Union and a strong critic of Mombusho.⁹

Katsuda's group produced two preliminary position papers for the Civics Education Reform Committee's consideration. On December 22 and 29 respectively, the same committee produced two drafts for the compilers' guidance: "Report on Civics Education, Number 1" and "The Fundamental Direction of Civics Education, Number 2."¹⁰ The committee's thinking (similar to another committee established for the reform of history education) was a mixture of Taisho liberalism and conservatism. On the one hand, the committee demonstrated its conservatism by recommending the integration of *shushin* with history and geography, the retention of the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, and the preservation of the *kokutai*.¹¹ These proposals reflected the limits to which the conservative establishment was prepared to go without force and a new SCAP drafted constitution of February 1946. To that extent it can be said that Katsuda and Takeuchi were dissatisfied and had moved by late December, certainly by late February, beyond the thinking of Maeda.

⁹ Proof of this climate was an unsuccessful movement to organize a Mombusho labor union in September 1945. It was almost immediately banned. However, sustained organizing activities and the favorable attitude toward labor unions of the Labor Division, Economic and Science Section, SCAP led to formal recognition of a ministry union in March 1946. Conversations with Kishi Juro from December 1983 through August 1984. Kishi served as Assistant Librarian of the Compilation Section during this period.

¹⁰ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, pp. 20, 44; Okatsu Morihiko, *Kyoiku katei; sengo Nihon no kyoiku kaikaku* [Curriculum: Reform of Postwar Japanese Education] VII, p. 14.

¹¹ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, pp. 21-29. Isoda Kazuo also finds the committee's report to be conservative. See his contribution in Hidano Tadashi and Inagaki Tadahiko, *Kyoiku katei, soron: Sengo Nihon no kyoiku kaikaku* [Curriculum, Survey: Reform of Postwar Japanese Education] (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1971), VI, pp. 70-71.

On the other hand, the committee did espouse humanism, universal principles, logical and scientific thought, individual autonomy, political education, representative government, true understanding of world conditions, awakening of individual activity in social life, development of the individual, and the importance of unifying theory and practice. In these two drafts, however, the true essence of democracy and the manner in which it could be implemented were abstract. A dissatisfied Takeuchi and Katsuda pushed ahead with further studies and organized on 19 February 1946 a *Komin Kyoikuin Yomoku Iinkai* (Committee on Essential Points for Civics Education).¹²

The enthusiasm of those who emphasize these Japanese initiatives for political education has distorted the positive role the CIE was simultaneously playing to promote civics. For example, because Katsuda allegedly feared the above actions might violate CIE policy, he allegedly received permission from Arimitsu to explain to Herbert J. Wunderlich, Branch Chief of the Education Division's Textbook and Curriculum Section, what they were doing. However, Wunderlich told Katsuda that the existence of the civics committee and compilers' actions constituted no problem because these Ministry actions were consistent with SCAP directives.¹³

Proof that SCAP wanted the Mombusho to produce materials of a civics and social studies nature can be found in the interaction of Dyke, Henderson and Education Division staff with Mombusho personnel and SCAP directives of 22 October and 31 December 1945. The former called upon students, teachers, and educational officers to engage in "free and unrestricted discussion of issues involving political, civil, and religious liberties" and to produce materials "designed to produce an educated,

¹² Indeed, the former claimed the committee rejected his more liberal draft regarding civics. Takeuchi Yoshitomo, "'*Shakaika*' no kimaru made" [Until Social Studies Were Decided], in Katsuda Shuichi Chosakushi, *The Edited Works of Katsuda Shuichi*, p. 4; Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, p. 16; Katsuda and Okatsu, "*Gakusha shido yoryo no kaisei mondai*," in *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, pp. 13, 16.

¹³ Katsuda and Okatsu, "*Gakusha shido yoryo no kaisei mondai*," in *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, pp. 13, 16; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, pp. 31-33.

peaceful, and responsible citizenry” as rapidly as possible.”¹⁴ Arimitsu’s record of a 23 October meeting demonstrates that Maeda interpreted the SCAP directive as support for civics by stating that it “only pushes us forward” with educational reform and civics.¹⁵ The 31 December directive specifically ordered the Mombusho to prepare substitute materials and teachers’ manuals and submit to SCAP a plan for “presenting fundamental social, economic, and political truths, relating them to the world and life of the students. These truths shall be taught through classroom discussion...and whenever possible, the discussion will be correlated with current events.”¹⁶

Two actions demonstrated CIE’s pressure and impatience with the speed of the Mombusho’s progress. One was the removal of Major Harold Henderson, first Chief of the Education and Religious Subsections, CI&E, an old Japan hand and friend of Maeda. Henderson was a mild, soft-spoken gentleman who interacted with the latter as a colleague, not as a conquered enemy. He encouraged Maeda to adapt liberal reforms by easygoing, informal consultations, even of the content of planned SCAP directives, rather than direct orders.¹⁷ These practices led CIE Chief Kenneth Dyke to replace him on 11 December 1945 with Lieutenant Colonel Donald R. Nugent. Two, Nugent brusquely demanded that Mombusho materials be offered with haste for CIE inspection.

Because the Education Division staff of CIE viewed the entire subject of *shushin* with much distaste, it welcomed efforts to replace it with a more desirable civics education. On 19 January 1946 an Education Division meeting with Nomura Buei, Chief Inspector for the Bureau of School Education, led to discussion about ways and means to acquaint teachers with new texts for civics and history.¹⁸ Eleven days later Katsuda and

¹⁴ Edward R. Beauchamp and James M. Vardaman, eds., *Japanese Education Since 1945: A Documentary Study* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 62-64, 74-75; Kodama, ed., *Education in Japan*, pp. 93-95.

¹⁵ Jiro, *Arimitsu nikki*, p. 836.

¹⁶ Beauchamp and Vardaman, eds. *Japanese Education Since 1945*, pp. 74-75; Kodama, ed., *Education in Japan*, pp. 103-105.

¹⁷ Jiro, *Arimitsu nikki*, p. 801.

¹⁸ CIE (C) 00266. The CIE designation refers to the cataloguing system used at the National Diet Library, National Institute for Educational Research (NIER), Meisei University, and Nagoya University for SCAP’s

Hayashi Denji, Chief of the First Compilation Section, met with Wunderlich to discuss the preparation of a teacher's guide on civics in lieu of a textbook for the morals course. That activity began in earnest when Wunderlich discussed the same issue with the Textbook Bureau Chief, Arimitsu, and Chief of the Second Compilation Section, Ishiyama Shuhei, on 2 February 1946.¹⁹ Further discussions with Katsuda and Aoki Seiichiro, chief of a newly established Research Section, on 8 February led to a CIE request that the outline submitted needed to be revised and clarified. Accordingly, Aoki, Katsuda, and Takeuchi submitted a "detailed translation of a part of the Teachers Guide" for approval on 14 February.²⁰ CIE formally ordered Katsuda and Aoki to produce separate teachers civics guides for elementary, youth, and middle school teachers. Aoki submitted his first outline for the elementary teachers guide for civics on 23 March.²¹ The aforementioned Committee on Essential Points for Civics Education completed by 30 March a draft of ten pages intended for the old middle school system that dealt with the individual and society.²²

Two drafts of the youth and middle schools teachers guide on civics by Katsuda on 3 and 23 March secured Harry Griffith's approval, but the latter advised Katsuda that these partial drafts (Part I) would not take the place of the second part of the teacher's guide.²³ Katsuda wrote that Griffith was pleased with his first draft because it seemed more like American social studies in content than civics, the first hint that the Education Division

CIE materials housed now at the National Archives 2 in College Park, MD. The original collection was located at the old National Record Center where I did my research. For that reason I have retained the old citation form and abbreviated National Record Center and SCAP documents as NRC 331. NRC/331, Boxes 5138, 5151; Trainor Papers, Box 57. The Trainor Papers were originally stored at the Hoover Archives, but microfiche copies are located now at the National Diet Library, NIER, and Meisei University.

¹⁹ NRC/331, Boxes 5138, 5151; Yomiuri, *Kyoiku no ayumi*, pp. 144-45, 388; Trainor Collection, Box 57.

²⁰ Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, p. 17; Katsuda, pp. 32, 44.

²¹ Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, p. 17; Katsuda, pp. 32, 44; NRC/331, Boxes 5138, 5151.

²² Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, p. 17; Katsuda, pp. 32, 44; NRC/331, Boxes 5138, 5151.

²³ Trainor Collection, Box 57; NRC/331 Box 5116.

might favor the former over civics.²⁴ But an objective reading of the reports of Wunderlich, Barnard, Griffith, and Monta Osborne at every stage of the elementary and secondary level teachers' guides from February to August 1946 shows that they had to be revised many times in content and pedagogy before they obtained Education Division approval. As late as 13 August, even though various portions of Part I of Katsuda's draft had undergone six months of CIE criticism, Osborne, in a memo to Chief Mark Orr, wrote that he had spent three hours going over suggestions to improve it. Among the twelve "errors" noted by Osborne the following are listed verbatim:

- 1) An intimation that the only reason for changing the morals course was Japan's defeat. [This is a curious allegation because it was not Katsuda's belief.]
- 2) An implication that the old morals course will be resumed.
- 3) A failure to make a distinction between curriculum and textbooks.
- 4) The teaching that education was a preparation for adult life.
- 5) A view that the teacher was the source of all knowledge.
- 6) The use of such phrases as "make the pupils learn, make the pupils understand."
- 7) A tendency to distinguish between abstract teaching of civics and practical exercises in civics was discovered in many parts of the document. "The undersigned attempted to infuse the viewpoint of education as experience—that if the subject being studied is the Diet, there are many types of experience through which children may be guided by the teacher, all of which should be relatively concrete and practical, even including lectures by the teacher."

²⁴ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 32; Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, p. 17.

8) Incorrect and incomplete definitions of the lecture method, the discussion method, the problem method, and the project method.²⁵

The Direct Relevance of Progressive Education Philosophy to Social Studies

The displeasure of Osborne and other Education Division staff from the elementary and secondary branches was based on their progressive education philosophy and the alleged conservatism and amateur knowledge of professional education of Mombusho personnel. Education Division staff considered the latter to be ignorant of democratic education, curriculum building, and educational practices such as a course of studies, guidance, methodology, principles, child psychology, the unit system, and evaluation. They held almost a religious conviction that they were democratic, scientific and professional, and that traditional educators were old-fashioned. They believed that the traditional curriculum was too authoritarian, teacher and textbook-centered, drill-oriented and grade-conscious, competitive, and centered on the college-bound.

