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# SCHOOL RULES AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
# IN POSTWAR JAPAN

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Japanese School Rules**

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

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

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

[7] Hideo Sakamoto, *Kōsoku no kenkyū*.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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[12] Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryo* 17, pp. 61–62.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[16] Schooland, *Shogun's Ghost*, p. 164.

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

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

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

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

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

**Economic Development and Schools**

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

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

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[20] Personal communication, June 17, 1999.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Schools and Cultural Changes Following Economic Development**

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

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

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

[25] Personal communication, May 29, 1998.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Work, Family, and School Rules**

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

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

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

[31] Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryo* 2, p. 216.

[32] Ministry of Education, *Seitoshidō shiryo* 2, p. 217.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Examination Hell**

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

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[40] Personal communication, June 17, 1998.

[41] Personal communication, June 17, 1999.

[42] Personal communication, June 12, 1999.

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

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

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

The intensity of the entrance examination is signified in the phrase, "four pass, five fail," meaning that those students who sleep four hours a day would pass while those who sleep five hours would fail.[44] After World War II, aspiration for success through the examination system was intensified. In 1935, only 19 percent of students attended post-compulsory education, and only 3 percent of the age-group attended universities. In 1960, high school and university attendance rates were 58 percent and 10 percent respectively, and by 1970 they reached 82 percent and 24 percent. Responding to the increasing educational aspiration, many universities were established. In 1945, there were 48 universities in Japan. By 1950, the number increased to 201, and by 1980, the number of universities in Japan had reached 446.[45] However, the increase in the number of higher education institutions did not lessen the competitiveness in the entrance examination, mainly because social prestige of the universities was strictly ranked and the potential for employment, high earnings and

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

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

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

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

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

**Discussion**

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

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

[47] Personal communication, June 12, 1999.

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

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

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

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

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

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