

Development Education in Japan:
A Comparative Analysis of the Contexts for its Emergence, and
Its Introduction into the Japanese School System

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Abstract

This thesis is in two Parts. Part One consists of Chapters One to Four. Chapter One establishes a definition of the term 'Development Education' as it will be used in this thesis. Chapter Two is a comparative analysis of the socio-political contexts within which Development Education is normally created, and introduced into schools. Chapter Three analyzes the social context of Japan and notes the emergence of Development Education in the 1980s. Chapter Four contrasts governmental intervention in the introduction of Development Education in some countries with the absence of such intervention in Japan.

Part Two consists of Chapters Five to Nine. Chapter Five moves the focus to Development Education in the Japanese school system and examines the lack of progress in inserting Development Education into the Japanese national curriculum. Chapter Six contrasts this situation with the example of Life Environment Studies, which were introduced into the postwar Japanese curriculum. In Chapter Seven, the thesis reviews four small scale experiments with Development Education in schools in Japan and Chapter Eight asks why, with the same National Curriculum, Development Education was introduced in these schools and not in others. Finally, Chapter Nine summarizes and concludes the thesis.

Thus within the two Parts of the thesis, there are three main themes. The first theme is a comparative investigation of the socio-economic and political contexts which increase the possibilities for the introduction of Development Education in schools. The comparative investigation includes Japan. The second theme is concerned with the difficulties of changing school curriculum in Japan itself. The third theme is the investigation of the micro-politics at school level which may make possible the introduction of Development Education in Japanese schools.

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Introduction

The main focus of this thesis is the genesis of Development Education and its growth particularly in school education in Japan. There are various interpretations of what Development Education means. Among them, the thesis focuses on the type of education which was generated and introduced into schools in some European countries and Canada in the 1970s as a means of raising the awareness of people in these countries about developing countries and their problems.

This Development Education was introduced in Japan at the end of the 1970s and has been promoted by some NGO workers and educationists since then. However, in contrast to several European and North American countries where Development Education was introduced into school education, the expansion of Development Education in school education in Japan has remained rather modest even in the mid 1990s.

Why Development Education emerged in Japan in the 1980s, ten years after the earliest attempts in other countries, why the early initiatives in Japan did not come to influence the school curriculum widely and why, despite little change in the national curriculum, Development Education was introduced in some schools are the three main themes of the thesis.

In order to investigate the first theme, the thesis develops a tentative working theory of the genesis of Development Education through a comparative analysis of some countries. Countries such as Sweden, the Netherlands, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, the United States and Australia are examined closely, and some other countries are also utilized as examples to test the theory.

The second theme is analyzed at the level of policy making, and ^{the third theme} at the level of classroom teaching. The lack of Development Education in the Japanese national curriculum due to the policy making system is explained theoretically and by counterpoint with one example of slow curriculum change in Japan. For the theoretical explanation, Leonard James Schoppa's work is used.

The analysis of classroom teaching is based on interviews with teachers in Japanese schools where Development Education has been introduced relatively successfully. The thesis tries to understand why, within the same national curriculum system, Development Education was introduced in these schools while in other schools it was not.

The thesis argues first that there are socio-economic and political contexts which increase the possibility of the genesis of Development Education as something to be taught in schools; secondly that Japan came to have these contexts in the 1980s; and finally that governmental intervention for promoting Development Education in schools did not occur in Japan in the 1980s because of the Japanese educational policy making system which blocks or slows down policy changes. The thesis suggests that Development Education in Japan at school and classroom levels is an attempt on the part of teachers to adjust their teaching to changing social contexts given the slow national curriculum change.

The thesis is organized to test these arguments in two parts. The first part focuses on the relationship between societies and Development Education and the second part is the investigation of the relationship between the educational system and Development Education including the Japanese national curriculum and innovations at classroom level. The first part consists of Chapters One to Four and the second part includes Chapters Five to Nine. Chapter Nine is the concluding chapter.

In Chapter One, the thesis clarifies the use of the term Development Education in this thesis and discusses the background for the creation of Development Education. This clarification of the concept of Development Education is necessary for the discussion of contexts in countries where Development Education emerges. These are the themes of the next two chapters.

In Chapter Two, the thesis suggests a tentative working theory for the genesis of Development Education based on the comparative analysis of some selected countries where Development Education has been introduced into schools.

Chapter Three applies this theory to the case of Japan. When and how there arose, in Japan, socio-economic and political contexts which are similar to those in other countries where Development Education was created is discussed.

Chapter Four is a chapter linking the two parts of the thesis. The chapter discusses how governmental intervention introduced Development Education into formal educational systems in some countries and points out the absence of such an intervention in the case of Japan in the 1980s. The chapter ends with a suggestion that the absence of governmental intervention in Japan is due to its educational policy making system which makes policy change difficult.

Chapters Five and Six analyse the difficulty of curriculum change in the Japanese educational system.

In Chapter Five, the difficulty of introducing Development Education into the national curriculum is discussed theoretically in terms of the structural problem of the policy making system which tends to delay or block policy changes. Leonard James Schoppa's work provides a theoretical explanation of how Japan's slow educational policy change is adopted.

Chapter Six focuses on the field of curriculum in particular. The difficulty of a major curriculum change is discussed in the case study of Life Environment Studies which was introduced as a new subject in 1992.

Chapters Seven and Eight are about Development Education at school and classroom levels. Despite the absence of Development Education in the national curriculum, there are some schools where Development Education has been introduced by teachers. These chapters aim at clarifying the reasons for the success of these schools in their attempts at such introduction.

Chapter Seven describes how teachers who introduced Development Education in schools were selected and interviewed and introduces the four cases where Development Education was expanded relatively successfully at school level.

Chapter Eight analyzes these cases. The theme pursued is the roles of individual teachers and relationships among teachers which created a school

climate suitable for the introduction of Development Education.

Chapter Nine summarizes and concludes the thesis. Mutual influences among the external and internal contexts of the educational system and individuals concerning Development Education are reviewed based on the discussions in the previous chapters. Areas for subsequent research about Development Education are also suggested.

Part One

Chapter One: Development Education: The Term and the Concept

1. Introduction

The focus of this thesis is the introduction of Development Education in Japanese schools. Before discussing this main theme however the key term of this thesis, 'Development Education' needs some explanation and clarification. For this purpose, this chapter explores the range of meanings attached to the concept of Development Education and arrives at a definition of Development Education which is operationally useful for this thesis.

The argument is that meanings of Development Education have been constructed over time, by a variety of agencies and actors, and their meanings have also varied from one place to another. In particular, in this chapter a clear distinction is made between Development Education as a general concept and the activity of teaching Development Education in schools. An attempt will be made to show the complexity of the genesis of Development Education and its controversial nature.

The thesis discusses the historical background of Development Education first and goes on to investigate definitions. In the final section, the thesis creates its own definition for the term "Development Education" as used in this thesis.

2. An Overview of the History of Development Education

The term 'Development Education' appeared around the mid 1960s. Although that is now about thirty years ago, there is still confusion about what 'Development Education' is. A number of people have attempted to clarify the meaning of 'Development Education' and reached a conclusion that there is no one established definition.¹ According to an Australian scholar, Robin Burns, the variety of definitions is generated because of different interpretations of the two words, 'development' and 'education'.² Indeed,

neither of them has an established, universal and stable definition and discussions about their meanings are still going on as evidenced by the evolution of development theories and disputes over educational policies which occur everywhere in the world.

Despite this confusion, 'Development Education' still exists as a type of education. As a step towards the clarification of 'Development Education' which this thesis is about, this section investigates why and what kind of different interpretations of 'Development Education' arose by exploring its historical background.

1) The 1960s: Eve of the genesis of Development Education

According to the analyses by some European NGOs, the creation of Development Education by NGOs can be divided into three phases depending on the concept promoted by activities and the form of the activities at that time.³ The phases are up to the end of the 1960s, the 1970s and the 1980s onwards.⁴ Since another agency which contributed to the creation of Development Education, namely the United Nations, also divides its campaign for development by these decades, the thesis follows these divisions for the analysis of the genesis of Development Education.

Non-governmental organizations including church related organizations in some western countries such as the Netherlands, Canada, the United Kingdom, France and Sweden actively started overseas aid to developing countries most of which were newly independent countries, around 1960.⁵ In the late 1950s and the 1960s, these organizations started public information activities to let people in their own countries know about developing countries.⁶ This is the period which these NGOs later in the 1990s were to call the first phase of the genesis of Development Education.

During this period, the primary task of the NGOs was overseas aid which was considered as charity rather than cooperation between partners. The purpose of the information activities was fund-raising rather than raising awareness of their own people about developing countries.⁷ Hence, the

content of information given by the NGOs was what was effective to move people to donate money for the activities of the organizations. Problems such as poverty and hunger in the lives of people in developing countries, and how the organizations were fighting against the problems, were emphasized.⁸ Thus, the recipients of the information were considered mainly as a source of funding and remained uninvolved with the problems.

The issue of developing countries also emerged as an important political theme in the arena of the United Nations in the 1960s because of the increasing number of developing countries who were UN members.⁹ The United Nations launched the First Development Decade in order to respond to the needs of developing countries.¹⁰ During that period, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) promoted the Freedom From Hunger Campaign which, like information activities by NGOs, aimed at raising the awareness of people in member countries about hunger and poverty in developing countries.¹¹ Thus, both NGOs and the United Nations recognized that problems in developing countries should be known to people in other countries; but public information activities of NGOs and UN agencies had not yet developed into a definition of something to be taught in schools.

Behind this was a limitation of understanding about problems in developing countries in the 1960s. Since modernization theory was influential, the economics of developing countries were theoretically expected to follow the examples of economic growth in the western industrialized countries once advanced technology and skills were transplanted from these countries.¹² Problems in developing countries were understood as being just a matter of time. The link between the problems and the world economic system had not yet been noticed. As a consequence, the problems were considered largely irrelevant to the lives of people in industrialized countries and did not yet constitute part of school education for people in industrialized countries.

2) After the 1970s: The legitimation and diversification of Development Education

NGOs and UN agencies, whose aid activities were based on modernization theories, faced by the end of the 1960s the reality that the trickle down of wealth from the rich to the rest of society in developing countries did not occur.¹³ Dependency theories which asserted that the cause of the inability of developing countries to catch up with industrialized countries existed in the structure of the world economic system became popular.¹⁴ The linearity of economic development which was the basis of modernization theory was doubted and the involvement of industrialized countries in the structure which was generating problems for developing countries was pointed out. Thus, the problems started to be understood as a product of the world economic system which was generating economic disparity rather than as something relevant solely to developing countries. To solve these problems, the whole world, had to be involved. In 1970, the United Nations adopted the Second Development Decade and in its strategy the suggestion that governments of industrialized countries as well as developing countries should make efforts to inform people in their respective countries of problems in developing countries was inserted.¹⁵

Around this time, NGOs recognized the importance of getting to know more about the local contexts of countries so as to make their activities more effective.¹⁶ At the same time, the problems of developing countries were re-interpreted as a problem of economic disparity between industrialized countries and developing countries.¹⁷ The necessity of teaching about problems in developing countries and the link between them and the lives of people in industrialized countries in formal education was recognized by NGOs and governments in some industrialized countries.

Sweden is a country where the government itself took the lead in the promotion of understanding in the formal educational system about developing countries, and the link between them and Sweden. In the educational reform of 1969 which emphasized internationalization, this policy

was introduced.¹⁸ Furthermore, in 1970, the Swedish International Development Authority (SIDA) and the National Board of Education held a European Development Education Workshop with FAO and UNESCO. The report Development Education: The schools open to the Third World was published after the workshop.¹⁹ Thus, in this workshop, not only the term 'Development Education' appeared in an official document but also 'Development Education' was used to mean a form of education in schools.

Another example is Canada. In Canada as well, the term 'Development Education' was used for teaching about developing countries and their problems in schools. Several NGOs started focusing on school education as a means of promoting people's understanding about developing countries. For example, in 1968, the London Cross Cultural Learner Centre was established and in 1970, the Development Education Centre was started by OXFAM-Canada.²⁰ In 1969, CUSO (Canadian University Service Overseas) adopted as its policy, the promotion of the Canadian people's understanding about developing countries and started a mobile education centre and school education programme in 1972.²¹

In other countries as well, public information activities for fund-raising by NGOs changed their nature towards a more scientific form of information so that it could be introduced to schools as content which young people in industrialized countries should learn. For example, in Belgium, there was a shift from fund-raising activities for charity to "effective Development Education programmes aimed at promoting awareness raising activities"²². In France, "help to developing countries accompanied by a better knowledge of the causes and mechanisms of this under-development" was suggested.²³ Thus, the 1970s started with the movement towards the creation of Development Education as something to be taught in schools as well as social education. Attempts to give a definition and a name to this new form of education accompanied the movement.

Thus the term 'Development Education' was used in a number of countries and some UN agencies. As Burns suggested, definitions given by them were diverse. This diversity is linked with the expansion of Development

Education. Tim Brodhead who worked for a Canadian NGO suggests that there was progress on at least five points during the 1970s. The five points are summarized as:

1. The need to inform people about development issues was recognized and the expansion to organized education through, for example, labour unions, mass media, school systems and other social systems occurred.
2. The recognition of the interdependence between industrialized countries and developing countries changed the charity mentality to an understanding of the need for equal distribution of global resources.
3. The need for solidarity between oppressed people in industrialized countries and developing countries was recognized.
4. The start of international networking of the NGOs was a common theme.
5. The emergence of an understanding of Development Education as a strategy for collective survival and for changing the life styles in industrialized countries.²⁴

Brodhead also points out that this expansion and diversification of actors in Development Education generated conflicts among them.²⁵ For example, there were Development Education as part of school education, Development Education as advocacy by NGOs, and also Development Education as propaganda for promoting people's support of the UN or governmental aid policy. Development Education in schools has an emphasis on educating pupils to develop a critical way of thinking, while Development Education as NGOs advocacy tends to be oriented to action for social change.²⁶ In the case of UN agencies, in order to remain neutral, they tend to include the interpretation that Development Education is also used for education in developing countries.

This diversification which occurred in the 1970s basically remained until the 1990s. Or rather, diversification has become more complicated as a result of some more recent interpretations.²⁷ On the one hand, the interpretation of

development changed in the 1980s towards placing more emphasis on the balance between economic development and the eco-system because of "the disenchantment with material growth" and increasing ecological crisis.²⁸ Subsequently, a new variation was added to Development Education. On the other hand, Development Education expanded, in Pradervand's words, to "the extent one might describe it...[as]... 'Nothing pertaining to the human condition is alien to me,'" and among NGOs, "some groups originally concerned solely with the Third World, now devote themselves entirely to national issues".²⁹ With these new topics, borders between Development Education and other types of education such as Environmental Education and Human Rights Education became blurred.

Thus, in historical terms, definitions of Development Education have become more diverse since the term was created because of more actors being involved, the evolution of the concept of development, and attempts to expand the topics which Development Education deals with. In the following section, the thesis investigates some examples of diverse definitions which were created by different actors for different purposes during this history of Development Education.

3. Definitions of Development Education

The history of the creation of Development Education provides an explanation to the diversity of meanings attached to the term. In this section, the thesis turns its focus onto some definitions of Development Education which are the product of this history. The thesis argues that there are three major trends of definitions based on the difference in their emphasis, and also that sub-divisions were created because of the time element.

1) Diversity caused by different emphases

The thesis already mentioned Burns' suggestion that the diversity of definitions is caused by interpretations of 'education' and 'development'.

There are some other scholars who also noticed the gap between these two elements of Development Education. For example, Robin Richardson argues that there is a conflict between the 'education plane' and the 'development plane'³⁰ and Brodhead points out that Development Education in schools emphasizes personal change while Development Education in the non-formal sector by NGOs seeks action for social change.³¹ A similar suggestion was made by Sarah Dudley. After her analysis of selected definitions based on ideological difference, she concluded that the definitions which tended to be more "conservative", stressed the level of personal change, through formal education, while definitions by UNICEF in 1976 and some NGOs radically sought social and structural changes.

Based on suggestions by these predecessors, the thesis investigates the contrast between definitions made by aid agencies, NGOs, educationists for the formal education sector and for non-formal education. First, the thesis discusses some definitions which are mainly targeted for use in the formal education sector. The following definition of Development Education in schools emerged at a rather early stage of the history of Development Education:

The fundamental task involved in development education is the urgent need to enable people to acquire an open mind to the problems of their age...it depends on making information available, encouraging people to form critical and moral judgements and enabling them to participate in such changes as they believe appropriate to their own skills and interests. It involves their own development as individuals as well as that of society as a whole.³²

This definition by UN agencies was made in The Report on a European Development Education Workshop at Bergendal, Sweden. The emphasis is on personal change rather than social change.

Two years later, more systematic research to define Development Education was attempted. In 1972, Ruth Padrum researched for UNESCO how Development Education was understood in school education in six

industrialized countries.³³ After pointing out the fluidity of the definitions of Development Education, Padrum created her own definition out of her comparative study:

Development Education requires a close connection between the acquisition of knowledge (content) and new political and social awareness leading to concrete action and commitment. In other words, it brings together cognitive, emotional and experiential elements. In addition, the national studies all agree that it should sensitize children to problems which relate directly to them and concern their immediate environment in order for them to expand this sensitivity and this awareness to more far-reaching problems. Thus the link between problems of developing countries and those concerning the child in his own society can be made, a link essential both pedagogically and politically.

Development education so defined should be at the very root of the school and should be present throughout the entire educational process. It presupposes a school open to life and to problems of the contemporary world, centred on the child's development, whatever his social or cultural background, and taking into account the characteristics and aspirations of each individual.³⁴

This definition by Padrum confirms Brodhead's suggestion that the emphasis is on personal development in school-based Development Education.

The same characteristics can be found in other definitions by educationists. One example of those which belong to the 'education plane' is by a British educationist, Og Thomas, in 1976:

It is a process which makes people aware of changes and helps them to understand them; it enables people to decide which changes are for the better, which of these changes they can help to direct and control, and how they can do so.³⁵

The similarity between this definition and the 1970 FAO-UNESCO definition is that neither of them stress problems in developing countries and the necessity of their solution as the ultimate goal of Development Education but focus on learners' personal development to be able to cope with changes in the

world. The same point is pursued by Anthony Hopkin who distinguished a definition of Development Education for formal education from definitions for non-formal sector. He argues:

this writer does not see that
 ...the aim of D.E. in schools is to directly encourage action on the part of pupils, as the onus for this has to be left to the individual: it is the responsibility of the teacher to heighten awareness....D.E. is taken to be teaching and learning which is aimed at helping the individual to become more aware of the nature of his or her society and of others, at the national and international level, how they change and are changing, and to come to terms with that change. Whilst no particular emphasis is given to the developing or third world, attention is given to the interdependence of the world and the links between the developed and developing world.³⁶

The focus in this definition is also on the individual development of learners which makes them able to cope with a changing world. Besides this common feature of definitions on the 'education plane', Hopkin also suggests that attention is given to the interdependence of the world rather than developing countries. This view is shared by Padrum who also emphasized a link between problems in developing countries and learners rather than the problems themselves.

The last example of definitions on the 'education plane' which was a product of the actual process of curriculum development in France also has a modest emphasis on the problems themselves. According to an officer of the Ministry of National Education, the members of the discussion agreed that Development Education should be for:

- 1) the improvement of intellectual ability
- 2) promoting knowledge and understanding about international environment, especially the role and problems of developing countries
- 3) fostering attitudes to respect the diversity and value of individuals and promoting cooperation and unity³⁷

The explanation also mentions that Development Education in the curriculum should avoid becoming political, avoid a stress on altruism, and avoid remaining at the level of theory; but it should maintain political neutrality and enable students to link what they learn with their lives.³⁸ Thus, in the understanding of French curriculum researchers, Development Education in the school curriculum is primarily for students' intellectual and affective development and that should be linked with their actual lives. This interpretation is similar to that of Padrum despite there being twenty years' time lag between them. This supports Dudley's argument that differences in definitions are less influenced by the time factor and more by the ideological stance of the person who does the defining.³⁹

At this point, the thesis turns its focus to definitions which emphasize another side of Development Education, namely the 'development plane'. A definition made by FAO and JUNIC in 1975 makes a clear contrast with those on the 'education plane':

The objective of development education is to enable people to participate in the development of their community, their nation and the world as a whole. Such participation implies a critical awareness of local, national and international situations based on an understanding of the social, economic and political processes.

Development education is concerned with issues of human rights, dignity, self-reliance and social justice in both developed and developing countries. It is concerned with the causes of underdevelopment and the promotion of an understanding of what is involved in development, of how different countries go about undertaking development, and of the reasons for and ways of achieving a new international, economic and social order. The objectives of development education can be achieved through formal and non-formal education but, in the formal context in particular, they inevitably imply fundamental educational reforms.⁴⁰

Here, the emphasis is on the content of Development Education and its ultimate goal, 'achieving a new international economic and social order'. The personal change of individual learners is not the focus.

The following two examples by UNICEF lie somewhere between this definition and those for the formal education sector. They stress a combination of social change and personal change. These definitions were not made for the specific area of education but for educational policy in general in Member States. One of them is UNESCO's Recommendation Concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms in 1974. UNESCO did not use the term 'Development Education' for this new type of education, but UNICEF adopted it as a definition for UNICEF's Development Education in its Development Education Paper in 1976.⁴¹ The following is an excerpt from UNICEF's interpretation:

1. Definition

In November 1974 the UNESCO General Conference adopted the following description of Development Education:

"Education for international understanding, cooperation and peace, and education relating to human rights and fundamental freedoms".

It then went on to recommend that Member States should take legislative and other required steps to ensure that the following objectives should be regarded as major guiding principles of educational policy:

- (a) an international dimension and a global perspective in education at all levels and in all its forms;
- (b) understanding and respect for all peoples, their cultures, civilisations, values and ways of life, including domestic ethnic cultures and cultures of other nations;
- (c) awareness of the increasing global interdependence between peoples and nations;
- (d) abilities to communicate with others;
- (e) awareness not only of the rights but also the duties incumbent upon individuals, social groups and nations towards each other;
- (f) understanding of the necessity for international solidarity and

co-operation;

(g) readiness on the part of the individual to participate in solving the problems of his community, his country and the world at large.⁴²

UNICEF announced its definition of Development Education again in 1980. This definition has much similarity with the 1976 definition, but more emphasis on the relevance of Development Education to UNICEF's work was added:

Development Education is a core educational process which concerns the child and his relationships to the environment in which he lives, both locally and globally. It aims at developing an understanding of the realities of a changing and increasingly interdependent world, and encourages a sense of solidarity, sharing and participation in efforts to improve the quality of life for all of mankind. The fundamental objectives are seen to be:

(a) to stimulate a critical discussion about what development is and should be, and the fact that it is of concern to every country and to every individual;

(b) to arouse children's awareness of, and curiosity about children of other lands, their ability to analyze global problems and relate them to their own society and everyday concerns;

(c) to enable children to recognize, understand and respect differences between peoples and to stimulate them to learn from other cultures through exchange of experience;

(d) to explain the causes and consequences of poverty, and the need to fight against social and economic injustice and intolerance;

(e) to stimulate and sustain the child's interest in the processes of exchange - economic, social and environmental;

(f) to strengthen co-operation and solidarity between peoples and respect for human rights;

(g) to encourage children to participate in the development of their immediate community and to become active and responsible members of local, national and global society.⁴³

Although children are targeted as learners in the 1980 definition, both of these two definitions see Development Education as a means for social change. The expected effect of Development Education does not remain at the level of personal change in learners. This can be explained by the fact that these two definitions were addressed to all member states as a strategy of the UN Second Development Decade. The primary purpose is social change, and not learners' personal development.

In another example of a definition by UNICEF in which it is suggested that the term be changed to Education for Development, the words which are used to explain social problems are more abstract than in the previous two definitions; but the goal of Development Education is clearly stated as "to participate more effectively in promoting these values," and to proceed from "knowledge to action". The following is an excerpt from the rather long document which explains what Development Education (Education for Development) is:

Education for development promotes the development in young people of values of global solidarity, peace, tolerance, social justice and environmental awareness and equips them with the knowledge and skills that empower them to participate more effectively in promoting these values. It does so by providing a framework of global concepts applicable to a wide variety of themes and topics, and a learning process that proceeds from knowledge to action.⁴⁴

Thus, these definitions are different from the 1970 definition by UNESCO-FAO which was targeted at the formal education sector in industrialized countries. The crucial point is, as Dudley pointed out, whether the aim goes beyond personal change or not. These definitions by UN agencies also clearly identify the problems which Development Education aims to solve. Other definitions on the 'development plane' do not necessarily clearly categorize problems which Development Education should tackle. On the other hand, they tend to emphasize that a social change can occur only when individuals change. For example, OXFAM gave a definition in 1974:

The objective of Oxfam's educational work is to deepen people's understanding of their commitment and active response to development...we believe that our work of changing attitudes and encouraging involvement should reflect Oxfam's experience that true development only takes place when people decide, for themselves, to help themselves and improve their own conditions...We are committed to help people in this country to change their attitudes to people overseas and to understand the basis and type of development with which Oxfam is associated.⁴⁵

There are other similar approaches to defining Development Education. According to a Report on an international workshop held at Frascati in 1972, titled Funding Agencies and Development Education:

The objective of development education is to enable people to comprehend and participate in their own, their community's, their nation's and their world's development. It is an educational process in which the process is the content. It is a process in which a comprehension of reality and the confidence in one's own ability to change is a primary objective. This means that any process of Development Education must create a critical awareness to local, national and international situations starting from the perceived reality and perspective of the individual. Equally it must be a process which must create the will to change, and an awareness of the role to be played in changing the status quo. Hence it must stimulate creativity.⁴⁶

While the power of individuals to create a social change is stressed, the problem areas are simply summarized as the 'local, national and international situation'. In terms of emphasis on process and the individual's role in social change, Pierre Pradervand has similar views to those in the previous definition:

...development is a process which, through active participation in all decisions influencing their lives, enables individuals and groups to attain greater, more meaningful autonomy and solidarity. Development education, therefore, very naturally becomes the consciousness-raising process through which people become involved in the creation of that type of society which fosters autonomy, solidarity and popular participation in

change.⁴⁷

Thus, among definitions on the 'development plane', there is a difference between definitions which emphasize problems or problem areas themselves and definitions which emphasize the role of individuals in social change. In other words, although both of these groups aim at social change for the solution of problems in developing countries, there is a difference as to how social change should be accomplished. While the role of learners in problem-oriented Development Education may remain that of supporters of governmental aid policy, in Development Education for which the individuals' role in change is important, learners need to be the main actors in the process of change.

So far, definitions of Development Education which belong relatively clearly to one of two planes have been discussed. Between these two poles, there are other definitions. The following example is a definition by an NGO which is working not for aid but for the promotion of Development Education in both the formal and non-formal sectors. The NGO is not directly involved in aid activities, and non-formal education is separated from fund-raising activities. Unlike some definitions on the 'educational plane', the area of problems is addressed and personal change is also emphasized:

Oxfam's objectives...include:

"to educate the public concerning the nature, causes and effects of poverty, distress and suffering...to conduct and procure research concerning these and to publish or otherwise make the results of these available to the public."...

Development Education within Oxfam...

is first and foremost about people, power structures and the causes of inequality;

is about common issues which connect our own localities with other localities;

is about examining and encouraging a critical awareness of the

influences on people's values and attitudes. It challenges stereotypes of race, gender, class and place.⁴⁸

After this, detailed objectives about what learners are supposed to get from the education are outlined. Among the objectives, one balances the earlier ideas: "to enable individuals to recognise the extent and limitations of their own power and their ability to effect change in their role as world citizens".⁴⁹ This part emphasizes the link between personal change and social change which is the main content of some other definitions on the 'development plane'. Thus, in this definition, no one theme, such as personal change, a study of problem areas or social change, has particular emphasis but they are all combined.

From this analysis of some examples of definitions, the thesis suggests that there are three main aspects in definitions of Development Education: 1) personal development, 2) problems to be solved, 3) social change as a result of personal change. Part of the variation in definitions depends on the aspect emphasized by that particular advocate or organization.

2) Diversity created by chronological evolution

So far, the time element has been excluded from causes of variation. Although Dudley argued in 1979 that the evolution of thought is not a crucial matter in the variation, there is still some influence. For example, as Pradervand writes, development has come to be thought of as being within the eco-system in the 1980s because of increasing environmental destruction and new findings about the influence of development on the whole eco-system.⁵⁰ Consequently, the problems of developing countries have become problems for and of the industrialized countries. This change appears in the 1980 and 1992 definitions by UNICEF which included environmental awareness as one of the values which should be developed in young people. A definition by the National Association of Development Education Centres (NADEC) includes an environmental aspect as well.⁵¹

Development Education is a process which aims to:

enable people to understand the links between their own lives and those of people throughout the world,

increase understanding of the economic, social, political and environmental forces which shape all of our lives,

develop the skills, attitudes and values which enable people to work together to bring about change and take control of their own lives,

achieve a more just world in which power and resources are equally shared by all.⁵²

This definition of NADEC also reflects another feature of diversification of Development Education which was pointed out by Pradervand. This feature is the expansion of topics covered by Development Education. Consequently, the above is very general and covers a variety of types of Development Education. Thus, although not as crucial as diversity following from ideological stances, the time element and changes in thinking over time also has some influence on the definitions of Development Education.

4. Conclusion and a Definition for This Thesis

Diverse definitions having been explored, it has become clear that definitions of Development Education have been created by people in ways which fit their purposes. However, while making their own definitions, Development Educators do not deny other people's definitions as something unsuitable for Development Education. Even the gap between the "education plane" and the "development plane" is not so critical as to split Development Education into two. Rather, it is more appropriate to understand the variations as reflecting changes in perceptions of Development Education because directions of social change (actual and preferred) and world trends were and are perceived and understood in different ways. Hence, currently different definitions have different emphasis but co-exist.

Thus, the thesis needs to clarify which aspect of Development Education is to be emphasized in subsequent discussion.

The main focus of the thesis is Development Education in schools and this already suggests the aspect which should be emphasized. According to the analysis so far, definitions in the formal education sector tend to have as their common feature the emphasis on personal change in learners. The target of Development Education in schools is children who have little direct influence on the solution of problems in developing countries. Therefore, the primary objective of Development Education in schools cannot be the practical and immediate solution of the problems at the level of change in political and social policy of government.

The contribution of school education to the solution of the problems is indirect. It is the production of people who can participate in efforts to create solutions when they have grown up. Development Education tries to enable children to be aware of issues and to be ready as citizens to participate later in social change. Because of this potential of school education, it is meaningful to introduce Development Education in schools although children themselves do not have much power yet. It is however accepted that the concept of Development Education will continue to change and new themes such as the destruction of the eco-system, population explosion and domestic racial discrimination are being included in Development Education, especially during the 1980s.

Taking all of these issues into consideration, Development Education is interpreted in this thesis as: Education in school systems in industrialized countries which aims at promoting the awareness of learners about socio-economic and political problems in developing countries and the link between these problems and the learners' lives, especially in the context of a world economic system characterized by economic inequality and inequality in life changes. This educational activity takes its full meaning against assumptions about linking individuals and international society, and the vision of a 'just' international society.

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4. Pradervand, op. cit. p. 449.
5. Toshio Kanaya, "Kaihatsu kyoiku no seiritsu to tenkai"[The establishment and development of Development Education], in Kaihatsu Kyoiku Kyogikai (ed.), Kaihatsu Kyoiku Handobukku: 21 seiki no kyoiku ni do torikumuka[Development Education Handbook: How to tackle education for the 21st century], (Tokyo: Kaihatsu Kyoiku Kyogikai, 1990), p. 3; NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA (eds.), op. cit.
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16. Derick W. Brinkerhoff, Improving Development Program Performance: Guidelines for managers, (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1991), p. 7.
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18. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], (A Report by Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, March, 1985), p. 3; p. 5.
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20. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], *op. cit.*, p. 52.
21. *ibid.*, p. 64.
22. NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 9.
23. *ibid.*, p. 32.
24. Brodhead, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-110, translation by the author of this thesis.
25. *ibid.*, p. 110.
26. *ibid.*, pp. 112-113.
27. Pradervand, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

28. *ibid.*, p. 451.
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Chapter Two: Socio-economic and Political Contexts for the Emergence of Development Education

1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed various meanings attached to the term "Development Education" and defined what the term is to be taken to mean in this thesis. In this chapter, the thesis explores comparatively the idea that there are some common contexts in the countries where the genesis of that particular kind of Development Education occurred.

The chapter argues that the following socio-economic and political contexts make the genesis of Development Education more probable: 1) a country is industrialized and would be conventionally classified as a 'high income' country, 2) there is a governmental policy to obtain a politically important position in the international arena not by military power but by the country's contribution to the maintenance of world order through international organizations, 3) the government of a country attaches importance to social welfare, equality in the distribution of national wealth and human rights in its domestic policy, 4) a country has a close relationship with developing countries whether historical, political or economic, 5) a country has a population including racial minorities from developing countries whose existence places new demands upon institutions such as schools, the welfare system and industry.

These contexts are interrelated and a shift in economic context alone is not sufficient to create Development Education. However when economic power indirectly improves a country's perceived position in international politics, is seen as increasing the country's responsibility to the international community, enables a country to improve its welfare system, and begins to attract immigrants from other countries, the complex contexts for Development Education emerge. For this reason, the chapter starts discussion with the economic context.

2. Economic Context

In this section, the thesis focuses on economic context as a background for the genesis of Development Education. The section tests the argument that a country's industrialized and high income economy is part of those contexts which tend to encourage the genesis of Development Education. Since the earliest form of Development Education emerged towards the end of the 1960s,¹ the analysis starts from the world economic background of the 1960s.

The 1960s, when the earliest form of Development Education was generated, was the period when a number of newly independent countries were established and when most of the West European countries were enjoying the economic expansion which started at the end of the 1940s.²

After World War Two, the whole of Europe was suffering from the damage done by the war.³ For full recovery, the West European countries had to wait for the support of the Marshall Plan by the United States which was implemented in 1948.⁴ The United States helped industrial development in Western Europe partly because it needed a strong Western Europe in order to counter the Soviet threat and partly because American industries needed trading partners and investment opportunities.⁵ The West European economies recovered and an economic boom followed with the reconstruction movement and the Korean War in 1950.⁶ Industrial output was back to prewar levels by the early 1950s.⁷ The economic expansion continued until the end of the 1960s,⁸ by which time - and illustrated by the invention of new technology and improvement in transportation and communication media - European standards of living had become much higher than in the prewar period.⁹ According to Aldcroft, "Europeans might be forgiven if they felt in the later 1960s or even in the early 1970s...that they had entered an era of perpetual prosperity."¹⁰

The situation started to change in the 1970s.¹¹ This was the decade when most of the European countries suffered from inflation.¹² Among the causes of inflation, one significant factor was the enormous outpouring of American dollars.¹³ This US policy led to the collapse of the Bretton Woods system in

1971 as a result of the suspension of the exchange between American dollars and gold. The US dollar was devalued, and western countries recognized that they could not count on the United States for ever in order to keep the world economy stable.

This change in the world economic order was then followed by the first oil crisis and the declaration of the New International Economic Order by the developing countries.¹⁴ The oil crisis in particular influenced greatly the economic performance of a number of industrialized countries.¹⁵ The economic expansion of the whole industrialized world slowed down.¹⁶ Thus, the 1960s was the decade when West European countries in general reached a peak in the rate of growth of their economies and, at the same time, could still count on their stability.

In this economic boom, Development Education emerged in some European countries. However, although there was a boom in Europe as a whole, the impact of the boom on national economies varied in individual countries.

Sweden was one of the countries which benefited particularly from economic growth after World War II.¹⁷ Because of its neutralist foreign policy, it did not take part in either of the two world wars.¹⁸ Furthermore, it managed to avoid being occupied by either side. As a consequence, when World War II was over, it could take advantage of its unimpaired industrial facilities to satisfy demands for its high quality industrial products from other European countries for their post-war reconstruction.¹⁹

Sweden's economic achievement reached its peak by the middle of the 1960s²⁰. In 1965, Sweden was ranked as the third wealthiest country according to GNP per capita and the sixteenth according to GNP.²¹ This remarkable economic performance which led Sweden from being one of the poorest countries in Europe at the end of the 19th century to being one of the richest countries in the 1950s gave the Swedish people great self-confidence, in their neutralist policy which had saved them from the war, and in a socio-economic policy which had permitted Sweden to industrialize herself successfully.²²

Another example of a country which changed from relative poverty to being one of the richest countries after the war was Norway.²³ During World War Two, it was occupied by Germany and the economy was exploited by Germany to the disadvantage of Norway. However, the change of the major source of power from coal to oil in world industry after the war gave Norway a great opportunity to recover from this exploitation. Owing to its rich oil reserve, Norway enjoyed constant and rapid economic growth until the 1980s.²⁴

Sweden and Norway are examples of countries which experienced a dramatic shift in their positions in the world economy after the war. There are other countries where a shift was not so dramatic because they had already had strong economies before the war, but still benefited greatly from the boom.

The Netherlands was one such country. Unlike Sweden, the Dutch policy of aiming for neutrality during World War II was not successful in protecting the Netherlands from occupation by Germany.²⁵ Moreover, the Netherlands also faced the loss of its large Asian territory after the war. In spite of these negative factors, the Dutch economy performed well because of the export of agricultural and dairy products.²⁶ The recovery of the West German economy in the 1950s also helped the growth of the Dutch economy which had been greatly dependent on transit trade with Germany before the war.²⁷ At the end of the 1950s, natural gas was found in the Netherlands, and in 1967 the deposits was estimated to be the fifth largest reserve in the world.²⁸ This discovery also boosted the performance of the Dutch economy. The growth of the Dutch economy was also reflected in the emergence of big multinational industries such as Royal Dutch Shell, Philips and Unilever which grew to be three of the world's 25 largest multinationals.²⁹ In 1965, the Dutch economy was eighteenth in the world in terms of GNP and GNP per capita.³⁰

Compared with the above countries, for the United Kingdom and France postwar economic growth did not necessarily contribute to raising their status.

France and the United Kingdom were major world economic powers in the prewar period. As a result of World War II the relative power of the United

Kingdom and France in the world economy was reduced.³¹ However, despite the reduction in the relative size of their economies, the United Kingdom and France also enjoyed economic expansion until the 1960s, and the standard of living rose in comparison with prewar standards.³² A common feature of the United Kingdom and France was that both of them had to change their style of trading after the war.³³ Before the war, the main trade markets of these countries were their respective overseas territories. In the postwar period, the main trade market for these two countries was Europe.³⁴

France was much more successful at adapting to postwar market conditions than Britain and enjoyed a higher growth rate in the 1950s and the 1960s.³⁵ Although there was a recession from 1965 until 1967,³⁶ growth continued until the oil crises in the 1970s.³⁷

In contrast, Britain was not very successful in its postwar economic performance.³⁸ After the postwar recovery, British growth rates slumped partly because Britain did not suffer as much damage to its industrial facilities and thus apparently required little investment for recovery and partly because confusion in economic policy discouraged investment.³⁹ A vast sum of money which Britain had borrowed from its overseas territories and North America in its fight against Germany had to be repaid, and Britain had to give up one quarter of its overseas property to make the payment.⁴⁰ However, even with these burdens and disadvantages, Britain managed to join the boom in Europe and enjoyed the benefit of economic expansion until the early 1970s.⁴¹

In general, the 1960s is marked as the period of the recovery and prosperity of European industrialized countries, and this prosperity made a contrast with the severe economic conditions prevailing in newly independent countries.⁴² By this time, television had penetrated the living rooms in European countries and had made it possible for people to see the gap between their lives and those of people in developing countries.⁴³

There are non-European countries such as Canada and Australia where Development Education emerged around 1970 as well. These countries also had high income and industrialized economies. Unlike the European countries, Canada did not suffer particularly from the aftermath of World War

II. Although Canada was involved in the war, Canada's role was rather the provider of food and resources to back up their European allies and the United States.⁴⁴ Hence, when the war was over, Canada's position in the world economy had become stronger than before.⁴⁵ After the recovery of the European economy, the relative size of Canada's economy became smaller, but it still remained one of the wealthiest countries throughout the postwar period.

Australia's experience was different. Despite its top position in GDP per capita ratings at the turn of the century, its position had dropped to somewhere between 15th and 20th in the early 1970s.⁴⁶ Being a country whose economy depended on the export of agricultural products, Australia did not benefit much from the post-war reconstruction boom. By the beginning of the 1970s, Australia's economy had become smaller than it was in the 1940s, just like Canada's, but it still enjoyed high GDP in the postwar period as an industrialized country.⁴⁷

Thus, countries where Development Education emerged around 1970 were countries of high per capita income with industrialized economies. However, there are cases which cannot be explained by economic growth alone. For example, even though the United States had already become the most technologically advanced and prosperous country by the beginning of the 1960s, it was not the United States which first started Development Education. The United States was rather late in starting Development Education in the formal education sector. It was not until the early 1980s that Development Education started being introduced in schools in the United States.⁴⁸ Japan is another example which indicates that it is not only high income that is conducive to Development Education.

Japan recovered very quickly from the total destruction of its economic and social structure after the war and had already caught up with the rest of the industrialized countries by the 1960s in terms of GNP.⁴⁹ By the 1970s, it had become one of the major economic powers. In spite of Japan's economic prosperity, Development Education did not come into schools in the 1970s.

Only at the end of the 1970s was the term Development Education introduced by the UN agencies and accepted by some Japanese NGOs and educationists.⁵⁰

The examples of New Zealand and Luxembourg also indicate that high income and industrialized economies alone are not sufficient to generate Development Education. Despite the fact that New Zealand was enjoying higher GNP per capita than Ireland and Italy in 1978, Development Education hardly existed at the beginning of the 1980s.⁵¹ The economy of Luxembourg also experienced a period of growth during the 1950s and the 1960s. In 1978, its GNP per capita was already higher than that of most of the industrialized countries.⁵² However, it is only now in the 1990s that Development Education has come to be known and recognized by the government.⁵³

The analysis in this section indicates that countries where Development Education emerged tend to have high per capita incomes and an industrialized economy but that itself does not necessarily mean Development Education emerges automatically. There are some other factors which create this difference between countries where Development Education was generated and where it was not.

3. The Context of Foreign Policies

In this section, the thesis suggests that diversity in the foreign policies of individual countries generates a difference in the genesis of Development Education. The section argues that Development Education tends to be generated in a country if it has a foreign policy that aims at becoming politically important in international relations not by the country's military power but by its contribution to the maintenance of the world order by international agencies.

There is a group of industrialized countries which have enthusiastically pursued the maintenance of the world order by international agencies and actively contributed to this purpose. They are the Netherlands, Nordic countries and Canada. These are also countries where Development Education was actively promoted by the governments in the 1970s.