From this mind set, Dr. Joseph Trainor, advisor to the Textbook and Curriculum Section of the Education Division and Deputy Chief of the Division from August 1946, and a fervent progressive educator, constantly complained that, with the exception of Aoki Seichiro and “possibly one other person” within the Mombusho, officials “had an extreme lack of knowledge of the bag of tricks of the professional educator and teacher.” Kenneth Harkness (Elementary Education and Textbook and Curriculum Branch Chief), in sheer disbelief at his inability to make textbook compilers understand the new education, complained to Nishimura Iwao, “Why don’t they learn? We keep repeating the same things to them over and over and they don’t understand.” Nishimura told him, “Your reaction is wrong. They aren’t stupid. It’s a difference in educational principles. They have been taught European, chiefly German, thought, and can’t adapt that quickly to American thought and educational practice. In addition, they can’t understand conversational English, but they can read it. Give them materials to read.” Thereafter Harkness and Osborne ordered hundreds of books, courses of study, and other educational reference materials for loan

²⁵ NRC/331, Box 5133.

to Mombusho personnel and for the establishment of the so-called “Harkness-Osborne” library within the Mombusho.²⁶

Given all the efforts in late 1945 through mid-1946 to introduce civics, why did the Education Division suddenly decide to introduce social studies? I believe there are at least six reasons:

1) The departure from the Education Division in late April through August 1945 of “traditional” educators or non-educators and their replacement by increased numbers of staff who were experienced adherents of progressive education’s philosophy and practices, beginning in June 1946 and reaching a peak by October-November 1946;

2) The report of the first United States Education Mission to Japan (USEMJ) of 30 March 1946 advocated social studies in content and methodology. Education Division staff seized upon these recommendations and implemented them as a blueprint;

3) The belief by Education Division personnel that teaching of social studies was far superior to civics for Japan’s democratization;

4) The recommendation of the USEMJ to adopt new curricula and a 6-3-3-4 educational system led to strong pressure from the Education Division staff to combine them with social studies from July 1946 as the latest and best in American education;

5) The willingness of Arimitsu and almost every official of the Textbook Bureau to cooperate with—even to anticipate—to the fullest extent possible every CIE request that did not cut at the very root of the Mombusho’s existence. Many of them, to the surprise of Education Division staff, looked upon the USEMJ report as a “Bible” and felt compelled to implement its recommendations. In this context, the political scientist Sodei Rinjiro, looking at the contemporary reaction of many Japanese

²⁶ Interview of Nishimura Iwao, 23 June 1984; Hidano and Inagaki, *Kyoiku katei, soron*, p. 76.

officials and Japanese people, somewhat exaggeratedly claimed Japanese were not raped, they “jumped into bed” voluntarily and happily;²⁷

6) The continued growth in democratic knowledge and the new progressive education by compilers concerned with civics and social studies. From approximately October 1945 they had read new materials, thought about them, and discussed American education with the Education Division staff and amongst themselves.

The Addition of More Experienced Educators Professing Professional Education’s Tenets and Practices

The SCAP directive of 22 October 1945 and the USEMJ Report of 30 March 1946 recommended the creation of a more democratic curriculum. The Education Division prior to the summer of 1946 lacked sufficiently qualified professional educators to take the detailed, practical steps to achieve that objective; however, between June and November 1946 the CIE was able to boast greater professional experience and specialization than before by the recruitment of sixteen new staff members, most of them progressive educators.²⁸ Harkness, Trainor and Osborne played the most significant role in the creation of social studies and made most of the major decisions on curriculum in August and September.

Ultimately, more than organizations zealous staff personnel are decisive. Harkness, Trainor and Osborne were dedicated workaholics committed to progressive education and the thorough democratization of Japanese education. They saw social studies as the key subject in the

²⁷ Correspondence with James I. Doi, 4 June 1984; interview of Nishimura Iwao, 23 June 1984; Sodei Rinjiro, “A Question of Paternity,” in *Japan Examined: Perspectives on Modern Japanese History*, Harry Wray and Hilary Conroy, eds. (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 355.

²⁸ NRC/331, Box 5132; Mark T. Orr, “The Reformers: Japanese Education During the Allied Occupation,” Paper delivered at the Florida Japan Seminar, University of Florida, 3 May 1980; pp. 6, 25; correspondence of Mark T. Orr, 3 March 1987; interview of Gordon Bowles, 21 November 1987.

curriculum for achieving that goal. Trainor's transfer to the Education Division on 20 April 1946 from CIE's Research and Analysis Division brought into the Education Division a man with a fairly comprehensive understanding of Japanese education and the Ministry of Education, practical teaching experience and advanced degrees in educational theory and administration at the Universities of Oregon and Washington, and post-doctoral study at Teachers College, Columbia University. He considered it his mission to implement as fully as possible the USEMJ and the Japan Education Committee reports of the spring of 1946.²⁹

Furthermore, Trainor was a man of action willing to use strong pressure to achieve goals. Within days of assuming the position of advisor to the Textbook and Curriculum Branch on 20 April 1946 he initiated a study by his staff of the role they could play in the reorganization of Japan's educational system.³⁰ He learned that higher officials in the Mombusho had authorized the Textbook Bureau to establish a Research Section in the Textbook Bureau in February 1946 under Aoki Seiichiro's leadership and, even more importantly, a curriculum committee that cut across bureaus, the Mombusho Curriculum Review Committee (MCRC). Trainor immediately saw Aoki and the curriculum committee as godsends and sought immediately to channel its activities and to educate its members.³¹ When Trainor became Deputy Chief his increased status made him even more powerful vis a vis the Mombusho.

²⁹ For the crucial role that Trainor played in regard to the writing of the first stopgap history textbooks in postwar Japan see Wray, "1946 nen Zantei Rekishi Kyokasho: Kushin no tanjo (Sono ichi)" [The Agonizing Birth of the 1945 Stop-Gap History Textbooks, Part 1] *Senryo Kyoikushi kenkyu* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, July 1984), pp. 1-30; Wray, *1946 nen Zantei Rekishi Kyokasho: Kushin no tanjo (Sono ni) Senryo Kyoikushi Kenkyu 2* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1985), pp. 1-14.

³⁰ Trainor would sometimes begin a staff study or a memo by pointing to the recommendations of the USEMJ and the JEC and JERC reports. That can be seen in the 28 September 1946 rough draft on curriculum. NRC/331, Box 5133; and Joseph C. Trainor, *Educational Reform in Occupied Japan, Trainor's Memoir* (Tokyo: Meisei University Press, 1983), pp. 139, 181-82, and 189-90.

³¹ NRC/331, Box 5132; Trainor's Memoir, pp. 123-24. In his analysis of the Mombusho Trainor was very critical of the lack of coordination therein;

Another man in the trio that played a prominent role in 1946 in forging a new curriculum, courses of studies, educational ladder system, and social studies was Harkness. He was competent, honest, fair, and methodical, but a somewhat unimaginative person who could be acerbic, rude and forceful with Mombusho officials. It is true that he was not a scholar, but he had experience as a teacher and administrator and was scrupulously honest in dealing with textbook companies. Harkness served as Superintendent of Schools for a small city in South Dakota from 1937 until the outbreak of the war. He served through out the war as the Superintendent of Education at Tule Lake Camp, an internment area for *issei* and *nissei*.³²

The Relationship between USEMJ Recommendations and Social Studies

Two observations need to be made regarding USEMJ and social studies. First, the members included state superintendents of education, heads of teacher training institutions or departments of education, an officer in US Office of Education, an officer in State Office of Education of Georgia, the head of the National Education Association, and two representatives of Columbia University's Teacher's College. These educators were all exponents of progressive education. Second, the failure to advocate social studies specifically by name probably reflected the opposition of more traditional scholars who were members of the USEMJ—as distinguished from educators.³³ But a careful textual analysis of the Mission's recommendations demonstrates that it advocated social studies in content, methodology, and spirit. Specifically the mission recommended:

The extension of the study of the social sciences in the middle schools and above with an emphasis on the structure and functioning of the local

however, Nishimura was critical of Trainor's "overemphasis" on Aoki in his comments at a 23 June 1984 meeting of the Meisei University seminar on Occupation Reforms.

³² I am indebted to Professor Katagami Soji for this information. Correspondence of Kenneth Harkness with Katagami Soji, 4 October 1980. Although I interviewed Harkness, he was ninety years old and his memory had faded.

³³ Interview of Ernest Hilgard, 24 January 1980.

community...the educators of Japan must help create the same respect for those who work with tools as for those who work only with their minds...We recommend an emphasis on the contributions and problems of artisans and workers in the social studies problem at both primary and secondary levels...The school should help every individual to develop strong personal family, civic, and social loyalties. It should not exert partisan influence but help to develop an inquiring mind...The field chosen for illustration is that which is referred to as ethics and sometimes civics in Japan, and is part of social studies in the US. It embraces political science, economics, sociology and ethics, adapted to the maturity of the learner. According to their age level pupils should learn about local industry, local prefecture, and national government. In the elementary and secondary schools they will profit from visits to business establishments, banks, stores, police and fire departments and government offices; they will learn how private and public business is carried on there. They should be encouraged to ask questions and engage in discussion. Responsibilities of employers and government officials should be dwelt on, and the common rights of individuals as employers and as citizens. Questions should be raised as to the means of safeguarding these rights and ways of improving them.³⁴

Any American educator reading these sentences would immediately assume that the USEMJ recommended social studies and that they reflect vintage progressive education. Osborne believed that the USEMJ report was “to be treated as a Bible” for Japanese education reform.³⁵ Likewise, Japanese compilers all assumed that the report endorsed the teaching of social studies.³⁶

In mid-May, Mark Orr was promoted first to Acting Chief and then in June to Chief of the Education Division. Upon becoming Acting Chief, Orr

³⁴ Kodama Mitsuo, ed. *Education in Japan*, pp. 15, 18, 24, 26, 34-35; Murai, Minoru, *Zenyaku Kaisetsu, American kyoiku Shisetsudan Hokokusho* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1979). The last three quotations can be found on pp. 50-52, 80-81.

³⁵ Interview of Monta Osborne, 28 December 1981, 29 December 1982, and 13 August 1985.

³⁶ Baba Shiro, “*Shakaika no kyoiku keikaku*” [The Education Plan of Social Studies], in *Shakaika kyoiku no Ayumi* [The Path of Social Studies Education], Umene and Okatsu, p. 145; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 35. Trainor Papers, Box 31.

immediately ordered each staff member to write a report for their respective areas specifying how they would implement the USEMJ recommendations.³⁷ The third member of the trio that was responsible for the establishment of social studies in the Occupation was newly arrived Monta Osborne (5 June 1946). It was his long draft of mid-June that included emphasis on adopting social studies that won Orr's approval and promotion from a probationary status to Branch Chief of Secondary Education.

