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Postwar martial arts program in Japanese higher education : case of Nippon College of Physical Education

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POSTWAR MARTIAL ARTS PROGRAM IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION:
CASE OF NIPPON COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

Ed.D. 1984

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CASE OF NIPPON COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

A Dissertation
Presented to
The Faculty of the School of Education
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

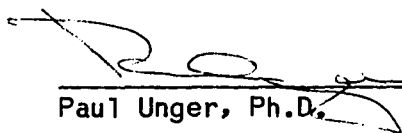
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Hiroyuki Hamada
April 1984

POSTWAR MARTIAL ARTS PROGRAM IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION:
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by
Hiroyuki Hamada

Approved April 1984 by


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Dedication

This report is dedicated to my father, Kazuo Hamada, who showed me the essence of martial way throughout his life. This is dedicated also to my mother, Yuriko Hamada, whose support throughout my educational pursuits has been immeasurable.

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I would like to extend my deepest appreciation to Dr. John R. Thelin for his guidance and many valuable suggestions on this project, and to Dr. Paul Unger and Dr. William Losito for their kind advice on the theoretical points and substantive materials concerning the subject. I am also indebted to Dr. Patrick Tow, Dr. Irwin Levinstein, and Dr. Charles Smith of Old Dominion University for the careful editing of the final draft.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since the end of World War II, the Japanese higher education system underwent a series of social reforms under the directives of SCAP (Supreme Commander of Allied Powers) and enforced by the occupation authority and administration of General Douglas MacArthur. In 1946, a new system of higher education was introduced to implement major changes in the former one. After collaborative consultation with SCAP in March of that year, the U.S. education mission assisted the newly formed democratic Japanese Diet in passing a series of educational laws: Fundamental Law of Education (1947), School Education Law (1948), Law on Public Teachers (1949), and Social Education Law. (1)

These legal statutes aimed fundamental changes in Japanese society toward enhancing greater equality, individualization, and democratization through educational reforms. Consequently, the single-track system of 6-3-3-4 was mandated in order to establish national standards. Tax supported coeducation was imposed in all compulsory public education programs. Administrative decentralization was encouraged through greater local autonomy in institutional governance. Greater emphasis on liberal education was incorporated into the curriculum to avoid narrow specialization and enhance greater cultural diversity. The postwar reforms were instigated to enhance adult education, equality between the sexes, institutional autonomy and independence, and greater assurance of academic

freedom. (2)

In light of these legalistic reforms in postwar Japan, the occupation authority held explicit political and social policy imperatives. The intention was to abolish all fascistic, ultra-nationalistic, and militaristic elements of Japanese society. The period of wartime education (1941-1945) was characterized by intense thought control of the masses. Mobilization was accomplished through the prescribed curriculum and authoritarian pedagogy by the Ministry of Education. The ministry published an official public text called Kokutai No Hongi (3) (Cardinal Principles of the National Polity) which was distributed to all schools and colleges in order to stabilize the entire populace under one dominant political ideology. In the area of physical education, the ministry mobilized entire public and private school systems, including colleges and universities, to meet national defense needs through designated martial arts curricula.

From 1930-1941, a resurgence of extreme nationalism was apparent after the costly victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, and World War I. Martial arts education (Budo Kyoiku) was regarded as a significant curricular offering in the school system as well as in higher education. Students were expected to develop practical combative skills and emulate ideal moral characters compatible with Japanese history and culture. Although judo and kendo were considered the most popular subjects, budo education in the university and school system contained the following specific disciplines: Judo, Jujutsu, Aikido, Karate do, Kendo, Kyudo, Iaido, Naginatajutsu, Goshinjutsu, Sumo, Jojutsu, and other traditional Kobudojutsu. (4) Clarification of the historical origins and evolutionary development of each of the martial arts discipline is complicated and difficult. The availability of original historical sources was

scarce and quite often secretive. However, a general description to assist the reader's overall comprehension of each art is included in the Appendix C and D.

The philosophy of Butoku (Martial Virtues) (5) served as the core moral content that was emphasized in the various disciplines. It was derived from writings based on teachings in Confucianism, Zen philosophy, mystic Shintoism, and the established theory of Budo by legendary martial arts exponents. (6) In the early Meiji era, 1880-1890, martial arts were treated more or less as a subject for pure learning and practical aestheticism by the surviving elite samurai class and dedicated exponents. During the period of the Imperial constitutional monarchy, 1890-1910, rising national militarism was evident when the ministry ordered compulsory martial arts training for all eligible male students. In essence, it was the beginning of mass martial arts education. Total defeat in World War II and unconditional surrender by the wartime administration brought about revolutionary changes in segments of social, legal, economic, and political institutions.

Under the directives of the GHQ of SCAP (General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for Allied Powers), martial arts education was abolished from all schools and institutions. All military training schools were dissolved. Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai, (Greater Japan Martial Arts Society), the most powerful authority of prewar martial arts institution, was dissolved under the directives of the SCAP. (7) Subsequently, Emperor Hirohito of Japan renounced "the divinity of his nature" to the entire nation through national network radio in 1946. (8)

The evolution of modern martial arts education is viewed in three developmental stages. During the early Meiji Restoration era, 1868-1912,

the disciplines were treated exclusively as those appropriate for warrior class education. From the middle Meiji era to the early Showa era, 1912-1945, martial arts were regarded as compulsory subjects for the purpose of national defense through physical education. Following thereafter, the postwar reform era (1946-1951) continued with changes to the present time.

The purpose, content, and method of martial arts education were drastically changed with the progress of time in Japanese society. Because of rapid social changes, clarification of the purpose of martial arts in higher education became increasingly difficult. It was the general attitude of the Central Ministry to deemphasize the physical education curricula in martial arts during the early 50's and 60's. (9) But in the last ten years, the discipline of martial arts became an important aspect of curriculum study in Japanese higher education even though very few objective studies have been done on the subject.

Thus, there is a need to clarify the historical evolution of martial arts and identify current contending views on the content, method, and purpose of the disciplines. There seems to be an ambivalent state of martial arts education in the higher education system. A relative degree of confusion in values, functions, and expected outcomes of the disciplines seems to have been caused by the rapid social changes and complex institutional transformations since post World War II.

Purpose of the Study

It is the purpose of this study to examine the following hypothesis. The purpose, content, and method of martial arts training defined by prewar legacies tend to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary.

Underlying assumptions are that the postwar martial arts program

was largely incorporated within new physical education curricula and hence underwent extensive secularization. As a result, one should expect to see greater emphasis on more individualistic need-based curricula. The content and its method emphasized less feudalism and authoritarianism and more pluralistic orientations in the socialization process of training.

The postwar martial arts program tended to emphasize more physical education and sport aspects than before. As a result, more pluralistic and diversified motivational factors were likely to be incorporated into the training method. This orientation tended to contribute to further deterioration of historical traditions as was found in the Bushido code (the code of the warrior class and the precepts of the martial way).

Statement of the Problem

Since the historical changes described in the introduction, the following problems were addressed by focusing on the Nippon College of Physical Education. Nippon College of Physical Education (N.C.P.E.) was inaugurated in 1891 for the exclusive mission of developing physical education instructors. Since its official charter was recognized as the specialist school of physical education by the government, this institution held prestigious national recognition by dominating major athletic competitions and occupying physical education faculty and staff positions in nearly seventy percent of the entire Japanese school system. In light of historical changes, N.C.P.E. underwent considerable institutional evolution during the prewar era and postwar reforms.

Thus, it was the purpose of this study to clarify the following statement of the problem.

What were the main thrusts of differences in the martial arts

curriculum in terms of purpose, content, and method of instruction between the pre-World War II era and post-World War II era at the Nippon College of Physical Education?

In order to clarify the above question, the following subsidiary questions were stated.

- a) What was the central purpose of martial training during the Meiji era (1868-1912), Taisho era (1912-1926), early Showa era (1926-1940), and wartime (1941-1945) at Nittai-Dai (Nippon College of Physical Education)?
- b) What differences can be substantiated? By what source can these differences be validated?
- c) How did these differences evolve? What factors led to postwar reforms in the area of content and purpose of martial arts training? By whom and by what authority were these reforms initiated and executed?
- d) What are the contending views of current martial arts education in terms of purpose and content?
- e) What are the contending values and philosophical orientation of martial arts among the leaders and exponents in the field?
- f) What specific elements in the discipline persist from the prewar era despite major legalistic, institutional, and social reforms at N.C.P.E.?

Scope of the Study

The scope of this study was limited to the hypothesis to be examined as it pertains to the Nippon College of Physical Education and other selected institutions of higher education on which this study was conducted. The major theme of this study was to clarify the historical evolution of martial arts while identifying crucial issues concerning the physical education curricula in higher education.

The main focus was on the N.C.P.E. and other campuses during the period from 1946 to the present. It was the central purpose of this study to examine the state of postwar martial arts program compared to that of the prewar era in light of historical changes in institutional settings.

Significance of the Study

It was the writer's contention that the current martial arts program in the higher education system existed in the midst of social change. Theoretical framework of classical and modern dichotomy seemed to be unclear on the part of practitioners and even some leaders and exponents. Writings of modern exponents lacked substantial empirical testing. Their tests were broadly defined in content without critical junctures. The importance of the martial arts program in Japanese higher education had been recognized historically. However, it seemed that the value, function, and purpose once again need to be re-examined.

The last reform was an inevitable result of the defeat in World War II and mandated by the force of SCAP. The process of demilitarization was thought to be completed by merely eliminating militaristic institutions and the social structure of the prewar era. Banning of all martial arts from schools and the university system thus took place in the categorical order. However, within a few years of the initial executive order, SCAP modified its legal enforcement to help rebuild the program by interjecting the Western mode of educational diversity. The apparent result seemed to be centered in the confusion of transformation, continuity, and conflict in the subject area.

The significance of this study lies in the following criteria: 1) clarification of the present state of martial arts programs in the higher education system and 2) questions on the purpose of martial arts, content

and method in curricula design, technical and moral orientation, and "ideal" expected outcome within a university physical education context. These points were addressed for the purpose of re-examining the existing curriculum.

From the perspective of the instrumental and evaluative approach, this study intended to address the fundamental question of what purpose, content, and method should be implemented in the educational setting to be compatible with the individual, institution, and Japanese society at large. The Minister of Education, individual institutions, leaders and exponents of the field, and individual practitioners were the targets of this critical review of the historical experience.

Theoretical Framework and Basic Assumptions

Kawanabe (1980), from the perspective of the social structuralist view, analyzed Japanese physical activity as a central domain of mind and body paradigm which interacted with other sub-domains such as social conventions, values, cultural orientations, behavioral expectations, and functional reward structure. (10) His analysis lacked the empirical support to deal with any specifics. It did not indicate reciprocal relationship between central domain and sub-domain. However, the fundamental assumption he raised was consistent with this study. The value, function, and recognition of physical activity such as martial arts had drastically changed with the progress of time in Japanese society.

From the reviews of literature, the following factors were considered to have had an impact on the evolution of modern Budo (martial arts) in the university system.

- 1) The banning of the martial arts by SCAP until 1950 from all school

systems;

- 2) Introduction of social and educational reforms following liberal democratic principles by the central administration as advised by SCAP;
- 3) The sense of loss of national spirit due to total defeat in World War II and the first invasion by a foreign power in the history of Japan, and subsequent drastic reforms;
- 4) Westernization, urbanization, and rapid industrialization in addition to the diverse philosophical orientations which facilitated greater social confusion and changes; and
- 5) Negative sanctions by the central postwar administration advised by SCAP toward classical martial arts which symbolized the organismic and feudalistic concept of Kokutai (national polity), militarism, and ultra-nationalism.

The existence of diversified purposes of martial arts were indicated by the policy mandates of the ministry and the literature of the exponents. But it is the author's contention that there seemed to be a lag between the purpose and function, between theory and practice, and between ideals and realities of philosophical cohesion in the subject area. For analytical purposes, the following conceptual model was developed to clarify the observable context of the martial arts curriculum as a center of the physical, mental, and practical domain.

Classical-Modern Dichotomy

Characteristics of the Classical Bujutsu (Martial Arts)

and Modern Budo (Martial Arts)

Types of Martial Arts Discipline

I		II	
<u>Classical Bujutsu</u>		<u>Modern Budo</u>	
Jujutsu	(art of self-defense)	Judo	
Karatejutsu	(fist art)	Karate do	
Bojutsu	(stick art)	Kobudo	
Sojutsu	(spear art)		
Jojutsu	(short stick art)	Jodo	
Kenjutsu	(sword art)	Kendo	
Taihojutsu	(mobilizing art)		
Naginatajutsu	(halbred art)	Naginata do	
Bajustu	(horsemanship art)		
Eihojutsu	(swimming art)		
Shuikenjutsu	(knife throwing art)		
Goshinjutsu	(self-defense art)		
Ninjutsu	(art of endurance)		
Aikijutsu	(art of Aiki-self-defense)	Aikido	
Kyujutsu	(art of archery)	Kyudo	

(Only 15 out of 35 jutsu forms are listed here)

Technical Curricula Orientation

I	II
_____	_____
1) Rigid Kyu-Dan ranking system of rigid progression; implicit and tacit methods were employed frequently; Iemoto system tends to prevail	1) Rational Kyu-Dan ranking system of progression; organizational standardization rather than Iemoto system tends to prevail
2) Greater emphasis on Kata (form); Kata as a method to perfect combative skill	2) Kata as an integral part of the training, but not emphasized as the sole method of training; Kata as a method of aesthetics
3) Standardized prearranged drills; complicated jutsu system exists depending on the Ryu (school) and Ha (branch); tendency to emphasize particular logic,	3) Free sparring and exchange of controlled strikes are permitted; experimentation and rational method to improve technical skills are encour-

I

philosophy, history, and theory of combative orientation

- 4) Shigoki (physical discipline for endurance) conducted as a matter of routine often with a survival orientation; traditionally considered as a method to build a necessary mental, physical, and spiritual framework for personal enlightenment and mastery of art
- 5) Intuitive learning and teaching between teacher and student is emphasized
- 6) Strict vertical orientation among the members; rank and seniority by age reflects expected norms of conduct; obedience toward the senior is expected

II

aged; frequent competition and demonstrations conducted (except Aikido and Naginata)

- 4) Shigoki is conducted very infrequently; purpose of shigoki varies, i.e., competition or personal development; method is not encouraged
- 5) Rational, logical, and scientific approach to instructional methodology
- 6) Less strict vertical orientation; more emphasis on informal network of training environment

Moral Orientation

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1) Deep respect for the school and loyalty to the teacher | 1) Tendency towards independence from the school and association; less pressure toward loyalty |
| 2) Absolute pledge to the founders' creed, beliefs, philosophy, and often national ideology | 2) Less emphasis toward belief in a particular creed, belief, or philosophy |
| 3) Honorable membership to the school as a reward | 3) Diversified reward pattern, less collectively sanctioned |
| 4) Deep respect for the authority of the teacher | 4) Less emphasis toward traditional authority |
| 5) A sort of mysticism, cultism and idea of self perfection | 5) Less emphasis on the intuitive aspect of action |
| 6) Respect and adherence to classical Bushido | 6) Bushido is an outdated norm |

Purpose of Martial Arts Training

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) Individual enlightenment through the study of the way | 1) Diversified motivational factors - physical, mental, practical, and spiritual |
| 2) Teaching of Bushido (How to be a Samurai Warrior) | 2) More for individualistic needs than prescribed values |
| 3) Mental readiness for urgent action such as war | 3) Practical application such as self-defense and improvement of concentration |

From the perspective of the social system, history, culture, and institutional history, the central domain was viewed with an extensive examination on how Nippon College of Physical Education, as a leading elitist institution, underwent prewar and postwar changes. From the perspectives of the exponents and leaders in the field as well as the practitioners of the current generation, there seemed to be a great gap to be found. The conceptual model of classical and modern dichotomy was only for clarifying the purpose of this study to be undertaken.

Definition of Terms

Bushi: Professional military class who developed its social and political power with the rise of civil unrest during 900 A.D. The term, Samurai, is commonly applied to a type of bushi from the Muromachi period (1392-1573). The bushi's trade was known as "bugei" or martial arts. (11)

(Bugei or Bujutsu), Budo: Bugei or martial arts of Japan are so called Jutsu forms, i.e., those combat systems whose name include the suffix jutsu. Kenjutsu (sword art), Iaijutsu (drawing art), Sojutsu (spear art), Karatejutsu (empty hand art).

The Budo, on the other hand, are do forms and use the suffix (the way, the path, Do) for identification purposes, i.e., Kendo, Iaido, and

Karate do. The Bugei, (Bujutsu), were developed systematically since the 10th century. But the Budo are largely 20th century products stemming from concepts which can be identified first about the mid 18th century. There is a general understanding that the Budo developed from the Bugei and no do form exists without the jutsu form from which it stems. (12)

Bushido: (the way of the Warrior) The original concept was developed during feudal Japan around the 12th century under the Kamakura military rule. A code of feudal ethics is permitted to the Bushi to apply martial skills within the limits of strictly defined right and wrong. It was never a written code based on law, but to a large degree an orally transmitted tradition based on the precepts and virtues of the Way of Samurai. Its body of knowledge incorporated Zen Buddhism, Shinto, and Confucianism, including ancestral respect, familism, and filial piety. Buddhism, with its concepts of implicit trust in fate, submissiveness to the inevitable, and stoic composure when faced with adversity, was interjected into its normative frame. (13)

The concepts of loyalty and bravery became important virtues. (14) The Book of Hagakure (The Book of Hidden Leaves) by Tsunemoto Yamamoto (1649-1716) expounding the national teachings of Yamago Soko (1622-1685), contributed to the birth of bushido as the most powerful ethical code for the bushi of the 17th to 19th century. (15) Inazo Nitobe (1905) in his book Bushido indicated seven distinctive virtues as the essence of bushido: 1) justice, 2) courage, 3) benevolence, 4) politeness, 5) veracity, 6) honor, and 7) loyalty. (16)

The Book of Hagakure indicated that the ultimate maxim of bushi was to discover death in life. Zen philosophy thus brought to bushido a way to see life in the fullest extent by facing death. The essence of duty, filial piety, and loyalty to superiors are the regulated, expected,

and implicit precepts of the samurai class. The Seppuku ceremony, ritualistic suicide for one's shame or honor, forged the institutional order of bushido. (17)

Kokutai: Translated as "National Polity", is a moral teaching based on mystic Shintoism and evolution of Japanese society as one family under the imperial family. (18) The development of the national entity, compliance with the imperial will, and direct rule by the emperor were integrated as the major conceptual framework to develop an official policy text called Kokutai No Hongi (Cardinal Principles of National Polity) published by the Ministry of Education on March 30, 1937.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

(1) Osamu Kanda, and Masami Yamazumi Shiryo, Nihon no Kyoiku (Historical Data, Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Gakuyoshobo: 1982) pp. 118-132.

(2) Ibid., p. 19.

(3) Ibid., p. 16, p. 116. Also see, R. K. Hall Kokutai no Hongi (Cardinal Principles of the National Entity of Japan), (Newton, Mass: Crofton Publishing Corp.: 1974).

(4) See Appendix (C) (I) Brief Description of Modern Budo (Martial Arts) and (II) Pictorial Description of Martial Arts.

(5) Kenji, Tomiki: Taiku to Budo (Physical Education and Martial Arts), (Tokyo: Waseda University Press: 1978) pp. 152-153.

(6) Ibid., pp. 154-156.

(7) GHQ of SCAP: General Headquarters United States Army Forces, Pacific Military Intelligence Section, General Staff, Memorandum Dated October 10, 1946 and SCAPIN-548. AG091, Dated January 4, 1946.

(8) Edwin O. Reishauer: Japan, The Story of a Nation (Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle Company: 1976) p. 217.

(9) Interview data: T. Takezaki, Superintendent of Physical Education Committee, Kobe, Japan. June, 1983.

(10) Mitsuru Kawanabe. "Shintai Katsudo O Gainen Zukeru Nihonteki Tokushitsu" (Japanese Characteristics Related to the Concept of Physical Activity) History of School Physical Education. Ryotaro Azuma (Tokyo: International Seminar Committee: 1978) p. 51-58.

(11) Yoshihiko, Sasama. Nihon Budo Jiten (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts), (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) p. 605.

(12) Donn Dreager. Classical Bujutsu (Tokyo: Weather Hill: 1980) p. 83.

(13) Mitake Katsube. Bushido (The Way of the Warrior), (Tokyo: Sumikawa Shoten: 1971) pp. 153-162.

(14) Dreager, 1980. p. 90.

(15) Tsunetomo Yamamoto. Hagakure (Hidden Leaves) (1761). Translated by Takai Mukoh. (Tokyo: Iwanami: 1962) pp. 7-8.

(16) Inazo Nitobe. Bushido (London: Ernest Benn, 1931) pp. 7-25.

(17) Jack Seward, Harakiri (Japanese Ritual Suicide), (Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle Co.: 1968) pp. 13-23.

(18) Hall, (1974). pp. 60-68.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Conceptual Framework and Direction of the Review

To investigate Japan's martial culture and tradition is to understand a major dimension of her historical experience. The primary purpose of this review of literature was to develop a comprehensive historical linkage between martial arts as an important cultural heritage and its major characteristics in terms of purpose, content, and method.

The literature of the prewar era on this subject lacked substantial empirical testing based on modern scientific objectivity. The body of knowledge seemed limited to a broadly defined context. The knowledge of classical bugei and bujutsu was considered secret, unique, and even sacred to some extent. Thus, its vital information was often withheld from all but the true seekers of such knowledge. It was also a tradition of the classical discipline not to rely on the explicit meaning of words or on epistemological logic in the course of human interaction. Instead, there was a rather heavily emphasized tacit understanding based on kan (intuitive process) between the teacher and learner.

Despite these limitations, this review attempted to clarify the historical evolution of martial arts discipline while identifying the crucial issues attached to the physical education curricula in the higher education system. Taken as a starting point will be the documents and literature put forth by the leading practitioners of the classical and

modern martial arts who made considerable impacts upon the university and college martial arts program in Japan during this prewar and postwar era.

SECTION I

Martial Arts Education During the Meiji Era, 1868-1912

Prior to the Meiji (named after an emperor) Restoration in 1868, the Tokugawa feudal regime controlled the nation under strict military order and national seclusion since its establishment of Bakufu (military government) in 1603. Its political system was highly bureaucratic and staffed by hereditary lords and immediate retainers.

Fief schools sponsored by each domain for the samurai ruling class provided the fundamental educational guidelines for inculcating Confucian ethics coupled with the military code of bushido (the way of the samurai).
(1)

From 1853 through the 1860s, foreign pressure to open Japan's ports led to greater accessibility and the possibility of economic exploitation by the Western powers. Under Shogun Tokugawa Keiki, without any effective military, economic, or diplomatic resources to handle the national crisis, the government was forced to sign unfair diplomatic and trade treaties with the U.S. and other major Western powers. Consequently, internal revolts led by an opposing coalition of territorial feudal lords (daimyos) long dissatisfied with the Tokugawa Shogunate administration, took control of the imperial court in Kyoto in 1868. An aristocratic revolution took place, which ended 265 years of the Tokugawa regime and reinstated imperial rule under the Meiji emperor. (2)

The whole nation was unified and ruled by a newly formed monarchic government, represented by the leaders of the revolting samurai class who

instigated the restoration process. Theoretically, the shogunate and clan institutions were abolished and earlier educational concepts, school systems, and educational policies were substantially transformed. In such a social and internal political climate as well as under external pressure, it was imperative for Meiji leaders to initiate modernization and industrialization at an unprecedented pace and bring about political centralization in all sectors. (3)

The Meiji government replaced the feudal domains with prefectures under the direct control of the state. It also abolished heredity as a criterion for a prescribed status and membership in a privileged class. However, many samurai occupied high bureaucratic positions by virtue of previous training. In addition, the Meiji government introduced an order for nationwide conscription for national defense. (4)

The Meiji constitution, fashioned on the Prussian-German model, explicitly stated that the sovereignty of the state rests on the imperial rule. The charter of this constitution signified that knowledge would be sought throughout the world in order to strengthen the foundation of imperial rule. Subsequently, the Meiji government declared the national slogan of *Fukoku Kyohei* (Wealthy Nation and Powerful Armed Forces) to the entire nation. (5)

The concept of *Fukoku Kyohei* advocated by the Meiji government casts a significant light on the existing martial arts tradition. The roles of classical *bujutsu* and *budo* (martial arts) in terms of purpose, content, and method in modern Japanese society was once again reviewed under the great historical force. The long Tokugawa peace had been a time of deterioration of classical military discipline. In the minds of Meiji samurai leaders, the martial legacy of the earlier classical warriors had

to be restored. Men of samurai origins dominated the major governmental posts in the Meiji government: Kido Koin (1833-1877) of the Choshu feudal domain, Okubo Toshimichi (1830-1878), and Saigo Takamori (1827-1877) of Satsuma, formed the original Meiji triumvirate. (6)

Other provincial samurais such as Itagaki Taisuke of Tosa (1837-1919), Yamagata Aritomo (1838-1897) of Choshu, and Okuma Shigenobu (1830-1922) of Hizen were the chief organizers, rulers, and builders of the Meiji government under the concept of Fukoku Kyohei. These men were strongly influenced by Kokugaku (National Learning) teachings, which protested against the narrow dogma of the Tokugawa academies. (7)

An influential national teaching was represented by Nakae Toju and Kumazawa Banzan (1619-1691). They were strong exponents of Yomeigaku, (the school of intuition or the mind), which stemmed from the Chinese Wang Yang-Ming school of Confucianism. They were aware of the decadence of the Tokugawa warrior class and urged a return to a state of readiness for the defense of the nation. Yomeigaku advocated the crucial definition of knowledge as the base of life. (8) Nakae illustrated the notion that true learning was equated with "control of the mind". Knowledge had to have good wisdom in the hands of a sage and it had to contribute to the service of mankind. (9)

The concept of Fukoku Kyohei was thus derived by the Meiji samurais under the three philosophical orientations of Kogaku, Yomeigaku, and Kokugaku. Amid foreign threats, domestic instabilities due to radical reforms, a flood of Western technologies and ideas, and complex diplomatic and economic pressures, they were to steer the nation toward survival and gain respect from the West.

Along with the concept of Fukoku Kyohei, they produced a synthesis of philosophical thought that became the roots of a nationalistic concept

called "Kokutai", the National Polity. (10) The concept of Kokutai convinced the general mass that Japanese society has a unique character containing both political structure and moral value. The imperial house was the pivot of national stability. The emperor, endowed with divine power and authority, permeated a sense of filial piety which was the foundation of the family unit. Thus, Japanese society was an undivided whole under a single loyalty to the throne. Kokutai was consequently just and moral, by its own definition. The national slogan of Fukoku Kyohei was the supporting ideology of reinforcement of Kokutai. (11) The collective loyalty, filial piety, harmony, and moral order were incorporated into the social institutions of Japan.

The Meiji government initiated dramatic reforms which affected over 2 million samurai in the process. The abolition of the feudal domain (Han), class caste system of the Tokugawa regime (nobles, daimyo, samurai, and commoners), class privileges, and the practice of carrying long and short swords, raised severe resentment among the samurai who lost their hereditary stipends. The highest emblem of the samurai was the wearing of two swords, the very living soul. This honor was taken away from them, in addition to the compulsory cancellation of all hereditary privileges. As a result, a series of revolts arose, but were quickly shattered by government conscript troops. (12)

In 1873, Yamagata Aritomo, Minister of the Army from the Ministry of Military Affairs, was convinced that modern firearms must replace the antiquated weapons of classical warriors. Furthermore, he also felt that the archaic system of bujutsu as a primary tactical means of combat had to be discarded. (13)

In 1877, the Satsuma rebellion directed by Saigo Takemori was

crushed by the central power. This was the last time that Japanese fighting men who advocated the old order engaged in a large scale encounter. The classical warriors, facing peasant soldiers equipped with technological weapons tasted a military defeat during this civil strife. (14)

The Meiji government under the leadership of Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), a Choshu samurai, attempted a major reorganization of the country toward national unity, economic strength, and military power. He aimed to formulate a state philosophy that logically supported education, government, and morals. It was his subtle design to reduce the tradition of Shinto to a more patriotic state of mind in the mass. Initially, it was a narrow definition of ancestral worship and ceremonial diety. This is where Shintoism was decentralized to the school system and the responsibility of moral instruction was carried out by the state. (15)

Arinori Mori (1847-1889), ex-samurai of Satsuma Han and first Minister of Education, established the national policy of education under the centralized Meiji nationalism. Akimasa Yoshikawa, succeeding Mori's work, drafted and issued the Imperial Rescript on Education on October 30, 1890. (16) It stressed the ideal of social harmony and legitimized the virtue of absolute loyalty to the imperial tradition. Mori declared explicitly that "Japan's schools are for the sake of the nation, not of the individuals." Physical education was an important part of the school curricula. The art of Sumo (traditional wrestling), the art of kendo, and judo were taught to all male children. Female students learned Naginatajutsu, the art of the Halberd, as a classical martial art. (17) It was Mori's and Ito's fundamental idea that national morality was to be established by a clear definition of moral obligation between the individual and state. The values of human conduct were thought to be maximized when perfection of the state was achieved.

The Meiji government chose the bushido as a means to inculcate the idea of national morality and loyalty which fulfilled the state imperatives of Fukoku Kyohei. Bushido, the systematic ethical, and idealistic tenets of the warrior class code, was developed in the Tokugawa-Edo period. Yamago Soko's Bukyo (warrior's creed) and Shido (warrior's way) represent the first systematic exposition of the moral precepts of what later came to be known as Bushido. (18) An 18th century work entitled "Hagakure" (Hidden Behind the Leaves) by Yamamoto Tsunetomo was written in 1761. (19) Although it was never intended to be read outside the Nabeshima fief in Kyushu, it came to be the guide to samurai ethics which was most widely studied. It contained some 1300 short lessons, episodes, and records of the samurai collected over time. (20)

The way of the samurai was the resolution to accept one's own death and absolute loyalty to one's lord. Its short poetic passages were composed in the spirit of the way of thinking and the qualities of action which permeated the reflection of the samurai's heritage. In short, the samurai believed in a readiness to die, whatever one's cause, uncompromising loyalty, singlemindedness, preparedness, artlessness, celerity, decorum and compassion. Hagakure subtly laid down the stern ethical code of the warriors of the Nabeshima clan that the priest Saigyō (1118-1190) inspired. The essence of Hagakure epitomized, "A flower, alive but hidden behind leaves, strikes one as if meeting a soul withdrawn from the world". (21) It instilled the spirit of service and absolute loyalty in the minds of the Nabeshima fighting men. On the other hand, its words were the ardent, desperate cry for the need for revitalizing the samurai warrior spirit from the peace time administration of Tokugawa. The Hagakure places supreme importance upon "dying" as the foremost basic

concept, considering loyalty to one's lord as one of the derivations. It stresses "death" without hesitation. (22) It teaches almost torturous stoicism in one's mental attitude at the time of crucial danger. The philosophy of "dying" is accepted as the process of becoming "pure and simple". The "everyday dying" means to completely cast away one's self-love and strive for one's cause. Loyalty to one's lord, filial piety to one's parents, and courage in the pursuit of bushido are integrated into one concept. (23)

Okuma Shigenobu, another significant Meiji leader, announced the importance of bushido, as exemplified in the writings of Hagakure. He held the highest respect for the spirit of charity and humanity. Thus, Ito Hirobumi treated bushido as the crust of tradition and the highest standard of morality, and vigorously enforced it in the everyday life of the educated classes. The attainment of stoic heroism, a rustic simplicity, a self-sacrificing spirit, aesthetic culture and refinement, delicacy of ceremony, sentiment, higher ideals of morality, philosophy, and the highest form of bravery and valor were the ideal virtues of the Meiji era's samurai leader. (28)

At the promulgation of the Admonition to the Armed Forces in 1878, Yamagata explicitly stressed the tenets of Tokugawa bushido - bravery, loyalty, obedience, and benevolence. This document provided the framework for the moral guidance of imperial soldiers and sailors of the Meiji armed forces. Japan's objective of being *Fukoku Kyohei* was seemingly realized in the last two decades of the Meiji era after victories in the Sino-Japanese war of 1849-1859 and the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-1905. The Yamagata mode of the Meiji bushido was the ideal form of conduct for classical samurai, who harmonized the highest moral qualities with the practice of the martial way. In Meiji Japan, there were none to dare

challenge the mission of the emperor's army and navy. (25)

In 1895, Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai (Greater Japan Martial Arts Society) was founded in Kyoto. (26) It was a significant contribution to the maintenance of the classical martial disciplines. The new Butokuden (Martial Virtues Hall) was re-established in 1899 next to the 8th century Heian Shrine in Kyoto. It became the headquarters and central training area of the association. It was operated by leading exponents of martial arts and ways. By 1906, the leading exponents and administrators of the Meiji government realized the need for the popularization of newly developed modern martial disciplines, such as kendo and judo.

By 1911, the establishment of the Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai Bujutsu Semmon Gakko (Martial Arts Professional School) was realized as the most significant accrediting institute for martial arts exponents, supported by the government and imperial authority. This institution was the major source of professional martial arts instructors in both classical and modern disciplines for the school system and higher education. (27) In the same year, the Ministry of Education made kendo and judo compulsory in all middle schools throughout the nation.

