

## CAPÍTULO 3

### HISTORY OF JAPANESE EDUCATION. KEYS TO SOCIAL AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>.

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1 At the end of this chapter, the annex “*Timeline of History of Japan*” is added so that the reader can place the events of this chapter in time.

## INTRODUCTION

The direct origin of the structure of the Japanese education system must be understood within the American occupation in the mid-twentieth century. So, from mid-1980s, Japanese state has feared losing its collective political identity and its cultural identity; increasing tension between being “*Japanese citizen*” and “*world citizen*”. A historical review will allow us to understand contemporary educational contrasts that directly affects the construction of young Japanese citizenship and the teaching of History. In general, we try to understand the educational activities carried out in the political and social context of the Tokugawa shogunate, actions that led to a cultural maturity and a high level of literacy; all under the heritage of traditional education and the separation of social classes. We board the identity shock and changes in citizenship and society from the Edo Period to the Meiji Era after the Boshin War (1968-1969). We review some of the most important changes that have taken place in the Japanese education system since the promulgation of the Law of the Educational System in 1872, focusing on the teaching of History. Finally, it is approached the status of academic internationalization and the search for balance between cosmopolitan citizenship and Japanese citizenship.

### I. BACKGROUND OF JAPANESE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: CULTURAL MATURATION AND TRADITION IN THE EDO PERIOD

The history of modern education in Japan had several major milestones. On the one hand, the promulgation of the Law

of the Educational System in 1872 (four years after the Meiji Restoration), which established the national education system of Japan with a strong American influence. On the other hand, the promulgation of the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law in 1947 (two years after the end of World War II), whose purpose was the democratization of the education system according to the spirit of the new Constitution of Japan.

With the beginning of the Meiji Restoration (1868), ends the Edo Period [江戸時代] and the Tokugawa Shogunate (1603-1868). Through a policy of national isolation, this Shogunate brought peace and stability to Japan (Delgado-Algarra, 2015; Delgado-Algarra and Estepa, 2015; Delgado-Algarra and Satō, 2016).

Therefore, we must go back to the Edo Period and socio-cultural circumstances that served as a starting point for the the Meiji Restoration and Westernization of Japan. The Institute for International Cooperation of the Japanese International Cooperation Agency (JICA, 2005) lists these initial conditions: cultural maturation and heritage of traditional education, secular education and teaching in one language, recognition of the task of national integrity through education, germination of recruitment system by academic background and possibility to choose different models. In this section, we will focus on the first aspect and we will do an overview of the other points.

#### I.1. CULTURAL MATURATION AND HERITAGE OF TRADITIONAL EDUCATION

During the Tokugawa Shogunate, a process of **cultural maturation** was developed. Thus, citizenship came to a high literacy level compared to the West at that time. However, the data on them are confusing, so the following percentages are approximate. In men, literacy was between 50% and 80% above the average of the West and, in women, 20% above. We must also highlight the **heritage of traditional education** and various educational institutions that were associated with different levels.

To understand the role of different educational institutions in the Edo period, it is necessary to know some basic aspects of political and social context. Thus, during this period, in Edo (old name of Tokyo), the central government was the responsibility of the Shogun and each feudal domain or “Han” was directed by the respective governors or “*daimyō*”. Although *daimyō* were vassal of the Shogun, each domain had autonomy in political affairs, justice and tax collection (Fuiji, 1993). Within this context, the samurai class, aside from attending military affairs, was in charge of political tasks. So that, they could attend to this work, some schools called “**public schools of Han**” or “**Hankō**” were developed. Hankō took as a reference the “*Confucian Academy*” or “*Shōheikō*” which was administered directly by the shogunate itself. In these official leadership schools or schools of clans led by Shōheikō; literature, history, martial arts, etc. were taught. Thus, the first Hankō dates from 1,641 in Okayama Han. 250 Hankō were reached in the country, however, Tokugawa educational system changed in its last years, expanding the range of classes that could access to Hankō. These schools included new “*no Confucians*” studies such as medicine and Western science. In addition, to meet the learning needs of the common class with fewer resources (especially in urban areas), the “**Schools Temple**” or “**Terakoya**” were created. These schools were popular learning centers where literacy was taught, Geography and History texts were read and it was practiced arithmetic through the abacus. At the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, according to the Tōkyō metropolitan library, there were between 30.000 and 40.000 Terakoya. Although schooling was not compulsory, Japanese families were aware of the importance of education; which it was reflected in the high level of literacy. In these schools, there was no age limit or specific duration of education. As Fuiji (1993) indicated, it is likely to focus on teaching of children between 6 and 13 years, with a duration of 4 or 5 years; so that each Terakoya included a class, a teacher and about 20 to 30 students (figure 1, figure 2).