The Beliefs of Education Division Personnel that Social Studies were Superior to Civics for Japan's Democratization

Social Studies were considered to be the jewel of America's elementary and secondary curriculum and to be inextricably intertwined with the increasing development of American democratic ideals and practices. Civics education was viewed as too narrowly concerned with political education. Because social studies integrated civics, history, geography, sociology, anthropology, religion and ethics, economics, and psychology and focused on current societal problems, the Education Division believed this subject would be able to examine every aspect of Japanese life from a democratic viewpoint. Furthermore, the emphasis of social studies on developing critical judgment, respect for the individual, using the discussion method, and learning the democratic process and societal institutions by practical, functioning unit activities and problem-solving was seen as a way to create active, critical *citizens* with backbone rather than mere *subjects* who acquiesced to every government and social trend.

Educational Reorganization and the Relationship between a New Curriculum and Social Studies

The creation of a 6-3-3-4 educational ladder system and a new curriculum for the 1947 school year had deep significance for the creation of social studies because all three goals were promoted in tandem as if they possessed a symbiotic relationship. Throughout this period the Education

³⁷ Baba Shiro, "Shakaika no kyoiku keikaku" [The Education Plan of Social Studies], in *Shakaika kyoiku no Ayumi* [The Path of Social Studies Education], Umene and Okatsu, p. 145; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 35. Trainor Papers, Box 31.

Division groped toward a policy by which they could introduce curriculum reform, educational reorganization—meaning centralization and the 6-3-3-4 educational ladder system, and social studies.³⁸

In the meantime, in late April and May 1946, the Ministry of Education semi-independently of the CIE, initiated modest steps to renovate the curriculum.³⁹ Both Nomura Buei, the chairman of the MCRC, and Sakamoto Hikotaro, a member of it, admitted that the MCRC plans of 10 and 15 June envisioned relatively limited reform.⁴⁰ In fact, Trainor referred to them disparagingly as “philosophical mush.”⁴¹ Because of Mombusho conservatism, in June 1946 the Educational Division decided to gain control over the MCRC by organizing the so-called “Trainor seminars,” workshops for training the MCRC, and MCRC subcommittees subsequently organized for subject areas, about which more later. By August they had made much progress in steering the MCRC toward a democratic curriculum, social studies, and a 6-3-3-4 educational ladder. By mid-September those three Education Division goals became so fixed that Arimitsu and the entire Textbook Bureau learned that no curriculum reform, textbooks, or courses of study would be accepted that did not accept the reality of a single-track 6-3-3-4 system.⁴²

³⁸ Baba Shiro, “*Shakaika no kyoiku keikaku*” [The Education Plan of Social Studies], in *Shakaika kyoiku no Ayumi* [The Path of Social Studies Education], Umene and Okatsu, p. 145; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 35. Trainor Papers, Box 31.

³⁹ Trainor Papers, Box 57; NRC/331, Box 5132; Nomura Buei, “*Sengo Mombusho ni ita koro no omoide banashi*” [Recollections of The Time When I Was in The Mombusho], *Chuto kyoiku shiryō*, no. 3, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁰ Trainor Papers, Box 57; NRC/331, Box 5132; Nomura Buei, “*Sengo Mombusho ni ita koro no omoide banashi*” [Recollections of The Time When I Was in The Mombusho], *Chuto kyoiku shiryō*, no. 3, pp. 11-12.; Sakamoto, Hikotaro, “*Komin kyoiku to shakaika*” [Civics and Social Studies], in *Shogakko shakaika 25 nen no ayumi* [The Path of Twenty-Five Years of Elementary Social Studies] *Tokyo Shogakko shakaika kenkyukai*, *Shogakko shakaika 25 nen no ayumi* [The Path of Twenty-Five Years of Elementary Social Studies] (Tokyo: Meiji Tosho, 1973), pp. 36-39.

⁴¹ NRC/ 331, Box5132.

⁴² Interviews of Arimitsu Jiro, 3 May 1980 and 27 May 1980; NRC/ 331, Boxes 5132, 5133.

Although left of center scholars argue that these three reforms involved no force because liberal and Marxist educators at all educational levels, textbook compilers, and the Japan Education Reform Committee (JERC) endorsed them, it cannot be denied that the content, method, and the speed with which these reforms were implemented involved considerable pressure on the Mombusho. Actions of Trainor and Harkness between 9 and 18 September 1946 demonstrate that the CIE had concluded that: (a) the Japan Education Reform Committee would support their goals of creating social studies and a 6-3-4 educational ladder system, (b) the area of curriculum, courses of studies, and textbooks now would be used as one more tool against the Mombusho to force adoption of a single track 6-3-3-4 system. In retrospect, from the time of the USEMJ Report and the arrival of new Education Division staff, the creation of social studies under an American-led Occupation can be looked upon as a foreordained process.⁴³

The Continued Growth in Knowledge of Progressive Education and Social Studies by Mombusho Compilers

Scholar-compilers had an abstract knowledge of western political history and political thought, but a very limited understanding of parliamentary, social, and economic democracy, human rights and human dignity, the importance of the minority and the individual *vis-à-vis* the state and society, and the values and educational theory and practices of a democratic society. But every former Education Division staff the author interviewed stressed how eager they were to learn and to please. Wunderlich paraphrased their attitude: "Give us the book or books that will unlock your secrets and we shall comprehend and put into practice what you desire."⁴⁴

Japanese sources confirm these American judgments of the compilers. In his contributory essay to the collected works of Katsuda Shuichi, Takeuchi traced the process of scholar-compilers' gradual evolution toward an acceptance of social studies as preferable to civics for the new age. He wrote that Katsuda sought materials that achieved a balance between the

⁴³ Interviews of Arimitsu Jiro, 3 May 1980 and 27 May 1980; NRC/ 331, Box 5133.

⁴⁴ "Interview of Herbert J. Wunderlich, 9 January 1980; interview of Nishimura Iwao, 23 June 1984; Presentation of Nishimura Iwao, Meisei University Postwar Occupation Education Reform Seminar, 23 June 1984.

societal needs for progress and order and that concerned themselves with the citizens' ethics, socialist aspects, and societal contradictions. From early 1946 Katsuda's preference for European thought led him to study civics in English textbooks while Takeuchi examined morals in French classical works. Both, however, concluded that because morals in both cultures were linked to historical tradition, the use of Japanese historical tradition would only yield *shushin* ethics. Takeuchi wrote:

We couldn't build civics on that...From that time on we felt the necessity to think deeper. He [Katsuda] began to investigate the discussion method...and from April began to study extensively educational methods, while I took up the study of the project method. Katsuda concluded by early summer that there was no other solution than taking the direction of social studies. GHQ also strongly preferred that course.⁴⁵

Takeuchi's essay failed to develop adequately two points: the role that CIE literature on American education played in their education, and the significance for Katsuda of the guidance he had received from Barnard and Griffith before their departure, and, particularly, from Osborne from June 1946. Monta Osborne was an indefatigable and pragmatic, progressive educator with the ability to translate democratic ideas into practice.⁴⁶ He "loved" and respected Katsuda, but he said of him and the other social studies compilers that they knew "practically zero" about progressive education and social studies. They had to be led by the hand because "the whole concept of the course of the studies was foreign to them."⁴⁷

How New were Social Studies? Who Named it? How much Force was used to Achieve their Implementation?

Some Japanese scholars who want to emphasize indigenous roots and continuity for postwar educational reform have argued that the creation of social studies in 1946 was not new because there were prewar Japanese reform movements. But the roots were shallow.⁴⁸ Historically, Taisho

⁴⁵ Takeuchi, "'*Shakaika*' no kimaru made," pp. 3-4.

⁴⁶ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, pp. 38-39.

⁴⁷ Interview of Monta Osborne, 28 December 1981.

⁴⁸ Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, pp. 5-10; Hamada, *Sengo kyoiku to Watakushi*, p. 96.

(1912-1926) liberalism had spawned a new education movement. Kaigo and Victor Kobayashi have shown that there were a few Japanese educators who had studied Dewey, Kilpatrick, and other progressive educators' thought at Columbia and other American universities.⁴⁹ They had established a handful of progressive schools, but the prewar legacy was really minimal because the practitioners were very limited and wartime conditions from the mid-1930s eliminated these promising Taisho experiments in Japanese education.⁵⁰ Hidano minimized prewar social studies contributions and also interprets most indigenous reform from 1945 to the summer of 1947 as Japanese efforts to initiate positive plans to win American approval and to accommodate them to SCAP policy.⁵¹

On the basis of Japanese personal accounts and American records the conclusion is inescapable that American social studies was new to all but a very few Japanese. Nishimura Iwao, a member of the MCRC, remembers the reaction of contemporaries in the Mombusho to Education Division officers' conversations and the USEMJ recommendations being, "What in the world is this stuff?"⁵² Katsuda, Ueda, Baba, Aoki, and Shigematsu had never really worked with such concepts as social functions, centers of interest, understanding, and unit activities.⁵³ Katsuda acknowledged that his debt to Osborne was great because the latter was so diligent and thorough in explaining the new education and social studies.⁵⁴ He also confessed that none of the compilers understood what a course of studies was so they asked Trainor to send over to the Mombusho three or four persons to help them. He wrote:

We found we lacked experience and knowledge. The CIE wanted us to think broadly about these subjects. It seems simple, but it was very

⁴⁹ Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, pp. 120-22; Victor Nobuo Kobayashi, *John Dewey in Japanese Educational Thought* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan School of Education, 1964).

⁵⁰ Okatsu, *Kyoiku katei*, VII, p. 33; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, I, pp. 12-22, 34.

⁵¹ Hidano and Inagaki, *Kyoiku katei*, VI, pp. 62-63.

⁵² Interview of Nishimura Iwao, 23 June 1984.

⁵³ Umene and Okatsu, *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, pp. 3, 16-19.

⁵⁴ Umene and Okatsu, *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, pp. 3, 16-19; Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, pp. 38-39.

difficult and the discussions were very harsh within Mombusho over the courses of studies, discussion method...We had no knowledge of the unit system. One of them was about the use of leisure time. At first we did not understand their merit. It required quite a bit of time to put these units together. It was not simple and we spent many sleepless nights to meet deadline after deadline.⁵⁵

To back up chronologically we should recall that after 5 June 1946 Trainor had sought to manage the MCRC by introducing bureau and section chiefs such as Aoki, Ishiyama, Nakamura, Sakamoto, and Nomura to modern educational theory and practice on a systematic basis three times a week. The "Trainor seminars," taught curriculum building, general aims of education and specific aims for individual subjects, stages of psychological development of the child, the interests and social activities of children of different ages, the purpose and content of a course of studies, textbook planning, analysis of community life, and democratic educational theory and practice. These seminars with the MCRC and subcommittees accomplished two goals. First, they wore down Japanese resistance to social studies, the 6-3-3-4 system, and a new curriculum. Second, a more favorable attitude by MCRC superiors toward the new subject moved compilers to full cooperation.