From the very early stages of postwar international politics, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries participated with great enthusiasm in the activities of international organizations such as the United Nations and OECD.⁵⁴ The large number of people from these countries who served in decision making positions in these organizations indicates this tendency.⁵⁵

The commitment of these countries to the maintenance of world order under the system of the United Nations is also a common feature. When discussion at the United Nations divided member nations into the two groups of 'industrialized countries' and 'developing countries', it was often the case that the Netherlands and Nordic countries supported the position of developing countries instead of following the other industrialized countries.⁵⁶

It was also the Dutch economist, Jan Tinbergen, who took the lead in setting the target of overseas aid by industrialized countries at 0.7 percent of their national income in the 1970s.⁵⁷ Among industrialized countries, only the Netherlands and Sweden had achieved before the deadline the target of 0.7 percent of their GNP for aid to developing countries.⁵⁸ Under the leadership of these so-called "like-minded" countries, the U.N. Second Development Decade was launched and the improvement of people's understanding of development issues in member states was adopted as a strategy.⁵⁹

To explain the behaviour of these "like-minded" countries, the thesis suggests, following Carsten Holbraad, that the role of a country in the international arena differs depending on the "category of powers" to which it belongs.⁶⁰ It is useful to introduce at this point the discussion about the nature of middle powers. By using the concept of power,⁶¹ Holbraad has divided countries roughly into great powers, middle powers and small powers, though borderlines between these three categories are not clearly drawn because of a number of factors involved.⁶²

Countries such as the Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Canada, where Development Education emerged around 1970 and governments became involved in the movement actively from an early stage, are categorized as middle powers by a number of scholars of international relations.⁶³ The nature

of middle powers - which influences their foreign policy - is explained by Holbraad:

The position of such states in the hierarchy of powers does suggest that their incentives to respect and uphold international law may be in some respects stronger than those of others. Being weaker and more exposed than great powers, they are less able to override the law in their dealings with other states and more dependent on a system of rules and conventions protective of the sovereign rights of states.⁶⁴

Because of this, Holbraad writes, there is the assumption that:

...middle powers could be trusted to exercise their diplomatic influence and military power in the interest of international society, that they were capable of being less selfish than great powers and more responsible than small states....this tendency to assume a degree of moral superiority was to become an even more noticeable feature of some Canadian thinking about the nature and role of middle powers.⁶⁵

The Netherlands and Sweden are classified as middle powers.⁶⁶ Historically, they have been largely excluded from the competition of European great powers except for the short period of the Dutch Golden Age and Gustav Adolf's Sweden.⁶⁷ Since long before the emergence of the two super-power structure, the Netherlands and Sweden have not been the most powerful countries even among European countries. The reasons were their size, geographical location and military power.⁶⁸

However, they regarded themselves as upper middle powers or small but politically important powers.⁶⁹ Especially immediately after World War II when some other potentially greater middle powers such as Germany, Italy, Japan and China were still struggling in the postwar chaos, the relative positions of the Netherlands and Sweden in international politics were more important than in the 1960s.

For example, the Dutch government with its large overseas territory and population asserted its position as second to those who had permanent

membership in the UN Security Council.⁷⁰ Even after the loss of their overseas territory, the Dutch believed in the importance of their country in international politics and tried to demonstrate it by contributing to the activities of international organizations.⁷¹ In other words, their contribution to international organizations gave the Dutch an alternative source of power to influence international politics despite its relatively small military power. The Netherlands aimed at maintaining its status in the international arena by being a model society of the civilized world and providing intellectual human resources for international cooperation.⁷²

The strategy of Sweden and, under its regional influence, other Nordic countries is similar to that of the Netherlands. These countries which had never been great world powers in the contemporary period did not try to attain positions equal to the great powers but found a way to get the respect of other countries by being a role model.⁷³ Thus, from a very early stage in the reorganization of the world power structure after World War II, the target of these countries was the establishment of their status as model countries which were able to offer an alternative view of the world that was controlled by Realpolitik based on military power.

When the gap between the two superpowers and others became clear in the late 1950s and 1960s, the middle power status of these countries also became clearer. For example, in the 1960s, after the Cuban Missile Crisis, the relationship between the superpowers started moving towards détente.⁷⁴ Opportunity for smaller powers to pursue more independent politics was created, and this, together with the emergence of newly developing countries, provided the middle powers with a good arena to develop their new policy.

Canada and Australia also shared similar positions in the international power structure when Development Education appeared in both countries. Although their geographic territories were large, their position in the world was also that of middle powers once their military power, population and economic power were taken into consideration.⁷⁵ However, the processes which they went through before reaching the position of middle powers were different, and that difference resulted in several years' delay in the emergence

and governmental support of Development Education in Australia. The thesis comes back later to the delay in starting Development Education in Australia, after a discussion of the case of Canada.

When World War II was over, Canada emerged as a significant middle power,⁷⁶ and based her foreign policy on winning "special recognition for middle powers."⁷⁷ For this purpose, the people of post-war Canada committed themselves to establishing the United Nations which would enable middle powers to influence international politics despite their limited military power.⁷⁸ Thus, Canada was as eager as the Nordic countries and the Netherlands when it came to diplomacy in the arena of the United Nations.

What was different between the approaches of these countries and Canada was Canada's larger involvement in Realpolitik. Canada took a significant role in the Suez affair and various UN peacekeeping operations.⁷⁹ Thus, although Canada was a middle power, the country was trying to play a role somewhat closer to that of a great power. This position led Canada to a mediatory role between the United States and the two Vietnamese governments in the 1960s.⁸⁰ As a part of the international control commissions, Canadian army officers served in Indochina.⁸¹ This experience subsequently led Canadian policy makers to change their foreign policy, making it closer to that of the Nordic countries and the Netherlands. According to John Holmes:

The horror of Vietnam has strengthened the desire of Canadians to search for non-military ways of making their contribution to international security....such choices may not be open to great and super powers - and it may only be an illusion that they are open to lesser powers....Canadians have become less restless in their present status, less ambitious for a role in international security.⁸²

The change came with Pierre Trudeau as Prime Minister in 1968. He criticised the failure of Canadians to recognize their declining position in international politics and warned the Canadian people against exaggerating Canada's power and fruitlessly searching for an international role.⁸³ Trudeau emphasized balance in his foreign and domestic policies and was engaged in



areas which threaten such balance, namely, international economic disparity, environmental deterioration and nuclear proliferation.⁸⁴ He also put focus on "individuals, on the relationship of individuals within society, and, finally, on the role of the state in providing an environment conducive to the optimum fulfilment of individual needs and aspirations."⁸⁵ As a consequence, during his leadership, the amount of foreign aid was increased and CIDA started funding NGO activities to promote Development Education in schools.⁸⁶

In contrast to Canada which eagerly participated in international politics immediately after World War II, the participation of Australia in international politics came later. Australia was not very active in international politics for a long time after the end of World War II: Prime Minister Menzies had a strong preference for the idea of a white commonwealth under British leadership.⁸⁷ Hence, he did not make an effort to promote Australia's position as a middle power but his foreign policy was that of dependency on "great and powerful friends", namely, the United States and Britain.⁸⁸ Basically, this stance of foreign policy continued until 1972 when the opposition leader Whitlam took office.⁸⁹

Changes in the international arena in the early 1970s influenced Australian policy. First, Britain joined the EC in 1973, as a result of which the relative importance of Australia to British foreign policy became smaller. Secondly, the United States changed its attitudes and foreign policy towards the People's Republic of China in 1972. Australia also changed its position as regards the People's Republic of China and established a friendlier relationship with it.⁹⁰ At this stage, Australia finally recognized the importance of a diplomatic role in non-white communities, especially in Asia.⁹¹ These changes in foreign policies encouraged Australia to search for a new position in international relations.

Further change was promoted by Prime Minister Fraser who came into power in 1975. In his parliamentary statement in June 1976, he identified Australia as a "middle power" and asserted the necessity of independence from American foreign policy.⁹² He actively cultivated a friendly relationship with Commonwealth countries in the Indian Subcontinent and Africa and had

achieved successful diplomatic relations with them by 1980.⁹³ Consequently, in the early 1980s, North-South dialogue became the moral centrepiece of Australian foreign policy.⁹⁴

Thus, for Australia, the turning point of its foreign policy from being a subsidiary member of the British Commonwealth to an independent member of the international community came in the early 1970s, much later than Canada. The impact of this change in foreign policy on the genesis of Development Education is evidenced by the difference between a reaction to the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign by the Australian government in the late 1960s and its interest in Development Education after the mid 1970s. When the FAO Freedom from Hunger Campaign was brought into Australia in 1966, the campaign soon deteriorated into mere fund-raising.⁹⁵ Australia was not asserting its middle power identity yet. It was only after 1973 that the need for education was recognized and Development Education for schools appeared in the form of resource centres.⁹⁶

There are some other countries which are also categorized as middle powers but some distinctions can be drawn between them and the countries that have been discussed: some middle powers still have influence in international politics mainly because of their historical background.⁹⁷ The United Kingdom and France belong to this category.⁹⁸

For a while after the war, and while de Gaulle was in power in France, the United Kingdom and France sought to maintain great power status. Their positions as permanent members of the UN Security Council also contributed to the maintenance of this great power mentality. This mentality can be observed in the paradox of the UK's efforts to position itself higher than others by emphasizing its special relationship with the United States, and in the popularity of the French President de Gaulle who challenged the ruling power of the United States.⁹⁹

In the case of the United Kingdom, the shift of diplomatic policy took place between the 1960s and the early 1970s when the United States started making important decisions without consulting with the United Kingdom in advance.¹⁰⁰ The United Kingdom reacted by searching for a chance to join the

EC.¹⁰¹ For France, recognition of its changed role in international politics was delayed by Gaullism which tried to maintain France's great power status. However, soon the gap between France and the two superpowers became clear.¹⁰²

Germany was also a great power before its defeat in World War II.¹⁰³ After the defeat, it joined international politics as a middle power.¹⁰⁴ However, if economic power alone is considered, Germany had become large enough to be called a great power by the end of the 1960s.¹⁰⁵

Thus, the above three countries because of their historical heritage as great powers are different from the middle powers as described by Holbraad and their behavioural pattern in international politics is also different from that of 'normal' middle powers. The above discussion also helps to explain why Development Education had been ignored by the government of the United States even after it was adopted as a strategy in the UN Second Development Decade and why Development Education did not develop until the 1980s.

First, being a superpower itself, the United States did not have to search for an alternative way to maintain its political power in the international arena. Secondly, the United States understood its primary task as a superpower to be the protection of Western democracy from the threat of the Soviet Union. Hence, its aid to other countries was not based on a humanitarian point of view but on its strategic interest. Unlike aid by the Netherlands or Nordic countries, the aid given by the United States was not for the development of the social infrastructure but mainly for military purposes in countries such as Egypt and Israel whose stability and pro-US stance were important for the U.S. anti-Soviet strategy.¹⁰⁶

It was only after the United States had lost considerable economic and political power that the US government focused on development aid and decided to spare some of its funds for Development Education.¹⁰⁷ Its economic power had been much weakened during the 1970s. Secondly, its military power in nuclear terms was great enough to destroy the earth and accumulating more military power of the same kind was increasingly seen as meaningless. At this stage, even for the United States, the necessity of

obtaining and maintaining political power other than by military power became a serious matter.¹⁰⁸

Thus, countries whose military, strategic and historic identity is greater than normal middle powers tend to be less enthusiastic about the maintenance of the world order by international organizations and the promotion of Development Education.

In contrast there are countries whose economic power would permit them to be defined as middle powers, but whose international political stance does not emphasize an international role. These countries are not eager to promote Development Education, either. For example, although Japan in terms of economy, could be judged now to be a great power, Japanese foreign policy has had a preference for being ranked as a small power just as it was immediately after World War II.¹⁰⁹ New Zealand is also a middle power but has not exerted itself internationally and even in the early 1980s, Development Education did not become a national matter.

These examples of variation in power hierarchy, especially that among countries which are categorized in the range of middle powers, indicates that whether the government of a country actively supports Development Education or not depends on the country's foreign policy which in turn is influenced by the position of the country in the power hierarchy. The theory of the hierarchy of powers and the nature of middle powers can explain why governments in Britain, France, Germany, Japan and New Zealand were not so enthusiastic about Development Education, and why the United States with its super power status became interested in it later than some middle power countries.

For middle powers, which are trying to maintain world stability by multilateral organizations and secure their positions in international politics by establishing a reputation as a role model, support for developing countries is an arena in which they try to enhance their status.

4. The Relationship with Developing Countries

A country's position in the power hierarchy is also interrelated with its relationship with developing countries. Former great powers had colonies and, even after their independence and after the great powers had become middle powers, maintained influence on their politics. Thus former great powers could utilize classical colonial links as the arena in which they could increase their contribution to the international community but also protect their positions in the international community. Normal middle powers without a classical colonial link tried to secure their position as a role model by strengthening links with weaker countries, namely developing countries, after World War II and supporting them. Thus, to give support to developing countries is an important action for a middle power, and for this purpose a link with developing countries is either maintained or created.

In this section, the thesis argues that industrialized countries where Development Education emerged have some kind of close link with developing countries which gives the industrialized countries a good reason to promote Development Education.

Among these links, classical colonial relationships which had developed gradually over a long period could not be changed immediately merely because of the political independence of the new countries. As scholars of the dependency school assert, this old relationship influenced the new relationship between the countries economically and culturally.¹¹⁰ Europeans retained a patron mentality, while people in the newly independent countries still tended to depend on their former rulers.

The significance of the influence of this old relationship on the new international relationship is clear from the fact that aid by the former colonising countries such as the United Kingdom, France, Belgium and the Netherlands was mainly allocated to their former overseas territories.¹¹¹ In economic relations as well, trade between former colonizer countries and newly independent countries was important for both of them, especially in the early period after independence.

When overseas territories became independent, a number of people moved from there to their European motherland.¹¹² As a result, when the aid to the newly independent countries started, there were a good number of experts who had experience of working in the countries. This made it easier for an industrialized country to offer technical aid to developing countries which were the former colonies of the industrialized country.¹¹³ However the relationship is not simple and linear.

The complexity of the interrelation between middle-power foreign policy and the maintenance of the classical colonial link is illustrated in the case of Spain.

In Spain, despite colonial rule which lasted more than three hundred years, neither aid activities nor Development Education in schools became active due to the dictatorship and economic conditions in Spain itself. Furthermore, since most Spanish colonies became independent much earlier, by the middle of the nineteenth century, Spain did not have a direct responsibility for supporting these countries and anyway could not afford to do so.¹¹⁴ However after enrolment in the EC, Spain's diplomacy began to focus on improving its position in the international community by putting Spain in the position of ombudsman for Latin America in the EC.¹¹⁵ Thus, despite a long period of no interaction and Spain's initially very low status in the international community, once Spanish foreign policy was changed by joining a group of middle powers, the old colonial link between Spain and Latin America revived.

However, not all colonial relationships are utilized as a link in contemporary international relations. Germany also had colonies although for a much shorter period of time than other colonial powers. A feature of German colonial relationship is that there is a break between the colonial period and the 1960s. The German colonial period came to an end with defeat in World War I, and German colonies were taken over by the allies instead of becoming independent. The responsibility for supporting colonies after their independence was also transferred to the new colonial rulers and Germany's

colonial relationship was not resumed in the postwar international relationship.¹¹⁶

Another example of a colonial relationship which did not lead to the genesis of Development Education is the case of the United States. The United States also had colonies, although for a very short time compared with other countries. Unlike other colonial powers, the colonies of the United States came into their possession as an indirect result of the war against Spain.¹¹⁷ Consequently Americans lacked a clear view of themselves as colonizers.¹¹⁸

The significance of a US colony, the Philippines, to the United States was also different from that of the colonies of other countries. For people in the United States, the Philippines was neither a place to which to emigrate nor a provider of natural resources. The Philippines was important because of strategic location.¹¹⁹ Therefore, for Americans in general, the Philippines was peripheral to their consciousness.¹²⁰ Furthermore, since the Philippines had already been a Spanish colony for more than three hundred years when Americans took over, as a consequence of the Spanish elimination of indigenous culture, the people had been westernized and were relatively homogeneous, and had developed a national consciousness.¹²¹ The occupation of less than fifty years was also too short to form a patron-patronized mentality.

For the above reasons, the nature of the link which the United States developed with the Philippines is not the same as other links based on an old colonial relationship, but much closer to the political and strategic links that exist between two independent, if unequal, nations in the modern world.

There is another kind of historical link which was utilized by Canada and Australia for their middle-power performance in the international relations. The link which Canada and Australia utilized is the Commonwealth which was formed among former British colonies. Canada and Australia were able to strengthen their links with developing countries partly because of the existence of the Commonwealth relationship.

When the Commonwealth came into existence it was an exclusively white Commonwealth because most of the other current Commonwealth countries

were not yet independent.¹²² The leader was unquestionably Britain. The situation started to change when non-white Asian and African nations became independent and joined the Commonwealth. With Britain more attracted to Europe, Canada and Australia got a chance to become leading countries of the Commonwealth.¹²³ Canada was eager to take advantage of the Commonwealth and actively promoted a good relationship with developing countries.¹²⁴ On the contrary, Australia was not interested in a multi-racial Commonwealth at the beginning because Prime Minister Menzies was still nostalgic about the idea of a white Commonwealth led by Britain.¹²⁵ In contrast, Prime Minister Fraser who took office in 1975 considered the Commonwealth an arena small enough for Australia to play a leading role and hence improve its position in international politics.¹²⁶ Thus, although these two countries were not colonial powers, the Commonwealth, which was a byproduct of a colonial era, left Canada and Australia a link with developing countries which could be used for the improvement of the middle power status of Canada and Australia.

Unlike countries which had some kind of historical relationship with developing countries and utilized this old relationship in contemporary international relations, there are countries which did not have an existing relationship that they could take advantage of. These countries had to forge a new link with developing countries.

Sweden is an example of such countries which developed a link with developing countries in post-war international relations.¹²⁷ Susan L. Holmberg suggests that the relationship between Sweden and the Third World countries was not based on colonial power or engagement in trade with developing countries or security and foreign policy.¹²⁸ Sweden does not have a significant colonial heritage.¹²⁹ Although developing countries have become good trading partners for Sweden, that relationship developed after World War II as the product rather than the purpose of Swedish aid policies.¹³⁰ Swedish interest in security and foreign policy had been in the East-West relationship and Sweden did not have a particular strategic interest in developing countries.¹³¹

The special relationship of Sweden with developing countries evolved through Sweden's generous development assistance and support to these countries through the arena of the United Nations.¹³² This policy of giving priority to development assistance and UN initiatives was based on the Swedes' belief in their welfare and neutralist traditions.¹³³ As a neutralist country, Sweden found its position very convenient for acting as a bridge between industrialized countries and developing countries, many of which were non-aligned.¹³⁴ Thus, Sweden by the end of the 1960s had developed a close relationship with developing countries.

These three types of links with developing countries, namely a link based on a colonial relationship, the Commonwealth, and neutralist middle-power policy, encouraged the emergence of Development Education. However, not all kinds of links with developing countries have the same effect. The following case of the United States indicates that there is another type of postwar link with developing countries which does not lead to the generation of Development Education.

This link is highly strategic. Because of the Monroe Doctrine, the United States had weaker links with developing countries in the pre-World War II period compared with other industrialized countries, and even these, as with Latin American countries, were limited in scope, and had a strategic reason. In the nineteenth century, in order to protect the United States itself from European intervention, the United States tried to keep European powers out of the American Continent by the Monroe Doctrine while attempting to avoid involvement in the Spanish-Latin American conflict.¹³⁵ From the early twentieth century to the early 1930s, US policy changed gradually in the direction of becoming more interventionist.¹³⁶ The construction of the Panama Canal and the necessity of maintaining stability in the area was a major reason for the change.¹³⁷ After twenty years of poor relationships with Latin American countries because of this interventionist policy, the United States changed policy again in 1933 and developed a more harmonious relationship with the Latin American countries by re-interpreting the Monroe Doctrine.¹³⁸

On the surface, the relationship between the United States and the Latin American countries became similar to that of European countries and their former colonies in terms of the dependency of the latter on the former.¹³⁹ However, the relationship was not based on the patron-patronized mentality left over from the colonial period but on the national interest of the United States in international politics. Hence, the United States was not tied in its relationships with Latin American countries and was freer to choose its relationships with developing countries than colonial powers.

For a while after World War II, the primary interest of the United States was on the reconstruction of its European allies and Japan.¹⁴⁰ In contrast, the development of the US relationship with developing countries was rather slow.¹⁴¹ In Latin America, it was only after the influence of communism started to expand in the American continent that the US interest in Latin America strengthened.¹⁴² In Asia, the Korean War and the Vietnam War caused US military involvement, and US military and economic aid to South Vietnam and South Korea were increased. The focus was broadened to include Africa when a number of new countries were created in the 1960s and the power competition with the Soviet Union spread from Europe to many independent countries.¹⁴³

Thus, until 1973, despite the fact that the United States built up relationships with developing countries in the post-war context of international politics, the approach was very different from that of Sweden. Economic aid was closely linked with military aid.¹⁴⁴ This difference discouraged the genesis of Development Education in the United States. It was only after the United States started changing its aid policies from military to humanitarian aid that Development Education attracted attention from the government and NGOs and the links with developing countries were seen from different perspectives.

The analysis of this section indicates that in the process of establishing a position in international relations as a middle power, countries have of necessity to strengthen, maintain or create links with developing countries. Such links provide middle-power countries with a good reason to assist

developing countries and an arena in which they can find their *raison d'être*, namely, the arena where they can assert their moral values.

5. Domestic Policy

Emphasis on the moral dimension of assistance to developing countries by middle-power countries in international relations is relevant to their domestic policies. Or rather, their pursuit of middle-power status by being a role model can be understood as the extension of their domestic policies to the arena of international politics. In this section, the thesis investigates domestic policies of countries where Development Education was introduced into schools. The thesis argues that the probability of the introduction of Development Education increases if the government attaches importance to human rights, social welfare and equal distribution of national wealth in its domestic policy.

Sweden is an example of a country which has a strong tradition of social democratic government that emphasized social welfare, human rights and economic equality in domestic policy. It was in the 1930s that the Social Democratic Party became powerful in Sweden against the background of increasing labour union power.¹⁴⁵ The party stayed in power until the late 1980s except for the period between 1976 and 1982.¹⁴⁶ In the domestic policy of the Social Democratic Party, the promotion of social change to achieve equality between rich and poor members of society was the central issue, and education was regarded as an important means to accomplish this task.¹⁴⁷

The Social Democratic Party also paid attention to the welfare of the weaker members of society to which category immigrants and guest workers belong.¹⁴⁸ During the long rule of the strong and stable social democratic government, such a policy towards people in socially weaker positions permeated Swedish society. Hence, in the reforms for the equalization of education in the 1960s and the 1970s, special provisions for the education of these racial minorities were included in the policy.¹⁴⁹ Instruction about developing countries in school education was also legitimated by the 1969 Act.¹⁵⁰

This supportive attitude toward developing countries among the Swedish people was fostered through the international labour union movement as well.¹⁵¹ On the principle that Swedish workers had a similar position in society to workers elsewhere, the Swedish labour movement supported the improvement of conditions in workplaces in developing countries.¹⁵² Their concept of social welfare was extended beyond the nation.

In Sweden when a social democratic cabinet was in charge, this movement received governmental support, which was also an important factor for the promotion of Development Education. Furthermore, in the case of Sweden, it was not only the Social Democratic Party which stayed a long time in power but also individual prime ministers. During the long domination of Swedish politics by the party, a change in party leaders, and at the same time, prime ministers, took place only twice between 1936 and 1976.¹⁵³ Usually the new prime minister had been learning under the previous one for a sufficient length of time for the change of power to take place smoothly.¹⁵⁴ In other words, the focus on equality between the poor and the rich was also passed down from one prime minister to another.

It was Olof Palme who added an international perspective to this tradition of the Social Democrats' policy. As Prime Minister and Minister of Education, Palme introduced Development Education into the school curriculum as a part of the internationalization of education in the 1969 curriculum revision.¹⁵⁵

Other Nordic countries have more or less similar social democratic traditions in their domestic policies to those of Sweden. After World War Two, both Norway and Denmark had social democratic governments which shared a welfare state policy with Sweden. In Norway, a Labour government was in power for twenty years after the war. Its policy which attached importance to equality and welfare was combined with international perspectives and reflected in educational policy. Yngve Nordkvelle describes this union of social democratic values, international perspective and education:

Through revised curricula and new textbooks, efforts have been made over the last 25 years to prepare the younger generations of Norwegians to become international citizens and members of

the international community. Solidarity, justice and equality - traditional values in the Norwegian society - have been regarded as cornerstones in this internationalization of the school.¹⁵⁶

Apart from the Nordic countries, the Netherlands has also constantly supported Development Education since its early days. Although Dutch domestic politics have not been dominated by the Labour Party or other social democratic parties as was the case with Sweden for 44 years, Dutch domestic policy also shares social democratic values.

In postwar domestic politics, there were three major groups, among the parties, which can be classified by their religion and degree of conservatism.¹⁵⁷ The majority of the parties, including the three largest ones, aligned themselves from centre to left-wing, while there were only a few small parties which took a right-wing position.¹⁵⁸ Usually, four or five of these centre to left-wing parties formed a cabinet jointly and conducted policies based on welfare state principles and international cooperation.¹⁵⁹ Such a policy was consistently followed despite the number of cabinets.¹⁶⁰ As Dutch society became prosperous and religious influence became weaker, religious parties of the centre position became weaker, and small Marxist groups appeared in the mid-sixties.¹⁶¹ These small Marxist groups also contributed to the promotion of Development Education because they attracted people's attention by asserting support for developing countries and the reform of global economic structures.¹⁶²

Compared with the Netherlands and Sweden, Canada had a weaker emphasis on welfare, human rights and economic equality. White Canadian policy which discriminated against coloured immigrants is an example. However, Canada discarded this policy in the mid 1960s and the emphasis in domestic policy also changed. This change in domestic policy and the genesis of Development Education overlap.

Trudeau took office by asserting a "just society" policy, reflected in his intention to tackle the poverty issue in Canada by reforming its social welfare programme.¹⁶³ In Trudeau's view foreign policy was an extension of domestic policy and domestic policy should aim at providing the best environment for

the fulfilment of individual needs and aspirations.¹⁶⁴ What was central was individuals.¹⁶⁵ Therefore his emphasis on the issues of economic disparity, environment, and nuclear power in the international arena can be interpreted as an external version of his domestic policy. In domestic policy, he supported community education which would address individuals as part of this strategy for achieving his goal, a "just society".

Linking individuals with international society and achieving a "just society" with a balance between development and the environment, are the aims of Development Education. Thus, both in terms of content and method, Trudeau's policy was in harmony with Development Education. Following his policy, the community and social education programme was strengthened, and CIDA started its support to Development Education provided by non-governmental organizations including activities in the formal education sector.¹⁶⁶

In Sweden and Canada, Prime Ministers Palme and Trudeau who supported Development Education stayed in power for a long time, and during their periods of office Development Education became firmly entrenched in domestic policies. In the Netherlands as well, because of its tradition of coalition governments, no drastic change due to the change of governing parties occurred in governmental policies including that of support for Development Education. In contrast, in some other countries, governmental emphasis on welfare, human rights and economic equality changed because of a change of governing political parties and Development Education was also influenced.

Britain is one of these countries. Although a Development Education Fund was established by the Labour Government in 1977, when the Conservative Party came into office in 1979, they decided to terminate the fund.¹⁶⁷ The Conservative Government's emphasis in education was on basic skills for the recovery of the national economy rather than on the promotion of awareness of world development issues.¹⁶⁸

In the United States, under the Carter Government, US foreign policy was changed to emphasize humanitarian aid rather than military aid. The change

influenced domestic policy as well. The necessity to promote the American people's awareness of political, economic, technical and social factors in creating hunger and poverty in developing countries was suggested in 1980.¹⁶⁹ The US Agency for International Development (USAID) started funding Development Education by NGOs which also included their activities for schools in 1981.¹⁷⁰

In West Germany, after a social democrat-liberal coalition government with social democrat Willy Brandt as the Prime Minister came into power in 1969, overseas development aid started to be seen also in terms of development needs rather than simply, as previously, to be seen as a tool of foreign policy.¹⁷¹ During 1968 and 1974, Erhard Eppler was the Minister of Economic Cooperation and made Development Education part of government development policy.¹⁷² In 1974, the federal government started funding NGOs which were the driving force of Development Education in schools in Germany.¹⁷³

This section suggested that, in the foreign policy of some middle powers, being a role model in international relations is often an extended form of the countries' domestic policies which attach importance to welfare, human rights and equal distribution of wealth. Hence, in countries which have a tradition of emphasis on these issues in domestic policies, governmental support for Development Education tends to be stable. On the contrary, in countries which do not have this tradition, the emphasis on these issues changes depending on the government of the moment.

Since the genesis of Development Education is not determined simply by domestic policies, sometimes a different pattern appears such as the survival of governmental support for Development Education under the Reagan government whose emphasis was on less governmental domestic involvement in welfare and the economy. However, even noting such an example, the general tendency in the investigated countries still indicates that there is more possibility of the genesis of Development Education in a country where the emphasis in domestic policies is on welfare, human rights and equal distribution of national wealth.

6. Influx of People from Other Countries

In previous sections, the interrelation between economy, foreign policies, links with developing countries, and domestic policies was discussed. It was seen that a change in these contexts also influences a country's domestic society. With economic growth in an industrialized country and the maintenance or creation of links with developing countries, people from developing countries often move into the industrialized country and create needs for the host country to adjust social provision. Thus, as a result of the arrival of immigrants and workers from developing countries, people in industrialized countries see the reality of change in the contexts by which they are surrounded and recognize the need to know more about these new members of their society. This section argues that the influx of people from developing countries (which means a host country has to consider whether to change its social arrangements to accommodate these people) creates a social context which encourages the genesis of Development Education in the host country.

New immigrants from developing countries who arrived in many industrialized countries after World War II did not smoothly assimilate into host societies for reasons such as their number, their cultures, their languages and their physical appearance.¹⁷⁴

For example, when the Netherlands lost Indonesia in 1949, more than 250,000 people moved from Indonesia to the Netherlands including native Indonesians.¹⁷⁵ Although the Netherlands had been known for accommodating refugees from other countries for several centuries, the post-war demographic movement had a significant influence on its society.¹⁷⁶ Unlike the old immigrants from other European countries, the new immigrants after the war came from the countries which were not familiar to Dutch people, and many such immigrants could easily be distinguished from the native Dutch because of their physical appearance.¹⁷⁷

This demographic movement was soon linked with the labour shortage in European countries because of the rapidly expanding economy.¹⁷⁸ In the

United Kingdom, the labour shortage was so serious in the 1950s that an overseas labour force was recruited.¹⁷⁹ R. M. Williams' research shows how the demographic movement of people from the West Indies was related to the demand for relatively unskilled labour in the United Kingdom.¹⁸⁰ Such workers came mainly from the new Commonwealth countries.¹⁸¹ Some of them went back when the shortage of labour was less acute but many people remained and brought their families over from their home countries in the 1960s. Thus, in the 1950s and 1960s, the multi-racialization of British society proceeded quickly. The situation was similar in other former colonizing countries.¹⁸² For example, in France in the 1950s the shortfall of labour force was also made up by workers from ex-colonies such as Algeria.¹⁸³

The immigration triggered by the labour shortage also happened in other industrialized European countries which did not have colonial ties.¹⁸⁴ In Sweden, until the 1930s, the net number of emigrants was larger than that of immigrants to Sweden.¹⁸⁵ The situation changed around the time of the Second World War when emigré Swedes came back to their motherland as refugees.¹⁸⁶ After this, immigration increased owing to the recruitment of labour from other European countries during the country's economic expansion in the 1950s and 1960s.¹⁸⁷ Larger numbers of more diverse immigrants moved to Sweden.¹⁸⁸ Sweden accepted these immigrants rather positively until the first implementation of regulation in 1968.¹⁸⁹ The peak of labour market immigration came in the late 1960s.¹⁹⁰

Even after regulation, its immigration policy was moderate compared with that of other countries.¹⁹¹ Because of this policy, the relatively homogeneous Swedish society quickly became a multi-racial society.¹⁹² In 1977, approximately five percent of the Swedish population consisted of foreign nationals.¹⁹³

This demographic change caused a change in Swedish attitudes towards immigrants. Until the end of the 1950s, policies for immigrants and racial minorities were either assimilation or neglect.¹⁹⁴ The enormous number of non-Scandinavian immigrants, mostly from Southern Europe, in the 1960s changed this policy, and their special needs started to be considered.¹⁹⁵

In West Germany, there was a large influx of refugees from East Europe until 1961, many of whom were ethnically German and skilled workers.¹⁹⁶ After the Berlin Wall was built in 1961, the influx from East Germany stopped and immigration from Italy, Yugoslavia and Turkey increased. Furthermore, owing to the change of regulations during 1967 and 1973, it became possible for guest workers to come to Germany for an indefinite period and bring their families.¹⁹⁷ This change encouraged immigrants to stay in Germany permanently.¹⁹⁸

Immigration from developing countries also occurred outside Europe after World War II. In Canada and Australia, because of their policy which gave preference to white immigrants, immigration from Asia, Africa and Latin America was limited until the mid 1960s and the mid 1970s respectively.¹⁹⁹ Until then, immigrants with a British background were welcomed and new immigrants from Europe were encouraged to assimilate with earlier immigrants.²⁰⁰ After the change in immigration policy, immigration from Asia and the Caribbean countries increased in Canada while immigration from Asia increased in Australia. In both Canada and Australia, the policy changed to multiculturalism which aimed at combating racial discrimination against these new immigrants.²⁰¹

The case of the United States was slightly different. Although it also had a quota system based on national origin until the mid 1960s, there were already there black Americans.²⁰² Hence, the tension between white Americans and black Americans in the 1960s was not the same as that between old residents and new immigrants. It was a conflict between Americans. What became significant in the United States in the 1960s was not Development Education but multi-cultural education in the context of the civil-rights movement.²⁰³ It was in the 1980s, after a large number of immigrants from Latin American countries with different cultural background came into the United States, that Development Education started to be recognized.

This example suggests that even if there are racial minorities in a country, unless they are considered as people from other countries, the existence of minorities does not trigger the formation of Development Education. The

cases of Sweden, Canada and Australia where the existence of old racial minorities did not lead to Development Education are other examples.

For the genesis of Development Education, whether people in host countries see racial minorities in their society as people from developing countries or members of the host countries is a crucial matter. If minority issues are not linked with international relations but are regarded as a domestic issue, it leads to the generation of other types of education such as human-rights education and multi-cultural education.

7. Conclusion

This chapter argued that there were and are socio-economic and political contexts which increase the probability of the genesis of Development Education. These contexts were discussed in terms of five aspects: economy, foreign policy, domestic policy, relationships with developing countries and immigration. The combination of these five aspects give some general patterns, conducive to the genesis of Development Education.

However, although these five aspects and the general patterns are useful as a model to understand contexts for the genesis of Development Education, they themselves are not sufficient to explain the complexity of the genesis of Development Education. Although some countries have similar contexts, there are different political and economic combinations in individual countries which sometimes trigger, and other times delay, the genesis of Development Education. There are complex interrelations in each context.

For example, the economic growth of a country often leads to the creation of a middle-power identity, and middle-power identity creates needs for a link with developing countries. The link was convenient for middle powers to assert their *raison d'être* in international relations by behaving as a role model in the contemporary world order maintained by the international organizations. Support for developing countries as middle-power behaviour came out of these countries' values which attached an importance to welfare, human rights and equality of distribution of wealth and the countries' belief

in these values. Economic growth, and close relationships with developing countries, produced a large number of immigrants from developing countries, and then in turn their existence encouraged better understanding and better care for them.

In these interrelations, particular individuals who happened to be in power sometimes played an important role. For example, the ideas of Palme and Trudeau worked as an accelerator for the genesis of Development Education and on the contrary the nostalgia of Menzies delayed Australian commitment to Development Education.

These are only part of interrelations among biographical accidents and contexts which created Development Education. Therefore, the five aspects of socio-economic and political contexts suggested in this chapter should not be understood as sufficient conditions to lead automatically to the creation of Development Education. They are a sketch of the contexts, based on an analysis of different countries, which are normally relevant to the genesis of Development Education; and they suggest a framework to analyze the probability of the genesis of Development Education in a country. With this framework, the thesis now turns to the case of Japan, and takes up the question: does this normal pattern of contexts, and the probabilities for the emergence of Development Education, fit Japan ; or not?

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Chapter Three: Socio-Economic and Political Contexts in Japan

1. Introduction

In this chapter, the thesis analyses Japan in terms of the five aspects of socio-economic and political contexts which were discussed in Chapter Two. In Japan, Development Education was not introduced in the 1970s when it emerged in some of the industrialized countries and the United Nations adopted it as a strategy. However, it was only accepted in Japan by NGOs and educationists in the 1980s. This chapter argues that a decade's delay in Development Education being accepted in Japan was because Japan did not have appropriate socio-economic and political contexts in the 1970s. These contexts emerged in the 1980s which increased the possibility of introducing Development Education.

Japan caught up with western industrialized countries not only in GNP but also in economic structure in the 1980s. At the same time, in politics, efforts were made to acquire political recognition internationally. These changes in the economy and politics encouraged Japan to rebuild close relationships with developing countries which had become estranged since World War II as Japan had tried to stay away from Asian politics. In domestic politics as well, Japan's policy had changed to become more welfare conscious after the 1970s, while economic expansion by Japanese companies in Asia led to the influx of Asian workers into Japan in the 1980s.

Thus, by the mid 1980s, contexts which normally increase the possibility of the creation of Development Education existed in Japan. However, like the countries in the analysis set out in Chapter Two, Japan also had its unique interrelationships among the contexts and its particular economic and political 'accidents'. The rest of the chapter discusses this complexity in Japan.

2. Japan's Economic Growth

One of the features in the development of the relevant contexts in Japan

is its extremely strong economy. The Japanese economy had however a slightly different structure from those of the western industrialized countries. In this section, the argument that Japan became a leading economy in the 1980s will be tested. Despite its pre-World War II economic growth, Japan had to start rebuilding its economy as a developing country after the war. In terms of its structure and style, the Japanese economy had features of a developing country till the late 1970s, despite its growth in GNP. Japan gave up the advantage of being a developing country only in the 1980s.

1) The economy in modern Japan until the 1960s

Because of its policy to keep Christianity out of Japan, Japan had been closed to the world and the world economic system for more than two and half centuries except for small scale contacts with Korea, China and the Netherlands based on the shogunate's regulations.¹ Due to the pressure of world powers, Japan opened to the world after 1853 which led to the old feudal system being replaced by features of a modern nation state by 1868.² By actively taking in the Western concept of modernization, Japan quickly gained a place for itself within the emerging world capitalist economic system.³

In order to break through the problems of the availability of markets and shortage of natural resources, Japan tried to expand its power on the Asian Continent. Japan's expansion escalated into aggression which consequently led to the Pacific War that ended in a disastrous defeat for Japan.⁴ This defeat destroyed the Japanese economy, leading to severe unemployment and starvation.⁵ In 1948, industrial production was just a little more than 50 percent of that in 1930.⁶

There were two major reforms which were directly related to the development of the postwar Japanese economy. These were the agrarian reform and the breakup of financial cliques.⁷ The agrarian reform which was implemented in 1946 changed the old land owner system and solved the problem of the disparity between land owners and tenant farmers.⁸

The breakup of financial cliques provided a strong motivation for young, adventurous businessmen.⁹ When the Japanese economy was dominated by financial cliques, the market was almost closed to newly emerging small enterprises.¹⁰ Under the new system, these entrepreneurs gained access to the market.¹¹ As a result, a great number of adventurous businessmen started their careers.¹² SONY, Matsushita, Honda and Canon are examples of companies which were started by such people.¹³

There were other factors which also helped Japan's economic growth. First, Japan had an extremely high saving rate in both public and private sectors.¹⁴ Secondly, there was a wide range of opportunities for investment in Japan.¹⁵ Thirdly, old companies which were run by the former financial cliques were stimulated by the emergence of new business competitors.¹⁶ Thus, in postwar Japan, both new and old companies competed in the research for, and development of new technologies, and Japanese economy was revived within an extremely short period.¹⁷

However, Japanese economic recovery and growth during the postwar period was not simply accomplished by internal factors. Japan's role in terms of the world economic system was also significant.

In the period between 1945 and the end of the 1960s, Japan enjoyed the advantage of being a late comer to the world economic system.¹⁸ However in spite of success in some areas in heavy industry, generally, Japan's status was still considered to be second to that of the Western industrialized countries.¹⁹ The strong point for Japanese manufacture in light industrial products was their low price rather than their quality.²⁰ Japan had the features of a country in the process of industrialization but was allowed to concentrate on economic development without sharing much commitment to the maintenance of the world economic order.²¹

Another external factor which played an important role in Japan's economic development in this period, especially during the Cold War era was, the threat from the U.S.S.R. The Americans encouraged Japanese economic development so that Japan could become a bulwark against Socialist expansion in Asia.²² The Korean War in 1950 and the Vietnam War in the 1960s, linked

indirectly to the cold war conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union, accelerated Japan's economic growth.²³ Because of its geographical position, Japanese industry benefited as a supplier of military goods to the US forces.²⁴

Thus, Japan's economic success during the period between 1945 and the 1960s was a success as a developing country which was largely dependent on the Western industrialized countries, especially the United States.²⁵ The economic success in this period was not based on the same conditions as other industrialized countries but rather on various privileges as a late comer to the world economic system. Therefore, success in this period did not result in Japan becoming a leading economy in the world.

2) Japan's economy in the 1970s

The 1970s was the period when Japan's economy improved its position to become one of the world's leading economies. This change was very much related to the relatively poor economic performance of other industrialized countries in this period.

After World War II, the growth of the world economy was largely dependent on US policy which encouraged economic expansion by providing allied countries with aid and investment in order to make them strong allies against the Soviet threat.²⁶ However, it was impossible for the United States to continue with such a policy because the US economy had been weakened due to especially the Vietnam War.²⁷ The temporary suspension of the conversion of the US dollar to gold announced by President Nixon in 1971 which resulted in the devaluation of the US dollar was a significant sign of the weakening US economy.²⁸ The United States gradually transferred its burden of supporting the world economy to individual allied countries.²⁹ With this change of American policy, countries which were dependent on American economic power had to re-orient their economies.³⁰

Japan whose GNP had at this time caught up with that of Germany's was not an exception.³¹ Japan's expanded economy transformed Japan from an

economically unimportant country to that of one of the world's most economically influential countries. This led to Japan losing the qualification which allowed it to have a free-riding status in the world community. In principle, it had to now bear part of the U.S. responsibility to develop other Asian economies.³²

Besides the change in US economic policy, the first oil crisis in 1973 forced most of the industrialized countries into economic depression.³³ Japan also suffered from the oil crisis and economic growth in Japan slowed down.³⁴ This resulted in the competition among Japanese companies becoming even stronger in order to improve on resource and energy efficiency in their production processes so that the competitiveness of their products could be maintained in the world market.³⁵ The urgent necessity for the improvement of energy efficiency encouraged Japanese companies to invest more in research and in the development of high technology. They developed highly-advanced technology to produce light and compact products which used less resources.³⁶

By this strategy, Japanese products remained competitive in the world market. Japan could reflect increases in costs of production - a consequence of increased oil prices - in the prices of its products because of added value.³⁷ As a result, while other countries could not maintain their economic expansion policy, Japan continued to export its products and benefited greatly.³⁸ This was the period when the Japanese economy demonstrated its flexibility and capability in coping with the lack of natural resources.³⁹ When the second oil crisis occurred, Japanese industry had already established the strategy to cope with it.⁴⁰

Unlike most of the other industrialized countries, the Japanese economy continued growing and its relative power became even stronger.⁴¹ For instance, export of products such as colour televisions and cars expanded enormously in the 1980s.⁴² This expansion caused serious trade friction with other countries and the Japanese government had to impose a self restriction of exports on particular Japanese industries.⁴³

Japan's strategy of economic development changed from the expansion of trade to the transfer of production and sales overseas in the 1970s.⁴⁴ By this

transfer, Japan could solve the problem of trade friction with developing and industrialized countries. The transfer of production processes also solved the problem of the increasing costs of production in Japan. Japan's economic performance and the declining power of the US dollar raised the relative value of the Japanese yen. As a result of the appreciation of the Japanese yen and the increasing wages of Japanese workers, domestic production became much more expensive than it was in the 1960s.⁴⁵ Japanese society could no longer provide cheap labour force. There was also a change in the policies of developing countries from importing finished products to introducing foreign investment.⁴⁶

Thus, the 1970s was the turning point for the Japanese economy. Japan started the decade as one of the countries which had the features of a late comer to the world economic system such as an abundant and cheap domestic labour force and commodity based export. Toward the end of the 1970s, Japan developed an economic style closer to that of the Western industrialized countries, by expanding into the field of foreign investment.