Figure 1: Bungaku Bandai no Takara<sup>1</sup> [Shinomaki, Suenomaki]  
 (The Timeless Treasures of Literature [First Volume, Last Volume])

Although schools were in Buddhist temples, they were not directed by its members; nevertheless, as Picken (2011) indicates, many of the people involved in the Terakoya were followers of the religious movement “*Shingaku*” (心学) or “*Heart learning*”, a movement founded by Ishida Baigan (1685-1746). This movement combined elements of Buddhism and Confucianism, and it integrated (peacefully) all social classes. Thus, it was one of the most influential movements for citizenship; besides, it adapted easily to local shrines or “*Jinja*” and Temples or “*Tera*”.

<sup>1</sup> Painted by Issunshi Hanasato (during the Kōka period [1844-1848]). As it is indicated in Tōkyō Metropolitan Library: “*these works are a two piece nishiki-e (colored woodblock print) series depicting a class at terakoya (temple school). A male teacher teaches the class at “Shinomaki” (first volume) and a female teacher at “Suenomaki” (end volume). You can see that most of the children behave freely*”. More information about figure 1 and figure 2 in the following link: [https://www.library.metro.tokyo.jp/portals/0/edo/tokyo\\_library/english/gakumon/page1-1.html](https://www.library.metro.tokyo.jp/portals/0/edo/tokyo_library/english/gakumon/page1-1.html)



Figura 2: Examples of Textbooks at Terakoya<sup>2</sup>. Respectively: Teikinourai Terakodakara, Jinkoki Kukunomizu, Onotakamura Utajizukushi

Meanwhile, traders and professional technicians developed a craft apprentice system “*Okeikogoto*” (お稽古と), allowing acquire skills through exercise and practice: flower arrangement (ikebana), tea ceremony (sadō), music, traditional arts in general, etc. Therefore, in broad terms, in the Edo period, we found a primitive educational structure that was similar to the present one: public, private school and extracurricular activities (cultural or hobbies), although Edo schools were separated by classes. There were other variants such as local schools in large villages, private schools for students with high abilities that were taught by a erudite person or “*juku*”, etc .; but we focused on the most representative teaching structures in the Edo period and those that can lead to more direct analogies with the Japanese education system nowadays.

## 1.2. OTHER FEATURES OF EDUCATION IN THE EDO PERIOD

Continuing with the basic approach of the JICA (2015), during the Edo Period, in addition to cultural maturation and heritage of traditional education, there were other characteristic elements in the educational context that served as the basis for educational structures created since the Meiji Era:

- **Secular education:** despite the existence of schools in temples, traditional religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism had no religious educational institutions.

<sup>2</sup> There were different textbooks for children of farmers, children of merchants, etc.

- **Teaching in one language:** to define the Japanese as the only language for teaching was easy because of the traditional (and relative) cultural and linguistic homogeneity.
- **Recognition of the task of national integrity through education:** the class system by social position and the shogunate regime itself were limiting for the construction of a national identity. Only at the end of the Edo Period, facing an imminent external risks that led to the Boshin War (we see the results in the next section), the shogunate tried to ensure the integrity of the nation through education. To do this, they reversed the traditional system of social classes and they consolidated an open education for all citizens that offered equal opportunities. In other words, it was a way to modernize the Japanese nation.
- **Germination of recruitment system by academic background:** in the last years of the Tokugawa Shogunate, with the disappearance of traditional social class system, it was launched a recruitment system based on the knowledge and skills of each person. This feature was a turning point for the modernization of Japanese education and the development of a new type of society based on it. That is, this new educational approach was aimed to design a new society based on academic merits to determine the social position of individuals, leaving behind the approach of a hereditary social structure<sup>3</sup>.
- **Possibility to choose different models:** in relation to the modernization of education, Japan had the option to

3 According to information provided by JICA (2005), the system of social position based on academic merits was introduced (very primitively) in the Edo Period; in other words, that system did not start in the Meiji Era. However, we must clarify that, at the end of the Edo Period, school contents were too focused on classical culture, there was no uniformity in relation to the period of school attendance and academic contents, and evaluation and promotion system was unsatisfactory.



select policy alternatives taking or leaving aside different educational models used in the West; in this way, the country maintained independence.