The second meeting of the Education Division with social studies compilers on 5 September 1946 demonstrated how much the American side facilitated the development of the courses of studies. In response to their previous requests for materials and guidance, Harkness prepared three sets of materials. One material supplied them with eight steps to follow in developing a social studies curriculum. Another one listed many suggestions for social studies compilers that Harkness had only partially adapted from his native South Dakota's course of study. The third item contained materials adapted from the Virginia course of study. Osborne reported that a great deal of time was spent in clarifying these materials, especially the meaning of items from the Virginia Course of Studies, namely "Major Functions of Social life," "Centers of Interest Selected for

⁵⁵ Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku* ⁵⁵ NRC/331, Box 5132. *to shakaika*, pp. 38-39; Umene and Okatsu, *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, p. 21.

Emphasis for Various Grade Levels,” and “Understanding Emotional Attitudes and Special Abilities.”⁵⁶

Osborne was not satisfied with Katsuda’s ability to translate abstract philosophical and sociological conceptions into meaningful and interest for school children. On 3, 4, 6, and 16 September Osborne met with Katsuda regarding the Teachers Guide for Civics. On the first date Katsuda complied with Osborne’s request by submitting Part I. Osborne noted it “incorporated a good deal of new material,” some of which was copied from reports of the American Educational Policies Commission that he had supplied Katsuda. Although Osborne wasn’t satisfied, he said Part I had “reached a degree of excellence,” that justified its publication. On the latter three dates Osborne tentatively accepted a revision of Teachers’ Guide, Part II and gave Katsuda 500 learning activities he had prepared over the previous two weeks that were to be published as Part III under the ten headings of “centers of interest” that the Civics Education Reform Committee had recommended in December and Barnard and Griffith had developed subsequently with compilers for the secondary level Teachers’ Guide on Civics. He told Katsuda to adapt them as part III of the manual.⁵⁷ Unaware of Katsuda’s indebtedness to Osborne, it is this same Part III that one of Japan’s leading scholars on social studies, Katagami Soji, described as coming close to American social studies. In fact, Osborne surprised Katsuda on 10 February 1947 by telling him that Parts I, II, and III of the Teachers Guide for Civic would be absorbed into the 1947 Social Studies Course of Studies for Secondary Education.⁵⁸ They were indebted to the Missouri Course of Studies, the Virginia Course of Studies, Osborne’s eclecticism, and Katsuda’s philosophical thinking.

On 20 September Harkness reported with considerable satisfaction that at last the historians, geographers, and civics compilers had worked together to compile a list of general objectives for social studies. They now would work out aims specific to the elementary and secondary levels by referring to the chart of pupil interests and activities completed by Aoki on 15 September. Harkness thought the quality of the objectives drafted was “mediocre,” but he admitted that a “distinct step forward in curriculum

⁵⁶ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁵⁷ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁵⁸ NRC/331, Box 5133.

work had occurred.”⁵⁹ Arimitsu and the MCRC agreed to comply with Education Division demands on 24 and 26 September 1946 respectively that the unit method be adopted, social studies compilers henceforth would first submit their materials to the Mombusho’s course of study committee, and that *all* compilers would attend *all* subsequent scheduled workshop meetings (26 September 1946). Harkness added an element of coercion by warning the compilers “we will drop in “unexpectedly and regularly. Osborne and Luanna Bowles, Secondary Education Branch, also reported it had been agreed they would now spend a half-day each day supervising the work because “the committee needs constant supervision and assistance.” Finally, the meeting established a “*modus operandi*” to insure that the course of studies would be completed by the deadline.

Even though compilers were encouraged to be eclectic and to adapt the American materials to actual Japanese conditions, the pressure of trying to initiate social studies in the new curriculum and single track 6-3-3 elementary, middle, and high school system unsuccessfully by April 1947, and then by the second semester of 1947 created much anxiety and even health problems for some compilers over the subsequent year.⁶⁰ The severe limitations of time and the difficulty of integrating history, geography, ethics, civics, economics, anthropology, and sociology into social studies kept upper level Mombusho officials too dazed to oppose Education Division goals and lower level compilers too busy to develop materials that would correspond more closely to Japanese culture. The result was a massive copying of the Virginia, California, South Dakota, and Missouri elementary and secondary courses of study.

The strongest proof for Education Division initiative in adopting social studies was an Osborne memo to Orr of 8 August 1946. In it Osborne related that Katsuda wanted to write a civics textbook, but Osborne suggested that the civics outline that Katsuda had handed to him that day should be broadened to become social studies. In my view this action is the birth date of social studies.⁶¹ Katsuda, himself, noted that Osborne told him even before the *Kyoiku Sasshin Inkai* (Japanese Education Reform Committee) had made any of its recommendations, the likelihood of a 6-3-3-4 curriculum being implemented was very strong. For that reason he said

⁵⁹ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁶⁰ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁶¹ NRC/331, Box 5132.

the compilers should set forth on the preparations of a social studies curriculum and course of studies based on the USEMJ recommendation because civics was taught only a temporary course from September 1946 to September 1947.⁶²

The Relative Commitment of Mombusho and CIE to Social Studies

SCAP records are especially clear in demonstrating that the Education Division wanted much more of a commitment to civics and social studies than higher Mombusho officials contemplated. Successive MCRC plans on curriculum show it planned a very limited role for them. Trainor strongly objected to an MCRC draft of 15 June 1946 that called for teaching civics only one hour a week.⁶³ A plan presented on 1 August, a week before the decision had been made to introduce social studies, only called for the teaching of civics from the fifth grade. But the Education Division complained that a subject so vital to learning democratic attitudes, practices, and social skills should be taught from the first grade of elementary school.

At the senior high school level there was also a weaker commitment on the Japanese side to social studies. On 12 December 1946 Nakamura suggested requiring five credits of social studies and the awarding of two credits only for any electives in social studies. The MCRC proposal only specified four hours of class time a week. Finally, that plan required the schools in the first year of the new curriculum in 1948 to make available only ten credits of the new social studies courses in the first year or two. Osborne opposed these proposals as inadequate. He suggested and received agreement on the following items: all electives would be worth five credits; ten hours would be required; each high school would be required to make available at least fifteen credits in social studies.⁶⁴

How much were the New Social Studies Courses “Made in America”?

The issue of how much the new courses of studies and textbooks were indigenous and how much they were “made in America.” was obscure and

⁶² Katsuda also noted that Osborne inserted a sentence in the teachers guide stating, “civics should be researched as a part of social studies.” Katsuda, *Sengo kyoiku to shakaika*, p. 33.

⁶³ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁶⁴ NRC/331, Box 5133.

politically partisan until the release of SCAP documents in the late 1970s. On the one hand, contemporary compilers and later left-of-center scholars who have supported a vigorous social studies program as a means to further democratize Japan have exaggerated the Japanese contribution because they wanted to emphasize that social studies were not forced on Japan and had indigenous roots. On the other hand, those who did not like the new social studies, especially conservatives, have taken the extreme position that they were completely alien and forced on Japan. From the foregoing account it should be clear that the content of the courses of studies and textbooks were largely “made in America,” but with qualifications. First, because of time considerations, the Education Division and the compilers were unable to adapt the American content to Japanese conditions as much as they desired. Second, the compilers’ cooperation in regard to the content and methodology espoused by the Americans was almost one hundred percent.⁶⁵ Osborne noted on 23 October that the secondary level compilers listed center of interest and aims for social studies reflecting the Missouri and Virginia courses of studies. He supplied them with “fifteen or twenty” more units for each of two centers of interest.⁶⁶

The most dramatic example reflecting borrowed American educational practices was the adoption of the activity unit system. Osborne said:

I guess I would have to take full responsibility, for better or worse, for having advocated the use of activity units within social studies. I did that, frankly, because from what I observed from Japanese schools, when I first went there, learning was entirely too much the nature of memorization, rote memory...I felt that the activity unit where you state your objectives and you cover the range of material that you plan to cover and then you list a couple hundred possible student activities might get them away from this rote learning. That we thought...was not a very good system of teaching. I still believe that.⁶⁷

What did the Japanese compilers themselves think about the extent of their contributions? Shigematsu frankly said that the elementary level plan was “ninety percent American and ten percent Japanese” because there was

⁶⁵ Interview of Shigematsu Takayasu, 4 April 1984; Hamada, *Sengo kyoiku to Watakushi*, pp. 97-99.

⁶⁶ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁶⁷ Interview of Monta Osborne, 28 December 1981.

not enough time, and because the compilers judged the Virginia course of study to be logical, theoretical, and skillful at introducing problem-solving,⁶⁸ In conference reports from October through November Harkness expressed surprise that the compilers were literally copying American materials. On 4 November 1946, when they handed in a list of aims and pupil activities that “followed rather closely” the Virginia plan, he told them to produce materials “more in conformity with Japanese life.”⁶⁹

Ueda admitted that many activities and materials used as a part of learning were different.⁷⁰ In his view, however, the secondary level courses of study and textbooks were less new in content and methodology than the elementary level. Katsuda claimed the secondary level compilers selectively adopted from the reference books he borrowed from Osborne. He believed that it combined the Missouri, Virginia, and other state plans, the Teachers Guide for Secondary Civics, and a synthesis of his sociological theory and Osborne’s pragmatism.⁷¹

Education Division officers wanted to be flexible in adopting social studies to fit Japanese conditions; however, they were less able to achieve that objective in practice for three reasons. First, they were sometimes blind to their own assumptions that many American values were universal and could be easily and wisely transplanted. Second, because they desired to introduce social studies in the new 6-3-3-4 system and curricula in the 1947 school year, lack of time limited compromise and adaptation. Third, compilers were keenly aware of their difficulty of grasping the new subject and the toll the task was taking on their health to meet Education Division deadlines.

In a revealing passage Trainor wrote, “The danger to avoid is that of translating American texts too literally into Japanese. The trick is to select out of American textbooks those things which are professionally educational and of general application and to omit those things which are peculiarly American. American principles could be used, but practical

⁶⁸ Hamada, *Sengo kyoiku to Watakushi*, pp. 97-99.

⁶⁹ NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁷⁰ Interview of Ueda Kaoru, 3 February 1984; Hamada, *Sengo kyoiku no choryu*, pp. 31-32; Takeuchi, “‘Shakaika’ no kimaru made,” p. 4.