Japanese physical activity during these 45 years was symbolized in school physical education of the Meiji government, which was closely connected with the militarism of the imperial government. The following policies of the Meiji government reflected on the educational policies at that time - 1) wealth and military strength, 2) industrial development, 3) centralization of government, 4) cultural modernization, 5) development of foreign markets, and 6) promotion of national prestige. (28) The Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, placed the country's entire education system under the control of the government and under the influence of its

military nationalism. Physical education of the people was promoted with more stress on national prosperity and military strength. (29)

SECTION II

Martial Arts Education During the Taisho Era, 1912-1926

During the Taisho era (1912-1926), the Meiji concept of Kokutai was re-examined, due to the increased influence of Western liberalism and ideas. Instead of the issues of the Kokutai, Fukoku Kyohei, military conquest, politics, and economics, the problems of confused individuals in a rapidly changing society surfaced in all segments of intellectual and cultural activities. Themes of despair, melancholy, and futility dominated the works of the literary circles of this time. Realism to naturalism was the basic trend in thought patterns and expressive creativity. (30) The traditional practices of classical budo were considered rather anachronistic because the spiritual nature of classical budo ran contrary to the liberal expression of the self. The public showed more interest in sports.

Meanwhile the Taisho political crisis of 1912-1913 took place: the cabinet fell and the political parties came under the control of a new generation of young high ranking army and navy officers. The victory in World War I as England's ally, the Siberian expedition of 1918-1919, expansion to Manchuria, and the successful annexation of Korea and Formosa enabled existing military cliques to play a greater role in the central administrative positions. They tended to become more ultra-nationalistic in nature, and they thought it was Japan's mission to lead and protect Asia. (31)

Genyosha (Black Dragon Society) founded in 1881 and Kokuryu Kai

(Black Dragon Society) founded in 1901 were typical of the organizations which advocated tenno shugi (divine rulership by the emperor). These organizations became the elite group of Japan's ultra-nationalists. (32) Members of these organizations engaged in classical budo and modern kendo and judo to develop readiness for future domestic and foreign conflicts. Ikki Kita, a radical nationalist, wrote Nihon Kaijo Hoan Tai Ko in 1919 (an outline for the reconstruction of Japan) to urge immediate suspension of the constitution, establishment of martial law and coup de'etat. (33) It advocated a radical restructuring of Japan for leadership in revolutionary Asia. Kita's gospel of the sword received some affirmation. (34) The support came mostly from dissatisfied leaders of the Taisho administration. Nonetheless, the 1920's were characterized by internal peace, and energetic democratic action within Japan even though it ended with an unfinished experiment.

SECTION III

Martial Arts Education During the Early Showa Era, 1926-1945

The ultra-nationalistic thought of expansionist policy was regarded as the best solution to Japan's severe social problems. The state of moral decay in the Japanese army in the Showa era casts important light on the nature of Japanese martial culture. (35) The recruited officers were no longer from families of samurai decent, which the Meiji leaders had strongly insisted upon. They had neither the temperament nor the true sense of moral obligation to fulfill their duty. They were the men who were largely disassociated from the classical warrior traditions. (36)

To promote further centralization, the government through the Ministry of Education, issued Kokutai No Hongi (Cardinal Principles of

National Polity) in 1937. (37) Its educational philosophy and purpose was to control the social turmoil and intellectual conflicts influenced by the individualism and the liberal free thinking of the West. Its historical ideologies based on the mystic Shintoism and poetic mythology surrounding the Japanese imperial family attempted to revitalize a consciousness of the national entity: Implicit loyalty to the emperor, filial piety, the concept of wa (social-collective harmony by means of self-sacrifice), highest regard for bushido and martial spirit, foster a spirit of reverence for the dieties and one's own ancestors and family. There was also the need to train oneself for readiness in emergencies, cultivate wisdom, benevolence, and valor, understanding the meaning of mercy and strive to be sensitive to the frailty of nature. (38)

Thus, Bushido emerged from an outdated feudalism to become the way of loyalty and patriotism, and finally evolve as the spirit of the imperial forces. (39) The document clearly states the impact of Western cultures, in terms of spectacular scientific developments, upon Japan, how its positivistic analytical, and intellectual qualities made a significant contribution toward her modernization. Yet, it equally pointed out the necessity of scrutinizing their essential qualities with unclouded insight, recognizing the unique differences of Japanese history and culture. That is to say, the adoption and sublimation of Western ideologies and the clarification of the national entity were so related as to be inseparable. (40)

The document was a unique expression of Japanese thought, though it was written in a stylistic form most difficult for the common reader. It served as a manual for teachers of Shushin (ethics) courses in all school systems. It was an official document of internal policy and was enforced by the Bureau of Thought Control. Promotion of martial disci-

plines such as classical budo and the modern arts were used to develop, through the educational system, the state of mind of emergency and national readiness in time of war. (41) Kendo (sword fencing) and judo became compulsory subjects in the curricula of all schools. Butoku-Kai authorized the standardization of techniques, teaching methods, the qualifications and examination of instructors, and the issuance of teaching ranks, titles of honor, and licenses. By 1941, Japan was sufficiently mobilized to begin a major war.

Jiro Kamishima (1961) found that during 1910, the Tokyo Imperial University students had a strong explicit loyalty toward their martial arts clubs, which was essentially part of loyalty which connected the same spiritual energy and passion with their university, nation, and emperor. (42)

Kimura (1978) analyzed the purpose and content of physical education using the historical writings and policy documents at prewar Japanese universities. His findings were similar to those of Kamishima. The record of student memoirs indicates that not only the martial arts curriculum at the university, but also other sports activities were trained, taught, instructed, and disciplined with the same attitudinal and behavioral orientation. Bushido and classical martial disciplines, coupled with rigid vertical authoritarian orientation, permeated every sphere of the physical education curricula. It was assumed that baseball and other games and sports could be reduced to quasi-sports of death. (43)

It was assumed that the emphasis on "Gi" (duty) and "Rei" (courtesy and manners) were paramount moral criteria in those activities. (44) It was also assumed that the prestige and destiny of the university depended upon a collective will based on the individual's duty and service

for its end. In fact, it was a symbol of the university's spirit and the spirit of sacrifice that the student achieve a victory over the opponent as if he were a samurai retainer winning a battle over an enemy for the daimyo (feudal lord) he loyally served. The reward was in the sense of accomplishment of the prescribed duty and the glory shared with the collective entity.

Kaga (1978) pointed out that the central ministry supervised, controlled, and manipulated sports activities physical education curricula to indoctrinate the popular mass on the essence of Kokutai based on the sanctity of the emperor and justification of militarism (45) It was assumed, however, that there was an ideal ground for such manipulation by the central ministry. The threats of foreign aggression and domestic socio-economic instability, were made matters of national security. The ministry directly intervened to organize and administer national sports and physical education activities in order to mobilize the nation under the centralized political ideology. In 1943, all sports activities under the Western influence were forbidden. (46)

The success of this indoctrination was shown by the Kamikaze squadrons. Until the very end of World War II, there were at least twice as many volunteers as available planes for the Kamikaze suicide missions. The typical Kamikaze fighter was a university student whose education had been interrupted when his military deferment came to an end and subsequently joined the Special Attack Units. (47) In the collection of letters, memoirs, diaries, and poems that constituted the primary source for studying the Kamikaze personality, hatred for the enemy and a desire to avenge dead comrades did not appear to have dominated the psychology of Kamikaze fighters. (48) Like Bennedict, Morris argued that the Japanese personality operated on the basis of a debt of gratitude. (49) It was a

moral responsibility to repay this debt accumulated since birth at whatever sacrifice it took. It was essentially a morality which inspired an obligation to the family, nation, and emperor who embodied its unique "National Polity" (Kokutai) and virtues. Among historical figures, the man most revered by Kamikaze pilots was the loyalist warrior Kusunoki Masashige, heroic war lord of the 14th century, who committed harakiri in 1336 after the predictable failure of his last battle for the Emperor Godaigo. (50) In their letters, diaries, and conversations, Masashige was repeatedly cited by Kamikaze pilots as a model of honorable conduct. (51) The Kamikaze volunteers, university student-trainees of classical budo, were perhaps conditioned to face life by facing death in the reality of war. The metaphysics of death as expressed in traditional bushido and the Book of Hagakure suddenly became a reality to the youth of families with no samurai heritage. Tranquility without inner resistance had to be attained by denying the ego and its desire in order to be prepared for the final self-effacement on the day of their last sortie. Until August 1945, over five thousand suicide volunteers died in the Pacific Ocean. The war in the Pacific ended in unconditional surrender, an unique disgrace in Japan's history. The Divine Wind (the Kamikaze) became a symbol of ineluctable failure. (52)

Admiral Onishi, commander and organizer of the corps and exponent of classical bujutsu, committed harakiri to express the last appreciation to the spirits of the brave special attack force. "I wish the young people of Japan find a moral in my death. You must abide by the spirit of the Emperor's decision with utmost perseverance...Do not forget your rightful pride in being Japanese...With all the fervour of the spirit of the special attackers, strive for the welfare of Japan and for peace

throughout the world." (53) It was assumed by the general public that Onishi believed in the nobility of classical bushido and the attack force. Yet, he had a profound sense of its practical hopelessness, as did many other imperial military officers toward the end of the war.

SECTION IV

Martial Arts Education During the Postwar Era,

1945 to the Present

In the early Showa era, Japanese military nationalism was restored, and the education was placed under strict control by the national government. Military training in physical education became the compulsory curriculum throughout the school system during the period of 1941-1945. (54)

But, after the unconditional surrender and total defeat in World War II, a new order was established, based upon the premises of democratic principles. Among the many social reforms GHQ of SCAP commanded was the elimination of the roots of militarism, totalitarianism, and fascism. It was the central advisors' assumption that demilitarization in every segment of social institutions was essential to re-establish the new social order.

Mayo (1982) contended that early post surrender policy guidance on education underwent a series of revisions on the part of reformers which was apparently a result of confusion in educational decision making and methods of ideological reorientation. The chief recommendations for modification in the existing educational system were: 1) abolition of thought control bureaus, 2) closure of war-related technical and scientific schools, 3) elimination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic

instruction, 4) abolition of militaristic convocations, singing of war songs, and ceremonies centering on the Imperial portrait, 5) review and revision of textbooks, and 6) removal of objectionable elements from courses in Japanese history, geography, and morals or ethics. Linked to this were extensive reforms attached to the Potsdam Declaration: 1) equal educational opportunities, 2) expansion of secondary and higher education, 3) decentralization, 4) increased government recruitment of graduates from private institutions, 5) development of liberal methods of teacher training and indoctrination, 6) inculcation of democratic principles, 7) co-education, 8) comprehensive adult education, 9) increased utilization of media, 10) expanded teaching of English language, and 11) encouragement of modern sports. (55) Mayo indicated that Secretary Gate's memorandum clearly calls for attention to the educational mission as a re-education process. It was assumed that the educated literate mass was willing to go through "ideological re-orientation." (56)

It is still a question whether or not the program proposed by SCAP was administered with complete objectivity and detachment to attain the ends projected. It was done by major reforms in the formal schooling of its youth, by strict censorship, and control of its media, and drastic re-orientation of its ideology. (57)

The outbreak of the Korean War and the subsequent cold war era of the 1950's radically changed the policy of democratization and demilitarization of Japan. The impact of the cold war, and external policy from re-education to reorganizing the national consciousness was in the American orbit. The reactivation of the police force and the newly developed Self Defense Force with a continued presence of the American military umbrella (AMPO treaty) were indicative of a new rearmament. Theoretically, this contradicted the essence of the 1946 constitution in

which article IX declared that Japan shall no longer possess a military force.

All military men were required to train themselves in jukendo (bayonet art), a classical budo, as well as the newly created sport-kendo and judo. In school systems and higher education, budo was used once again in the physical education curricula. Though not a subject of compulsory education, it encouraged a greater emphasis on the sport aspects. The Butokuden was authorized to be opened in 1952. Its mission statement radically transformed its central purpose from the Kokutai of the Meiji era and the bushido described in Hagakure to the essence of classical discipline without a political ideology. (58)

A security treaty was signed in 1951 between the U.S. and Japan and so ended the era of occupation. Japan regained her independence as a sovereign democratic state, signified by a totally new constitutional charter. It was the policy of the central administration to weaken the classical bujutsu and budo by encouraging the popularization and diversification of the art. As a result, the prestige and legitimate authority of Butoku Kai as a sole martial arts accreditation institute was greatly weakened. The different sponsorship tied in with different modern disciplines like kendo and judo received greater popular support. Under the auspices of separate national federations, greater diversification took place in the physical education curricula of higher education.

In 1964, judo was added for the first time as an Olympic sport in the Tokyo Games. In the 1960's, many colleges and universities such as Tokai Daigaku, Nihon Daigaku, and Nittai Dai began to emphasize the sport aspects of budo extensively. At Nittai Dai (Nippon College of Physical Education), Budo Gakka (budo science) was finally approved as one of the main concentration areas for physical education majors in 1965. The first

B.S. in martial art science was awarded in 1969 from the Nippon College of Physical Education. The Ministry of Education encouraged the budo curriculum as a requirement in all secondary schools. At present, except for the majority of private schools for women, the budo curriculum, including modern kendo, judo, karate-do, kyudo, and aikido is part of the physical education. The purpose, content, and method tend to have a strong sport emphasis in the modern discipline. However, it seems there is growing opposition in Japan to the use of any modern discipline as "sport budo" emphasizing solely the competitive sport aspect.

From the elite stage of the time of Meiji bushido to the current mass diversification of sport budo, there is a growing demarcation between the theory and practice of budo. There seems to be a split between the purist and practicalist in the emphasis of the philosophy and value of budo. The intrinsic nature of classical budo and bujutsu contains the manifold canon of purposes: 1) combat, 2) discipline, 3) morals, and 4) aesthetic forms.

During the early Meiji era, the education system required that discipline and morality be emphasized in the study of the martial arts. The government thought that the emphasis of morality in physical training would change the mental outlook of people. Thereby, the common people would develop a superior morality over matters under any conditions. The discipline of combat described in the writings of Hagakure and bushido were not easily transformed in the popular mass, although they were envisioned as romantic virtues. The elitist samurai had to transform their art by adapting to the individual needs of the commoner. Classical budo, being a spiritual discipline, divorced from actual life and death combat. The rise in liberalism did not receive wide spread support. Modern budo and bujutsu developed in the early Showa era tended to

emphasize individual discipline and aesthetic forms rather than development of purely combative art of life and death realism and total acceptance of the bushido code from the 17th century.

Classical and Modern Budo deals with all aspects of armed and unarmed combat. Depending on the ryu (school) and type of budo (martial art), the training emphasis varies as to whether kata (formal exercise, prearranged form) is more or less prevalent. Since classical bujutsu's and budo's ultimate purpose was to prepare for actual combat of life and death with proper spiritual bearing, the training procedure had to focus much in that development perspective. Training depended on kata, the mixture of rational and logical methods of combative strategy, the application of kan (intuition), and the concept of ki (life force or universal energy).

Depending on the ryu and its direct heritage of ancestral relationship or the founder's original philosophy, the classical budo tended to permeate the learning and teachings of Zen Buddhism of the 12th century, the Yomeigaku (School of Intuition) of the 17th century, the bushido code represented in the spirit of Hagakure, and the mystic Shintoism of earlier centuries. Thus, classical disciplines were not considered as sports since it was impossible to engage in real combat.

As this classical virtue persisted in the conservative domain, the development of budo from Taisho to the early Showa era (1895-1923) saw a greater diversification. By preserving the elements of classical budo and bujutsu to a certain extent, modern budo flourished as a form of physical education, competitive sport, physical fitness, mental discipline method of self-defense, recreational activity, and an activity depending on individual needs. These disciplines were open to all people, regardless of sex and social position in colleges and universities throughout Japan.

Kendo, judo, karate-do, and kyudo have intercollegiate teams in the various league competition to represent themselves in national, international, and world games. Training, depending on the institutions, emphasized a wide variety of purposes and procedures. Intuitive learning seemed less important. The application of scientific, and rational procedures were emphasized to improve waza (skill) for competition or other individual purposes. Less emphasis on form training was pronounced. A deep and thorough understanding of classical practitioner's experience and philosophy was hardly examined or, at least, hardly included as a part of the training procedure.

Kenji Tomiki (1965), an exponent of aikido and judo at the national police academy and Nittai-Dai, stressed "sport budo" as a unique combination of classical and modern budo. He asserted that the sport concept does not mean the deterioration of the traditional merits of budo, but rather it provides the creation and development of a new physical education culture. (59) His contention was that modern budo must be separated from any form of state religion or state political ideology. Yet, he recognized the importance of individual spirituality in the aesthetic forms. He attempted to equate the honor of bushido with the concept of fairplay in sportsmanship and gentlemanship to competitive discipline would contribute to the development of universal humanism. However, he failed to see the substance of honor in bushido which rested on a vertical human relationship like the lord and his retainer. Western sportsmanship rested on the principle of fairness at all levels regardless of participant characteristics. Courtesy, good manners, and fair play were common attributes of both Western sportsmanship and Bushido. But the criteria of such exercises needs to be well-defined to what extent that both elements are functional and beneficial for the sake of promoting

modern sport budo.

This change of values toward budo kyoiku (martial arts education) stemmed from the radical transformation of the physical education curricula. Its emphasis changed from materials based on the concept of kokutai and bushido to the broader application of democratic educational principles. As a result, the general educational guideline of Mombusho stated that budo was a subject of physical education similar to other sports education such as dance, volleyball, and baseball. Without clarifying the deep-rooted relationship between the classical disciplines and the evolution of Japanese society at large, modern budo continues to face fundamental dilemmas such as: Can budo be only a sport? If not, what is true budo? For whom and for what purpose should it be studied?

Shinji Michihara (1978) indicated that from 1927-1937 Tokyo University, Kansai University, Takushoku University, Waseda University, Tokyo Agricultural University, Hosei University, Ritsumei Kan University, Rikkyo University, and Meiji University established a formalized Karate-do training center. (60) In 1933, Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai approved Karate Jutsu as a division of the judo and jujutsu section. By 1939, Karate Jutsu was officially changed to karate-do. Michihara indicated that the spread of karate-do in mainland Japan was greatly due to Gichin Funakoshi, exponent of training during the prewar era. Funakoshi emphasized spiritual training by incorporating meditation and strict discipline over the university students. He often utilized the way of strategy, Book of Five Rings, written by legendary swordsman, Musashi Miyamoto, in the early 17th century.

Michihara, an exponent of the Shoto Kan Karate school and professor of martial arts at the Nippon College of Physical Education, advocated that modern karate-do should be a subject of scientific study.

Its training procedure should rest on the rational approach. However, he acknowledged the importance of reigi (courteous etiquette and manners) to be guarded as classical virtues. Like Tomiki of Waseda University, he contended that the sport emphasis and intercollegiate competitive interests of budo is the appropriate path for the development of modern budo.

Tomiki (1965) suggested three manifold steps to be taken toward that end. First, budo must become a more logically rationalized subject of study, which avoids the excessive spiritual and moral emphasis of a narrow mystical tendency. It should become a unit of physical education to be collaborated by other social biological sciences. Secondly, budo must be developed as a competitive sport by incorporating the concept of fairplay and sportsmanship. Thirdly, it should become a subject of pure aesthetics. He argued that budo in the new era must be developed under the auspices of peaceful physical education rather than defensive physical education. (61)

Hisao Ishioka (1976), a master exponent of kyudo (art of archery) and professor of martial arts at Kokugakuin University, rejected the standardized definition of kyudo described by the postwar Ministry of Education. The Ministry of Education outlined the purpose of classical martial arts as a subject of physical education, which primarily enhanced the individual's kinetic, muscular, postulate, and other motor learning capabilities in addition to the knowledge of safety, health, and sportsmanship. Ishioka stressed that the most important aspect of kyudo is the essence of its spirituality - when the trainee cultivated oneself to restore purity and clarity to the mind by overcoming oneself. Historically, kyudo was one of the most important training curricula along with swordsmanship and horsemanship for the medieval warrior class. (62)

In 1859, kyudo was promoted by Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai as one of the main disciplines of budo. It was standardized later as Shin Kyudo (new kyudo) under the auspices of Honda-Ryu (honda school). In 1934, the All University Student Kyudo Federation was founded. After World War II and the dissolution of Butoku-Kai, kyudo lost its validity along with all other martial arts under the directives of SCAP. But by 1951, kyudo flourished once again as a sport through school and university systems. Currently, there are over five hundred thousand black belt holders in kyudo. Ishioka (1976) quickly admitted that the artificiality of ceremony without spiritual intent must be eliminated in the training and content of kyudo. He posed the question of individuality and how this activity may assist one's discovery of self-realization. (63)

The impact of postwar physical education policy on budo was shown in kyudo. The practitioner of today finds less spiritual involvement with a general tendency moving toward competitive excellence and rationally defined performance outcomes. It was a classical tradition that the trainee be severely scolded if he struck the bull's eye on the first strike. The trainee must first appreciate the refinement of air and harmony between the target and subject. Perhaps Ishioka was stressing the revival of "seishin" (spirituality) in modern kyudo.

Mifune Kyuzo (1959), 10th dan exponent of judo and the original student of Jigoro Kano, founder of Modern Judo, emphasized two canons of modern judo philosophy: 1) Sei Ryu Ku Zenyo (better utility of energy/maximum efficiency) and 2) Jita Kyoel (mutual prosperity). Judo traces back to the roots of yawara (soft art) and the Sekiguchi and Kito Jujutsu school. Kano polished its art form by integrating the philosophical aspect of do (the way, the path, the truth). His motto, ju yoku go a seisuru (weakness controls strength, softness controls hardness) implied

the naturalness of motion and the rational understanding of balance, force, economy, and grace. Mifune, being a guardian of Kano's teaching and wisdom, stressed the unique aspect of training procedure in Kodo Kan Judo: 1) fundamental techniques based on logical, independent, and scientific principles 2) removal of the dangerous practice of classical jujutsu, 3) promotion of harmonious body development, 4) spiritual forging, 5) physical education, and 6) sport. (64)

Judo in Japan today remains primarily a competitive sport. Such antique jujutsu forms as Koshiki-No-Kata (classical forms) and Itsutsu-No-Kata (forms of five) are included in the modern judo system even though they remain only for ceremonial demonstration purpose. Kano, founder of judo, admitted the necessity of developing spiritual growth to its maximum by relating to the writings of "Go Rin no Sho" by Musashi Miyamoto (1582-1645). He subtly urged the trainee to appreciate the principle of an all-pervading unity which is impossible to explain in words. Kano emphasized the objectives of individual self-perfection and contribution to human welfare and benefit. Kano developed a philosophical principle of social harmony that was functionally compatible with the trend of social desirability in post World War II Japan. (65)

Gogen Yamaguchi, 10th dan and highest ranking black belt holder to date, is an exponent of Goju-Ryu karate-do and chairman of the karate-do division of Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai. He stressed the spiritual element of karate-do and integrated strict martial discipline of classical budo into the mode of training. Physical discipline (shigoki) was administered to the novices and their obedience to the master was regarded most respectfully. He wrote, "training myself in the unification of Shinto, Karate-do, I was able to gain calm resignation. Through this unique method, I wished to share my joy with my disciples." (66) His experience

in mystic Shintoism gave a totally different picture of Karate-do to the followers of Goju school. Unlike Michihara's scientific rational approach, Yamaguchi emphasized the intuitive understanding of spiritual essence in Karate-do. It incorporated the forms of animals and unique breathing to forge physical endurance, courage, fortitude, and freedom of combative skills. Yamaguchi synthesized the spirit of Zen, Shinto, the principle of soft and hard (Ying and Yang), and integration of classical content and methodology. To Yamaguchi, like his original teacher, Chojun Miyagi of Okinawa, the classical discipline and the concept of do (the way of self perfection) are the maxims of his philosophy. Ritsumei-Kan University and a dozen other universities adopted Yamaguchi's Goju form of karate-do in their official curricula of varsity status. (67)

They say there are more than eighty different Japanese systems of karate-do today since it was introduced at the Budokuden in 1921 by Gichin Funakoshi, exponent of Karate Jutsu from Okinawa. Gichin Funakoshi, one of its greatest exponents, spread the art in Keio, Waseda, Shodai, Takushoku, Chuo, Gakushuin, Hosei, and over twenty more colleges and universities from the 1930's to the present. He emphasized the Taoist philosophy of life in which the trainee must discover inner peace in a state of universal harmony between the subject and all others. His training maxims stressed the development of: 1) character, 2) sincerity, 3) effort, 4) etiquette, and 5) self-control. (68)

The training methods reflected his interpretation of the classical warrior spirit and ethos. Mizu no Kokoro (mind like water) encouraged the presence of metaphysical state of mind. It is an immovable state in an emergency, an idea which was cultivated by 16th century samurai. In addition, tsuki no kokoro (mind like moon) symbolically means the calm awareness of all illuminated by the clarity of light (i.e., aware of all

conditions surrounding the universe). The classical warrior stressed this state as Zanshin (remaining mind-tacit understanding of all conditions). In training, he demanded extensive shigoki (physical discipline) and delivered hard blows and kicks to the unalert trainee. He urged self perfection through constant efforts which was the implicit task of do (the way). (69)

Since 1895, Butoku-Kai led the organizational development of all Japanese martial arts at the old Butokuden (Martial Arts Hall). In 1909, the University Kendo Federation stressed the physical education aspect of kendo. In 1911, kendo (the way of sword fencing) was officially included in the middle school curriculum as part of the physical education program. To eliminate injuries, Shinai Kyogi (a pure sport form of kendo using bamboo swords) was popularized throughout the school system in 1953. By 1962, it became a mandatory physical education curriculum for middle schools, high schools, and most colleges and universities. It was essentially geared toward the development of good citizens, character, sportsmanship, and physical fitness. Except in the special military force, police force, and tactical force, the elements of classical Kenjutsu are not likely to be practiced today. (70) The essence of kendo was spiritual. Its concept of pure spirituality had been abused by the authority as means to a national end prior to World War II. Japan's growing commitment to ultra-nationalism made kendo not only a fighting art, but a spiritual discipline to enhance greater national cohesion.

According to Hanshi Kazuo Hamada, 8th dan in kendo, Ito Ittosai (1560-1653), founder of Itto-Ryu, prescribed the essence of ken (sword) and do (the way) as a process of constant effort to achieve spiritual forthrightness and a mind as clear as the sword reflecting in the moonlight. (71) In other words, training must be focused toward the cultiva-

tion of such effort rather than the acquisition of knowledge or mere techniques. Modern kendo differed in its usage of armor, equipment, weight, durability, purpose of combat, and techniques from those of classical kendo.

There are obvious differences between the cutting action made with a real sword and the striking action of the bamboo shinai in modern kendo. Techniques in modern kendo are generally standardized regarding striking and cutting areas to avoid injuring the practitioners. Yomeigaku (School of Intuition) and intuitive learning are less emphasized in contemporary training methodology. Observing the future eight million kendo practitioners, Kimura contended that kendo must not be regarded as pure sport, but rather as an integrated whole. (72)

Miki Goto (1979), exponent of Eishin Ryu Iaido, stressed the importance of the true way, the meaning of do in the modern discipline of Iaido (a form of sword drawing art). He contended that the student must make maximum efforts toward his self realization: "How to do is not to do but to be". He emphasized the unity of Ying and Yang and the balance of ego and self for the purpose of cultivating one's character. In other words, Iaido is the expressive reality in which the ego-self is moving away from a self-centered distorted vision to the original clarity of mu (Zen concept of nothingness - a nondiscriminatory state) - the ideal development of human character. (73) Goto emphasized the perfection of do as the ultimate aim of budo practice to the practitioners at the many iaido training centers in Japan's colleges. Foreign Minister Sonoda in addressing Goto's essay, stated that "budo must not be reduced to mere jutsu (techniques), but rather it is a constant process of gyu (intentful practice) and action without a terminal ending". (74) Sonoda and Goto, both of whom are in their 80's and have been practitioners of martial arts

for over 60 years, attempted to clarify the new meaning of do to the postwar generation from the perspective of Zen philosophy and Chu Hsi philosophy. In their view, the cultivation of the self through rigid discipline was sure to develop the illustrious virtue of one's personality.

In the history of Japan, various institutions and beliefs of traditional Japanese culture revealed a complex amalgamation of culture borrowed from abroad and that indigenous to the natives. That process of interaction, assimilation, adaptation, absorption, and elimination of various cultural components brought an impact on the modern disciplines of the martial arts. Shinto, Taoist, Confucian, and Buddhist concepts were purposefully identified in the form of theoretical assumptions upon which the purpose and technical orientation of modern budo is based. In modern practice, there is the same consistency of Chu Hsi dualism, (Confucian classic - The Book of Rite) as was rigidly enforced in the prewar era. There exists the ranking system of yudansha (black belt exponent) and mudansha (un-graded, below black belt rank). The prearranged function of tori (attacker) and Uke (defender), Chu Hsi concept of do (movement), sei (stillness), tai (body or essence) and yo (functions) are all integral parts of the modern budo system whether the practitioner realizes it or not. (75) Gozo Shioda, exponent of aikido, emphasized the importance of maximum efficiency of mind and body coordination through achievement of perfect harmony between tori and uke. Its technique component is based on the assumption that harmony takes place when the ki (vital force) of two opposing powers are rationally integrated as one. (76) Like kyudo (art of archery), aikido also embodied the presence of the ri concept (reason) whereby harmony of spirit and action must be operative. However, much of the aesthetic conduct of classical warriors influenced by the teachings of

Confucianism and Taoism seemed to remain only as remote romantic ideals. So Do Shin, (1973) founder of modern Shorinji Kempo (fist art), established a theory of Kempo by extracting the philosophy of Zen Buddhism and its historical linkage between Chinese Chuan'fa (fist art) and Bodidarma's intuitive enlightenment. He stressed the realization of fist and seated meditation, a specific knowledge of Kongo Zen - unit of strength and love and the practice of soft and hard systems. (77) This innovative modern budo lacked much historical verification about its origin and the philosophical linkage between the esoteric teaching of Zen Buddhism and its relationship to a technical orientation. Yet, throughout Japan, over 200 colleges and universities adopted this system of martial arts as an elective curriculum and club sports status.

Yamaguchi, Goto, Funakoshi, and Kimura, exponents of classical bujutsu and innovators of modern budo, appeared to the very natural state and were compatible to the Japanese psyche. The art is expressed in the physical manifest through one's self perfection under the complex interaction of a metaphysical foundation. Japanese cultures are uniquely based without apparent conflict. However, it gained popularity in a wide range of the populace. This included the recent establishment of a nationwide university Shorinji Kempo Federation in the 1960's numbering over three hundred thousand practitioners to date. So Do Shin, like other modern budo practitioners, assumed that there was no absolute answer to the question of human struggle in conflict. He resorted to the simplification of adaptation out of diverse values in which specific moral criteria and purpose of the discipline tend to be grounded in the nature of things. It was speculated that his innovation of philosophical orientation served some purposeful function as an alternative for those who sought a meaningful relationship in man's existence and his place in life surrounded by a

complex matrix of formality, bureaucracy, and rapid social change.

Depending on the philosophical orientations of budo and bujutsu, it was assumed that at least one or more of the purposes might well be in conflict according to the modern exponents. It was also assumed that post World War II modern budo explicitly or implicitly did not incorporate the concept of Kokutai in their purpose. Nor did they encourage the illustrious virtues of classical bushido code in their mode of training.

At best, it was assumed that modern budo attempted to crystalize the metaphysics of prewar classical bujutsu into a new system of do in which one can individually select, scrutinize, and adapt oneself to the purpose of the collective will and body of knowledge. On the other hand, the postwar legal, social, and institutional reforms by democratic principles facilitated rapid social changes. There emerged new generations which tend to resist unquestioning obedience to authority, resist compliance to forms of socialization, and question the adult culture more. There is a growing concern that the battle of generations over the values of current social institutions and the state of Japanese culture is widening the gap further.

Data compiled by Matsubara (1980) will give limited visions of the current youth picture. In 1972, N.H.K. conducted an opinion survey of 200 randomly selected 18 to 22 year old college students from Tokyo. It was found that there is a growing gap of role models and self-identity between generations. In the current generation of youth, the majority wished to learn from the adult generation who underwent prewar and postwar turmoil. Yet the youth tended to reject the majority of their opinions, attitudes toward life, and demands for absolute compliance (53.6%). The youths tended to project the image of adults as one who seems weak toward superior authority (34.43%), holds outdated thinking (37.5%), tends to be

practical (24.7%), and tends to be rather passive in social and political matters (15.2%). (78)

It was also found that three fourths of the youths' major concern had something to do with individualistic issues. Only a small percentage of respondents indicated matters of concern outside of the individual domain such as social problems and international matters. On the other hand, they tended to be aware of acute social problems if questions are directly related to them. They saw environmental disruption as the nation's number one issue (73.9%) and the government not responding to the majority of the worker's voice (55.8%). (79)

It is assumed that youths tend to be dependent on the security and stability of social structures such as the family and school. Yet, the role model of adult images was very complex and often a reflection of societal confusion (80%).