Feudal schools were very productive and, in the late nineteenth century, the shogunate introduced Western subjects related to science without connection to foreign ideologies in order to modernize education. In other words, as Yoshimitsu Khan (1998) indicates, at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, the Shogunate intervened Yōgakusho (Place of Occidental Studies) and Igakusho (Place of Medical Studies). The resurgence of national studies was formalized in Kōka Era with the commissioning of Gakushūin in 1847. Gakushūin was an educational institution founded in Kyoto by Emperor Ninkō that was placed in front of Hinomikado (Kyoto Imperial Palace). Its purpose was the education of the children of members of the nobility<sup>4</sup>. In the Meiji Era, 7 years after moving to Tokyo in 1877, Gakushūin accompanied the creation of the new nation and it became an imperial university formed by a conglomerate of different institutions with Shōheikō at its center (Frederic, 2002). However, the step from the Edo Period to the Meiji Era (beginning of Modern Period of Japan) was not peaceful and it led to a civil war between supporters of the shogun regime and a new social and political model focused on the development and westernization of the country.

<sup>4</sup> Japanese history is traditionally divided into periods and eras. Gakushūin was launched in the Edo Period and within that period, in the Kōka Era. Although school was launched in 1847, it adopted its characteristic name in 1849. You can find more information about the history of this institution in the space “*History of Gakushūin University*” by clicking on the link below: <http://www.univ.gakushuin.ac.jp/en/about/introduction/history.html>

2. THE BOSHIN WAR AND THE CLASH OF TWO IDENTITIES: THE ROLE OF THE WEST IN THE EDUCATIONAL CHANGES OF THE MEIJI ERA

2.1. TOWARDS THE MODERNIZATION OF JAPAN: THE BOSHIN WAR (1868-1869)

For centuries, the Emperor was unknown to Japanese citizens. He had no real power; due to political power was the responsibility of the Shogun (maximum degree of a daimyō). In 1853, facing the political and economic closure of the Tokugawa Shogunate<sup>5</sup>, the US Army, commanded by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, arrived with the intention of demanding a trade treaty. This created a division within the country that would generate both sides: in favor of shogunate and against the shogunate, respectively. In this sense, it is remarkable the role of “*Ishin shishi*”. They were revolutionary forces led by daimyō who opposed the shogunate. These include Toshimichi Okumo, Saigō Takamori and Kogoro Katsura. To face the revolutionaries, supporters of the shogunate relied on a police force called “*Shinsengumi*”. However, the Shinsengumi were outnumbered and, soon, they developed a bad reputation. Thus, the advance of the revolutionary movement led the Emperor Mutsuhito to dictate the dissolution of the shogunate in 1867.

1868 was the fourth, and final, year of the Keiō era (in the Edo Period) and the first year of the Meiji Era (in the modern Japan). Between 1868 and 1869 the Boshin War (戊辰戦争)

5 In 1603, after the devastating consequences of the wars of the Sengoku Era, Tokugawa shogunate began (with Ieasu Tokugawa) and, with that shogunate, Edo Period. The Tokugawa clan managed the political and military power for 264 years through 15 successive shogun and, in exchange for provincial powers, other clans were subordinated by Tokugawa clan. Thus, that shogunate created a class system, eliminated external influences (example of this was the extermination of Christians), expelled foreign and adopted a posture of national isolation (Sakoku). The isolation continued until the beginning of the Meiji Era (1868); however, Japan maintained trade with China and the Netherlands before that date.

was developed. This was a Civil War composed of several battles between supporters of the new and the old government. Thus, although Shogun Yoshinobu Tokugawa surrendered because of the obvious superiority of the imperial side, a relatively modernized side to which western domains of Satsuma, Chōshū and Tosa joined. Nevertheless, some of his vassals refused to surrender and they were subsequently defeated at the Battle of Toba-Fushimi. After the battles of Ueno, Nagaoka and Aizu, the last battle took place in Hakodate<sup>6</sup> (Frédéric, 2002). After losing the last focus of resistance, although it was not the definitive end of the riots, the result was the surrender of Enomoto's forces and the Shogunate.

Meiji Restoration meant big changes and the abolition of castes. However, with the support of propaganda and political manipulation, it was strengthened the belief in the divine origin of the Emperor. This factor was key to ensuring the obedience of Japanese citizenship as well as a fundamental element in later times of war. Thanks to this belief, it was possible to bring the people into blind obedience, loyalty and unlimited veneration of the Emperor still above their own lives (Brazhnikova Tsýbivova, 2011).