⁷¹ Umene and Okatsu, *Shakaika kyoiku no ayumi*, p. 18.

illustrations must be Japanese.”⁷² In an Osborne memo to Trainor of 27 October 1946 the former candidly admitted that the Education Division had misled the Japanese side for the purpose of achieving educational reorganization and a new curriculum:

One way of getting this vast job done would be for Major Osborne and Miss Bowles to turn out completed units of study on an assembly-line basis and deliver them to the Mombusho committee for adaptation and translation. Such a procedure is considered highly inadvisable... We have been telling the Japanese that the organization of integrated social studies courses simply meant reorganization of existing materials in the fields of geography, history and civics, in an attempt to convince them of the possibility and advisability of adopting the integrated system for the school year 1947-48. Actually, integration means a great deal more. We have the job of selling integration to thousands of schoolteachers, and the major selling job must be done during this next year. If we select haphazardly paragraphs here and chapters there from existing textbooks and other materials, paste them together and call the process integration this basic selling job will not be accomplished. Take as an example a problem unit that tentatively has been selected for grade nine: “How Does School Life Present Opportunities for Practice in Cooperative Living?” A diligent search of existing materials reveals little source material for that unit. A great deal of creative work is necessary. In the case of units that bear a closer relationship to existing materials, the problem of integration is still complex. As an example of this point, take a problem which has been adopted for the seventh grade:” How Do The People of Japan Make a Living?” Existing materials are scattered, a line here and a paragraph there, through several textbooks on the subject of geography. A writing job is as necessary here as in the other cited problem. (My emphasis)⁷³

Even after the elementary and secondary compilers finished their work, the CIE wanted to be certain classroom teachers would readily understand their materials. The Education Division was very critical of the existing attitude of Mombusho officials and private scholars who seemed happiest when the written content of an order, announcement, or teachers manual was so difficult that classroom teachers could not comprehend them. Osborne made Katsuda rewrite the introduction to the course of studies at

⁷² NRC/331, Box 5132.

⁷³ NRC/331, Box 5135.

least three times by 27 March 1947 “in an attempt to get it down to the terminology that teachers will understand.”⁷⁴ He told the latter that if the style remained stilted he would have the introduction rewritten by another author. The correction of this arrogant practice was one of the permanent contributions of the CIE to Japanese education.⁷⁵ The CIE even required Mombusho to recruit classroom teachers to rewrite Mombusho materials, a process that provided another limited opportunity to adapt American materials to Japanese conditions. The General Course of Studies for Social Studies (Tentative Draft) was published on 20 March 1947 and the Courses of Studies for the Elementary School Level and Secondary Level (Tentative Draft) were published on 5 May 1947 and 22 June 1947 respectively.⁷⁶ They were presented as tentative drafts on the CIE premise that thereafter courses of studies would be written by local officials and teachers; however, Mombusho never relinquished this role and technically teachers were bound by law to follow the courses of studies published by it periodically thereafter.

The power of Education Division staff to override Mombusho superiors can also be seen from Osborne’s reaction to three units that Katsuda had submitted on 2 January 1947. Katsuda had impressed Osborne as a liberal thinker, but unit three for grade nine, entitled, “How Are We Governed?” approached government as a “semi-authoritarian institution.” Because Osborne felt Katsuda was writing that unit under constraints from a higher official or officials, he asked the latter how he reconciled that approach with a new constitution that proclaimed popular sovereignty. Katsuda “explained there was a fear [from above] that if the people are given any substantial power the Communists will gain control.” An unmoved Osborne told him to rewrite the unit.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ NRC/331, Box 5134.

⁷⁵ Conversations with Kishi Juro, December 1983 through August 1984.

⁷⁶ Katagami Soji, “*Kyoiku katei no kaikaku to shakaika no seiritsu*” [The Establishment of Social Studies and Reform of the Curricula], in *Sengo kyoiku no sogo hyoka: Sengo kyoiku kaikaku no jizo* [A Comprehensive Evaluation of Postwar Education: The Reality of Postwar Education Reform], Kanko Iinkaihen, ed. (Tokyo: Kokusho Kanko Kai, 1999), pp. 117, 132.

⁷⁷ NRC/331, Box 5133.

Mombusho's Victory over CIE Pressure to Eliminate or to Reduce Japanese History and Geography

The CIE did not always manage to pressure the Mombusho into complying with its goals. One good example was the Japanese side's desire to preserve geography and Japanese history. This was a straight out battle between traditionalists and progressive educators. Osborne, Trainor, and Harkness were committed much more strongly to eliminating history and geography as independent subjects and integrating them into social studies than the divided Japanese MCRC. At a 19 August meeting Osborne steered the MCRC away from considerations of how much curricular time should be allotted to social studies and whether separate history, civics, and geography courses should be taught from the fifth grade upward. Instead, he maintained that more priority at that point should be given to what children ought to be able to do after finishing a course and what the school might provide in the form of experiences during that course rather than to discussing time allocation for social studies and whether history, civics, and geography should be taught. At a 21 August meeting again the MCRC also argued that history and geography were being neglected by the proposed curriculum. The American side sought to overcome the objections by showing how tracing the historical development of the Japanese home using history. Geography could be integrated through obtaining understanding of the environmental factors that contributed to the development of the family and its shelter. Comparative geography could demonstrate how homes in other countries had developed. Mombusho resistance surfaced again on 23 August when Nomura argued strongly for the separation of Japanese history at the elementary and junior high level.⁷⁸ His superior, Hidaka Daishiro, Chief of the Bureau of Schools, and the history compilers, seconded him. Osborne et. al., tried to destroy Nomura's argument on three different occasions. On the first occasion, at a 23 August meeting, he suggested that they first label ten boxes with the major areas or centers of interest found in the Teachers Guide for Civics. Second, he told them to make out cards on every item of knowledge or educational experience found in the Guide and the history and geography textbooks. He then said:

⁷⁸ NRC/331, Box 5133; Nomura, "*Sengo Mombusho ni ita koro no Omoide banashi*," pp. 11-12.

Go through the collection of cards. When one is discovered which relates to Home life, toss it into the box labeled "Home Life." When one is discovered that pertains to life at school, toss it into the box labeled "School Life." At the conclusion of the experiment, it probably would be discovered that no cards remained—that all of them had found their appropriate places in the boxes, thereby proving that none of the highly revered subject matter [history, geography, and civics] would be lost.⁷⁹

Nomura and Hidaka's strong insistence that Japanese history should be separated from social studies at some stage of compulsory education carried sufficient weight to achieve a limited and grudging compromise from the Education Division. The Mombusho-Education Division committee decided as final compromises on 27 September 1945 that Japanese history would be included in the integrated social studies course in grades five and six and be taught chronologically as a separate course in grades eight and nine, but be given only one credit in grade eight and two credits in grade nine. Integrated social studies courses were to be taught from grades one through ten and at grades eight and nine. Its greater importance over Japanese history in CIE's eyes can be seen by the course being given four credits each of those two years. At grades eleven and twelve, students would be required to take only five credits from among four courses: Oriental History, Western History, Human Geography, and Current Problems. Bowles ruefully had admitted already in her 23 August conference report that the Education Division would probably have to concede. As she put it, the proponents of social studies in the US found it necessary to acquiesce in almost every state on the same issue. The new social studies curriculum was to be implemented in April 1947, but textbook and courses of studies delays meant that social studies began on 2 September 1947.

Conclusion

In historical perspective the difference between social studies and the old *shushin* course was the difference between night and day. The old *shushin* course created passive, docile, nationalistic, super-patriotic *subjects* who served the emperor blindly, and textbooks that extolled Japan's historical destiny and uniqueness. In contrast, the new social studies sought

⁷⁹ NRC/331, Box 5132.

to create critical-minded, spontaneous, creative, peace-loving, democratic and international-oriented *citizens*. It was designed to create students who understood their own society, respected the individuality of others, and adopted a logical, scientific, and objective viewpoint towards the study of all problems.

But these ideals were not achieved. Similar to the later tendency of social studies in America, they have played a role in Japan of adjusting people to their society. History, geography, ethics, economics, and government remained as independent subjects at the secondary level. The one exception that integrates them is the high school subject, *gendai shakai* (contemporary society), but its significance has been reduced by its change in the 1994 curriculum from a required to an elective subject. In addition, a new course, "life education," has replaced social studies and science in the first two years of elementary school.

Why should there have been a retreat from CIE's objectives. A fundamental axiom of the CIE section of SCAP was that officers should avoid making reforms that would be revoked after the withdrawal of the Occupation forces. Despite reservations back home by some Americans about progressive education in general and social studies in particular, the Education Division implemented a subject that Japanese conservatives and traditionalists thought infringed too much upon their culture, social behavior, and educational practices. One such practice that made social studies poorly adapted to Japanese education was the entrance examination systems for senior high school and universities. Social studies demanded problem solving, discussion, and functional activities. These practices did not lend themselves to the massive memorization of facts required by entrance examinations. Neither did emphasis upon individualism and cultivation of student assertiveness for active citizenship. Hence, when the Occupation ended, those in control of education began a process, continuing to the present day, of modifying and limiting social studies greatly to fit Japanese culture and needs. The vision and purpose of social studies were clear and idealistic; however, they did not fit the Japan of this period. Furthermore, progressive educators bias against traditional forms of education that create a foundation for learning would have lowered Japan's educational standards significantly. Now fifty years after the Occupation, Japan is ready to recognize more individuality and diversity, but it was too soon for social studies to be accepted *en toto* in the immediate postwar period.

THE AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENT'S DEPICTION OF JAPANESE EDUCATION

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Introduction

As one who has worked in Japanese education for fifteen years, I am familiar with the scholarship in the field. In addition to scholarly literature, during the years in which I have studied Japanese education, a steady stream of publications has appeared about Japan's schools in both the American popular print media and in k-12 education journals. How Japanese education is characterized in major American k-12 education publications constitutes the major research question of this article.

My interest in systematically analyzing how leading American education journals portray Japanese schooling was stimulated through both anecdotal experiences and reading several articles on Japanese education published in journals to which large numbers of American school administrators and teachers subscribe. When I speak about Japanese schools to groups of American teacher audiences locally regionally, and nationally, invariably I receive queries concerning pressure the Japanese educational system allegedly exerts upon students. Almost every teacher prefaces this sort of question with an exaggerated statement about how much stress Japanese students encounter in schools. Teachers also always ask questions on Japanese teen suicide that lead me to believe they think it is much more of a problem than is actually the case.

Some time ago I read an American educational journal in which a leading education author and nationally-syndicated columnist strongly implied that adolescent suicide was a major problem in Japan, much more so, in fact, than is the case in the United States (Bracey, "Asian and American Schools Again," *Kappan*, p. 642). In my judgment the manner in which the information on suicide was worded most probably imparted an inaccurate notion of Japanese suicide to readers. This particular article was not the first inaccurate account of aspects of journals with large circulations. Previously, I had read articles on juku and Japanese elementary schools that were also inaccurate. Were the mistaken allegations and content errors I encountered in earlier reading isolated

incidents, or were distortions and errors about Japan's schools widespread in the American educational press?