Seishonen Hakusho (White Paper on Youth) was compiled by the office of the prime minister in 1970 on the basis of over 16,000 respondents from urban and rural Japan. It was assumed that rapid social change was a major factor in the generation gap. The majority desired warmth in love and affection rather than material abundance (78.5%); expected a liberal education out of college (59.7%); useful vocational training and knowledge out of college (50.9%); hoped for strong, intimate human relations (45.0%); and accepted work as a societal contribution (45.1%). (80)

They tended to prefer the life style of leisure (54.0%) and experience the satisfaction of accomplishment when they engaged in sports and other individual hobbies (43.5%). Some tended to be proud of national traditions and Japanese history (38.0%). Half of the respondents felt closeness, and pride with Hino Maru (Japanese flag) (43.0%). This data

also pointed out that youths were indicating growing dissatisfaction over the relationship between societal place and the individual (67.0%). (83)

Overall assessment of the opinion survey pointed out that the current youth generation tended to adjust into the seemingly stable social structure. Other than the lack of clear association with societal responsibility, they were modestly satisfied with their dependency reciprocated by adult expectation over the current youth. (82)

It was also found that the majority of the youth (in a 1973 opinion survey for the International Youth Symposium) had a very apathetic attitude toward social problems (73.0%) because they see the issues as totally out of their individual power. (83) It is not possible to generalize the current student profile in a cross-cut approach. The relationship between attitude and action of the youth is not always logically consistent. However, there emerges a question of youth socialization in traditional settings. To what extent will the current generation undergo and adjust to the elements of classical training? What outcome can be projected by the interaction between the new generation of students and the teacher who went through postwar ideological reorientation?

Summary of Findings

Donn Draeger (1979) Shin Budo: The Martial Arts and Ways of Japan Vol. III, attempted to draw a concise sketch of the historical evolution of the martial arts discipline from 1700 to the 19670's by identifying crucial historical events and personalities with different systems of martial arts. Its central thesis was not designed to test specific hypotheses or to develop a cognate theory of martial arts from the perspective of the physical culture and society at large. The systematic view on the different segments of the martial culture provided depth and

breadth in the historical sketches even though they tend to be an oversimplification of the subject matter. Other books by Dreager in 1973 Classical Budo, Classical Bujutsu, and Asian Fighting Arts (1980) are believed to be the most comprehensive texts written in English.

In order to clarify prewar legacies, the writings on Bushido were investigated. The Book of Hagakure by Tsunetomo Yamamoto written in 1761 was examined. Musashi Miyamoto's Book of Five Rings (Go Rin no Sho) (1695) was carefully reviewed since this text is most widely used among contemporary practitioners. Inazo Nitobe (1905) in his seminal work of Bushido developed a cohesive theory regarding the martial tradition propounded by the feudal lord-retainer relationship during feudal Japan.

R. K. Hall, in his analysis on Kokutai No Hongi (Cardinal Principles of National Polity), attempted to forward the question of allied policies to dissolve and disseminate state Shinto after World War II. Interpretations of the education philosophy embodied in the Imperial Rescript on Education and the concept of Kokutai (National Polity) called for an analysis of the elements of prewar legacies which influenced, molded and instituted the prewar martial arts program in the educational settings.

Kichiji Kimura (1978) Sports Nationalism analyzed the purpose and content of physical education examining historical writings and policy documents at the prewar Japanese universities. Records of student memoirs showed the intensity of bushido orientation coupled with rigid vertical relationship in the social system. Its impact permeated every sphere of the physical education curricula. Kimura also found that the moral criteria of duty and manners were enforced in the training procedure. It was assumed that university prestige depended on the collective will based upon individual duty and service for its end. The reward was in the sense

of accomplishing the prescribed duty and the glory shared with the collective entity.

Jiro Kamishima (1961) found similar historical records indicating that in prewar of 1910, Tokyo University students displayed congruent purpose and loyalty to martial arts, bushido, university, nation, and the emperor. Technical orientation in physical activity had a definite purpose in supporting the Kokutai and national defense physical education. It was found that students accepted willingly physical hardship to meet a collective goal.

GHQ of SCAP documents on legal mandates introduced guidelines to which social and educational reforms were directed. The MacArthur Memorial Foundation published a record, Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform (1980), which described several impact studies on the reforms, but do not deal directly with the martial arts curricula at the university system.

Prewar martial arts had canons governing: 1) combat, 2) discipline, 3) morals, and 4) aesthetic forms in the educational systems. Yet, the writings of contemporary exponents presented a growing gap between theory and practice. From the elite stage of the time of Meiji bushido to the current mass diversification of sport budo, there seemed to be a split between the purist and pragmatist in the emphasis of the philosophy and value of martial arts.

Tomiki (1965) supported the sport emphasis of martial arts and stressed the development of a curriculum collaborated with other sciences. Michihara (1978) noted the differences in training procedures practiced during the prewar era. He pointed out that the content was highly authoritarian and excessively disciplined compared to current practices. He agreed with Tomiki insofar as the purpose of the martial arts

curriculum in physical education - budo must become a subject of rational study, avoiding excessive spiritual and moral emphasis.

On the other hand, Ishioka (1976) rejected the Ministry of Education's guidelines concerning the purpose of martial arts in physical education because it dismissed the spiritual essence of the art. Tomiki and Michihara tended to appraise the martial arts programs in the university system as part of physical education. Yamaguchi, Ishioka, and Funakoshi tended to stress the prewar model without the explicit concept of Kokutai.

From the perspective of leading exponents who instituted the collegiate martial arts program during the prewar to postwar era, the following assumptions were derived based on their writings. 1) Modern budo (martial arts) served diverse functions and purposes such as sports, physical fitness, and physical education. (Tomiki, Michihara, and Kimura) 2) Modern budo should embody the discipline of the do (the way) philosophy in which one can attain self-perfection and individual spirituality. (Shioda, Matsuda, Kimura, Yamaguchi, So Do Shin, Suzuki, and Goto)

From compiled information based on the review of the literature, the writer contended that the current martial arts program in the higher education system seemed to face the following dilemmas.

1) The majority of instructors and high ranking leaders in the field developed their base of identity, professionally and individually from prewar dojo training, the prewar moral education of Kokutai, and the prewar overall socialization experience. They were trained under a highly authoritarian, quasi-feudal, traditional and hierarchical orientation.

2) After the war, the same generations under the directives of SCAP had to instigate radical reforms in all educational processes; methods, content, and purpose. To the exponents, it was a process of

reestablishing a new self-identity professionally, individually by denying the prewar elements.

Despite the apparent success of changing, legalistic premises and societal equality were based on the American model. It was found that the individual identity of those exponents of the discipline were not fully adjusted to radically different social reforms. (Yamaguchi, Ishioka, Omori!) In fact, the majority of exponents, despite the postwar confusion of social and moral values, were enduring the chaotic period in order to seek new purposes that were compatible to new generations and a new national identity.

3) It is assumed that the leaders of exponents, many of whom were university martial arts instructors, may be classified under three types: a) Western Model - those who fully transformed the martial arts into a modern sport concept, with a rational physical education approach. They tended to seek universal merits from a broader perspective, b) Accommodationist Model - those who partially accommodated the modern sport concept and other utilitarian principles, but tended to seek illustrious virtues by preserving certain merits of classical bujutsu and budo. They did not necessarily seek universal merits. c) Classical Model - those who strongly opposed the modern concept of sport and still adhered to the principles of classical budo and bujutsu - 1) esotericism, 2) aestheticism, 3) bushido code, and 4) the implicit safeguarding of national polity based on Kokutai, Shinto, and other organismic faiths, authoritarianism, and limited ethnocentrism. It was the writer's assumption that the majority of current practitioners were training under the Western Model in the university system. The Ministry tended to prohibit excessive shigoki (physical discipline), although it does not explicitly elaborate upon the guidelines of the technical components in the curricula.

4) It was assumed that there was interaction between leading exponent types (which do not rule out other possibilities or combinations) and current youths who are diverse in background, highly independent, self-centered, individualistic, somewhat collectively oriented, somewhat confusing, and lack individual identity. (Matsumura)

5) It is probable that the interaction process between the budo led by the exponents and the changing student generation tended to be a continuation of conflict, adjustment, adaptation, compliance, assimilation, and readjustment in terms of socialization of purpose, content, and method.

Although it was not likely that the surviving institution of classical bujutsu and budo will radically alter or change their mode of training, they endured the postwar turmoil successfully. The popularity of such discipline, however, seemed very limited. On the other hand, the experimentation and rational approach to the physical education model seemed to continue to grow and prosper. The method, content, and purpose seemed compatible to the current institutional mission of the university. However, it is unlikely that the classical budo, as it once dominated the pre World War II period, will attract students in the physical education program. New generations may find some merits from outdated virtues.

It is the changing generations that compel the new form of budo to adjust to meet individual needs. The classical and modern dichotomy, in terms of purpose, content, and method of university martial arts program, needed to be clarified to see what is preserved, retained for further examination, added, or eliminated, and how these processes took place.

It is the writer's contention that within a limited scope and context, certain elements of prewar legacies continued to persist in martial arts programs in higher education despite the radical

transformation of postwar reform and accompanying social changes. In the following chapter, the study focused on the Nippon College of Physical Education for a closer examination of the above hypothesis.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

- (1) Kenji Tomiki, Taiku To Budo (Physical Education and Martial Arts), (Tokyo: Waseda University Press: 1965) pp. 154-157.
- (2) George Sansom, A History of Japan, 1615-1867 (Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle: 1974) pp. 241-242 and also see Shegeki Toyama, Nihon Rekishi-Kindai (Modern Japanese History), (Tokyo: Iwanami: 1962) pp. 3-57.
- (3) Kiyoshi Haraguchi, Nihon Rekishi (Japanese History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1962) pp. 3-25, Vol. 2.
- (4) Donn Dreager, Modern Bujutsu and Modern Budo (Tokyo: Weather Hill Inc.: 1973) pp. 26-28.
- (5) Michio Nagai, Kindaika to Kyoiku (Education and Modernization), (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press: 1969), pp. 187-200.
- (6) Ibid., (1973), p. 22.
- (7) Ibid., (1973), p. 23, and also see W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (N.Y. Washington: Praeger Publications: 1963) pp. 136-154.
- (8) William DeBarry, Sources of Japanese Tradition (New York: Columbia University Press: 1958) pp. 369-370, Vol. 1.
- (9) Dreager (1973), pp. 35-40.
- (10) R. K. Hall, Kokutai No Hongi (Newton, Mass.: Crofton Publishing Corp.: 1974) p. 5.
- (11) Shingo Fukushima, Nihon Rekishi Kindai Shi (Japanese Modern History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1962) pp. 35-47, and also see Dreager (1973), p. 26.
- (12) Shegeki Toyama, Nihon Rekishi Kindai Shi (Japanese Modern History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1963) p. 54, Vol. 1 and also see Dreager (1973) p. 26.
- (13) Ibid., (1973), p. 26.
- (14) Ibid., (1973), p. 29.
- (15) Daikichi Irokawa, Kindaishi Nihon Rekishi (Modern Japanese History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1963) pp. 269-300.

- (16) Osamu, Kanda and Masami Yamazumi, Shiryo, Nihon no Kyoiku (Historical Data, Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Gakuyushobo: 1982) p. 7 and also see Kazuo Kobayashi, Noboru Toyosawa and Shiro Hotsuda, Kindai Nihon Kyoiku no Ayumi (Historical Sociological Examination of Modern Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Risosha: 1978) pp. 80-91.
- (17) Dreager, (1973), p. 30.
- (18) DeBarry, (1958), pp. 385-401.
- (19) Tsunetomo Yamamoto, Hagakure (Hidden Leaves)(1761). Translated by Takai, Mukoh (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1962).
- (20) *Ibid.*, (1761).
- (21) Yamamoto (1761), translated by Takai (1962), pp. 28-34.
- (22) *Ibid.*, p. 35.
- (23) *Ibid.*, pp. 5-35.
- (24) Dreager, (1973), p. 32.
- (25) *Ibid.*, p. 34.
- (26) Butoku (Journal of Martial Virtues), (Kyoto: Butoku-Kai Honbu Shuppan Kai: April 1979) p. 3, Vol. 3.
- (27) *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8.
- (28) Kanda and Yamazumi, (1982), p. 16 and p. 116.
- (29) Mitsuru Kawanabe, (1978), pp. 52-55.
- (30) Kiyoshi Asukai, Nihon Rekishi Kindai Shi (Modern Japanese History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1963) pp. 287-308 and also see Dreager (1973) pp. 30-33.
- (31) W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (New York: Praeger Publishers: 1971) pp. 196-258.
- (32) Dreager, (1973) pp. 38-39.
- (33) George Wilson, Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press: 1969) pp. 65-88.
- (34) Beasley, (1971), pp. 238-239.
- (35) Dreager, (1973) pp. 39-40 and also see Ishii, Kinichiro, Kita Ikki and the Young Officers (Shiso, No. 404: February 1958) pp. 59-74.
- (36) *Ibid.*, p. 43.
- (37) Hall, (1974), pp. 5-8.

- (38) Hall, (1974), pp. 5-47.
- (39) Hall, (1974), p. 146 and also see the Documents on Kokutai No Hongi (Tokyo: Mombusho - Ministry of Education: 1937).
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CHAPTER III

DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

The research method contained three sources of evidence to examine the hypothesis. The purpose, content, and method of martial arts training defined by prewar legacies tended to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary. In order to clarify the direction of change in the definition of terms, the conceptual framework and underlying assumptions are used which were indicated in the first chapter.

To identify the segments of questions, the sources of evidence were collected to clarify points of observation.

1) What were the main thrusts of differences in the martial arts curriculum in terms of purpose, content, and method of instruction between the pre World War II era and post World War II era at the Nippon College of Physical Education?

In order to clarify the above question, the following subsidiary questions were stated.

a) What was the central purpose of martial training in the Meiji era (1868-1912), Taisho era (1912-1926), early Show era (1926-1941), and wartime era (1941-1945) at Nippon College of Physical Education (Nittai-Dai)?

b) What differences can be substantiated? By what source can these differences be validated?

c) How did these differences evolve? What factors led to postwar reforms

in the area of content and purpose of martial arts training? By whom and by what authority were these reforms initiated and executed?

d) What are the contending views of current martial arts education in terms of purpose and content?

e) What are the contending values and philosophical orientation or martial arts among the leaders and exponents in the field?

f) What specific elements in the discipline were persisting from the prewar era despite major legalistic, institutional, and social reforms at the Nippon College of Physical Education and other institutions?

To elaborate on the conceptual model and theoretical framework, the following primary and secondary sources were examined thoroughly.

Sources of Evidence

1) SCAP Document, laws, policy documentation, reform documentation from 1945 to 1951.

2) Historical Writings: Book of Hagakure by Tsunetomo Yamamoto, Volume IV, 1716. Original documents and translated documents. Book of Five Rings by Musashi Miyamoto, 1695. Original documents and translated documents. Bushido by Inazo Nitobe, 1905. Original documents. Kokutai No Hongi by R. K. Hall. Also the original document by Mombusho (The Ministry of Education).

3) Institutional Records: Institutional records of Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai, Kyoto, Japan. Published materials on budo in the Butoku Journal.

To examine the institutional history and the evolution of the martial arts program at Nippon College of Physical Education, the following primary sources were collected for closer examination.

1) 80th year of Nippon College of Physical Education: Compiled data on the history of the college, published by Nippon Taiku Kai in 1971.

2) Tracking key individuals (faculty, students, presidents), documents, memoirs, and letters relating to the developing of the martial arts program during the prewar and postwar period.

3) Examination of the policy guideline (1963-1965) proposal for the degree in Martial Arts Science to the Ministry of Education from Nippon College of Physical Education. This was a significant document since it was the first college to request such a degree in Japan. The purpose and content of the curriculum and the mandates of the ministry were examined.

Methodology - Sample and Setting

To examine the situation of the on-going teaching and learning process, the following methods were used to gather data. As a participant observer for the past four years (May 1980, June 1981, June 1982, May 1983), visits to selected training halls in Japan were conducted. Field-notes and interview records were kept to observe specific areas of interest.

a) Teacher-Student relationship: How traditional are they? Are they regulated by compliance? How do students interact with each other in the training hall? How do they interact with the instructor? Are politeness and courtesy enforced?

b) Is shigoki (physical discipline) incorporated into the content and method?

c) What is the instructor's teaching style? Is it an authoritarian mode or rationally conducted? Is unquestioned obedience enforced?

Open Ended Interviews were conducted from May and June 1983 with key individuals on issues pertaining to the 1) purpose, 2) content, and 3) method of martial arts education in the current educational setting. In addition to the above, they were questioned about the: 1) current genera-

tion and 2) current issues in Japanese higher education. The individuals interviewed were:

- a) Instructors of Martial Arts at Nippon College of Physical Education
- b) College President of Nippon College of Physical Education
- c) College Dean of Nippon College of Physical Education
- d) College President of Mukogawa College
- e) College Dean of Yamate Gakuin College
- f) Superintendent of Physical Education in Kobe, Japan
- g) Martial Arts Instructors of Butoku-Kai
- h) Martial Arts Instructors of Kobe Gakuin University

To cross-reference and establish broader generalizations, the following methods were used.

Unobtrusive Observations of on-going martial arts training procedures were conducted in May and June of 1983 at:

- a) Kansei Gakuin University, Nishinomiya
- b) Nippon College of Physical Education, Tokyo
- c) Kobe Gakuin University, Hyogo
- d) Yamate Gakuin College, Hyogo

Points of observation focused on:

- 1) teacher-student interaction
- 2) student performance in the formal process
- 3) content characteristics
- 4) teaching style

Survey Questionnaire to the martial arts students of N.C.P.E.: To examine the current N.C.P.E. martial arts students' attitude toward the purpose, content, and method of training, a survey was conducted in June of 1983 at the Nippon College of Physical Education in Tokyo. A sample of

115 students was randomly selected from eight martial arts disciplines. A survey was conducted during the lecture hour. Students were cooperative and responsive to the project. They were given as much time as needed to answer all the questions. During the process, two lecturers and two professors of N.C.P.E. coordinated on data gathering from the students.

Survey Questionnaire Data: Specific items to check the validity on the following areas:

- 1) Student-teacher relationship
- 2) Authority criteria and preference
- 3) Japanese tradition
- 4) Purpose of the training
- 5) Reasons of participation
- 6) Perceived attitude toward social institutions, political beliefs, religion, rearmament, and educational goals.

Limitations of the Technique

1) An intensive examination on secondary sources was conducted. However, the internal validity of the documents depended upon the translator's ability, since they were written in classical Japanese. Book of Hagakure, Go Rin No Sho, Bushido, Kokutai No Hongi, and other important secondary documents had to be translated into English with the accuracy of the translation bearing upon external validity.

2) Examination of historical documents at Nippon College of Physical Education as a primary source of evidence: institutional record, historical writings, self-study documents, letters, and memoirs. Internal validity rested on the editor's discretion, while external validity rested on the writer's interpretation of the document. Accuracy of recordkeeping bears upon the institution's archives.

3) Control of Bias: Interviews and observation methods were applied frequently with attempts to record them as they are. A tape recorder was used for the interviews. Observation necessitated fieldnotes to organize the information. At least five observations in each training session were conducted so that results from the notes had considerable consistency and reliability. If any irregularity took place, it was aimed to discover the latency of the effect.

4) Survey data were based on a cross-section of students. The attitude survey simply indicated specific patterns in particular circumstances. A change of subjects over time did not show from this data.

A sample of 115 students was randomly selected from eight martial arts disciplines at N.C.P.E. Perceived attitudes on the purpose of martial arts training, attitude toward society, political beliefs, life views, religious preferences and national concerns were examined. It was not the writer's intention to draw any generalization from the data solely based on this survey. Analysis of data based on this survey focused on questions that were expected to relate to the research hypothesis of this study at NCPE campus. Reliability testing had not been administered to a similar sample. Therefore, this data should be treated as collaborative sources of evidence with other qualitative data in this study.

CHAPTER IV

FORMATIVE YEARS OF THE COLLEGE AND THE MARTIAL ARTS CURRICULUM

The purpose of this study was to examine the following hypothesis: the purpose, content, and method of martial arts training defined by prewar legacies tend to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary. In this chapter, analyses were made to identify substantive historical evidence of prewar curricula characteristics within a framework of institutional development and changing environmental conditions. This study proposed Nippon College of Physical Education as the central analytical focus for clarifying historical changes in the relationship between the martial arts curricula in the educational system and the evolution of institutional mission and design in the context of environmental changes.

The forerunner of the present day Nippon College of Physical Education began in Tokyo in 1891. It was the first specialist school for physical education instructors. Since that time, over twenty thousand graduates shared major leadership roles in the field of professional development in Japan. It was a basic assumption that this institution, as the central target of analytical focus, may demonstrate sufficiently interpretive evidence to test the research hypothesis of this study. Furthermore, it was assumed that historical data on this institution's history provided pertinent information and evidence of prewar and postwar educational evolution in this nation. The analytical period was largely

divided into the Meiji era (1868-1912), Taisho era (1912-1926), early Showa era (1926-1939), and Wartime era (1939-1945).

In this chapter, close examinations were made on the primary data drawn from the institutional records of N.C.P.E.; policy documents issued by the Ministry of Education and other Japanese governmental agencies; letters, memoirs, journals, catalogues, and newspapers related to the subjects; and policy documents issued by GHQ of SCAP. Thus, the central purpose of this chapter was to develop a conceptual framework of prewar curricula characteristics in the historical context of institutional evolution.

Meiji Era (1868-1912)

Early Formative Years of Nippon Taiku Kai

On August 11, 1891, Tokichiro Hidaka addressed the charter statement of Nippon Taiku Kai (1) (Nippon Physical Education Society) in Tokyo. It was a period when the Japanese government, under Meiji imperial rule, established the national imperatives of "Fukoku Kyohei" and "Shokusan Kogyo" (prosperous nation, mighty military, and industrialization) policies. The Imperial Rescript of Education (1890) (2) clearly set the tone of state imperative over the needs of individual growth so that the order of monarchic aristocracy and oligarchy was able to transform the nation into a modern state. It was mandated by Meiji leaders that this end be accomplished so Japan would become a competitive modern nation state against the western powers. Over 250 years of the seclusion policy by the Tokugawa Shogunate regime was finally ended in 1868. The newly formed society of Taiku Kai was influenced under the circumstances of such a historical climate.

In 1885, Arinori Mori, first minister of education, introduced

compulsory military physical education in all school systems. He attempted to reemphasize the importance of physical education by criticizing the over emphasis of science and technology as influenced by the western models (3). Nevertheless, Mori also introduced a series of government directives to promote science education for national technological advancement.

It was because of Hidaka's attempt under such a socio-political climate that Taiku Kai came to be known nationally as the first private institute for physical education. However, according to Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi (History of Nippon College of Physical Education), the charter was greatly influenced by Hidaka's personal philosophical orientation. The background of the founder's personal vita was reflected in the content and mission of this institution. 1) From an early age, Hidaka set upon the goal of a military career. However, he withdrew from the post after a few years of service. 2) His diary revealed that the War of Seinan (Satsuma Rebellion) in 1877 (4) had a considerable impact on his later decision to organize a specialist school for physical and military specialization. It was therefore obvious that the charter of Taiku Kai had a militaristic color and contextual orientation in the purpose of the curriculum.

To Hidaka, the aim of his educational goal was to contribute to the development of overall character building of youths so they may fit into the objectives of national military duties and societal development. (5) We can learn from his diary that he saw drafted soldiers lacking in discipline. Many of them were of common class origin who had to comply with national military conscription law. (6)

It was during the War of Seinan in 1877 that he discovered the need for leaders who can impart physical discipline and military knowledge

to youths for the sake of national objectives. (7) His major ideological postulate was to design a school which can foster his ideal vision of physical education. As an initial attempt, the Bunbu Koshu Kan (Hall of Martial and Scholastic Instruction) was built in Tokyo during 1884. The name was changed to Seijo Gakko (Seijo School) in 1886, which makes this institution the first private military boarding school. (8) Nippon Taiku Kai (Nippon Physical Education Society) was formed separately in Tokyo on August 11, 1891 apart from Seijo Gakko. Up to 1901, because of Hidaka's effort to promote this society through political and governmental means, the institute began to develop its public distinction. It had quasi-public status in terms of its functional specialties as a military-physical education institute. (9)

In the nation as a whole, the Ministry of Education continued greater centralization measures in order to control educational institutions. It was critically imperative for Meiji leaders to initiate industrialization at an unprecedented pace and bring forth political centralization by means of educational institutions. The Elementary School Order (1886), Middle School Order, Normal School Order, High School Order (1894), and Teacher Education Order (1897) were educational reforms mandated by the ministry to modernize an educational system modeled after French, German, and British-U.S. hybrids. (10) The government order of education envisioned an educational system with a single line of authority under the central ministry replacing theoretically dual educational functions for the warrior and the commoners.

In 1872, the Gakusei (Government Order of Education) was proclaimed. (11) It defined a system of organizing schools under the central auspices. As the first minister, Mori issued the Government Order of the Imperial University system in 1886. Subsequently, Tokyo (1886), Kyoto

(1897), and Tohoku (1907) became models for other imperial universities and public as well as private institutions of higher learning. Nagai argued, however, that the system was largely prescribed for the state's purpose of catching up with the West. (12) Thus, Mori's educational philosophy tended to be a social Darwinistic view in that programmatic and utilitarian purposes of higher learning took precedent over the moral and the physical aspect of education. Mori intended to support physical and mental discipline for the purpose of mobilization and centralization under a dominant national ideology.

In 1894, the Meiji government took a bold expansionist policy over Sino-Japanese relations and declared war against China. In 1895, because of the Triple Intervention of major Western powers (Russia, France, and Germany) over territorial issues in China, the Meiji government concluded the war by returning the Liaoting Peninsula. This incident facilitated popular support of stronger nationalism and nationalistic teachings in all school systems. (13)

In light of this historical climate, Hidaka's original intention to build Nippon Taiku Kai was to be included in the active part of a modernization scheme by the Meiji government. For this small scale private institution, it was timely to develop a policy with a curriculum, fostering leadership of military discipline, as well as academic knowledge about physical education. Because of Hidaka's effective political maneuver in gaining support from the imperial army, the institute received substantial funding for its operation from 1899 to 1903. Prince Kan In No Miya from the imperial house served as chairman of the board in 1898. (14)

The following points were made from his personal writings: 1) The purpose of physical education should embody three functional and service domains - school, society, and the military; 2) physical educa-

tion is the foundation by which to achieve the government objectives of Meiji ideology; 3) general development of teachers education; 4) introduction of girls' physical education; 5) establishment of a gymnastics hall; (15) and 6) the induction of the Tsuzoku Kyoiku curricula (social and moral education) for preparing subjects to be military officers. (16) The Journal of Dai Nippon Kyoiku Kai (Imperial Japanese Educational Association) in 1890, described the Seijo Gakko, constructed by Hidaka, as an officer's prep-school and had a total enrollment of 700 in 1897. (17)

The educational curriculum of Taiku Kai in 1891 emphasized the core subjects of gymnastics, military drills and the martial arts. Hidaka asserted that the foundation of all human activity rested on the best usage of the physical domain. He believed that prosperity of the national state depended on the strength of physical education. He was convinced that military discipline through physical activity was indispensable for national stability. (18)

The content of the curriculum was organized by emphasizing: 1) general gymnastics, 2) military drill gymnastics, 3) rifle marksmanship, 4) horsemanship, 5) military swimming, 6) rowing, 7) general military training, and 8) martial arts and sword fencing such as Kendo and Jujutsu. Article 5 of this document indicated that the aim of the curriculum was to: 1) enhance the skill, knowledge, and technical level of all disciplines, 2) build a disciplined character that can undergo any ordeal and difficulty "Bushido" dictates, 3) build strong morals and absolute loyalty to the national state, and 4) fulfill your military obligation in a national emergency. (19) The militaristic and nationalistic orientation of Hidaka's educational policy called on a substantial number of supporters from the middle to upper army officer ranks. The total number of supporters increased over two thousand, including few members of the

cabinet and the prime minister by April of 1893. (20)

Kumeno (1972) argued that sports orientation of physical education was imported from the western world during 1878 to 1887. Physical education somewhat took charge of the cultural enlightenment movement as a whole because of its newness and public expectation that any products from the west should be regarded as high class. But Mori's administration, led by the Meiji political ideology of national priority, brought a dramatic shift in the policy of the physical education curriculum with the Ministry of Education. Military gymnastics, physical discipline, and martial arts in the school system were assumed to be highly instrumental in molding the desired institutional framework and motivation. From the perspective of building character compatible to Meiji ideology, the curriculum designed by Hidaka seemed to have merits developing prescribed socio-psychological attributes.

By 1895, as the major martial arts institute, Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Greater Japan Martial Virtue Society) reorganized the major branches of the martial arts and attempted to propagate over 20,000 instructors of different martial arts disciplines for the purpose of unification under the Meiji imperatives. (21) Throughout the history of prewar Japan, the subject of physical education tended to be viewed as the means to achieve, promote, and enforce prescribed national character from the perspectives of national interest.

It was noteworthy to point out the curriculum content of Taiku Kai described in the section of instructional by-laws. Article IV indicated necessary provisions to be a student for the officers corp. Therefore, different stipulations and requirements were attached to them. Practices and lectures were conducted daily except on Sundays and national holidays. Chapter 2 of the instructional provisions pointed out that the curriculum

contained 1) military gymnastics, 2) rifle marksmanship, 3) the martial arts of Kendo, Judo, and Jujutsu, and 4) military discipline. It was noted in the article that dangerous drills and risk taking activities may be temporarily prohibited on occasion. (22) The instructor and staff were employed from active duty military officer ranks. The board of examiners for graduation were staffed by the imperial army division chief of officers corp.

On January, 1893, the Journal of Yumon Gyo Shi reported that the class process took place in an orderly fashion by first saluting to the national flag with the Kimigayo national anthem. Students were displaying the utmost respect to the entire ceremonial process. (23) By 1894, it was reported that over 250 students graduated from the special student category. (24)

Due to the Sino-Japanese war in that year, Nippon Taiku Kai was extensively involved day and night in the community service of instructing and training martial art and weaponry specialists without charging tuition to the students. (25) It was about this time that the Ministry of Education prohibited discussions by students and faculty on the issues of governmental affairs. (26)

It was the general impression that the lack of physical education instructors during the 1880s helped to realize the need for further professional development. However, during the formative years of this institute, the development of professional education did not seem feasible due partly to the lack of finance, manpower, facility, administrative difficulty, technology and knowledge, and the war-time economy. Despite the stagnated growth of the institute during this era, Taiku Kai attempted to promote the needs of national physical education concurrently with the concept of military-educational ideology of the Meiji government. Public

lecture series of Gento Kai were held for community awareness and in part for a campaign to increase private endowments. (27)

The Bunbu Gyo Shi (Journal of Martial Arts and Scholastic Achievement) published by the institute indicated little correlation of their publication efforts in the domain of physical education. (28) On the other hand, articles and editorials tended to discuss more issues on the military, moral teachings, political thoughts, martial arts philosophy of medieval Japan, and national learning. By today's standard, the articles lacked critical venture and scientific objectivity in their style of presentation. In 1899, the publication title was changed to "Taiku" (Physical Education) in order to incorporate more on the theory, methodology, and history of the western model of physical education and health science. (29)

The class process was examined by interviewing the first graduates of the institute. Ishibashi, Kajii, and Osawa recalled that "the combination of health education, military gymnastics, and weaponry skill comprised the curriculum. Since there were no set academic calendar, some students remained six months and others for three years. (30) It was essentially a prep school for passing the teacher certification examination given by the Ministry. The clothes and attire were traditional costumes during lectures, but they trained in bare feet with white shirts and pants during the skills class. (31)

By 1908, Taiku Kai was sponsoring lectures for army recruiting efforts throughout the year. The purpose was to prepare students to be an ideal army officer equipped with military skills and physical discipline. The curriculum was expanded to include reading, understanding the Imperial Rescript, military law, code of conduct in military life based on "Bushido", and marksmanship. The lecture series were effective in

recruiting prospective students who wished to be a military officer. The series continued until 1915 when it ceased operation due to financial difficulties and lack of public support. (32)

During that period, the Taisho Denshu Sho (Instructional Hall for Physical Education) and Tokyo Teachers School were the only benefactors of publicly funded institutions for physical education. However, the privately endowed Taiku Kai received public funding in 1899. In the application for public funding, the document to the Ministry emphasized the objectives of Taiku Kai in terms of national interest by supporting national political policy, educational policy, military policy, and economic policy. It also stated the argument comparing the forms of physical education in the western world. It pointed out that the backwardness of interest in this discipline by Meiji leaders may have continued to widen the already existing gap of military technology and educational standards between the West and Japan. It emphasized that the foundation of all human activity should start from the proper discipline of physical education. (33)

The Jiji Shin Po (Current Weekly News) dated March 12, 1899, reported that during the formal ceremony to commemorate the award of public funding Uchida, the representative from the Ministry of Education, described the condition of physical education in the West: "The German model of military gymnastics is more effective in reaching the stated objectives on Japanese soil than the British-U.S. model of recreational emphasis." (34)

Because of the quasi-public nature regarding the substantial funding of Taiku Kai, mandates were issued by the Ministry on curriculum design, academic calendar, admission criteria, admission quota, and subsequently, the operation and administration of the institute. In

essence, it fell under the tight supervision and control of the Ministry. Taiku Kai was granted permission, however, to operate ten sub-branch campuses throughout Japan. Under the direct supervision of the Ministry, the curriculum design was divided into activity and skill areas with a heavy emphasis on the martial arts and military gymnastics. They were also supervised and instructed by active duty military officers.