3) Japan's economy in the 1980s and onwards

In the 1960s, the Japanese government protected weak and important domestic industries by keeping these markets closed to foreign competition. However the Japanese government had to cope with the pressures from other countries by opening its market gradually.⁴⁷ After the oil crises, the pressure, especially from the United States, for the opening of the Japanese market increased.⁴⁸ In 1975, Japan changed from being a debtor country to a creditor country because of its growing economy and the lack of opportunities to invest in its domestic market.⁴⁹ The need for providing domestic investors and banking facilities with opportunities to utilize their surplus capital was mounting.⁵⁰ At the same time, the Japanese financial industry became so strong that it no longer needed governmental protection.⁵¹

The Japanese government revised laws concerning foreign exchange and investment by the Japanese financial industry in 1979 and 1982 respectively.⁵²

In the revised regulations, the principle for the regulation for foreign investment by the Japanese financial industry was changed, from permission to declaration.⁵³ By this revision, the main legal obstruction to overseas investment by the Japanese financial industry was removed.⁵⁴ Various forms of investment such as direct investment, bond investment and bank loans to foreign countries increased rapidly during the 1980s.⁵⁵

As a consequence of the liberation of foreign investment in financial and capital markets out of Japan, the number of multi-national enterprises increased.⁵⁶ Thus, by the end of the 1980s, Japan had become the world's largest creditor nation. The influence of Japanese money was not limited to trade activities but also extended to finance and investment activities in the economies of the United States and some European countries.⁵⁷

The economic success in the 1980s, which resulted in Japan's increasing leadership in the world economy, generated involvement in other fields such as politics, collective security, and environmental protection.⁵⁸ On the other hand, as the result of the expansion in the involvement with the world economic system, criticism of Japan also increased.⁵⁹ As the Japanese economy expanded so rapidly and spread into other countries, Japanese companies abroad were at the centre of friction with local people in the host countries which occasionally produced retaliatory action against them.⁶⁰

As a solution of this problem, the Japanese government encouraged companies to pay attention to harmonizing with the local economy and community.⁶¹ The government also tried to further liberalize the Japanese market and provide foreign investors and companies to Japan with detailed information about the Japanese market in order to remove the investors' feelings of unfairness.⁶² As Inoguchi indicates:

Since its economic expansion has provoked such negative reaction abroad, it has become much more necessary for Japan to recognize the critical importance of efforts to prove that it seeks to advance fair competition and harmonious relations in the world market.⁶³

Thus, in the late 1980s, Japanese people started to recognize that an economically prosperous country must accept various responsibilities because of the influence of its powerful economy on the world system.⁶⁴ As the second strongest economy in the world, how Japan uses its economic power influences the world economy and, by extension, world politics.

3. Japan's Foreign Policy

Japan's economic growth made it visible in international relations despite its political intention to be passive. As a consequence, this change influenced Japan's foreign policy. In this section, the thesis argues that Japanese foreign policy changed in the 1980s so that it resembles more of that of the western middle powers. Japan which had not tried to be politically important started searching for ways to be recognized as a middle power. To test the above argument, the change of Japan's position in international politics after it joined the world political system is analyzed.

1) Low position and desire for equal status with the Western powers in the pre-World War II period

As earlier stated, Japan was not part of world politics until the opening of the country in the mid nineteenth century after pressure from the world powers.⁶⁵ For the previous two and half centuries, it had not had to concern itself with what was happening outside of its country except for the occasional threat of invasion.⁶⁶ In the late Tokugawa Period, Japan was threatened by the naval forces of the United States, the United Kingdom, Russia, the Netherlands and France.⁶⁷ Unfair treaties were made with these countries - an indication of unequal status.⁶⁸ Although Japan maintained its political independence, the unfair treaties indicated that Japan's position was as weak as the colonized countries when it joined international politics.⁶⁹

Japanese diplomatic history after the unfair treaties were made till the end of the nineteenth century was concerned with the struggle to abolish the unfair

treaties and to attain recognition as a power in international politics.⁷⁰ Despite the efforts of the Meiji government, it took more than forty years before the unfair treaties were finally abolished in 1911.⁷¹ The abolition of these unfair treaties was a byproduct of the competition between the United States and the European powers for trade advantage with Japan.⁷² Japan did not have the power to abolish them earlier and the Western powers did not agree that Japan should have equal status with that of the Western powers because of its inability to cope with modern legal and economic systems.⁷³

The abolition of the treaties gave Japan nominal and formal recognition but it did not guarantee that Japan would have the same equal status as the Western powers. Japan itself came to recognize its weak position after gaining advantageous concessions from China over Japan's expansion in Korea: the concessions had to be given up because of demands from Russia, France and Germany.⁷⁴ Japan's position in international politics was not yet strong enough to ignore such demands.⁷⁵

After this intervention by these three western powers, Japanese leaders understood the need to be recognized by western powers as a significant power in order to survive and the need to expand its influence over neighbouring weaker countries for this purpose.⁷⁶ The victory over Russia in 1905 raised Japanese status in international politics⁷⁷ and the Western powers started making coalitions and agreements with Japan.⁷⁸ At the same time, their wariness towards Japan increased and the Japanese perceived this as the Western powers trying to exclude Japan from their group.⁷⁹

Despite the recognition of Japan's might after the Russo-Japanese War, Japan's position in international politics was still unequal compared to that of the European powers. Japan could not fully participate in the Peace Conference in Paris after World War I. In subsequent conferences in Washington D.C. and London, Japan was not permitted to build as many war ships as the United Kingdom and the United States.⁸⁰

After the New York stock exchange crash in 1929, protectionism in trading by the leading Western powers revived.⁸¹ While these powerful countries formed blocs to protect their vested interests, Japan was left alone to face

economic difficulties.⁸² On the other hand, the aggressiveness and expansionism by Japan in Manchuria escalated because of increased military influence in Japan's domestic politics. This exacerbated Japan's isolation in international relations.⁸³ The dispute over Manchuria led Japan to leave the League of Nations in the 1930s and form a coalition with Germany and Italy in 1940 in order to challenge Anglo-American hegemony.⁸⁴

Japan challenged the Western powers in Asia by asserting its position as the leader of the weaker Asian countries⁸⁵ yet, it is to be noted from its defeat in World War II that Japan had not attained the same economic and industrial strength as the United States. Japan's desire to join the group of the world's most powerful nations was weakened by its traumatic experience of World War II particularly because of the dropping of the two atomic bombs in Japan by the United States. The aggressive approach to attain the position of a major actor in international politics ended in the loss of political independence.

2) Japan's position and diplomatic policy in the postwar period

For seven years after its defeat in World War Two, Japan was not given the right to have diplomatic relations with any other country as an independent country.⁸⁶ Hence Japan's position in international politics became lower than it was before the Russo-Japanese war. Japan's diplomatic policy reflected its weak position of a loser and was very much different from its policy before the war. There was a shift from opposition to the Western powers to dependence on US leadership, a shift from aggression to passivity in international politics, and a shift from military rule to pacifism.

In 1952 Japan finally obtained its formal political independence. However, as a loser of World War II, Japan was not immediately allowed full membership into the international community. For example, Japan had to wait until 1955 to become a member of GATT;⁸⁷ until 1956 to join the United Nations; until 1964 to become an Article Eight country in IMF and to join OECD.⁸⁸

The Japanese relationship with the United States after the war reflects a

weak position. Due to the rising threat of the Soviet Union, the necessity to protect Japan from Soviet invasion and keep it under the American umbrella as its base in Asia emerged almost immediately after the war.⁸⁹ Especially after Communist China was established, Japan's importance in US strategy increased. Prime Minister Yoshida established Japan's dependence on the US forces in its self-defence policy. He offered the United States the use of Japan as its base while continuously refusing the US request for the rearmament of Japan.⁹⁰ In order to protect a militarily weak Japan, the Japan-US Security Treaty was concluded, at the same time as Japan's independence was decided, by the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951.⁹¹ It was a one-way offer of protection to Japan by the United States.⁹²

The United States' support for Japan was not limited to security. In order to make Japan its strong and reliable ally, the U.S. supported Japan in various ways. For example, the United States helped Japan to recover its position in international politics by backing its application to join the United Nations.⁹³ The United States also relieved Japan's economic burden by inserting an article into the San Francisco Peace Treaty on the giving up of the right to claim war damage compensation.⁹⁴ With strong opposition from other member states, it would have been more difficult for Japan to recover its place in international politics without this US support. Thus, the relationship between Japan and the United States could not be that of countries of equal status but the protection of the weaker country by the stronger.⁹⁵

Japan's desire to be a politically important world power diminished in its postwar foreign policy, too. Japan accepted the superiority of the western industrialized countries especially of that represented by the United States.⁹⁶ Besides the acceptance of its weaker position compared with that of the Western powers, the feeling of guilt toward Asian countries which suffered from Japanese occupation existed among the Japanese.⁹⁷ In order to avoid further conflicts with these countries, Japan became very passive in its diplomatic activities in Asia.⁹⁸ Thus, both with the Western countries and Asian neighbours, Japan was very careful in its behaviour, tending to follow what the leading countries decided.⁹⁹ Japan's postwar foreign policy avoided

involvement in decision making in international politics.¹⁰⁰

Along with the nuclear experience, American policy in the early stages of the Occupation helped to create Japanese pacifism.¹⁰¹ The first stage of this process was the demobilization of all military forces which was also one of the conditions of Japan's surrender.¹⁰² The second stage was the revision of Japan's Constitution.¹⁰³ The new constitution which was drafted under the supervision of the US Occupation forces clearly declared that Japan would not have military forces for the purposes of solving international disputes.¹⁰⁴ When the United States changed its policy because of the Soviet threat, and suggested that Japan remilitarize, Japan rejected the suggestion mainly because of economic problems. However, there was also a strong anti-war mentality among Japanese people which made the Japanese government determined to keep a pacifist stance.¹⁰⁵

Since Japan's pacifism was not a result of a search for the best way to protect the country (such as pacifism in Sweden and Switzerland) but something partly created by the United States, the nature of that pacifism is different. While pacifist European countries sent their troops abroad for the purpose of maintaining world peace (e.g. on UN peace keeping operations¹⁰⁶), Japan's pacifism was based on the presumption that the United States would protect Japan and Japan itself did not have to fight in order to keep peace.¹⁰⁷ Pacifism in the case of Japan meant being harmless and peaceful without involving itself in any fighting.¹⁰⁸

Thus, since the end of the war, the Japanese have cut themselves off from being involved in international military disputes.¹⁰⁹ This has resulted in a lack of Japanese presence in world politics.¹¹⁰ Insensitivity to international politics and dependence on the United States continued till the end of the 1970s when the Japanese government started changing its policy.¹¹¹ While the Japanese were enjoying peace, without having to pay any attention to the outside world, Japan's international influence had become too strong to be ignored because of its expanded economy.¹¹²

3) Japan's position in world politics in the 1970s

Basically, Japan has been dependent on the United States in politics and security since the 1950s till today.¹¹³ However, Japan's international relationships with other countries have gradually altered. Japan's economic growth and the participation of newly independent countries in the United Nations made the Japan-U.S. relationship and Japan's position in international politics in the 1970s different from that of the 1950s.¹¹⁴

Following the rapid growth of the Japanese economy and the weakening of the American economy in the 1960s, the gap between the economic power of the two countries narrowed in the 1970s. The increasing criticism by US citizens against American involvement in the Vietnam War raised questions about US responsibility for Asian security.¹¹⁵ The criticism pointed to Japan's benefit from the war.¹¹⁶ Americans saw Japan no longer as a country needing US protection; but one which had to help the United States to protect other weaker allies. The United States wanted to transfer some of its responsibility in Asia to Japan.¹¹⁷ Consequently, when US-Soviet relations deteriorated in the early 1980s, the US pressure on Japan for its remilitarization increased.¹¹⁸

Change in Japan's relationship with other countries occurred, too. In 1975, when France suggested a political summit in order to discuss the solution of the oil crisis, Japan was invited as one of the six member countries.¹¹⁹ Thereafter, Japan became a regular member of many important political summits.

In the international community, Japan's position changed owing not only to its economic power but also to the increase in the number of developing countries which were politically and economically weaker than Japan. The emergence of these newly independent countries in the 1960s and 1970s pushed Japan's relative position in international politics higher.

4) Foreign policy change after the late 1970s

Despite the pressure from the United States and other European countries

on Japan to contribute more to the international community, Japan tried to maintain a passive foreign policy in the 1970s.¹²⁰ At the same time, although Japan was basically following advice from the United States, Japan avoided being too close to any particular group of countries so that it could maintain good relationships with all countries.¹²¹ Hence, Japan tried to keep some distance between itself and the security policies of the Western bloc.¹²²

A change from passivity to active involvement in international politics took place after the conclusion of the Sino-Japanese Peace Friendship Treaty in 1978.¹²³ When Japan and China started moving towards signing this treaty, there was strong pressure from the Soviet Union which indicated that the treaty could be a critical obstruction to the solution of disputes between Japan and the Soviet Union.¹²⁴ To this criticism, the Japanese government responded that the Soviet Union had no influence on matters between Japan and China.¹²⁵ This resolute response was appreciated by the Western countries as the first clear announcement of Japan's diplomatic stand.¹²⁶ The treaty was also meaningful because it represented a solution to the biggest diplomatic problem for postwar Japan. It had removed the great fear of having China as a potential enemy.

Gradually, Japan's emphasis in politics became more internationally oriented. In 1979, Japan changed its defence policy and launched 'all-round security' which meant the protection of the country not only by military power but also by keeping good relationships with other countries.¹²⁷ Diplomacy became a very important element in this new defence policy.

In 1979, the Minister of Foreign Affairs announced in the U.N. General Assembly that Japan had a desire to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world.¹²⁸ This shift in Japanese foreign policy could also be found in statements made by several Japanese prime ministers who took office in the late 1970s and the 1980s.¹²⁹ Unlike prime ministers in previous decades, they placed Japan as a member of the Western bloc by linking its security interests with those of Western Europe and the United States.¹³⁰ In response to a US request, the Japanese government increased its defence budget, which resulted in Japan being the third country in the world in terms of military

expenditure.¹³¹ Based on this new policy, Japan's diplomatic efforts in Asia and with other developing countries also increased in the 1980s.

5) Change from passive pacifism to active involvement with peace keeping

Due to the change in foreign policy, Japan's pacifism came to a turning point in the 1980s.

The revision of Article Nine of the Japanese Constitution which prohibits Japan from sending troops abroad started to be discussed as early as in the 1950s under the Hatoyama government.¹³² However, after the revision of the Japan-US Security Treaty in 1960, the matter of a self-defence force and Article Nine was put aside because of the government's emphasis on economic policies. The issues were revived by Prime Minister Nakasone at the beginning of the 1980s.¹³³ Nakasone's emphasis was on improving Japan's political position in the international arena and increasing the budget for the self-defence force and began to explore the possibilities of revising Article Nine.¹³⁴

Japan's participation in the Gulf War was limited to financial support to the United Nations. After the Gulf War, sending a self-defence force abroad for the UN Peace Keeping Operation became an urgent issue in the Japanese Parliament because of increasing criticism from other countries about Japan's money-oriented contribution to international politics.¹³⁵ Finally in 1992, the Japanese government decided to send a self-defence force to the UN Peace Keeping Operation on condition that it did not participate in military action.¹³⁶

The end of the cold war in 1989 also changed the basis of Japan's passivity and pacifism in international politics.¹³⁷ Since Japan became independent in 1952, diplomatic and security policies had been decided on the assumption that the cold war would last for a while.¹³⁸ With the collapse of the Soviet Union, Japan's importance to US military strategy decreased.¹³⁹ Moreover, while the threat of the Soviet military power diminished, Japan's economic power became more threatening to the United States.¹⁴⁰ US protection of Japan which Japan had been taken for granted was no longer secure. The necessity

for Japan to be ready to protect itself emerged. At the same time, opinions which asserted that Japan should stop depending on the US and start initiating its own diplomatic policy increased among Japanese politicians and academics.¹⁴¹

Thus, although Japan is still politically linked to the United States, the diplomatic policy has shifted from passiveness to a more active participation in international peace keeping. Hence, Japan's foreign policy is now similar to that of the Western industrialized countries.

4. The Relationship with Developing Countries

Like the countries discussed in Chapter Two, in Japan as well, the change in foreign policy influenced its relationship with developing countries. Due to the changes in economic and political development, in the 1980s, Japan came to establish a close relationship with developing countries. These closer relationships were unrelated to Japan's prewar colonial link.

1) Prewar relationship and its termination

Before World War II, Japan had a close relationship with Asian countries as a colonial power. It ruled Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria either directly or indirectly. However, unlike some of the European countries, Japan's old colonial relationships did not develop to be a special relationship in the postwar period.

One possible reason for this is Japan's relatively short occupation of its colonies compared with these of the European powers. Since Japan had been closed to the outside world till the mid 19th century, Japan joined the competition to colonize other countries with other world powers only after the opening of the country. In spite of this late start, Japan hurriedly obtained colonies. The process of colonization by Japan was not gradual and subtle, but aggressive. As a result, there was enormous resentment against Japanese policies in these countries.

It should be also noted that unlike European colonies especially in Africa, Japanese colonies in Asia such as Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria had highly respected old civilizations. Furthermore, Taiwan, Korea and Manchuria used to have clear political and cultural influence from China. Japan itself had respected the great history and culture of China for many centuries until the Sino-Japanese War.¹⁴² Therefore it was not easy to eliminate Chinese influence from these countries. Korea was an independent country which had a formal diplomatic relationship with Japan even during the closed Edo Period.¹⁴³ Thus, Japan's rule over Korea was the take-over of one sovereign power by another.

The third and most significant reason resulted from the acceptance of the Potsdam Proclamation, where Japan lost not only political and military power over its colonies but also sovereignty over its own land.¹⁴⁴ Henceforth, Japan became more or less a colony of the Western allies.

The reality of defeat and seven years of American occupation rendered Japan incompetent to compete politically and economically with the United States.¹⁴⁵ Belief in the superiority of Japanese culture which was intentionally established by the prewar leaders was erased. As a consequence, the sense of identity as a colonizing country in pre-war relationships with Asian countries faded away and Japan did not try to maintain a patron-patronized relationship with its ex-colonies. Japan's role in Korea and Taiwan as a patron was taken over by the United States.¹⁴⁶

The break of political and economic relationships between Japan and its colonies meant that there was no influx of foreign workers for the reconstruction of Japan. On the contrary, the number of foreign workers who were living in Japan before the war quickly decreased as they returned to their home countries.¹⁴⁷ Thus, although Japan was one of the colonial powers until World War II, there was a clear break in its relationship with former colonies after the war.

2) Postwar relationship with developing countries

After World War II, in order to avoid suspicion about its intention of

ruling the neighbouring area again, Japan distanced itself from its neighbouring countries' affairs as much as possible.¹⁴⁸ Even in the 1960s, Japan did not have a strong political motive to build a close relationship with developing countries. Rather it was busy developing its own economy, and was not enthusiastic about promoting foreign aid.¹⁴⁹

The protection by the United States permitted Japan to hold on to this isolation policy. Although Japan was supposed to counterbalance the Soviet threat, it did not have to compete with the Soviet Union in establishing diplomatic relationships with newly independent countries¹⁵⁰ nor had it to seek the cooperation with these independent, non-allied countries in order to secure its position in international politics.¹⁵¹ Thus, unlike other countries that tried to develop diplomatic relations with newly independent countries for political and strategic reasons in the 1960s, Japan was not obliged to do so. Further, Japan's relationship with developing countries was limited to achieving economic gains till the 1960s because Japan had to import inexpensive natural resources, especially oil, which was essential for the Japanese economy, from Asian and Middle-East countries.¹⁵²

In the 1970s, because of increasing trade friction between Japan and the Asian countries and the oil crises, Japan's relations with developing countries became closer. Direct investment which emerged as a new strategy of economic expansion in the 1970s placed new demands on Japanese companies to understand the people and cultures in developing countries.¹⁵³ While Japanese staff were sent to these countries, local staff in Asian countries were invited to have in-service training in Japan.

The relations with developing countries extended also in terms of geographic areas as well; although the pattern of the relationship with these developing countries was different from that with Asian countries. Japan's relations with African countries changed from the mid 1970s. Until then, Japan had no close ties with African countries, which were very closely linked with their former colonial powers.¹⁵⁴ There was no space for a country like Japan to enter into a relationship with any of these countries.¹⁵⁵ However, with political independence after the 1960s by the African countries, the

relations between African countries and their European colonizers declined and became weaker. The Japanese government started establishing economic relations with some independent African countries in the middle of the 1970s mainly for the rich natural resources in these countries.¹⁵⁶

The oil crises made Japan's relationship with Arab countries closer as well. Following the first oil crisis, Japan actively negotiated for oil supply. By so doing, diplomatic relations with Arab countries were improved.¹⁵⁷

Compared with its economic activities, Japan's relations with developing countries in the arena of foreign policies including overseas aid did not develop so quickly. Japan's overseas's aid started in 1954 first as compensation to the countries which were damaged during World War II. Foreign aid to other countries increased in the 1960s after Japan finished paying back most of its debt to the World Bank.¹⁵⁸ Because of economic growth, Japan increasingly assumed the role of development aid supplier to countries struggling to develop their economies.¹⁵⁹ Economic assistance to Asian countries changed in its nature: it became similar to that of development aid provided by the Western industrialized countries.¹⁶⁰

The passive attitude toward overseas aid continued until the mid 1970s. There were two significant events which made the 1970s a turning point for Japan's aid policy. In 1972, the relationship with China started moving towards normalization and after that, Japanese prime ministers started visiting ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations) countries actively.¹⁶¹ Furthermore, in 1973, when the first oil crisis occurred, Japan became more aware of the necessity of having good relations with other countries which could supply natural resources. As a consequence, overseas aid became an important diplomatic strategy.¹⁶²

The increasing influence of newly independent countries in the international arena, especially in the United Nations, also gave Japan a strong motivation to improve relationships with developing countries. In the United Nations, every country has a vote of equal value however small that country may be. Since there are more than 50 countries in Africa, their support is essential to success in UN politics. Japan recognized this change of the

balance of political power when it lost to Bangladesh in the 1978 Security Council election.¹⁶³

In these circumstances, Japan adopted an "all-round" security policy in the late 1970s.¹⁶⁴ This change in foreign policy required more active contributions to Asian-Pacific security and encouraged a closer link with ASEAN countries in the 1980s.¹⁶⁵ Prime Minister Fukuda launched his plan for increasing Official Development Assistance (ODA) at the end of the 1970s.¹⁶⁶ Under the Nakasone cabinet which emphasized more active participation in international politics, the government made great effort to raise the amount of ODA in the mid 1980s so that Japan became the number one aid donor country in 1989.¹⁶⁷

Thus, the amount of Japanese ODA which was much smaller than the other countries in the OECD Development Assistance Committee (DAC) until the mid 1980s, when measured by the proportion of aid to GNP, increased.¹⁶⁸ Although the amount did not reach the DAC target of ~~one~~^{one} percent of GNP, the intention to accomplish the target became stronger.¹⁶⁹ Japan also started paying more attention to the quality of aid.¹⁷⁰ For example, in the government's policy, humanitarian aid had more emphasis placed than before.

In terms of the amount of money and emphasis on humanitarian aid, Japan's aid resembled more the model of the western industrialized countries. However, there is also a feature which makes Japan's aid different from others. It is the high ratio of loans to grants.¹⁷¹ This indicates that Japan's policy is based on the belief that aid should not be given away but should be paid back by the donee countries' efforts. In a way, this belief in the efforts for 'self help' by recipients is inherent in Japan's overseas 'welfare' policy.

Apart from the relationship based on aid, as a part of the all-round security policy the Japanese government started cultural programmes to promote a closer relationship with developing countries in the 1980s. In the mid 1980s, the government announced its intention to accept more overseas students in Japanese higher education institutions.¹⁷² Prime Minister Nakasone also launched programmes to invite Asian youths to Japan in order to promote stronger future relations with Asian countries.¹⁷³

Besides these factors that brought about the changes in policy, it should

also be noted that the popular movement to know more about and to cooperate with developing countries was triggered by incidents such as the refugee problem of Indo-China at the end of the 1970s and famine problem in Africa at the beginning of the 1980s.¹⁷⁴ Even after the excitement over these issues in Japanese society in general had calmed down, a number of NGOs remained and continued their activities.

Thus, the relations between Japan and developing countries in the postwar period became significantly closer and broader in the 1980s. This was caused by changes in the economy, and subsequently in foreign policy of Japan.

5. Domestic Policy

The growth in the economy of Japan in the 1960s also influenced Japan's domestic policy. With an expanding budget, the government improved the social welfare system gradually by the early 1970s. On the other hand, the problems of pollution resulting from industrialization in the 1960s caused the Japanese to become more aware of the importance of working conditions and the environment. The next section sketches postwar Japanese domestic politics with a focus on welfare issues.

1) Domestic policy during occupation period

Early in the Occupation, the General Headquarters of the Allied Forces (the GHQ) emphasized the democratization of Japanese society.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, when Japanese workers started forming labour organizations, the GHQ welcomed this movement and recognized it as a byproduct of democratization.¹⁷⁶ The GHQ tried to protect the movement from suppression by the temporary Japanese government¹⁷⁷ which still maintained several characteristics of the pre-war government.¹⁷⁸ For the same reason, when the Socialist Party became the leading party as the result of the first general election under the new constitution in 1947, the GHQ viewed this favourably.¹⁷⁹

Despite the expectations of the Japanese people and the GHQ, the reformist

government was short-lived. Firstly, the Japan Socialist Party (JSP) was not ready to lead in the chaotic Japanese political scene.¹⁸⁰ Secondly, the JSP had to make a coalition cabinet and disputes over which parties it should cooperate with and who should take which post caused a division in the party and subsequently hindered its progress.¹⁸¹ In order to avoid the separation of the right and left wings of the party, the cabinet had to resign.¹⁸²

The leader of the Democratic Party became Prime Minister and formed a coalition cabinet with the JSP and the Kokumin Kyodo To [Citizen Cooperation Party] in 1948.¹⁸³ This time, the cabinet had to face the difficulties of pressure from the escalating labour movement, budgetary problems, and financial scandals.¹⁸⁴ The bribery scandals amongst cabinet members was the final blow for the cabinet.¹⁸⁵ Two cabinet members were arrested and after his resignation in 1948, the Prime Minister himself was arrested.¹⁸⁶ Thus, the first reformist cabinets failed to achieve democratization.

Although these reformers were supposed to have socialist views, they could not improve the social welfare system. One and half years were too short for the reformist governments to show their originality. What they left in the mind of the Japanese people was only the negative impression that a reformist government was unreliable.¹⁸⁷

2) Revival of the Conservative Government

After Yoshida's cabinet in 1948 which briefly filled the gap between the resignation of the previous cabinet and the election that followed, the conservative Democratic Liberal Party won the election and Yoshida became the Prime Minister.¹⁸⁸ Thus, in 1949, a long period of conservative rule started with the third Yoshida cabinet.

There was a change in the GHQ as well.¹⁸⁹ The tolerant attitude of the GHQ toward the labour and reformist movement was gradually changing because of the emergence of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union and the establishment of Communist China.¹⁹⁰ America's original plan of making the Republic of China protect Asia from socialist threat was

ruined.¹⁹¹

The importance of Japan in Asia became clear with the outbreak of the Korean War in 1950.¹⁹² In order to make Japan a reliable ally of the western world, the US emphasis in Japan's reconstruction changed from democratization to that of the strengthening of its economy and self-defence ability.¹⁹³ Two announcements made by General McArthur in 1950 indicate that the policy of the United States had changed.¹⁹⁴ One permitted Japan to have a self-defence force. The other identified communists rather than war criminals as major public enemies.¹⁹⁵ For these reasons, the GHQ became more supportive of the conservative government.¹⁹⁶

It also started controlling the escalating labour movement by ordering the suspension of a general strike and starting a red purge.¹⁹⁷ The members of labour unions and educationists who were once the leaders of post-war Japanese democracy came to be oppressed as communists. On the other hand, conservative people who were expelled from responsible positions in the purge after the war were allowed to come back into public service in 1950.¹⁹⁸ Thus, for internal and external reasons, Japan started its history of postwar democracy with conservative groups in positions of official and elected power.

Until 1960 when the Japan-US Security Treaty was revised, the priority of the conservative government in domestic politics was political stability.¹⁹⁹ After that year, it was economic development which was the most important issue.²⁰⁰ Although welfare, human rights and economic equality were improved in the postwar reform, the political emphasis failed to address these issues and further improvement was postponed.²⁰¹

The 1960s had two governments, namely, the Ikeda cabinet and the Sato cabinet, which stressed economic development.²⁰² They were very successful in terms of achieving their targets.²⁰³ Japan accomplished full employment in this period.²⁰⁴ With the amazing improvement of the standard of living, it was natural for Japanese people to have confidence in their conservative government.

3) Changes in the 1970s and the 1980s

Emphasis on economic development as the basis for social welfare started to change in the 1970s. There was increasing demand for better working and living conditions. Hence, social welfare became an important issue even for the conservative government.²⁰⁵ In 1971, the government launched a policy emphasising social welfare and that became the first year of the welfare period.²⁰⁶ The government greatly improved pension plans and social welfare in 1973.²⁰⁷ The policy changes in the 1970s indicate that the importance of social welfare was recognized by the conservative government. Indeed, concerning welfare policies, there was not much contradiction among different parties except that the LDP had the most practical view compared with other parties which did not have to take responsibility for implementation of the welfare policies.²⁰⁸

Other factors also precipitated the changes in the welfare system. Rapid industrialization failed to consider the hygiene conditions of the workers. Hence air and water pollution caused the illness of workers and residents in the industrial zones, producing diverse social problems towards the end of the 1960s.²⁰⁹ The government had to tackle the problem seriously by establishing the Environment Agency.²¹⁰ On the other hand, the first oil crisis in 1973 caused a panic among the Japanese.²¹¹ Japanese industry also realized that their energy supply was limited. In short, in contrast to the 1960s when economic growth rate was the thrust of government policy, in the 1970s the thrust became more environmental and energy conscious.²¹²

Further expansion of the welfare policy was interrupted by the first oil crisis and then forced to change direction in the 1980s. The government gave up its intention of introducing a European style welfare state in the late 1970s, and started to generate an original interpretation of welfare. It was to be a welfare system which did not overprotect people but basically encouraged 'self help' and 'self support' so that people could be motivated to work.²¹³ Thus, the system which the government outlined was the product of a compromise between welfare and the protection of economic growth.

In the early 1980s, government's attention was again focused more on economic problems and less on social welfare. For example, there were privatization of industries which had been run directly by the government.²¹⁴ This included the national railways which were suffering from an increasing deficit caused by those branches in sparsely populated rural areas.²¹⁵ At the same time, further reforms led to a cut in the budget for the welfare system.²¹⁶ These pressures and domestic policies in the 1980s moved the Japanese welfare system even further away from those of the Europeans.²¹⁷

4) Political climate change in the 1990s

The late 1980s were a period of a 'bubble economy' and there was always a labour shortage.²¹⁸ However, once the bubble broke in the early 1990s, unemployment became a cause for concern.²¹⁹ Furthermore, the issue of an aging society was also recognized as a future problem as the baby boomers went into their fifties. Pension plans and medical care for aged people became the focal point of domestic politics.²²⁰

Besides these social and economic changes, political change was also quietly taking place in the 1980s. For example, the JSP which had identified itself as a party for workers stressing social change by revolution adopted new principles which made the party much closer to European social democratic parties.²²¹ The LDP, on the other hand, had already recognized the urgent matter of an aging society and the welfare system in the 1970s. Thus, the ideological distance between these two parties had diminished by the 1980s and both moved closer to European social democratic principles.

The result of these changes appeared when political reorganization occurred in 1993 and the LDP's dominant rule came to an end.²²² The LDP split into several small parties and the JSP formed two coalition governments with some former LDP members. In 1994, a coalition government of the LDP and the JSP emerged.²²³ The new government policies emphasized social welfare, human rights, protection of minorities, and economic equality.²²⁴

6. Racial Diversity

Economic development which accompanied the development of closer links with Asian countries influenced Japan's domestic society as well. The influence of this contextual change appeared in the 1980s with the arrival of new waves of immigrants who distinguished themselves as foreigners and this increased the demands on the education and welfare systems. The problem of minority races started attracting government attention and triggered Japanese people's awareness of racial issues.

In this section, the thesis argues that only after the influx of this new group of immigrants, did the Japanese people recognize racial minority issues as an international problem. Old minority issues are discussed first in order to clarify that they were treated as domestic problems by the Japanese and did not create the context which makes the introduction of Development Education easier.

1) Pre-World War II minority issues: Ainu people

The Ainu are a racial minority who have lived in the Northern part of Japan from the beginning of Japanese history. It is difficult to define exactly how many Ainu people are living in Japan now. The assimilation of the Ainu people with mainland Japanese through inter-marriage with mainlanders has progressed to such an extent that the difference between Ainu and mainland Japanese has become unclear. In terms of nationality, they are Japanese and they identify themselves as Japanese under the modern nation-state system. They speak Japanese, are educated in the same education system with other Japanese children, and live as Japanese.

This assimilation process was started by the Meiji government at the end of the nineteenth century.²²⁵ The policy was closely related to the larger movement of modernization in contemporary Japan.²²⁶ Prior to the Meiji period, the Ainu were not regarded as Japanese.²²⁷ It was in the Meiji Period that the modern Japanese government formally included the island in Japanese

jurisdiction and named the island Hokkaido. The Meiji government planned to develop Hokkaido as agricultural land.

However, the Ainu were not suitable for a labour force for the government plan. The Ainu population had become small by this time as the result of severe exploitation by mainlanders and disease.²²⁸ Furthermore, they were basically fishermen.²²⁹ It was easier to assimilate the Ainu people with the mainland Japanese so that Ainu issue would disappear before causing any problems to the new government.²³⁰ The Meiji government which was struggling with modernization and the protection of Japan was not enthusiastic about the Ainu issue for the first twenty years.

Around 1890, Japanese intellectuals recognized how bad the living conditions of Ainu people were and started suggesting policies to solve the problems.²³¹ The proposed solution was the assimilation of Ainu people with the Japanese both in terms of economy and culture.²³² The government passed the law known as Hokkaido Kyudojin Hogo Ho [Hokkaido Aborigine Protection Law].²³³ As a result, the law changed the Ainu life style from fishing to farming.²³⁴ Culturally, assimilation was promoted through education.²³⁵ Legally, they were to be treated as citizens.²³⁶

The assimilation of the Ainu within Japanese culture was accelerated by the Hokkaido Aborigine Protection Law.²³⁷ The most significant factor in the assimilation process was the language change. As in other Japanese areas, a modern education system was introduced for Ainu people,²³⁸ and they were encouraged to learn standard Japanese at school.

At the beginning, schools for Ainu people were separated from those for mainlanders because of their different cultural background.²³⁹ By 1935, there was no need for such special schools because most of the Ainu could understand the Japanese language.²⁴⁰ Thus, Ainu people gradually lost their own language and identity as a different race. They assimilated with mainlanders and joined Japanese society although at a relatively low social stratum.²⁴¹

The Ainu issue is not discussed as a critical issue in politics any more for several reasons. Firstly, the number of Ainu people is insignificant. Secondly,

it is difficult to distinguish the Ainu from other Japanese because they have blended with mainlanders. Thirdly, Ainu economic difficulties have also merged with the problem of economic disparity in Japanese society in general and so the racial factor can no longer be considered a reason for poverty.²⁴² Fourthly, owing to economic growth, even the standard of living of poorer people in Japan has improved greatly.

2) Korean immigrants and their descendants

The modernization of Japan created another racial minority group before World War II. Koreans moved into Japan as a labour force. At the end of the 1980s, there were approximately 700,000 Koreans living in Japan.²⁴³ As in the case of the Ainu, they were not significantly different from Japanese in terms of their physical appearance. Since more than eighty-five percent of them were born and brought up in Japan, most of them spoke Japanese perfectly.²⁴⁴ Their standard of living had improved with Japan's economic growth as well.²⁴⁵ Superficially, their present situation is not much different from that of the Ainu. However, historical background and legal status clearly distinguish these two minority groups.²⁴⁶

The Korean workers started moving into Japan at the end of the nineteenth century and increased in numbers in the 1910s after Japan annexed Korea.²⁴⁷ Until then, the Koreans had their own nationality, and their position amongst the Japanese was clearly understood as that of outsiders.²⁴⁸ The new immigrant Koreans came to Japan to work as manual workers earning extremely low wages.²⁴⁹ Such a labour force was convenient to the Japanese. Japanese capitalists took advantage of the Korean workers by paying them less, simply because they were Koreans, and to keep wages of Japanese workers low.²⁵⁰ Thus, inside Japanese society, discrimination against the Koreans was tactically maintained.

In terms of national policy, the status of Korean people remained marginal. They were neither Japanese nor foreigners.²⁵¹ From an international perspective, they were Japanese and the rights of these "Japanese" workers,

who were in fact Korean, were not protected by international organizations because it was a domestic issue.²⁵² In domestic politics, they were considered by the Japanese as outsiders.

As in the case of the Ainu, the Japanese government adopted an assimilation policy for the Korean people.²⁵³ In 1911, the Japanese education system was implemented in Korea.²⁵⁴ Japanese language, history and geography lessons replaced their Korean equivalents and Shushin was introduced.²⁵⁵ Thus, through education, the Japanese government tried to eliminate the Korean identity of Korean people. Following the colonial tendencies of the 1930s, the Koreans were forced to change their names to Japanese names.²⁵⁶ By 1939, the use of the Korean language in school for education was also forbidden.²⁵⁷ During the war, the demand for workers, especially miners, increased.²⁵⁸ It is estimated that between 1939 and 1945, about one and half million Korean workers were forced to come to Japan.²⁵⁹

When the war was over, Japan had no reason to keep the Koreans in Japan. Economically, industries had been damaged by the war and there was a high unemployment rate. Despite such conditions, a number of Koreans decided to stay in Japan, partly because of the unstable political situation at home and also because of an epidemic in the Korean Peninsula. There was also the fear of the lack of opportunity to start new lives in Korea.²⁶⁰ Consequently, more than five hundred thousand people remained.²⁶¹

At first, the GHQ regarded these Korean people as Japanese.²⁶² Therefore, it announced that Korean people also had to follow the Japanese education system and education for assimilation continued.²⁶³ The Koreans in Japan had to have Japanese compulsory education and Korean schools were not recognized in the formal education system.²⁶⁴ In 1947, the policy suddenly changed and the Koreans were forced to register as foreigners even though they were considered to have Japanese nationality.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, with the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, these people were suddenly deprived of their Japanese nationality. Since many of the remaining Koreans were not naturalized in Japan, they are now treated administratively as aliens and do not have the same benefits as Japanese in terms of social welfare.²⁶⁶

The policy of the Japanese government to solve this inequality is the naturalization of these Korean people. Despite the historical background which brought them to Japan, Japanese government does not give equal benefit to these Koreans as long as they keep their Korean nationality. The tradition of an assimilation policy continues.

The status of Korean people in Japan has therefore been consistently marginal since the annexation of Korea by Japan in 1910. Because of their status, the Japanese failed to consider them as people from another independent country and it has become 'natural' to think of the Korean problem in Japan as a domestic issue.

3) Racial diversity in the 1980s

These two racial minority groups before World War II were not considered as foreigners. As a consequence, they did not lead Japanese people to become aware of the problem of economic disparity between countries. It was not until the 1980s when new groups of immigrants and guest workers appeared that a new perception was given to minority issues.

The third type of racial minority that emerged in Japan in the 1980s was guest workers from various countries.²⁶⁷ Since many of them were illegal workers, the exact number was unknown. However, about 300,000 illegal immigrants were estimated to be living in Japan in 1993.²⁶⁸ This phenomenon first occurred in the early 1980s when young women came from Asian countries such as the Philippines and Thailand.²⁶⁹ They entered Japan as singers, dancers and tourists and worked in the entertainment trade, sometimes as prostitutes.²⁷⁰ These were followed by male foreigners who came to Japan to work illegally as manual workers.²⁷¹ They were from various Asian countries such as the Philippines, Thailand, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Iran. Furthermore, owing to a change in immigration policy, workers from Brazil and Peru who were Japanese descendants started to come into Japan legally after 1989.²⁷²

There are economic reasons to explain this phenomenon. One is from the

supply side. Owing to the expansion of Japanese business in Asia, the economic relationship between Japan and Asian countries became closer.²⁷³ At the same time, the industrialization of Asian countries also rapidly developed and the basis of the economy in those countries changed from agriculture to manufacturing industry.²⁷⁴ However, the unemployment rate in the home countries of these workers has been very high.²⁷⁵ Hence, an increased number of manual workers moved from Asian countries to Japan, seeking better wages.

Another important economic reason is the demand for labour. When Japan experienced its first economic growth after World War II, it had a large cheap domestic labour force. Due to the low standard of living amongst the Japanese people, they were eager to catch up with the standard of living in the Western industrialized countries. Furthermore, since the structure of economy was based on manufacturing industry rather than service industry in the 1960s, it was natural for them to work as manual workers.

By the 1980s, the situation was different. The economy was increasingly based on service industries and the number of white collar workers had increased. Young Japanese who were born in affluence and who were well educated joined the labour force in the 1980s. They preferred white collar jobs to blue collar jobs. Manual work especially was not popular among these Japanese because it was seen as demanding, dirty and dangerous.²⁷⁶ Japan's economic expansion in the 1980s allowed young people to avoid such jobs.²⁷⁷ As a result, manufacturing industry, which needed to expand, could not find enough workers. A solution was found by employing foreign workers.²⁷⁸ The recruitment of foreign workers then mushroomed.²⁷⁹

The government was not directly involved in the supply of foreign workers. The government was careful in handling the issue of foreign workers because of the racial problems facing European countries.²⁸⁰ However, even the government admitted that the employment of foreign workers was unavoidable because of the high demand for labour by Japanese industries. At the beginning, it gave tacit consent to what was happening. Later, it changed the visa regulations so that Japanese descendants from Latin

American countries could come to Japan as workers legally.²⁸¹

Whether the government was passive about increasing foreign workers or not, it was impossible to stop the influx of foreign workers. With the increase of the number of immigrant workers, other problems emerged. Among the problems, there was education of their children, their right to join the social welfare system and housing.²⁸² These problems also started influencing the life of the Japanese people. For example, foreign workers started to meet in public spaces such as parks and sometimes even for drug dealing. Because of their obviously different appearance, such gatherings caused an uneasy feeling amongst the Japanese in the area.²⁸³

The early 1980s was also the time when other groups of people from Asia arrived in Japan and had a strong impact on the Japanese people. They were Indo-China refugees who raised Japanese people's awareness of difficulties incurred by foreigners. The influence of their arrival soon appeared in Japanese society. For example, the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees adopted by the United Nations in 1951²⁸⁴ was finally signed in 1982,²⁸⁵ although up to 1979, the number of refugees accepted in Japan was far less than that in most of the industrialized countries.²⁸⁶ Criticisms of the government's indifference to refugees rose among Japanese people, and NGOs for relief activities in Indo-China were set up.²⁸⁷

Thus, with the arrival of these new types of foreigners from developing countries, the Japanese people finally recognized racial diversity in Japan in the 1980s. The existence of these immigrants also raised the awareness of the Japanese about the relationship of Japan with developing countries; and also raised awareness about the rights and welfare of old racial minorities.