Specific research questions addressed in the article that follows include: Who writes about Japanese education in the American educational press? Do any particular Japanese educational—related topics resurface again and again? What is the tenor of the articles—are they positive, negative, neutral? And, how accurate is the American educational presses' depiction of Japanese education when compared to scholarly treatment of the topic?

Data Sources and Methodology

Two educational journals, *Educational Leadership*, which is published by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, and *Phi Delta Kappan* (hereafter *Kappan*), which is the flagship publication of the Phi Delta Kappa Educational Fraternity, were selected as data sources. These journals both have large circulation and tend to be read by K-12 public education policy-makers as well as classroom teachers. *Educational Leadership*, which has two hundred thousand readers, has an audience consisting of a disproportionately high number of educational administrators, education professors, curriculum supervisors and school department heads. The *Kappan*, which has one-hundred-and-thirty-five thousand readers, is perhaps a more influential publication than *Educational Leadership*. While it has a smaller circulation, the *Kappan* is popular among high level school administrators—where it is commonly referred to as the “Superintendent’s Bible.”

A computer-search was conducted using the key word “Japan” for both journals beginning 1987 and concluding with the latest available issue (September 1999). 1987 was judged an appropriate beginning point for this study since 1987 marked the US Department of Education’s release of *Japanese Education Today*, (Dorfman and Carr), a ninety-five page monograph that was released to school districts throughout the US and served to stimulate a substantial amount of dialogue on Japanese schools. The search yielded a total of twenty-six articles (*Educational Leadership*—seven articles, *The Kappan*—nineteen articles) that contained content on Japanese education over the twelve-year period.

Who Writes About Japanese Education?

Appropriately, in this context, “Japanese Education Scholar” is defined as an individual who has either published on Japanese education in journals such as *Comparative Education Review*, or *The Journal of Japanese Studies*, or has published books or monographs on the subject through university or scholarly presses. Of the seven articles on Japanese education appearing in *Educational Leadership*, three scholars wrote four of them (Harold Stevenson wrote two articles for the journal). Scholars in Japanese education were responsible for four of the nineteen articles that appeared in *Phi Delta Kappan*. Occupations of the non-scholar lead authors include: research psychologist and writer, free-lance writer, elementary teaching journal editor, educational administration professor, education professor, retired pension fund consultant, school superintendent, state legislator, counsel for congressional committee, graduate student, private company research associate, American English teacher in Japan, American teacher in Japan and American high school principal.

Major Topics

Each article was classified as to what Japanese education topic or topics appeared in the piece. While authors of some articles addressed one topic exclusively, the majority of authors wrote about more than one topic. The four leading Japanese education-related topics that authors addressed were: Comparative US Standardized Test Studies (seventeen articles), *Juku* (ten articles), Rote Memorization and Low Creativity (seven articles) and Youth Suicide (six articles). Other authors wrote about (appearing three times or less) included: collaborative learning, elementary schools, *ijime* (bullying), pedagogical approaches of elementary teachers, the general role of high school teachers, teacher training and high expectations of Japanese schools.

Positive/Negative Treatment

Articles were categorized as positive if most or all of the content of a particular article cast a favorable light on the aspect or aspects of Japanese education described in the article. If the opposite was true with an individual article then the article was categorized as negative. An article was categorized as neutral if its content neither positively nor negatively depicted Japanese education. Of the seven articles that appeared in *Educational Leadership*, four were positive and three were negative. Six of the nineteen articles that appeared in the *Kappan* were positive, eleven were

negative and two articles were neutral. Of the scholar-authored articles in both journals, six were categorized as positive, one was neutral and one was negative. Non-scholars in both journals were responsible for four positive articles, fourteen negative articles and one neutral article.

Nature of the Accuracy/Inaccuracies

If an article contained no content that conflicted with consensus scholarship among Japanese education specialists it was categorized as accurate. An article was categorized as inaccurate if the opposite was true. Seven of the eight articles Japanese education scholars wrote for both journals (four in *Educational Leadership*, four in the *Kappan*) were categorized as accurate. No non-scholars (three articles) writing in *Educational Leadership* were classified as accurate. Of the fifteen articles by non-scholars in the *Kappan*, three were categorized as accurate, and twelve as inaccurate.

Examples of inaccuracies are organized based upon the four leading Japanese education topics authors addressed in the articles.

Comparative US-Japan Standardized Test Studies

Authors made various inaccurate assertions while addressing comparative US-Japan test data. For example, *Kappan* columnist Gerald Bracey wildly exaggerated the academic pressure for Japanese children when he asserted that "...American students can beat the socks off their Asian counterparts if we are willing to: ...convince American parents that, when their children turn four, they should take them on their knees and tell them, 'You are big boys and girls now, so you need to start practicing for college entrance examinations,' ...and convince American students that, if they sleep four hours a night, they will get into college, but if they sleep five hours a night, they won't; they must study instead." (Bracey 1996: 128)

Another author explains the Japanese success on international tests by making similar incorrect assertions. He cites a colleague's belief that American test scores would improve if absent students' mothers came to school, took notes, and gathered their homework each day. (VanSciver 1997: 68)

Authors also make inaccurate statements regarding Japanese test performance in reference to Japanese student samples that were tested. For example, in a 1992 article on international math testing, the author asserts, "...structural differences in Japan and the US create substantial disparities

in the proportions of students enrolled in the final year of secondary school.” The author then points out that a higher proportion of US seniors are enrolled in high school than is the case in Japan. The author uses comparative US-Japan high school senior enrollment from 1967 as a source as evidence. (Jaeger 1992: 119)

Another inaccurate tactic (in my opinion) is author dismissal of the importance of US-Japan comparative tests. For example, an author of a *Kappan* article entitled “Notes on Japan from an American School Teacher” contended “...sixteen years as a teacher in public school classrooms convinced me that one good anecdote is worth one-thousand lesson plans and ten-thousand standardized test scores.” (Ohanian 1987: 361)

Juku

Studies indicate that twenty-four percent of Japanese elementary students, sixty percent of middle school students and thirty percent of high school students attend *juku* at some time in each respective educational level. At any given time thirty-five percent of all elementary and secondary students are actually enrolled in *juku*. (Cummings and Altbach 1997) Most Japanese elementary students don’t attend *juku* to “cram” for examinations but to take enrichment courses such as swimming and piano lessons. In “The Secret of Japanese Education” one author identifies *juku* as the key to Japan’s success. (Goya 1993: 128) The same author then makes the inaccurate statement that “...many parents enroll their children in an academic *juku* as early as first or second grade,” and goes on to assert that about one out of three elementary students receive supplementary lessons without mentioning that the majority of these lessons are in swimming, piano or English conversation. (Goya 1993: 128) Another author suggests that if the US desires to equal Japan’s educational achievements then they will need to design public school promotion exams in a way “...that most parents will feel obligated to send their children to *juku* three or four hours a day.” The author also facetiously recommends, “...that Americans provide second-language instruction for all *juku* students starting at age three.” (Nordquist 1993: 66)

While research indicates that Japanese students have mixed feelings about *juku* (Ellington 1992), several authors in this study describe the *juku* experience in entirely negative terms. For example, one high school principal, in a 1993 *Educational Leadership* article, characterizes *ronin* as “...students who have failed the college entrance exam—who litter the

pedagogical battlefield of this Spartan educational system.” (Pettersen 1993: 56) He neglects to add that almost all *ronin* eventually enter the university. The same author characterizes the philosophy behind Japanese *juku* as “...a nearly fanatic view of what our universities refer to as lifelong learning.” He goes on to describe Japan as “...an entire nation marching off to schools.” (Pettersen 1993: 58)

Rote Memorization and Low Creativity

Scholars of Japanese education concur that rote learning is over-accentuated and that Japan’s schools seem to not facilitate creativity. However, authors of several articles in the two American education journals inaccurately distort this aspect of Japanese schools, and completely ignore the more positive characteristics of Japanese education. For example, one author warns that “Before we copy Japanese education, let’s make sure we understand that in Japan, authentic learning means mastery of memorized information, not experiential learning that prepares one for life.” (Nordquist 1993: 64) The same author inaccurately contends that memorization “...explains why they (the Japanese) are so good at math.” (Nordquist 1993: 66)

Authors, in discussions of rote memorization, often made the related charge that the Japanese educational system does not foster creativity. One author quotes travel-writer Paul Theroux’s concern that Osakans don’t jaywalk at traffic lights, “A society without jaywalkers might indicate a society without artists,” and then goes on to assert that American educators should ponder whether we want elementary schools without divergent thinkers. (Ohanian 1987: 367)

Suicide

From the 1950’s until the early 1960’s the proportion of Japanese adolescent suicide rates relative to the cohort were higher than in the US; since then, the exact opposite has been the case. (Zeng and LeTendre 1998) In all six of the articles where suicide is discussed, authors either directly assert or strongly imply adolescent suicide is a greater problem in Japan than the US Government or international agency statistics are cited in none of the six articles. One author quotes another publication where a Japanese student asserts, “The Japanese government is responsible for the suicide of so many children,” in reference to the educational system. (Bracey, “Asian and American Schools Again,” *Kappan*, 1996: 642) The other five authors

simply assume readers know that there are higher rates of teen suicide in Japan. For example, the author of an article on “cram” schools writes, “In Japan, industrial need, not intellectual curiosity determines the number of university openings, thus the escalation in burgeoning “cram” schools, attentive education mothers, the suicides, and the countless exam prayer candles burning in the temples.” (Pettersen 1993: 58)

Conclusion

Japan specialist Thomas Rohlen wrote, “Our public educational system is far more insulated by national and cultural borders than are our corporations, our military, and our scientific establishment. Left to its own devices there is little reason to think that American education would be inclined to look outside for answers to its problems.” (Cummings and Altbach 1997: 223) The findings in this study suggest Rohlen was quite correct in his description.

Scholars of Japanese education were responsible for only slightly over twenty percent of the articles in both journals. Almost sixty percent of the articles in the study negatively depicted Japanese education, and, more importantly, over sixty percent of all articles contained factual inaccuracies. The majority of authors in these leading American education journals attack Japanese education with little knowledge of, or regard for, accuracy.

A sociological question arises based upon this study. In the 1980’s American business was, in one respect, in a similar position to American public education vis-à-vis Japan. The American popular and print media unfavorably depicted American management practices when compared to Japanese ones. The response of American business was to aggressively study and attempt to learn from Japan. This study suggests an opposite response from the American public educational establishment.

A second question stimulated by this study is: Why do the American and Japanese public educational establishments appear to behave so differently regarding foreign practices? Japanese K-12 educational leaders appear to be quite interested in foreign approaches to schooling. Why does this not seem to be the case with their American counterparts?