Despite a heavily militaristic-oriented curriculum, for the first time, general gymnastics with limited recreationally-oriented subjects were offered as teacher preparation courses. Academic disciplines were added to include: 1) Human anatomy, 2) first aid, 3) health science 4) ethics, 5) pedagogy, 6) military science, and 7) required courses for teacher preparation. Candidates must be above 18 years of age and hold a diploma of at least junior high school level or an equivalent. This government order was strictly applied to Taiku Kai in that any violation of the aforementioned articles and accompanying provisions shall result in terminated funding immediately. The Ministry also included the provision ordering the refund of all funded resources in that event. (35)

By 1901, the Ministry of Education approved the revised by-laws of Taiku Kai which expanded its operation far beyond the initial mission objectives of 1891. Within ten years, the privately endowed institute with a small budget came to play a vital role in the mission of national physical education. A member of the imperial house was appointed to serve as the chairman of the board to elevate the social-political status of the institute. The purpose of the institutional mission was designed to meet the needs of the Meiji military ideology as well as to respond to the demand of physical education teachers nationwide. During this time, the curriculum emphasized the component of ethics which embodied the concept of Kokutai, Bushido, and Kokugaku (national learning).

The girls' physical education curricula was designed as a subsidiary item of the institute for the first time by Ryunosuke Osawa. Its main content consisted of art of (Naginata) Halberd, medieval martial arts for women Confucian teachings, national learnings, and regular gymnastics. (36) They participated in activities with their traditional kimono. General gymanstics, dance, and recreational activities were most popular among them. (37)

On September 21, 1900, Taiku Kai changed its corporate structure to a public non-profit corporation by reorganizing its internal administrative functions and personnel. Hidaka stepped down as a result of this reorganization and remained in an advisory capacity for the board. Rapid expansion of the function and objectives of the institute, multi-campus system, complex interaction with the central authority of the Ministry, and changing environmental forces were likely to have made this reorganization inevitable.

It was assumed that the Ministry was to utilize an existing organization such as Taiku Kai to implement the national policy on physical education and related disciplines. It was thought by the ministry bureaucrats that it was far less costly to use the network of the institute than to build a new public teachers school specializing in only one curriculum. Consequently, the name of this institute was changed from Nippon Taiku Kai to Nippon Taiku Kai Taiso Gakko (Physical Education School or Academy).

The new academy was chaired by Lord Hisayoshi Kano and the board of directors were served by Takeda (army general) Yoshimura (principal), Donof (army colonel), and Yamane (chief medical officer of the police force). Faculties also served as members of the senate. They were recruited from imperial universities and private universities. Five out

of forty faculty members held the academic title of doctor of philosophy. (38) Jigoro Kano, founder of Judo, was one of the faculty members at the time.

By 1902, the curriculum of this institution began to emphasize a wide variety of extracurricular student activities. Within each activity, they were allowed to establish their own sub-organizations with set rules and regulations, code of conduct, and purposes and objectives. So-called advanced training other than the required curricula was conducted in this framework. It seems, therefore, that this arrangement was a forerunner of modern intercollegiate athletic sport divisions in Japan. Martial arts disciplines had two major purposes throughout all sub-organizations. They were to strengthen the physical and mental condition and prepare for war or any national emergency. The training procedure was similar to that of the army college in Toyama. (39)

In the Gekiken division (sword combative fencing), it was reported, without having had any formal training facility, they practiced outside barefoot day and night. In 1902, over one hundred fifty members were registered as full-time members of this division. In 1900, archery, horsemanship, and jujutsu club divisions were established. (40)

From the period of the 1880s, the Ministry recommended all male students in junior high school to take Judo and Kendo prior to graduation. During the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904, Nippon Taiku Kai Taiso Gakko quickly adopted the martial arts curricula as required subjects for the teacher education track curriculum. Combat sword fencing was instructed by Sasaburo Takano and judo was taught by Jigoro Kano. The certificate of proficiency in martial arts was usually awarded in addition to the graduation diploma. (41)

During this period, the methodology of instruction in all skill

classes involved strenuous "Shigoki" (physical hardship). The same intensity and seriousness was present in both formal and extracurricular activities. It was reported that late night practices under strict supervision and discipline were normal. Instructors demanded absolute obedience from the students. Each student was encouraged to develop greater concentration, willfulness, and endurance with total discipline. Those who could not keep up with the pace of training had to withdraw from the academy. It should be noted that there was constant supervision and guidance by the army duty officers from the Toyama Military Academy. (42)

Around the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, government allocation to the academy was terminated due to exigency and retrenchment of the war-time economy. Despite the financial plight, the operation of the institution continued by cutting back regional sport events and other auxiliary ventures. The class of 1903 from the academy was in high demand by the teachers school, gymnastic specialist school, junior and senior high schools, and lower and middle schools. (43)

In October, 1905, immediately after the Russo-Japanese War, the board of directors attempted to regain financial health and expand its operation by proposing the construction of a war memorial gymnasium in Tokyo in commemoration of the war's dead. The project, however, failed without support from the Ministry. (44) In addition to operational difficulties, it had ventured into the Tokyo Expo of Physical Education to promote public awareness on the state of physical education. This depleted further its financial resources.

In 1911, Kano, chairman of the board, resigned from the post. The end of the Meiji era was marked with uncertainty for the academy as it awaited the Taisho era.

Taisho Era (1912-1926)

Reorganization of Taiku Kai, Taisho Gakko,
and Reemphasis of Meiji Ideology

Yoshiteru Koshijima, a retired army general, attempted to reorganize the institution in 1912. Due to operational difficulties, the following measure was taken to terminate publication of the only magazine on physical education, Taiku, after 246 volumes. For the next 12 years, Taisho Gakko (Academy of Physical Education) underwent extensive reorganization. It was this time once again that the administration conducted a rigorous campaign to regain public funding by emphasizing to the Ministry that the institutional mission and national mission are essentially one. (45)

The first official publication, replacing the magazine Taiku, was Nippon Taiku Kai Kaiho (Nippon Physical Education Academy News) in 1920. In that article, the academy's mission statement was reemphasized by incorporating the concept of "Bushido" in character building, physical conditioning, teacher education, and the physical education curriculum. The head of the Board of Directors was the Minister of Education. The chairman of the board was a member of the imperial house. However, it was reported in the Daigaku Shi (History of the College) that the active military officer of the imperial army tended to control actual administrative operations. In his old age, Tokichiro Hidaka remained as merely a member of the advisory board without any significant influence over the course of administrative decision-making. (46)

During this period, the academy pushed for the standardization of the physical education curriculum in teacher education and the requirement of certification nationwide. (47) The academy also expanded the scope of

the curriculum about this period. The influx of westernization and liberalism could be seen in the following items: 1) increase in the liberal subjects of English, education, recreation, music, theory of physical education, human anatomy and physiology, and health, 2) establishment of a women's curriculum to be the same as the men's, 3) general requirement course for one academic year and two more years for the specialist requirement, and 4) martial arts, military gymnastics, military drills, national learnings, and theory of martial arts.

It was during this era that the sport and recreational aspects of physical education as reviewed as viable options in the curricula. Many experimental projects were attempted, such as Western collegiate sports and competitive games. Kaji Toku, who returned from study abroad in the U.S. in 1917, became a catalyst on the promotion of recreational and competitive sports in the academy. (48)

According to the article of Kokumin Taiku in May of 1929, a total of 2,624 graduates had been placed as physical education instructors in the total school system. This was equivalent to slightly more than seventy percent of all teacher placements nationwide. (49)

In 1924, the Ministry issued a government ordinance to establish a national research center for physical education in order to coordinate educational institutions under the policy of the Ministry. This signified a loss of the academy's unique role as a semi-public institution that dominated policy implementation over other institutes and schools. However, this national center had to rely on the cooperation of the academy for effective centralization measures. (50)

On November 3, 1924, the first national day for the physical education was celebrated. The entire nation was involved in assorted physical festivities. The Taisho regime claimed the event was intended

to: 1) strengthen the Meiji ideology of national power through physical education, 2) cultivate the "Bushido", merits of endurance, and austerity, and 3) express anti-Communism. (51)

Kumeno (1972) described the trend of the physical education curriculum in the early Taisho era in reference to the national perspective and divisional developments caused by Westernization. The rising tide of individualism and influx of liberal thinking influenced by Western art and science gave an optional perspective on the objectives of the curriculum. (52) But the Ministry, with the cooperation of the military, reacted toward the diversity.

In 1914, the same year World War I broke out, the Ministry issued the first "Official Guideline of School Physical Education" as a measure to centralize and control the confused orientation of the curriculum caused by the trend of diversity. The central core of the elementary school curriculum was gymnastics based on a Swedish model, physical discipline, and recreation. Junior and senior high schools, as well as teacher preparation schools, emphasized the aforementioned, including also sword combat fencing and jujutsu. Theoretically, the guideline was issued to set back the liberalism at the time. It also projected the effects of a mental and attitudinal framework enforced by prescribed social order rather than provisions on individual learning capacities through mental and physical discipline.

Kenjiroo Yamakawa, then President of Tokyo University, noted the ineffectiveness of the current diversity and weakness in school military drills. He stressed that physical discipline and military drills should be instructed by the active duty military officer if they were to meet the national objectives. (53) By April 13, 1925, this recommendation was passed by the Diet and became legally endorsed.

In 1926, another revision was added into the 1914 guidelines by the Ministry. The government viewed physical education as a significant way to facilitate nationalism by centralizing the purpose and method of the curriculum under the auspices of Kokutai (National Polity). However, Kumeno pointed out that there were administrative reforms in the executive branch of the Ministry that remedied the condition of girls' physical education problems in competitive athletics, the national research center, and other practical and financial issues surrounding physical education. (54)

In retrospect, despite the beginnings of a liberal mood toward academic freedom among the newly established private schools, colleges, and universities, the government and the Ministry continued to monitor any threatening academic activities on campus. The Meiji and Taisho reformers of education were represented by the elites of the imperial universities. As far as they were concerned, political pragmatism and the status quo took precedent over any principle of academic freedom. Therefore, it behooved Taiku Kai Taiso Gakko to closely follow the educational policy sanctioned by the central government. It was essentially assumed that through the virtue of martial arts emphasized in physical education, the designed framework of a social and mental outlook for the sake of the national interest could be attained.

Early Showa Era (1926-1945)

Birth of Nippon Taiku, Senmon Gakko, and Rise of Nationalism and Militarism

During the early Showa era, the academy continued its expansion. Admission to the academy became far more difficult than during the Taisho era. Eighty percent of the applicants came from junior high schools,

seventeen percent came from specialist schools for engineering and business, and two percent from teachers specialist schools. (55) Academy graduates were given a national license to teach at the low, middle, and junior high school levels without taking any rigorous civil service exams in 1934. This institution was the only private school to be granted such a privilege for their graduates. It was a direct result of active military officers' influence and contribution that they receive this exemption. They produced an impeccable record of excellence and at the same time largely militarize the students in the academy. (56)

In 1933, the academy revitalized the curriculum by adding athletics, recreational sports, and disciplined training into the formal core. It was intended to establish balanced educational effectiveness and assimilate western influences within the existing Japanese physical culture. At the same time, the core curriculum reemphasized the importance of cultivating national learning, national culture, and the Japanese spirit. As a result, group orientation, mass drills, and collective training were incorporated into the methods.

In 1931, a Manchurian incident took place in northern China when the Japanese imperial army ambitiously took control of its territory and established its own puppet state in 1932. (57) Kamajiro Tokuzawa recalled the routine of the class. "The formal process was absolutely strict ... I was paying deep respect to the unspecified gate only for the student to enter because I was told to do so ... order and discipline were at all times like the military." (58) Dormitory residence requirements, hair cut, and attire restrictions were enforced. Moral education was spelled out explicitly in the academy's motto. It was to guard the Kokutai, respect filial piety, loyalty, commitment, and duty to the nation. (59) Moral education at the academy was the centerfold of the mental foundation

derived from nationalistic ideology, Shintoism, and neo-Confucianism.

Eitaro Nakazawa, who brought fame to the academy and Japan by placing in the Amsterdam Olympic Games, stated that there were definitely factions in the academy. One faction followed the traditional military alliance. The other faction brought in the Western concept of physical education and athletics. (60)

The Ministry of Education and the central government instituted the Bureau of Thought Control on June 1, 1934. The following ordinances were passed: Bureau of Student Life for supervision and leadership of national ideology on October 30, 1928, a national radio network for schools in 1935, and the revision of all required texts on Japanese national learning issuing "Kokutai No Hongi" as the basic guideline on teaching the compulsory subject of ethics to all school systems on May 31, 1937. Military training became a compulsory subject in all colleges and institutions of higher learning by the order of the Ministry on March 20, 1939. (61)

On February 26, 1936, an incident reflected greater national inclination toward militarism. A group of young extremist officers assassinated the top government leaders of whom they disapproved, including Prime Minister Takahashi and Admiral Saito, and Suzuki. (67)

In December of 1936, Japan had signed a pact with Germany. The Army prepared for further military advancement into China. By this period, the military had achieved a majority of control over government factions and civil bureaucracies. As a result, the cabinet system invariably fell under military cliques and liaison members of powerful civil servants as well as political-economic cartels of the Zaibatsu group. (68) The era of monopolized capitalism, highly centralized bureaucracies in the executive and administrative branches, successes of

military campaigns up to 1935, a highly centralized educational system under the Ministry with nationalistic ideology, and the continuing reinforcement of a crisis psychology seemed to have had a profound impact on the institutional policy stance of Senmon Gakko.

Upon reviewing the school's curriculum, which had a three year program, it was found that the number of hours devoted to "Shushin" (cultivation of self-morals) were far greater than any one single subject. It incorporated nationalistic teaching, history, social ethics, philosophy, eastern logic, and national learning. Martial arts was emphasized along with military drills, while other subjects were essentially distributed into minimum hours. (69)

The purpose of the curriculum was to develop leaders of physical education teachers based on the dominant political ideology of Kokutai. Shushin clearly indicates the substance of nationalistic chauvinism. The daily discipline of martial arts training seemed to have continued on at the training hall and outside of the school. Strict discipline, order, obedience, and a highly structured vertical orientation seemed to be as matter of fact in the class process. (70)

In May of 1937, the Ministry amended the curriculum guidelines on the school teaching subjects to a large degree. It was preparing for a long range confrontation against the allied powers. The intent was to thoroughly nationalize through mass mobilization. The Ministry discouraged all recreational and sport aspects of physical education. The rationale seemed to have been that such orientations tend to encourage individualism and egoism only for personal reward and satisfaction. The government stepped in and designed indoctrination plans through its educational system. Because of pressure from the military department in 1938, the government had to set up a separate office for the Ministry of

Health and Welfare apart from Education. Through two government agencies, the physical education curriculum was developed by standardized testing services conducted at the school system. During this period, however, national testing contained aspects of military training proficiency.

In August of 1937, the Ministry issued the outline of "Kokumin Seishin So Do in" (Collective Organization of National Spirit) immediately following the Kokutai No Hongi (Cardinal Principles of National Polity) in May of the same year. As the war worsened, educational institutions were basically reduced to compulsory labor organizations. Mass indoctrination, totalitarian orientation, and mass mobilization under guided Ministry and control by the military cabinet gradually changed the fate of the nation and its people.

In 1939, Nippon Taiku Kai Taiso Gakko changed its official corporate structure to non-profit private foundations which include Taiso Gakko (academy) as one of the central ventures. (62) Yonemoto and Niara, as its new board of directors, vigorously campaigned for funding and made efforts to elevate the academy to a specialist school for physical education. To strengthen political ties with the central Ministry, Prince Konoe, Prime Minister Ketsujo (chairman of the board), Nara (Navy admiral), Takeshita (Army general), and other pressure group leaders served as advisors to the board in 1940. (63)

In 1940, instructional performance objectives and guidelines constructed by the board were issued to all instructors, faculty members, and students. They emphasized: 1) promotion of Bushido and martial spirit and cultivate the civilian soldier, 2) reestablishment of the medieval guild system and character development for a national mission, 3) cultivation of familism and small group orientation with shared duties and responsibilities, 4) educational method through all learning experiences,

especially in regard to "Reigi" (courtesy and propriety in action and speech), 5) overall improvement of physical strength, 6) promotion of a frontier spirit being able to withstand any physical ordeals and scarcity of materials in a new land, 7) research in physical education and search for new knowledge, and 8) develop leaders in military training. (65) The above guidelines issued in 1940 clearly indicate the direction of the school moving toward the Showa era - militarism and martial chauvinism in preparation for collective readiness in a crisis.

On November 22, 1941, at the convocation of founder's day and its 50th year anniversary, the academy was elevated to the official status of "Senmon Gakko" (specialist school). (64)

Futaara, director of the board addressed the mission of the school at the official convocation. As the nation's first physical education academy, it should focus solely on service to the nation, i.e., fostering individuals who can deliver the spirit of "Kokutai" and responsibly perform the duty of "Showa Shido" (Samurai Bushido of Showa era) as a humble subject of the imperial majesty. (66) Without questioning to a large degree, administrators and faculties followed the educational policy subscribed by the ideology of the central Ministry. Eventually, national defense physical education emerged.

In 1941, the Ministry changed physical education to "physical discipline" (Tai Ren) and the elementary school was changed to national people's school. Throughout the process of government intervention, the central purpose of the imperial mission under Kokutai was emphasized. (71) Kumeno (1972) argued that there was no resemblance of physical education activity existing in schools around 1944. It was strictly military training.

In Senmon Gakko, by the order of the Ministry, a student

organization called "Hokoku Dan" (Organization for the National Mission) was established on July 28, 1941. Under the commanding military officer, students formed quasi-military units such as military martial arts division, medical division, physical training division, and cultural division. They assisted the community air-raid emergency division and military fire department division outside the campus. (72)

War-time Era (1937-1945)

Compulsory Martial Arts Education and Fall of Japanese Militarism

From July 1937, during the outbreak of the Japan-China War, to December 7, 1941, during the outbreak of the Pacific War, over one thousand graduates departed to China. Approximately 10 percent of them died in action. The Ministry issued a compulsory draft for college students in October, 1943. As a result, some students were allowed to graduate without finishing their third year term so they may be sent to the battle front. (73)

Futaara delivered a speech to the deferred graduates and regular graduates during this time addressing the following points: 1) be honored to be selected as a soldier of the imperial army, 2) the nation is in a desperate need for those who dedicate their life to their country, and 3) there is a national crisis and the inevitability of conflict. It was reported from the data that he had sensed a feeling of desperateness that this hopeless war may end in a disastrous loss unless the youth of the school courageously fulfill their duty and obligation to the nation. (74)

The school developed a war-time curriculum to meet the military needs - air force physical education and marine physical education. (75) However, it was not fully experimented due to the end of the war. Given

the urgent condition of the war-time economy and increasing air raids, ordinary class participation became extremely difficult in 1945. Air strikes on May 24 destroyed most of the campus structures. Prior to the destruction of the campus, Prince Kanin no Miya, first chairman of the board during the academy era, passed away.

On August 15, Showa Emperor Hirohito declared through nationwide radio that the Pacific War ended with the unconditional surrender of Japan.

Summary of Findings

1) There was strong charismatic leadership since the time of Hidaka in 1891 throughout the institutional history of Nippon College of Physical Education.

2) Since becoming a specialist school, it maintained an elitist orientation by directly associating with members of the imperial house, government Ministry, and the imperial army. As a result, it enjoyed special privileges as a quasi-public institution, granting teaching licenses for its graduates, and had national distinctions as the first physical education and quasi-military school.

3) It produced extensive research publications and promoted an awareness of the national need for physical education. The core philosophy of the publication, however, reflected the mission of the institution: physical education for the Kokutai, society, military, school, and the individual.

4) The purpose, content, and method of the curriculum tended to be directly influenced by official educational policies of the Ministry of Education. Meiji ideology of nationalistic centralization for the sake of a national imperative extensively dominated its educational process.

Institutional missions are explicitly stated in the objectives to build the character of the imperial subject. Subjects such as physical discipline, military discipline, martial arts, and military gymnastics are essentially designed to formulate mental and physical preparedness for the imperatives of the state. Japanese nationalism was largely a by-product of the Sino-Japanese War, Russo-Japanese War, and other domestic and external political and social instabilities from the early 1900s to the 1930.

5) The educational process, therefore, contained elements of character building, inculcation of national morals based on Shushin (Confucianism, Shintoism, and national historical teachings), Bushido, and Kokutai in the martial arts and other military related disciplines. The purpose and objectives were directly related to the national centralization and immobilization process. For the sake of the national ideology, physical and mental conditioning to undergo any ordeals for the fulfillment of a duty became an imperial subject. The method of instruction tended to be highly structured, vertically oriented, and authoritarian in style. Order, obedience, properness, endurance, and perseverance with personal courage as merits of the medieval warrior code were emphasized in the content. Active military duty officers were involved as instructors and staff members in some courses.

6) Innovations of curriculum in overall physical education were made extensively during the 1920s by the influence of Westernization and liberalism. An orientation of sport and recreational aspects were introduced. This tendency seemed to have caused the development of factions: physical education approach and traditional core (military and martial arts).

7) It seemed indicative from the data that the Taiku Kai continued

to expand its facilities and its scope of institutional mission as Japan's nationalism and militarism were on the rise. From the mission statement, the objectives and central focus of educational purpose tended to become nationalized although certain degrees of diversity in the curriculum had been experimented.

8) During the Taisho era, over seventy percent of all physical education teachers nationwide were graduates of N.C.P.E.

9) N.C.P.E. supported the national mission by responding positively and affirmatively to the series of government ordinances on the curriculum guideline, placement of active military officers as physical discipline teachers, "Kokutai no Hongi," "compulsory martial arts curricula," "compulsory students draft," and "compulsory moral education." Thus, they closed in on ties with the central Ministry, army, political force, and the imperial house maintained from 1912 to 1945.

10) During the war-time period, the Status of Senmon Gakko was attained (1941). The institutional mission once again was shifted toward Showa nationalism and ultra-militaristic Japanese chauvinism. Recognized on its 50th anniversary meant importance in fulfillment of the imperial will and national mission under a national crisis.

11) Changing physical education to "physical discipline," changing elementary school to "national people's school," thought control, deferred graduation, air force physical education, and marine military physical education were the derivatives of a desperate reflection of an institution and a nation attempting to survive during that period.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

- (1) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi (History of Nippon College of Physical Education), (Tokyo: Nippon Taiku Kai: 1973) p. 15.
- (2) Osamu Kanda and Masami Yamasumi, Shiryō Nihon no Kyoiku (Historical Data-Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Gakuyushobo: 1973) p. 7, p. 32- p. 33.
- (3) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 27.
- (4) Shinobu Oe, "Chuo Shuken Kokka no Seiritsu" (Establishment of Centralized Nation), Nihon Rekishi Kindai (Modern Japanese History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1962) Vol. 2, p. 53-p. 91.
- (5) Nihon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 30.
- (6) Ibid., p. 57.
- (7) Ibid., p. 78.
- (8) Ibid., p. 58.
- (9) Ibid., p. 59.
- (10) Kazuo Kobayashi, Noboru Toyozawa, and Shito Yasuda. Kindai Nihon Kyoiku no Ayumi - Rekishi Shakaigaku Toki Kosatsu (Sociological and Historical Examination - Trend of Modern Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Risosha Publishers: 1978) p. 36-p. 59.
- (11) Kanda, Yamazumi, 1973. p. 80-p. 88.
- (12) Michio Nagai, Kindai Ka to Kyoiku (Education and Modernization), (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press: 1969).
- (13) W. G. Beasley, The Modern History of Japan (New York: Praeger Publishers: 1971) p. 155-p. 173.
- (14) "Kokumin Taiku" (Journal of People's Physical Education), Nihon Taiku Daigakushi, 1973. p. 74.
- (15) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 68.
- (16) Ibid., p. 72.
- (17) Ibid., p. 65.
- (18) "Yumon Kai Shi", December 1891, Vol. 14, Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 77.

- (19) Personal documents of Tokichiro Hidaka, 1893, Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, p. 79.
- (20) "Yumon Gyo Shi." 1893. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 100.
- (21) Yutaka Kumeno, "Taiku no Seido" (Institutions of Physical Education), Taiku Shakaigaku (Sociology of Physical Education). Edited by Kyuzo Takenoshita (Tokyo: Taishu Kan: 1972) p. 170-p. 172.
- (22) "Yumon Kai Shi," "Yumon Gyo Shi" Vol. 19, Vol. 34. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 112.
- (23) "Yumon Gyo Shi," January 1893, Vol. 27, Ibid., p. 116.
- (24) "Bumbu Gyo Shi" (Articles of Martial and Scholastic Achievement) November 1894, Vol. 13. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 113.
- (25) "Bumbu Gyo Shi," 1894, Vol. 3, Ibid., p. 115.
- (26) Kanda, and Yamazumi, 1973. p. 325.
- (27) "Bumbu Gyo Shi," 1894, Vol. 10. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 126.
- (28) Ibid., 1973. p. 132.
- (29) Ibid., 1973. p. 157.
- (30) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 142.
- (31) Ibid., p. 142.
- (32) "Taiku," 1908, Vol. 228, Ibid., 1973. p. 166.
- (33) "Kyoiku Jiron" (Educational Issues), Vol. 456, Vol. 458, Ibid., 1973. p. 168, p. 170.
- (34) "Jijishinpo" (Current Weekly News), March 12, 1899, Ibid., 1973. p. 174.
- (35) Mombusho Meirei Sho (Ministry of Education Ordinance) Number 555, April 1, 1899, Ibid., 1973. p. 176-177.
- (36) "Taiku" (Journal of Physical Education) September 1904, Vol. 130, Ibid., 1973. p. 194-202.
- (37) "Taiku," October 1904, Vol. 122, Ibid., 1973. p. 398.
- (38) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 215-216.
- (39) "Bumbu Gyo Shi," Vol. 29, Ibid., 1973. p. 246.
- (40) Ibid., p. 247.
- (41) "Taiku," Vol. 146, Vol. 182, Ibid., 1973. p. 488.

- (42) "Taiku," Vol. 151, Ibid., 1973. p. 505.
- (43) "Taiku," Vol. 113, Ibid., 1973. p. 394.
- (44) "Taiku," 1906, Vol. 149, Ibid., 1973, p. 429.
- (45) "Kokumin Taiku," June 1929, Ibid., 1973. p. 532.
- (46) Ibid., 1973. p. 539.
- (47) Ibid., 1973. p. 553.
- (48) Ibid., 1973. p. 564-575.
- (49) Ibid., 1973, p. 556.
- (50) Ibid., 1973, p. 597.
- (51) "Kokumin Taiku," December 1924, Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 598.
- (52) Yutaka Kumeno, "Taiku No Seido" (Institutions of Physical Education), Taiku Shakaigaku, Edited by Kyuzo Takenoshita, (Tokyo: Taishukan: 1972) p. 172-174.
- (53) Ibid., 1972. p. 174. See also, Kenjiro Yamakawa, "Mukachi no Gakko Heishiki Taiko" (Worthless School Military Gymnastics) Kyoiku Jikken Kai (Association of Experimental Education), Tokyo, November 1930.
- (54) Kumeno: 1972. p. 175.
- (55) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 628.
- (56) Ibid., 1973. p. 633.
- (57) Kiyoshi Inoue, "Gendai Shi Gaisetsu" (Contemporary Historical Issues) Nihon Rekishi Gendai (Japanese Contemporary History), (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten: 1962) Vol. 1, p. 1-52.
- (58) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 663.
- (59) Ibid., 1973. p. 686.
- (60) Ibid., 1973. p. 697.
- (61) Osamu Kanda, and Yamazumi, 1973. p. 328. See also, Senji Kyoiku Rei (Government Ordinance of War Time Education) Mombusho Ordinance Number 320, May 22, 1945.
- (62) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 723-730.
- (63) Ibid., 1973. p. 733.

(64) Many of the private universities: Waseda (1905), Keio (1890) that modeled after the imperial universities remained as "Senmon Gakko" (specialized school) until the promulgation of the University Ordinance of 1918 by the Ministry.

(65) Ibid., 1973. p. 758-759.

(66) Ibid., 1973. p. 771.

(67) George M. Wilson. Radical Nationalist in Japan: Kita Ikki (1883-1937) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969) p. 113-137.

(68) Reischauer, 1976. p. 188-204; Beasley, 1963. p. 236-258.

(69) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 775-779.

(70) Ibid., 1973. p. 790-792.

(71) Kumeno, 1972. p. 175-177.

(72) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi, 1973. p. 796.

(73) Ibid., 1973. p. 806-809.

(74) "Kokumin Taiku" (People's Physical Education) December 1943, Ibid., 1973. p. 810.

(75) Ibid., 1973. p. 812.

CHAPTER V

MARTIAL ARTS CURRICULUM SINCE THE POSTWAR REFORMS

In this chapter, data analyses were focused on examination of the status of the postwar martial arts program in the context of social, political, and environmental conditions unprecedented by the reforms of that era. Series of governmental reforms advised and mandated by GHQ of SCAP (General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers) brought crucial impact on the social and educational institutions of Japan.

It was the writer's assumption that the postwar martial arts curriculum underwent extensive reorientation of its purposes under new ideological postulates. Thus, the data in this chapter proposed to identify to what extent components of curriculum and method of instruction had been changed or unchanged due to the policy mandates of postwar reforms. In order to closely examine the research hypothesis, it was also important to review the data for appraisals and evaluation of the current program from the perspective of a conceptual framework based on the classical-modern dichotomy of this discipline. Thus, qualitative data based on fieldnotes compiled by unobtrusive observations of the ongoing training procedure, interview data, and survey data, along with primary sources of significant policy documents on postwar programs were examined at N.C.P.E.

Occupation Era (1945-1951): GHQ Directives on Postwar
Educational System Reconstruction and Banning of
Martial Arts Curricula

On August 15, 1945, Emperor Hirohito announced the end of the war to the entire nation on radio network as he solemnly stated we must "bear the unbearable." The Pacific War brought two million dead and the destruction of nearly fifty percent of all urban areas. The nation and its people were spiritually and physically exhausted as they fell into foreign hands for the first time in history. The divine wind seemingly failed.

When the prewar legacies of the emperor's authority and governmental institutions were surrendered, the occupation army became the unchallenged locus of authority. From 1945 to 1951, the G.H.Q. (General Headquarters) of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers or SCAP under General Douglas MacArthur carried out a series of social, political, and educational reforms to reconstruct Japan. By October 22, SCAP issued the first important directive on educational reforms "The Administration of the Educational System of Japan." The Civil and Information and Educative (CIE) section of SCAP achieved the objective of the Allies and Washington by working as a liaison with the Ministry of Education by sending written directives to the Japanese government. The ministry and government were to initiate and execute mandates set forth by the GHQ of SCAP after taking recommendations from the CIE section research unit.

According to Mayo's research on this issue, it was believed that the postwar reconstruction plan through educational measures reflected pre-surrender and early post-surrender policy principles enunciated in Washington. (1) The Japanese government was ordered: 1) to eliminate

militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology from the content of all instruction and emphasize education, international peace, and individual dignity, 2) to remove from teaching positions all career military personnel, active exponents of militarism and ultra-nationalism, and those actively antagonistic to occupation policies, and 3) to revise the existing curricula textbooks and teaching manuals in accordance with non-military principles. (2) SCAP issued the following mandates and provisions to reinforce its reorientation of ideology for the purpose of demilitarization and democratization of Japan: "Investigation, screening, and certification of teachers and educational officials," "Abolition of governmental sponsorship, support, perpetuation, control, and dissemination of state Shinto," (December, 15): "Suspension of courses in morals (Shushin) and Japanese history and geography" (December, 31), and "Committee of Japanese educators (January, 1946). (3) It was a process of legitimizing conformity within a framework of American educational and political philosophy.

To achieve its end, CIE and policy organizers at the GHQ used existing centralized mechanisms such as the Thought Bureau of the Ministry for implementation of plans. The following recommendations suggested by CIE and GHQ were enacted later by the ministry: censorship of textbooks, separation of Church and state purging ultra-nationalistic groups, organizations, and individuals, language reforms, revision of physical education, elimination of "Budo" (martial arts), abolition of militaristic convocations, the singing of war songs, ceremonies centering on the imperial portrait, removal of objectionable elements from courses in Japanese history, geography, and morals or ethics, development of liberal teacher training and indoctrination methods, co-education, adult education, decentralization of school system, encouragement of modern

sports, and the overall improvements of higher education system. (4)

GHQ also drafted the blueprints of a new constitution based on the political theory of Western Democracy. After only slight modifications by the Japanese government, this was passed November 3, 1946 by the National Diet in the form of an amendment by the emperor to the 1889 Meiji Imperial Constitution. (5) This constitution clearly indicated that national sovereignty rested on the people of the state and that the emperor was merely a "symbol of the state and the unity of the people." It also spelled out the importance of the "fundamental human rights" of people, which are declared to be eternal and inviolate. Equality, individual rights, a representative government with a parliamentary political party system, and the "renunciation of war" and maintenance of all armed forces were incorporated into the constitution.