7. Conclusion

In this chapter, the thesis tested the argument that Japan developed socio-economic and political contexts that affected the emergence of Development Education in the 1980s. At the same time, the chapter also identified some features in the interrelationship among five aspects of the context and issues

which were particular to Japan.

In Japan, all of the five aspects appeared by the mid 1980s. Compared to the other countries discussed in Chapter Two, the influence of the economic factor was extremely strong in the case of Japan. The economic element was at the core and the other four aspects were strongly affected by the economic growth. Because of its economic size, Japan, which had preferred to remain politically less significant in international terms, could no longer stay politically unnoticed. Continuous pressure from other industrialized countries also contributed to urge Japan to participate in international politics. At the same time, Japan changed its foreign policy in the 1980s and became more committed to creating good relationships with other countries, particularly with developing countries which became the main sources for the supply of raw products, labour, and markets for finished goods. Economic expansion into Asian countries also led to an influx of Asian workers into Japan which resulted in a new kind of racial diversity in Japan.

The introduction of the welfare state and its revision were both linked to economic growth. Only when economic growth caught up with other industrialized countries, and infinite economic development was still expected, did the government consider establishing a welfare state. After the 1970s, Japan looked for an alternative interpretation of welfare which emphasizes people's efforts for 'self help'. This principle also applied to Japan's overseas aid policy. Loans rather than grants were preferred in order that such aid would not over-protect the donee countries and stop their efforts for self support. It has also been noted that Japan's defeat in the Second World War and subsequent relations with the United States were crucial in post-war development. Identified as an enemy by the allied powers, Japan could not participate in international politics. In addition, US Occupation and policies in the Cold War forced Japan to concentrate on economic recovery rather than participation in world politics. Hence Japan delayed in getting involved with international politics, and it is evident that Japan deliberately underemphasized its status as a middle power. This resulted in a decade's delay in the introduction of Development Education.

Thus, although the five factors-of-context appropriate for the genesis of Development Education were present in Japan by the mid-1980s, it is clear that the factors were present in Japan in a unique configuration. In particular, international political involvement and responsibility were deliberately downplayed, even though Japan's international economic position would have suggested a major political role. In addition, notions of 'self-help' affected views of both internal minorities, and immigrant minorities, in turn very much affecting conceptions of how best to define and provide 'welfare' domestically and internationally.

Nevertheless this situation is beginning to change. Development Education could be understood from the factors-of-context to be a likely innovation in the Japanese formal education system. In the next chapter, the thesis turns its attention to how Development Education was introduced in schools in countries where similar factors-of context had emerged and the chapter includes an initial sketch of Japan.

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14. *ibid.*, p. 71.
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16. *ibid.*, p. 29.
17. *ibid.*, p. 95.
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281. *ibid.*, pp. 30-33.
282. Takashi Miyajima, Gaikokujin Rodosha to Nippon Shakai[Guest Workers and Japanese Society], (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993), pp. 30-33.

283. Yuji Koido, Gaikokujin Rodosha: Seisaku to kadai[Foreign Workers:Policy and problems], (Tokyo: Zeimu Keiri Kyokai, 1992), pp. 18-19.
284. Uematsu, op. cit., p. 221.
285. *ibid.*, p. 237.
286. Asahi Nenkan 1980[Asahi Almanac 1980], op. cit., p. 112.
287. For example, NGOs which are still actively continuing their activities such as Sotoshu Borantia Kai and Indo-Shina Nanmin o Tasukeru Kai were established during this period.

Chapter Four: The Introduction of Development Education into
Educational Systems

1. Introduction

So far, this thesis has been addressing a general, and a difficult question: What are the politics of the introduction of Development Education into schools? More precisely, what may be learned, using a comparative perspective, about the forces and factors external to an education system which set up possibilities for, even probabilities that, Development Education will be introduced into national schooling systems?

The analysis began with the assumption that as the international position of nations changes, there is a likelihood that nations will become more conscious of the need to instruct their populations, even to educate their school children, about new international responsibilities.

In the post-1945 world, there has been a tendency in many countries to teach about the world of international politics and international economics, in schools, and to spell out a range of ethical and moral responsibilities of nations, especially the responsibility of rich industrialized nations to poor developing nations. What are the patterns which lie behind this tendency? Can anything be understood in a systematic way, about the confluence of events which make the introduction of this kind of teaching in schools more (rather than less) likely?

A tentative answer, of some complexity, has emerged.

First, there is nothing automatic about the process. There is no one factor (eg. GNP growth rates) which will produce a determined and fixed consequence. Nor are there a set of three or four factors which always emerge in combination (international trade expansion, strategic investment, and encouragement by international agencies) which produce a universal result: the introduction of Development Education into schools in countries where these external conditions exists.

Secondly, there are some clear tendencies, which follow from particular

configurations of the political context of nations which make it more (rather than less) likely that Development Education activities will develop initially through NGOs; and ultimately - provided certain other conditions are also met - in formal teaching in the school system itself.

The basic pattern is a combination of the following aspects of context. Countries where Development Education is introduced into school education tend to have; a high-income, industrialized economy; an interest in becoming a politically important country in international relations by non-military means, especially by leading the international community in support to developing countries; welfare-oriented domestic policy; some form of close relationship with developing countries; and the existence of racial minorities who place new demands on social services and infrastructure. However, these aspects of context do not invariably mean the introduction of Development Education in the schools. The historical 'accidents' by which a political party finds itself in power remain significant (eg. Britain and the United States), and the role of personalities should not be ignored (eg. Palme in Sweden and Trudeau in Canada).

In particular, there is a further dimension of closure required: what are circumstances within the education system itself which constrain and influence the teaching of Development Education? It is this question - with special reference to Japan - that the thesis now addresses.

This chapter acts as a link between the First and Second Parts of the thesis. The purpose of the chapter is to investigate how Development Education was introduced into formal education systems when contexts which increase the possibility of the generation of Development Education emerged.

The thesis argues that when these contexts emerge in a country, the ministry or related ministries of the country try some form of intervention in order to introduce Development Education into the formal educational system. It is also argued that in Japan where these contexts appeared in the early 1980s, the related ministries did not intervene to introduce Development Education in the formal education system and, as a consequence, Development Education remained marginal in both the educational reform in the mid 1980s

and the subsequent curriculum revision.

These arguments are tested in the following sub-structure. First, the chapter investigates how ministries intervened in formal education systems in some countries which had external contexts for Development Education. Then, the chapter changes its focus to Japan. The educational reform in the mid 1980s and the national curriculum revision in the late 1980s are mainly analyzed because they were the first large educational change after Japan came to have external contexts which were favourable for the emergence of Development Education.

2. Ministerial Intervention in the Promotion of Development Education in Schools

In the countries where external contexts which increase the possibility of the genesis of Development Education exist, ministries (or a ministry) often intervene in the introduction of Development Education into formal education systems.

However, again, there is no single universal pattern in processes and strategies of the intervention by ministries. The processes before and after ministries decided to intervene are diverse because of the complexity of politics among several actors which try to introduce Development Education in school systems. These actors are, in many cases, prime ministers or presidents and politicians. Ministries, governmental aid agencies and interest groups such as NGOs, church organizations and educationists also intervene as major actors. In individual countries, the actors who are involved or take an initiative in introducing Development Education vary. After ministries decide to intervene, how they do so adds some more complexity to the process. Since formal education systems and the roles of ministries in them are diverse, ministries in every country do not have the same means for the introduction.

In this section, the thesis investigates the complexity of the introduction of Development Education by looking at some selected countries.

1) Processes for national intervention

Among some possible actors who become a driving force in the process of governmental intervention is the leader of the government, namely, the Prime Minister or the President. Examples where the leader of the government played an important role are Sweden, Canada, and to some modest extent, the United States.

In Sweden, the decision of governmental involvement in the introduction of Development Education into schools was made in 1969 when the country had an educational reform. This rather early and extensive intervention is understandable in terms of Swedish politics in the late 1960s. Swedish politics at that time was firmly led by the Prime Minister Olof Palme and he actively promoted the internationalization of education.¹ As indicated earlier, Palme was also the Minister of Education then.² Hence, there was no conflict between the Prime Minister's policy and the Minister of Education's policy. The Prime Minister's ideas in foreign and domestic policies were directly reflected in educational policies. In Canada, as mentioned in Chapter Two, Prime Minister Trudeau's policy had much to share with Development Education. He supported the introduction of Development Education into schools by a policy which let CIDA to give financial support to provincial boards of education and NGOs.³ Although much smaller in scale, and much later in timing, in the United States, President Carter's policy in 1980 also let USAID support NGOs so that Development Education would be introduced into schools.⁴

The influence of the enthusiasm of the ministries is well observed in the cases of Sweden, the Netherlands and France. These three countries also make an interesting contrast in terms of the relationship between two ministries.

In the case of Sweden, as already explained, Palme encouraged cooperation between the Ministry of Education and SIDA which enhanced the introduction of Development Education in schools.⁵

In the Netherlands, the situation was different. The Ministry of Education was not initially active in promoting Development Education.⁶ Unlike

Sweden, domestic politics in the Netherlands is not under one-party dominance.⁷ Coalition governments representing divided interests are common in Dutch political history.⁸ In these circumstances, although the Ministry of Education recognized the importance of Development Education, it could not be introduced easily in the national curriculum. The Ministry had argued that in terms of equality, Development Education should not be seen as an exception and given preferable treatment when there were a number of other types of education supported by different interest groups.⁹ It was not until pressure from the Ministry for Overseas Development caused parliament to allow the introduction of Development Education in schools in the 1980s that the Ministry of Education revised the national curriculum.¹⁰

In France, there was neither a determined leader like Palme nor strong pressure from a governmental aid authority as in the Netherlands. The governmental aid agency, the Ministry of National Education and NGOs cooperated for the introduction of Development Education into schools.¹¹ They concluded that Development Education in schools should not have a narrow focus on global issues and developing countries but should have a more general approach such as "the international aspect of education".¹² In 1976, the government suggested the introduction of Development Education into schools and in the following year, the National Institute for Pedagogical Research started an experiment with the cooperation of the French Committees of UNICEF and UNESCO.¹³

The leading actors so far discussed in the introduction of Development Education are in the government. But non-government people also promoted the introduction of Development Education in formal education systems. For example, in the Netherlands, when the Ministry for Overseas Development was urging the Ministry of Education for the introduction, the Parliament supported the movement.¹⁴ In the United Kingdom, the Parliamentary Group initiated a curriculum development project which included aspects of Development Education. This was the World Studies Project of 1973.¹⁵

It is important to note the impact of interest groups such as NGOs, church organizations, labour unions and educationists in the introduction of

Development Education. In Canada, Development Education was started by local NGOs and as a result of their lobbying, CIDA started funding their activities.¹⁶ The United Kingdom was also largely influenced by NGOs in the introduction of Development Education in schools. Several of the voluntary agencies set up the World Development Movement in 1970 which became a powerful lobbying organization.¹⁷ ^{In France} Although discussion of the introduction of Development Education into schools had already started among NGOs in the early 1970s,¹⁸ it took about five years before the discussion was picked up at the governmental level.¹⁹ In the Netherlands and Sweden, when ministries recognized Development Education, NGOs were also changing their propaganda to educational activities. Hence, they could cooperate with the ministries. In France as well, the national committees for UNICEF and UNESCO cooperated in the curriculum development experiment from the very beginning of the project in 1977.²⁰ In these countries, church organizations were active in raising people's awareness of developing countries through non-formal education.²¹ Although their emphasis was non-formal education, formal education was also addressed.²²

In Nordic countries, the support from labour unions was also influential because their support was essential for governing parties.²³ These unions supported non-formal education for adults and this in turn required strengthening unity with workers in developing countries.²⁴

From the foregoing analysis, the processes which individual countries experienced before their ministries decided to intervene in the introduction of Development Education cannot be quickly generalized. The power was generated from the various complex combinations of these actors and the common element was the decision by the various ministries to intervene. At this point, it is important to focus more specifically on how Development Education was introduced in these countries.

2) The introduction of Development Education in formal education systems

How ministries intervene in the introduction of Development Education

in schools varies depending on which actor led the intervention and which curriculum system a country had. For example, when the leading actor was influential in policy making and curriculum was centrally controlled as in Sweden, the introduction was quick and nation-wide. On the contrary, if the leading actor was not politically powerful and there was no centrally controlled curriculum such as in the United Kingdom, the introduction was slow and partial. Other countries are somewhere between these two contrasting types.

In Sweden, Prime Minister and the Minister of Education Palme's idea of internationalization of education which included Development Education was introduced into the national curriculum and became the genesis of Development Education. In the educational reform in 1969, as part of internationalization, Sweden inserted Development Education as one of the goals of the new national curriculum.²⁵ For example, the curriculum emphasized fostering children's awareness about how they were linked to various international issues and how they had collective responsibility for the issues.²⁶ After this policy was adopted, for the purpose of the promotion of Development Education, SIDA and the National Board of Education cooperated to offer teacher training programmes and organized a study tour to developing countries.²⁷

The Canadian Prime Minister Trudeau was also a powerful supporter of Development Education but he could not influence educational policy directly because, in Canada, curriculum content is basically a provincial matter.²⁸ Hence, there was no central control over the introduction of Development Education into curriculum and whether it was introduced or not was decided by individual provinces.²⁹ However, CIDA encouraged regional governments to promote Development Education by offering financial support. Formal education systems in some provinces responded to this movement. For example, in Nova Scotia, some of the Development Education resource kits created by NGOs were suggested for use by the province. In New Brunswick and Alberta, provincial departments of education developed Global Education Programmes which included Development Education with the cooperation of

NGOs, universities and teachers.³⁰ Thus, the promotion of Development Education by NGOs and educationists supported by generous funding by CIDA throughout the 1970s and the 1980s was a form of governmental intervention in the formal education system.

The situation was similar in the United States. After the revision of US aid policy by President Carter's committee, USAID started encouraging Development Education in 1982 by providing regional or local educational authorities with funding.³¹ This policy survived the change of governing parties. Global Education, which includes Development Education, has been in the federal government's educational policy since the mid 1980s.³² The introduction of Global Education into the curriculum is decided by each state which controls the curriculum.³³ Supported by USAID, there are some states or school districts which are active in the promotion of Development Education.³⁴ For example, in New York State, Global Education exists as a subject 'Global Studies'; and an NGO called American Forum for Global Education funded by USAID cooperates with New York City to provide in-service teacher training sessions.³⁵

In terms of the curriculum system, France shares the tradition of central control with Sweden. However, in France, there was no enthusiastic leader like Palme. The promotion of Development Education in the formal education system was undertaken in a rather slow and modest way.³⁶ However, the Third World Day was introduced into schools in 1983 and Development Education workshops were held by the Ministry of National Education while experiments for curriculum development were continued.³⁷

Among the countries with a national curriculum, the case of the Netherlands is slightly different in terms of curriculum control. Although curriculum revision is normally undertaken by the central educational authority, the decisions about how they are interpreted and which textbooks are used belong to individual schools.³⁸ Furthermore, the curriculum revision is not the responsibility of the governmental educational authority only but a number of other interest groups are involved. They are local government, teachers associations³⁹, the Foundation for Curriculum Development, and

national education centres which are funded by the government and representing different types of schools based on different denominations.⁴⁰ This pluralism is not only in the matter of curriculum development but a feature of Dutch society itself.

Thus, until 1982, partly because of the lack of Development Education in the national curriculum and partly because of loose control over curriculum implementation, Development Education in schools was promoted mainly by NGOs and church organizations which were generously supported by the Ministry for Development Cooperation.⁴¹ However, without the support of the national curriculum, the activities by NGOs were limited to the creation of teaching materials, projects at school level and teacher education.⁴²

The situation started to change in 1982 when the Minister for Overseas Development recognized the importance of a national project for Development Education and the need for the involvement of the formal education sector.⁴³ A project called EPOS started in 1982 for the purpose of introducing Development Education into the curriculum.⁴⁴ Based on this project, a national network for Development Education for schools funded by the Ministries for Overseas Development and Education was established with the support of Parliament in 1986.⁴⁵ The network is working on curriculum development at national and school levels and also for in-service teacher training. The involvement of the Ministry of Education was the product of this pressure from the Ministry for Overseas Development and Education.

Among countries discussed in this chapter, the United Kingdom had the least ministerial intervention in the promotion of Development Education because of the change of governments in 1979 and the abolition of the Development Education Fund which had just been established by the Labour government in 1977.⁴⁶ Since the abolition, funding for Development Education has been very limited and access was restricted to a few selected NGOs.⁴⁷ However, by the creation of Development Education Fund, the government linked fragmented activities by NGOs under the name of Development Education and contributed to establish it as a type of education. The fact that NGOs started to use the term Development Education for their information

activities after 1977 indicates that the government left a significant influence on the promotion of Development Education.⁴⁸ Once created, Development Education remained an important area of activities by NGOs in the United Kingdom despite the termination of the Fund.

Apart from the Development Education Fund, in the United Kingdom, there was another form of support by the government for an attempt to introduce Development Education into schools in the 1970s. It was the 'World Studies Project' launched by the Parliamentary Group for World Government and the One World Trust in 1973 which continued until 1980.⁴⁹ The Department of Education and Science was involved in this project as a sponsor.⁵⁰ After the project finished in 1980, a group of teachers and teacher educators continued the attempt in their fields.⁵¹ Among such attempts, there were also attempts to introduce "World Studies" into curriculum as a subject.⁵² In both of these cases, although governmental interventions were short lived, they were significant in the formation of Development Education in the United Kingdom.

Many examples indicate that intervention by ministries was influenced by various actors, educational systems, and sometimes by a number of biographical accidents. However, despite the complexity of the process of intervention, there are two major means of ministerial intervention. One is a direct intervention in the educational system itself. For example, revisions of the national curriculum and the introduction of Development Education in teacher training. Another is an indirect way by providing local authorities, NGOs and teachers with funding for the introduction. These are the areas to be considered when investigating governmental intervention in the introduction of Development Education in schools. In the remaining part of this chapter, the thesis discusses how the Japanese government intervened in the introduction of Development Education.

3. Intervention by the Japanese Government

The foregoing analysis indicates that socio-economic and political contexts

were either directly or indirectly responsible for governmental intervention in the introduction of Development Education in various countries. The initiatives in the respective government were taken by the ministries in charge of education or overseas aid. Since similar contexts emerged in the 1980s in Japan, some form of intervention could have been tried by Japanese ministries towards the end of the 1980s. Within this proposition, this section examines how the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Education intervened in the introduction of Development Education into the formal education system in Japan.

1) Intervention by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs

When Development Education was adopted as a strategy for the Second Development Decade by the United Nations in 1970, Japan did not yet have socio-economic and political contexts favourable for the introduction of Development Education. Hence, it is understandable that what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did as a response to the UN policy was not called Development Education. The Ministry started publishing some pamphlets in order to promote Japanese people's understanding of the importance of a Japanese contribution to overseas aid in 1973.⁵³ However, these pamphlets were not planned for use in schools and did not reach the hands of educationists.⁵⁴ Until the mid 1980s, the Ministry's involvement remained at this level.

In 1986, the Ministry recognized Development Education and the director of the Economic Aid Bureau established 'A Meeting for Thinking about Development Education' inside the Ministry.⁵⁵ Based on the recommendation by the Meeting, the Economic Aid Bureau decided to offer ten million yen for the promotion of Development Education, which was no more than one percent of the Dutch counterpart.⁵⁶ The outcome of this funding was the creation of the Development Education Information Centre which was attached to an existing voluntary organization, the Development Education Council of Japan.⁵⁷ However, this governmental financial support was not

institutionalized due to the inability of the appointed organization to cope with the duty and did not continue afterwards. The absence of the Ministry's interest in Development Education up to 1989 was clear. Unlike aid agencies in some other DAC members, the Ministry did not have a section which was in charge of Development Education.⁵⁸

A significant change in the Ministry's stance towards Development Education occurred in 1995. In the 1995 budget for Official Development Assistance, the Japanese government inserted an item, "Naigai no Rikai o Eru Doryoku: Kaihatsu kyoiku, koho no kyoka"[Efforts to promote an understanding of Japan's development assistance at domestic and foreign circles: the improvement of Development Education and public information].⁵⁹ For this item, 34 million yen was allocated.⁶⁰ Although the amount of money was still small compared with some other countries and this is only a little more than the renaming of already existing support to information activities, the existence of Development Education as an independent item in an official governmental document indicates that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs officially recognized Development Education and made a decision to institutionalize financial support to it.

Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has just started supporting Development Education on a small scale in 1995 and has not organized a systematic approach for the promotion of Development Education in the formal educational system as in the Netherlands, Canada, and the United States. Indeed, since Japan has a strictly controlled national curriculum, what the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can do without the cooperation of the Ministry of Education is very limited.

2) The Ministry of Education

As in Sweden and France, Japan has strict central control over curriculum implementation when compared with the Dutch system. Hence, if the national curriculum were utilized for the promotion of Development Education by the government, Development Education could be implemented in schools all over

Japan at once. There was a curriculum revision in the 1980s which the Ministry of Education could have taken advantage of for the promotion of Development Education. During this period, socio-economic and political contexts normally appropriate for Development Education had emerged.

In terms of timing, this revision was perfect for the Ministry to adjust to external changes by introducing Development Education into the national curriculum. Furthermore, this curriculum revision was different from the usual pattern. Unlike ordinary curriculum changes, this revision was based on the policies suggested by the Ad-hoc Council on Education which was established by Prime Minister Nakasone directly under his control.⁶¹ The council existed for three years from 1984 and aimed at a thorough educational reform.⁶² This was an exceptional arrangement which Nakasone created in order to influence educational policies.⁶³ Hence, the council was much larger in scale than the normal Central Councils on Education and had stronger governmental support.

The Prime Minister Nakasone himself had several ideas about educational reform. Preceding the establishment of the council, he announced these ideas to the public in 1982. The following are what he proposed as key issues in education:

- 1.The reform of the 6-3-3 school system
- 2.The entrance examination for senior high schools
- 3.The entrance examination for universities
- 4.The promotion and evaluation of voluntary activities and group lodging training as a part of formal school activities
- 5.The cultivation of sentiment and moral education
- 6.The promotion of Education for International Understanding, the improvement of language instruction, internationalization of universities for the purpose of creating Japanese who can contribute to the international society
- 7.Teacher education, employment, and in-service training⁶⁴

From on these ideas, the Ad-hoc Council on Education based its agenda on the

following issues:

- 1.The fundamental issues of education towards the twenty-first century
- 2.The systematization of life long education and the remedy for the defects of a society based on academic background
- 3.The improvement and the individualization of higher education
- 4.The improvement and diversification of primary and secondary education
- 5.The improvement of quality of teachers
- 6.Adjustment to internationalization
- 7.Adjustment to the information society
- 8.The investigation of educational finance⁶⁵

It will be noticed that the phrase 'Development Education' did not figure on the agenda. However, at least at the level of 'General Comments' in the Second Report of the Council, 'internationalization' was interpreted such as to overlap with the concept of Development Education. It stated:

..."internationalization" at this new stage...must be an active contribution to peace, the prosperity of human beings, and the solution of various problems in the world,...with all human beings in view, and must be participation in the formation of human culture which enables the protection of the ecology of "spaceship earth" and the co-existence of nature, human beings and machinery.⁶⁶

In this definition, the recognition of the interdependent world and Japan's responsibility for the development of the world is seen.⁶⁷ This recognition is also in the Fourth Report. The Report emphasizes the necessity of creating Japanese who are ready to live as members of the international community and asserts that this is an important theme for Japan's own existence and

development.⁶⁸ The same Report also points out three areas as targets of education for internationalization. They are:

- 1.To become able to assert Japan's own culture and to understand the good points of diverse other cultures based on broad internationalized views.
- 2.To produce persons who love Japan and at the same time, decide issues not only in terms of narrow national benefit but also on a broad international and human point of view.
- 3.To foster ability for international communication.⁶⁹

Although there was still an emphasis on international interdependence in this report, once the discussion moved to actual strategies, the emphasis and targets changed slightly. They were mainly used for the justification of international exchange programmes, the improvement of foreign language instruction and education for returned Japanese children from abroad.⁷⁰ These had been the trend of the policies of the Ministry of Education for the internationalization of education since 1974. In this year, as will be discussed later in Chapter Five, the Ministry diverted from UNESCO's policy which had changed Education for International Understanding in order to include aspects of Development Education.⁷¹ Thus, although the Ad-hoc Council on Education recognized the importance of issues which Development Education asserted at the level of abstract discussion, the outcome was not the promotion of Development Education.

In the subsequent curriculum change, the Report submitted by the Council on Educational Curriculum included the promotion of international understanding as one of the four targets of the revision.⁷² However, in the same sentence, fostering respect for Japanese culture and tradition was also inserted as a part of internationalization.⁷³ In this report, the emphasis on 'interdependence' in the interpretation of 'internationalization' disappeared and 'fostering Japanese identity' occupied an important position. As a consequence, 'internationalization' moved away from Development Education and the suggestions for individual curriculum subjects in the same report did

not pay much attention to interdependence and other cultures.⁷⁴

The revision of the national curriculum followed the interpretation of internationalization by the Council on Educational Curriculum. While the ability for oral communication was emphasized in foreign language instruction, the respect for, and understanding of, Japanese culture and tradition were promoted even more than the promotion of understanding of other cultures.⁷⁵

In this rather poor response in educational policy by the Ministry of Education to the newly emerged socio-economic and political contexts, the creation of "geography A" at upper secondary level was an exception.⁷⁶ The content of this subject does not only emphasize the cultural aspect of internationalization but also includes global problems for which international cooperation is indispensable.⁷⁷ Furthermore, the geography curriculum is also close to Development Education in terms of its approach. Unlike traditional geography syllabi which aim at the systematic learning of the discipline, "geography A" adopted the approach of theme work and problem solving.⁷⁸ Hence, learners are not expected to memorize geographical information but think about and study current global problems as something related to their own lives.⁷⁹

In terms of the content, this subject reflects the concept of Development Education. However, this geography syllabus is not the main stream of geography teaching. It is intended for those who take two credits of geography while the traditional geography syllabus is a four-credit course.⁸⁰ According to the Ministry of Education, the fewer credits do not necessarily mean "geography A" is a digest of "geography B".⁸¹ However, the gap between the number of credits and the fact that "geography B" is more academic oriented indicate that serious learners of geography will take more the traditional "geography B" rather than new "geography A" which has elements of Development Education.

In other social science subjects at upper secondary level, the national curriculum includes topics such as "the interdependent world", "South-North problems" and "Japan's role in the international community" but they are still

a very small part of the whole content.⁸² Other subjects and other levels of schools have less Development Education in the curriculum.⁸³ The understanding of other cultures and peoples is limited to cultural understanding, such as the introduction of foreign literature, music, and art, without special attention to those of developing countries and a clear explanation of why it is necessary to teach about other cultures.⁸⁴ Thus, in the national curriculum in 1987, the Ministry of Education was not very enthusiastic about the promotion of Development Education.

The Ministry's reluctance to promote Development Education also appeared in the document which the Ministry published in 1988 in order to show how it had responded to the demand for internationalization as suggested by the Ad-hoc Council on Education.⁸⁵ In the first place, in the document, the Ministry did not even mention Education for International Understanding as a strategy to promote international understanding.⁸⁶ Emphases were on: cultural exchange programmes, education for Japanese living overseas and returned Japanese from overseas, the acceptance of students from other countries, exchange programmes for education, research, culture and sports, and finally, Japanese language education for foreigners.⁸⁷

The Ministry's budget allocated for the promotion of internationalization of education also has similar characteristics. In the budget, the term 'Education for International Understanding' appears as the name of a project of a Section of the Ministry which is in charge of the international education and culture and it is allocated eight million yen.⁸⁸ According to the listed budget in the above document, this is the only project for the promotion of international understanding in primary and secondary education.⁸⁹ Compared with the budget for the improvement of foreign language instruction and education for returned Japanese students from overseas, the amount of budget and the richness of the content of the projects are much less.⁹⁰ Furthermore, the content of the project to promote international understanding is not targeted at change of curriculum content. The project consists of the appointment of model schools and the operation of the national council.⁹¹ However, since the Section is not in charge of school education, the intention

of this project is not necessarily a curriculum change. Furthermore, the themes of the curriculum practices in model schools are not always relevant to Development Education.⁹²

Thus, what the Ministry of Education offered as its response to internationalization, which was suggested by the Ad-hoc Council on Education, did not reflect the council's understanding of an interdependent world. The Ministry's response to the council's suggestion was mostly the strengthening of the Ministry's own existing policies. Development Education was not adopted in the Ministry's internationalization policy even after the external contexts were appropriate for its introduction.

3) The influence of the Ministry of Education's policy

The discussion so far clarifies that the Ministry of Education was not active in the promotion of Development Education in the educational reform and curriculum revision. The absence of the Ministry's interest influenced educational administration at prefectural and local levels as well.

Based on the Ministry's policy which included international understanding among the aims of education and prefectural or local governments' intentions to promote Education for International Understanding in their educational policies, one may think that Japan had embraced the principle of Development Education. But since prefectures and local governments were not controlling the curriculum and textbooks, their policies did not influence schools much.⁹³ In-service training was under the responsibility of prefecture and local governments but even in this area, there was no significant change. According to a survey by an NGO, there was no prefecture which had a teacher training programme for Education for International Understanding in 1986.⁹⁴ By 1991, the number had increased but newly established teacher training programmes were rather poorly organized and there was no emphasis on issues related to Development Education, reflecting the Ministry's intention.⁹⁵

Thus, unlike in the Netherlands where Development Education was promoted at local level, in Japan, the central control over the national

curriculum restricted a similar occurrence.

4. Conclusion

In a number of countries, when they have socio-economic and political contexts for the genesis of Development Education, the countries' governments tried to intervene in their formal educational systems in order to promote Development Education. The way the governments intervened varied because of their individual educational systems and the political climate of that time. In the countries which had a national curriculum, Development Education was introduced while in other countries Development Education was promoted by aid agencies or ministries through their support to NGOs and educationists who were promoting Development Education in schools. Since the countries which had a national curriculum also had a supporting system for NGOs, the intervention came in both direct and indirect ways. In France and the Netherlands, the introduction of Development Education into the national curriculum was not as quick as the Swedish example but still the Ministries of Education were supportive of NGOs' attempts to promote Development Education in schools.

In theory, Japan should have had a similar governmental intervention after the mid 1980s, and since there was an attempt for a large scale educational reform then, there was a perfect opportunity for the Ministry of Education to insert Development Education into the national curriculum. In reality, the Ministry did not take advantage of the opportunity. Rather, the Ministry played the role of undermining the interpretation of 'internationalization' which came close to Development Education at least in the suggestions by the Ad-hoc Council on Education, and the Ministry removed the element of Development Education from curriculum policy in 1987. Although Development Education evolved in 'geography A' in the actual national curriculum, the introduction of Development Education remained marginal because of lack of intervention by the Ministry.

The lack of intervention by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is also irregular

in contrast to the pattern in other countries and worth investigating. However, since the influence of other ministries on curriculum policy is negligible the lack of pressure from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs cannot account for the delay in introducing Development Education in the national curriculum. After all, the Ministry of Education could have singlehandedly taken the initiative. The primary reason for not having Development Education in education policy may therefore be found in the educational policy making system itself. It was noticed in the case of the Netherlands that educational authorities are slow to react to social changes. This might explain the situation in Japan. In Part Two, the thesis concentrates on this possibility to explore further the case of Japan.

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5. *ibid.*, pp. 2-3.
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7. For details, see J.J.C. Voorhoeve, Peace, Profits and Principles: A study of Dutch foreign policy, (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1979).
8. For details, see *ibid.*
9. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 88.
10. *ibid.*, pp. 85-87.
11. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], *op. cit.*, p. 28.
12. Kanaya, "Furansu no gakko ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku" [Development Education in French schools], in Kaihatsu Kyoiku[Development Education], no. 19, 30 January, (Tokyo: Kaihatsu Kyoiku Kyogikai, 1991), p. 50.
13. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on

Development Education in other countries], op. cit., p. 25.

14. Wilson, op. cit., p. 88.

15. Hugh Starkey, "Development Education and Human Rights Education", in Audrey Osler (ed.), Development Education: Global perspectives in the curriculum, (London: Cassell, 1994), p. 15.

16. Tim Brodhead, "Development Education and northern governments", in Jeanne Vickers (ed.), Muro (trans.), op. cit., pp. 107-108.

17. Centre for World Development Education, Notes on 'Encouraging New Attitudes about the Developing World in Britain', (Undated internal document of CWDE, available from Worldaware), pp. 1-2.

18. Kanaya, "Furansu no gakko ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku"[Development Education in French schools], op. cit., p. 49.

19. *ibid.*, p. 49.

20. UNICEF, Development Education in UNICEF, (UNICEF History Series Monograph 1, no place, no date), p. 4.

21. On activities by churches in several European countries, see Per-Åke Wahlstrøm, "Development education and the churches", in Vickers (ed.), Muro (translation), op. cit., p. 68-77.

22. For example, church related NGOs such as Christian Aid and CAFOD in the United Kingdom established a section for formal education and created teaching materials for use in schools. Christian Aid education officers were involved in the World Studies Project in the mid 1970s.

23. For details, see Alan Leather and Susan Bullock, "Development education with, and within, trade unions", in Vickers (ed.), Muro (translation), op. cit., pp. 56-67.

24. *ibid.*

25. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], op. cit., pp. 2-3.

26. *ibid.*, p. 3.

27. *ibid.*, p. 3.

28. Rebecca Clark Jordan, "Development Education in Canadian schools", in International Review of Education, vol. 28, no. 4, 1982, p. 492.

29. *ibid.*, p. 492.
30. Cronkhite, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-109.
31. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], *op. cit.*, p. 36.
32. In the United States, 'Development Education' is used for education in developing countries. Instead, terms such as Global Education and International Education are used to mean what 'Development Education' means in other industrialized countries. See for example, Gerald L. Gutek, American Education in a Global Society: Internationalizing teacher education, (New York and London: Longman, 1993).
33. Information obtained from the members of Western Massachusetts Consortium for Global Education.
34. Information obtained from a conversation with Mr. Samuel Hinton, Eastern Kentucky University.
35. Information obtained from a conversation with a staff member of a major NGO, American Forum for Global Education. The author of this thesis herself attended two of such teacher training sessions in Autumn in 1991 as an observer.
36. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku ni Kansuru Chosa Kenkyu: Shogaikoku ni okeru kaihatsu kyoiku no genjo to bunken[Research on Development Education: The current situation and literature on Development Education in other countries], *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.
37. Michel Margairaz, "In-school development education: In France", in Vickers (ed.), Muro (translation), *op. cit.*, pp. 79-81.
38. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
39. *ibid.*, p. 86-87.
40. *ibid.*, pp. 86-87.
41. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku Gaido Bukku[Development Education Guidebook], *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25; NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA (eds.), Education for Change: Grassroots Development Education in Europe, (Brussels and London: NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA, 1994), p. 102.
42. Kees Zwaga, "Development Education in the Netherlands - recent trends", in Vincent Bunce (ed.), Managing Change in Development Education: Conference Report, (London: Centre for World Development Education, 1990),

- p. 10; Wilson, op. cit., pp. 86-87.
43. Zwaga, op. cit., p. 10.
44. *ibid.*, p. 10.
45. *ibid.*, p. 10.
46. NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA (eds.), op. cit., pp. 131-133.
47. Kokusai Kyoryoku Suishin Kyokai, Kaihatsu Kyoiku Gaido Bukku[Development Education Guidebook], op. cit., p. 20.
48. NGDO-EC Liaison Committee and DEA (eds.), op. cit., p. 131.
49. Simon Fisher and David Hicks, World Studies 8-13: A teacher's handbook, (Edinburgh and New York: Oliver and Boyd, 1991), p. 11; Starkey, op. cit., p. 15.
50. Fisher and Hicks, op. cit., p. 11.
51. Information from the list of the participants in World Studies Meeting in 1994 in which the author of the thesis herself participated. About the history of World Studies Project, see, Starkey, op. cit., p. 15.
52. For example, an attempt at Groby Community College introduced in, John Aucott, et al., "World Studies on the runway: One year's progress towards a core curriculum", in New Era, vol. 60, no. 6, 1979, pp. 212-229; Fisher and Hicks, op. cit., p. 11.
53. Osamu Muro, "Atarashii kokusai rikai kyoiku to shiteno kaihatsu kyoiku"[Development Education as new Education for International Understanding], in Kokusai Rikai[International Understanding], no. 12, 10 August, 1980, (exerpt), p. 9.
54. *ibid.*, p. 9; Muro's comment in a round table talk in Kokusai Kyoiku[International Education], no. 52, September, 1980, p. 7.
55. Osamu Muro, "Kokusai rikai kyoiku to kaihatsu kyoiku"[Education for International Understanding and Development Education], in Kokusai Rikai[International Understanding], no. 20, December, 1988, (exerpt), p. 9.
56. *ibid.*, p. 9.
57. Osamu Muro, "Nippon kaihatsu kyoiku"[Japanese Development Education], March, 1989, (Unpublished report which was submitted to Sasagawa Peace Foundation).
58. *ibid.*, p. 26.

59. The governmental budget for 1995 Official Development Assistance in Kokusai Kaihatsu Janaru[International Development Journal], no. 458, February, 1995, p. 44.
60. *ibid.*, p. 44.
61. For details, see Morio Ishiyama, Monbu Kanryo no Gyakushu[The Revenge of the Bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education], (Tokyo: Kodan-sha, 1986), pp. 26-45.
62. Saburo Harada, Rinkyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku[The Ad-hoc Council on Education and Educational Reform], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1990), p. 76.
63. Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-45.
64. Nakasone's plan announced on 20 December, 1982 in Atsushi Yagi et al. (eds.), Kyoiku no Sengo-shi: Aratana kyoiku kaikaku o motomete[The History of Postwar Education: Seeking a new educational reform], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1987), p. 331, translation by the author of this thesis.
65. The main themes of the Ad-hoc Council on Education in Hiroshi Kida et al. (eds.), Shogen, Sengo no Kyoiku Seisaku[Testimony: Postwar educational policy], (Tokyo: Kenpaku-sha, 1985), p. 418.
66. The Second Report of the Ad-hoc Council on Education quoted in Kazuo Mikami, et al. (eds.), Korekara no Kyoiku o Yomu: Rinkyoshin mae to Rinkyoshin go[Reading Education From Now On: Before and after the Ad-hoc Council on Education], (Tokyo: Rodo Jumbo-sha, 1988), p. 40.
67. Shinji Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku no zenshin no tameni", [Progress in Education for International Understanding], in Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Tenkai Jirei-shu[The Collected Examples of Education for International Understanding], (Tokyo: Hitotsubashi Shuppan, 1990), p. 3.
68. *ibid.*, p. 3.
69. The Fourth Report by the Ad-hoc Council on Education quoted in *ibid.*, p. 3.
70. The Second Report of the Ad-hoc Council on Education quoted in Mikami et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 40.
71. Yoneda, "Kokusai rikai kyoiku no zenshin no tameni"[Progress in Education for International Understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 3.
72. The Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1987 in Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo (ed.), Kyoshoku Kenshu Zokan-go[Teacher Training Special Issue], March, 1989, (Tokyo: Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo, 1989), p. 362.
73. *ibid.*, p. 362.

74. See the Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1987 in *ibid.*, pp. 361-390.
75. See the sections about foreign languages in the national curriculum in *ibid.*, pp. 222-224; pp. 318-321; Yoneda, "Kokusai rikai kyoiku no zenshin no tameni"[Progress in Education for International Understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 3.
76. For the content of Geography A, see, Appendix 1; Fumitaka Shibusawa, "Gakushu Shido Yoryo kaitei no shushi to yoten"[The intention and summary of the revised national curriculum], in Chiri[Geography], vol. 34, no. 4, pp. 13-24.
77. Shibusawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 22-24.
78. *ibid.*, pp. 22-24.
79. *ibid.*, pp. 22-24.
80. *ibid.*, p. 20.
81. *ibid.*, p. 20.
82. See the national curriculum in Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 69-359.
83. *ibid.*, pp. 69-359.
84. *ibid.*, pp. 69-359.
85. Jiro Nagai, "Kokusai rikai kyoiku no genjo to kadai"[The current situation and themes in Education for International Understanding], in Kenkyu Hokoku no. 40: Ibunka rikai kyoiku no genjo to kadai[Research Report no. 40: The current situation and themes in education for inter-cultural understanding], April, 1992, (Tokyo: Chuo Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo, 1992), pp. 7-8.
86. Monbu-sho[the Ministry of Education], Kokusai Rikai to Kyoryoku no Shinten[The Progress in International Understanding and Cooperation], (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1988).
87. *ibid.*
88. *ibid.*, p. 200.
89. *ibid.*, p. 200.
90. Budget for the improvement of foreign language instruction and education for returned Japanese is 503 million yen and 29 million yen respectively. *ibid.*, p. 200.
91. About which section is in charge of the project, see Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

92. Monbu-sho[the Ministry of Education] Gakujutsu Kokusai-kyoku Kokusai Kikaku-ka, (ed.), Kokusai Rikai no Suishin no Tameni[For the Promotion of International Understanding], (No place, No publisher, 1992), pp. 106-107.

93. According to the research by the Ministry of Education in 1991, twenty-five prefectures and one hundred and twenty-four local boards of education had Education for International Understanding in their educational policy. See Monbu-sho[the Ministry of Education] (ed.), Kyoiku no Kokusai Koryu to ni Kansuru Jittai Chosa Hokoku-sho[Research Report on Educational International Exchange and Related Matters], (Tokyo; Okura-sho Insatsukyoku, 1993), pp. 64-65.

94. Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Shiryo Joho Senta[ERIC], Kyoiku no Kokusaika wa Docomade Kitaka?: Wagakuni no kokusai rikai kyoiku no genjo to mondaiten[How Far has the Internationalization of Education Come?: Current situation and problems with Education for International Understanding in Japan], (Unpublished report by ERIC, December 1991).

95. *ibid.*, pp. 7-8; Tosho Kyozaei Kenkyu Senta Kokusai Kyoiku Kenkyu Purojekuto (ed.), Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku, Kankyo Kyoiku Nadono Genjo to Kadai[The Current Situation and Theme of Education for International Understanding, Environmental Education and So On], (Tokyo: Tosho Kyozaei Kenkyu Senta, 1994), pp. 105-111. In the case of the Tokyo Metropolitan Research Institute of Education, such a programme was started only in 1993. Since there was no independent section of education for international understanding, it was prepared by the section for social studies. Furthermore, education for returned Japanese from abroad occupies the largest part of education for international understanding which is different from what education for international understanding originally aims at. Thus, the issues which are causing difficulty in everyday teaching have priority. In Kanagawa prefecture, in-service training courses for teacher educators were organized under the name of Development Education in 1993 but it was largely dependent on one researcher's personal interest and the session was completely led by a lecturer from a NGO. The author of the thesis herself attended the session.

Part Two

Chapter Five: The Introduction of Development Education into the Japanese National Curriculum: Theoretical Considerations

1. Introduction

In Part One, the thesis focused on the theme of socio-economic and political contexts, the genesis of Development Education and governmental involvement in the promotion of Development Education in formal educational systems. It was noted that neither the Ministry of Education nor the Ministry of Foreign Affairs intervened in the case of Japan. This chapter seeks for further explanations as to why the introduction of Development Education remained marginal.