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BOOK REVIEWS

Harry Wray. *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices*
Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999, pp. 322.

Reviewed by Lucien Ellington

Even though a steady stream of books on Japanese schools have appeared in the US since the 1980's, only a very few scholars have done as thorough a job as Harry Wray in comparing Japanese and American education. These comparative components, and the attention Wray gives to attitudes about schooling in each nation, are the two strongest features of this generally well done work. A third strong feature of the book is Wray's contention that good national tendencies, e.g. the Japanese focus upon order and the American obsession with individuality have been carried to extremes in both nations' schools. Wray is uniquely qualified to intelligently compare American and Japanese schools since he has, in addition to doing scholarly on Japanese education, taught in American public schools and universities.

The book, because of its balance and lack of polemics, will receive short shrift from those in Japan or the US who wish to use "comparative education" to either exclusively attack or defend the educational status quo. Balance notwithstanding, Wray is convinced that while both national systems need substantial reform, the US has more serious problems than does Japan. Wray's first chapter is titled "Japanese Schools' Higher Achievement, Literacy, Efficiency, Discipline, Classroom Management, and Strengths of Centralization," in it he paints a grim picture of a US public school system plagued by low academic standards, an archaic nineteenth century schedule, too many bureaucrats, and serious discipline problems.

Chapter Two, "Factors Shaping Current Japanese Education," discusses the historical and contemporary influence of Japanese culture on present-day Japanese schools. Wray describes a wide range of Japanese cultural practices affecting education including Confucianism, sexism and expectations that women should be "education mamas."

Chapters Three and Four, "Japanese Educational Weaknesses and American Strengths," and "The Distorting Influence of School Ranking, Entrance Examinations, and Supplementary Institutional Educational

Systems on Individuals and Schools,” show Wray’s critical gaze on Japan. He is condemnatory of Mombusho’s stifling power, the Japanese textbooks screening process, extensive school rules, the confidential student reports, the failure of the Japanese system to foster creativity, and a great deal more. However, Wray is most critical of the distorting influence of the examination system and private “cram schools” on virtually every aspect of the lives of Japanese youth. He makes a fascinating though not ironclad case that private “cram schools” threaten the very future viability of Japan’s public schools. Given the recent mixed to positive accounts of Japanese “cram schools” by many American scholars of Japanese education, Chapter Four should be highly informative reading to those interested in *juku* and *yobiko*.

In Chapter Five, Wray examines social attitudes that weaken American education and he makes a strong case for serious K-12 US educational reform. He addresses among other topics, the catastrophic effect of the rise of one-parent families on school discipline, and the systematic US problem of poor teachers teaching poor kids and talented teachers working in rich, suburban districts.

In the final chapters, Wray provides excellent discussions of each nation’s teaching force and curriculum. He reiterates his major criticisms of each nation’s educational system and offers suggested policy changes in his conclusion. *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices*, should be an ideal textbook for undergraduate and graduate courses on comparative education, foundations of education and sociology of education.

Peter B. Clarke, (ed.). *A Bibliography of Japanese New Religious Movements: With Annotations and an Introduction to Japanese New Religions at Home and Abroad*. Japan Library: Richmond, Surrey, 1999. 276 pp. ISBN: 1-873410-80-8.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Metraux

The academic study of Japan’s New Religions has flourished in the 1980s and 1990s with the publication of several thousand books and journal articles both in Japan and the US. H. Byron Earhart’s 1983 compendium, “The New Religions of Japan” is now very outdated. Scholars in the field

will thus rejoice at the publication of Peter B. Clarke's recently edited "A Bibliography of Japanese New Religious Movements."

Clarke's "Bibliography" contains over one thousand five hundred entries including European, American and Japanese entries covering books, journals, unpublished papers and theses, and a selection of in-house publications. The second half of the book provides brief profiles of each of the main New Religious Movements covering the founding and subsequent history of each group, a summary of main beliefs and practices and a listing of main publications by and about the religion. There is a brief introductory chapter, "Japanese New Religions Abroad—The Way of the Kami in Foreign Lands" and a concluding chapter, "Aum Shinrikyo: Brief History and Select Bibliography."

Only scholars studying each of the religions can really judge the quality of the overall listings for that religious movement. The sections on the Soka Gakkai and Aum Shinrikyo, for example, provide a broad and contemporary listing of works in English and other Western languages as well as a useful sampling of publications in Japanese. There are careful and extremely useful annotations accompanying several entries that summarize the major themes and subjects covered in each work. No bibliography, especially in a rapidly growing and broad field such as the "New Religions" in Japan, can be complete and there are some omissions of major works that should have been included. Nevertheless, one must commend Clarke, Research Assistant Sonia Crivello, and a long list of contributors at the Department of Theology and Religious Studies at King's College, University of London for their copious and diligent work. On the other hand, many of the brief summary histories and overviews of the religions themselves are poorly developed. Thus, while Masaki Fukui provides a superb chapter on the history and theology of Kofuku-no-Kagaku, the section on the Soka Gakkai is very sketchy and weakly conceived.

Clarke has provided a brief introduction to Japanese "New Religions" in Japan and abroad as well as a brief appendix that features an overview of the history and theology of Aum Shinrikyo. He notes, for example, that "New Religions need not...be considered new in the sense of providing entirely new beliefs and rituals but in the way they have restructured aspects of Japanese cosmology with a long history and interpreted long-standing ritual practices to serve different ends than once was the case." (p. 7) He concludes, "More generally, the New and New, New religions of Japan have made a difference to the religious life of Japan by their new emphasis in their teaching on pacifism, the energy they put into recruitment and

expansion overseas among non-Japanese, in the stress they place on lay spirituality, in the provision of techniques to enable devotees to reach the summit of the spiritual mountain, and in the significance they give to the laity as primary evangelists.” (p. 11) Clarke includes a discussion of the successes and failures of New Religions abroad, but provides surprisingly little analysis of the reasons why some of these New Religions, Soka Gakkai in particular, have found so many non-Japanese adherents throughout the world.

Clarke writes with some concern that the phenomenon of New religions in Japan is on the decline. A primary reason is “a lack of fit between the models of society the new religions are providing and the changing outlook of the Japanese population, particularly those under thirty years of age. The New Religions require tremendous amounts of time and exclusive commitment, which fails to correspond to the more diverse and eclectic views of younger Japanese today. Other factors inhibiting growth is a lack of motivation and energy among second and third generation members and the more establishment-oriented demeanor of some of the New Religions that have long since lost much of their “evangelical, sectarian fire.” (p. 16)

Clarke’s brief history of Aum Shinrikyo is one of the best-written analyses of this controversial sect. Clarke commences the chapter with a concise discussion of Aum’s use of mystical power:

Aum illustrates more clearly than any other religion in the contemporary Japanese context the lethal potential of mystical power. Mysticism is a difficult word to define and often refers to an inward; spiritual religion based on the experience of direct immediate awareness of the divine. It emphasizes experience rather than theological reasoning. While these features are not being overlooked here the stress is on mysticism as a form of spiritual power that is activated by a relationship between a leader who claims supernatural powers and who regards her/himself as divinely chosen and the unswerving belief of disciples in those claims. It is a power that can be manipulated to justify the use of the most immoral and unlawful means, such as the use of sarin gas in an attack on the Tokyo underground by members of Aum Shinrikyo on 20 March 1995 demonstrated, to further what are interpreted as spiritual ends. (p. 267)

Clarke provides a most useful overview of Aum’s transition in emphasis from a “this-worldly” to an “other-worldly” orientation, correctly noting that this shift was not always even and unilinear, but which

ultimately brought Asahara and many of his followers a very alienated view of society.

Despite its many small weaknesses, every library with a serious Japan studies collections should purchase Clarke's "Bibliography of Japanese New Religious Movements". It will serve as a useful guide to scholars in the field as well as students seeking an overview of Japan's New Religious Movements.

Phillip Hammond and David Machacek, *Soka Gakkai in America: Accommodation and Conversion*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999. 224 pp. ISBN 0-19-829389-5.

Reviewed by Daniel A. Metraux

The Soka Gakkai is the largest and most enduring of the many Asian-based religions that has found a haven in the United States since the 1960s. Although the American branch of Soka Gakkai (SGI-USA) has experienced some decline in numbers since the 1970s, it has found a niche within American society and is likely to endure for many years to come.

Philip Hammond and David Machacek provide a superb analysis of the history and theology of the US-branch of the Soka Gakkai in, "The Soka Gakkai in America." Hammond and Machacek assert that SGI-USA has been successful because it has made the transition from being an immigrant religion in the 1950s and 1960s, to being a competitor in the American religious market. While several other new religions of Eastern origin experienced sudden popularity in the decades of the 1960s and 1970s and then a decline almost as rapidly as they had grown, SGI-USA achieved stability, growing into a religious alternative for thousands of Americans. American society experienced a wide variety of changes in the 1960s, which made the social environment far more receptive to religions of Eastern origin precisely at a time when changing immigration statutes opened the country's doors to a flood of immigrants from Asia. There followed not only a rise in the number of immigrants from Asian countries, but also an increase in the number of Asian religions in America.

The authors assert that these religions arrived at a time of fundamental change in America's religious landscape. Americans were becoming increasingly mobile, not only geographically, but also socially. America

saw the rise of a “meritocracy” where one’s position in the social order depends on what choices one makes in life. There was also an awakening to religious pluralism: “While some traditionalists held fast to Protestantism as the ‘true’ religion, others, perhaps the majority, came to see that religion could take many forms, each entitled to exist in America.” (p. 174) Religion became less a community defined by shared history, doctrine, code and rituals, and more as an individual way of being in the world. Moreover, pluralism led to the emergence and spread of what the authors label “transmodernism, a desire for religion oriented to healing—the self certainly..., but also human relationships with the environment, and relationships with the divine.” (p. 175) The ascetic impulse in transmodern culture is played out in the mundane world, but it relocates the rewards for hard work and ethical behavior to the mundane world of the “here and now.”

The authors introduce us in depth to the many Americans who joined SGI-USA: Young and socially mobile, they have typically experienced a time in their lives when they had the freedom to explore the new variety of religious alternatives available in the United States. Well-educated participants in the new class of information and service occupations, they accepted an ethic of success and actively sought upward mobility. Soka Gakkai’s emphasis on taking responsibility for one’s own life and taking action to achieve personal goals no doubt spoke to the experience of young professionals in the new meritocracy. At the same time, they were socially progressive—world travelers, interested in and exposed to foreign cultures, their inward, self-orientation balanced by a global consciousness. Religiously, as well, they turned inward, focusing on the inner spiritual realm. In these many ways, converts to Soka Gakkai in America have been pioneers in an era of dramatic cultural change. (pp. 176-177)

My own research of Soka Gakkai chapters in Southeast Asia and Canada indicates that many of its recent members are upwardly-mobile well-educated young professionals. They find that the Soka Gakkai’s believes that one is responsible for one’s fate and that through hard work, one can change one’s destiny to be very appealing. The Soka Gakkai empowers the individual to “make the impossible possible.” This is in marked contrast to more traditional religions that pin one’s fate in the hands of a transcendent deity or outside religious figures. The idea that one is the master of one’s destiny and that one can overcome any set of problems appeals to the young professional not only in Singapore, but in Montreal

and San Francisco as well. Thus, the findings of authors Hammond and Machacek are remarkably similar to what I have found in my own research.