When the imperial troops won the war in 1869, the first reform of the new Meiji government was the enactment of the “*Gokajō no Goseimon*” or “*Charter Oath*”, an oath to end the political exclusivity of the military government of Shogunate (or bakufu). In this document, it is done a sign to reconciliation with the defeated for good functioning of the new administration and it is defended an education for all citizens regardless of

6 Enomoto Takeaki, loyal to the Tokugawa clan, tried to create an independent country in Hokkaidō and he declared the foundation of the Republic of Ezo under the rule of the Tokugawa family. There, Enomoto was elected as president based on universal suffrage, but the Meiji government refused to accept partition of Japan.

their social class (Beasley, 2007, Delgado-Algarra, 2015, Delgado-Algarra and Satō, 2016a).

## 2.2. TOWARDS THE EDUCATIONAL MODERNIZATION

In 1871, during the Meiji Era (1868-1912) the Department of Education under the Dajōkan (State Council of the Japanese government) was created. Japanese educational historians date the beginning of the modern era in education in 1872, with the issuance of the education plan “*Gakusei*” by the new Government. The proclamation of *Gakusei* provoked a discussion of profound importance to the future of Japan: what are the aims of education in a modern nation? Debate between modernists and traditionalists marks the 1870s and 1890s as one of the most decisive as well as controversial stage in the history of the Japanese Education because it must solve this question: how to modernize technologically and scientifically on a western model while preserving national sovereignty and eastern cultural traditions?. As Duke indicated, “*it pitted western science against both Japanese imperial traditions and Chinese Confucian principles of feudal social relationships that had become dominant in Japanese society*” (2009: 3). Ministry of Education faced the continuing problems of communication and transportation between the center and the distant provinces; however, it could centralize a national education as soon as *Gakusei* National Plan was issued.

Early Meiji educational reformers problems were the disparity in educational development among western countries. Europe and Britain, and America educational patterns differences were significant, but American influence took precedence during 1870s, breaking tradition with their European roots. European patterns of education resulted in wide educational gaps between elite and masses because they were characterized by high academic standards of classical curricula. So one of the purposes of the Meiji educational leaders was to create a public education for children regardless of social background. *Gakusei* took the French model of administrative centralization under

strong US influence. This is an era of contrasts and changes where the founder of Keiō University, Yukichi Fukuzawa<sup>7</sup> had a fundamental role.

### 2.3. INTRODUCTION OF WESTERN THOUGHT IN THE JAPANESE EDUCATION

Fukusawa (1835-1901) proposed a curriculum guided by Western rationalism and utilitarian moral. In Meiji Era, he was recognized for his work to introduce Western thought (and institutions) in Japan. Fukusawa, in his collection of essays “*gakumon no susume*” (1872-1876, Nishikawa and Komuro, 2009), he proposed an education based on experiential learning that was closer to the ordinary needs, an idea that was reflected in the word “*jitsugaku*”. However, in an initial attempt to westernize education<sup>8</sup>, the first primary schools used translations of American textbooks that showed a different reality to Japanese citizenship<sup>9</sup> (Delgado-Algarra and Satō, 2016b).

Despite the effort to decentralize education through the enactment of the Order of Education of 1879, it was modified

7 As Nishikawa indicated “The portrait of Yukichi Fukuzawa figure in Japan in bills of 10000 yen (see Figure 2). It is an official recognition for his efforts to introduce occidental institutions and thought into Japan. However, somebody may wonder why this man wears the traditional Japanese custom. Among the numerous portraits of Fukuzawa, only some of them he wears occidental clothing. This feature reflects his basic postulate; he always claimed the spiritual revolution instead of the vain imitation of occidental style” (1993: 521).

8 The Meiji Emperor was not the first to promote the restoration of political power of the Japanese imperial house and the openness to the West. The first step was his father, Emperor Kōmei, whose reign covers from 1846 to 1866 (in the Edo Period). However, he dies in 1866 because of a mysterious disease (possibly, he was poisoned).

9 Duke (2009) wrote about the origin of educational problems in early Meiji Era. In 1872, there was insufficient time to conduct a systematic investigation of western schools and there was no way for the Japanese leaders to initially distinguish which occidental school systems and educational practices would prove instructive to Japanese citizens.

in 1880, guiding a curriculum that strengthened centralization and conservative ideals. These ideals were reflected in the Imperial Edict of Education (1890) where the basic principles of Japanese education were summarized, with clear Confucian ideals. In the words of Rodríguez Navarro and Serrano, “*the children were taught to transmit the glory of the fundamental character of the Empire, as well as to capture and transmit the best traditions of their ancestors. So it was a reaction to the rapid Westernization of the country and a desire to return to the purity of Japan*” (2008: 630). These guidelines endured to 1945 and they became education a powerful tool of indoctrination in compulsory education (first 6 years of primary school), extending to secondary education in the early 1930s. These authors highlight the influence Bushido in the Japanese Constitution of 1889 and the Imperial Edict of Education aforementioned<sup>10</sup>.