Presumably, Leonard James Schoppa's theory which identifies conflicts among actors in the educational policy making system as a cause of the difficulty of major educational policy change in Japan may offer a solution.¹ Although his analysis does not focus on the curriculum change in particular, the theory provides an initial explanation about the circumstances in which educational policy changes slow down.

2. Schoppa's Theory

The range of time and area which Schoppa's study covers is the Japanese educational policy making process after 1955.² He argues that despite Japan's successful adjustment to the rapidly changing world through efficient policy change, this is not the case with educational policy making after 1955.³ This was the year when the structure of conservative-opposition confrontation was established. This suggestion is supported by the cases of two major educational reforms which took place in the early 1970s and the mid 1980s.

These two educational reforms aimed at a thorough revision of the post-war educational system which was largely influenced by Americans.⁴ The result did not produce as much change as had been expected at the beginning

of the reform discussion.⁵ The report of the 1970s reform included many ambitious suggestions but many of them were not implemented.⁶ In the case of the 1980s' reform, the original ambition was often undermined even before the stage of report writing because of the lack of consensus among members of the Council.⁷ Implementation of changes took place in several different ways. There were quick changes and changes which were implemented only slowly and in more modest ways than originally suggested. While some of the suggested policies were ignored when it came to implementation, some disappeared even before the report was written.⁸

Schoppa explained these different patterns in the outcome of the reforms by modifying the models suggested by T. J. Pempel and John Campbell.⁹ Pempel addressed the conflict resolution approach between the conservatives and the opposition in Japanese policy making and consequently, underemphasized conflicts among the conservatives.¹⁰ Schoppa identifies situations where the process of policy change slows down or is sabotaged by internal conflict among policy makers. Schoppa calls this category "immobilism" by using J. A. A. Stockwin's term. According to Stockwin, "immobilism" is:

...an inability to do more than accommodate competing pressures and effect a "lowest common denominator" compromise between them.¹¹

Schoppa also recognizes, following a suggestion by John Campbell, the role of sub-governments as actors who generate such pressures in policy making process. Sub-governments are:

...units centred on the various government ministries, each of which is linked to a corresponding division of the LDP's Policy Affairs Research Council and the interest groups concerned with that ministry's activities.¹²

In this sub-government, the groups of LDP members called zoku [family], who belong to certain divisions of the LDP's Policy Affairs Research Council and

become specialists in their field, play an important role.¹³

Using Pempel and Campbell, Schoppa identifies competing actors who exercise pressures on Japanese educational policy making. These actors are:

Actors internal to policy making:

- 1) the Ministry of Education
- 2) the Liberal Democratic Party

Actors external to policy making:

- 1) interest groups such as the business world
- 2) opposition parties and interest groups supporting opposition parties¹⁴

These actors compete with each other in policy making processes and; depending on how they compete, create several different patterns of policy changes. Schoppa categorizes the patterns as follows:

(1) low-conflict disputes: When an issue does not cause much conflict between the conservatives and the opposition, the disputes will be solved by incremental change or contrived consensus among pressure groups. Reasons for low conflict are: the flexible nature of the issue which allows a wide range of compromise, the generality of the issue, and a rather moderate level of change.

(2) high-conflict disputes involving outside forces: When an issue produces high conflict between the conservatives and the opposition, the result will be either a forced resolution by the government or the backing-down of some members in policy making, convinced by the opposition.

(3) high-conflict disputes involving primarily conservative camp actors: When an issue produces high conflict among the conservatives, the result will be conflict avoidance and little change. In the Japanese policy-making process, a change requires a consensus among policy makers and interest groups on their side. Although the approval of the opposition side is not required for policy making, they sometimes play an indirect role by breaking the conservative consensus.¹⁵

When a disputed issue has the features of "low-conflict disputes", "immobilism" does not occur. In "high-conflict disputes", if there is a consensus among policy makers, "immobilism" does not occur, either. On the contrary, if the unity among policy makers breaks up as a result of the disapproval by the opposition side, policy change does not happen. Although Schoppa does not mention it, this newly emerged situation with divided policy makers creates "immobilism" which belongs to the third pattern.

The third pattern which arises as the result of a high-conflict dispute among policy makers is the pattern of "immobilism". Policy makers try to reach an agreement about a new policy among themselves so that the policy will satisfy all of them. If they fail to reach agreement, they stop processing the policy and leave it until the environment changes and the implementation of the policy becomes feasible. Thus, according to Schoppa's model, in Japan's educational policy making, once a conflict among policy makers occurs, they leave the issue unsolved rather than taking more effective action to solve the issue.

Schoppa argues that the reason for this behavioral pattern of Japanese policy makers is the thirty years' dominance of Japanese politics by the Liberal Democratic Party and various interest groups which were formed around the party because of this dominant power.¹⁶

Because of the existence of these smaller conflicting groups, internal actors are not monolithic.¹⁷ The smaller groups sometimes link with external actors in order to protect their interests. As a consequence, two internal actors cannot reach a consensual policy that can satisfy every small group. Schoppa suggests that:

...one of the primary mechanisms for conflict resolution available in many liberal democracies is not an option in Japan: because of the LDP's continuing dominance, conflicts cannot be resolved through party alternation....This limitation has become particularly notable as more and more interests have flocked to the LDP banner over its prolonged period of rule....The LDP is the party of both rising industries and declining industries, of both small business and large business, of both farmers and consumers. At budget time, virtually every organization with a

claim to a share of government funds has a connection with some part of the LDP and/or some part of the bureaucracy. Without the option of party alternation, all conflicts must be resolved (or at least avoided) within the stable system of LDP.¹⁸

In the two reforms which Schoppa uses as his case studies, many suggestions were made by the Central Council on Education and the Ad-hoc Council on Education. Since there was not enough negotiation in advance among the involved actors and interest groups, the suggestions which came out of the councils were a mixture of the issues which led to different types of conflict resolution. Some of them were affected by "immobilism".

Schoppa's theory is also able to give some explanation for the problem of cooperation between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Quoting Campbell, Schoppa indicates that there are conflicts between sub-governments which are "a set of interest-based cleavages that divide the entire decision-making system" which are "crucially reinforced by the deep formal-organization cleavages between the ministries".¹⁹

There are some examples which indicate the existence of this 'immobilism'. For example, the policy of the reduction of class size had been on the agenda among educational policy makers for a long time but remained in "immobilism" because of the disagreements coming from the Ministry of Finance and prefectures about finance.²⁰ When the issue was agreed between the Minister of Education and Nikkyoso [Japan Teachers Union] in 1979, it became "immobile" again because of the disagreement of the LDP education zoku who were not against the policy itself but against the process of decision making which bypassed the zoku and was made between the Minister and Nikkyoso.²¹ There was also disagreement from the Ministry of Domestic Affairs which is in charge of issues relevant to prefectures. It argued that the introduction of reduced class sizes would cost too much for the prefectures and municipalities.²² As a consequence of these disagreements, the policy was "immobile" until the mid 1980s when the number of children decreased and the problem faded away without causing financial difficulty.

Another example is the policy of a five day school week which was also

suggested long before implementation.²³ When it was first suggested, there was strong disagreement from parents and the private sector because having Saturday off had not yet become common in the private sector in Japanese society. Since teachers were civil servants, they could not have Saturdays off until the people in the private sector did. Under the changed circumstances in the 1990s when having Saturday off has become common, the policy has been reactivated and is gradually being implemented.²⁴

Both examples of the policies took time to be implemented. The implementation of the class size policy started from the primary schools. The five-day school week started initially with just one Saturday off a month and a gradual process to full implementation followed. Thus, change in social conditions shifted the position of these issues from high-conflict disputes to low-conflict disputes, and consequently, from immobilism to incremental changes.

There is a case of the change from "immobilism" to forced resolution as well. The issue of the Hinomaru and Kimigayo was a long existing dispute between the Conservatives and the Opposition.²⁵ The Conservatives asserted that Hinomaru and Kimigayo should be accepted as the national flag and as the national anthem in order to foster respect for the country in children.²⁶ On the contrary, Nikkyoso and opposition parties argued that they were not suitable as the national flag and as the national anthem because of their links to Imperial Japan and pre-war ultra nationalism.²⁷ The Ministry of Education kept encouraging schools to raise the flag and sing the song at special occasions but the decision on implementation was left to individual schools.

In the mid 1980s, after the Ad-hoc Council on Education had formally reaffirmed the emphasis on the national tradition and culture including the Hinomaru and Kimigayo issues, the Ministry of Education got the support of the LDP. It was then made an obligatory for schools to raise the flag and make children sing the song.²⁸

Thus, as Schoppa suggests, in Japan's educational policy making system there is a pattern that delays the implementation of suggested policies because of conflicts among policy makers. Since theoretically the Ministry of Education

should have intervened to promote Development Education, it is possible that its introduction did not occur because the idea became 'immobile' somewhere in the process of policy making. With this possibility in mind, the thesis applies Schoppa's theory to the case of Development Education in the subsequent discussion of this chapter.

3. The Attitude of the Ministry of Education

Among several actors in educational policy making, the Ministry of Education is officially in charge of the creation of the national curriculum. The purpose of this section is to identify the position of this main actor concerning the introduction of Development Education in schools. Since Development Education is not a term which is adopted by the Ministry, the section mainly discusses the Ministry's stance towards UNESCO's International Education in 1974 which shares the concept of Development Education.

1) UNESCO activities and the Ministry of Education

A number of Japanese scholars have pointed out that some of the work of schools which cooperated with UNESCO's Education for International Understanding resembles work in Development Education.²⁹ Japan joined UNESCO in 1951 and the Ministry of Education enthusiastically supported UNESCO's Education for International Understanding in the 1950s.³⁰

However, these early attempts and the support of the Ministry of Education in this period cannot be regarded as representing the Ministry's normal policy. Education for International Understanding in this period was planned as an experiment to find out the effect of education on children's understanding of other countries.³¹ The number of the member countries of UNESCO was then smaller than it became after the 1960s, and the aim of the activities was to promote inter-cultural understanding rather than using education as a remedy for problems in newly independent countries.³² Hence, although the Ministry of Education backed the activities, the support was

limited to the activities as experiments and there was no guarantee that the result of the activities would be reflected directly in Japanese curriculum policy in general.³³

After a number of newly independent countries joined UNESCO in the 1960s and education became a major part of the strategy for remedying socio-economic problems in these countries, criticism of the experiment-oriented nature of Education for International Understanding started to emerge.³⁴ This criticism resulted in the revision of the concept of Education for International Understanding by UNESCO and the generation of International Education in 1974.³⁵ The revised International Education was defined as a means of cooperating with the development of newly independent countries which implicitly included the concept of Development Education.³⁶

The Japanese Ministry of Education was not eager to accept this revised form of Education for International Understanding³⁷ because of UNESCO's emphasis on the actual implementation of the new policy by the member countries.³⁸ The attitude of the Ministry is understandable when its responsibility in the implementation is considered. In a country like Japan where curriculum is centrally controlled, the acceptance of the recommendation by the Ministry is directly linked with its responsibility for implementation. The acceptance of the recommendation influences the general educational policy of the country. But as already discussed in the preceding chapter, Japan in the 1970s did not have the socio-economic and political contexts which, it has been argued, are normally appropriate for the genesis of Development Education. In these circumstances, the Ministry did little for the introduction of Development Education into schools.

There were also some specific matters that made it difficult for the Ministry to introduce Development Education. First, in the organization of the Ministry of Education, the section in charge of UNESCO-related issues had no influence over school curriculum. Although the section could run UNESCO's policy in schools on an experimental basis, it did not have the authority to implement them as curriculum policy. Secondly, in 1974 the Ministry was making efforts to cut down the content of the national curriculum. The major

criticism of the pre-1974 curriculum was centred on over-crowding. Hence the revision was targeted at cutting down 20 to 30 percent of subject contents.³⁹ In this context, it was difficult to add a new element to the curriculum. The Ministry also reorganized its internal structure so that the section for UNESCO's International Education was reduced and sections which were relevant to the Ministry's own policy of internationalization of education were strengthened.⁴⁰

This lack of enthusiasm for UNESCO's new policy continued until the early 1980s. A guidebook on UNESCO's International Education which the Ministry published in 1982 is an example.⁴¹ It contains UNESCO's 1974 recommendation together with the Ministry's own interpretation of Education for International Understanding.⁴² For a reason which is not known, the guidebook disappeared and was never reprinted.⁴³ Hence UNESCO's policy was not promoted. However, the guidebook indicated that the Ministry of Education's attitude towards Development Education remained passive, but at the same time it also revealed that there were people who supported UNESCO's policy in the Ministry of Education.

2) The Ministry of Education's interpretation of Education for International Understanding

When UNESCO revised Education for International Understanding in 1974, Japan itself still had features of a developing country, as was indicated in Chapter Three. Japan's dilemma as a country placed between the group of industrialized Western countries and developing countries appeared in the Report of the Central Council on Education in 1974 in the discussion of internationalization.⁴⁴

In order to cope with this dilemma, the Ministry of Education created its own interpretation of Education for International Understanding.⁴⁵ The Council submitted a Report to the Minister of Education as an answer to his question on international exchange in the field of education, science and culture. The term "internationalization" was used in the Report and Education

for International Understanding was also mentioned.⁴⁶ Compared with previous educational policies, the international perspective was more heavily stressed.

From this pro-internationalization policy, the elements of Development Education were missing. The emphasis of the Report was on the changing role of Japan.⁴⁷ The Report asserted that Japan which had been receiving information from other countries should change its role from being a receiver to a sender of information.⁴⁸ The following five areas were suggested as strategies for internationalization:

- 1) Preparation of the Japanese people to live in an international society
- 2) Expansion of the international exchange of academics and students in higher educational institutions
- 3) Preparation of the system for exchanges
- 4) Preparation for accepting foreign academics, students and artists
- 5) Cooperation with developing countries
- 6) Japanese language education for foreigners⁴⁹

The focus was on the exchange of academics and students and not on education for children in general. Hence, at this point, internationalization remained limited to a few people and UNESCO's policy was not seriously considered. Although the importance of Education for International Understanding was briefly mentioned, its content was different from that of the UNESCO. The content was divided into Education for International Understanding at school, education for adults, study tours abroad for teachers and education for Japanese children abroad.⁵⁰ Education for International Understanding in this narrow sense tended to be understood as international exchange. Hence, with the improvement of foreign language instruction which was given an independent heading in the Report, three pillars of the Ministry's interpretation of Education for International Understanding in a broader sense were established. They were: 1) international exchange, 2) education for

children living overseas, 3) foreign language teaching.⁵¹

Among the suggestions in the Report, there were three issues around education for children in schools. These were Education for International Understanding; foreign language instruction; and education for Japanese children living overseas.⁵² Of these three suggestions, what was directly relevant to the content of the national curriculum was the improvement of foreign language instruction. However, despite the suggestion in the Report, the improvement of foreign language instruction did not occur in the revised national curriculum in 1976. On the contrary, the main target of curriculum revision was to reduce and simplify the curriculum; the number of hours for foreign language instruction was reduced.⁵³

Thus, during the 1970s, even the improvement of foreign language instruction which was one of the three pillars of the Ministry's own interpretation of Education for International Understanding was not given much room in the national curriculum. In such circumstances, there was little chance for UNESCO's International Education to be adopted as part of Japan's educational policy. This situation continued until educational reform was attempted in the mid 1980s.

3) The influence of the Ad-hoc Council on Education on the national curriculum

When the Ad-hoc Council on Education was suddenly established against the Ministry of Education's intention in 1984, the Ministry had no plan to emphasize Development Education in the national curriculum. Hence, as was discussed in Chapter Four, although the Council's interpretation of internationalization included a concept which was close to Development Education, the Ministry did not take advantage of it. Essentially, the Ministry's policy regarding the internationalization of education had not changed and the Report by the Ad-hoc Council on Education was utilized for promoting what had been fomenting in the Ministry for a long time.

However, the Council's emphasis on the internationalization of education

had some modest influence on the promotion of Development Education by the Ministry of Education. As indicated earlier, the development of a 'geography A' syllabus was one of the influences. The decision was made by the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1986 at the time when the development of the national curriculum was undertaken.⁵⁴ A team of educationists who were appointed by the Ministry to develop the curriculum had already been established while the Council was still discussing the curriculum policy.⁵⁵ The team and the Council collaborated in the exchange of ideas. Therefore, the content of the national curriculum was already roughly decided when the decision to revise the curriculum was announced by the Council and the curriculum had "geography A".⁵⁶

Unlike the 1982 guidebook for UNESCO activities which did not directly influence school education, the introduction of 'geography A' could be considered the outcome of the consensus among those who were in charge of the national curriculum. Therefore, the fact that "geography A" contained elements of Development Education indicates that Development Education was gaining more support in the Ministry of Education. When compared with complete 'immobilism', this was great progress.

Another example of loosening "immobilism" over Development Education can be found in research schools experimenting with the possibility of establishing Education for International Understanding as a subject.⁵⁷ By 1988, in selected experimental schools, Education for International Understanding was not only regarded as promoting cultural understanding but also as Development Education.⁵⁸ This research was not reported by the Ministry in its report on the projects for internationalization because it was not a special project but a part of the regular curriculum development process.⁵⁹ However, in terms of influence on the national curriculum, this experiment is much closer to the mainstream of curriculum policy making than special projects. The existence of such a research by the section which is in charge of school curriculum indicates that the introduction of Development Education in the curriculum was not completely immobilized.

The above two examples of loosening "immobilism" concerning

Development Education represent two possibilities for curriculum change in the future. One mode is the introduction of Development Education into existing subjects in fragmented forms as in "geography A". This is a relatively easy way to change the curriculum because it does not cause a major change in the curriculum structure. A second mode is the introduction of a new subject which includes Development Education as one of its major elements. The latter is still at the experimental stage and there is a long way to go before actual implementation even if the Ministry of Education adopts this idea. There is a possibility that the policy will become 'immobile' again because a major change of curriculum structure is required for the implementation. There is not much possibility of incremental change for this type of reform. Since the latter case is still at the level of small scale experiment, whether "immobilism" will happen or not is unknown at this stage in 1995, a year before the official process for the next curriculum reform starts.

4. The Attitude of the LDP

Another internal actor in educational policy making in Schoppa's model is the Liberal Democratic Party. In this section, the thesis investigates the attitudes of the LDP politicians toward Development Education. In the LDP, usually, the education zoku has the initiative in deciding the party's educational policies. However, in the case of the reform in the mid 1980s, the Prime Minister himself had a great interest in education and competed with the education zoku in taking a lead.⁶⁰ For this reason, it is necessary to investigate the education zoku's attitudes and the Prime Minister's own attitude.

1) The attitudes of the education zoku

Since the 1970s, groups of LDP politicians who had become specialists in particular areas of administration emerged and became known as zoku.⁶¹ This result was the outcome of a deliberate strategy by politicians to avoid being

manipulated by bureaucrats whose work was highly specialized and difficult for politicians to understand.⁶² The zoku also emerged in education. But the absence of fringe benefits, such as donations offered by organisations to associated zoku or guarantees for a large number of votes, limited the popularity of the education zoku among the LDP politicians.⁶³ For this reason, the members of the education zoku are those who are committed to the LDP's ideology and educational issues.⁶⁴ In normal circumstances, the education zoku has the dominant power in the party's educational policy making and puts pressure on the Ministry of Education to accept their views.⁶⁵

Concerning Development Education, no clear suggestions came out of the zoku. However, their position in a dispute about the content of textbooks at the beginning of the 1980s revealed that at least in the early 1980s, their views about the relationship between Japan and other Asian countries had little sympathy with Development Education.

The dispute over textbooks was started by the criticism of some influential zoku members in 1980.⁶⁶ They argued that textbooks which were used then had a left-wing bias.⁶⁷ For example, Hiroshi Mitsuzuka asserted that there was too much writing about people's rights while there was too little about their responsibility; there was no explanation that the current Japanese Constitution was "forced" on Japan by other countries; and that the word 'patriotism' was missing from textbooks.⁶⁸ Later, a sub-committee for textbook issues was established in the Education Section in the LDP and Mitsuzuka became the chairperson.⁶⁹ The campaign against the existing content of textbooks was supported by other LDP members and politicians and escalated to the level of local politics as well.⁷⁰ In the education zoku, there were some members who were against the textbook criticism campaign but their disagreement was not strong enough to make this issue 'immobile' within the party ranks and the issue appeared in policy making discussion.⁷¹ The result of the pressure on the Ministry of Education appeared in revised textbooks.⁷² In the revised version, explanations of Japan's behaviour during World War II were changed so as to provide some justification for its behaviour.⁷³ This was an example of the revision which aimed at fostering patriotism.

After this revision, the governments of the People's Republic of China and the Republic of Korea protested to the Japanese government through diplomatic routes.⁷⁴ Their criticism was focused on the reinterpretation of the role of Japanese military forces during World War II. They asserted that the Japanese government was trying to distort historical facts and idealize prewar Japan.⁷⁵

The issue had gone beyond the control of the LDP education zoku and the Ministry of Education. The final decision for a solution was made by the Prime Minister.⁷⁶ The government promised these countries that it would be responsible for correcting the points which had been disputed in subsequent edition of the textbooks. The Guidelines of textbook authorization were also changed so that special attention would be paid to Asian countries in textbooks.⁷⁷ Thus, the textbook issue ended with agreement about more careful treatment of writing about the wartime relationship between Japan and the rest of Asia, contrary to the original intention of the LDP education zoku.

Despite this issue, the attitude of the LDP education zoku did not change. For example, they were reluctant to agree to efforts being made to resolve the dispute, asserting that the textbook issue was purely a domestic matter and that other countries had no right to make claims.⁷⁸ After the diplomatic crisis was over and the Ad-hoc Council on Education started its work, some of the zoku members formed Kyokasho Mondai o Kangaeru Giin Renmei [the League of MPs' Thinking on Textbook Issues] in 1985. The League continued putting pressure on the Ministry of Education. For example, it asserted that one of Japan's legendary emperors and a war-time hero should be included as important historical persons in the national curriculum for history.⁷⁹

Thus, the primary concern of the LDP education zoku remained that of promoting nationalism through textbook contents and the strengthening of moral education for the purpose of fostering patriotism in children.⁸⁰ Even after Prime Minister Nakasone launched his policy for the internationalization of education, the attitude of the education zoku was far from promoting Development Education.

2) The internationalization of education by Nakasone

The pattern of educational policy making was unusual in the mid 1980s.⁸¹ The policy was not made by the Central Council on Education but by the Ad-hoc Council on Education which was the product of the concern of Prime Minister Nakasone over educational reform. Hence, the Ad-hoc Council on Education represented the Prime Minister's plans regarding educational reform rather than those of the Ministry of Education. Consequently, the influence of the LDP education zoku which was exercised through the Ministry of Education was also weakened and conflicts arose between the Prime Minister and the education zoku.⁸²

The internationalization of education was one of the most strongly emphasized areas when Prime Minister Nakasone listed the agenda of educational reform in 1982.⁸³ As already mentioned, Nakasone's internationalization of education triggered the promotion of Education for International Understanding in the Ministry of Education from which, the introduction of Development Education in "geography A" occurred. However, it can be argued that despite this result, it was not Nakasone's aim to introduce Development Education. His objective was to start the internationalization of education and the emphasis in his policy was close to that of the education zoku. The content of his internationalization of education was also nationalistic.⁸⁴ The following short comment by Nakasone shows his views. In the seminar of the LDP in July 1985, Nakasone argued:

What is as important as the progress toward the internationalization of Japan is the review and establishment of the identity of Japan. In pre-war Japan, history was viewed from an Imperial perspective. After the war, 'the post-Pacific War view' came in. Japan was covered with self-scorn and everything which Japan had done was considered wrong. This still exists....Yet in the case of Japan, the nation state structure emerged as a natural community, not as an artificially constructed social-contract nation. No matter whether Japan wins or loses, it is still a nation state. People share glory and humiliation. The identity which we are trying to establish should not be a narrow-minded one. It must be intellectually and

scientifically sound. Various ideas have intruded into Japan from other countries. However, now that we have experienced all of them, it is high time to establish an authentic Japanese identity.⁸⁵

Thus Nakasone's internationalization does not have its focus on the improvement of understanding of other countries. His primary interest lies in the revival of traditional Japanese values and the development of pride in Japanese culture through moral education rather than education for better understanding of other countries.⁸⁶ He argues that the moral standards of Japanese youth declined because of the loss of respect for Japanese values caused by postwar American influence and that in order to remedy the situation, it is necessary to encourage the youths, once again, to respect traditional Japanese values.⁸⁷

This attitude is not rare among the politicians of the LDP. A similar argument appeared as soon as Japan regained its independence after World War II and the demand of the Minister of Education resulted in the establishment of moral education as an area of study.⁸⁸ Nakasone's attitude was undoubtedly similar to that of the education zoku towards textbook writing.⁸⁹ Thus, Nakasone's internationalization overlaps with the nationalization of the content of education which most of the LDP members have cherished as their idea of good Japanese education.⁹⁰

What was unique about Nakasone was that he considered the idea of strengthening Japanese identity as an important step in promoting the internationalization of education.⁹¹ According to him, fostering respect for Japanese values is also a part of the internationalization of education because "education must produce Japanese who contribute to the international community based on Japanese identity."⁹² Hence, in Nakasone's internationalization, the inculcation of respect for national tradition was given top priority.⁹³

Another aspect of Nakasone's internationalization was the ability to communicate in foreign languages.⁹⁴ Nakasone himself explained:

I'm trying to use English and French at various international

occasions....even though my pronunciation is not good, if I try to speak in foreign languages, I can join the international community.⁹⁵

Consequently, improvement in the instruction of foreign languages, especially oral communication in English was emphasized in the Council.⁹⁶

Thus, in Nakasone's internationalization of education, better understanding of other countries was not given much attention but education which produced young Japanese who could make Japan better understood was the main objective. It is an education to prepare Japanese who go abroad and not education for those in Japan to understand people in other countries.

Furthermore, for Nakasone, the targets who are expected to understand Japan are not people in developing countries but people in industrialized countries.⁹⁷ Although he often visited Asian countries, these visits were aimed at confirming Japan's leadership as a representative of Asia in the arena of international politics.⁹⁸ This desire for equal status with the Western powers appeared in his words and behaviour:

What was formed in myself within these sixty years since I was born in Japan, through education up to university, experience in the Navy and the war, a career as a politician after the war, was human dignity that is equivalent to that of American and European politicians. Furthermore, I have something Japanese. I have a pride in this fact.⁹⁹

Nakasone also emphasized that the relationship between Japan and the United States should be one of equal partnership. Unlike his predecessors, Nakasone always tried to position himself next to President Reagan in photographs of leaders of industrialized countries.¹⁰⁰ For him, the improvement of Japan's position in international relations meant Japan's equal status with that of the Western industrialized countries and not the improvement of Japan's relations with developing countries. In his view, the relationship with Asian countries continued with Japan as their leader.¹⁰¹

This view of internationalization does not have much in common with the

international perception of Development Education - the purpose of which should be to improve the Japanese awareness of developing countries and the relationship between their problems and Japanese people's lives. In Development Education, it is the Japanese who should learn about their stereotypes and correct their views about developing countries. In Nakasone's perception, it is Westerners who should correct their view about Japan. Stereotypes which Japanese people have are neglected.

This difference between "internationalization" in Nakasone's educational reform and that of Development Education can be explained by using Mouer and Sugimoto's analysis. According to them, there are two possible interpretations of the term "internationalization".¹⁰² One is "the smooth promotion of Japan's national interest" and the other is for goals such as "the quest for world peace and the resolution of global problems like hunger, disease, and environmental pollution".¹⁰³ Nakasone's internationalization belongs to the first interpretation while the international perspective in Development Education belongs to the second. Thus, although the same term is used, there is an ideological gap between these two interpretations.

5. The Attitude of the Business World

The third actor in Schoppa's theory is interest groups, the business world in particular. It is an external actor in the conservative circle and not an official member of the policy making system. However, the business world's opinion is influential in educational policy making. The purpose of this section is to identify the impact of the business world on the introduction of Development Education in schools. Since the business world has not recognized the term and concept of Development Education, the thesis analyzes the influence of the business world from its attitudes towards those issues relevant to Development Education.

1) Internationalization of education

The business world started a strong demand for international perspectives in education after the mid 1980s.¹⁰⁴ Two influential business organizations, Keizai Doyukai and Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho, increasingly asked for workers with communication abilities in foreign languages and good understanding of foreign and Japanese cultures.¹⁰⁵

Although the term 'internationalization' came to be used widely in education only after the Ad-Hoc Council on Education, the origin of the idea appeared in the business world much earlier. As early as 1969, in the proposal of Koji Fukushi Shakai [High-level Welfare Society], Keizai Doyukai suggested that Japan should make an effort to become a respectable member of the international community and participate actively in promoting socio-cultural, economic and political developments.¹⁰⁶ For this reason, the proposal suggested that it was necessary for the government to promote cooperation with developing countries and to set up goals in education in which Japan could contribute to the world.¹⁰⁷ Nikkeiren also suggested in 1974 that education based on the spirit of internationalization was necessary.¹⁰⁸ Nikkeiren explained clearly that such education was necessary in order to solve the problems caused by Japanese workers' inexperience in coping with different cultures.¹⁰⁹ In the 1979 document of Kansai Keizai Doyukai, the importance of respect for Japanese culture and tradition and patriotism was suggested as a prior condition to understanding other people's love of their own culture, tradition and country.¹¹⁰

A need for internationalization of education emerged in business because of the change in Japan's economic structure and its expansion abroad. Until the late 1960s, the kind of manpower that the business world needed was a labour force in factories. Hence, they required schools to produce young people who had good technical knowledge and skills.¹¹¹ The emphasis on skills was also made in respect to aid to developing countries. In Nikkeiren's 1961 document, aid to developing countries is viewed only in terms of the need for technicians and as the justification for their demand for science and

technological education.¹¹²

The change of emphasis from skills to personality of workers occurred around 1970. Personality included creativity, communication ability and broad international views. Around this time, Japanese companies started expanding into Asian countries.¹¹³ With the expansion of Japanese industries overseas and the development of automation systems, the role of Japanese workers was taken over by Asian workers and industrial robots. In contrast, the demand for Japanese workers in management who could communicate with local workers in other countries increased.¹¹⁴ For successful management, the ability to communicate including knowledge of foreign languages and the understanding of local cultures, became indispensable.¹¹⁵ At the same time, for people who work abroad, the maintenance of Japanese identity and the ability to make local people understand Japanese culture were expected by companies.

Thus, the support of an international perspective in education by the business world is primarily for their own benefit. Their interest was securing human resources which suit their business purposes. Therefore, internationalization of education suggested by the business world remained rather superficial and limited to language ability and cultural understanding and not for the purpose of enabling workers to understand economic disparity as the product of a world structure of inequality. Instead, the maintenance of Japanese identity which is necessary for workers to work abroad was stressed.

The transfer of production and sales process abroad for remedying trade friction also happened with North America and Europe.¹¹⁶ Consequently, the need for managers with an ability for intercultural communication is no longer limited to business in Asian countries. For this reason, the international perspective in demand from the business world includes education to foster better understanding of the cultures of industrialized countries, and in this case, the focus of their idea of internationalization does not coincide with that of Development Education.

2) Business views of economic development

Literature on education in the business world tends to avoid problems generated by economic development. It is difficult to find publications by the business world acknowledging the existence of the negative aspects of Japan's economic development. Yet there are problems such as rising economic disparity and environmental destruction.

Keizai Doyukai's 1969 suggestion stressed the necessity of fostering children's positive attitudes towards world development. It argued that neither the denial of the past and present of Japan nor the blind idealization of Japan would lead to such an attitude. According to their suggestion, this could only be achieved by a vision of how the Japanese can contribute to create desirable world development.¹¹⁷ In their analysis, Keizai Doyukai's work did not go beyond listing the problems for the Japanese government to solve.¹¹⁸ Why such problems arose and how the business world and people were related to the problems were not mentioned. A more recent suggestion by Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho also has the same feature. It asserts the necessity to foster self-awareness and to develop a sense of responsibility to maintain world peace and stability.¹¹⁹ What is missing from these suggestions in terms of Development Education is that Japan's economic development does not only contribute to the solution of problems in the world but also generates them. The emphasis by business organizations is on Japan's contribution to world development and their argument omits the process of understanding existing problems which should be solved before such development is accomplished.

This omission of the negative aspects of economic development has its origin in the history of an ideological conflict between the business world and the labour unions including Nikkyoso after World War II. The conflict appeared in documents produced by business organizations on education. The documents criticize the postwar labour movement and Nikkyoso. For example, in 1967 students protested against their universities' administration. Nikkeiren ascribed the cause of the movement to education from primary to upper secondary levels and criticised Nikkyoso's policy which was strongly

influenced by socialism.¹²⁰ Nikkeiren also asserted that the importance and the meaning of freedom were not fully understood by the Japanese and that the postwar school system created Japanese who had a strong awareness of their rights but lacked the proper understanding of Japanese tradition and history.¹²¹

Keizai Doyukai attempted a thorough analysis of the causes of the students' protest in 1967 and as a solution suggested the establishment of Koji Fukushi Shakai [High-level Welfare Society] which was different from the European concept of a welfare state.¹²² They asserted that too much state protection had discouraged people from working and caused the stagnation of economic development in European countries. They suggested that the Japanese welfare society should be free of bureaucratic control and be based on prosperity created as the result of free competition within the framework of a market economy.¹²³ This ideological conflict still exists in recent disputes.¹²⁴ The failure of the business world to admit the negative aspects of economic development arises from the view that such an analysis is inimical to the free market economy. As long as Development Education views Japan's economy not only in terms of development but also as a generator of economic disparity between Japan and developing countries, the gap between the position of the business world and Development Education is not going to be bridged.

The failure of the business world to recognize the negative aspects of Japan's economic development also affected environmental issues. When problems such as environmental destruction, resource shortage and nuclear issues started to appear in the 1960s, there was an opinion that these issues should not be given too much attention. For example, Nikkeiren's document in 1969 regarded the worry about nuclear issues and pollution as a rather unfavourable trend which slowed down the pursuit of further development by causing "possibility phobia".¹²⁵ It argued that such problems were only transitional phenomena generated in the course of progress towards completed development in which they would no longer exist and that therefore they should not be used as a reason for young people to criticise the establishment.¹²⁶

While this view existed, there were also opinions in the business world which took the problem of environmental destruction more seriously and asserted the necessity for a solution. Such opinion appeared in a suggestion by Keizai Doyukai; but the focus was still limited to problems "in Japan" and a suggestion made for a solution "for the Japanese".¹²⁷ Hence, problems such as housing, pollution and poverty were discussed as a matter for Japanese society, without any idea of cooperation with developing countries. There were a small number of comments about other countries, but they were either comparisons with the Western countries or the justification of Japan's position as the leader of Asian countries.

When pollution became recognized as a serious social problem in the 1970s, the business world no longer interpreted them as transitional phenomena. Henceforth, awareness of environmental protection improved.¹²⁸ Although this change in the business world's view of environmental issues has not yet been reflected in its suggestions for education, the shift, at least, indicates that the climate around Development Education is changing in this area.

Although the business world still maintains an ideological stance against labour unions, the ideological conflict between the business world and the labour world has become much less marked in the 1990s because of the reorganisation of political parties and the declining importance of ideology. This change did not occur suddenly following the LDP's loss of dominance but gradually in the late 1980s when the educational reform was undertaken. Currently the business world recognizes the importance of environmental protection and cooperation with developing countries.¹²⁹ On the other hand, their primary goal is the development of a market economy. To achieve this objective, they consider training workers who can communicate well with people from other cultures a necessity.

Various suggestions of the business world after the 1980s are a mixture of the above compromise and current needs. For its needs, the business world in the 1990s is stressing the improvement of foreign language ability and understanding of other cultures. As a compromise, they emphasise a

contribution to the international community. Thus, because of the change in the world economy, the demands of the business world have come to share some objectives of Development Education. For their own objectives, the business world demands a change in educational policy and, as its byproduct, the environment of "immobilism" concerning Development Education has started moving toward incremental change.

6. Conflict Between Ministries

So far, the chapter has discussed individually the attitudes of three powerful actors in educational policy making. Besides these individual actors, Schoppa pointed out the importance of conflicts among sub-governments which are formed around Ministries and divide politicians and pressure groups according to their interest. The influence of conflicts between sub-governments with Ministries at their centre is seen in the case of Development Education as well. In the existing national curriculum and Reports by Councils in educational policy making, despite the fact that some parts of the concept of Development Education have been adopted, the term Development Education is not used. This is partly because of the conflict between the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Among Japanese bureaucrats, there is a strong feeling of identity about the Ministry to which they belong and consensus concerning the territory of each ministry.¹³⁰ Since each ministry's area of work is dependent on the allocation of money in the national budget made by the Ministry of Finance, ministries compete with each other to protect their territories.¹³¹ At the same time, they also try not to generate unnecessary friction with other ministries by intruding on others' territories. For this reason, the terms used by the ministries are also carefully chosen depending on which ministry is in charge of the matter so that the ministry does not disturb other ministries.

The term 'development' is one such term. Since the term "development" is used in the context of overseas aid and in relations with the United Nations, the term basically belongs to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. If the Ministry

of Education uses the term 'Development Education', that will cause friction with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. What the Ministry of Education has used instead is the term 'Education for International Understanding' and its revised version, 'International Education' which were UNESCO words. Hence, if interested teachers form a group to promote Development Education and decide to ask for financial support from the Ministry of Education, it is hard for them to get the support as long as they use the term 'Development Education'.¹³²

On the other hand, even if the Ministry of Foreign Affairs wants to promote Development Education through school education and social education, the Ministry itself has no power in establishing schools or preparing a curriculum because both schools and social education facilities are the responsibilities of the Ministry of Education. What the Ministry of Foreign Affairs can do is limited to indirect approaches such as preparing information sheets. Thus, the Japanese administration system which is inconvenient for inter-ministerial cooperation indirectly delays the promotion of Development Education.

7. The JSP and Nikkyoso

Following Schoppa's theory, this section discusses the impact of external actors belonging to the opposition side. The JSP and Nikkyoso are two main actors in the opposition. According to Schoppa's model, they do not have a direct influence on policy making but when they succeed in convincing some of the members in the conservative circle and breaking the unity among actors in it, their impact is significant. Hence, whether they are pressurizing the conservative circle or not is a crucial issue.

The JSP and Nikkyoso have confronted policy makers in various cases when curriculum change took place.¹³³ While the LDP promoted educational policies for economic development and patriotism, the JSP stressed improvement of care for racial minorities and disabled people in education and Nikkyoso promoted anti-war education under the name of Peace

Education. From these assertions, their standpoints are closer to Development Education than the LDP's standpoint. However, neither the JSP nor Nikkyoso has been eager to promote Development Education.¹³⁴ As an opposition party, the JSP's attention has been concentrated on disagreements with the LDP's policy rather than introducing their own policy. For the same reason, although they assert unity with Asian countries, it has remained at the level of assertion and not much could be actually done.

Nikkyoso's Peace Education has not been a very powerful supporter of Development Education, either. Their Peace Education is 'anti-nuclear and anti-hydrogen bomb education' based on Hiroshima and Nagasaki experiences.¹³⁵ Hence, it views Japanese people as victims of World War II. They are against wars as people of a country which experienced nuclear bombs and as people who were forced by those who were in power to send their children to war. From this point of view, the recognition of themselves as being on the oppressors side does not come out. Thus, as far as Development Education is concerned, pressure from the opposition side hardly exists and it cannot play the role of the promoter of Development Education.

8. Other Interest Groups

In Japan, among the main actors in educational policy making, there is no actor which is enthusiastic about the introduction of Development Education in schools. There is not a powerful interest group which holds an influential position in educational policy making, either. Those who are active in promoting Development Education in Japan are mainly classroom teachers, teacher educators and NGO workers, and they are outsiders to the curriculum policy making process.¹³⁶ Their interest is mostly in the promotion of Development Education through their teaching in the formal and non-formal education sectors, and lobbying is not included.¹³⁷ The self-assertion of these Development Educators is done in a modest way through articles in journals, conference papers and resource books for teachers.

Teacher educators support teachers' activities from the theoretical side and

have influence through publications. If these educators are working for a university which is involved in the Ministry of Education's research for curriculum development, the result of research on Development Education at the university reaches policy makers directly. From this output from teachers and scholars, curriculum researchers in the Ministry of Education collect information about trends of development among teachers, but the development itself is hardly influential.

There are some NGOs which are trying to promote Development Education by approaching the Ministries and Boards of Education, taking advantage of their position as outsiders to the ideological conflict between policy makers and educationists. Some of their attempts succeeded in attracting the attention of Ministries. For example, the funding which came out of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for the creation of the Development Education Information Centre in 1987 was a result of efforts by some NGO members, and the interest of an officer of the Ministry of Education (who was the main writer of the national curriculum for 'geography A') in the World Studies Project in the United Kingdom which was introduced to Japan through a translation of one of the World Studies books by a Japanese NGO.¹³⁸

There are these successful examples of influencing policy making. However, in general, the influence of such NGO activities is limited because the number of the NGOs is very small and their activities are not organized to form a larger pressure group.

9. Conclusion

This chapter tried to explain slow governmental involvement in the introduction of Development Education in schools with Schoppa's theory of 'immobilism' in Japanese educational policy making. Although discussions relevant to Development Education by actors in policy making are not as visible as examples in Schoppa's study, the existence of some competing forces among actors concerning the introduction of Development Education has been identified.

Unlike some cases in which suggestions for policy change became 'immobile' after well publicized disputes, in the ordinary day-to-day political and policy process it is hard to know whether 'immobilism' exists or not. Sometimes a suggestion for a change remains behind the closed doors of the Ministry or Councils and is unknown to the public. Much of the case of Development Education belongs to this pattern of covert discussion. However, there are some signs of the existence of the supporters of Development Education, or if the term itself is in dispute, UNESCO's revised Education for International Understanding inside the Ministry of Education.

In the early 1980s, the political climate was not favourable for Development Education. The LDP education zoku and the business world were criticising 'leftist' textbooks and trying to nationalize the content. There was no confronting power in the LDP to stop this nationalism. The Ministry of Education could not stand the pressure and revised textbooks. This was the situation when Prime Minister Nakasone launched the slogan, 'the internationalization of education'.

In reality, what he had in mind was not so different from the nationalism in textbooks because his emphasis was on fostering respect for Japanese tradition and culture in order to send the Japanese out into the international community. However, Nakasone's idea of 'internationalization' was not necessarily understood, as he intended it, by other people. The 'internationalization' which was triggered by him changed its form in various ways in the process of policy making. In the general comment in the Report of the Ad-hoc Council on Education in which a number of outsiders were involved, the concept of interdependence was inserted. After three years' discussion in the Council, the definition became close to the Ministry of Education's interpretation of Education for International Understanding. At the level of curriculum development, 'geography A' was created as the result of discussions in the Council on Educational Curriculum and in supporter's committees for curriculum development which mainly consisted of outsiders. In other subjects, respect for Japanese tradition and culture was stressed rather than understanding other countries. This variation indicates that there were

a number of different ideas about the internationalization of education and they were competing with each other in the process of policy making. In short, in the mid 1980s, the dominant idea in internationalization was not yet Development Education. Japanese identity and ability to communicate, which were supported by the LDP and the business world, were promoted most in the national curriculum and policy.

Thus, with Schoppa's theory, the absence of governmental intervention for the promotion of Development Education in the formal educational system can be partially explained. However, there are also some limitations on the application of his theory. First, the time framing of Schoppa's theory is limited to the period of the domination by the LDP. Once the domination changes, the roles of actors in Schoppa's theory change, which is the case after 1993.