I have concluded that another key reason for Soka Gakkai's successes in Southeast Asia and elsewhere is the independent, indigenous nature of each chapter. National and regional chapters of SGI are lead and staffed by local leaders who work hard to adapt SGI to the customs and traditions of their native culture. Each chapter is quite independent of all others and there is very little control from Tokyo. Hammond and Machacek support these findings by showing that SGI-USA is quite American in its structure, leadership and actual practice of religion.

Hammond and Machacek have based their conclusions on the results of an exhaustive survey that they sent to hundreds of SGI-USA members. Their reliance on the survey is thus the basis for both the book's strengths and weaknesses. Their data and interpretations allow for an excellent analysis of who SGI members are and the nature of their collective social worldviews.

Unfortunately, the authors often tend to get lost in their sea of data. The reader is flooded with so much minute information and sociological jargon that it is hard for him/her to get a broader picture of Soka Gakkai as a whole. Another problem is that the information is too statistical. SGI-USA is made up of many individuals, but in no way do we get to know them as real people. Perhaps some personality profiles or extensive interviews would have given us a more human look at SGI-USA and we would have had a clearer, longer-lasting impression of who joins and why.

Despite these apparent flaws, "Soka Gakkai in America" represents the best modern study of SGI-USA. The research is based on a very broad spectrum of members and is carried out in considerable depth. The authors base their conclusions on their data rather than on any preconceptions. They also provide a superb portrait of the history and theology of both Nichiren and the Soka Gakkai in Japan. "Soka Gakkai in America" comes highly recommended.

Nakao Shigeo. *Doru Shihai ha Tsuzuku ka* [Will the Dollar Dominance Continue?] Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1998. 222 pp.

Reviewed by Yochiro Sato

The official launch of the Euro in January 1999 has called into question the continuing dominance of the US dollar as the base currency into the twenty-first century. This book questions the legitimacy of the US dollar to remain the dominant base currency for the United States' foreign debt superpower status. The question of why the US dollar remains dominant is tested in light of two conflicting hypotheses: does truly free-market lead to the dominance of the US dollar, or is there a political conspiracy that sustains the dollar dominance. This book views the international finance market in a "humanistic drama which involves people, ethnic groups and political power," and gives actual pictures of individuals, corporations, cities, and communities. (pp. 7-8) From a viewpoint sympathetic to neo-Marxism and *realpolitik*, the author Nakao Shigeo describes the unfair systemic advantages the US enjoys with the hegemony of its currency. Nakao also sees an Anglo-American elitist conspiracy that globally spreads the *laissez-faire* capitalist ideology in order to sustain the hegemonic advantages. (pp. 86-87, 89)

Nakao traces back power politics in international finance to the designing stage of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The US preferred a limited loan capacity for the IMF based on a foundation style, and from direct loans by the US government and private financial institutions for the purpose of Europe's post-World War II recoveries. On the other hand, the British preferred a bank-like IMF with a larger loan capacity to reduce dependence on the US. (pp. 42-43) The US plan emerged as the international finance regime known as the Bretton Woods system, in which the US alone enjoyed freedom from the risk of exchange rate instability. (p. 45)

Although the gold standard (fixed linkage of the dollar with the value of gold) collapsed in 1971, and the US fell into a debtor status, the dollar continues to be the dominant international currency due to the size of its trade and the increases in derivative trade. (pp. 51-52) Without the obligation to exchange dollar with gold, the US could enjoy an economic boom sustained by lower interest rates, and did not suffer from the negative balance of payments since it could simply issue more dollars. (pp. 62-63)

Meanwhile, Japan's creditor status was achieved by the suppressed demands and the high domestic saving rate. (p. 53) Whereas in the 1980's Japan's rising competitiveness and America's declining competitiveness explained the bilateral financial status, the same pattern in the 1990's was explained in terms of lack of investment opportunities in Japan and plenty of them in America. (p. 51) However, Nakao sees a major change in inter-bank finance between the two periods. In 1997, the flow of inter-bank finance turned negative for the Japanese, due to a decline in Japanese purchases of US bonds (that reduced demands for the dollar), loan collection by the US banks due to fear of financial instability in Japan, loans by Japanese banks to their overseas subsidiaries that suffered from the Japan premium (higher inter-bank loan rates American banks charged). (pp. 64-65) Nakao argues that special loans by the Bank of Japan (BOJ) and injection of public funds into the troubled domestic financial institutions are ineffective because a large part of the money made available through these measures simply fled to the US. Deregulation of foreign exchange control in April 1998 further accelerated this outflow. (pp. 66-67) Observing practices of some major corporations, Nakao sees further increase of dollar-based trade, rather than an internationalization of the Japanese yen as a result of the foreign exchange deregulation. (pp. 56-59)

However, Nakao's interpretation of the Asian economic crises is less convincing. Although the negative implication of the Asian crises on Japan's financial institutions and the advantages of increasing the proportion of yen-based transactions are clearly demonstrated (pp. 137-142, 209-210), Nakao's comparison of the Thai, Indonesian and Korean crises and their recoveries (or lack of it), is superficially based on their levels of assimilation to the "IMF/Chicago school" *laissez-faire* ideology. (pp. 150-168)

The more meaningful comparison can be found between the European currency integration and a similar possibility in Asia. Nakao sees European preference for a fixed or controlled float system within the regional currencies that eventually led to the creation of the Euro. (pp. 180-181) From a realist perspective, The Euro can also be viewed as the European challenge against the dominance of the US dollar. (pp. 187-188) Although Japan and other Asian countries with a float system can learn this European way of reducing the risk of exchange instability, Nagao points out that rivalry between China and Japan and the Chinese fixed exchange system inhibit collective bargaining by Asian countries against the US. (pp. 211-212)

Overall, the book provides a very useful and critical insight into the hegemony of the US dollar. Nagao's description of Japan's current financial trouble and the dollar-based system's negative contributions to this problem are convincingly demonstrated. Also, Nakao's account of the development of the Euro is well integrated into the discussion of the dollar hegemony and the Asian economic crises. Nakao's arguments, sometimes hidden behind the citations of other commentators, of Anglo-Saxon cultural dominance in the sphere of economic ideology (pp. 86-87), the human network that connects Wall Street and the Treasury Department (pp. 130-132), and China's ability to fend-off speculative attacks of the American hedge funds against the Hong Kong dollar through political bargaining (pp. 125-126) are overly simplistic, ignoring diversity within the American elite. This type of neo-Marxist bias, combined with the expression of frustration against the alleged American double standard in dealing with Asians and Europeans (pp. 144-145), impaired the book's credibility. The book would have achieved its aim more effectively without these assertions.

Haru Yamada. *Different Games, Different Rules: Why Americans and Japanese Misunderstand Each Other* New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. xviii, 166.

Reviewed by Don R. McCreary

This very readable and worthwhile text for both Americans and Japanese explains how and why both groups tend to communicate with each other in a mutually frustrating manner. It contains insider information from case studies done in business settings on how conversations are constructed by Japanese and Americans, and how the two styles of communication can contrast sharply at times and cause misunderstandings.

Chapter One, "Two Stories, Two Games," (pp. 3-21) introduces two divergent models of communication, the "Equal Opportunity Independence" model for Americans, which is based on individualism, and the "Sweet Interdependence" model for Japanese, which is based on mutual dependence.

Chapter Two, "Communication Equipment," (pp. 23-35) examines the linguistic features of American English and Japanese that sometimes accounts for confusion, such as contrasting uses of aspect, double negation,

honorifics, and pronouns. This chapter also has a serious printing error, the reversal of pages thirty-two and thirty-three, which created much confusion at first sight.

Chapter Three, "Speak for Yourself, Listen to Others" (pp. 37-51) connects the two models of communication above to "Speaker Talk," the preferred mode of conversation for Americans, and "Listener Talk" for Japanese, which is other-directed and non-confrontational and is based on the need for mutual dependence. Haru Yamada provides the reader with many concrete examples of misinterpretation, such as the impression that Japanese are extremely polite, and explains them accordingly to this preferred mode of conversation.

Chapter Four, "Taking Care of Business," (pp. 53-69) describes the cultural considerations that Japanese should understand related to individualism and the notion of equality in America.

Chapter Five, "Open for Business," (pp. 71-81) examines American and Japanese topic-opening and conversation-closing strategies, concentrating on specific patterns that American businessmen tend to use and specific uses of silence that Japanese businessmen tend to use.

Chapter Six, "Scoring Points," (pp. 83-94) addresses the Japanese strategy of "talk-distancing," which separates the speaker from his message by the use of hedging and exemplifying with conditional phrases. Haru also explains the employment of "barbarian handlers," who smooth negotiations with foreign businessmen in Japan.

Chapter Seven, "Support Network," (pp. 95-104) delineates the use of back channels, which are an integral part of conversations between Japanese. American listeners, however, tend to employ back channels only when the speaker opens a topic or is at a topic margin.

Chapter Eight, "The Truth About Teasing, Praising, and Repeating," (pp. 105-119) offers information and advice about teasing and joking in both cultures that have been sorely lacking in the past. Haru also warns about the pitfalls of praising any Japanese and the potential American misinterpretation of the notion of individual honesty when it is tied to the Japanese reluctance to praise himself.

Chapter Nine, "Role Models: Working Man, Nurturing Mother," (pp. 121-137) examines the roles that men and women play in Japan and in the US and how these roles can have an impact on conversational style in and out of business settings.

Chapter Ten, "You Are What You Speak," (pp. 139-148) explains the role of language in the conversation of national identity, emphasizing the

role that the Japanese language plays in the notion of what it means to be Japanese. This chapter appears at first to be off-topic, but the notion of identity is connected to xenophobia, which can adversely impact cross-cultural negotiations between Japanese and Americans. The back matter of the book contains worthwhile notes (pp. 149-155), over eighty references (pp. 157-161) and a useful index (pp. 163-166).

This admirable book illuminates many of the details of both Japanese and American conversational styles and provides useful advice for businessmen from both countries. With Haru's book in hand, the American can learn to refrain from labeling Japanese as self-effacing and inscrutable, while the Japanese can learn to refrain from labeling Americans as selfish and overly assertive.