The ministry sent out official guidelines on the physical education curriculum to all school systems and higher education in November, 1945 to meet the educational mandates from GHQ: "Curriculum on Physical Discipline for the Post War Era" (November, 1945), "Curriculum on the Martial Arts" (November, 1945), "Dissolution of School Military Physical Discipline Curricula" (December, 1945), and the "Policy on Collective Order, Marching, and Gymnastics" (June, 1946). (6) The major outline of these documents was in accordance with the general principles of the demilitarization plan and the elimination of ultra-nationalistic components of the school curriculum. By the same token, it encouraged the recreational and sport aspects of physical activities, diversities in professional development, deemphasis of disciplinary marching, forms of collective exercises, and the abolition of all martial arts curricula.

On January 4, 1946, GHQ issued a memorandum to the imperial Japanese government through the central liaison office in Tokyo regarding

the "Abolition of Certain Political Parties, Associations, Societies, and Other Organizations."

You will prohibit the formation of any political party, association, society, or other organization and any activity on the part of any of them or of any individual or group whose purpose, or the effect of whose activity is the following: (f). Affording military or quasi-military training, or providing benefits, greater than similar civilian benefits, or special representation for persons formerly members of the Army or Navy, or perpetuation of militarism or a martial spirit in Japan, or ... (7)

In this memorandum, 21 organizations were listed to be dissolved at once with the directives of this note.

Civil Intelligence issued a report on September 16, 1946. It viewed the formidable stature of prewar Dai Nippon Butoku Kai (Greater Japan Martial Virtue Society) as a national organization of martial arts specialists headed by prefectural governors. In each locale, they boasted some 20,000 highly rated professionals and more than 400,000 exponents rated excellent in Judo and Kendo. GHQ realized that the "continuing activities of this society constitute a surviving militaristic influence." For that reason, efforts were made to disband the organization. But before proceedings were completed, the group voted its own dissolution on September 13, 1946. (8) Technically speaking, this society was not a banned organization. It was assumed that the autonomous dissolution of the society was more honorable than to be banned by the directives of GHQ.

Nippon Taiku Senmon Gakko was practically a total loss due to extensive physical structure damages on the main campus in Tokyo during the war. The institution was reestablished with a totally new mission. It followed the educational policy directed by the central ministry and GHQ in 1946. In February, 1947, Nippon Taiku Kai was approved again as a private foundation. They eliminated direct administrative or honorarium appointments from members of the imperial house. A new charter

spelled out a totally different educational purpose and content by discarding prewar purposes in the educational philosophy. It introduced the generalized statement that this school intended to foster and develop a teacher preparation curriculum, a physical education discipline patterned after a Western model, and develop culturally enriched, well educated individuals and leaders in the profession. (9)

Seiza Matsuda, one of the few surviving faculty members from the war, commented that

Our campus had been ruined totally by bombs, but a few warehouse spaces were available for our classrooms and offices. But above all, I can sense the difficulty before us because of the drastic changes we had to face in the curriculum, in world view, educational philosophy, and shifts toward democratically free sports. I recalled it was traumatic, yet we strived for institutional self-renewal." (10)

GHQ and the military enforced the demilitarization process and ideological reorientation of the educational posture, moving closer toward a democratic, autonomous, and decentralized system. Subsequently, Senmon Gakko established the new curricula to be accepted by the ministry so this would ensure institutional validity and survival. The by-laws and provisions of the new curriculum proposed by Senmon Gakko encompassed the following: 1) elimination of prewar political conceptions "imperial mission," "imperial will," and "Kokutai" in the framework of the institutional mission, 2) abolition of military-related subjects, training, and curricula, 3) abolition of all martial arts curricula and air force as well as marine physical education, 4) elimination of all ultra-nationalistic subjects, 5) emphasis on the physical education, recreation, athletics, individualized curricula, sports, and liberal education, 6) development of the character fitting in a democratic world based on freedom and social justice, 7) establishment of a two semester

calendar, a three year curriculum, and a one year optional subsidiary curriculum, and 8) curtailment of the residence requirement and the encouragement of a self-governing society on the campus. (11)

It is important to see to what extent these changes meant to the student and faculty during this period. Kazutomi Osada, who returned from China, stated that "the campus was ruined by war, but at the improvised facility of the old air force barracks, the students practiced gymnastics. Despite the scar of the war being present everywhere, students were unexpectedly energetic, vigorous, and carefree." (12) Despite the food shortages and general scarcity, they felt it was the beginning of a new era.

Without the presence of martial law, military training, drill sergeant, curfews, forced labor, compulsory reading texts, and moral education, students seemingly found themselves in a new environment. Miyake, a faculty member recalled that student involvement in the activities seemed to have had a life despite all the miseries we had to endure. Cooperation and respect toward teachers were very strong and far stronger than current generations." (13)

After the immediate enactment of the Fundamental Law of Education in 1947 (14), GHQ stepped in to reorganize the higher education structure, patterned after the U.S. model. It introduced the 6-3-3-4 academic year system, including the 6-3 years of compulsory education. This meant the end of the multi-track system of prewar education, including the Senmon Gakko system.

Beyond high school or the equivalent of all specialist schools, it had to elevate its status to that of a four year college. Yonemoto and Ishiza recommended the board initiate a campaign to elevate its status to a four year college by submitting its proposal to GHQ of SCAP. The

proposal read that 1) Nippon Taiku Daigaku (Nippon College of Physical Education) follow the educational model of an American physical education college and 2) U.S. experts serve as invited professors at this college. (15) On July 30, 1948, the board submitted the proposal for approval by the ministry. The central mission of the institution was to fulfill the following educational purposes: 1) training of excellent physical education teachers, 2) emphasize physical education as the foundation to reconstruct new Japan, 3) foster the traditions and history of this institution, 4) research in physical education, and 5) develop an ideal educational environment. (16) As an experimental measure, a concentration in physiology and exercise was added to physical education. In 1949, it was a landmark for this college to be approved by the ministry as the first college of physical education in Japan.

From 1948 to 1951 GHQ of SCAP shifted its political and strategic policy from anti-militarism to anti-communism partly due to the Korean War and intensification of the cold war between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. In December, 1948, a special quasi-military police force was formed in Japan. Although this technically meant a violation of article IX - "renunciation of war and no military force," GHQ designed and pushed it.

Japan gained her independence in 1951 after the San Francisco Treaty. But at the same time, she signed a bilateral security agreement which guaranteed the U.S. military presence in Japan. Reischauer (1974) pointed out the false assumption of the occupation that there was a basic contradiction between the absolute authority of an external military force over the defeated nation and the development of its democratic institutions. (17)

The Japanese took the initiative to evaluate themselves under the institutional environment in which they can exercise their rights to

critically view the overall postwar occupation policies. The Ministry of Education approved by relaxing GHQ measures. The national flag was raised and "Kimigayo", the national anthem, was sung in an official ceremony on October 17, 1950. The following year, the Minister of Education addressed the need for revitalizing the old "Shushin" (moral education) in the school curriculum. (18)

Post Occupation Era (1951-1960s): College
Reconstruction and the New Martial Arts Curricula

In 1950, martial arts and military training began to come back once again, but had a slightly different texture. According to Kumeno (1972), judo, kyudo, kendo, karate do, and aikido began to be recognized as the school curriculum nationwide.

Since 1948, Nippon College of Physical Education (N.C.P.E.) expanded rapidly to meet the vocational demands and teacher shortages. Under the parent foundation of Taiku Kai, there emerged two private high schools, a women's junior college, and the main campus of N.C.P.E. By 1960, the health education, physical education, and physical recreation departments were producing substantial numbers of graduates to fill nearly 80 percent of the total teaching positions in Japan. In addition to the three departments, the martial arts department was added in 1964. The board of directors and faculty members requested the ministry approve the addition of this department.

The rationale was that over 85 percent of all high schools, excluding girl schools, and over 79 percent of junior high schools nationwide required a martial arts curriculum. (20) However, the supply of martial art teachers in those schools were short - 18.2 percent in junior high school and 28.7 percent in senior high school. It was assumed

that those activities were essentially supervised by non-qualified instructors, or at best conducted by substitute teachers without licenses.

In 1964, the Ministry of Education approved the proposed martial arts department as the first in the nation during the postwar era at N.C.P.E. The proposal indicated that martial arts: 1) was an integral curriculum within a framework of physical education with emphasis on methodology of teaching, history, theoretical framework, and scientific inquiry, 2) was an ideal model for the physical education specialist college, 3) met vocational demands and teacher shortages, 4) responded to societal needs since it became a popular discipline during the 1950s to 1960s as a form of athletics, sports, and fitness - to develop a leadership role in regional and national events, the college can contribute to overall organizational and sports promotion, 5) is a "unique" department that can facilitate coordination of formal curricula and extracurricula groups - it is more effective to instruct under the formal structured settings, and 6) promoted national morale. Postwar morale was severely damaged. As a result, there was growing public concern over the keen rise of juvenile delinquency. It was our rationale that through sport, recreation, properness, politeness, and respect toward each other, good morale would be enhanced. In martial arts, courtesy and politeness between the teacher and student dignified the profound atmosphere of competition. The intensity and sincere attitude in the training hall were some of the merits of the martial arts curricula believed to aid in cultivation of the mind. (21)

The ministry approved this request for a new degree program. The overall characteristics of this proposal pointed out the following: 1) The purpose statement completely avoided the prewar concept of "Bushido, Kokutai, and Discipline," 2) Related theory, methodology, history, and

philosophy courses which dealt with those prewar concepts from an academic standpoint were required, and 3) The prerequisite for graduation was a minimum proficiency level of third degree black belt in kendo, judo, and sumo. The purpose of reestablishing the martial arts program at N.C.P.E. was drastically changed in the context of desired objectives compared to the prewar era. The college attempted to rationalize the curricula development as greater professionalization of the college of physical education, meeting societal needs by fulfilling teacher shortages, and fostering the national morale based largely on the new socio-political order of the postwar era.

Proposal documents also contained the profiles of prospective faculty members who were to be selected as teaching staff: Kawada, 7th-Dan Judo; Abe, 7th-Dan Kendo; Shimizu, 8th-Dan Judo; Manshiro, 7th-Dan Sumo; Isawa, 7th-Dan Kendo; Mifune, the only living 10th-Dan in Judo; Tono, 5th-Dan Sumo; Nakano, 7th-Dan Kendo; Chigara, 9th-Dan Kendo; Yamauchi, 7th-Dan Kendo; Ito, 9th-Dan Judo; Tozaki, 7th-Dan Judo; Ito, 7th-Dan Kendo; and Michihara, 7th-Dan Karate do. (Dan signifies the rank of black belt title.)

Certain characteristics were cited among faculty members selected under this proposal:

1) All members were born in the late Meiji and early Taisho era, except Tono (early Showa of 1935).

2) Out of twelve core faculty members, eight were graduates of Nippon Taiku Kai Senmon Gakko from the prewar era.

3) From records of their publications and competitive merits, they were expected to be the nation's top caliber instructors and exponents of martial arts.

4) Almost everyone held the black belt rank of 7th-Dan or above.

Such master certificates were usually obtained by national eminence and recognition. It normally took over 30 years of continuous training, teaching, and dedication to the discipline. Because of their experience as competitors and instructors, the scope of teaching was assumed to reflect not only skills, but also the historical and philosophical aspects of the discipline.

5) Many held professional posts outside of the institution as educators or various other lines of occupation.

From the view of the proposal approved by the ministry, the following factors are considered to have had an impact on the evolution of the martial arts program at N.C.P.E.

1) There was the banning of all martial arts curricula, related disciplines, militaristic curricula, and ultra-nationalistic subjects mandated by the GHQ of SCAP's postwar policy. Gradually, enforcement was relaxed through the 1950s due partially to the adaptive efforts and redesigning of the central purpose of the program to be compatible with the new socio-political ideological order.

2) There were the established missions and purposes of education based on the U.S. model - physical education and health education. They served as groundwork for the new curricula in martial arts without any explicit emphasis on bushido, kokutai, and other national morals of the prewar era. It shifted the purpose from national interest to institutional and professional interest. A relative degree of decentralization was evident.

3) To satisfy teacher shortages and rising popularity of sport orientation and athletics, establishing the first martial art department was a crucial step for national prominence and dominance in the professionalization of a school martial art teacher's program. About this time,

excessive intervention of the ministry on the program formulation process had been curtailed by the committee of higher education.

4) The faculty and staff were drawn basically from those who underwent the prewar system of martial arts training and related education under the auspices of Japanese nationalism, militarism, and kokutai. It was expected that the degree of intensity in the prewar socialization experience tended to vary from individual to individual.

5) On June 16, 1961, important legislation was passed by the Diet. The "Law on the Sports Promotion" was constructed by the educational committee of the House of Representatives. This law prohibited any organizational or national imposition and compliance in forcing physical activity upon people. Sport had to be promoted for the sake of sport, which was to be an end in itself. For that purpose, national and local prefectural authority were encouraged to cooperate toward developing equal opportunities, access to the facility, and to improve the overall condition of sport activities. (24) Greater diversification, decentralization of sport organizations represented by their own governing board, absence of a centralized licensing institute such as prewar Dai Nippon Butoku Kai, and greater emphasis on amateur and professional sport events were trends which tend to depict complex organizational development without any centralized institutional control.

From the macro perspective of Japanese society, sociologists, historians, and political scientists tended to view postwar Japan from a wide spectrum of social changes. (25) Avoiding over-generalization on social conditions, certain themes continued to appear in the literature:

- 1) Despite Japan's record breaking economic growth, industrialization, urbanization, demographic shifts, and drastic environmental pollution of the 1960s became crucial political and social issues surrounding many

campuses of higher learning.

2) Japan remained an intellectually confused (pro-Western vs. pro-Marxian) and politically divided (pro-U.S. vs. reformist) nation. As a result of the war, defeat, and occupation, old values were generally cast into doubt. New ones, without being carefully diffused, remained bitterly disputed in rapidly changing domestic and foreign situations.

3) Certain reactions or avoidance attitudes appeared toward any nationalistic or patriotic elements and were likely to have been viewed with a degree of suspicion. Teachers Union tended to be inclined toward a leftist ideology since many of them were purged or imprisoned during the war.

4) Generations which came about as a result of the postwar baby boom and economic recovery faced the generations from the prewar and wartime era as adult role models. Prewar and wartime generations were assumed to have underwent significant alterations of their attitude and thinking due to the postwar reforms.

While this disjunction and question of self-identity was hardly resolved or much less coherently understood, confused generations of the three eras continued in their pace with greater affluence, materialism, influx of Westernization, and socio-political stability into the 1970s. It seems inconclusive in this study to draw the complexities of Japan's generation conflicts. But due to a series of historical and environmental forces for the last one hundred years or so, it was assumed to have produced extensive generational gaps which tended to affect the self-identity of the current generation to a large extent.

Current Program Assessment (1980s) and
Analysis of Data

From the perspective of societal function, the question is whether or not the curriculum content and method of instruction were appropriate for the purposes of meeting educational objectives. This study underscored testing of the research hypothesis bearing directly upon the historical transition from the perspective of the classical-modern dichotomy indicated in Chapter I.

To examine the research hypothesis, the writer collected and organized the available data in the following format.

- I. Summary of observation notes on student behaviors and attitudes toward each other, the dojo, instructor, and training at N.C.P.E.
 - II. Summary of interview data conducted with students at N.C.P.E.
 - III. Summary of observation and interview notes on students and faculty at Yamate Gakuin College, Kobe Gakuin University, and Kansei Gakuin University.
 - IV. Summary of interview notes with the instructors and administrators at N.C.P.E.
 - V. Summary of survey data at N.C.P.E.
- I. Summary of observation notes on martial art students. Unobtrusive observations were conducted in June, 1982 and May, 1983. The targeted martial art disciplines were: aikido, judo, karate do, kendo, kenpo and sumo.

Summary of Findings: 1) Each martial art discipline had its own training hall specifically for their use. 2) Ninety percent of them at

the time of observation were black belt holders. 3) Physical cleanliness and neatness of the area seemed impeccable. Lower rank students (freshmen) worked particularly harder. The senior and junior concept of vertical orientation seemed extremely rigid. 4) Respect for the formal process seemed orderly and obedience to official calls were highly predictable. 5) The national flag was present. Any sign of respect toward the flag seemed absent. 6) The training procedure seemed to have the following characteristics which were fairly consistent throughout the days of observation.

- 1) No discussion was conducted to disrupt the instruction.
- 2) Repetitious drills seemed to be the dominant style of instruction.
- 3) The head instructor of the discipline tended to remain observant rather than directly involved in teaching.
- 4) No informal discussion nor conversation usually took place during the training.
- 5) Student responses to the official calls from the instructor seemed orderly and well disciplined.
- 6) The competitive aspect tended to dominate in some martial arts disciplines, i.e., scoring, execution, and preparing for victory.
- 7) There was a greater number of women in kendo and aikido, but very few in judo and karate do.
- 8) Some form of Shigoki (strenuous physical discipline) seemed present. Compared to all others, sumo seemed to require greater physical endurance. Shigoki administered by the senior to junior students seemed as a matter of fact.
- 9) The formal process from the beginning to the end of training

seemed orderly and proper. A willingness from the student was perceived.

II. Summary of interview data conducted with students of N.C.P.E. (June, 1983). Interviews were conducted with eight male and seven female randomly selected martial art students.

Summary of Findings: In the open-ended style of dialogue, the researcher attempted to identify the purpose of training, source of motivation, and desired objectives of the college experience.

1) The majority stated that the primary purpose of participation in the art is to foster self-discipline and self-confidence. Only one stated to seek the way of budo. No one stated any aspect of the Bushido warrior tradition nor kokutai. It should be noted that the understanding of spirituality rarely appeared in the dialogue. A majority considered the training should be for the individual's purpose whatever that may be. Their emphasis on mental discipline rather than competitive sport seemed to be a noteworthy finding. This indicated that, despite an on-going sport emphasis, students may be seeking something personal. 2) The data pointed out that the current generation tended to see martial art as one form of discipline they can enjoy and participate in for their own personal goal. A majority responded that the mental aspect was the most important attribute of the training. 3) Insofar as the authoritarian role of the teacher was concerned, the students expected and respected it usually. A majority agreed that "Shigoki" is fairly common and often conducted to a point of physical exhaustion. However, the drill did not seem to be conducted as a matter of routine in daily training. A few indicated Shigoki often did not help motivate them. 4) A majority favorably viewed Japan's old tradition and heritage, but almost all rejected any notion of feudalistic imposition on them. (26) 5) A major-

ity stated they had no personal religion per se, but as a formality they respect ancestral tradition and other ceremonial cults. 6) Their response to the purpose of education was highest in the professional preparation and vocational interests. 7) They also tended to view the family as the most important locus of society.

III. Summary of observation and interview notes of students and faculty at Yamate Gakuin College, Kobe Gakuin University, and Kansei Gakuin University. A similar observation techniques was used to observe their training and learning process. Interviews were conducted with key individuals who seemed to provide objective views and assessments of their program. (June, 1983)

1) Yamate Gakuin College is a small four-year, church-affiliated men's college. The institution provides students facilities to form their martial art clubs. Observations of their training revealed a few characteristics which are fairly common to many club sports, although its varsity status is recognized through independent affiliation. (27) There was greater sport emphasis here. Due to a lack of tradition, procedures tended to be less formal, but the interaction between seniors and juniors remained authoritarian and orderly. No enforcement of etiquette, manners, and ceremonial rituals seemed apparent. No distinctive instructors nor leaders of the field were in charge of their activity. (28)

2) Kobe Gakuin University is a doctoral-granting university of regional distinction. Founded in 1965, it has a medium size student body of 7,000. It sponsored karate do, kyudo, kendo, judo, and kenpo as extracurricula varsity sport club activities. They were not required in physical education. (29)

The interviews and observations brought the following summary of findings at Kobe Gakuin campus: 1) It is a highly secularized program

with individualized orientation depending on the student's interest. 2) Many instructors did not seem to get involved in the instruction. 3) Mental training seemed to be a secondary motive, while many dropped out due to a lack of discipline and patience. 4) There was a weak tradition in martial arts. 5) There seemed to be weak loyalty to the university, discipline, and instructor. 6) In the interview with Ito, he revealed some insight on the current condition.

Prewar martial arts education was centralized with the imperial mission concept. I practiced the principles of Kyudo (art of archery) rigorously based on the ancient maxims of Bushido. It begins and ends with courtesy. During the postwar era, the body of knowledge based on prewar legacies seemed to have been forced to stop. It took another fifteen years or so to understand and appreciate the spirit of the art since the end of war. I tried to transmit the spirit of the way by virtue of indirect intuitive experiences with students. However, I trusted the technique and mind of students would grow gradually without authoritarian teaching. (30)

7) "Shigoki" drills seemed to be nonexistent on this campus at present, but it was practiced to a degree until the 1970s. The main reason for discontinuance was the legal stipulation and possibly serious injuries which may stem from it. 8) No specific emphasis on moral orientation was apparent other than general character building. 9) Ito emphasized the process of learning through understanding of greater self and mental cultivation. He admitted that very few would follow his educational, training objectives. 10) It was their general impression by the instructor in charge that students at this campus lacked perseverance and endurance to be able to carry out the task single mindedly as many of the prewar students did in the past. (31)

Kansei Gakuin University is a doctoral-granting, nationally distinguished research institution with a student body of 14,000. Founded in 1889, the school has rich academic and cultural traditions. Student

participation was possible in over 50 varsity sport clubs. Martial arts clubs and physical education electives were vital parts of university student activities. (32)

The following summary was compiled from the observation notes taken during June, 1983. 1) Kendo, aikido, and karate do sections were chosen for analysis. 2) A relaxed atmosphere was apparent from the informal discussions and conversations that continued before, during, and after the formal training. 3) There seemed to be no apparent enforcement of formality by the members. 4) Shigoki seemed nonexistent during the process although some intensity was perceived. 5) Sports and recreational orientations tend to predominate the format of training. 6) Interviews with five randomly selected students revealed that the central purpose of training was largely for self-confidence and physical fitness. They tended to shy away from the notion of Bushido. Some did not know what "Kokutai" meant in the role of prewar militaristic nationalism. 6) Varsity club sport at Kangaku was governed by a student physical activity union. A largely autonomous organization apart from the central administration seemed to keep close ties with the alumni. It was their general impression that the current generation no longer desired hardship to gain insight or seek truth of one's self-discovery. They seemed to be practical realists. After undergoing the rite de passage of the entrance examination, this generation did not seem to want the hard core martial arts discipline for another four years for whatever reasons. (33)

Summary of Observation and Interview Notes Between
N.C.P.E. and Three Other Campuses

Compared to three other campuses, Nippon College of Physical Education seemed to be more traditional and retain more of the classical

components in its programs. However, it did not appear to be to the same degree as the prewar era. N.C.P.E. also seemed to be an elitist institution of physical education, while the others may be classified as representative examples of ordinary varsity club sports. They differ largely in size, scope, and contextual variables. It seemed to be a general consensus among the four campuses that the prewar concept of kokutai is not an integral part of the training objectives or purpose. There were no apparent national objectives of any standardized form reported by the interviewees.

The purpose of training was likely to be highly diversified in its emphasis and intensity, although individualized concerns seemed to dominate in their motivation to participate. The program content at N.C.P.E. differed distinctively from three other institutions in terms of the college mission, history, tradition, legacy, type of student, qualification of faculty, administrative and educational philosophy, degree program, status of varsity club sports, alumni relationships, and curriculum content and method.

N.C.P.E. tended to be more strict in its training procedure, placed more emphasis on formality and ceremonial etiquette and manners, maintained stronger ties with O.B.'s and graduates, had more involvement and supervision by master teachers, and used "Shigoki" methods in training. As a result, overall student discipline in the martial arts program at N.C.P.E. seemed far superior to the three other campuses which were examined. It was also reflected in the number of hours spent in training during formal and informal sessions. Availability of facility, type of student leadership, professional interest in the program, and the type and quality of previous training the student had prior to college were some of the factors that tended to influence the content and method of

instruction.

A common point seemed to be emphasis of the competitive aspect in the discipline. One instructor noted, "the technical and attitudinal component has shifted its training orientation to a more rational, effective, and direct method of winning rather than to study the way. We must emphasize the effort to make this activity recognized in the Olympic Games." (34) It seemed that interpersonal dynamics tended to be closely related to vertical orientation and authority criteria among the members.

Because of historical and environmental traditions to a great extent, the junior and senior components of vertical orientation at N.C.P.E. seemed more pronounced in their interactional process. Junior members were expected to obey their seniors without question. Prescribed duties were usually performed before and after the formal process. Takezaki, superintendent of the physical education committee, once commented that the junior-senior concept, which is uniquely Japanese, quasi-familistic, and quasi-feudalistic, had been a viable method for instilling and maintaining the predictable order of behavioral pattern in all social systems. (35)

Nakane stated that from this concept and behavioral norms, vertical orientation tended to be reinforced throughout their life. (36) Social status, membership, and privileges were laid out as rewards as one climbed up the ladder of this vertical social system. Behavioral expectations of juniors consisted of compliance with norms prescribed by seniors as their role model. Adult socialization seemed operative in the learning process of martial arts training. Compared to N.C.P.E., the three campuses seemed to show this orientation to a lesser degree. They were hardly structured or as predictable as in the case of N.C.P.E.

IV. Summary of interview notes with the instructors and

administrators at N.C.P.E. (June, 1983). Iwama, president of N.C.P.E., summarized his educational philosophy and the role of this college.

We Japanese denied ourselves twice in our history. Once during the Meiji era to catch up with the West, the feudalism of Tokugawa was denied. Once during the post-war era to rehabilitate Japan under the blueprint of the western ideology, imperialism, militarism and nationalism were denied. In that process, we tend to have dismissed the overall national culture, including the morals and values of the prewar era so that the new ones are readily accepted without major conflict.

It took over 250 years of the seclusion policy for the Tokugawa administration to build a mature feudalism based on Tokugawa political ideology. Within a short span of one hundred years, we had to deny ourselves twice for the sake of the national interest. So far, only 30 years or so passed by and it has been difficult to form anything new. Without establishing foundation under these conditions, material affluence and a so called free and equal society came to be where it is today. Confusion in the value system in terms of perception and attitude seems inevitable.

In my perception, learning from our history, physical education seems to be regarded by the people as one of the most significant subjects today. There is a basic tendency to deemphasize this subject compared to other academic spheres because of the entrance exam pressure.

Students are learning the rules, fair play, team work, common goal, and better use of energy through body and mind. Shigoki seems to exist in this campus, but attempt to refrain from abuse. Corporal punishment of any kind is prohibited by law and is not socially accepted today. Students at N.C.P.E. tend to emphasize skill proficiency, but there seems to be substantial weaknesses in the academic area. The liberal arts components of all degree programs seems to be necessary for revision.

Since I was in the office of the director general of the Ministry of Education prior to taking presidency of this institution, the general felt that the college should concentrate on the educational mission of fostering intelligent, well-educated individuals. That particular conception is reflected in the Fundamental Law of Education. (37)

Faculty members at N.C.P.E. tended to agree on the following points regarding the general student body: 1) greater emphasis on skill

proficiency rather than academics, 2) overall decrease in the quality of student, 3) overall decrease in the endurance test, 4) more conscious of individual rights rather than responsibility or duty, and 5) more self-centered than other-directed. (38)

Kusaka, president of Mukogawa Gakuin Women's College and chairman of all private colleges and university federation, pointed out that "the system of higher learning today is no longer functioning to mold the conceptual, attitudinal, or ideological base of the individual student. The impact of social change and social condition outside the campus seems to have had greater influence over the generations of the 60s through 80s." (40)

Iwama of N.C.P.E. generally concurred with the point that generations of today are perhaps the mirror image of society and victims of affluence and freedom without duty. It was a general impression that faculty members and administrators at N.C.P.E. felt a widening gap between the generations. In the area of martial arts, they felt some continuity seems to exist despite social changes.

The first student newspaper, "Nittai Dai Jiho," was published in June, 1966. The central focus of the editorial section was that there still is a social system of prewar feudalism, rigid junior and senior vertical relation, educational emphasis based on an outdated mental and spiritual orientation, and human relations tightly connected with duty and obligation. The paper stressed that so-called N.C.P.E. tradition in the form of socialization was handed down through vertical compliance and obedience. It was essential for new generations to recreate a new mentality and tradition. (41) This particular editorial article was reflective of what was happening on campus and in society at large during the 60s. Student unrest did not take place in here while 60 other

campuses throughout Japan were greatly disturbed by student demonstrations and confrontations during this period. It may have been that the tradition of order and discipline safeguarded the long reign of conservatism on campus.

In summary of observation and interview notes, the following points are highlighted. 1) Technical components: The tradition of formal process seemed to have been retained although not as intensely or extensive as during the prewar era. 2) Interaction process and personal dynamism: The vertical orientation of behavioral norms seemed highly structured and predictable although not as strict as during the prewar era. 3) Shigoki as a method of training: It was employed frequently and conducted as a matter of fact in some instances although not as extensive or strict as during the prewar era. 4) Moral orientation: Certain cultural ethos such as respect for the training hall, among students, and toward fellow instructors appeared to be consistent with their obedient behavioral pattern. This pattern seemed to be reinforced by the tight vertical orientation and authority relationship. The concept of kokutai, imperial mission, nationalistic teaching, and Shintoistic ceremony were not incorporated in daily training. 5) Purpose of martial arts training: More individualistic needs and diversified motivational factors than prescribed values seemed evident.

Moral inculcation of the prewar concept seemed nonexistent in all campuses examined. The concept of kokutai and nationalistic militaristic teachings of the prewar era were not cited in the forms of training objectives or institutional missions. Comparatively speaking, the Yamate, Kobe Gakuin, and Kansei Gakuin campuses tended to show a greater breakdown of the formal process once considered as the tradition of classical martial arts.

V. To examine the current martial art student's attitude toward the purpose, content, and method of training, a questionnaire survey was conducted in June, 1983 at N.C.P.E.. (See: Appendix A: Survey Data.) To test the research hypothesis, the following significant question was analyzed in conjunction with the interview data.

A total of 115 students were selected randomly from eight martial arts disciplines. A majority of the students participating in the survey were 20 and 21 years of age. About 93 percent of them were males and 77 percent were sophomores in class standing. A majority were from white collar families (59.1 percent) with the remainder from professionals (23.5 percent) and blue collar families (11.3 percent). Most of the respondents were from kendo (41.7 percent) or judo (34.8 percent). Over 80 percent trained in martial arts more than five years, which meant they had been practicing ever since senior or junior high school. About 93 percent indicated they were black belt holders (See Tables 1-5).

The reasons for training were diverse, but most indicated self-discipline, self-confidence, and physical fitness as the main purpose. The way of budo and spirituality were also shown, but ranked fourth and fifth in preference (Table 6). Most of them felt they had not achieved completely what they hoped to attain - weakly (59 percent) and fairly (32.2 percent) (Table 7). They seemed to have discovered the mental aspect of training as a positive function (73.9 percent) (Table 8).

Half of the instructors never corrected student etiquette while the others tend to demand corrections sometimes or, at best, seldom in frequency according to students (Table 9). There were two possible interpretations. Students were most likely to accord with the prescribed roles and behavioral patterns set forth by the code of conduct. Therefore, there was no need for correction or they tend to dismiss themselves as an

agent of socialization (Table 9).

During the prewar era, absolute obedience to the instructor was enforced by the legitimacy and authority of tradition. Some instructors seemed to take definite authoritative steps to facilitate an effective socialization process. From the student's perception, instructors were definitely demonstrating an authoritarian role (Table 10). More than 72 percent of the students responded positively that Shigoki drills are incorporated into the training (Table 11). Most of them respected Japan's old tradition and heritage (Table 13). Students demonstrated positively a strong respect for the teacher (Table 14).

Nearly half of the students responded that they have no personal religion (Table 15). They considered the mass media, government structure, family, capitalistic system, and constitution to be important social institutions of Japan (Table 16). As a symbol of Japan, less than 2 percent rated the emperor as being important. About 25 percent of the subjects indicated favorable implementation of Japan's nuclear armament (Table 17). As the only military force of Japan, the self-defense force remained in the bottom of the scale (Table 18).

To them, one's effort was the most important means to achieve personal goals. They tended to see the significance in the family, education, and personal finances respectively (Table 20). They also tended to view human conflict as an inevitable historical force (Table 21). Slightly less than half of the respondents listed the family as the most important life goal (Table 22). Service to the nation was one of the lowest scored items (Table 22). More than half of the respondents looked at government authority with distrust and suspicion (Table 23). Only 0.9 percent of the respondents felt that Japanese democracy was always contributing to people governed with the principles of equality, liberty, and

justice (Table 24). Nearly 75 percent of the respondents answered that the educational experience at college was positively meaningful (Table 25). About 68 percent of them spent their time in sport and club activities (Table 26). The three main objectives of going to college were: 1) to obtain a job, 2) test one's ability, and 3) education (Table 27).