Figure 3: Yukichi Fukusawa on the 10.000 yen bill

10 It is remarkable the role of the text “*Bushido Soul of Japan*” (1990) of Inazō Nitobe on the approximation of traditional ethical values of Japan and occidental values. This is one of the leaders of the Japanese ethical values today.

### 3. FIRST DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: THE PARADOX OF EDUCATIONAL IMPROVEMENT OVER THE IDEOLOGICAL CONTROL

#### 3.1. THE NEW EDUCATION MOVEMENT: *SHIN KYŌIKU UNDŌ*

During the first decades of the twentieth century and with the high level of literacy and school enrollment in the late nineteenth century, attention begins to guide to the improvement of educational quality. In this sense, the work of Masatarō Sawaynagi (1978), born in 1865 and died in 1927, is remarkable. He was the son of a samurai of the Matsumoto Clan and pedagogue. After graduating from the Faculty of Literature of the Imperial University in 1888, he joined the Ministry of Education where he assumed various management positions. He was appointed director general of the General Office under the Ministry of Education in 1898, extending compulsory education from 4 to 6 years in 1900. He also became president of Tōhoku University and the Imperial University of Tōkyō. However, in the field of pedagogy, after founding the Seijō Elementary School in 1917, he led the New Education Movement (*Shin Kyōiku Undō*), which began reorganizing programs based on students' needs and experiences of everyday life; being included organizational aspects of democratic participation (Kobayashi, 1990). This movement led to teachers unions and student protest movements against the nationalist educational curriculum.

Meanwhile, Japan acquires a leading position in Asia as an empire with the annexation of Taiwan and Korea. Onaha (2008) adds that this led to colonial education policies of imposition of the Japanese language and discrimination of local teachers, who had no possibility of access to management positions. On the other hand, it was justified this relationship of domination with the boost of the study of the historical relations between Japan and the occupied territories.

#### 3.2. EDUCATIONAL CONTROL OF POSTWAR GOVERNMENT

Broadly, during the Taishō Era (1912 - 1926), and the years from 1926 to 1937 in the Shōwa Era (1926-1989), despite the Westernization of the Japanese educational system and

the existence of some progressive experiences, the government exercised strong control over education. This control ensured the promotion of traditional values and a fierce loyalty to the Emperor through a militarized education policy (Delgado-Algarra, 2016a). This situation was accentuated after the protests of teachers and students against the nationalist curriculum, after the Second Chinese - Japanese War of 1937 and after the beginning of the Pacific War in 1941. To understand the militarized character of the school in prewar time, we must emphasize that the last conflict was under the influence of the ultranationalist Sadao Araki (1877 - 1966). He was Minister of Education from 1937 to 1938 and, previously, Minister of War from 1931 to 1934.

#### 4. CHANGES IN JAPANESE IDENTITY AND TEACHING OF HISTORY AFTER THE AMERICAN OCCUPATION: THE POSTWAR EDUCATION SYSTEM

Japan's surrender in World War II (1945) resulted in a series of educational policies and reforms imposed by the government of the US Occupation Forces in Japan. Political changes were immediate dismantling of the army, the liberation of the occupied areas suppression of political power of the Emperor and the election of Prime Minister by Parliament.

Regarding educational changes, these were made with the support of educational missions in 1946 and 1950. Some of these reforms were not sustained after Japan regained sovereignty in 1952, but in any case, the foundations of the education system postwar Japanese were established. That is, to the creation of a Coordination Committee of State, Navy and War in 1945, it continued the issuance of a document (108) which recommended the abolition of military training courses, Japanese ethic and history, Emperor worship, reverence toward the imperial palace, the recitation of Imperial Edict of Education or display of portraits of the imperial couple (Takemae, 2003).



The Imperial Edict of Education was declared void and it was removed from the school in 1948. Then, the Fundamental Law of Education (1947) was established; a law which, in accordance with the new Constitution of Japan (1946), banned state intervention in religious education, guaranteeing academic freedom and ensured the generalization of the right to free compulsory basic education for all citizens (Delgado-Algarra, 2012, Delgado-Algarra and Satō, 2016b). On September 8, 1951, Prime Minister Shigeru Yoshida signed the Treaty of San Francisco with 49 nations. With this treaty, Japan regained its sovereignty.