Due to the split in 1993, the LDP lost its position as a governing party and was out of power for almost a year.¹³⁹ On the other hand, the Japan Socialist Party joined a coalition cabinet with some other former opposition parties.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, in the middle of 1994, the LDP and the JSP formed a coalition cabinet in which the socialist leader became the Prime Minister.¹⁴¹ Whether Schoppa's theory is still applicable after this political re-shuffling needs future investigation.

The second limitation is that Schoppa's theory is valid for the analysis of slowness in educational policy making in general and not for the specific area of curriculum change. Since curriculum policy is a part of educational policy, Schoppa's theory is useful for analyzing curriculum change at the level of policy making. However, the theory cannot explain the details of the politics of curriculum change. Even if the suggestion of curriculum change has passed through "immobilism" and started moving in the direction of implementation, there is still a process which the new policy has to go through before the revised curriculum is adopted and implemented in classrooms. For the investigation of slowness in the specific area of curriculum change, the thesis proceeds with the discussion by providing an example of successful recent curriculum change in the following chapter.

1. Leonard James Schoppa, Education Reform in Japan: A case of immobilist politics, (London and New York: Routledge, 1991).
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*, pp. 1-2.
4. Chuo Kyoiku Shingi-kai[the Central Council on Education], Kongo ni Okeru Gakko Kyoiku no Sogoteki na Kakuju Seibi no Tamenno Kihonteki Shisaku ni Tsuite[Basic Policy for the Total Expansion and Consolidation of School Education From Now On], 1 June, 1971, in Yokohama National University Gendai Kyoiku Kenky-jo (ed.), Chukyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku: Zaikai no kyoiku yokyu to Chukyoshin Toshin[The Central Council on Education and Educational Reforms: Educational demands of the business world and Reports of the Central Council on Education], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1972), pp. 125-179; Schoppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-7.
5. Schoppa, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-7.
6. *ibid.*, p. 247; Morio Ishiyama, Monbu Kanryo no Gyakushu[The Revenge of the Bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education], (Tokyo: Kodan-sha, 1986), pp. 170-177.
7. Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-227.
8. Schoppa, *op. cit.*, p. 259.
9. *ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
10. *ibid.*, pp. 16-18.
11. Stockwin quoted in *ibid.*, p. 7.
12. *ibid.*, p. 12.
13. For details, see Takashi Inoguchi and Tomoaki Iwai, Zoku Giin no Kenkyu: Jimin-to seiken o gyujiru shuyaku tachi[A Study of Zoku Politicians: Leading actors who control the LDP rule], (Tokyo: Nippon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 1992).
14. *ibid.*, p. vii.
15. *ibid.*, p. 20.
16. *ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
17. *ibid.*, p. 9.
18. *ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

19. *ibid.*, p. 13.
20. Asahi Shinbun[The Asahi], 25 November, 1979; Masato Yamazaki, Jiminto to Kyoiku Seisaku: Kyoiku iin ninmeisei kara Rinkyoshin made[The Liberal Democratic Party and Educational Policy: From the appointment system of the members of the Board of Education to the Ad-hoc Council on Education], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986), p. 152.
21. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-155.
22. Asahi Shinbun, 17 November, 1979.
23. Satoru Natsuki, "Tsukareteiru sensei no tameno gakko itsukasei"[Five school days for tired teachers], in Takarajima-sha (ed.), Bessatsu Takarajima no. 183: Nippon no kyoiku kaizoan[Takarajima Special Issue no. 183: Suggestions for Japanese educational reform], (Tokyo: Takarajima-sha, August, 1993), p. 58.
24. *ibid.*, p. 59.
25. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
26. *ibid.*, p. 149; Akira Kawai, "Kyoiku Kihon-ho to shin Gakushu Shido Yoryo"[The Fundamental Law of Education and the new national curriculum], in Kokumin Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo (ed.), Shin Gakushu Shido Yoryo Dokuhon: Sho chu koko no sokatsuteki kento[A Reading on the New National Curriculum: Thorough investigation of primary, lower secondary and upper secondary schools], (Tokyo: Rodo Junpo-sha, 1982), p. 35.
27. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
28. "Kensho, Monbu-sho"[Investigation, the Ministry of Education], in Sekai, November, 1989, pp. 32-33.
29. For example, Jiro Nagai, "Kokusai rikai kyoiku no genjo to kadai"[The current situation and themes in Education for International Understanding], in Kenkyu Hokoku no. 40: Ibunka rikai kyoiku no genjo to kadai[Research Report no. 40: The current situation and themes in education for inter-cultural understanding], April, 1992, (Tokyo: Chuo Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo, 1992), p. 12; Shinji Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo no katsudo to kokusai rikai kyoiku ga mezasumono"[The activities of the Institute of Education for International Understanding and aims of Education for International Understanding], in Kenkyu Hokoku no. 40: Ibunka rikai kyoiku no genjo to kadai[Research Report no. 40: The current situation and theme of education for inter-cultural understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 31; Haruhiko Tanaka, Nanboku Mondai to Kaihatsu Kyoiku: Chikyu shimin toshite ikiru tameni[The North-South Problem and Development Education: How to live as a global citizen], (Tokyo: Aki Shobo, 1994), p. 6.
30. Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

31. *ibid.*, p. 6.
32. *ibid.*, p. 6; p. 14.
33. For example, the report of Chuo Kyoiku Shingikai[the Central Council on Education] in 1956 was on the promotion of international exchange in the field of education, science and culture but did not mention the improvement of school curriculum in general. See the Report in Yokohama National University Gendai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 29-33.
34. Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 6; p. 14.
35. Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo no katsudo to kokusai rikai kyoiku ga mezasumono"[The activities of the Institute of Education for International Understanding and aims of Education for International Understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 30.
36. *ibid.*, p. 30.
37. *ibid.*, p. 31.
38. *ibid.*, p. 31.
39. Shinjo Okuda's comment on curriculum change in the mid 1970s in Hiroshi Kida, et al. (eds.), Shogen, Sengo no Kyoiku Seisaku[Testimony: Postwar educational policy], (Tokyo: Kenpaku-sha, 1985), pp. 406-410.
40. Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 7.
41. Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo no katsudo to kokusai rikai kyoiku ga mezasumono"[The activities of the Institute of Education for International Understanding and aims of Education for International Understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 31.
42. Toshio Kanaya, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku no zenshin no tameni"[Towards the progress of Education for International Understanding], in Kokusai Rikai[International Understanding], no. 21, December, 1989, p. 17; Haruhiko Tanaka, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
43. Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo no katsudo to kokusai rikai kyoiku ga mezasumono"[The activities of the Institute of Education for International Understanding and aims of Education for International Understanding], *op. cit.*, p. 31.
44. Kazuo Mikami, et al. (eds.), Korekarano Kyoiku o Yomu: Rinkyoshin mae to Rinkyoshin go[Reading Education From Now On: Before and after the Ad-hoc Council on Education], (Tokyo: Rodo Junpo-sha, 1988), p. 54.
45. Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

46. Kanaya, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku no zenshin no tameni"[Towards the progress of Education for International Understanding], op. cit., p. 12.
47. The emphasis of the report was on the change in Japan's role in international exchange from receiving to sending information, and its participation in international organizations. Education for International Understanding was also in the report but not the major issue.
48. Chuo Kyoiku Shingi-kai[The Central Council on Education], Kyoiku, Gakujutsu, Bunka ni okeru Kokusai Koryu ni Tsuite[International Exchange in Education, Science, and Culture], 27 May, 1974, in Kyoiku Jijo Kenkyu-kai (ed.), Chuo Kyoiku Shingi-kai Toshin Soran[Collected Reports of the Central Council on Education], (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1981), pp. 306-318.
49. *ibid.*, pp. 306-318, translation by the author of this thesis.
50. *ibid.*, p. 310.
51. Yoneda, "Kokusai Rikai Kyoiku Kenkyu-jo no katsudo to kokusai rikai kyoiku ga mezasumono"[The activities of the Institute of Education for International Understanding and aims of Education for International Understanding], op. cit., p. 30.
52. Kyoiku Jijo Kenkyu-kai (ed.), op. cit., p. 311.
53. Toshio Nakauchi, et al.(eds.), Nippon Kyoiku no Sengo-shi[Postwar History of Japanese Education], (Tokyo: Sanseido, 1987), p. 211.
54. Hiroshi Ichikawa, "Gakushu Shido Yoryo o kaitanowa dareka"[Who wrote the national curriculum?], in Sekai, November, 1989, pp. 50-51.
55. *ibid.*, pp. 50-51.
56. See Appendix 1.
57. For example, there are cases of High School attached to Kanazawa University Department of Education and Oizumi High School attached to Gakugei University. The information was obtained from the research section of Oizumi High School by writing.
58. For example, one of the research schools includes global problems and environmental issues in its curriculum of Education for International Understanding. The details are available from the Research Section of Oizumi High School attached to Gakugei University.
59. Monbu-sho[the Ministry of Education] Kyoiku Kaikaku Jisshi Honbu (ed.), Kokusai Rikai to Kyoryoku no Shinten: Kyoiku, gakujutsu, bunka supotsu o toshite[Promotion of International Understanding and Cooperation: Through education, science, culture and sports], (Tokyo: Gyosei, 1988), pp. 200-206.

60. Inoguchi and Iwai, *op. cit.*, pp. 200-202.
61. *ibid.*, p. 20; p. 24.
62. *ibid.*, p. 104.
63. *ibid.*, pp. 126-128.
64. *ibid.*, pp. 172-174; pp. 200-202.
65. See Ishiyama, *op. cit.* and Yamazaki, *op. cit.*
66. Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
67. *ibid.*, p. 71.
68. Masayoshi Kakinuma, "Monbu-sho no kyokasho shihai wa kokomade kiteiru"[This is how far the Ministry of Education's textbook control has come], in Hideo Sakamoto and Kozo Yamamoto (eds.), Monbu-sho no Kenkyu[A Study of the Ministry of Education], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1992), pp. 180-181.
69. Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, p. 71.
70. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, p. 164; Kakinuma, *op. cit.*, pp. 178-186.
71. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, p. 165.
72. Mikami, et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 59.
73. *ibid.*, p. 59.
74. Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-129.
75. *ibid.*, pp. 123-124.
76. *ibid.*, pp. 144-145.
77. *ibid.*, p. 129; p. 145.
78. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, p. 170.
79. "Kensho, Monbu-sho"[Investigation, the Ministry of Education], *op. cit.*, p. 32; p. 40; Hiroshi Ichikawa, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.
80. For example, one education zoku member, Kazuya Ishibashi became the Minister of Education after Nakasone's reform and asserted the importance of moral education and Japanese identity. See, "Rikuruto Jiken igo no Monbu-sho"[The Ministry of Education after the Rikuruto Bribery Scandal], in Sekai, November, 1989, pp. 39-41.
81. For the details, see Ishiyama, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-52.

82. For example, the conflict between the members sent in by the Prime Minister and those who were sent in by the Ministry of Education and zoku indicates that unlike ordinary policy making, the Council did not move as the Ministry and zoku wanted. About the conflict, see Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-181.
83. Saburo Harada, Rinkyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku[The Ad-hoc Council on Education and Educational Reform], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1990), p. 46.
84. *ibid.*, pp. 184-205.
85. Nakasone's speech in the LDP Seminar in Karuizawa on 26 July, 1985, quoted in Harada, *op. cit.*, p. 49. Translation by the author of this thesis.
86. Saburo Harada, "Monbu kanryo no tenohira no uede: Maboroshi ni owatta kyoiku kaikaku"[In the hands of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education: The illusion of educational reform], in Sekai, April, 1987, pp. 91-92.
87. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-174; Harada, Rinkyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku[The Ad-hoc Council on Education and Educational Reform], *op. cit.*, p. 43.
88. Yamazaki, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-36.
89. For example, Kazuya Ishibashi's comment quoted in "Kensho, Monbu-sho"[Investigation, the Ministry of Education], *op. cit.*, pp. 40-41; Harada, Rinkyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku[The Ad-hoc Council on Education and Educational Reform], *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.
90. Harada, Rinkyoshin to Kyoiku Kaikaku[The Ad-hoc Council on Education and Educational Reform], *op. cit.*, pp. 188-189.
91. Mark Lincicome, "Focus on internationalization of Japanese education: Nationalism, internationalization, and the dilemma of educational reform in Japan", in Comparative Education Review, May 1993, p. 127.
92. Nakasone's words quoted in Harada, "Monbu kanryo no tenohira no uede: Maboroshi ni owatta kyoiku kaikaku"[In the hands of the bureaucrats of the Ministry of Education: The illusion of educational reform], *op. cit.*, p. 94.
93. Rinji Kyoiku Shingi-kai[The Ad-hoc Council on Education], Kyoiku Kaikaku ni Kansuru Toshin[The Report on Educational Reform], pp. 64-65, quoted in Lincicome, *op. cit.*, p. 127.
94. Kyoiku no Sengo-shi Henshu Inkaei (ed.), Kyoiku no Sengo-shi IV: Aratana kyoiku kaikaku o motomete[Postwar History of Education IV: Seeking for a new educational reform], (Tokyo: Sanichi Shobo, 1987), p. 331.

95. Nakasone's speech at Takasaki High School quoted in, Taro Maki, "Shiryō, nenpyō: Nakasone Shusho no 1500 nichi"[Data, chronological table: 1500 days of Prime Minister Nakasone], in Sekai, April, 1987, p. 109, translated by the author of this thesis.
96. Rinji Kyoiku Shingi-kai, Kyoiku Kaikaku ni Kansuru Toshin[The Report on Educational Reform], in Lincicome, op. cit., p. 127.
97. The comment of Masuo Ureshino in a round-table talk in "Nakasone seiji o ooini ureu"[We are very worried about Nakasone government], in Sekai, November, 1983, p. 157.
98. For example, Maki explains that Nakasone's visit to India was for confirming Japan's position in the London Summit. See, Maki, op. cit., p. 136.
99. Nakasone's comment in Gekkan Jiyu Minshu[Monthly Journal of the Liberal Democratic], quoted in Maki, op. cit., p. 123, translated by the author of this thesis.
100. Yasunori Sone and Masao Kanazashi, Bijuaru Semina: Nippon no seiji[Visual Seminar: Japan's politics], (Tokyo: Nippon Keizai Shinbun-sha, 1989), p. 260.
101. Maki, op. cit., p. 110.
102. Ross Mouer and Yoshio Sugimoto also suggest that internationalization policy of Japan can be understood as Japan's strategy for "the smooth promotion of Japan's national interests". Ross E. Mouer and Yoshio Sugimoto, "Internationalization as an ideology in Japanese society", in Hiroshi Mannari and Harumi Befu (eds.), The Challenge of Japan's Internationalization: Organization and culture, (Tokyo: Kwansai Gakuin University and Kodan-sha International, 1983), p. 232, quoted in Lincicome, op. cit., p. 126.
103. Lincicome, op. cit., p. 126.
104. For example, both Nikkeiren and Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho[The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry] includes international perspectives in the desired nature of workers. See the explanation of their policies by their representatives in, Monbu-sho[the Ministry of Education] (ed.), Monbu Jihō[The Ministry of Education Journal], February, 1994, pp. 10-11. About the policy of Keizai Doyukai, see Shakai to Kigyo no Motomeru Korekara no Jinzai[Optimal Future Resources for Society and Industry], April, 1986, in Mikami et al. (eds.), op. cit., pp.93-94.
105. Keizai Doyukai, in Mikami et al. (eds.), op. cit., pp. 93-94 ; Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho[The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry], Atarashii Koto Kyoiku no Arikata ni Tsuite no Teigen: Jishu kaihatu gata jinzai no ikusei to fukusen gata koto kyoiku no kochiku ni mukete[A New Way for Higher Education: Towards the promotion of self-developing human resources

and the construction of a multi-ladder higher education], September, 1994.

106. Keizai Doyukai, Koji Fukushi Shakai no Tameno Koto Kyoiku Seido[The Higher Education System for a High-level Welfare Society], 18 July, 1969, in Yokohama National University Gendai Kyoiku Kenky-jo(ed.), op. cit., pp. 246-264.

107. *ibid.*

108. Nikkeiren, Keiei Kyoiku eno Teigen[A Suggestion for Management Education], 17 July, 1974.

109. *ibid.*

110. Kansai Keizai Doyukai, Kyoiku Kaikaku eno Teigen - 21 seiki eno Sentaku[A Suggestion for Educational Reform - a choice for the 21st Century], 16 October, 1979, quoted in Kakinuma, op. cit., p. 178.

111. For example, Kagaku Gijutsu Kyoiku Shinko ni Kansuru Iken[An Opinion Concerning the Improvement of Science Technology Education], Nikkeiren, 25 December, 1957.

112. Nikkeiren, Gijutsu Kyoiku no Kakkiteki Shinkosaku no Kakuritsu Suishin ni Kansuru Yobo[Request Concerning the Establishment and Promotion of the Epoch-making Strategy for Technical Education], 21 August, 1961.

113. Kazumichi Goka, "Rodoshijo no kokusaika to gaikokujin rodosha mondai"[Internationalization of the labour market and the problem of non-Japanese workers], in Kentaro Hayashi and Masahide Nakamura, (eds.), Konnichi no Sekai Keizaito Nippon vol. 3: Nippon keizai no kokusaika to Aija[Contemporary World Economy and Japan vol. 3: Internationalization of the Japanese economy and Asia], (Tokyo: Aoki Shoten, 1993), p. 88.

114. For example, see Hideki Yoshihara, Kichiro Hayashi and Kenichi Yasumuro, Nippon Kigyo no Gurobaru Keiei[The Global Management of Japanese Enterprises], (Tokyo: Toyo Keizai Shinpo-sha, 1988), pp. 93-114.

115. Akihiro Okumura, "Gurobarizeshon to nipponteki keiei no shinka"[Globalization and the progress of Japanese management], in Akio Okumura and Mikio Kato (eds.), Nippon no Soshiki, 15: Takokuseki kigyo to kokusai soshiki: Gurobaru kiko to kaigai shinshutsu butai[The Japanese System, 15: Multi-national enterprises and international organizations: The global system and overseas-expansion unit], (Tokyo: Daiichi Hoki Shuppan, 1989), pp. 324-326.

116. Yoshihara et al., op. cit., pp. 38-40.

117. Keizai Doyukai, Koji Fukushi Shakai no Tameno Koto Kyoiku Seido[The Higher Education System for a High-level Welfare Society], op. cit.
118. ibid.
119. Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho[The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry], Waga Kuni Kigyo ni Motomerareru Jinzai to Kongo no Kyoiku no Arikata[Optimal Human Resource for Japanese Industry and the Way of Future Education], July, 1993.
120. Nikkeiren, Chokumen suru Daigaku Mondai ni Kansuru Kihonteki Kenkai[Basic View Concerning the Current University Problem], 24 February, 1969.
121. Nikkeiren, Kyoiku no Kihon Mondai ni Taisuru Sangyokai no Kenkai[A Business Oriented View of Fundamental Issues of Education], 18 September, 1969.
122. Keizai Doyukai, Koji Fukushi Shakai no Tameno Koto Kyoiku Seido[The Higher Education System for High-level Welfare Society], op. cit.
123. ibid.
124. Nikkeiren, Kinnen no Konai Boryoku Mondai ni Tsuite - Kyoiku Mondai no Rikai o Fukameru Tameni[Recent Problems of School Violence - Deepening Understanding of Educational Problems], 5 July, 1983; Tokyo Shoko Kaigisho[The Tokyo Chamber of Commerce and Industry], Wagakuni Kigyo ni Motomerareru Jinzai to Kongo no Kyoiku no Arikata[Optimal Human Resource for Japanese Industry and the Way of Future Education], op. cit.
125. Nikkeiren, Kyoiku no Kihon Mondai ni Taisuru Sangyokai no Kenkai[A Business Oriented View of the Fundamental Issues in Education], op. cit.
126. ibid.
127. Keizai Doyukai, Koji Fukushi Shakai no Tameno Koto Kyoiku Seido[The Higher Education System for a High-level Welfare Society], op. cit.
128. For example, one of the influential business organizations, Keidanren, established Kokusai Kankyo Tasuku Fosu[the Task Force for the International Environmental Cooperation]. See Gekkan Keidanren[Keidanren Monthly Journal], February, 1993, p. 21.
129. ibid., p. 21.
130. Schoppa, op. cit., pp. 12-13; Ishiyama, op. cit., pp. 100-103.
131. Ishiyama, op. cit., pp. 100-103; Schoppa, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

132. Nagai points out that schools and boards of education can use only the terms which are admitted by the Ministry of Education or the government. See Nagai, *op. cit.*, p. 21. The difficulty in getting the Ministry of Education's recognition because of the term is also mentioned by the core members of the Development Education Council of Japan in their answer to questions by the author of this thesis.
133. See for example, Yamazaki, *op. cit.*; Benjamin C. Duke, Japan's Militant Teachers, (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973).
134. For example, according to the membership list of the Development Education Council of Japan in 1993, neither the JSP nor Nikkyoso is a member of the Council.
135. Jun Nishikawa, Daisan Sekai to Heiwa[The Third World and Peace], (Tokyo: Waseda Daigaku Shuppan-bu, 1987), p. 8.
136. See for example the member list of the Development Education Council of Japan.
137. The journal of the Development Education Council of Japan does not organize lobbying and protest activities as the journals of some other societies do. The content of the journal is mostly the introduction of cases and information.
138. Information obtained from one of core members of the Development Education Council of Japan and the director of an NGO.
139. Asahi Shinbun Seiji-bu, Seikai Saihen[Reorganization of the Political World], (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbun-sha, 1993), pp. 13-107.
140. *ibid.*, pp. 13-107.
141. Gekkan Shakai-to[Japan Socialist Party Monthly Journal], no. 470, August, 1994, pp. 6-19.

Chapter Six: The Introduction of Life Environment Studies into the School Curriculum

1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the slow rate at which Development Education was introduced into the national curriculum was discussed based on Schoppa's theory of "immobilism". Some limitations in the theory were noted.

This chapter analyzes curriculum change from a slightly different perspective. The stress is on other factors besides Schoppa's "immobilism". As a strategy, the chapter specifically investigates the introduction of Life Environment Studies into the national curriculum in 1992 and discusses the factors that delayed the implementation of the subject for over two decades.

The chapter is structured by the story of the creation of Life Environment Studies; from the time when it existed as fragmentary components until it was introduced into schools as a subject.

2. The Pre "Immobilism" Period: Components of Life Environment Studies

In Schoppa's analysis, examples of "immobilism" were noted to be cases discussed either in the Central Council on Education or at the Ad-hoc Council on Education.¹ When they were not implemented as policies, the existence of some conflicts among policy makers was clear. However, discussions of policy making are not always visible because of the closed nature of governmental councils and committees.² In the case of Life Environment Studies, except for intentionally or unintentionally leaked information, who talked with whom about the components of Life Environment Studies is unknown. However, that some discussion was going on, before Life Environment Studies became a subject, is clear, as will be shown below.

In this section, attention is given to the period before Life Environment Studies was fully established. First, some components of Life Environment Studies are identified and then individual components are discussed.

1) Life Environment Studies as defined by the Ministry of Education

The Ministry of Education abolished social studies and natural science in the first two years of primary school and introduced a new subject called Life Environment Studies in 1987. It was included in the national curriculum in 1989.³ This was the first subject change in the primary school curriculum except for changes made during the period of confusion after World War II.⁴ However, from the content of Life Environment Studies, it is clear that the subject had been carefully planned, based on ideas that had been seriously reviewed. This subject was established from various existing ideas which had been discussed for a while.

According to Shigeto Nakano, the major contributor to the curriculum, the aim of Life Environment Studies was the establishment of self. Four cardinal points were outlined to achieve this aim.⁵ The four points are:

- 1) to attach importance to concrete activities and experiences [in the children's learning processes]
- 2) [to enable children] to look at their relationship with society and nature
- 3) to value a child's awareness of self
- 4) [to enhance] the acquisition of such customs and skills that are necessary for daily life⁶

The objectives of individual subjects in the national curriculum provide more detailed explanation.⁷ They emphasize: the ability to get along with friends, family and people, recognition of personal responsibility in relationships with others, and the skills to live in society.⁸ In the relationship with the natural environment, the ability not only to observe natural phenomena but also to care for other living creatures. Thus, in terms of content, this new subject combined and displaced social studies and natural science.

The learners' subjectivity and empathy were added as important elements.⁹ Nakano explains that in natural science and social studies in the previous national curriculum, the learners' position in their relationship with what they

were learning was missing.¹⁰ They were taught in a textbook-centred way and students were evaluated only by the results of written examinations, which led to excessive uniformity.¹¹ Life Environment Studies was created with the intention of remedying the defects of the previous curriculum.¹²

The existence of the learners' point of view is linked with moral education. Hence, the emphasis is on the ability to keep a good relationship with friends, family and people in the community, to care for living things, and on the recognition of personal responsibility in relationships with others. In general, learning is through child-centred and experience-based approaches. In evaluation, individual differences among children and the process rather than the result of self-learning is stressed. For this reason, evaluation solely on the basis of academic achievement was not adopted. These perspectives are written into the national curriculum.

The introduction of Life Environment Studies was an attempt by the Ministry of Education to solve a number of issues: overcrowding of the elementary school curriculum, improving the continuity between education at kindergarten and primary education, and devising a child-centred pedagogy.¹³

2) Disputes over social studies

Among the components of Life Environment Studies, are social studies and natural science. Despite a history of nearly fifty years, the position of social studies in the curriculum had never been stable and there had always been disputes.¹⁴ The disputes can be summed up in two types, ideological and pedagogical.

The ideological dispute started as soon as social studies was introduced after World War II. It was a conflict between policy makers and teachers.¹⁵ Social studies is alien to the Japanese educational tradition. When shushin [self-discipline], which played the role of moral education in prewar Japan, was abolished because of its ultra-nationalistic nature, social studies was introduced in the postwar curriculum revision, following the American example.¹⁶ This revision was intended to popularize an American style of

democracy.¹⁷ At the beginning, not only teachers but also the Ministry of Education supported this subject as a symbol of democratic society and, as a teaching technique. It encouraged discussion and field trips.¹⁸

However, the basis of social studies in the Japanese curriculum was rather weak from the very beginning.¹⁹ There was not enough consensus among policy makers and educators about what social studies should aim at.²⁰ The confusion about social studies led to conflict between educators who stressed the rights of the individual in a democratic society, and policy makers and the business world who asserted the importance of the individual's responsibility and moral education.²¹ Criticism that teachers in Nikkyoso were using this subject for transferring their anti-governmental views to children and demands for curriculum revision came from conservative politicians and the business world.²² On the other hand, those who supported social studies kept criticising the Ministry's policy as an attempt to undermine democratic education.²³

While the disputes were going on, a suggestion for the re-organization of social studies appeared in the Reports of the Council on Educational Curriculum and the Central Council on Education in 1953.²⁴ In 1955, the national curriculum of social studies was revised at primary and lower secondary level.²⁵ Thus, the child-centred and experience-based approach of the late 1940s became more subject-centred in the modernization.²⁶ This period also overlapped with the period when modernization and science and technology were emphasized in the curriculum and subject-centred approaches which could transfer information efficiently were preferred. The consequence was an over-crowded curriculum and a pedagogy in social studies which stressed the transmission of information and the use of textbooks.²⁷

Disputes about the content of social studies continued in the 1960s. For example, the Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1967 suggested that it was necessary to pay attention to the links with other subjects especially moral education in the teaching of social studies at primary school level.²⁸ There was also a discussion about keeping social studies in the first two grades of primary school.²⁹ A suggestion that social studies in the first

two grades should be abolished came from some education research institutions in the private sector. They argued that it was difficult for children of these ages to understand social issues in a scientific way and that without making them think in a scientific way there was no sense in keeping social studies.³⁰ This problem can be seen in the Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1967. The Report treated social studies in the first two grades separately from the other grades and emphasized that the role of social studies at this stage was to prepare children to join society.³¹

Concerning natural science, there was no ideological problem, but a pedagogical discussion similar to that of social studies also occurred during the same period.³²

The result of these discussions appeared in the Report of the Central Council on Education in 1971. The Report suggested the need for research on the inter-disciplinary curriculum in the first two grades of primary school.³³

3) Disputes over moral education

Besides social studies and natural science, the third component of Life Environment Studies is moral education. The desire to strengthen this component had always been a priority with some LDP politicians and parents although for different reasons. For some LDP politicians, the influence of American democracy in postwar education seemed to be the cause of increasing juvenile delinquency and of a weakening respect for the nation. They desired the revival of Japan's traditional values in moral education.

The dispute over moral education between policy makers and educationists, including teachers of Nikyso, is as old as that about social studies.³⁴ Moral education did not exist in the curriculum immediately after World War II.³⁵ As mentioned in the discussion about social studies, in the postwar curriculum reform, shushin was abolished because it was believed to have encouraged extreme nationalism among Japanese youth. Instead, social studies was introduced as a subject for preparing children for living in a democratic society.³⁶

However, the desire for moral education remained, especially among conservative politicians.³⁷ As early as 1950, the Minister of Education Amano asked the Council on Educational Curriculum to investigate the introduction of moral education into the curriculum,³⁸ but the answer of the Council was not in favour.³⁹ In 1952, the Minister of Education Okano again questioned the Council about the re-organization of social studies and the introduction of moral education.⁴⁰ But this was rejected by the Council in 1953.⁴¹ After a similar attempt failed for the third time in 1956, the Ministry of Education changed the members of the council and finally succeeded in inserting moral education as an area of study in 1958.⁴² Despite this, the desire for strengthening moral education still remained among conservative politicians.⁴³ The continuous emphasis on moral education can be seen in documents such as the Report of the Central Council on Education in 1966 and the national curricula in 1967 and 1976.⁴⁴

After the rise of the student movement in the 1960s, the business world also became active in supporting the introduction of moral education.⁴⁵ In contrast, teachers in Nikkyoso and opposition parties were against the introduction of moral education, asserting that this was a revival of prewar shushin.⁴⁶ Thus, the dispute on the issue of moral education between the conservatives and the opposition was predominantly ideological.

The demand for stronger moral education from parents was not for ideological reasons but because of the increasing number of juvenile delinquents and other problematic issues in education. Such a demand also appeared soon after the postwar curriculum was implemented and continued unabated.⁴⁷

While an element of moral education was inserted into Life Environment Studies, existing moral education remained unchanged. Consequently, the introduction of Life Environment Studies meant the strengthening of moral education in the whole curriculum.

4) Link with the kindergarten

Discussion about the links between kindergarten and primary school which is another element of Life Environment Studies emerged for pedagogical and economic reasons much later than the disputes over the content of subjects. In terms of the improvement of the links, the discussion was pedagogical but the reason behind this suggestion was largely influenced by economic needs.

The problem of a break between education at kindergarten and that of the first two years of primary school was pointed out by the Central Council on Education in its Mid-term Report in March of 1969.⁴⁸ The Report asserted that the curriculum tended to ignore the similarity between children in kindergarten and in the lower grades of primary school.⁴⁹ Based on this discussion, the Report of the Central Council on Education in 1971 suggested the introduction of a research system which would allow the Ministry of Education to do experiments in actual classrooms without being limited by the existing laws.⁵⁰ Experiments on the link between kindergarten and primary school were among the suggestions.⁵¹

The business world was also interested in this issue. In September 1971, Nikkeiren published suggestions for educational reform.⁵² In this document, Nikkeiren argued that the intellectual level of five-year-old children in urban areas were more developed and it would be possible for them to start school education before they became six years old.⁵³ This was a suggestion for the purpose of providing gifted children with school education as early as possible and securing talented manpower in the future. For this suggestion to be accepted, it was necessary to close the gap between education at kindergarten and primary school so that it would be pedagogically possible for five-year olds to study at school. However, both suggestions from the Ministry of Education were criticized.⁵⁴ Consequently, the policy suggested by the Central Council on Education in 1971 was not adopted although it was one of the most important suggestions in the report.

5) Individual difference and the self-learning process

The turning point from the emphasis on knowledge of basics and science to a stress on individual differences, also developed around 1970. In the Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1967, importance was still attached to the acquisition of basics by subject-centred learning. However, the Report of the Central Council on Education in 1971 asserted the importance of individual difference, and an education which would enable individuals to develop their ability to the fullest extent.⁵⁵ The Report also suggested that education needed to adjust to the needs of the moment and that it was necessary to allow diversity in the content of and approach to education in order to develop an education which fitted the different needs of individuals.⁵⁶

The change in educational policy during this period can be explained in terms of changing demands from the business world. In the suggestions of Nikkeiren in 1969, although the focus was on secondary and higher education, the development of diverse individual ability was emphasized.

After this turning point, both the Ministry of Education and the business world started stressing life-long education on various occasions in the 1970s. In this perspective, spontaneity in learning was stressed and education which prepared people for life-long learning was desired. This was a response to the problem of the student protest movement in the late 1960s, seen as a result of rote education and also as a strategy to prepare people for adjusting to a rapidly changing society by learning on their own. This trend continued throughout the discussions about the creation of Life Environment Studies.

6) Child-centred, experience-based and inter-disciplinary approach

Because of the shift from cramming to self-learning ability, emphasis in pedagogic approaches also changed from subject-centred to child-centred.

The child-centred approach was introduced into Japan during the Meiji Period but discussion about the introduction of this approach was not continuous. The first dispute occurred before World War II. The approach

appeared in Japan during the Liberal Education Movement around 1910.⁵⁷ The movement was limited to a small number of schools but continued in some private schools despite pressure from the military government and the movement became a model for Life Environment Studies in the 1980s.

The postwar attempt at the child-centred approach was first implemented by the Ministry of Education under pressure from the American Occupation Agencies.⁵⁸ Social studies and individual study were included in the curriculum for this purpose.⁵⁹ The reform was welcomed by progressive teachers and educationists. Various curricula were developed by teachers and educationists in this period.⁶⁰ But some teachers and parents became worried about the effect of that kind of education on children's acquisition of basic knowledge.⁶¹

The Ministry of Education therefore changed the policy back to a subject-centred curriculum.⁶² Since this revision, the Japanese national curriculum continued to be what is known as rote education until the revision in the 1970s. The child-centred approach based on experience was continued only in a small number of private schools until the discussion revived in the 1970s about the introduction of this approach in the national curriculum.

This discussion about the introduction of a child-centred approach emerged for the third time in the 1970s with the movement towards the introduction of Life Environment Studies. Hence, the process of the introduction of a child-centred approach overlaps with that of the creation of Life Environment Studies.

3. The Adoption of Life Environment Studies

In the 1970s, attempts were made to re-organize these subjects. But these attempts became policies only after more than a decade because of changing attitudes to the development of the policy. Because of the changes, this section suggests that there were two phases between the emergence of the idea and the adoption. The first one is after 1971 when the suggestion for the re-organization of the school system was made. The second one is after Life

Environment Studies was proposed in the Mid-term Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1976. This second period lasted until 1987.

1) The idea of Life Environment Studies and attempts to include it in the curriculum in the 1970s

As discussed in the previous section, the various elements of Life Environment Studies existed in the discussion on curriculum development but the idea of putting them together to create a new subject did not emerge until interest in the child-centred approach was revived. The major theme of curriculum change from the late 1950s was the improvement of science and technology education, not child-centredness.⁶³

The shift from the priority on science and technology to humanities started towards the end of the 1960s first as a demand from the business world.⁶⁴ Japan was embroiled in the tumult of the students' movement at that time and questions about the responsibility of postwar education for this problem surfaced.⁶⁵ Nikkeiren which had published several documents on the problem of university education⁶⁶ also made suggestions regarding the educational system as a whole in 1969 and emphasized the importance of the formation of personality through all stages of education.⁶⁷ In the writing about primary education, Nikkeiren suggested that more emphasis should be put on fostering a favourable attitude to society including self-discipline, ability to cooperate with others and ability to see the relationship between learners themselves and society.⁶⁸ In this way, the behaviour of students was understood by the business people as the result of an education which failed to develop proper attitudes in the young towards society, and the remedy was sought in educational change.

In 1967, the Minister of Education Kennoki asked the Central Council on Education to investigate the whole educational system so that education could prepare Japanese youth to develop their abilities to cope with a rapidly changing society.⁶⁹ After four years' discussion, the Council submitted its Report in 1971. The Report indicated a desire for change in educational policy

from prioritising the production of necessary manpower for further economic development to an education enabling people to develop not only skills and knowledge but also their Ningensei [whole personality].⁷⁰ For instance, the harmonious relationship between a learner and the natural and social environment was cited as an important aspect of the formation of personality.⁷¹ Here, rapid change in the social environment is regarded as a challenge to human life. Consequently education which enables people to cope with the new environment without maladjustment was considered desirable.⁷²

The report proposing Life Environment Studies stated that:

Especially in the lower grades, it is important to foster attitudes and abilities for living and studying through an integrated education and training of the intellect, emotion, will and body. Therefore, it is necessary to re-investigate the structure of a curriculum which fits the stages of the children's development without being bound to the existing division of subjects.⁷³

This statement was part of the proposal about in-school experiment which was one of the major suggestions of this report.⁷⁴ However, the suggestion of experimentation produced strong disagreement from the opposition parties, Nikkyoso, various educational interest groups and some personnel of the Ministry of Education itself.⁷⁵ Hence it could not be put into practice. Thus, the first step towards the establishment of Life Environment Studies faced "immobilism" in 1971.

The "immobilism" was mostly because of the characteristics of this particular council. The Report of the Central Council on Education in 1971 is noted for its idealistic nature.⁷⁶ Unlike previous reports of the Council, its suggestions did not remain at the level of what could be done but included what should be done as well.⁷⁷ Because of this, criticism not only from outside but also from inside the Ministry of Education was very strong.⁷⁸ While a number of suggestions were ignored by the executive sections of the Ministry, the idea of a new subject in the first and second grades of primary school was revived in the discussions of the Council on Educational Curriculum in the mid 1970s. In 1973, the Council on Educational Curriculum was asked to

investigate the improvement of the curriculum at primary, lower secondary and upper secondary school level by the Minister of Education.⁷⁹

The Minister of Education asserted that the discussions of the Council should not be divided into primary, lower secondary and upper secondary levels but directed towards the whole education system, giving attention to the links between different school levels.⁸⁰ The Minister indicated that the Council should discuss curriculum revision including innovation in the school system and the re-structuring of subjects.

The Mid-term Report in 1975 says that there was a need to examine the possibility of a new subject in the lower grades of primary school whose content was based on social studies and natural science.⁸¹ For the first time, the creation of Life Environment Studies was suggested in the Council on Educational Curriculum.

2) Immobilism in 1976

The Ministry of Education established Kyoryokusha Kaigi [a Supporters' Committee (for curriculum development)] which studied the possibility of introducing a new subject on behalf of the Council on Educational Curriculum.⁸² A specialists' committee on the revision of school hours was also formed in the Council.⁸³ After the Mid-term Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum was announced, the Ministry of Education was ready to submit a detailed curriculum for the new subject.⁸⁴ However, the creation of a new subject was withdrawn in the Final Report of the Council in 1976.⁸⁵ The report indicated:

Concerning the revision of the existing subject structure, the decision had to be made based on considerations about the effect of instruction and educational conditions in schools and, at this stage, the opinion is strong that more research and trials would be necessary. It is preferable to maintain the existing structure of subjects and promote interdisciplinary instruction more than before.⁸⁶

Why the Council decided not to implement Life Environment Studies in the revised national curriculum is not clear. About this withdrawal, Nakano writes only that the Council decided that it was still too early to implement an inter-disciplinary approach as a subject and this issue should be a future task.⁸⁷ The only thing that is clear is that there was some disagreement about implementation among policy makers. Thus, the attempt to introduce Life Environment Studies became immobile again in 1976. However, the preparation for the time when this "immobile" policy changed to "mobile" continued in the Ministry of Education.

3) Preparation for "mobilization"

The preparation by the Ministry of Education for the "mobilization" of the policy appeared in several ways. An example is the revised curriculum policy which recommended an interdisciplinary approach in the lower grades of the primary school.⁸⁸ In the Report of the Council on Educational Curriculum in 1976 and the national curriculum in 1977, the content of all subjects was cut down by 30 to 40 percent for the purpose of relieving the pressure on teachers and students from an overcrowded curriculum.⁸⁹ At the same time, instruction hours were also cut by ten percent.⁹⁰ By so doing, the Ministry of Education generated extra time in the curriculum which was to be used for activities that would help children to develop their creativity and spontaneous learning. This was the time which could be utilized for interdisciplinary activities. Thus, instead of introducing a new subject, the Ministry of Education recommended an inter-disciplinary approach in teaching and established time for this purpose outside subject teaching.

Another example is the admission of experiments at schools which are excused from the regulations by the School Education Law.⁹¹ Experiments in these schools were utilized for a curriculum revision.⁹² There were some themes for the experiments. One of them was "research and development of curriculum in order to strengthen the link between education at kindergarten and primary school".⁹³ According to Nakano, this theme was also intended to

assist the development of an inter-disciplinary approach in the lower grades of primary school, and more than twenty primary schools were appointed as research development schools.⁹⁴

This system of research development schools can be considered as a revival of the suggestion by the Central Council on Education in 1971. At the same time, these examples indicate that the Ministry of Education was preparing for discussions on the introduction of a new subject and curriculum.

Behind these preparations, there was a change of views in the Ministry which indicated the necessity for curriculum change from a subject-centred approach to a child-centred approach. Shinjo Okuda was one of the Ministry staff supporting the process of content reduction. He recalls that the attitude about curriculum content reduction in the Ministry changed greatly during the period between this curriculum revision and the previous one in the mid 1960s.⁹⁵ When he mentioned the idea in the mid 1960s, there was a strong disagreement in the Ministry including disagreement from the academics in the Council on Educational Curriculum.⁹⁶ They argued that such an idea was unacceptable when the improvement of children's ability in the basics was seriously discussed.⁹⁷ In the 1960s when the promotion of science and technology education was in process, based on the subject-centred approach, children's creativity and spontaneity were not the primary task of education.

By 1976, there was no longer any disagreement.⁹⁸ The opinion of the general public and the interest of business people were strongly in support of change in order to solve the problems of rote education and children's poor behaviour. This helped the Ministry of Education to study the possibility of introducing a subject that would encourage a child-centred approach.

4) Demands from the society and the failure of the introduction of an interdisciplinary approach in the 1970s

In 1976, emphasis on curriculum change shifted from science and technology to character formation geared at producing respectable personalities.⁹⁹

The new curriculum was first used in 1980. Besides the reduction in the subject content and instruction time, an interdisciplinary approach in all educational activities was encouraged as can be discerned from this statement:

Make developmental and systematic instruction possible by linking subjects, moral education and special activities. In the first and second years, allow enough flexibility to teachers to use an inter-disciplinary approach.¹⁰⁰

Ironically, it is also in this period that children's maladjustment to school education emerged as a serious social problem.¹⁰¹ Their anti-social and unsocial behaviour such as Konai Boryoku [in-school violence], Kateinai Boryoku [violence to family], and Toko Kyohi [school phobia] reached a point which made people think that there was something wrong with education.¹⁰² Even though the majority of students did not go to the extremes of delinquent behaviour, Mukiryoku [passive attitude] in education in general was common.¹⁰³ While cramming itself was criticized, the influence from modern society with floods of information from the mass media, the breakup of family ties, alienation from nature and human community were pointed out as causes; and demands for education to cope with social change increased.¹⁰⁴

The extra time gained from reducing the subject content was supposed to remedy rote education and by fostering children's creativity and personality, be a solution for the above problems. However, it soon became clear that curriculum change was not very effective.¹⁰⁵ First, creative education did not simply take place by inserting such phrases in the national curriculum.¹⁰⁶ Secondly, the national curriculum was too abstract and many teachers could not easily understand it. Thirdly, retraining was required to enable the old teachers to adapt to the proposed changes. Finally, the absence of relevant guidelines and textbooks meant that teachers needed more time for preparation.¹⁰⁷

The side effect of the extra time was more disastrous. When the content of the subject curriculum was cut down, the time for instruction was also lessened.¹⁰⁸ Teachers had to teach a tighter timetable than before. As a result,

extra time was not only poorly utilized for interdisciplinary education but also adversely affected subject teaching.¹⁰⁹ The survey by a group of researchers at Yokohama National University shows the gap between the administration and teachers concerning this issue.¹¹⁰ According to the research in 1981, despite the encouragement by the Ministry after 1980, only 7.9 percent of sampled primary schools were practising an interdisciplinary approach.¹¹¹ In the research in 1983, the percentage grew to be 17.5 percent which was still low.¹¹² Furthermore, among the reasons for not practising an interdisciplinary approach, 14.1 percent of the schools answered that they did not recognize any need to introduce it.¹¹³ Almost twenty percent of teachers did not acknowledge the necessity of introducing it. The interdisciplinary approach was not popular among teachers.