Summary of Survey Data: From the survey data, the following interpretations were made in relation to the research hypothesis and to what extent the purpose, content, and method of martial arts training of the 1980s were perceived by the current martial artists of N.C.P.E. It was also to clarify to what extent their perceptions and attitudes reflected the component of prewar martial arts training at N.C.P.E.

1) Technical component: The current training procedures based on fundamental and repetitious drills were predominant while spiritual and meditative training hardly existed. Training was positively influencing the mental aspect. The students strongly perceived self-discipline and physical fitness as their major reason to participate. The way of budo and development of spirituality to a lesser degree still existed among some members. Shigoki seemed to exist consistently as the component of daily training. The purpose of Shigoki was usually defined to foster mental fortitude and physical endurance.

2) Moral criteria: It seemed indicative from the data that authoritative leadership and instruction still existed and that they were likely to be continued as the form of legacy and tradition. Most students positively respected the teacher with authority, old Japanese tradition, and heritage. They did not acknowledge, however, the emperor as a symbol of the Japanese nation or the self-defense force as a significant social institution of present day Japan. In addition, they tended to distrust government authority. They felt that democracy is not functioning fully

according to the new principles set forth by the new constitution. A majority felt that human nature is based on a good (54.8 percent: Table 31), although they tended to think human conflict was inevitable.

3) Purpose of the training: Diversified interests and objectives with individual goals became the more predominant pattern. Students tended to perceive discipline as the way to achieve certain individual goals which incorporate largely mental aspects and other personal merits.

No collective, prescribed, nationalized ideology was attached to the postwar martial arts program. It seemed to be the individual's responsibility to make autonomous decisions to set forth the purpose of the training. However, this condition of free choice seemed to be readjusted when the student faced a rather rigid, structured, formal, authoritarian, ceremonial process of training under the supervision of an authoritative instructor who incorporates classical Shigoki drills for the purpose of physical and mental discipline somewhat passed on since the formulative college years.

FOOTNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

- (1) Marlene J. Mayo, "Psychological Disarmament: American Wartime Planning for the Education and Reeducation of Defeated Japan, 1943-1945" The Occupation of Japan: Educational and Social Reform (Norfolk: Gatling Publishing Company, 1982) p. 90
- (2) Preliminary and final drafts of the 22 October SCAPIN are in RG331, BOX 5379. See also Education in Japan February 15, 1946, pp. 93-97, 103-105; and Orr, Education Reform Policy in Occupied Japan, pp. 116-130.
- (3) Marlene J. Mayo, pp. 91-92.
- (4) *Ibid.*, pp. 71-92.
- (5) Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan, The Story of a Nation (Tokyo: C. E. Tuttle, Co.: 1976) pp. 225-226.
- (6) Yutaka Kumeno, "Taiku no Seido" (Institution of Physical Education), Taiku Shakaigaku (Sociology of Physical Education). Edited by Kyuzo Takenoshita (Tokyo: Taishukan: 1972) p. 179.
- (7) Declassified document, GHQ (General Headquarters) SCAP (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers), "Abolition of Certain Political Parties, Associations, Societies and Other Organizations," AG091: SCAPIN-543, 4 January 1946.
- (8) GHQ, United States Army Forces, Pacific: Military Intelligence Section, General Staff, Item: Civil Intelligence: Dissolution of Dai Nippon Butoku Kai. (No. 1622, 10 October 1946).
- (9) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi (History of Nippon College of Physical Education), (Tokyo: Nippon Taiku Kai: 1973) p. 823.
- (10) *Ibid.*, p. 825.
- (11) *Ibid.*, p. 831.
- (12) *Ibid.*, p. 840.
- (13) *Ibid.*, p. 842.
- (14) Osamu Kanda and Masami Yamazumi, Shi-Ryo, Nihon no Kyoiku (Historical Data - Japanese Education), (Tokyo: Gakuyoshobo: 1973) p. 29.
- (15) "Nittai No Genjo to Shoshin" December 10, 1947. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi: p. 847.

- (16) Ibid., p. 849-850.
- (17) Reischauer, Japan, 1976. p. 236.
- (18) Kanda, Yamazumi, Shiryo Nihon no Kyoiku, 1973. pp. 324-332.
- (19) Kumeno, Taiku no Seido, 1972, p. 180.
- (20) Report of "Mombusho" (Ministry of Education), November 1, 1963. Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi: p. 917.
- (21) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi: pp. 915-919.
- (22) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Taiku Gaku-Bu Budo Gakka Zosotsu Todoke Sho (Official Proposal Document of Martial Arts Department at Nippon College of Physical Education to the Ministry of Education) Nippon Taiku Daigaku. September 10, 1964.
- (23) Ibid., 1964.
- (24) Kumeno, Taiku no Seido, 1972. p. 211.
- (25) Tadashi Fukutake, Japanese Society Today (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press: 1981) 2nd edition.
- (26) See, Jiro Matsubara, Nihon Seinen no Ishiki Kozo (Mental Structure of Japanese Youth), (Tokyo: Kobundo Press: 1981).
- (27) The Bulletin and Office Catalogue of Yamate Gakuin College. (Kobe: Yamate Gakuin: 1982).
- (28) Interviews with 5 martial arts students at Yamate campus, June, 1983. Observations of on-going training procedure of Kyudo, Karate do session. June, 1983.
- (29) The Bulletin and Official Catalogue of Kobe Gakuin University. (Kobe: Kobe Gakuin University: 1982).
- (30) Interview notes with Kiho Ito, Kyudo Instructor; Masahiro Honda, Kenpo Instructor; Tsutomu Fukunaja, Chairman of Student Physical Education Association; Masatoyo Aoki, Assistant Dean of Student Activities, June, 1983, at Kobe Gakuin University, Kobe, Japan.
- (31) Interview Notes: Summary of Findings, June, 1983.
- (32) The Official Bulletin and Catalogue of Kansei Gakuin University, (Nishinomiya: Kansei Gakuin University Press: 1983).
- (33) Summary of Interview Notes, 10 randomly selected martial arts students on campus, June, 1983. Summary of Observation Notes, unobtrusive observation on Aikido, Kendo, Kyudo, and Judo training at Kansei Gakuin University, June, 1983.
- (34) Interview with S. Michihara, N.C.P.E., May, 1981. Tokyo, at Nippon College of Physical Education.

(35) Interview with T. Takezaki, Superintendent of Physical Education Committee of Governor's Office, Dean of the Students at Yamate Gakuin College, June, 1983. Kobe, Japan.

(36) See Chie Nakane, Tate Shakai no Ningen Kankei (Human Relations in the Vertical Society - Theory of Homogeneous Society), (Tokyo: Kodansha: 1967).

(37) Summary of Interview Notes with Eitaroo Iwama, President of Nippon College of Physical Education and Women's Junior College. June, 1983. Tokyo, Japan.

(38) Summary of Interview Notes with Yuijiroo Fujimoto, ex-Dean of Faculty of Academic Affairs, Tono, Yamada, and Matsuda, Professors of N.C.P.E.: May, 1981, June, 1983.

(39) Interview Notes with T. Takezaki, June, 1983, M. Aoki, June, 1983.

(40) Interview Notes with Akira Kusaka, President of Mukogawa Gakuin University, June, 1983. Amagasaki, Hyogo, Japan.

(41) Nippon Taiku Daigaku Shi: 1973: pp. 1128-1129.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

Summary

It was the purpose of this study to examine the following hypothesis: The purpose, content, and method of martial arts training defined by prewar legacies tend to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary. This study proposed to provide data from Nippon College of Physical Education as the central focus. It was indicated from the historical data available that N.C.P.E. had undergone considerable institutional change since it began in 1891. To clarify the historical change in this curriculum in relation to the institutional evolution and environmental forces, the analytical period was divided into the changing Meiji era (1868-1912), the Taisho era (1912-1926), the Showa era (1926-1945), the postwar occupation era (1945-1951), and the contemporary period (1951 to 1980s). Primary data were drawn from the institutional records of N.C.P.E.; policy documents issued by the Ministry of Education and other Japanese governmental agencies; letters, memoirs, journals, catalogues, and newspapers related to the subjects; and policy documents issued by G.H.Q. of SCAP. In addition to the above, field notes compiled by the unobtrusive observation of on-going martial arts training at N.C.P.E. and Yamate, Kobe, and Kansei Gakuin were used to analyze the contextual aspect of the curriculum.

Interviews were conducted with a random sample of 15 martial arts

students at N.C.P.E. on the issues pertaining to the 1) purpose, 2) content, and 3) method of the current martial arts program. Interviews were conducted with the president and selected faculty members at N.C.P.E. and other campuses in reference to the philosophy of education, martial arts, and the current generation from the historical perspective.

In order to examine the current martial arts student's attitude toward the purpose of training, teachers, institutions, and society at large, the questionnaire survey was given to 115 randomly selected students who majored in the martial arts. The purpose of this data was to further clarify to what extent their perception and attitude were reflected in the technical, moral, and methodological components of the martial arts curricula today.

It was indicative from the data that the postwar martial arts curricula in the physical education program at N.C.P.E. eradicated the prewar legacies of Kokutai, militarism, nationalistic morals, ultra-nationalistic teaching, and even feudalistic bushido on the surface of explicit documents in terms of purpose, method and content. It was also indicative from the data that despite the reforms mandated by the SCAP, certain continuity in technical components and method of instruction from the prewar era still seemed operative, although the intensity and degree tended to be somewhat less. However, the purpose of the training seemed highly diversified among the practitioners as indicated from the data, while value, function, and recognition of this activity seemed to show complex interaction with changing generations and changing environmental forces.

Conclusions

In reviewing the evolutionary process of the martial arts curricula at N.C.P.E. from the formulative years to the present, the following points were significant from the data examined in relation to the research hypothesis of this study.

1) The Meiji era, from 1868 to approximately 1912. The curriculum of the martial arts (at N.C.P.E.) in terms of purpose, content, and method was directly reflected by the institutional mission (quasi-military - physical education institute), and national guidelines set forth by the Ministry of Education. Its prestigious institutional history as the first physical education academy demonstrated the close ties with government officials, members of the imperial house, and the Imperial Army throughout the developmental process. In terms of government support, it was a quasi-public, privileged institution which carried out a special mission and awarded teaching licenses without a civil service exam. The relationship between the national governing body of a highly centralized educational system and the charismatic leader of N.C.P.E. administrators during this period was in accord with the Meiji ideology of nationalism, and militarism. The establishment of this academy was for the purpose of nation building within its national framework. As a result, the Bushido code of conduct for the medieval military class was incorporated into the institutional mission in order to build student character designed to fulfill national objectives. A resurgence of Japanese nationalism influenced by external conditions such as the Sino-Japanese War and Russo-Japanese War had a direct impact on the direction of the curriculum at N.C.P.E.

2) The Taisho era, from 1912 to 1926. The expansion of N.C.P.E.

continued while administrative leadership changed hands from time to time. There was no major shift in the institutional mission. It was documented that, at this time, over seventy percent of the Japanese physical education teachers were graduates of this institution. The curriculum of the martial arts and related disciplines was expanded and intensified as active duty military officers began to be involved extensively as instructional staff. Despite the influx of Westernized curriculum innovations, the martial arts disciplines were hardly influenced. The Ministry of Education issued a series of governmental ordinances which controlled liberalism and strengthened the order of Meiji ideology.

3) Early Showa to the end of World War II, from 1926 to 1945. The intervention of the centralized authority of the Ministry continued to encourage cooperative advancement and professional services through publications. Teacher education at N.C.P.E. continued to gain momentum for further expansion into a specialized teachers institute. Privileges and prestige seemed to have increased greatly as the role of this institute began to be recognized by the Ministry and the community as important in the cultivation of the ideology of Kokutai (national polity) during the national crisis. About the 50th anniversary of Founder's Day at N.C.P.E., the deliverance of a national mission supporting the ideology of Kokutai became the central focus of an institutional mission. Greater political ties with the Central Ministry and the Joint Chief of Army staff continued as these agencies served as administrative advisors for the institute. This focus centered on the Showa era nationalism and the development of the martial arts program for the fulfillment of the Kokutai. The national mission demanded discipline, order, physical readiness, combat, and morality for the cause of the state imperatives.

Domestic political instability was caused by a series of social

unrests and the assassination of the cabinet members by the army officers. Also, a Japan-China War plotted by the army and coupled with a mounting psychological crisis brought on the greater militarism and ultra-nationalistic measures inflicted on the educational institutions.

The content and the method, thus, incorporated compulsory subjects of Shushin (morals and ethics) which intended to reinforce the imperial mission, the nationalism of Japan, the ethnocentric supremacy of Japanese morals and cultural heritage over the West, the Confucianism of filial piety, the sense of collective responsibility and social obligations, and above all, the fulfillment of the duty as imperial subjects. The method of instruction, thus, tended to be highly authoritarian and vertically oriented in the social system of the teacher and student, junior and senior members. It was demonstrated in the data that "Shigoki" (physical ordeals and endurance drills for mental preparedness) and "corporal punishment" were fairly common in the process of instruction. Tradition and ceremony were constantly enforced in the routine of training and special events.

By order of the Ministry, the curricula of "Taiku" (physical education) changed to the "Tairen" compulsory (physical discipline). The thought control bureau, a compulsory draft, deferred graduation, a quasi-military student organization, air force and marine physical education programs, and a compulsory text of "Kokutai No Hongi" were the emerging phenomena of a war-time condition over the educational institution. Until the end of World War II, Nippon Taiku Senmon Gakko, the first physical education specialty school, both public or private, seemed to have functioned faithfully under the guidelines and desired ends of the imperial will. The curriculum of the martial arts and related militaristic disciplines thus largely reflected the particular socio-political

circumstances of this period which this institution and Japan as a whole were facing.

4) Occupation Period, from 1945 to 1951. The G.H.Q. of SCAP issued a series of directives to eliminate Japanese prewar militarism and ultra-nationalism in the socio-political and educational systems. The primary purpose of these directives was the demilitarization and democratization of Japan through its educational institutions: "Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials," "Perpetuation, Control and Dissemination of State Shinto," "Suspension of Locuses in Morals, Japanese History, and Geography," and "Revision of Physical Education and Elimination of (Budo) Martial Arts." N.C.P.E. followed the government ordinance as advised by G.H.Q. to abolish the martial arts program and all related disciplines. Subsequently, following the post war higher education reforms, it was elevated to the first college of physical education designed to perform the institutional mission guided by the fundamental law of education and the new constitution, which were both heavily influenced by the U.S. model. Unprecedented social change was caused by defeat, occupation, new order, outbreak of the Korean War, cold war, and domestic and international tensions, and shifts from anti-militarism to communism. Yet, the institutional struggle for survival continued on.

5) 1952-1965. By 1952, the martial arts program began to be included in the physical education school curricula, as well as in the interscholastic and intercollegiate varsity club sports when the Ministry issued new guidelines for the physical education curricula. While Nippon College was expanding the scale of its curriculum and physical facilities, it proposed a degree program in the martial arts. By 1965, the proposal

was accepted and the department of martial arts was added as the third major degree program. The purpose of the program, however, was drastically changed from the prewar era; 1) the vocational aspect and teacher education were stressed, 2) physical education, which incorporates scientific and academic inquiry, was emphasized, 3) the professionalization of the discipline was important, and 4) societal needs were met by promoting a national morale which taught properness, respect, and discipline for the sake of the individual and the community. Most of the staff consisted of reknowned, high ranking instructors in the martial arts field. They were born in the Taisho and Meiji era. Two thirds of them were graduates of N.C.P.E., and it is believed that they underwent extensive martial arts and educational training in the prewar period.

Since 1961, "the policy on sports promotion," as issued by the government, reinforced the decentralization of sport activity to a great extent. The voluntary dissolution of Dai Nippon Butoku-Kai during the occupation era resulted in no centralized national martial arts accreditation agency existing in postwar Japan. As a result, the decentralization process facilitated a greater divisional control of its own martial arts discipline as well as factionalism within its organization. This phenomena seemed to have influenced a greater divergence and sectionalism in the martial arts field. On the surface, the following statement seemed to be indicated from the data. The purpose of the martial arts in the N.C.P.E. program has not undergone much change since this era. Yet, descriptive data pointed out that unprecedented social change was continuing to take place due to Westernization, urbanization, industrialization, demographic change, and environmental change. Generational lag and gap seemed inevitable under the conditions in which the influx of values and ideas of the new order were hastily processed to achieve desired ends, without fully

considering and understanding social forces that had endured for centuries.

6) Appraisals and evaluation of the current program (1980s). In order to test the hypothesis of this study from the perspective of a conceptual framework based on the classical-modern dichotomy of martial arts discipline, the following data were examined and analyzed: 1) field notes based on unobtrusive observations during training sessions at N.C.P.E., Yamate, Kobe, and Kansei Gakuin, 2) interview data conducted at N.C.P.E., 3) interview data from the selective administrators and faculties at N.C.P.E. and other campuses, and 4) survey data from 115 martial arts students at N.C.P.E. To restate the research hypothesis in this section: The purpose, content, and method, of martial arts training as defined by prewar legacies tend to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary. It was suggested from the data that the following points seem valid to support the interpretive significance of the hypothesis. In the area of purpose:

1) From the official charter, or any other legal document since the postwar reform, the purpose of the program did not explicitly specify the component of Kokutai, Bushido, imperial will, or imperial subject.

2) All militaristic gymnastics, physical disciplines, and other military related curricula and programs have not been reinstated since 1946.

3) The martial arts degree program proposal of 1963 incorporated the concept and need for professional physical education for the individual art in a democratic society, but did not state the need to inculcate the specific moral teachings for the imperial or national mission. Program approval came from the Ministry of Education.

4) Current field observation and interview data indicated that

the purpose of the martial arts training seemed highly diverse, with an emphasis on individual orientation. It should be noted that the discussion on prewar ideology did not take place either formally or informally, during, before, or after the training period at the time of observation. It was assumed that the subject tended to be avoided, or simply considered outdated among the instructors.

5) Survey data supported the above notion of the diverse reasons for the student pursuance of martial arts. Self-discipline, fitness, self-perfection and self-confidence were some of the reasons that a majority of students indicated. The prewar classical martial arts virtues of understanding the way of Budo and spirituality were hardly preferred as the central reason.

In the area of content and method:

1) It was revealed from the data that N.C.P.E. tended to persist in the following areas: The formal process, as it was practiced during the prewar era, seemingly continued to retain to a large degree aspects of courtesy, respect, properness, the interaction of structured discipline and formality, and in a relative degree of authoritarianism demonstrated by the instructor and senior members. The senior-junior concept of vertical order seemed to strongly persist in terms of duty, obligation, function, and responsibility.

2) The competitive aspect for the student seemed not as important as it was projected by the instructor.

3) The interview data, observation notes, and survey data tended to support each other that the prewar patterns of Shigoki drills as a form of tradition at N.C.P.E. seemed to persist as a method in fostering mental and physical discipline, although it appears to have been somewhat curtailed.

4) The interview data suggested the following points be considered; although they were not validated by this research as to what extent they hold true.

- a) There seemed to be an overall decrease in the quality of students in terms of academic standard, and physical perseverance according to the perceptions of faculties and administrators at N.C.P.E. No verifiable data were presented to examine this case.
- b) There seemed to be a greater emphasis on the skill proficiency and a lack of academic preparation (N.C.P.E.). This was a general sentiment among the academic faculty and high ranking administrators.
- c) There seemed to be an increased level of self-centered individuals according to the interview data with the key administrators of N.C.P.E. and other institutions of this study. No verifiable data were presented to substantiate the general statement.
- d) There seemed to be a recognition of social change outside the campus environment and its greater impact on the current generation according to high ranking administrators of N.C.P.E. and Mukogawa Gakuin University. This general statement did not indicate the extent of external conditions over institutions of higher learning at the time of interview.

5) Implications based on the observation notes revealed that the concept of Kokutai, imperial mission, and Shintoistic ceremony were not incorporated into daily training at the time of observation. However, loyalty and commitment to the collective end seemed reinforced by concept of duty and obligation to the group. It seemed group efforts were made

constantly to create social harmony where shared responsibility and shared glory might function.

6) Comparatively speaking, the martial arts program at three other campuses during the time of observation seemed to show a greater breakdown of the formal process and tradition of classical martial arts in terms of content and method.

7) Survey data indicated that the majority of the respondents at N.C.P.E. respected the old Japanese tradition and heritage. The same data demonstrated that the majority strongly perceived the teacher's authoritarian role and positively showed a strong respect for the teacher. They tended to distrust the government, although they recognized the importance of its institutional system while sensing that Japanese democracy was scarcely contributing to the social welfare of the nation. They did not see the emperor as an important element of the society, nor did they see service to the nation as a significant life goal. The data intended to clarify what has changed drastically and what area has endured despite the postwar reforms which were accompanied by extensive social change. Tentative conclusions may be drawn from the limited data collected to research the major hypothesis.

The original hypothesis did not hold its validity entirely according to the data and interpretation of analysis conducted so far, but at least it shows limited significance. The purposes of the training as defined by the objectives of the prewar Kokutai and imperial mission no longer explicitly appears on the surface of the documented institutional missions and guidelines of the Ministry. They are interpreted as no longer viable philosophical, educational, sociological, and political concepts to be focused upon in the curricula. However, the content and method retained much of the formal process and cultural attributes of

traditional martial arts as demonstrated from the examined data. The teacher-student relationship tended to persist in the semi-classical format of obedience and propriety to the authentic and authority. Today's program was designed not as a compulsory subject for the national objectives, but as an educational endeavor for the sake of individual goal attainment for individual objectives.

It seemed inconclusive to say that postwar reforms were intended to weaken the cultural forces that had been operative for centuries, while they reconstructed Japan by eliminating militarism and nationalism and forming a new ideological posture to fit Japan into the American orbit. Postwar reforms were, thus, instrumental in providing options, opportunities, and diversities for new purposes. Despite postwar radical reforms, the institution allowed its members to exercise and define the content and methods of training within the broadly defined scope and context. The traditional and classical heritage of Japanese martial arts, as practiced in the prewar times, has survived so far although to a lesser degree. It is expected that the technical and moral components of martial arts tend to shift its emphasis depending on the circumstances of individual, institutional, and environmental forces.

Implications of Future Research

The following recommendations are suggested in regard to future research endeavors in the area of martial arts education.

- 1) The diversified purposes of martial arts training suggested by the current generations need to be examined in relation to the different criteria of contents and method of instruction. In order to gain a deeper understanding of the curriculum content and its effectiveness in terms of individual perceptive appraisal, current methodological techniques need to

be greatly improved.

- a) Use other data gathering methods to determine which specific content or style of instruction are more conducive to individuals' perceptive patterns.
 - b) The need to examine other indicator variables not identified in the literature or used in this study exists. It seems that there is substantial weakness in the survey data. In order to verify the recurrent patterns of traditions, change over time among the different types of martial arts disciplines should be compared to see any consistencies among them.
 - c) The investigator should carefully examine different developmental aspects with specific historical data related only to specific martial arts disciplines. It is expected that there are divergent developmental differences among the disciplines.
 - d) It is suggested that a longitudinal study should be conducted in order to determine changes in perceptions of the purpose of training over an extended period of time.
 - e) The investigator should use similar methodological techniques to investigate the hypothesis at other physical education colleges and institutions of higher education which emphasizes the martial arts curricula.
 - f) Compare the findings of this study to those found on other campuses to see if there are similar trends as N.C.P.E. seemed to show.
- 2) From the perspectives of policy makers, the purpose of the martial arts curriculum needs to be identified and clarified if there is any tendency similar to the directives from the prewar era.

- a) The investigation should include the current and future examination of documentation, proposals, minutes, and memoranda issued by the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) to see if there is any official or unofficial sanctioning tendency toward martial arts activity in the school and higher education curricula.
 - b) It is suggested that the interviews with chief policy executive councils in the Central Ministry of Education and Health to find out if 1) there is any long range plan to shift its emphasis in the content of martial arts programs and 2) to see if there is any specific plan to interject any policy changes in the curriculum requirement.
 - c) The investigator should examine, if any, martial arts degree program proposals documented and presented to the ministry by other major universities to see how similar and different in the content and procedure they are from the document issued by N.C.P.E. in 1964. Has N.C.P.E. set the standard for the rest of the country? How has the ministry responded to such measures?
- 3) From the perspective of exponents in the field it is suggested to investigate the mainstay of the current practices.
- a) Nittai-Dai data revealed that despite heavy emphasis of sports orientation in practice, a majority did not seem to participate for the purpose of sports, but rather for individualistic reasons. It should be examined how current exponents in the field are adopting to the needs of changing generations. In what way are they transmitting the old traditions practiced for centuries? With what options are

they discarding the traditional attributes?

- b) It is suggested to closely examine the method to instill specific socialization patterns, and in turn to see if there is any lag between its process and the interaction. If so, it should be examined to see what are the sources of such lag? Finally, the methods by which such conceptual schemes may be verified should be examined carefully.

4) From the perspectives of a theoretical framework, it should be examined carefully if the current conceptual model of classical-modern dichotomy is a sufficient predictor in a generalized or specific setting. One needs to see what should be discarded and added in order to verify predictable indicators based on the assumptions that such definitions hold a generalizable context in different settings. Depending upon the specifics of the types of martial arts, instructors, and students, the theory of socialization should be investigated more extensively along with the conceptual scheme of the acculturation theory, reference group theory, and role modeling. It is necessary to see what socio-psychological operatives are so conducive to individuals and the group by certain methods and content of martial arts training.

Value orientation and philosophical bases of martial arts training by the classification of greater differentiation need to be identified so a more systematic model dichotomy may be possible in building a theory of martial arts as a discipline of philosophy and physical science.

APPENDIX A

I) Copy of Questionnaire Survey in Japanese

武闘より平和的武闘を目指している大学生とその他の
その他の大学生における社会・文化・政治・芸術・経済・
国際的関心事における比較意識調査

アメリカ合衆国ジョージア州立
オールド・ドミニオン大学国際学部
比較国際学リサーチプロジェクト

学生のバックグラウンド

- (a) 年令 性別 学年
(b) 国籍の概要
(c) 武闘科目 1 空手道 2 剣道 3 柔道 4 合気道 5 弓道
(フエック) 6 剣道 7 古武術
(d) 武闘歴 1. 1年以内 2. 2年~3年 3. 3年~5年 4. 5年以上
(e) 段位 1 初段 2 無

- 22 武闘に入門する動機は、どんな影響が 強かったですか。
1 自分自身の意志で決めた
2 友人の紹介で
3 両親のすすめで
4 先生のすすめで
5 学校の選択で
6 その他

- 23 武闘を専らにあたってどの様な目的を達することが出来ると思いま
したか? 一番大切であったと思われる事項を、欄に五つ選んで下さい。
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

- a 体力増進・運動能力の増進
b 遊んだレクリエーション
c 性格のプラスになる
d 健康になる
e 恐怖心をコントロール出来る
f 超人的性格をコントロール出来る
g 自分に自信をつける
h 精神の成長・スポーツである

- 24 上にかかげた目的をどの程度まで達したと思えますか?
ひとつチェックして下さい。
5 非常に申し分なく 4 申し分なく 3 まあまあ 2 まだまだ
1 全くため 0 わからない

- 25 上記は、世の中の個人の目標は門外のことと見做しましたが(
ひとつだけチェックして下さい。
1 体力・運動能力・技術の増進
2 心理的・性格的・精神的・人間的な面の増進
3 身体的・文化的な面の増進
4 精神の成長の増進

- 26 どの程度は両者を並べて考えていますか(2つ選んで下さい)
1 コンディショニング(体力増進・スポーツ)
2 目的の達成度
3 目的の手段
4 結果の達成
5 その精神性・成長(精神など)

- 27 学生及び先輩や指導員は厳格な礼節を重んじますか?
5 大層・常に 4 厳格的 3 普通 2 そうでない
1 自由である 0 わからない

- 28 貴方の先生は強制的な方法から指導されますか?
5 大層強制的 4 強制的 3 普通 2 そうでない
1 自由である 0 わからない

- 29 指導法や練習方法の時にシイが、上の指導法っていますか?
5 大変多い 4 多い 3 普通 2 少ない 1 無い 0 わからない

- 30 貴方は、精神的・肉体的・学問的な力を自分自身の成長の力と
目的達成の力にどの程度活かしていると思えますか?
5 大変活かしている 4 活かしている 3 まあまあ
2 活かしていない 1 活かしていない 0 わからない

- 31 貴方は、個性的・ユニークな才能によってのみ成功出来ると思
う考え方をどの程度まで信じますか?
5 強く信じる 4 信じる 3 普通 2 まあまあ
1 全く信じていない 0 わからない

- 1 22 国際活動・スポーツ武闘に加えて自分自身の様な変化を
果たしたか? (チェックして下さい)
1 絶対に力が入る様になった 2 自己を徹底的に反省する様に
2 マナーが厳格になった 3 言葉が厳格になった
3 目標を明確にするようになった 4 その他
4 現実的になった
5 趣味に興味がわいた
6 チームワークの重要性を知った
7 体力が自信がついた

- 1 23 貴方は日本の古い文化的伝統を尊敬しますか?
5 大変している 4 している 3 まあまあ 2 少しする
1 しない 0 わからない

- 1 24 今までに練習やクラブ参加を止めたと思った事はありますか?
5 多くある 4 時々ある 3 普通 2 余りない
1 全くない 0 わからない

- 1 25 貴方の先生を心から尊敬していますか?
5 大変強く 4 強く 3 普通 2 余りしていない
1 していない 0 わからない

- 1 26 貴方は宗教を信じていますが、その信仰は何ですか?
1 キリスト教
2 神道
3 仏教
4 無宗教性(天啓性・創世学・その他)
5 無宗教
6 その他
7 無し

- 1 27 今、日本の国が直面している最も深刻な社会問題は何であると思
いますか? 欄に五つだけ選んで下さい。
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

- a インフレ b 失業 c 犯罪 d 政治腐敗 e 教育格差 f 人権問題
g 老人問題 h 環境 i 貧困 j 犯罪 k 自殺 l 貧困
m 社会不安 n 環境問題 o 教育格差 p 犯罪
q 老人問題 r その他

- 1 28 日本は何度か投票を開票するべきであると思えますか?
5 強く思う 4 思う 3 あるかもわからない
2 べきでないと思う 1 絶対に反対 0 わからない

- 1 29 日本の社会制度の中で最も重要であると思われるものを欄に五つ
選んで下さい。
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

- a マスコット・旗・制服・フジコ b 大学(四年制) c 超大大
学 d 奨学金 e 学生 f 奨学金 g 奨学金 h 奨学金 i 奨学金
j 奨学金 k 奨学金 l 奨学金 m 奨学金 n 奨学金
o 奨学金 p 奨学金 q 奨学金 r 奨学金

- 30 貴方は現在どの程度を支持しますか? チェックして下さい。
1 自民党 2 共産党 3 公明党 4 新自由クラブ 5 民進党
6 社会党 7 その他

- 31 日本は将来発展に対してもっと準備を必要だと感じますか?
5 もっとある 4 ある 3 今のままで良い
2 へらへらが良い 1 ない 0 わからない

- 32 日本を安全にするには日本に必要だと感じますか?
5 強く思う 4 思う 3 普通 2 思わない 1 必要ない 0 わからない

- 33 貴方は人間は元々良いものであると思えますか?
1 良いものである (性質論的支持)
2 悪いものである (性質論的支持)
3 わからない

- 34 貴方の人生観として何を持ってすれば、将来の人生の目的に
達することが出来ると思えますか? 欄に選んで下さい。
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

- a. 個人の努力によって b. 個人の運命によって
c. 友人の助けによって d. コマによって
e. 運命の転機によって f. 教育によって
g. 運によって h. 財力によって
1. 正統によって j. その他

- 35 今日の世界において人間同士の争いは避けられないものと思
いますか?
5 強く思う 4 思う 3 大抵思う
2 思わない 1 全く思わない 0 わからない

- 36 貴方は世界の様々な文化や思想のどれか一つに特別な関心
をもちますか?
5 強く思っている 4 思っている 3 普通
2 全く思っていない 1 思っていない 0 わからない

- 37 貴方の人生で最も大切なものは何ですか?
(欄に五つだけ選んで下さい)
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____ 4 _____ 5 _____

- a. 愛 b. 金銭 c. 友人 d. 友人
e. 友人 f. 友人 g. 友人 h. 友人
i. 友人 j. 友人 k. 友人 l. 友人
m. 友人 n. 友人 o. 友人 p. 友人
q. 友人 r. 友人 s. 友人 t. 友人

- 38 貴方は民主政治の発展を信用しますか?
5 強く思っている 4 思っている 3 普通
2 余り思っていない 1 思っていない 0 わからない

- 39 貴方は日本の民主主義が、自由等の理念を早い段階で市民に
普及していると思えますか?
5 強く思っている 4 思っている 3 普通
2 余り思っていない 1 思っていない 0 わからない

- 40 日本は世界平和と自由の安全の為に、積極的に世界平和に参
与する必要があると思えますか?
5 強く信じる 4 信じる 3 普通
2 余り信じていない 1 全く信じていない 0 わからない

- 41 今現在、満足している大学生の割合はどの程度に思えますか?
5 非常に多い 4 多い 3 まあまあ 2 少ない
1 ない 0 わからない

- 42 貴方が、今最も多く行っている時間は何か?
(1つだけ選んで下さい)
1 勉強 2 睡眠 3 スポーツ 4 レクリエーション
5 食事 6 クラブ 7 遊び 8 その他の時間

- 43 大学へ行く理由は何ですか?
(欄に五つ選んで下さい)
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

- a. 両親にすすめられた b. 将来を身につける為
c. 友人が誘ったので d. 友人を作る為
e. 先輩が誘ったので f. クラブ活動に入る為
g. キャリアを作るため h. スポーツの為
i. 娯楽に没頭するから j. 同僚の目的の為
k. 仕事を身につける為 l. その他

- 44 貴方が今、一番悩んでいる事、又、不安(あると思える)ことは
何ですか? (欄に五つ選んで下さい)
1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

- a. サラ金 b. 経済 c. 親を助ける
d. 友人問題 e. 奨学金問題 f. 金銭問題
g. 学問・学問的問題 h. 奨学金問題
i. 目標したいと思う j. 奨学金 k. 奨学金
l. クラブ活動 m. アルバイト n. セックス
o. 就職問題

- 45 貴方が自己実現と自己完成の為に大学生活の中で、何
これから希望しますか? (欄に選んで下さい)

APPENDIX A

II) English Translation of the Questionnaire Survey

APPENDIX A (II)

Hiro Hamada
College of William & Mary
School of Education
Graduate Program

QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY RESEARCH

Perceived attitude on the purpose of martial arts training among martial arts practitioners at Japanese colleges and universities: Attitudes toward society, political beliefs, life view, religious preference, and national concerns.