However, as indicate Alexander Bukh (2007) of the “*Japan Society for Promotion of Sciences*”, after the Japanese defeat in the Pacific War / East Asia (1931 - 1945 or 1937 - 1945, depending on the inclusion or exclusion the Manchurian Incident) incomplete reforms by US occupation forces carried out. In the field of history teaching, this led to a paradoxical situation: in some cases, progressive and leftist historians formed the academic staff; nevertheless political powers (including the Ministry of Education) and the bureaucracy had remained intact, predominating in them conservative forces. This ideological divergence revived conflicts that influenced the teaching of history and they were reflected in the 1950s textbooks.

#### 4.1. STRUCTURE OF THE JAPANESE EDUCATION SYSTEM SINCE 1947

After World War II, the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law were enacted. Taking up the proposal of the pedagogue Abe Shigetaka, the latter law defined the school system (Takemae, 2003; Delgado-Algarra, 2012, 2015): Elementary school (*shōgakkō* [小学校]), Junior High School (*chūgakkō* [中学校]), High School (*kōtōgakkō* [高等学校]) and University (*daigaku* [大学]). In Japan, education is compulsory from the age of 6 to the age of 15. The school year begins in April, so almost all children who have turned 6 by April 1 each year enter elementary school. After completing six years of basic education at elementary school, they move on

to junior high school, which they attend for three years before graduating. After completing compulsory education, students have a number of choices (figure 4); regarding high school, at this level, students involved are aged between 15 and 18 years old. If we compare the Japanese structure with the Spanish, the above-mentioned stages the first three correspond respectively to “*Educación Primaria*” (6-12), “*Educación Secundaria Obligatoria*” (12-16) y “*Bachillerato*” (16-18). New kinds of schools have emerged recently, such as combined junior high and high schools, which attract students with their six-year programs and thorough preparation for university entrance examinations.

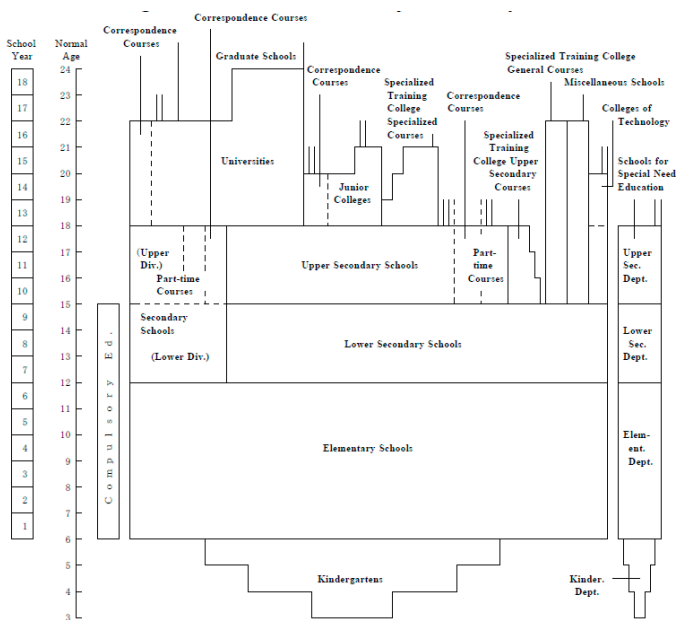


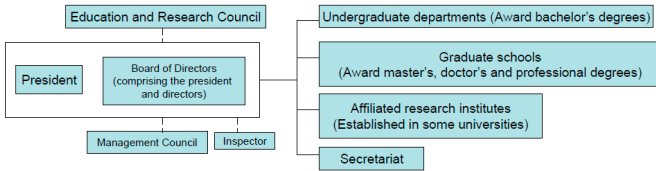
Figure 4: Organization of the School System in Japan.

Extracted from Higher Education Bureau, MEXT (2011: 4)

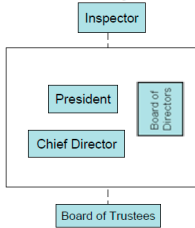
At the higher education level (from 18), there are universities with four-year programs, two-year colleges, and *senmon gakkō* (vocational colleges) with programs lasting two or more

years. Universities can be National, Private or Public and they have their specific organization (figure 5).

**National university**



**Private university**



**Public university**

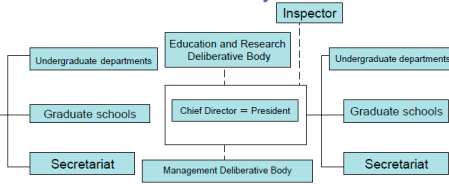


Figure 5: Organization of University in Japan.