5) Curriculum change in the 1980s and the introduction of Life Environment Studies

In 1982, before the Council on Educational Curriculum started, the Ministry of Education held an internal meeting of directors and chiefs of sections in order to discuss the position of the Ministry concerning the issue of change in the school system; and decided not to change it.¹¹⁴ By this decision, the Ministry confirmed that it would not lower the age for starting schooling. Indirectly, this indicated that the Ministry had decided to improve the sequence between preschool and primary education within the existing school system.

In November 1983, the Sub Committee on Educational Content which was working on behalf of the Central Council on Education announced a report on the progress of the discussions.¹¹⁵ The Report suggested that there was a necessity for curriculum change in the lower grades of primary school including the abolition and change of subjects based on the result of studies which had been undertaken by the Ministry of Education.¹¹⁶ With this Report, the issue of the generation of Life Environment Studies acquired new life in the arena of policy making for the next curriculum revision.

The Ministry of Education established a Shogakko Teigakunen Kyoiku Mondai Kondankai [A Round-Table Conference on Issues Concerning the Lower Grades of the Primary Schools] in 1984 in order to investigate the subject structure at those levels.¹¹⁷ The members studied the subject structure according to the advice of various specialists and by visiting research development schools which had been experimenting with curriculum since 1976.¹¹⁸ This Round-Table Conference continued its discussions for two years and submitted its report in 1986 which suggested the establishment of Life Environment Studies.

In a normal process, the suggestion is studied and approved in the Council on Educational Curriculum. However, this normal procedure was interrupted in January 1984 by Prime Minister Nakasone's intention to establish the Ad-hoc Council on Education.¹¹⁹ Nakasone's personal interest in education and his political aims created this exceptional educational policy making body.¹²⁰

In August 1984, in order to reform education to suit his aims, Nakasone set up the Ad Hoc Council on Education directly under the control of the Prime Minister instead of utilizing the Central Council on Education which was under the control of the Ministry of Education.¹²¹ Hence, this Council did not follow the conventional method of policy making by the Ministry of Education which usually planned the Council carefully in order to avoid conflicts in advance.¹²² As a consequence, the establishment of the Ad-hoc Council on Education was full of conflict from the beginning.

In the LDP, the issue divided the Prime Minister's faction from the Ministry of Education, and the Nakasone clique from the education zoku, especially the members who did not belong to the Nakasone clique.¹²³ The Ministry of Education was also against Nakasone, having been indirectly humiliated by having its job taken away.¹²⁴ Conflict also appeared in the Council itself between the members representing Nakasone and those who were sent in by the Ministry of Education.¹²⁵

Despite the various conflicts concerning other topics, the idea of re-organization of subjects in the lower grades of primary education was adopted by the Ad-hoc Council on Education. Indeed, the idea was not only supported

by the Central Council on Education in 1983 but also by the Prime Minister's private advisory committee in 1984.¹²⁶ Therefore, it had been agreed by both the Prime Minister's side and the Ministry of Education before the Council started.

In the Second Report of the Council which was submitted in April 1986, the integration of subjects, especially natural science and social studies and education through experience, was suggested.¹²⁷ After this Report was published, the Council on Educational Curriculum announced the establishment of a new subject and the abolition of social studies and natural science in the first two years of primary education in the Mid-term Report in October 1986 and then in the Final Report in December 1987.¹²⁸ The new subject was temporarily named Life Environment Studies and its child-centred, experience-based and interdisciplinary nature was defined. At this point, the creation of Life Environment Studies was official.

6. The Implementation of Life Environment Studies

Life Environment Studies was finally adopted in 1987. However, the slow rate of curriculum change in Japan is not only generated by "immobilism" in the process of policy making but also by the procedure of implementation by the Ministry of Education. In the case of Life Environment Studies, it took five years for the adoption to be implemented at classroom level. This is the period which is not in the scope of Schoppa's study.

The slow rate of implementation is caused by the careful preparation of the national curriculum and textbooks which are two ways in which the Ministry of Education influences classroom teaching. Once a new curriculum has been decided upon, schools all over Japan follow it and use authorized textbooks. For this reason, the Ministry is very careful about creating the national curriculum and authorizing textbooks. At the same time, for pressure groups, this period is the last chance to impress their opinions on the national curriculum. Conflicts occur at this stage as well as in the policy making process.

1) The Revision of the national curriculum

The preparation for the national curriculum by the Ministry of Education started in 1986 while the discussion in the Council on Educational Curriculum was still going on.¹²⁹ A large number of outsiders were appointed for Gakushu Shido Yoryo Sakusei Kyoryokusha Kaigi [the Supporters' Committee for the Development of the National Curriculum], including former officials of the Ministry itself.¹³⁰ Thus, preparation for the national curriculum by the Committee went on at the same time as the discussion was taking place in the Council, and opinions were exchanged with it.¹³¹ This procedure also continued after the creation of the Life Environment Studies was officially decided in the Council in 1987 until the national curriculum was published in 1989.¹³²

The preparation of the national curriculum was not simply an educational matter but also a political one.¹³³ For example, in the case of upper secondary social studies, the consensus which had been established among members about the sub-divisions in the subject had to be changed after two years' work because of political pressure via the Ministry of Education.¹³⁴ After this change, it took another year to write the curriculum.¹³⁵

Thus, the conflicts among actors in policy making which generate "immobilism" exist over the content of the curriculum and make the difficult work of curriculum development even more complicated. In the case of the 1980s' revision, it took three years to prepare the national curriculum, and this length of preparation was necessary not only to maintain the standard of the curriculum but also in order to coordinate conflicting opinions.

2) Preparation of textbooks

For the preparation of textbooks for the new curriculum, the Ministry of Education usually takes three years.¹³⁶ The reasons are clear. First, three years are necessary because of the process of writing, authorizing and adopting textbooks.¹³⁷ Secondly, in the case of existing subjects, it is preferable that

textbook writers can see the effect of their previous textbooks while they are writing the next version and for this purpose, one year is necessary.¹³⁸ If this period is shortened, textbook writers have to do revision without having feedback on older ones.

The use of textbooks in life environment studies was decided when the introduction of a new subject was agreed in July 1986 by the Research Committee of Supporters on Education of Lower Grades of Primary School which was working on behalf of the Council on Educational Curriculum in July 1986.¹³⁹ Since authorized textbooks were supposed to be used in Life Environment Studies as well as other subjects, another three years were necessary for the preparation of textbooks before the full implementation of the new subject.¹⁴⁰

There was criticism against the use of authorized textbooks in Life Environment Studies. They were thought to be unsuitable for a subject which encourages, for teaching purposes, the use of children's experiences and the use of their lives in the local environment.¹⁴¹ Such criticism was well recognized by the Ministry of Education but it still decided to use authorized textbooks for this subject.¹⁴² Nakano has identified the reasons. First, textbooks have already become a part of Japanese education.¹⁴³ Secondly, for the promotion of Life Environment Studies, the list of teaching materials and events for promotion are not enough. Something which gives a more concrete idea to teachers about how the class would be organized is needed for successful promotion.¹⁴⁴ Thirdly, if there are no textbooks, this subject will be treated as if it is of little importance.¹⁴⁵

These comments indicate the Ministry's dilemma. While the Ministry wanted to introduce a change from book-centred education to child-centred education, it also wanted to have the change under the Ministry's control. In order to show how the change was intended, it was necessary to prepare something that all teachers would refer to.

However, if the above were the only reasons for the use of textbooks, there was a possibility of transferring the authorization of textbooks to local authorities which seemed more suitable for this subject. By such action, all of

the above problems would be solved. Probably the reason why the Ministry did not choose this solution is the maintenance of the power of central authority on textbook content. Again the reason is both educational and political. While the Ministry was worried about the academic standard of textbooks, it also paid attention to keeping textbooks from being used as political tools by both conservatives and the opposition.¹⁴⁶

3) Some more preparation before implementation

The Ministry of Education also started promoting Life Environment Studies while preparing for the national curriculum and textbooks. It published a collection: of the aims of the subject, examples of lesson plans and activities; and prepared hand-outs on the new subject curriculum in 1988.¹⁴⁷ The research and trial at research schools continued during this period and these cases were used as examples in introductory books.¹⁴⁸ The number of research schools was increased to fifty-one in the April of 1988 both for the purposes of further research and promotion.¹⁴⁹

The schools appointed before 1988 were allowed more freedom than the newly appointed ones. Schools which were appointed after the 1976 revision were expected to search for various possibilities of subject integration without being limited to the integration of social studies and natural science.¹⁵⁰ Some of their practices included the integration of other subjects, and time for an interdisciplinary approach was not limited. On the other hand, practice at schools which were appointed in 1988 was based on the new curriculum and examples of activities given by the Ministry of Education.¹⁵¹ In other words, the purpose of research had moved from the development of a new curriculum to the testing of the developed curriculum.

Another mission of these schools was their role as a key school in their areas. Before the new curriculum was implemented throughout the country, the Ministry prepared schools which could function as a model and an advisor for other schools so that the new curriculum would not cause much confusion.

After these preparations for implementation, and more than a year after

Life Environment Studies was created, the revised national curriculum was announced by the Ministry of Education in 1989 and full implementation of the curriculum was completed by 1992.¹⁵²

7. A Consequence of the Implementation

Life Environment Studies was implemented in primary schools across Japan in 1992. However, curriculum change initiated by the Ministry of Education had limitations, too. Since the Ministry of Education tried to develop a curriculum which was to be used at every school, the curriculum needed to be something which could be accepted by most of the schools. Universality was indispensable and textbooks were prepared. The consequence was a relatively modest change at school level.

Life Environment Studies was not necessarily the same as the practices in research development schools or private schools which the Ministry referred to for curriculum development. There was a compromise between a new idea and the feasibility of the implementation of the idea into ordinary schools. For example, in the national curriculum, the suggested number of teaching hours of Life Environment Studies was three periods per week.¹⁵³ This was short when compared with models of research development schools and some private schools. At research development schools which contributed to the development of the curriculum before 1989, teachers usually spent longer on a child-centred and interdisciplinary approach.¹⁵⁴

Cooperation among the school staff as a whole was different in the research schools from the general schools as well. At research schools, child-centred and interdisciplinary education was often the principle of the education of the school and the whole school shared responsibility for the attempt.¹⁵⁵ In ordinary schools, such a system did not develop. In Japan teachers tend to divide up their jobs, and those in charge of the lower grades keep teaching these grades every year while other teachers keep teaching older pupils. Hence, those who teach the upper grades do not have to teach Life Environment Studies at all. Some researchers who studied practice at pioneer

schools of inter-disciplinary education point out that the cooperation of the whole school is necessary for successful implementation of inter-disciplinary education.¹⁵⁶ In reality, it was difficult to promote Life Environment Studies as something that concerned the whole school.

A limitation because of the universality appeared in the use of authorized textbooks as well. The decision the Ministry of Education made was on the use of the textbooks in the subject, but it also tried to allow more flexibility in the content than in the authorized textbooks for other subjects.

Nakano asserts that the content and the use of textbooks must be flexible in this subject, and that textbooks prepared by publishers must answer this demand.¹⁵⁷ However, as he himself confesses, the evaluation of textbooks by the majority of newspapers is different from his own evaluation.¹⁵⁸ They criticize textbooks for their uniformity and emphasis on moral issues and suggest as the reason the examples of teaching plans published by the Ministry.¹⁵⁹

The dilemma between equality in the standard of textbooks and flexibility also appeared in teachers' opinions on textbooks. The research which was undertaken in Osaka prefecture shows that more than a quarter of teachers seldom use textbooks because they criticize textbooks for not being suitable for the locality.¹⁶⁰ Yet one of the goals of Life Environment Studies is teaching about the relationship between children and the local social and natural environment.¹⁶¹ But the content of nationally authorized textbooks cannot fulfil the needs of diverse localities.

On the other hand, there is criticism that there is not enough time to cover the content of textbooks.¹⁶² Such criticism is based on subject-centred views and indicates that the existence of textbooks itself is causing a misunderstanding about the nature of Life Environment Studies which should not be subject-centred.¹⁶³

Thus, in spite of the proposition that Life Environment Studies is a flexible subject, the reality of implementation limits this possibility. The Ministry's belief in its task of maintaining the standards of education did not allow the Ministry to give up the use of nationally authorized textbooks. Their

judgement that textbooks are necessary in order to guarantee the minimal standards of instruction, even if teachers do not understand the meaning of Life Environment Studies, can be seen in this issue.

Because of this preparation by the Ministry of Education, the introduction of Life Environment Studies did not cause much confusion in schools. It was only at the beginning, when the introduction of Life Environment Studies was announced, that teachers criticised it.¹⁶⁴ Teachers of social studies and natural science were worried about the destruction of the subject-centred tradition which was suitable for an education based on the structures of the disciplines.¹⁶⁵ The element of moral education in Life Environment Studies was another target of criticism. Since moral education remained in the curriculum the additional moral element in the new subject alerted teachers to the possibility that it was a step leading to the revival of prewar shushin.¹⁶⁶ These criticisms diminished in the 1990s.¹⁶⁷ Once Life Environment Studies was implemented as a subject, teachers' interests quickly changed from the implementation of Life Environment Studies to effective ways of teaching the subject.

Thus, the introduction of Life Environment Studies did not cause major confusion among teachers. According to the survey of teachers in Fukuoka prefecture who teach at ordinary public schools, the majority of them have a positive view of Life Environment Studies.¹⁶⁸ Despite difficulties in arranging units and securing enough time, Life Environment Studies gives them the chance to use their own creativity and to see the spontaneous response of children.¹⁶⁹

In contrast to this optimistic result concerning teachers' reaction, the lack of confusion does not necessarily mean that the nature of life^{environment} studies is fully understood by teachers. Most of the teachers are not trained to use a child-centred and inter-disciplinary approach. According to research by Zenkoku Rengo Shogakko Kochokai [Japanese Association of Primary School Principals] in 1992, one third of the principals point out the lack of experienced teachers and the lack of time for in-service training as serious problems in the teaching of Life Environment Studies.¹⁷⁰

Thus, in-service training for teachers to prepare for the new approach was inadequate. Despite this fact, teachers did not have much difficulty in accepting Life Environment Studies. In a way, the plan of the Ministry of Education to create a subject which was more modest than experiments in research schools and make this new subject be accepted by ordinary schools was successful. Because the change was not as demanding as experiments in research schools, teachers could adjust their teaching style to this new subject fairly easily without having proper training.

8. Conclusion

The purpose of this Chapter was to test and clarify the idea that the slow curriculum change in Japan was not merely the result of "immobilism" in the general educational policy making process but more complex than this. The example which was chosen for this purpose was a new subject called Life Environment Studies. This example was ideal for seeing the whole process of curriculum change because this was a rare case of a successful major curriculum change: the generation of a new subject.

From this case, it became clear that the creation of a subject is not as simple as: a new idea comes out, becomes "immobile", becomes "mobile" again after a while, and then is implemented. First, a new subject was not necessarily created because of "an" idea or a "new" idea. There were a number of different ideas which had been discussed independently. Some of them were old and others were relatively new. When policy makers agreed that these different ideas could be put together as a subject and various problems could be solved by this, for the first time, the creation of a new subject emerged as a policy.

What the theory of "immobilism" can explain is the process after this stage until the policy is adopted. "Immobilism" existed in the case of Life Environment Studies, too. Once the policy failed to get on course for implementation, the policy had to wait another ten years before the next chance came during the discussion about the next curriculum change. The

policy for the introduction of Life Environment Studies became "mobile" and was adopted in the second attempt.

This case study also showed that in a curriculum change, the end of "immobilism" did not necessarily mean the immediate implementation of the policy. For Life Environment Studies, another five years were needed before full implementation was undertaken because of preparation for the implementation. This was not an exceptional case. For other existing subjects and in previous curriculum revisions as well, full policy implementation was usually five years after the policy adoption. Even for ordinary curriculum revision which does not accompany a major curriculum change, as long as the Ministry of Education produces the national curriculum and authorizes textbooks within the existing system, it takes five years for a new policy to be implemented.

Although there is no guarantee that the same process will happen if the introduction of Development Education is planned, still there are many implications for the possibility of the introduction of Development Education in the national curriculum. First, compared with ideas on Life Environment Studies, the concept of Development Education is new. Even if Development Education is divided into smaller elements, such as problems in developing countries, environmental issues and equality in the distribution of wealth in the world, these are still new to education in Japan. Hence, these issues have not yet gone through a series of discussions by educationists from various angles, as evidenced by the analysis in Chapter Five. Development Education was still too new to be included in the curriculum revision in the mid 1980s.

Secondly, if the introduction of Development Education is undertaken in the form of the content revision of some existing subjects, such as the case of "geography A", that will happen five years after the policy is announced. At this point in 1995, official discussion for the next curriculum revision has not yet started.

Thirdly, if Development Education is introduced as a subject or a major component of a new subject, there is a possibility that the idea will become "immobile" before it is officially adopted as a policy. In this case, how long

"immobilism" will continue is unknown. What is clear is that, if the creation of a new subject is not adopted in the revision in the late 1990s, unless the educational policy making system is changed, there will be no creation of a new subject at least until the early 2010s.

Thus, the implications of Life Environment Studies for Development Education highlight the small possibilities for its swift introduction into the national curriculum as a subject. The earliest possible year for Development Education to be introduced might be the early 2000s. If anything can be done for the promotion of Development Education in Japanese schools in the 1990s, it will be done without changing the existing curriculum. In the following two chapters, the thesis explores the possibility of the promotion of Development Education without major curriculum change by looking at some schools where Development Education has been introduced relatively successfully.

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5. *ibid.*, pp. 48-55.
6. *ibid.*, pp. 48-49. Brackets and translation by the author of this thesis.
7. See, for example, the national curriculum in Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo (ed.), Kyoshoku Kenshu Zokan-go[Teacher Training Special Issue], March, 1989, (Tokyo: Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo, 1989).
8. *ibid.*
9. *ibid.*
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11. *ibid.*, pp. 192-194.
12. Shigeto Nakano, "Shin gakushu shido yoryo no pointo: Seikatsu"[Important points in the new national curriculum: Life Environment Studies], in Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyo-jo (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 83.
13. Shigeto Nakano, Shintei, Seikatsuka Kyoiku no Riron to Hoho[Theory and Method of Life Environment Studies Education, New Edition], *op. cit.*, p. 22.
14. *ibid.*, p. 13.
15. *ibid.*, p. 13.
16. Hiroshi Ichikawa, *op. cit.*, p. 53; Senroku Uehara, "Gendai Nippon ni okeru shakai-ka no shimei"[Mission of social studies in modern Japan], in Seiichi Miyahara et al. (eds.), Nippon no Shakai-ka[Social Studies in Japan], (Tokyo: Kokudo-sha, 1953), p. 24.
17. Gen Furukawa, "Sengo ni okeru shakai-ka no tenkai"[Development of social studies in the postwar period], in Miyahara et al. (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 28.

18. Seiichi Miyahara, "Shakai-ka no kozai"[Merits and defects of social studies], in Miyahara et al. (eds.), op. cit., p. 294.
19. *ibid.*, pp. 293-294.
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23. For example, see Seiya Munakata, Kyoiku to Kyoiku Seisaku[Education and Educational Policy], (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1977), pp. 144-159.
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29. Shigeto Nakano, Shintei, Seikatsuka Kyoiku no Riron to Hoho[Theory and Method of Life Environment Studies Education, New Edition], op. cit., p. 13.
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31. Jiji Tsushin: Naigai Kyoiku-ban[Current News: Internal and external education], op. cit., p. 15.
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45. For example, Nikkeiren, Kyoiku no Kihon Mondai ni Taisuru Sangyokai no Kenkai[A Business Oriented View of the Fundamental Issues in Education], 18 September, 1969.
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63. Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo (ed.), Kyoshoku Kenshu Zokan-go[Teacher Training Special Issue], March, 1989, (Tokyo: Kyoiku Kaihatsu Kenkyu-jo, 1989), p. 234.

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75. Ishiyama, op., cit., p. 174.
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156. Naoyoshi Takano, "Gokatekina shido no kenkyu to shido no genjo"[A study of an integrated approach: The current situation], in Tosho Kyozaei Kenkyu Senta Goka Shido ni Kansuru Kenkyu Purojekuto (ed.), op. cit., p. 18; Seiichi Satono, "Joetsu shiritsu Otemachi Shogakko ni okeru goka shido no tokushoku"[Features of the inter-disciplinary approach at Otemachi Joetsu Municipal Primary School], in Tosho Kyozaei Kenkyu Senta Goka Shido ni Kansuru Kenkyu Purojekuto (ed.), op. cit., p. 96, Seiichi Satono, "Kobe Daigaku Kyoiku Gakubu Fuzoku Akashi Shogakko ni okeru gokashido no tokushoku"[Features of the inter-disciplinary approach at Akashi School Attached to Kobe University], in Tosho Kyozaei Kenkyu Senta Goka Shido ni Kansuru Kenkyu Purojekuto (ed.), op. cit., p. 103; The conversation of Yoshimatsu Shibata and Akira Nakano in Mizukoshi and Yoshimoto (eds.), op. cit., p. 346.
157. Shigeto Nakano, Shintei, Seikatsuka no Riron to Hoho[Theory and Method of Life Environment Studies Education, New Edition], op. cit., p. 152.
158. *ibid.*, p. 151.
159. *ibid.*, p. 142.

160. Yuko Shinfuku, "Media to shiteno kyokasho no yakuwari"[The role of textbooks as a medium], in Mizukoshi and Yoshimoto, (eds.), op. cit., p. 146.
161. Shigeto Nakano, Shintei, Seikatsuka Kyoiku no Riron to Hoho[Theory and Method of Life Environment Studies Education, New Edition], op. cit., pp. 40-41.
162. Shinfuku, op. cit., p. 146.
163. *ibid.*, pp. 147-148.
164. A series of articles of criticism are in Rika Kyoshitsu[The Journal of Science Education] volumes between 1986 and 1990 and also Rekishi Chiri Kyoiku[History and Geography Education] volumes between 1987 and 1990.
165. Yuji Kuramochi, "Shizen shakai ningen o manabu kariyuramu" [Curriculum for learning the nature, society and human beings], in Rekishi Chiri Kyoiku[History and Geography Education], no. 454, Mar, 1990, pp. 20-25; Wakayama-ken Reki Kyo Kyo Wakayama-ken Shibu, "Seikatsuka no jishu hensei o susumeyo"[Let's promote spontaneous curriculum development of Life Environment Studies], *ibid.*, pp. 26-31; Takeshi Kataoka, "Teigakunen no kora to manabiatta koto"[What I learned with children in the lower grades], in Rika Kyoshitsu[The Journal of Science Education], vol.29, no.13, December, 1986, p. 83.
166. Naoko Kawabata, "Seikatsuka wa dotokuka dearu"[Life Environment Studies equals moral education], in Rika Kyoshitsu[The Journal of Science Education], vol. 30, no. 3, March, 1987; Tomohiro Hyodo, "Seikatsuka ni arawareta 'jiko ninshiki', 'chokkanteki hasso' no kyoiku to sono shisoteki haikai, 1"['Self-awareness' and 'intuitive inspiration' in Life Environment Studies and their ideological background, 1] in Rika Kyoshitsu[The Journal of Science Education], vol. 32, no. 1, January, 1989.
167. See volumes of Rika Kyoshitsu[The Journal of Science Education], op. cit., and Rekishi Chiri Kyoiku[History and Geography Education], op. cit., after 1990.
168. Shinichi Terao, "Jugyo no genjo kara mita seikatsuka kyoiku kenkyu no kadai"[Themes in Life Environment Studies education in terms of classroom reality], in Mizukoshi and Yoshimoto (eds.), op. cit., pp. 155-169.
169. *ibid.*, p. 156.
170. Takuji Adachi, "Seikatsuka wa hyoka ni mondai, mada fujubun no kokusai rikai kyoiku"[Problems of evaluation in Life Environment Studies and Education for International Understanding is still not enough], in Gendai Kyoiku Kagaku[Contemporary Pedagogy], no. 435, February, 1993, pp. 81-82.

Chapter Seven: Case Studies: Development Education in Schools

1. Introduction

In the previous two chapters, the thesis discussed problems in the Japanese education system which slowed down curriculum change. It was argued that the slow introduction of Development Education into the national curriculum in Japan can be explained by difficulty generated in Japan's own education and curriculum policy making system. The analysis of Japanese education and curriculum policy making system indicates little possibility for a major curriculum change which would see the introduction of Development Education in the near future.

Despite this difficulty with curriculum change at the national level, however, small scale attempts to introduce Development Education are taking place at school and classroom level within the existing national curriculum. Although subject structure and contents cannot be changed freely because of the central control, some attempts have not simply remained as a teacher's personal experiment but have expanded to school level, with the principal and other teachers being involved. While such schools exist, there are also schools where Development Education is not recognized at all. Thus, even within the same national curriculum, practice at classroom and school level is not necessarily identical.

The focus in Chapters Seven and Eight is this variation among schools. The thesis investigates, through fieldwork, why Development Education is introduced in some schools and not in others. In this chapter, how the field work was organised is described.

2. Planning the Field Work

The purpose of the field work is to find out why some schools succeeded in introducing Development Education under the same curriculum applicable to all schools. This is a case study of exceptional schools to investigate why

they are exceptional and not to find out how Development Education is introduced in ordinary schools. Hence, generalizability is not the primary concern. This section discusses the methodology suitable for this purpose and preparation for the field work.

1) Methods for the field work

According to Zelditch's categorization, the type of information which this thesis tries to collect by the field work belongs to "incidents, histories" and the method which is most suitable is "participant observation".¹ However, for several reasons, this method was not suitable for the purpose of the thesis. First, in the closed world inside schools in Japan, where even the principal seldom steps into classrooms, it is difficult for an outsider to become a "participant". Secondly, for investigating the process of the introduction of Development Education which, in some schools, happened about ten years ago, participant observation only at the time of the visit was not enough. Thirdly, because of the limited time and the number of schools to investigate, it was physically impossible to stay at a school for an adequate length of time. Fourthly, there was a danger of causing an inconvenience to teachers who were promoting Development Education if they had to make arrangements for the researcher's observation.

The second best method which Zelditch suggests is interviewing, and this is the method that this thesis used.² There are various ways of interviewing which lie between the two extremes of fully-structured interview and unstructured interview.³ In this thesis, since the purpose is to collect information about different ways of introducing Development Education, the kind of interview which allowed interviewees to explain the uniqueness of their case was preferable. For this reason, the semi-structured, in-depth interview with open ended questions was chosen.

In a semi-structured interview, "the interviewer has clearly defined purposes, but seeks to achieve them through some flexibility in wording and in the order of presentation of questions."⁴ With this clear purpose, the

interviewer would collect necessary information but with this flexibility, she would be able to adjust the wording and questions depending on interviewees so that the creation of rapport would become easier. At the same time, the flexibility allows interviewees' conversation out of which facts that the interviewer did not have in mind but which were important to the interviewees might come out.⁵ Although the semi-structured interview was the main source of information, the process of the arrangement of the interviews and documents available from schools concerning their attempts were also utilized as important information.⁶

For selecting interviewees, "it is essential for interviewers to locate the best informants"⁷ and for this, according to Dean et al., researchers have to find informants who are "especially sensitive to the area of concern" and are "willing to inform".⁸ Janet Powney and Mike Watts also emphasize the importance of interviewees' confidence in the interviewer:

Whilst most of this trust depends on personality, some of it also depends on the story of the interviewer, who s(he) seems to be, where from, and the reasons for asking the questions.⁹

Taking the above issues in consideration, the informants were found by using networks of Development Educators instead of by an official route, such as making contact with schools through the educational authorities.¹⁰ The introduction of the authority could have attached unnecessary status to the interviewer and prevented interviewees from telling their real stories. In the worst case, letting authorities know that an experiment of Development Education was going on in a school could have caused an inconvenience to the school. Furthermore, authorities were unsuitable in terms of being "especially sensitive to the area of concern". From the visits to a couple of prefectural Boards of Education and prefectural research institutions in the previous year, it had become clear that even specialists in Education for International Understanding did not know about Development Education.

2) Selecting schools

Since the purpose of this field work was to investigate why some schools could introduce Development Education with the same curriculum as others, schools which were operated under the same strict control of the curriculum were chosen. For this reason, state junior high schools which had less flexibility in curriculum than senior high schools and private schools were chosen as the target.¹¹ Junior high schools were preferable to primary schools as well. Although both of them provide compulsory education and have tight curriculum control, teachers in primary schools have more freedom in classrooms than those who teach at junior high schools. For primary schools, there is no need to prepare for the common entrance examination which is based on the national curriculum. There is no need to have detailed consensus among teachers about what to teach by when because a teacher who is in charge of a class teaches most subjects for that particular class by him/herself.

For the reason mentioned earlier, schools were approached informally through networks of Development Educators. The following persons who were known among Development Educators were contacted first for the purpose of listing schools where Development Education exists in practice. (False names are used for the ethical purpose of confidentiality. Real names are available only to the Examiners of this thesis.)

- 1) Ms. Kato, an assistant professor at H. University and a former secondary school teacher
- 2) Mr. Ishiyama, a lecturer at W. University and also the secretary general of the Development Education Council of Japan
- 3) Ms. Ushio, a secondary school teacher and also the representative of a group of Development Educators
- 4) Mr. Ichida, the director of an NGO which is promoting Development Education and Education for International Understanding

Although not contacted for the purpose of listing schools, an officer of a

Prefectural International Exchange Centre and Professor Akita who is a specialist of progressive curriculum also suggested schools which were interesting cases. The researcher contacted them either by mail, telephone or in person and explained the purpose and the content of the interviews.

Some of the teachers who were interviewed introduced their colleagues or former colleagues who could also talk about the practice of Development Education either voluntarily or by request. After a suggestion by Professor Akita, one private school was also added to the list of schools in order to see the contrast between a state school and a private school. Thus, sixteen teachers at nine schools were contacted.

However, not all of the teachers introduced were successful in expanding Development Education to a school-wide approach. Some of them were hiding their attempts from the principal and colleagues so that their attempts would not be jeopardised by others. On the other hand, these teachers were actively giving presentations at meetings and writing articles outside school. These teachers' experiences are not introduced in this chapter as successful cases but are included in the analysis in the following chapter. The difficulty which these teachers had to face in the process of promoting Development Education is suggestive in terms of school politics.

3) Approaching teachers

To teachers who had already been asked to cooperate by the person who introduced them a formal letter of request was not sent but they were contacted by telephone. At this stage, the explanation of the purpose and method of the research was brief and the full explanation and briefing paper were given when the researcher visited them. (For the content of the briefing paper, see Appendix 2.) For other teachers, the letter of request with the explanation of how the researcher came to know their names and a briefing paper were sent first and then they were contacted by telephone.

The same procedure was followed for contacting the private school. In this case, the letter was sent to the principal first and the further contacts were

made with the director of teachers whom the principal instructed the researcher to contact.

The following points were clarified before interview. Firstly, it was mentioned that the purpose of the interview was the researcher's thesis and that the information obtained would not be used for other purposes. Secondly, the use of a tape recorder was justified as a strategy for avoiding misunderstanding and researcher's bias in the recording process. It was also added that the tape recorder could always be stopped and the script of the whole interview would be sent to the interviewees later for correction.

	school	type	teachers interviewed	school-wide
1.	Nagai	state	principal (former vice principal at Konishi)	yes
			natural science	
			technology	
2.	Konishi	state	vice principal	yes
			former art	
			former social studies	
			English	
			social studies	
3.	Ijima	state	mathematics	yes but not as policy
4.	Heiwa	private	director(vice principal)	yes
5.	Kiku	state	art (former art teacher at Konishi)	no
			English	
			social studies	
6.	Wada	state	English	no

social studies

- | | | | | |
|----|-----------|-------|-----------------------|-----|
| 7. | Shiroyama | state | former social studies | no |
| 8. | Sakata | state | social studies | no |
| 9. | Nishiyama | state | social studies | yes |

All of the teachers contacted agreed to be interviewed and to have the interview recorded. In most cases, the researcher went to the schools where the teachers were working in order to do interviews. However, for the convenience of two interviewees, interviews were undertaken away from the school. Another two teachers were followed up by telephone interviews because time for the interview ran out at school. The above is the list of schools and teachers who were contacted. (False names are used for schools. Real names are available only to the Examiners of the thesis.)

Nishiyama and Nagai were added after they were recommended by other interviewees. Nishiyama seemed to be a good case but it could not be included in the case studies because of the lack of information about the very beginning of the process. The teacher who was introduced and interviewed first was not the key person in the initiative but one of those who came to be involved after the attempt was institutionalized as a school event. The researcher's request to be introduced to the pioneer teacher was turned down by this first interviewee. He gave the tight schedule of the pioneer teacher as the reason.

This rejection itself was an interesting example of teachers' relationships in schools. The researcher experienced another similar case in which the first teacher also hesitated to introduce the researcher to her senior colleague because of his tight schedule. In this case, after the introduction, this senior colleague turned out to be a very cooperative informant. From this experience, the key person at Nishiyama could have been a cooperative informant. In terms of in-school politics, this incident is an important example which indicates the relationship between a young teacher and a senior teacher and also the difference between the pioneer teacher and a teacher who became

involved subsequently.

Among the schools listed earlier, four schools are introduced as successful cases in this chapter. At these schools, Development Education does not remain at the level of a teacher's personal experiment but is extended to school level with the approval of the principal and other teachers. It is to these four schools that attention now turns.

3. Field Work

1) Case 1. Nagai Junior High School

The principal of Nagai was the vice principal at Konishi until a month before the visit. Originally, the visit to Nagai was planned for an interview with this teacher about Konishi. However, it turned out that Nagai itself was very actively practising Development Education. The access to the principal was rather easy because of the introduction by the former art teacher at Konishi. The vice principal was ready to talk about Konishi but also arranged a meeting with two other teachers who were the key persons at Nagai.

i. Overview

Nagai Junior High School is located in a suburb of Tokyo which is a newly developing residential area. Since real estate in Tokyo is extremely expensive, people who moved into this area were relatively wealthy and had good educational backgrounds.

Nagai was established in 1987 in order to accommodate the children of the increasing population. It was started with seven full-time teachers and several part-time teachers. The numbers of students was then only forty-eight. Following the plan, the numbers of full-time teachers and children were increased to sixteen and four hundred and forty respectively by 1994. The school was still expanding at the time of the visit and planned to accommodate seven hundred students ultimately. Most of the original

teachers were still working at the school although most of them would have to move to other schools within these two or three years because those are the regulations.

Because the area was a newly developing residential area to accommodate workers who commute to Tokyo, eighty percent of the parents of students were office workers while fourteen per cent of them were local shop keepers. Students who moved into the area from other places were not in a minority at this school, and those who came back from abroad did not feel shy but participated actively in school activities from the very beginning.

The school was appointed as a research school for Education for International Understanding by I. City in 1991.¹ However, various attempts at Development Education had already been started by then; although teachers were not conscious that they were promoting Development Education.

ii. The beginning

Among the first seven teachers, there was a science teacher who taught in Kenya for two years. Her motivation in going to Kenya sprang from her interest in plants, and she was not then interested in Development Education. After she came back, she started talking about her experience in schools in the area when she was invited. However, at her own school, it was not allowed to organize an event for her talk.

One year later, she moved to Nagai. Since it was a new school, there was nothing which was already decided. It was the teachers who decided school events, grade events and the mission statement of the school. The school was small and there was only one class for each grade. This situation made it easier for her to introduce her ideas into grade events.

The school had a part-time teacher for English who was also enthusiastic about teaching about other countries. By coincidence, an assistant teacher who was a native English speaker was involved in a voluntary activity for Tibet.

¹An alias is used for the names of city districts, for ethical reasons.

Thus, they started using the link with Tibet in their English classes. In teachers' room, the science teacher, English teacher and the part-time assistant teacher talked often about international issues in English. They often invited people from other countries as guest speakers as well. At first, the reaction from other teachers to their English talks was cold. They said, "This is Japan. Foreigners should speak in Japanese."¹² The situation changed the following year when a new full-time Japanese teacher joined the group.¹³ This teacher could speak English fluently. The other teachers were getting used to having foreigners in the school and started talking to them in Japanese and English. Meanwhile, the science teacher continued her practice of Development Education in a club named the International Culture Club which she created as one of the compulsory clubs in the first year.

iii. Expansion to school level

While the activities of the International Culture Club continued, the Students' Council which was set up in the second year started aid activity to Tibet. For this, it was necessary to get the approval and cooperation of other teachers and parents and the campaign became school-wide. In this way, the Tibet project which originated from the assistant teacher's personal experience finally became a student activity at school level. Behind this was the support of the science teacher who was in charge of the Students' Council.

In the second year, another significant event took place. This was a visit by Canadian junior high school students. This visit came about as a result of a request made by the City Board of Education. The school accepted the request. From then on, the school was often asked by the Board of Education to accept foreign visitors. Thus, Nagai established its reputation as a school which was able to accommodate guests from other countries. Having guests from other countries became part of the school's activities. The first principal who brought these foreign guests into school himself made a decision to introduce "international unity" into the school's mission statement after he talked with parents and realized their desire to encourage their children to

have broad views.

This mission statement influenced the organization of grade events, school events and student activities. The activities which were already run by interested individuals could get the full support of the school while the grade and school events were planned according to the goals and mission statement of the School. For example, the grade which decided to have 'peace' as their theme chose Hiroshima as the destination of their study trip. Other smaller events were also planned based on the theme. For example, a one-day experience of farming in a field was organized in order to promote an understanding of the importance of food and labour.

iv. Years as a research school

During the two years when the school was appointed as the city's research school, teachers formed a committee for Education for International Understanding. Besides continuing what already existed, they decided to introduce another school event for this purpose. They started a mutual school visit programme with an American School which was located nearby.

Owing to the admission of two Italian students in 1991, the in-service teacher training programme became involved, too. A training session was organized on Italy, and subsequently the project expanded to have the broader theme of international understanding and three more sessions were organized, including sessions on Asia and South America.

In order to do a presentation and prepare a report on the research, every teacher had somehow or other to be involved in the practice. The report shows teachers studied the content of textbooks and introduced the elements of international understanding into their subjects. Thus, the obligation of being a research school encouraged teachers to re-examine the content of textbooks.

In the second year of the research, the first principal moved to the other school. The project as a research school was taken up by the second principal. The presentation on the research was done and the report was submitted to

the Board of Education that year. The assignment as a research school finished in March 1993 but the committee and the mutual school visit programme with an American School survived. The committee became smaller.

v. Current practice

Owing to the expansion of the size of the school and the end of its time as a research school, activities changed. The International Culture Club was abolished in the fifth year. The re-organization of club activities for increasing the variety of clubs was the reason. The science teacher had to choose the International Culture Club or the Biology Club and chose the latter.

On the other hand, as a school, they started a new programme. They invited students, mainly from developing countries, who were introduced by a private organization, and requested them to talk about their countries in every class. Since the organization selected and trained the students and sent them to schools on a voluntary basis, it was easy for the school to introduce this programme. At the time of the visit by the author of the thesis, the school was going to continue this programme once in every three years, so that all students could experience it once.

The grade events, school events and students' activities still continued to be organized according to the mission statement of the school. These activities were not practised only by a few teachers but by the staff in general because they had accepted the mission statement as the tradition of this school.

vi. Summary

At Nagai, various factors worked positively for the introduction of Development Education into school. First, there were teachers who were interested in introducing Development Education into the school. It was also important that there was more than one teacher who was interested in Development Education. The science teacher came to have more power and

visibility when the full-time Japanese teacher was assigned to the school and joined her in the second year. The number of teachers who were at the centre of the attempt went up to four including a part-time English teacher and an assistant teacher. While there was only a small number of teachers at the school the group of four could be a powerful small group.

Secondly, they had an important supporter for them, namely the first principal. As is clear from his enthusiasm in bringing foreign guests and the research project to school and introducing international perspectives in school mission statement, he himself was supportive of the practices of these pioneer teachers.

Thirdly, the proportion of students who moved in from other schools was extremely large so that students coming from other countries did not feel shy. Furthermore, the academic standard of the students was high and they were also well-behaved. For example, two thirds of the students passed the third grade of the English Achievement Test which, at ordinary schools, only a few able students do. Thus, student response gave teachers encouragement and time to plan something extra to the national curriculum.

Fourthly, parents were supportive. They welcomed the school's educational goals and mission statement and cooperated in activities such as the Tibet project. They agreed about the importance of teaching about international understanding.

Fifthly, since the school was newly established, there was no major rules and traditions to maintain. Teachers could start planning events and activities from the very beginning and there was a lot of room to introduce individual ideas.

Sixthly, the numbers of teachers and students were very small so that it was easy for them to discuss, decide and make changes in school matters. It was also easy for the science teacher to influence others because teachers were not divided into small sub-groups.

Seventhly, at a relatively early stage, the school got the support of the City Board of Education by becoming a research promotion school of Education for International Understanding. Consequently, the school was recognized as a

model in this field and continued having foreign visitors who were introduced by the Board of Education. The strong link with the Board is also clear from the fact that the first principal became the city's Superintendent later. Being a research school also meant receiving some financial support from the City which enabled the school to invite outsiders as lecturers.

Thus, at Nagai, Development Education was institutionalized as part of Education for International Understanding. Since the original teachers were still teaching there, newly joined teachers and principals also joined this tradition.

Concerning subject teaching, despite the effort during the research period, Development Education was not introduced actively. Teachers became conscious of how they could utilize their subjects only when they had to do something in subject teaching as part of the research. The science teacher explained that this effort by all teachers to introduce Development Education into subject teaching was an unusual matter at the school.¹⁴

2) Case 2. Konishi Junior High School

The representative of a group of Development Educators taught at Konishi for ten years and her practice at the school was often introduced in gatherings of Development Educators and reported in books. Her activities had already extended to school level when the school was identified as one of the first promotion schools of Education for International Understanding by the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education for three years from 1988.

The teacher herself moved to another school in 1991 after the school finished its term as a research promotion school. Most of the teachers who were at the centre of the practice had by then already moved to other schools as well. With introductions from the art teacher, the author of this thesis interviewed both former teachers at Konishi and teachers currently working there. Thus, at Konishi itself, an English teacher who knew the period when it had been a promotion school was contacted. She had arranged an interview with a social studies teacher who was in charge of Education for International

Understanding. The former art teacher also introduced a former social studies teacher who was the chief of the project team of Education for International Understanding when the school was working for the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education and the former vice principal who moved to Nagai in April 1994.