I. Background Profile

- A) Age ____; Sex ____; Year at the university ____
- B) Parent's Occupation _____;
- C) Type of martial arts involved (Circle your response):
1. Karate-do 2. Kendo 3. Judo 4. Aikido 5. Kyu-do
6. Iaido 7. Kobudo 8. Kenpo
- D) Years of Training (Circle your response):
1. less than a year 2. 2 to 3 years 3. 3 to 5 years
4. over 5 years

II. "Who influenced your decision to engage in training?"
(Circle your response)

1. I decided on my own will
2. Friend's influence
3. Parent's influence
4. Teacher's influence
5. Curriculum requirement
6. Other _____

III. "Reason for participation in martial arts"

What did you think you could achieve out of the training? List the first five items according to the order of your priorities. Print the corresponding letters to your answers.

1. _____, 2. _____, 3. _____, 4. _____, 5. _____
- a. good physical fitness and overall motor ability

- b. good form of recreation
- c. build good moral character
- d. good self-defense
- e. control of fear
- f. teaches how to control temper
- g. build good self-confidence
- h. good competitive sport
- i. learn good team work
- j. good self-discipline
- k. to understand the way of Budo
- l. a way to achieve self-perfection
- m. to achieve spiritual enlightenment
- n. can aid professional career
- o. no specific reasons for training

IV. To what extent do you think you have achieved your purpose of training as listed above. (Circle your response)

5. very strongly and fully 4. strongly 3. fairly
 2. weakly 1. hardly 0. don't know

V. What did you discover to be the most important aspect of training after a period of time. (Circle your response)

1. physical ability 2. mental aspect 3. practical aspect
 4. spiritual aspect

VI. What do you emphasize in the current training. (Circle two answers)

1. physical conditioning 2. repetitious drills of advanced waza (technique) 3. preparation for competition 4. fundamental drills 5. meditation and other spiritual training

VII. Circle to what extent your instructors demand strict adherence to prescribed codes of conduct such as etiquette, manners, correct speech, proper address and overall politeness.

5. always 4. frequently 3. sometimes 2. seldom 1. never

- VIII. Circle to what extent your instructors play an authoritative role.
5. always 4. frequently 3. sometimes 2. seldom 1. never
0. don't know
- IX. Circle to what extent shigoki (excessively physical) drills are incorporated into training.
5. always 4. frequently 3. sometimes 2. seldom 1. never
0. don't know
- X. Circle to what extent rigorous training ethics, scholastic rigor, and hard core mental discipline have been effective toward cultivation of personal perseverance and achievement of personal objectives.
5. extremely effective 4. frequently effective 3. somewhat effective
2. seldom effective 1. never effective 0. don't know
- XI. Circle the degree to which you believe hard discipline ethics has a bearing upon achieving excellence.
5. always believe 4. often believe 3. somewhat believe
2. seldom believe 1. never believe 0. don't know
- XII. Because of your involvement in club sports, extracurricular activities, and martial arts training, circle what changes you seemed to have noticed ever since.
1. Improved study habits
 2. Improved manners
 3. More respectful of parents
 4. More realistic
 5. More interested in sports
 6. Greater understanding of importance in team work
 7. Greater self-confidence
 8. More self-critical and objective
 9. Specify others _____
- XIII. Circle the extent to which you respect Japan's old cultural heritage and tradition.
5. always 4. often 3. sometimes 2. seldom 1. never
0. don't know

XIV. Circle to what extent you thought about stopping training in martial arts or engaging in club activities.

5. always 4. often 3. sometimes 2. seldom 1. never
0. don't know

XV. Circle to what extent you respect your teacher from your heart.

5. always strongly 4. often strongly 3. sometimes
2. seldom 1. never 0. don't know

XVI. Circle your religious affiliation.

1. Christianity 2. Shinto 3. Buddhism 4. New Sect of
Buddhism (Soka Gakkai, Tenrikyo, etc.) 5. Mystical Buddhism
6. Specify other _____ 7. None

XVII. List the five most serious social problems Japan is presently facing, according to order of importance. (Print corresponding letters to your answers below)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

a) Inflation, b) unemployment, c) tax burden, d) governmental corruption, e) school violence, f) entrance exam, g) care of the elderly, h) divorce rate, i) military spending, j) crime and violence, k) suicide, l) ANPO Treaty, m) U.S.-Japan trade imbalance and friction, n) family, o) issues on leadership in democratic state, p) sex revolution, q) hedonism, r) religious issues, s) specify others _____

XVIII. Circle your feelings about Japan developing nuclear armament in the future.

5. very strongly disagree 4. strongly disagree 3. possibly agree
2. often agree 1. strongly agree 0. don't know

XIX. List in order what you consider to be the most important social institutions in Japan today. (Print the corresponding letters to your answers below)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

a) mass media, b) four year colleges and universities, c) junior

colleges, d) governmental structure, e) family, f) religious institutions, g) political parties, h) labor unions, j) self-defense force, k) literary/science societies, l) foundations, m) capitalistic economic systems, n) constitution, o) emperor

XX. Circle those political parties you support at present.

1) Liberal Democratic Party 2) Communist Party 3) Clean Government Party 4) New Liberal Club 5) Democratic Socialist Party 6) Socialist Party 7) Other _____

XXI. Circle how you feel about increasing military spending in the near future.

5. Increase more 4. Increase a little 3. Should remain at present level 2. Better to decrease 1. Not necessary 0. Don't know

XXII. Circle how you feel about the necessity of Anpo (U.S.-Japan Mutual Security Treaty) for the maintenance of Japan's security.

5. Strongly so 4. Often think so 3. Sometimes 2. Seldom 1. Unnecessary 0. Don't know

XXIII. Circle what you think man's nature is based upon.

- 1) I believe it is based upon goodness (support good origin)
- 2) I believe it is based upon badness (support bad origin)
- 3) I don't know

XXIV. List by order of importance those means you think you can use to achieve your personal life goals.

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____ 4. _____ 5. _____

- a) family b) company c) friends d) house e) job and career
- f) individual happiness g) service to the nation h) group belongingness i) wealth j) honor k) individual love and affection
- l) work for philanthropic cause m) social service n) individual self-discovery o) mastery of art p) enjoyment of life q) doing whatever I like r) specify other _____

XXVIII. Circle the extent to which you trust the authority of the national government.

5. Always 4. Often 3. Sometimes 2. Seldom 1. Never
0. Don't know

XXIX. Circle the extent to which you believe Japanese democracy is based upon the principles of liberty and equality and contributes to the people.

5. Always 4. Often 3. Sometimes 2. Seldom 1. Never
0. Don't know

XXX. Circle the extent to which you believe there is a need for Japan's initiative to speak out more effectively in international politics for world peace and Japan's national security.

5. Always 4. Often 3. Sometimes 2. Seldom 1. Never
0. Don't know

XXXI. Circle how you rate the education experience at the university you are attending.

5. Always meaningful 4. Often meaningful 3. Somewhat fair
2. Seldom meaningful 1. Never meaningful 0. Don't know

XXXII. Circle only one activity in which you spend the most time.

1. Study 2. Research 3. Sports 4. Recreation 5. Work
6. Club activities 7. Play 8. Specify other _____

XXXIII. List in order of importance your purpose for going to college or university. (Print the letters corresponding to your answer.)

1. _____ 2. _____ 3. _____

- | | |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| a) parental persuasion | h) to get educated |
| b) friends are going | i) to make friends |
| c) alumni went there | j) to join the club |
| d) to find a career | k) to participate in sports |
| e) advantageous for marriage | l) other _____ |
| f) to obtain a job | |
| g) to test one's ability | |

XXXIV. List in order of importance those matters which you are most worried or concerned about at present.

- a) loan shark b) marriage c) finding a job d) friendship affair
- e) love affair f) money matters g) academic affair h) parental affairs
- i) suicidal feelings j) loneliness k) debts l) club activities
- m) side job n) sex o) health

XXXV. Briefly explain below what you would suggest to be included in the university education toward helping you reach personal self-discovery and self-perfection.

APPENDIX B

Tables and Data for N.C.P.E. Martial Arts Students
June, 1983

Table 1 through 27

Only the pertinent questions were tabulated in the
tables of this section.

Table 1
Summary of the Characteristics of the Sample

Age Range	Number Male and Female	Percent
18	13	11.3
19	9	7.8
20	68	59.1
21	24	20.9
22	1	0.9
Total	115	100.0
	(Female 8/Male 107)	
	7% 93%	

Table 2
School Year of the Sample

Categorical Label	Number	Percent
Freshman	18	15.7
Sophomore	89	77.4
Junior	8	7.0
Senior	0	0.0
Total	115	100.0

Table 3
Parent's Occupation

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Professional	27	23.5
White collar	68	59.1
Blue collar	13	11.3
Other	7	6.1
Total	115	100.0

Table 4
Types of Martial Art

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Karate-doh	3	2.6
Kendo	48	41.7
Judo	40	34.8
Aikido	10	8.7
Kobudo	6	5.2
Kenpo	4	3.5
Other	4	3.5
Total	115	100.0

Table 5
Years of Training

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Less than 1 year	4	3.5
2 to 3	12	10.4
3 to 5	7	6.1
Over 5 years	92	80.0
Total	115	100.0
Total Black Belt	107	93.0
Non-Black Belt	8	7.0
Total	115	100.0

Table 6
1st to 3rd Rank Order Reason for Training

Category	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Physical Fitness	38	18	19	33.0	15.7	16.5
Recreation	2	1	1	1.7	0.9	0.9
Character	4	15	10	3.5	13.0	8.7
Self-defense	3	3	6	2.6	2.6	5.2
Control temper	1	5	1	0.9	4.3	0.9
Control fear	-	1	1	--	0.9	0.9
Self-confidence	6	23	21	5.2	20.0	18.3
Sport	1	0	2	0.9	--	1.7
Teamwork	1	4	3	0.9	3.5	2.6
Self-discipline	39	19	23	33.9	16.5	20.0
Way of Budo	-	2	7	--	1.7	6.1
Self-perfection	15	15	12	13.0	13.0	10.4
Spirituality	3	6	4	2.6	5.2	3.5
Professional career	1	0	2	0.9	--	1.7
Nothing specific	1	1	1	0.9	0.9	0.9
Missing	-	2	2	--	1.7	1.7
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 7
Achievement of Training Purpose

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Weakly	68	59.1
Fairly	37	32.2
Strongly	7	6.1
Very strongly	1	0.9
Don't know	1	0.9
Missing	1	0.9
Total	115	100.0

Table 8
IMPT Aspect Discovered in Training

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Physical ability	16	13.9
Mental aspect	85	73.9
Practical aspect	--	--
Spiritual aspect	12	10.4
Missing	2	1.7
Total	115	100.0

Table 9
Instructor's Demand on Students Code of Conduct

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Always	1	2	1.7
Frequently	2	3	2.6
Sometimes	3	36	31.3
Seldom	4	18	15.7
Never	5	55	47.8
Missing	6	1	0.9
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	4.167	
Median	:	4.518	

Table 10
Instructor's Authoritarian Role

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	3	2.6
Seldom	2	4	3.5
Sometimes	3	35	30.4
Frequently	4	44	38.3
Always	5	26	22.6
Don't know	6	3	2.6
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.826	
Median	:	3.852	
Variance	:	0.987	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 11
Extent of Excessive Shigoki

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	7	6.1
Seldom	2	21	18.3
Sometimes	3	74	64.3
Frequently	4	8	7.0
Always	5	3	2.6
Don't know	6	2	1.7
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	2.870	
Median	:	2.899	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 12
Training Effect on Objectives

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never effective	1	3	2.6
Seldom effective	2	9	7.8
Somewhat effective	3	36	31.3
Frequently effective	4	58	50.4
Extremely effective	5	5	4.3
Don't know	6	4	3.5
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.565	
Median	:	3.664	
Variance	:	0.862	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 13
Respect of Japan's Heritage

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	1	0.9
Seldom	2	10	8.7
Sometimes	3	35	30.4
Often	4	46	40.0
Always	5	16	13.9
Don't know	6	6	5.2
Missing		1	0.9
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.737	
Median	:	3.739	

Table 14
Respect for Teacher

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	3	2.6
Seldom	2	8	7.0
Sometimes	3	53	46.1
Often Strongly	4	24	20.9
Always Strongly	5	24	20.9
Don't know	6	3	2.6
Missing		1	0.9
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.583	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 15
Religious Affiliations

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Christianity	5	4.3
Shinto	6	5.2
Buddhism	44	38.3
Other	3	2.6
None	54	47.0
Missing	3	2.6
Total	115	100.0

Table 16
Perceived 1st to 3rd Rank Social Problems in Japan

Category	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Inflation	26	3	2	22.6	2.6	1.7
Unemployment	5	13	8	4.3	11.3	7.0
Tax burden	7	15	9	6.1	13.0	7.8
Government corruption	25	10	19	21.7	8.7	16.5
School violence	27	30	21	23.5	26.1	18.3
Entrance exams	2	6	5	1.7	5.2	4.3
Care for elderly	1	5	8	0.9	4.3	7.0
Military spending	10	17	15	8.7	14.8	13.0
Crime and violence	-	4	9	--	3.5	7.8
Suicide	-	1	2	--	0.9	1.7
Anpo Treaty (U.S.- Japan military pact)	-	1	3	--	0.9	2.6
U.S. Japan friction	9	4	6	7.8	3.5	5.2
Family	1	3	4	0.9	2.6	3.5
Democratic leadership	-	2	3	--	1.7	2.6
Religion	-	1	-	--	0.9	--
Divorce rate	1	-	1	0.9	--	0.9
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 17
Nuclear Development

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Very strongly disagree	1	43	37.4
Strongly disagree	2	28	24.3
Possibly agree	3	16	13.9
Often agree	4	15	13.0
Strongly agree	5	6	5.2
Don't know	6	7	6.1
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	2.426	
Median	:	2.018	
Variance	:	2.317	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 18
1st to 3rd Perceived Important Social Institutions

Category	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Mass media	37	22	10	32.2	19.1	8.7
Four year college	3	7	4	2.6	6.1	3.5
Government structure	16	25	14	13.9	21.7	12.2
Family	16	13	17	13.9	11.3	14.8
Political parties	4	4	9	3.5	3.5	7.8
Labor unions	-	5	6	--	4.3	5.2
Self-defense force	1	1	5	0.9	0.9	4.3
Literary science	-	2	3	--	1.7	2.6
Foundations	-	-	1	--	--	0.9
Capitalistic system	16	6	7	13.9	5.2	6.1
Constitution	14	15	12	12.2	13.0	10.4
Emperor	3	1	2	2.6	0.9	1.7
Missing	5	13	23	4.3	11.3	20.0
Junior college	-	1	2	--	0.9	1.7
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 19
Man's Nature

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Goodness	63	54.8
Badness	15	13.0
Don't know	37	32.2
Total	115	100.0

Table 20
1st to 3rd Rank Perceived Means for Achieving Goals

Category	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
One's effort	95	4	6	82.6	3.5	5.2
Perseverance & patience	2	42	9	1.7	36.5	7.8
Friend's assistance	6	13	19	5.2	11.3	16.5
Connections	2	11	7	1.7	9.6	6.1
Family	4	21	22	3.5	18.3	19.1
Education	2	9	19	1.7	7.8	16.5
Luck	1	10	23	0.9	8.7	20.0
Financial power	1	2	5	0.9	1.7	4.3
Religion	1	1	2	0.9	0.9	1.7
Others	1	2	2	0.9	1.7	1.7
Missing	-	-	1	--	--	0.9
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 21
Perceived Inevitability of Human Conflict

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	1	0.9
Seldom	2	28	24.3
Sometimes	3	21	18.3
Often	4	61	53.0
Always	5	11	9.6
Don't know	6	1	0.9
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.557	
Median	:	3.754	
Variance	:	0.898	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 22
Perceived Life Goals 1st to 3rd Rank

Category	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Family	54	24	5	47.0	20.9	4.3
Company	1	5	3	0.9	4.3	2.6
Friends	15	41	23	13.0	35.7	20.0
House	2	5	2	1.7	4.3	1.7
Job and career	4	6	6	3.5	5.2	5.2
Self-happiness	3	6	8	2.6	0.9	7.0
Service to nation	1	-	5	0.9	--	4.3
Group belongings	-	1	6	--	0.9	5.2
Wealth	1	1	11	0.9	0.9	9.6
Honor	1	1	2	0.9	0.9	1.7
Love and affection	6	8	15	5.2	7.0	13.0
Philanthropic cause	-	1	2	--	0.9	1.7
Social service	-	1	5	--	0.9	4.3
Self-discovery	13	4	9	11.3	3.5	7.8
Mastery of Art	5	3	2	4.3	2.6	1.7
Enjoyment of life	3	7	7	2.6	6.1	6.1
Doing what I like	4	7	3	3.5	6.1	2.6
Other	2	-	1	1.7	--	--
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table 23
Perceived Trust of Government

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never trust	1	16	13.9
Seldom	2	23	20.0
Sometimes	3	46	40.0
Often	4	16	13.9
Don't know	6	14	12.2
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.026	
Median	:	2.902	
Variance	:	2.008	
Std. Dev.	:	1.417	

Table 24
Perceived Performance of Japanese Democracy

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never	1	16	13.9
Seldom	2	33	28.7
Sometimes	3	31	27.0
Often	4	25	21.7
Always	5	1	0.9
Don't know	6	1	7.8
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	2.904	
Median	:	2.774	
Variance	:	1.807	
Range	:	5.000	
Std. Dev.	:	1.344	

Table 25
Perceived Meaningfulness of Education at NCPE

Categorical Label	Code	Number	Relative Frequency
Never meaningful	1	1	0.9
Seldom	2	13	11.3
Somewhat	3	40	34.8
Often	4	48	7.8
Always	5	9	7.8
Don't know	6	3	2.6
Missing		1	0.9
Total		115	100.0
Mean	:	3.525	
Median	:	3.563	
Range	:	5.000	

Table 26
Time Consuming Activity

Categorical Label	Number	Relative Frequency
Study	19	16.5
Sports	30	26.1
Recreation	1	0.9
Club activities	49	42.6
Play	7	6.1
Other	6	5.2
Missing	3	2.6
Total	115	100.0

Table 27
Perceived Purpose for College 1st to 3rd Rank

Categorical Labels	Number			Relative Frequency		
	1st	2nd	3rd	1st	2nd	3rd
Parental persuasion	3	4	4	2.6	3.5	3.5
Alumni went there	2	2	5	1.7	1.7	4.3
Find career	8	3	6	7.0	2.6	5.2
Marriage	3	1	-	2.6	0.9	--
Obtain job	26	15	8	22.6	13.0	7.0
Test ability	25	28	11	21.7	24.3	9.6
Education	22	19	17	19.1	16.5	14.8
Make friends	6	17	12	5.2	14.8	10.4
Join club	10	5	12	8.7	4.3	10.4
Sports	1	10	20	0.9	8.7	17.4
Other	5	9	11	4.3	7.8	9.6
Missing blank	4	1	6	3.5	0.9	5.2
Friends are going	-	1	1	--	0.9	0.9
Total	115	115	115	100.0	100.0	100.0

APPENDIX C

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MODERN BUDO

AIKIDO

IAIDO

JUDO

JUJUTSU

KARATE DO

KENDO

KYUDO

JUKENDO

JODO

NAGINATAJUTSU

GOSHINJUTSU

SUMO

APPENDIX C

I) Brief Description of Modern Budo

Aikido (the way of harmony in ki):

Modern aikido was founded by Morihei Ueshiba in the early 1900s. Ueshiba studied the Daito-Ryu Aiki Jujutsu system from Sokaku Takeda. Takeda, according to historical tradition, was transmitted knowledge of the Aikijujutsu system of combat associated with the Genji clan since their rule of Japan in the 11th Century. Ueshiba, having studied the Shinkage-Ryu system of sword fencing as well as Kito-Ryu system of jujutsu, became the senior practitioner under Takeda. Upon receiving philosophical insight from mystic shintoism and his direct training experience of intuitive nature, Ueshiba called his art "Aikibujutsu". Later, he developed a theory of Aiki based on the universal harmony and effective use of ki as a life force by combining ki, kokoro, and tai (Ki, mind and body). The method is to attain the perfection of skill through the harmonious process of human ki and universal ki. Technical components have infinite variations. They tend to promote the self-defense, aesthetic, and martial aspects rather than the competitive aspect. It is said that over 800,000 practitioners exist worldwide. (1)

Iaido (art of sword drawing):

It was called Battojutsu (art of drawing the sword) during the Muromachi and Sengoku period (1200-1600). The oldest system is Hayashizaki Kansuki Shigenobu. Under his influence, the Tamiya Ryu, Eishin-Ryu and Omori-Ryu systems were born. The essence of the technique is to execute a cutting motion according to the reaction of the enemy

"with swift distancing, before the sword of the enemy touches one's flesh, cut the head and arms simultaneously and finish him with the short sword." Training in modern days tends to emphasize spiritual and mental concentration through the ceremonial process and rigid forms. (2)

Judo (the gentle way):

Modern judo was founded by Jigoro Kano. Kano studied the Tenshin Shinyo Ryu system of Jujutsu under Hachinosuke Fukuda around 1877. Upon training and examining the Kito-Ryu system and other Yawara, jujutsu systems of combative arts, he developed the concept of "Seiryoku Zenyo" (better use of energy) and "Jita Kyoei" (mutual prosperity) to be incorporated into his theory of the new martial art. He established Kodokan Judo in 1882. This sport and martial art is widely used in the physical education curricula at educational institutions, the police force and self-defense force. Technical components involve throwing, choking, locking, and pinning techniques. (3)

Jujutsu (gentle art):

The techniques have a wide variety of applications in striking, thrusting, kicking, pinning, choking, locking, immobilizing, throwing, and weaponry. During the feudal times of Japan, this art was used widely among the samurai class for combative purposes. It used to be called yawara, taijutsu, kogusokujutsu, or hoshujutsu, depending on the emphasis of the technical orientation where it was sponsored by the feudal lord. Takenouchi Ryu, Araki-Ryu, Sekigudhi-Ryu, Koto-Ryu, Tenshin-Shinyo Ryu, Shibukawa-Ryu, are some of the representative schools of jujutsu widely practiced in the feudal domains during 16th century Japan. Its philosophy is to attain mastery of the self by utilizing the essence of gentleness, i.e., maximum flexibility and spontaneity for means of defensive and

combative tactics. In essence, kenpo (fist art) and yawara (gentle art) became jujutsu components. (4)

Karate-Do (art of empty hand):

Without using weapons, the techniques are developed for striking, thrusting, kicking, and throwing. As early as during the Ming dynasty in China, the art of kenpo was systematically developed. Kenpo was integrated into jujutsu forms to some extent, but the art was uniquely developed on the Okinawa island. Naha-te, Shuri-te, and Tomari-te represented geographical divisions where the te-forms of fist art evolved through greater contact with China. Hanagusuku, Chomo published "Sparring of Karate Kumite" in 1905. In 1910, Itosu, Anko established physical education karatejutsu for the school and police force. Higashionna, Kan Ryo brought in the Chinese fist art based on the breathing method into the existing fist art of the te-form. Funakoshi, Gichin, Miyagi, Chojun, Motobu, Choki, and Mabuni, Kenwa are some of the representative figures who contributed to modern day karate-do in Japan. (5)

Kendo (the way of sword):

Modern kendo consists of the technical theory of classical swordsmanship of kenjutsu and kendo. Modifications have been made to ensure safety and efficiency of harmonious integration. The shinai (bamboo sword) is improvised instead of Bokuto or real bladed sword for competitive and daily training. Only eight areas of the body may be struck by the shinai in modern kendo training: seven kinds of blows and one thrust are permitted. In classical kenjutsu, any part of the enemy was a potential target. The weak points in the battlefield armor influenced the choice of these targets. Each classical ryu has its specialty in tactics for exploiting these weaknesses (over 300 systems).

Yomeigaku and Zen concepts involving intuitive learning underlie most modern kendo teaching methods in Japan. For instance, Ono-ha Itto Ryu emphasizes technique first and theory second. Nakanishi-Ha Itto-Ryu emphasizes technique and theory as one. In 1906, Butoku-Kai organized all representative systems of kendo to formulate its own standard kata. Later it was called Dai Nippon Teikoku Kendo Kata (Greater Japan Imperial Kendo Kata) in 1912. This kata was renamed to Japan Kendo Kata during the postwar period and continues as the fundamental theory of kendo supported by the All Japan Kendo Foundation. (6)

Kyudo (the art of bow):

Kyujutsu (the art of the bow) was one of the most important subjects in the martial curriculum of classical warriors. The introduction of firearms in 1542 changed its maxim and technical component to a spiritual discipline. The Yamato-ryu exponent is known for a systematic theory of kyujutsu and kyudo that embodies logic of the bow, etiquette of the bow, technique, mechanical aspects, and virtues related to this discipline. The principles of kyudo underwent a standardization process to an extent by Dai Nippon Butoku Kai. In 1936, the ministry approved of kyudo as a means by which to instill mental and physical discipline in the compulsory physical education curriculum. The modern form of kyudo has a blend of spiritual and sport values that over 4 million practitioners currently engage. (7)

Naginatajutsu (art of halberd):

Prior to the Edo period, the naginata, a heavy, long handled, short bladed halberd, was mainly a man's weapon for the battlefield. During peace time, the women of warrior families practiced with this weapon for the defense of their residence. Throughout the Meiji, Taisho, and early

Showa eras, this training was used for women's physical education. During war-time, it was a compulsory subject in all curricula from primary to high schools. Five hundred different ryu exists today but for Tenshin Shoden Katori Shinto Ryu. One of Japan's oldest, historically proven martial traditions used the naginata as a part of their technical component in the early medieval period. Almost 2 million exponents of naginata-do are females that undergo serious mental and physical discipline. (8)

Goshinjutsu (self-defense art):

They are defined as primarily self-defense techniques which incorporate yawara, aikido, judo, karate, and kenpo. The purpose lies in the perfection of technical theoretical base, but do not discuss or deal with body of knowledge in history, philosophy, and morals of particular exponents. It is, therefore, a generalized discipline for modern budo to contain this aspect for practical purposes.

Sumo (wrestling art):

Modern sumo wrestling traces back its historical origin in the record of writing of Kojiki (writings of ancient events) in the 5th century. During the Muromachi period, the dohyo (ring circle) was made on the ground where two wrestlers fought, often to death. Technical components were similar to jutsu form of yawara, but required extraordinary physical strength. It emphasizes spiritual and ceremonial aspects based on Shinto mythology. This art became a compulsory subject for all male children during the Meiji era. Currently, the All Japan Sumo Federation continues to retain much of its classical tradition with direct cooperation with other sumo associations. (9)

Jukendo (bayonet art):

Bayonet art was developed during the Meiji era. It was largely instructed at the military academy, such as the Tozan Army training school in Tokyo. SCAP prohibited this art in 1945. But the art was revived in 1956 under the presidency of General Imamura Hitoshi and received official recognition. Currently, 300,000 practitioners of jukendo are registered in the All Japan Jukendo Federation. The training component includes shinai-kendo, wooden rifle, and simulated bayonet. The object is to register a lethal attack against an opponent. This art is practiced under strict rules and regulations due to the potential danger. Members of the Japanese Self-defense Force comprise the majority of the country's jukendo exponents. (10)

Jodo (fighting stick-art):

Jojutsu was cultivated during the 17th century by Muso, Gonnosuke, expert jo practitioner who founded Shindo Muso Ryu. The short oak stick is used to strike, thrust, sweep, block, and parry like a sword. Because of wide applicability in the crime prevention situations, the modern police have adopted it. Shimizu, Takaji, a modern exponent of Shindo Muso Ryu, taught the police force, and thereby developed a police-stick art called Keijo-jutsu. During the riot and mass civil unrest, this art was used effectively to control threatening situations in Japan. (11)

FOOTNOTES FOR APPENDIX C

- (1) Yoshihike Sasama, *Nihon Budo Jiten* (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) p. 1-2.
- (2) *Ibid.*, p. 41.
- (3) *Ibid.*, p. 370-371.
- (4) *Ibid.*, p. 370-371.
- (5) *Ibid.*, p. 225.
- (6) *Ibid.*, p. 293, also see, Donn F. Draeger *Modern Bujutsu and Budo*, (Tokyo: Weatherhill: 1979) Vol. III, p. 106-111.
- (7) *Ibid.*, p. 243, also see Draeger (1979), p. 173-175.
- (8) Draeger (1979), p. 175-176.
- (9) Sasama (1982), p. 407.
- (10) Draeger (1979), p. 176-177.
- (11) Draeger (1979), p. 68. Also see Ryuji Shimizu *Shindo Muso Ryu Jodo Kyohan* (Master Text of Shindo Muso Ryu Jo Do) (Tokyo: Nichibo Shuppansha: 1976).