Extracted from Higher Education Bureau, MEXT (2011: 10)

After graduating from university, it is also possible to spend another two years in specialist studies for a master's degree or three or more years for a doctorate. As was indicated in Nippon.com (January 11, 2016): *“any Japanese corporations set a university degree as a minimum requirement for recruitment. As of 2013, 50.8% of high school graduates passed entrance examinations to continue their studies at university. Even so, 97% of those high school graduates who immediately sought work were able to find jobs”*.

6. CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION IN JAPAN

6.1. COSMOPOLITAN CITIZENSHIP VS JAPANESE CITIZENSHIP IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION

Japan began education to cope with internationalization and it tried to use globalization to justify a urgent need for education reform. From this point of view, the ad hoc National Council on Educational Reform (1985) advocated the

concept of cosmopolitan Japanese skilled for communication in at least one foreign language, with knowledge about other countries and cultures, respectful about them and with international consciousness. In the 2001, Education Reform Plan for 21st Century [Rainbow Plan] (MEXT<sup>11</sup>, 2001) it was found a similar approach to teach Japanese students to face economic globalization. In addition, the introduction of the new school curriculum reform is parallel to that Plan. In general terms, “*the Japanese state advocated a shift in pedagogy from a teacher-centric and textbook-centric approach to student-focused and self-directed learning (...). In particular, students from grade three to grade nine are now required to take Integrated Studies, in which they can undertake their own research, go to field trips and tackle real life problems with hand-on activities*” (Law, 2009: 266).

In the process of modernization and economic globalization, from mid-1980s, Japanese state has feared losing its collective political identity and its cultural identity; increasing tension between being “*Japanese citizen*” and “*world citizen*” (National Council on Education Reform, 1985). To deal with sociopolitical fears, Japan revitalized its citizenship education. Continuing with Law “*on the one hand, the Japanese state encourages school to foster values related to global citizenship, such as a rich sense of humanity, respect for life and social and Human Rights, an appreciation of different cultures, a spirit of international cooperation, and living together in harmony. On the other hand, the Japanese state repeatedly promotes the concept of being Japanese more than global citizenship*” (2009: 268).

In recent years, it has launched some educational reforms. We must emphasize the plan of education reform entitled “*Japan! Rise again!*” announced in November 2004 by the Minister of Ministry of MEXT Nariaki Nakayama in the Cabinet of the Prime Minister Koizumi. As Elementary and Secondary Education Planning Division of Elementary and Secondary Educa-

11 Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

tion Bureau indicated through the website of MEXT: this plan proposes the objective of “*education that encourages children who do their best*” and aims at education that will raise children who engage in friendly rivalry and have the “*spirit of challenge*”. For that, the plan of education reform “*Japan! Rise again!*” presents five specific proposals: amendment of the Fundamental Law of Education, improvement of Academic Ability, improvement of the Quality of Teachers, school and board of education reform from the perspective of placing importance on education on the ground, and Reform of the system of national treasury's share of compulsory education expenses. The above mentioned plan implied change the school curricula from a skill-formation model to a model that emphasizes developing students' abilities to meet changing social needs.

## 6.2. INTERNATIONALIZATION OF UNIVERSITIES

Taking as a reference the document “*Higher Education in Japan*” from Higher Education Bureau (2011) in MEXT, it made clear its intention to enhance the student arrival from other countries through three key processes of university internationalization: the introduction of classes in English, Framework of the “*300.000 International Students Plan*” and Developing 30 Universities as centers for internationalization (Global 30). These educational measures are noteworthy because it involves the interaction of different cultures.

### 6.2.1. FRAMEWORK OF THE “300.000 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS PLAN”

Higher Education Bureau (2011) from MEXT indicates that International student exchange can improve the international competitiveness, enhance intellectual contribution through and deepen mutual understanding and friendships with other countries to contribute to global stability and peace

In connection with these three goals, the Japanese government has worked to date to accept international students and send Japanese students abroad. As for the acceptance of interna-

tional students, based on the “*Plan to accept 100,000 international students*”, which was agreed in 1983, comprehensive measures focusing on the development of an acceptance environment were implemented, and, in 2003, the number of international students reached the target number of 100,000. As of May 1, 2008, the total of international students was 123,829. In July, 2008, in order to make Japan more open-minded to maintain and develop our society, MEXT and other ministries and agencies concerned, has settled upon the Framework of the “*300.000 International Students Plan*”, which sets the longer-term goal of accepting 300,000 international students by 2020. This plan includes making efforts in systematically implementing measures, from before entering into Japan to helping search for jobs after graduation. In summary, the Plan measures include five blocks:

- To invite international students to study in Japan: motivation for studying in Japan.
- To improve entrances including entrance examination and admission to university and Japan: to facilitate studying in Japan.
- To promote the globalization of universities: to make universities more attractive.
- To create an acceptance environment: efforts to create an environment where students can feel at ease to concentrate on their study.
- To promote the social acceptance of students after graduation/completion: globalization of the Japanese society.

#### 6.2.2. DEVELOPING 30 UNIVERSITIES AS CENTERS FOR INTERNATIONALIZATION (*GLOBAL 30*)

In order to strengthen the international competitiveness of Japanese higher education and to offer attractive and high-quality education for international students, it is remarkable the development of universities as centers for internationalization. To this end, the MEXT (2011) is implementing the project of “*Global 30*” in which 30 universities out of all universities in

Japan are to be selected and strive to accomplish specific goals through intensive support. In 2009, the following 13 universities were selected as the centers: Tōhoku, Tsukuba, Tōkyō, Nagoya, Kyōto, Ōsaka, Kyūshū, Keiō, Sophia, Meiji, Waseda, Dōshisha, Ritsumeikan.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

Through this text, we can understand that some of the proposed changes in the Meiji Era had an origin (very primitive) in measures that began in the Edo period, especially in its later years. The social structure began to be determined by academic merits (not just matters of inheritance) and the father of Emperor Meiji, before his death, was promoting the country's opening to the West (JICA, 2005). In other words, the transition from the Edo Period to Modern Japan meant big changes, but no changes from the ground, highlighting the role of cultural maturation and heritage of traditional education linked to the outgoing Period. The identity shock was great, but unlike many regime changes, in this case, much of the aristocracy realizes the need to give up their privileges.

Political influence at school and in the teaching of history was evident; because “*identities change, they arise and disappear, and elites (political) can influence crucially this process (...)*” (Ortuño-Molina, 2011: 78). Thus, during the Tokugawa Shogunate, to ensure the continuity of the regime, it was not convenient to construct a national identity; but from the Meiji Era, with the concentration of power in the Emperor, it was advisable to feed a new model a national identity based in a maximum obedience to his figure.

The pre-war Japan was a country of contrasts that needed to regain the purity of their identity against Western influence. This situation evolved into imperialist policies were reflected in a teaching of History focused on doctrination to both the country and the occupied areas, leaving behind the educational progress of the New Education Movement.

The teaching of history becomes a tool of identity construction, so the occupation forces banned the teaching of Japanese History. Instead, as Takayama (2009) indicates, in the context of the Cold War, the United States, Japan and other economic powers built a “*founding narrative*” in which the United States rescued Japan militarism, Emperor Hirohito played a fundamental role in the reconfiguration of Japan and bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were necessary for Postwar democracy, peace and economic prosperity.

Regarding the educational internationalization, this author shows the importance of globalize critical studies of official knowledge, because studies on education “*of the other*” allow us to discover new elaborations and points of view on the theoretical and politics perspectives behind school contents. In parallel, since the 80’s, there is a concern for a balance between Japanese citizenship and cosmopolitan citizenship.

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## ANNEX OF THE CHAPTER 6: TIMELINE OF HISTORY OF JAPAN <sup>12</sup>

### I. Japón Prehistórico.

- Civilización Jomon (10.000 a. C. - 300 a. C.)
- Civilización Yayoi (300 a. C. - 300 d. C.)
- Civilización Kofun ( S. III - S. VI)

### II. Japón Antiguo.

- Periodo Asuka ( Hacia el S. VII)
- Periodo Nara (710-794)
- Periodo Heian (794-1185)

### III. Japón Medieval.

- Periodo Kamakura (1185-1333)
- Restauración de Kemmu (1333-1336)
- Periodo Nanbokucho (1336-1392)
- Periodo Muromachi (1392 - Principios S. XIV)
- Periodo Sengoku (Hacia 1490-1573)

### IV. Antiguo Régimen.

- Periodo Azuchi Momoyama (1573-1603)
- Periodo Edo (1603-1868)

### V. Japón Moderno.

- La era Meiji (1868-1912)

<sup>12</sup> Fuente: Museo Oriental de Valladolid: [http://www.museo-oriental.es/ver\\_didactica.asp?clave=149&loc=0](http://www.museo-oriental.es/ver_didactica.asp?clave=149&loc=0)

- La era Taisho (1912-1926)
- La era Showa (1926-1989)
- La era Heisei (1989-