APPENDIX D

PICTURE REFERENCE OF MODERN BUDO

KENDO

SUMO

JUDO

KARATE DO

KYUDO

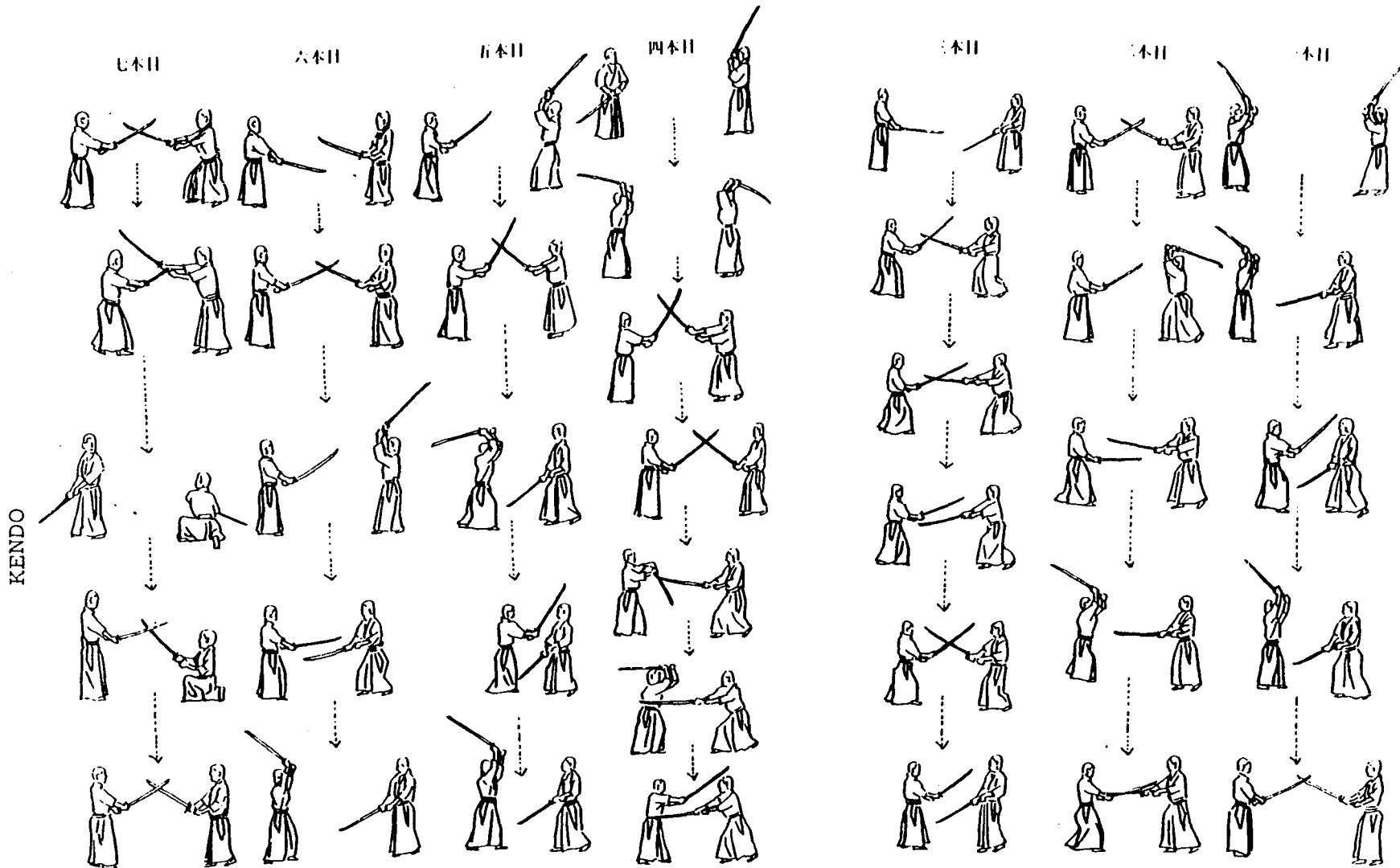
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IAIDO

AIKIDO

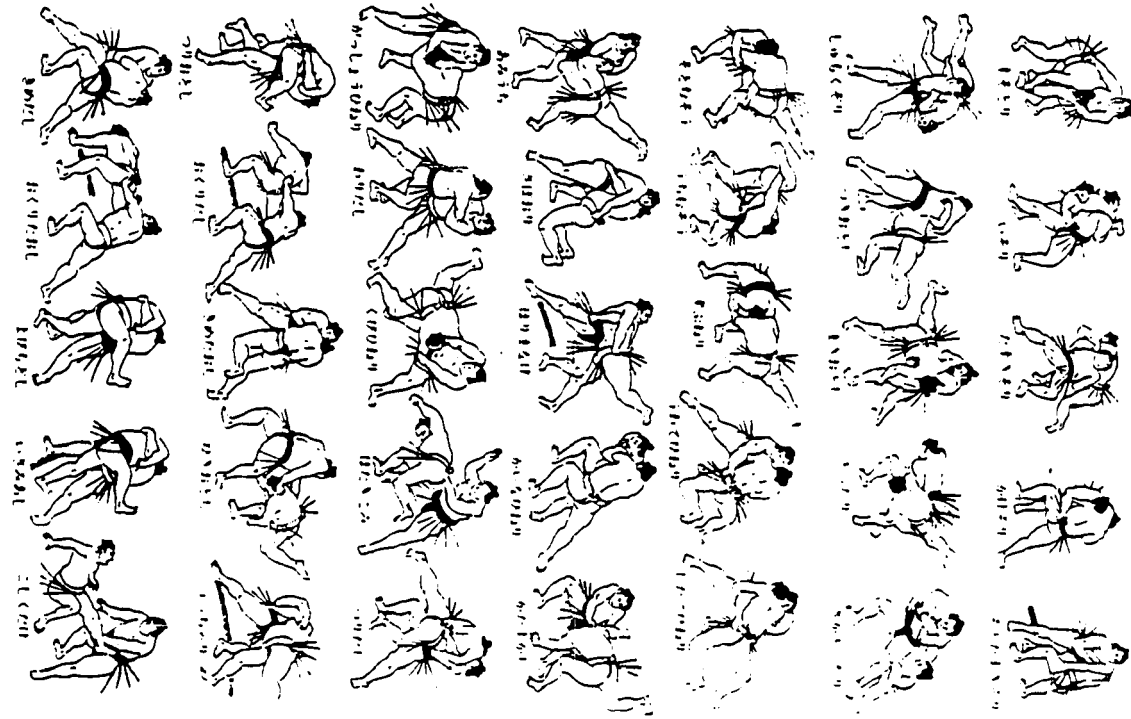
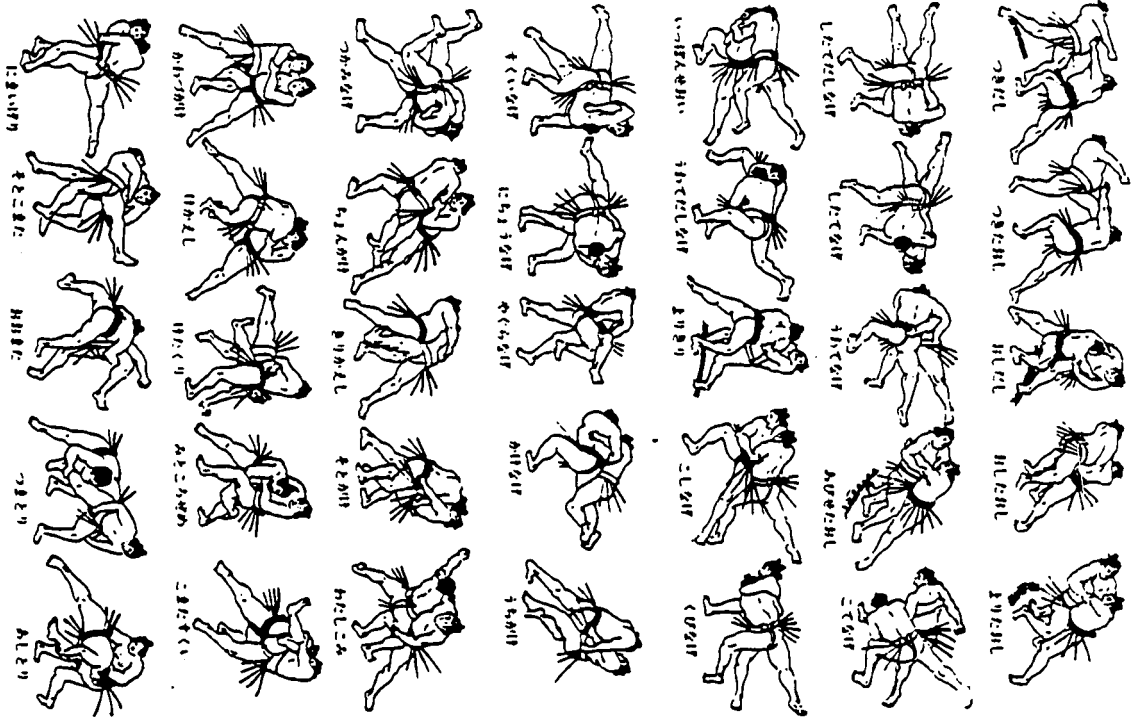
JUJUTSU

(1) 日本劍道形 (太刀形七本)



Yoshihiko Sasama. Nipon Budo Jiten (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) P. 756-757

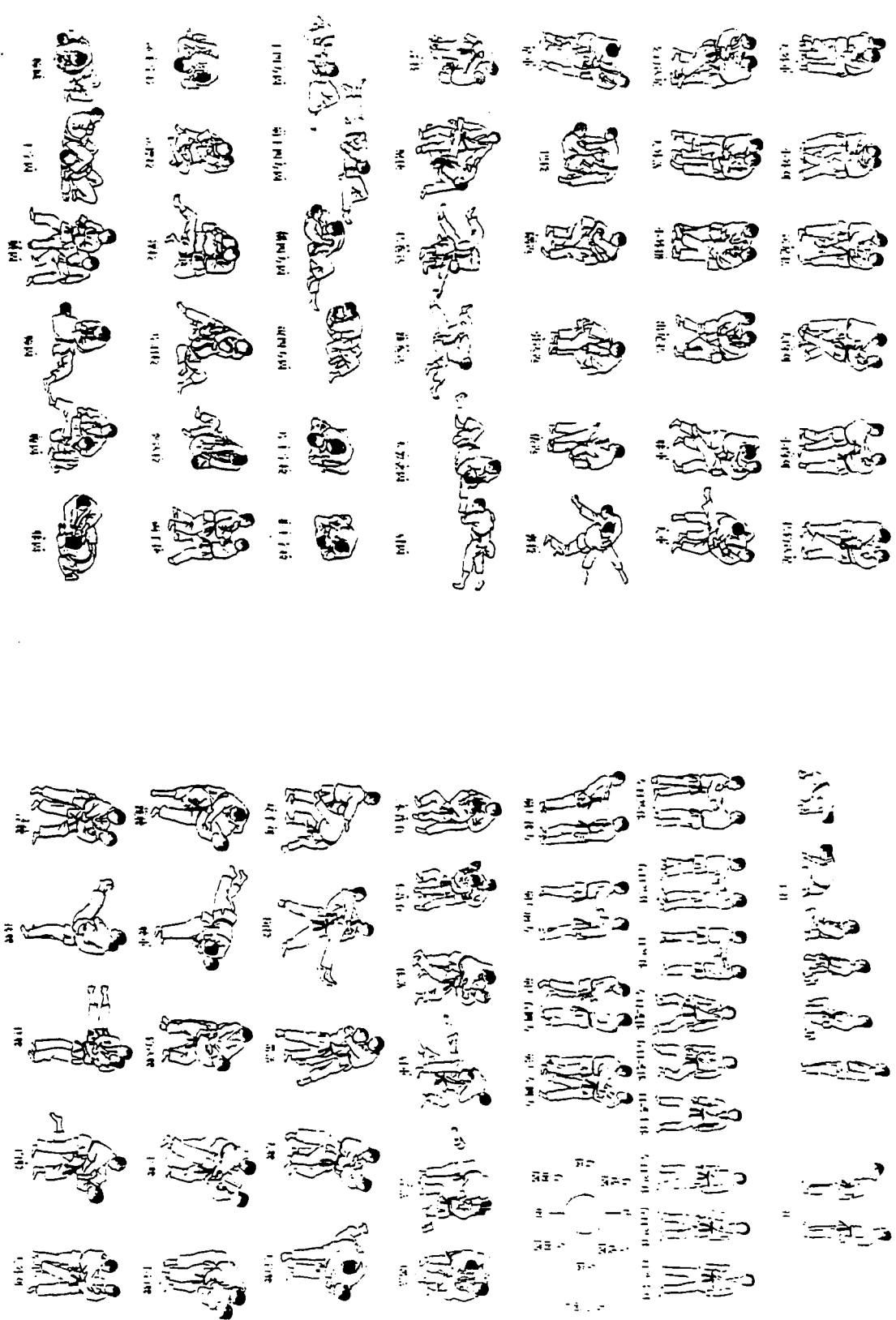
SUMO



Yoshihiko Sasama. Nihon Budo Jiten. (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Dashiwa Shobo: 1982) p.760-761

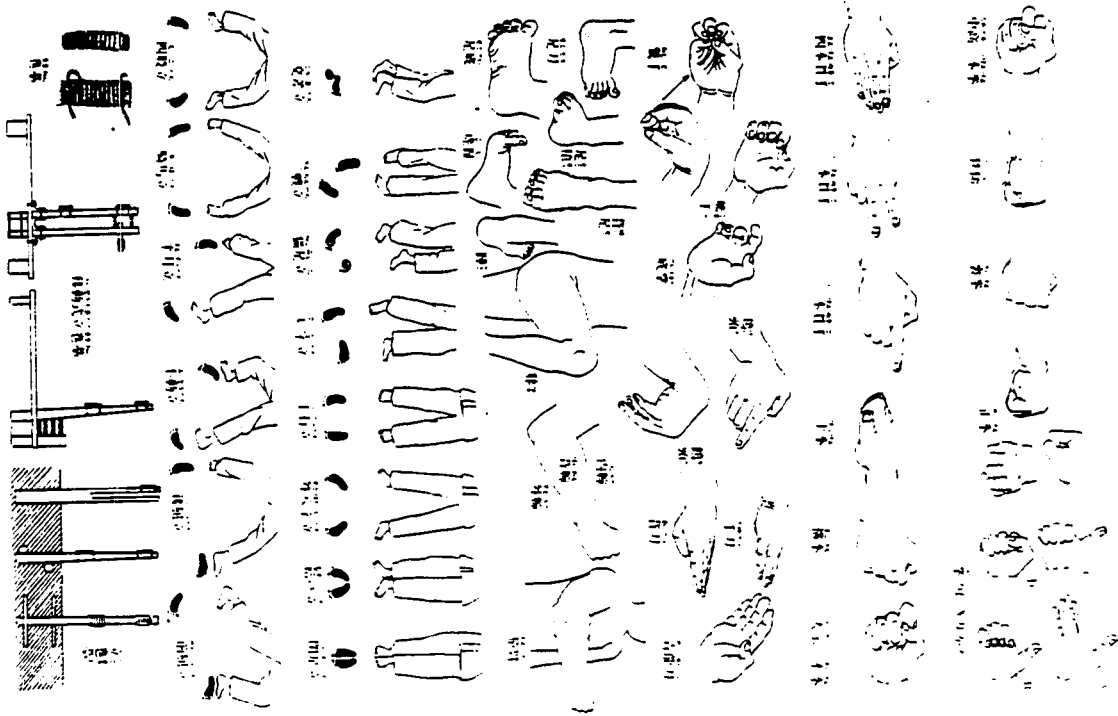
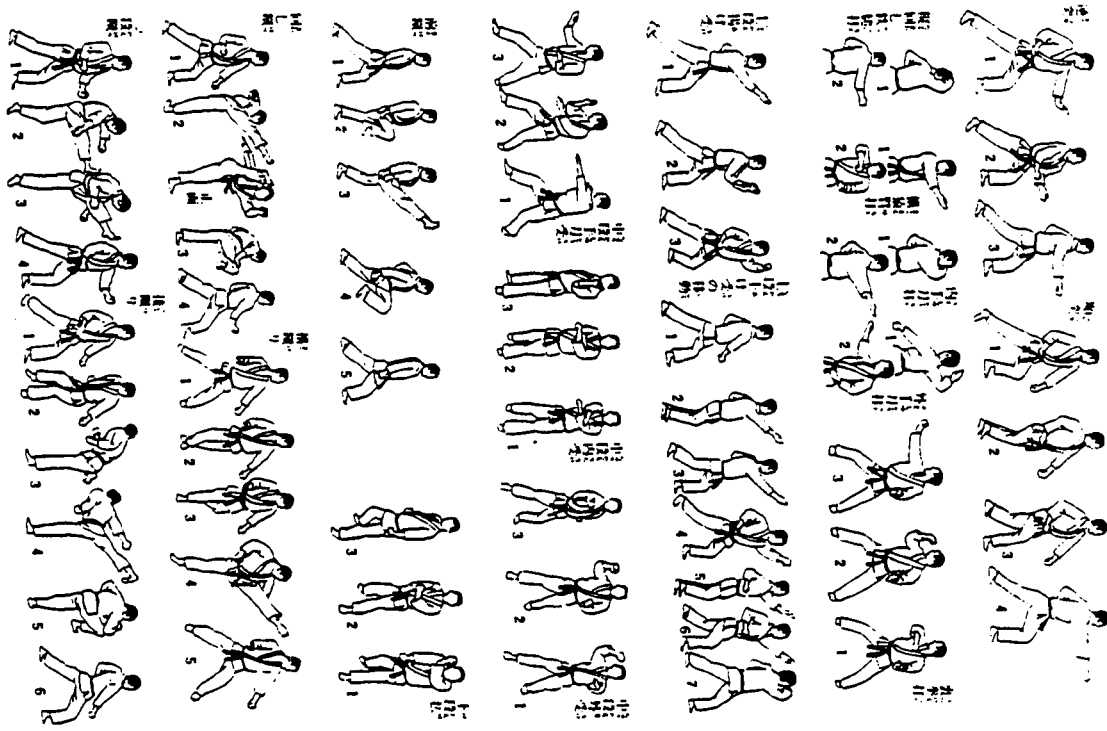
(3)

JUDO

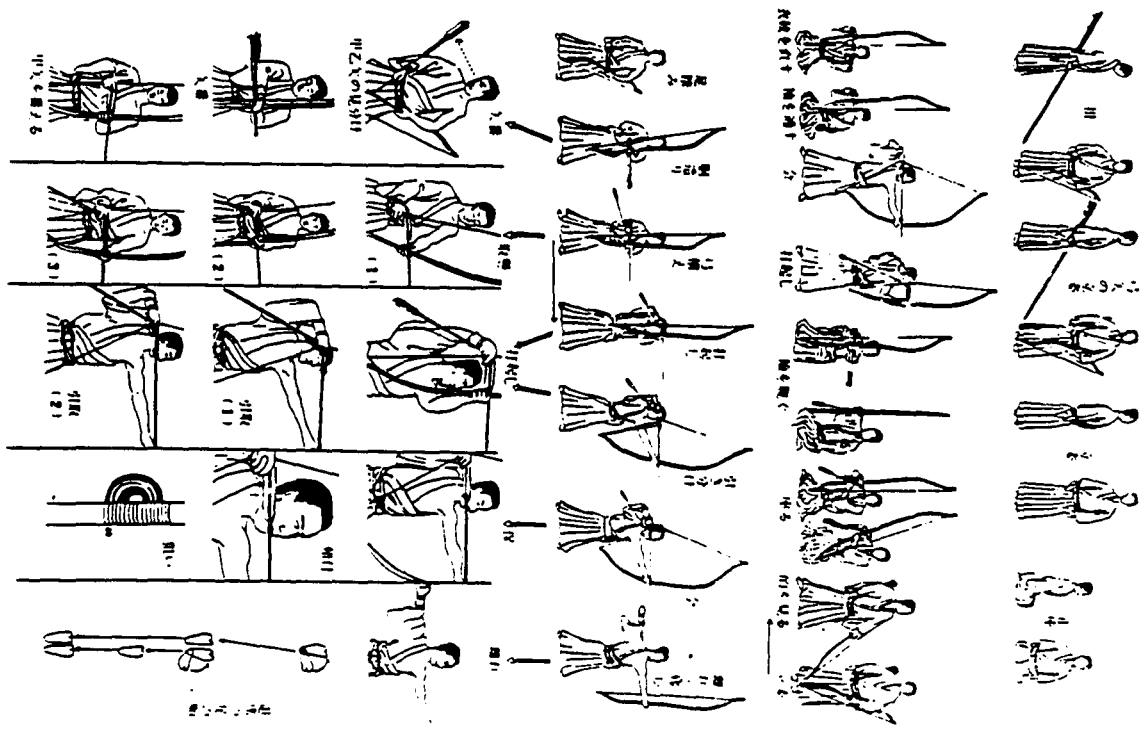
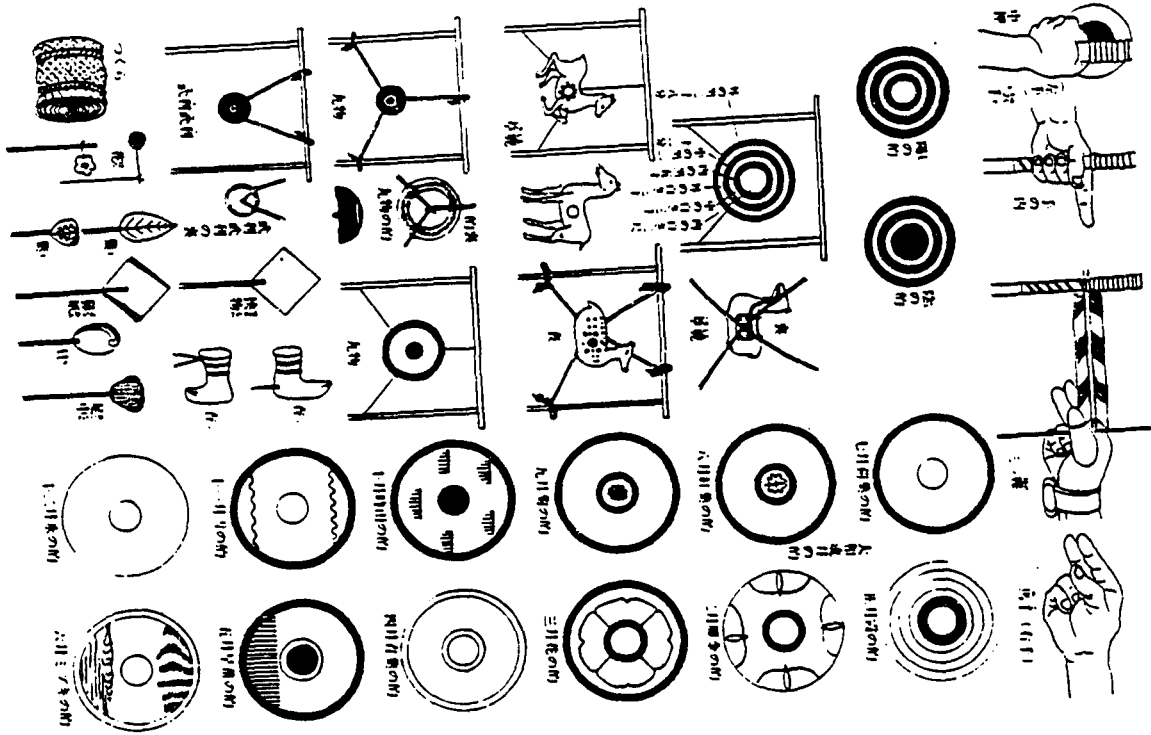


Yoshihiko Sasama. Nihon Budo Jiten. (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) P. 762-763

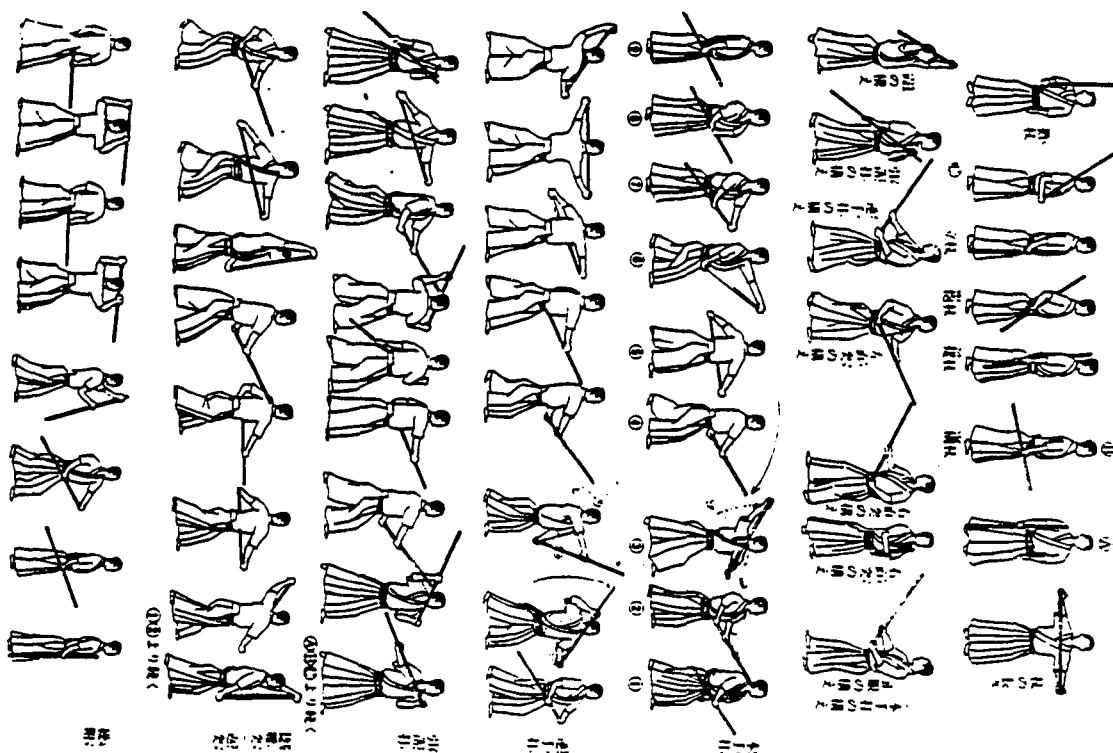
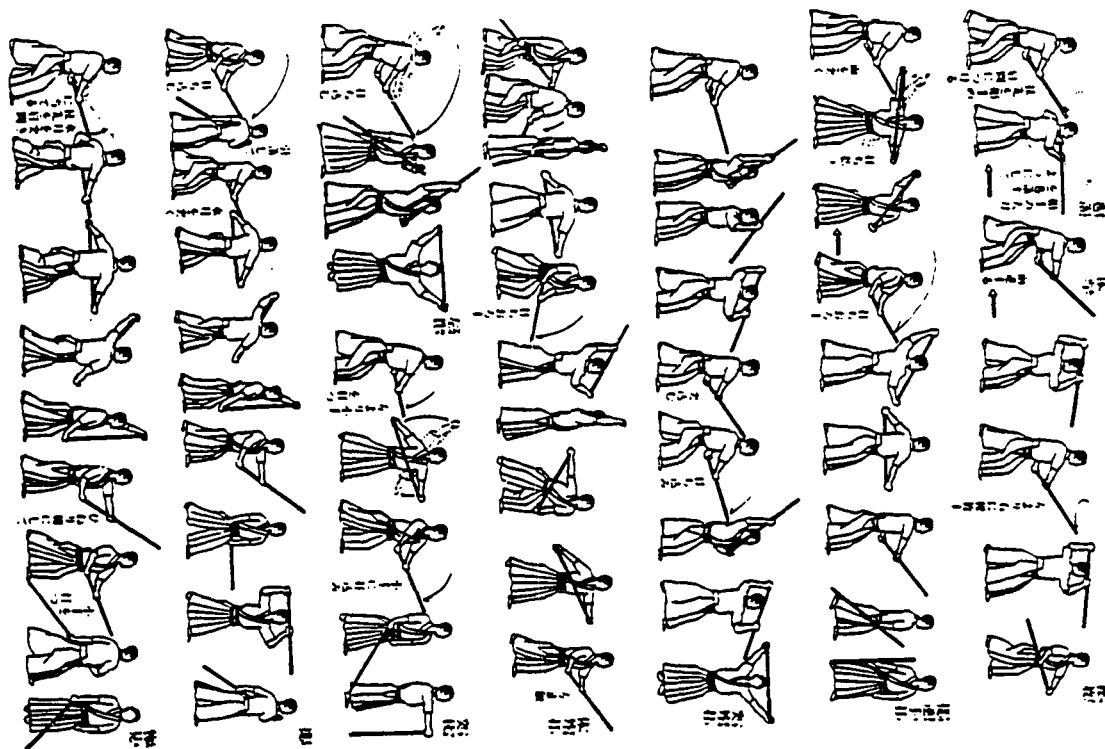
KARATE-DO



Yoshihiko Sasama. Nihon Budo Jiten. (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) P. 764-765



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Yoshihiko Sasama. Nihon Budo Jiten. (Dictionary of Japanese Martial Arts) (Tokyo: Kashiwa Shobo: 1982) P. 768-769



● 刀先は水平より約1センチくらい高めに保ち、注刀を返すのは、八相に揃える意味でなく、上段に振りかぶる動作として行われる。
 ● 8 刀を返し終る瞬間、右膝頭を左足の踵の奥方につけて腰を下す
 ● 右足を左に九〇度まわす
 ● と同時に刀を上段にとる。(118)



● 9 左足を右に九〇度右にまわして、敵の左腕あるいは自分の左腕を踏みつける心持ちで、とくと床を踏みつける
 ● 10 直振りで、鞘刀をしつ
 ● 11 左足を左にまわしながら、右腕に引きつけ、正面に向って動作を終る。

① 派手な位置から動き出す。刀先を下向きにしている。
 また刀は鞘から刀先が下向きのおや喉直になつて、
 右足を右の少し上にになり、刀は右を左向きに
 右足を右の少し上にになり、刀は右を左向きに
 平らに、伸ばした右足なりに、右膝の上に位置す
 ている。
 この時、右腕はややゆるめ、左肘はまっすぐに伸ばし、右腕は右肘の高さと同じくらいに左り、刀は
 右外を向いている。
 注まわし終った時の刀先は、左足を約1センチ、
 して刀を右に交差するようにはまわすことである。
 ② そのとらに保ち、
 ③ ④



● 12 引倒した刀を、同じ道筋を返さず、右から左には
 ねるようには、空前方にまわし、
 ● 13 刀が右斜めに上に来るようには返す。(119)
 注刀の返した時の姿勢、右足を右膝の上に伸ばし、
 右腕は右肘の少し上にになり、刀は右を左向きに
 平らに、伸ばした右足なりに、右膝の上に位置す
 ている。

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肩上げの合気極意

1(2) 合気によって一人のうちに四人をつぶしてしまい、



1(1) 四人の腕に肩上げされた時、



1(3) そのまま合気によって一人も動くことができない。

(注) この合気は、かつて武田勝頼が、徳川三徳園の松を正徳院の松と「置け合気」して見せられた合気の時、置かれた合気の極意である。

大東流合気武術興行公開

(原・竹川寺持宗)

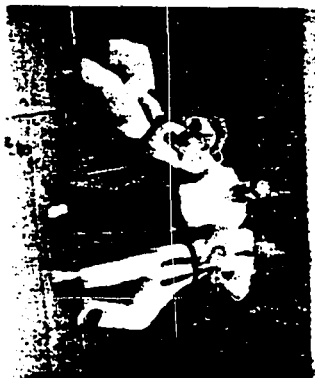
七里引き捕り

合気捕り



1(1) 左右の手を七里引きに握られた時、

1 掛手よりの合気



1(2) 合気によって左右の腕を無力化し、

1 合気よりの極め



1(3) 同時に彼方へ投げ飛ばす。



(4) 手を両手で強に握り、膝の下を肩左足でけって握める。(手并置)これまでが羽手、これより捕縛所に入る。



(5) 馬の刃になって、まず当て身を行ない、つぎに両手を背後にねじり上げておさえ、縄をかける。



(6) 本陣の中の龜甲(別名・一雙)にかけてから活法を行なう。これより進行する。



(1) 正面打を十字に受け、



(2) 右手をつかんで強い受け、



(3) そのまま右手を握り、持ったまま自ら前方に回転して、

「拳法林羽手・紅葉狩り
(打・後野広志、重・時沢龍)」



「拳法十二勢の一・潰衆勢
(取・時沢龍)」



「取法・捕馬の投
(重・竹内久教兼家、打・高橋剛)」



「活法・七丸の活」



「拳法基本・葉巻」



「口羽手・引出」



「腕が両手をとって、突き込んでくるのを右手で受け渡し、すかさず左肘当てを行なう。(これよりさらに受け、固め、握りにうつる)」

「拳法基本・肘当て」

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ABSTRACT

THE POSTWAR MARTIAL ARTS PROGRAM IN JAPANESE HIGHER EDUCATION: CASE STUDY OF NIPPON COLLEGE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION

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The College of William and Mary in Virginia, April 1984

Chairman: Professor John Thelin

The purpose of this study was to examine the following hypothesis: The purpose, content, and method of martial arts training defined by prewar legacies tend to persist within a limited scope and context despite major postwar reforms to the contrary. This study proposed to provide data from Nippon College of Physical Education as the central focus since this institution historically held national distinction in the development of physical education in Japan.

It was indicative from the historical data available that N.C.P.E. had undergone considerable institutional changes since it began in 1891. To clarify the historical evolution and environmental forces, the analytical period was divided into the five major eras: Meiji era (1868-1912), the Taisho era (1912-1926), the Showa era (1926-1945), the postwar occupation era (1945-1951), and the contemporary period (1951-1980s).

In reviewing the evolutionary process of the martial arts curricula at N.C.P.E. from the formulative years to the present, the following points were significant from the data examined in relation to the research hypothesis of this study.

1. During the Meiji era, the institution endorsed the purpose of nation building within the national framework of the Meiji ideology of nationalism and militarism. As a result, the Bushido code of conduct for the medieval military class was incorporated into the institutional mission in order to build a student character designed to fulfill national objectives.

2. During the Taisho era, over seventy percent of the Japanese physical education teachers were graduates of this institution. The martial arts curriculum and related disciplines were expanded and intensified as active duty military officers began to be involved extensively. Despite the influx of Westernized curriculum innovations, the martial arts were hardly influenced. The central ministry continued its greater centralization policy to control liberalism.

3. During the Showa era (1926-1945), the central mission of the college centered on Showa era nationalism and the martial arts program development for the fulfillment of the Kokutai (National Polity). The

content and method incorporated compulsory subjects of Shushin (morals and ethics) designed by the Thought Bureau of the Ministry of Education. A highly authoritarian and vertically oriented social system, Shigoki (physical ordeals) as a method of mental discipline, and tradition and ceremony were emphasized essentially to be in accordance with the institutional mission and fulfillment of the imperial will. The martial arts curriculum and related militaristic disciplines largely reflected the particular socio-political climate of the wartime period which this institution and Japan, as a whole, were facing.

4. During the occupation era, demilitarization, democratization, decentralization and re-orientation of ideology directed by the mandates of postwar policies from the GHQ of SCAP brought on curriculum and socio-political changes in Japanese society.

5. It was indicative from the data that the postwar martial arts curriculum in the physical education program at N.C.P.E. eradicated the prewar legacies of Kokutai, militarism, nationalistic morals, ultra-nationalistic teachings, and even the feudalistic bushido on the surface of explicit documents in terms of purpose, method, and content.

The original hypothesis did not hold its validity entirely according to the data and interpretation of the analysis conducted so far, but it did show limited significance. It was indicative from the data that despite reforms mandated by SCAP, certain continuity in technical components and method of instruction from the prewar era still seemed operative, although the intensity and degree tended to be somewhat less. However, the purpose of training seemed highly diversified among the practitioners as indicated from the data. The value, function, and recognition of this program seemed to show a complex interaction with changing generations and changing environmental forces.