All of the interviewees were very cooperative and ready to introduce other people without being asked. There was mutual trust among them.

i. Overview

Konishi is a relatively new school in the suburbs of Tokyo. It was set up in 1980 in order to accommodate the increasing number of students in the area. That was also the result of the development of the residential area in the 1960s and the 1970s. In 1988 when the school became a promotion school of the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, most of the four hundred and thirty-eight students had moved into the area after the development took place. The number of full-time teachers was twenty-one. The majority of parents were office workers while there were also a small number of shop owners. There were not many students who had lived abroad. Even those who had lived abroad were not much influenced by foreign culture because they stayed abroad just for a short time and had gone to a Japanese school. There was no non-Japanese student who had difficulty in Japanese. The number of students is no longer increasing and the organization of the school is stable.

ii. The beginning

The whole movement started from the enthusiasm of a former art teacher who taught in El Salvador for two years as an overseas volunteer. After her return from El Salvador, she became the representative of a voluntary group of Development Educators. She also became one of the directors of the Development Education Council of Japan. She was assigned to the newly

opened Konishi Junior High School in 1980. In her art classes, she started teaching what she had learned from her experience in El Salvador. Besides subject teaching, there were other opportunities for her to promote her ideas at school. These opportunities were the activities of the Students' Council and class events of which she was in charge. Her experiments did not remain confined to activities with students but appeared in everyday life. For example, she did not use disposable chopsticks in order to contribute to the protection of the rain forest. At first, such behaviour looked strange to other teachers but they gradually understood her position.

iii. Expansion to school level

The practice of Development Education became a school-wide matter in 1986 when the art teacher was in charge of the Students' Council. Under her guidance, the Students' Council adopted "Let's think about the earth" as the theme of their school festival. Once the theme was decided, every class and club prepared work based on the theme. Teachers had to lead children in preparing for the festival. Therefore, the preparation of the festival involved teachers in Development Education. Students raised money for UNICEF during the festival in which parents cooperated.

This festival itself was a great success but it did not survive into the next year because of teachers burnt out. Instead of the festival, they decided to have a one-day cultural event whose theme was chosen from issues which were relevant to Development Education. Once institutionalized, the organization of the event became part of the routine work of the school.

iv. Years as a promotion school

This expansion was taken further by the assignment as a promotion school for Education for International Understanding by the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education. How they decided to accept this responsibility is visible in a report by the then principal. He had a phone call from the local Board of

Education, requesting that Konishi be a promotion school for three years for the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education. He writes, "I could imagine the difficulty the local Board of Education had in finding a volunteer and was sure that they had already been refused by some schools. Of course I trusted the staff at my school and did not think they would disagree. However, the largest problem was that I myself would not be here in the final year of the assignment".^{15*} The other teacher had said in the interview that the principal had been in M. City for a long time and became a person to rely on when other principals were in a trouble. The principal could understand the positions of both of those who had asked (the Board) and those who had refused. While he knew the task of a promotion school would force teachers to work harder, he also wanted to contribute to the city.

He discussed the matter with some teachers on the following day and then asked for volunteers at the teachers' meeting two days later. In the report, he writes that the majority of teachers agreed and he decided to accept. However, one of the interviewees recalled that among those who cooperated, only two teachers actively agreed while another six or seven were rather passive. They were passive cooperators who were ready to help only if somebody else would take the lead. Another interviewee commented that she had heard some teachers complain later that they had been deceived by the principal. The third interviewee said she did not know when the decision was made. Thus, the ways of understanding the process of decision making varied depending on individuals. It seems that the principal himself was most eager to bring the project to the school and the motivation came out of his responsible position in the city rather than interest in the project itself. How proud the City Board of Education was to have one of the first promotion schools working for the Metropolitan Board of Education in this field was indicated in the words of the Superintendent of the city who wrote an article in the report.¹⁶

*A pseudonym has been used in the end notes also for the names of schools. The schools can be correctly identified during the viva examination for this thesis, if the Examiners so require.

In the school, a committee for research was formed by those who were interested in the project. The chief was a social studies teacher who had just become the head of the grade and was interested in learning about places overseas. Taking advantage of their position as a promotion school for Education for International Understanding, they planned to promote Development Education through subject teaching, moral education, school events, student activities and exhibitions. Student organizations were restructured in order to cope with the project. The students' Committee for Education for International Understanding was formed independently of the Students' Council.

Among school events, International Exchange Day took over Cultural Events Day. The responsibility of the organization of International Exchange Day was moved from the school event section to the Teachers' Committee for the Promotion of Education for International Understanding. Throughout the whole school, Development Education was introduced into special activities and moral education.

The Students' Council organized most of the programmes of special activities. Lectures by foreign students studying in Japan was the largest event. A number of students were invited to give lectures in every class. Besides this, there was a project for sending musical instruments to Thailand and the creation of an introductory video of the school in English. In moral education, a theme related to Development Education was adopted as a common theme of the school for the month when foreign students were invited. What was done under this theme was basically up to the teacher in charge of each class. Foreign visitors were invited to the school for grade and class events.

Concerning subjects, the assignment as a promotion school did not lead to the reorganization of the whole curriculum of the school. Teachers did not radically change their subject instruction, despite the project. According to the report submitted to the Board of Education, all teachers were involved in the project. However, according to interviewees, the reality was different. It was the members of the committee who did most of the work. It was not the

teachers in charge of the grades who organized events but students who were instructed by committee members.

The gap between the core members and the rest became clear in the final year when they had to do a presentation and submit a report on their research. For the principal and the vice principal, it was essential that the presentation and report took the form of a whole school approach rather than a project by a limited few. However, for the teachers who were not interested in the project, it was still somebody else's project although the school as a whole accepted it. They were not cooperative concerning this matter. In order to solve the problem, in the final year of the assignment, a new principal was sent from the City Board of Education and led the teachers to finish their task. In the end, it was the social science teacher who wrote more than half of the report.

v. After the assignment

After the school completed its three years of research, the art teacher and the social studies teacher left the school. Some other members of the committee also left. The project committee was broken up and Education for International Understanding became a part of the section for cultural events.

Lectures by foreign students however remained as a school event. From the second year of the research assignment, Konishi contacted a private organization which arranged visits by foreign students. This organization is the same one as that which was contacted by Nagai. From then on, Konishi asked the organization to send more than ten foreign students every year. Unlike the first year, teachers no longer had to find many voluntary students on their own. Hence, when a new social studies teacher took over the former social studies teacher's role, all he essentially did was to continue the activities. The new social studies teacher was not particularly interested in Development Education but had a general interest in foreign countries in terms of his subject. The event had become a regular school event and the post he succeeded to had become a permanent post.

According to the staff in 1994, the emphasis in the event is now on listening to the foreign students rather than on the planning and organization of the event by students. In this way, the staff have made the work of teachers in charge of a grade easier and consequently their own work easier. However, in terms of influence on people, this change of emphasis means that the event has become a routine one and the number of people concerned and the extent to which they are involved in it have decreased. This makes a contrast with the approach of the former art teacher who emphasized students' initiative and tried to involve as many people as possible.

Teachers who came to the school after this event was established accepted it as it was. Concerning subject teaching, even teachers in charge of Education for International Understanding did not pay attention to introducing the element of Development Education into their subject. Thus, Development Education which was active as a variation of Education for International Understanding at Konishi had almost lost its characteristics except for one event per year. The former vice principal explained that practice at Konishi had become stale and that the reason was the difference in teachers' awareness of development issues. The support from the administration decreased with the end of the research period. During the assigned term of research, the school received financial support and had the advantage of sending staff abroad through the prefectural programme. The school could purchase various resources with the funding and the trip abroad encouraged teachers. Now that they were back to being an ordinary school such privileges were no longer allowed.

vi. Summary

The case of Konishi has some common features with Nagai. First, the pioneer in the attempt was also a returned volunteer from a developing country. Secondly, Konishi was also a new school in a newly developing dormitory town of Tokyo when Development Education was started by the art teacher. Hence, there were no existing rules and traditions which the teacher

had to challenge before she introduced Development Education. Being a member of the original staff made it easier to introduce her ideas into the school culture. Thirdly, both of the pioneers utilized the activities of the Students' Council in order to expand their ideas school-wide. Fourthly, both of the schools became research schools or promotion schools assigned by authorities to the project of Education for International Understanding. Fifthly, the principals were cooperative. Sixthly, in both cases, the pioneer teachers were not the official leaders of the projects after the assignment as a promotion school. The official 'voices' of the project were male teachers in their late thirties or early forties who had responsible positions in schools. Seventhly, both schools had parental support for their experiments. Lastly, in both cases, the experiment was done mainly in the categories of special activities and extra curricula activities and not very much was done in subject teaching. The only exception was the art teacher at Konishi.

There is a difference, too. Unlike at Nagai, students at Konishi were not different from those at ordinary state schools. Even so, according to the art teacher, through the programme of Development Education, the students became active and independent.¹⁷

3) Case 3. Ijima Junior High School

The name of Ijima Junior High School came up through the Development Education Council of Japan because a maths teacher at Ijima gave a presentation at the Council's annual meeting. After the letter of self-introduction and the explanation of this research was sent to the teacher, he sent a package of documents on his activities to the researcher. The arrangements for the interview were easily made.

Development Education at this school was basically the practice of one devoted teacher. What is different from him and other teachers who are practising Development Education at individual level is that he had declared what he was doing and obtained the approval of the principal and the city Board of Education. Therefore, his practice was unusual in that it was

recognized by the school and the Board of Education while most of the other teachers tended to hide their practices from others in order to avoid unnecessary friction.

i. Overview

Ijima Junior High School is located in F. City, a residential area in Kanagawa Prefecture. It is a dormitory town of Tokyo; many of the residents commute to Tokyo. F. City developed as an industrial city in the 1960s, then, with people moving out of Tokyo, seeking houses of their own in slightly remoter and cheaper areas, redeveloped as a dormitory town.

Ijima is the second oldest junior high school among nineteen schools in the area and parents of the most of the students had moved in before students were born. Students of Ijima are known for their active participation in school activities. There are eighteen classes and the number of students is about 650. Thirty-five full-time teachers are working.

According to the teacher who was interviewed, what was significant about F. City was that both Kanagawa Prefecture and the City had a liberal governor and mayor. Hence, they were relatively open to the public and tried to reflect people's opinions in their administration. Since the Japan Socialist Party was supported by the Japan Teachers Union, their attitude to teachers was friendlier than that of local conservative governments.¹⁸

ii. The beginning

The teacher who started development education at Ijima did not have the experience of working abroad as an overseas volunteer. He worked for a students' cooperative when he was a university student and became interested in peace and nuclear issues. For him, how to avoid nuclear war was more important than the South-North problem then although he had a strange feeling that he would be interested in it someday.

What changed his interest to the South-North problem was his experience

at the previous school. His class could not decide what to do for the school festival until he finally made a decision to do an exhibition about UNICEF and to raise a fund for it. He chose the theme simply because it was convenient. Once contacted, UNICEF arranged everything such as boxes for collecting donations, an information service, and sending the money to the countries in need.

The students enjoyed the activity and continued it during the winter and summer holidays. Not only those who were 'good' students at school but a number of students who were considered to be lazy and could not find a role at school participated. Complaints about their behaviour outside school came from colleagues and supervisors. However, the teacher himself came to believe in the importance of an activity in which anybody could join.

When he moved to Ijima in 1991, he decided to use a different strategy so that he could take advantage of being in the school system rather than causing friction with other staff. His target was forming with other people a non-governmental organization in this area. Thus, his main purpose shifted from the promotion of Development Education in school to its promotion in the local community. The practice at school became only a part of this larger plan.

He participated in a study tour to Indonesia and got to know Indonesian students who were studying the Japanese language. His activity at Ijima started from inviting two of these Indonesian students to the school. While arranging host families for their home stay, he asked the City Board of Education whether it was appropriate to invite foreigners as guest speakers to promote the Prefecture's "communication with people" policy and got a positive answer. With this approval of the Board of Education, the teacher went back to school and started organizing the stay.

iii. Expansion to school level

At school, the teacher brought the matter up in the teachers' meeting and asked for volunteers who would not mind offering one of their lessons for the talk by Indonesian students. At the same time, he had to get the approval of

the teachers and the principal. For this, he had already got the support of the City Board of Education. At the beginning there was disagreement, but the fact that the Board of Education encouraged his plan was enough to convince those who disagreed.

Teachers at Ijima were more cooperative than those in the previous school and he had no trouble finding volunteers. This event was neither planned as part of moral education nor as a school event. It did not belong to any particular subject because the classes where the talks by Indonesian students took place depended on the subjects which those teachers were teaching. The event was completely unofficial and extra curricular.

In order to introduce Development Education into official activities the teacher utilized a students' committee and club activities. Under his guidance, the welfare committee started an aid campaign for children in Indonesian slums. With the cooperation of the Home Science Club, they prepared small cloth bags filled with stationery which had been donated by students. Thus, although Development Education was not institutionalized, it was introduced into classes, students' activities and club activities.

Concerning subjects, the teacher did not aim at introducing Development Education into subject teaching because his subject was mathematics which was not easy to link with Development Education. It was also because of his belief that students could learn from real life better than from teachers' talk. Therefore, he tried to put students in touch with reality instead of teaching Development Education in classes. What he did in his maths class was to give students photocopies of articles which were related to development issues and talking briefly about it at the beginning of the class.

He also spread his ideas to colleagues by his own behaviour. For example, he came to school by bicycle even when it was raining, made photocopies on the reverse side of used paper and collected paper for recycling in the school. Soon, other teachers also started using both sides of paper when they printed.

iv. Expansion beyond school level

Since his ultimate goal was establishing an NGO in the local community, his activity did not remain at school level. Through UNICEF fund raising at the previous school, he met people who shared the idea and formed a voluntary group in the community. It was this group which invited Indonesian students and supported a social workers' NGO in Jakarta. There were teachers of other schools among the members who also invited Indonesian students to their schools and who organized programmes. As the result of the general success of this programme, there was no Indonesian guest at Ijima itself in the second year because other schools volunteered.

His former students who had participated in UNICEF activity were still in touch with him. They held a meeting once a month and also continued UNICEF fund raising in summer and winter. One of them collected used paper at school and brought it to the teacher.

Thus, his activity expanded beyond school level. However, this expansion did not necessarily mean more active Development Education at Ijima itself. Ijima did not have Indonesian guests in the second year which obviously constituted a drop in Development Education activities at Ijima. The teacher himself did not care because he had no intention of spending much energy on institutionalizing Development Education in school. He said, "You get tired if you try to expand Development Education at this stage. You get tired of trying to communicate with various people. I started feeling that it would be worthwhile to deepen the understanding of Development Education with three or four people who listen to you".¹⁹ He called himself a guerilla who was challenging school education and took any chance to achieve his target.

v. Summary

Compared with the other two examples, this case is different in terms of the conditions of the school itself. First, it was not a newly opened school and the pioneer teacher did not have the advantage of creating a school tradition.

Secondly, the school was not appointed as a promotion school by the educational authorities. Thirdly, the principal was not interested in promoting Education for International Understanding. Apart from the setting, the teacher's target and the approach he took were also different from the other two cases. He did not try to introduce and institutionalize Development Education formally.

However, what the teacher himself did has similarities with the other schools. The teacher used school events, club activities and student activities rather than subject teaching when he introduced Development Education in school, got other teachers and supervisors involved, and got the approval of the local Board of Education.

4) Case 4. Heiwa Junior High School

Heiwa Junior High School was not recommended by Development Educators but by a university professor who was a specialist in child-centred curriculum. This is the only private school in this case study and the only school which was contacted formally through the principal. After the first letter was sent to the principal in late April, he was contacted by telephone. He had not read the letter at the point and he said he would contact the researcher after he had read it. He suggested that further contacts should be made with the director of teachers.²

The director contacted the researcher and explained that she had to ask for the approval of the teachers' meeting first and it would take a while to get a decision. For the purpose of making this process easier, a letter with details of the research was sent to the director. In early June, an arrangement of the visit to the school to provide further explanation was made. Since the school was very busy until the middle of June, the meeting was set for the twentieth of June.

²This post is usually called "vice principal" in Japanese schools but at Heiwa, "director" is used instead.

The visit for the explanation became an interview on the spot. The director was friendly and prepared some documents and a book in order to introduce the practices at Heiwa. The appointment had been made for an hour for the interview but she was ready to spare one and a half hours. She also had talked with a teacher in charge of teacher training so that she could be interviewed if necessary.

i. Overview

Heiwa is a private school which was founded in 1934. It separated from another private school which was well known for progressive education. Heiwa shared a belief in progressive education. "The esteem of personality of pupils and students" and "instruction in true scholarship and art" were the spirit of the founders.²⁰ Heiwa School started from primary level and then expanded gradually to have a kindergarten, a junior high school, a senior high school and a university in order to avoid the influence of entrance examinations on Heiwa's education. Heiwa became an experimental school of Koa Karikyuramu Renmei[the Core-Curriculum Association] in 1950.

Since Heiwa aims at education to form personality, emphasis is not only on subject instruction but also on other school activities such as school events, grade events, class events, student activities and club activities. For every activity, students are encouraged to participate from planning to management. Unlike most of the other junior high schools, there is no school uniform and school regulations are relatively loose because these are considered as something which might spoil children's independence and spontaneity.

The school was founded in Setagaya-ward in Tokyo which was a quiet residential area and then moved in 1977 to a suburb which was a newly developing residential area. Its location is very close to Konishi. There are about four hundred and eighty students and twenty-three full-time teachers. Since Heiwa is a private school, students commute from various places. Even primary school pupils commute by train and buss. Hence, the nature of children is not as much influenced by people in the local community as it is

in state schools.

The characteristics of students are decided by screening. Children are screened in two ways; by the entrance examination and by tuition fee. By these, students' academic ability and family backgrounds are more or less homogenized. The exception is those places which are kept for children with mental or physical learning difficulty. At Heiwa, it was decided that every class should have two children with a learning difficulty in order to let children learn from each other. The school is co-educational and sizes of class and school are similar to average state schools.

Unlike in state schools, teachers do not have to move after ten years. As ordinary Japanese workers, teachers at Heiwa tend to stay until their retirement. They are expected to write a report once a year on their practice for the bulletin. Besides this self-study programme, most of them belong to some external study groups or societies.

ii. Education at Heiwa Junior High School

Heiwa's case is different from the other three cases. First, it is a private school which is relatively free from governmental control. This freedom can be seen in what the director said and in the writing by the chief of the school in the bulletin. In the bulletin, he criticises the Ministry of Education's curriculum change and suggests that Heiwa School needs to develop its own curriculum.²¹ Concerning elective subjects in the existing curriculum, he writes "Heiwa has been ignoring" the advice by the Ministry of Education.²² In Heiwa's curriculum, there is no period for moral education because teachers do not believe that morality can be taught within one period a week. They assert that moral education is learned through the whole school life. State schools do not have this freedom. For them, moral education is a compulsory area of study in the national curriculum.

Furthermore, teachers at Heiwa say openly that they are teaching with teaching material which was prepared by themselves and do not care whether they cover the content of authorized textbooks or not. Officially, private

schools as well as state schools are supposed to use authorized textbooks. The difference is that while teachers at state schools tend to struggle to finish the whole textbooks for entrance examinations, teachers at Heiwa select the parts which are suitable for their classes.

Heiwa is strongly against the contemporary trend in education which emphasizes solely academic achievement and does not pay much attention to the growth of a child's whole personality. Therefore, their emphasis is on school events and students' activities. In subject instruction, instead of cramming the content of textbooks, teachers are expected to take a child-centred approach as far as possible.

Teachers at Heiwa know what kind of education the school has aimed at and that they are expected to sustain that tradition. Therefore, they are eager to develop their own curriculum and lesson plans. For this purpose, they study well. They also do not mind putting in a lot of effort in order to create various programmes besides subject instruction. The director explained that the staff was well united and that they cooperated spontaneously once something had been chosen for implementation. They had very good relationships as private individuals as well.

Besides the good relationship among teachers, democratic ways of making a decision were institutionalized. One is the system of electing the principal, the director and the head of the section of school affairs. These people who are in the position of teachers' supervisors at ordinary schools are their colleagues at Heiwa.

The second democratic practice is that the section of research which makes plans for curriculum and school events always collects other teachers' opinions and tries to reflect them in its planning. It divides teachers into five groups and in each group, a member of the section joins and discusses the matter they want to decide as a section. Then, they report back the result to the teachers' meeting. Thus, it is easier for a teacher to suggest a new idea and an official route is ready to absorb such ideas.

iii. Development Education at Heiwa

It is difficult to decide when Development Education was started at Heiwa. There is no particular individual who was devoted to Development Education and who started it at that school.

Since Heiwa was founded in order to be different from state education, which was for the production of the Emperor's subjects in the prewar period, it was strongly against uniformity and very sensitive to peace and human rights issues. This was part of Heiwa's identity. Teachers who are working there now take it for granted that they should follow this tradition.

The director did not know when Heiwa started emphasizing peace and human rights issues. She said that when she came to Heiwa in the 1960s, students were spontaneously doing research on the Vietnam War and held an exhibition. That was the period when class activity played an important role in the school's cultural activity. Thus, before Development Education emerged in Japan in the 1980s, overlapping areas such as Peace Education and Human Rights Education were being practised at Heiwa.

Teachers are eager to adopt whatever they believe necessary for their students. As a result, teachers are not conscious of how their practice can be categorized. The director said, "At Heiwa, we don't use the name Development Education. Concerning subject instruction...especially in the first graders' geography, we spend much time in teaching about problems in the third world, the political and economic situation in these countries and the relationship between them and Japan. However, I am not sure if it is worth calling this Development Education."²³

Teachers at least studied the concept of Development Education together with other relevant areas such as Peace Education, Education for International Understanding and Environmental Education. Whether the idea is adopted or not is a matter for agreement by the teachers and even if the idea is not adopted, it is not because of teachers' ignorance of the issue. A system of promoting an individual teacher's new idea to school level already exists and teachers study the idea in this process.

Development Education is not adopted as school policy but it is actually introduced in the activities of each grade. Teachers decided in 1990 to have an annual theme for each grade and organized their activities. Even before then, they had activities planned by each grade but they did not have a clear idea of why these activities and not others should be chosen. They tried to integrate fragmented events by giving them a common theme. In the primary and senior high school of Heiwa, integrated learning had already been given a place in the curriculum. This gave teachers the motivation for improving integrated learning at junior high school as well. The suggestion came out of the research section and was agreed by the teachers' meeting.

Which activities are organized depends on the teachers who are in charge of the grade, and the report of their discussion shows that teachers are aware of the importance of Development Education. Especially, the second graders in 1991 focused on global issues. The teachers showed videos on environmental issues, had foreign guests who were specialists in the training of handicapped people and who themselves were handicapped. The teachers also organized a peace concert by an anti-war singer. For each event, preparation and post-event learning took place.

The school festival also contributes to the promotion of Development Education. Themes which were relevant to Development Education were often chosen for exhibition by classes. (See Appendix 3 for the example of some themes.)

Agricultural experience in the third grade is also important in terms of letting children know the link between the producer and the consumer. The third graders stay in a rural agricultural area for five days, helping local farmers. They learn about the work of farmers, the process of food production, and the life of large families.

There is not much on Development Education in club activities and student activities. However, as a continuous activity of the Students' Council, students visit a home for handicapped people in the local community and collect and sell in a school festival what these people made. The council also raised funding for relief activities in Africa. These activities are planned

spontaneously by students.

In subject instruction, Development Education is mainly introduced in geography although the content is largely dependent on the teacher of that year. In 1994, the director herself was teaching geography with another teacher and spent six or seven hours on teaching about South Africa and about four hours on India in which the theme of racial and social discrimination was tackled. They were planning to teach about the Philippines for the rest of the term. When the director taught geography last time, she started from Korea and the problem of Koreans in Japan. Since two teachers were teaching geography, they talked about lesson plans regularly and taught the same content, using the same film and video. For these preparation for subject teaching, teachers were officially given one hour for a subject meeting every week.

iv. Summary

Since there was no devotee who introduced and promoted Development Education in school but teachers accepted the concept as one of the necessary elements for education for children, there was no one class or one club where Development Education was intensively practised. Instead, it appeared in various phases in the whole school life in a moderate way.

The school had pursued the theme of human rights and peace issues which were relevant to Development Education for a long time and introducing such elements into school life had become natural for teachers. The channel for introducing a new idea into the school is also open because of the organization of the school. Thus, in Heiwa, the conditions which pioneer teachers at other schools tried to create for several years in order to introduce Development Education exist in the school's tradition.

Compared with the other cases, what is missing is the emphasis on international perspectives. However, the themes of school festival and programmes for the grade events indicate that international perspectives are also becoming more important in Heiwa's education.

4. Conclusion

Access to schools through individual teachers was not as difficult as anticipated before the field work. However, the case of Heiwa School which took one and half months from the first letter until the interview indicates that if the approach is made in a formal way, the process would take longer. Since this case study needed to be where Development Education was happening, if the risk of rejection was taken into consideration, the informal approach which this research took was efficient and appropriate.

Teachers were eager to talk about their attempts, and tape recording was not rejected by any of them. Even when they were talking against their supervisors, they did not mind being tape recorded. However, the interview with the science teacher at Nagai indicates that the situation would be different if the teachers had to talk in a formal setting and in front of other teachers. She was interviewed with her senior colleague and the principal at first and then by a telephone interview. She could speak more freely in the latter interview. Thus, an informal approach was also effective in terms of drawing out teachers' frank opinions.

All of the schools which were selected for their practice of Development Education had introduced Development Education mainly in activities other than subject teaching. Even when teachers were relatively free from the control defined by curriculum content and introduced Development Education in subjects such as in the art class in Konishi and geography in Heiwa, the content was not made into the form of a syllabus and the attempts still remained at the individual level. These examples indicate the lack of tradition of creating syllabuses at school or department level in Japanese schools and the influence of the nationally controlled curriculum. It is for this reason that innovations tend to occur outside of subject areas. This pattern is more systematically explored in the next chapter.

1. M. Zelditch, "Some methodological problems of field studies", in American Journal of Sociology, 67, pp. 566-576, quoted in, Robert G. Burgess, "Introduction", in Robert G. Burgess (ed.), Strategies of Educational Research: Qualitative methods, (London and Philadelphia: The Falmer Press, 1985), p. 3.
2. *ibid.*, p. 3.
3. Colin Robson, Real World Research: A resource for social scientists and practitioner-researchers, (Oxford, U.K. and Cambridge, U.S.A.: Blackwell, 1993), p. 229-231.
4. *ibid.*, p. 227.
5. Alan Bryman, Quantity and Quality in Social Research, (London: Unwin Hyman, 1988), p. 47.
6. About the importance of the context as a source of information, see Bryman's writing about contextualism. *ibid.*, p. 64.
7. Janet Powney and Mike Watts, Interviewing in Educational Research, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 49.
8. Dean et al., quoted in Open University, "Data collection procedures", block 4, DE 304, Research Methods in Education and the Social Sciences, (Open University Press, 1979), quoted in Powney and Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 49.
9. Powney and Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 40.
10. Tetsuya Kobayashi wrote about how to contact schools in Japan formally in "How to visit Japanese schools", Comparative Education Review, vol. 8, no. 1, 1964, pp. 65-72. The contact through authorities makes it easier for a researcher to have cooperation from schools but that does not necessarily mean s(he) can collect honest opinions of teachers.
11. For example, in the national curriculum for primary and lower secondary education, the number of elective subjects is small compared with the curriculum for senior high school.
12. The science teacher's words in interview.
13. In Japanese schools, part-time teachers are not involved in school activities other than subject teaching. Hence, they do not have much power to promote their ideas in a school.
14. From the interview with the science teacher.
15. Konishi Junior High School, Kenkyu Kiyō[School Bulletin], 1988, p. 1.
16. *ibid.*, preface.

17. From the interview with Ms. Ushio.
18. From the interview with the maths teacher.
19. From the interview with the maths teacher.
20. Heiwa Chugakko, Heiwa Koto Gakko: Gakko Annai[Heiwa Junior High School, Heiwa Senior High School: Introduction to schools], p. 5.
21. Heiwa Chugakko Kenkyu-bu, Kenkyu Kiyō[The Bulletin], 1992, pp. 2-3.
22. *ibid.*, p. 2.
23. From the interview with the director.

Chapter Eight: The Analysis of Cases

1. Introduction

In Chapter Seven, the process of field work and four selected cases where Development Education was relatively successfully introduced were described. In this Chapter, the thesis analyses these cases with the focus on why Development Education could be expanded to school level in these schools while that was not the case with other schools. For this purpose, interviews with teachers at schools which were not introduced in Chapter Seven are also mentioned. False names are used for the interviewees' comments.

The thesis argues that the difficulty of introducing Development Education at school level is not necessarily because of the nature of Development Education itself but because of the conflict which the introduction of a new activity causes in the existing system in a school. In the four successful cases, teachers who promoted Development Education overcame the conflict. In the ways in which they overcame the conflict there are some similarities. This Chapter analyzes the similarities in order to identify key elements in the success of these four cases. Although this analysis is based on only four cases and casual generalisations should not be drawn from it, the common elements in the successes indicate how teachers' chances of successfully introducing Development Education might be increased.

2. Patterns of Development Education in Japanese Schools

The national curriculum in Japan consists of three areas; subjects, moral education and special activities. Among these three areas, the control over subjects is the strictest. For moral education and special activities, teachers have much freedom in organizing the content, while the content of subject-area teaching is limited by authorized textbooks. This difference led to the development of two different patterns in the introduction of Development Education into classrooms. The four cases described in Chapter Seven form

one of the patterns. The innovations in these schools did not remain at the level of individuals but expanded to school level. In these cases, Development Education was promoted through various activities other than subjects. On the contrary, teachers who introduce Development Education as a personal experiment tend to put an emphasis on the subject content.

From the interviews with teachers, two patterns of the introduction of Development Education in schools emerge; these are summarized as follows:

i. Approach through subjects

A teacher becomes interested in Development Education because it is relevant to the content of the teacher's subject. The teacher introduces Development Education in subject teaching and has contact with teachers outside the school who have a similar interest. However, in the school, the teacher does not try either to expand it to other activities or to involve other teachers in the same department. Hence, the experiment remains contained within the teacher's classes.

ii. Approach through activities other than subjects

A devoted teacher whose subject content is not very relevant to Development Education introduces it into various activities and expands it to the whole school. In successful cases, the practice is partly institutionalized and becomes the routine of everyday school life. However, concerning subject teaching, the teachers do not pay much attention or do not try to expand it to school or department level.

A number of teachers who introduced Development Education in their schools did so in their subject teaching. Their subject was either social studies or English, whose content was related to the theme of Development Education because of their link with foreign societies and international perspectives. All of the interviewed teachers of this type have given presentations about their experiments in professional society conferences of their subjects, study group meetings, or annual meetings of Development Educators. Thus, they spend much of their energy in promoting Development Education within a subject rather than through other school activities; but such efforts never spread to

department level.

Why they can practise Development Education in their classes and why they cannot diffuse it to others is explained by the tradition at state schools which allows teachers to have autonomy in subject teaching. In state schools in Japan, since the standard of the curriculum is centrally controlled through the national curriculum and authorized textbooks, there is not much need to control the quality and the equal standard of the curriculum content at school level. Hence, there is no institutionalized channel for a teacher to discuss the curriculum content with colleagues in the same department. At the same time, since curriculum content is not controlled at school level, teachers are not intruded on by their colleagues or the principal as long as they are following the national curriculum and using textbooks.

Among teachers, there is a kind of mutual agreement about the autonomy of each other's subject teaching. In these circumstances, if a teacher tries to persuade others to insert Development Education in their classes, there is a danger of breaking this tacit agreement. Their behaviour is understood as an intrusion into other teachers' autonomy, and invites criticism by the others of teaching Development Education. Because of this tradition, committed teachers can experiment with Development Education without inviting intrusion by other teachers only if their autonomy is respected as well. The result is that the introduction of Development Education is limited to the classes taught by the devoted teachers.

This relationship with other teachers also explains why those who are devoted to introducing Development Education in a subject area are active outside schools. What they do outside schools seldom affects other teachers at the same school and consequently does not influence human relationships inside their school. Outside their school the committed teachers themselves can learn and get psychological support from others who share their interest in Development Education.

At schools where the experiment with Development Education is expanded to school level, there is relatively little emphasis on Development Education in subject-area teaching. In the four schools where Development Education

was expanded to school level, the introduction took place mainly in the field of special activities.

One of the reasons for this is the nature of the subjects which these teachers teach. They are teachers of art, natural science and mathematics, subjects, whose content is not as directly relevant to Development Education as social studies. Hence, for these teachers, subject-area teaching was not an effective way to introduce Development Education and an alternative arena was needed where the teachers could promote Development Education.

Another reason for there being little emphasis on subject content is the existence of an alternative means, namely special activities. Compared to the central control over subject content, control over special activities is much less strict. Which events, clubs and student committees are established depends on decisions at school level. Therefore, teachers discuss special activities at teachers' meetings, treating them as issues which need school-level or grade-level consensus.

Once the idea is accepted, it becomes a matter for the whole school and all teachers become involved. If there is strong support for the idea, the new experiment can be institutionalized as a permanent element in school life, as happened at Konishi and Nagai. In the case of Heiwa, the school itself was established as the product of the founders' ambition to institutionalize their new ideas. Heiwa represents an extreme form of institutionalizing a new idea in a school.

Thus, when analysing practice in schools where Development Education was successfully introduced at school level, it is necessary to investigate, in what circumstances pioneer teachers' ideas became powerful enough to influence the whole school. For this purpose, Robin Richardson's suggestions about the introduction of Development Education in schools in the United Kingdom is partially useful although there are differences in the situation in the United Kingdom and in Japan.¹

In Japan, since Development Education as a school-wide experiment is normally introduced via special activities, creating a syllabus for Development Education is not a major goal for the teachers who have introduced

Development Education into schools. This is different from the cases in the United Kingdom where teachers had, and to some extent still have, more freedom in creating the curriculum and could introduce Development Education in the form of a syllabus which Robin Richardson asserts is a goal of the promotion of Development Education as a subject in the United Kingdom. However, in terms of school politics and the introduction of Development Education in special activities, there are similarities with the introduction of Development Education as a subject in the United Kingdom. Teachers' functional roles, the climate in the school, and external support are critical issues for the successful expansion of Development Education at school level, as Richardson argues concerning the promotion of Development Education as a subject in the United Kingdom.

In the following section, the thesis discusses the features of the successful patterns of the introduction of Development Education in school-wide policy in Japan by applying Richardson's ideas concerning teachers' roles, school climate and external support.

3. The Roles of Teachers and Students in a School

Richardson distinguishes three functional roles of teachers; inside advocates, opinion leaders and legitimizers. The similar roles can be found in the four successful cases which the thesis discussed in Chapter Seven. However, in the cases studied, it is not necessarily an opinion leader but a group of supporters who enabled the advocate's work to be accepted at school level. For this reason, in the analysis of this section, the role of an opinion leader is included in this group of supporters. Furthermore, the role of students as the immediate evaluators of education is also added.

1) The motivation of inside advocates

The Ministry of Education emphasized Education for International Understanding in its policy in the 1990s. However, that kind of education

does not come into classrooms simply by inserting it into the policy. The situation is the same with Development Education which is often introduced as a part of Education for International Understanding in the formal education sector. In order to introduce a new policy, the cooperation of classroom teachers is indispensable but their motivation often comes out of their personal experiences rather than the policy change.

What is common to the three state schools where Development Education was expanded to school-wide practice is that there was a committed teacher who became an inside advocate in the first place. These teachers were personally interested in Development Education and tried to promote it in schools from the inside. The teachers were motivated by their experiences outside the Japanese educational system. The teachers at Konishi and Nagai became determined to promote Development Education after they came back from two years' assignment as Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. The maths teacher at Ijima did not have such an experience but the motivation came from his experience at the university co-operative for which he worked when he was a student. While he was working there, he became conscious of nuclear issues and the safety of food. Through fund-raising activity for UNICEF which he and his students chose as a class exhibition for the school festival he turned his interest to global issues, especially the disparity between the South and the North.

As mentioned earlier, these teachers are not interested in Development Education in terms of its relationship with their subject teaching. The following comments by these teachers indicate that their interest came out of their philosophy of life (False names are used. Real names are available only to the Examiners of the thesis):

I am thinking about how I can change the style of everyday life and how we should change the economic system....What is clear is that we have come to the limit of the kind of development which is based on human desire for wealth, and our future does not exist as an extension of today's world. We have to change this fact somehow.(Sakai)

I believe that Development Education is a way of thinking which must be taught through various subjects, and also about the way people live. Therefore, we have to practise it in various situations. In art classes, class and grade activities. It is very important to do something with Development Education in mind....

I personally believe, from practising Development Education, that it is a matter of the stronger and the weaker in the world....In Japan...there are problems of the stronger and the weaker as well. If weaker people are not happy, I don't think that society is all right.(Ushio)

If you go to Kenya, you may think people are poor. However, since everybody is living in the same conditions there, people in Kenya do not think they are poor. They are proud of themselves. Their life is there and there is nothing to compare it with....It is rude for the Japanese to go there and decide that the country is poor by comparing it with their own lives in Japan....I am trying to tell students that in every country, people have their own ways of living.(Hara)

Since Development Education for these teachers is the theme of how people live, it is natural for them to pursue this in every aspect of their lives including school life. There is no need to insist on Development Education in subject teaching.

Teachers who had similar sources of motivation also existed among those who introduced Development Education into subject teaching. Two teachers at Wada Junior High School (which was not treated as a successful case because the practice had not reached school level) also had similar sources for their motivation. One of them was a returned volunteer of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. She became interested in Development Education:

...I did not even know the term Development Education then and the motivation did not come from outside. I felt the gap between what I saw, heard and felt in Sri Lanka and the recognition of reality by Japanese children. They know nothing about the realities of the world. They do not even have any intention of seeing the realities. I felt that very strongly and thought I wanted to do anything that I could. This is my starting point. Then, what I had as my field was English class....During the Gulf

War,...John Lennon's "Imagine" was banned from broadcasting in the United States and the United Kingdom because the words of the song might discourage soldiers who had to fight...I could not condone a war which had to be fought by controlling people's feelings. There is no justice in such a war.(Tanabe)

Another teacher whose teaching with artifacts largely overlaps with Development Education found the root of his commitment in his experiences as a youth. He experienced World War II when he was a child and then live through students' protests against the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty. He explains his position:

I remember air raids. My experience is different from younger people. Peace...we were students when the Security Treaty was made. We have gone through such periods. So, it is a matter of philosophy. A matter of the way we understand life....In order to live from now on, it is children themselves who have to think about development issues and peace issues. We were living in a developing country until thirty years ago. Now, children these days are said to be living in a country which is an economic giant. They are living in affluence. They do not appreciate what they have. I think of the sacrifice of the people in the Third World countries on which our affluence is based.(Takagi)

As he himself says, although he did not visit any developing country, he has experienced life in a developing country in a different way.

All of these examples show that teachers who became inside advocates of Development Education in their schools are not motivated by educational policy changes of the Ministry of Education but by their personal experiences.

2) Conditions for becoming an inside advocate

Besides motivation, there are other conditions for becoming an inside advocate. One of these conditions is career position. It is more difficult for young teachers to become an inside advocate. For young teachers with little experience, making other people listen to them is difficult. The English teacher at Wada faced this difficulty. Her motivation is similar to other successful

inside advocates. However, her efforts are still kept secret from most of the other teachers and the principal. The following is her explanation:

Ms. Ushio (the former art teacher at Konishi) involves the whole school in Development Education. I have not done that much. That is why I have not faced difficulties so far. If I say to other colleagues, "Let's do this together," Development Education would become a very high hurdle for me. I often talk with Ms. Ushio and I know that I am still a beginner. Just a beginner. This is my first school as a teacher and I have been here for four or five years. I have not developed my own career yet and my position in this school has not been established yet. So, in order to involve others, I must develop myself first. This I believe. So, I have decided to do my best in anything which is not related to Development Education. Things like making lesson timetables, instructing students in school life and picking up cigarette butts. You need to win other peoples' confidence in you as a person in the organization.(Tanabe)

The teacher who became an inside advocate at Nagai also experienced the barrier caused by her relatively junior career at her previous school. She answered in interview:

I had not taught in Kenya yet, then, and that was my first post after I graduated from a university. So, every time I tried to suggest a new plan, it was rejected in the teachers' meeting. They said "That suggestion is not well planned," and returned it to me....In this way, whatever I suggested was rejected.(Hara)

Similarly, the following comment by the former art teacher at Konishi points out the importance of age and experience factor:

...I myself had become of an age when I could do something.(Ushio)

Another factor is the length of time the teacher has been working for that particular school. For example, the art teacher at Konishi could not immediately start the same activities as she had undertaken at Konishi after

she moved to a new school. According to the social studies teacher who supported the art teacher at Konishi, at least three years are necessary before starting something new at a newly assigned school:

One, two, three...the fourth year. Yes. It was my fourth year [at Konishi]. So, I had experienced one cycle of the work at the school. I was in charge of the first grade, the second grade, and the third grade, and then went back to the first grade...yes. It was the fourth year. That was the time I had already mastered the flow of the work in the school. So, yes [I was in a position where it was easy to organize people]...

It takes three years [to change a school's tradition]. It is impossible to start something new immediately after moving to a new school.(Takamura)

Thus, before inside advocates start their activity, they must establish their positions in the school over time, in terms of their career as a teacher and as a member of that particular school.

As mentioned by the English teacher at Wada, the third condition is the contribution to a school's routine work. The following example of the maths teacher at Ijima which seems contradictory at first sight confirms the existence of this condition. This teacher who is as old as the English teacher at Wada and relatively a newcomer at the school has successfully spread his idea throughout the school by taking a different strategy. In the first place, he is not interested in making his practice admitted officially as school events but is merely trying to take the maximum advantage of being a teacher in order to promote his activities. Therefore, he is not interested in winning colleagues' confidence in his ability as a teacher. He thinks that it is convenient to be considered as a strange person because he can say anything he wants:

It is much easier to do something new if you are considered to be eccentric by other people. Then, nobody comes to ask you to do more than you can. It is kind of my identity. I don't find my identity in being accepted by other teachers, management side or the Boards of Education. I just don't care.(Sakai)

However, in contradistinction to what he says, in reality he is working quite hard for the school. He is in charge of a baseball club and a softball club which are known as the busiest clubs among junior high school teachers. He is also responsible for the welfare committee, which is one of the student committees. According to him, being in charge of these students' activities gives him a lot of advantage, such as inserting aid activity for Indonesian slums in welfare committees' activities. Thus, while he is doing what he likes, he is also contributing to the school's activities. At the same time, his indifference to promotion and power, and his frankness are important elements which make his colleagues comfortable with him. By being an eccentric but frank and hard-working person, he has cleared the hurdle despite his position as a young new comer. By seeing what he does, he believes that those who have ears to listen to him will gather around him; and this strategy is working.

There is also an example of a teacher who failed to become an inside advocate because of these conditions. When he moved to his second school at the age of thirty, he met an experienced teacher who distributed copies of his articles which had been published in magazines to his colleagues. The young teacher did the same and then started feeling some coldness and sarcasm in other teachers' attitude towards him. He was eager to attend training sessions and workshops both by the Board of Education and private institutions but after a while, there was criticism from colleagues of his participation in these sessions. Some colleagues said, "He leaves school too often. He is not doing his job at school properly." Thus, the teacher made the environment too unfavourable for him to start something new. The teacher himself analyzes the situation as follows:

I don't think other teachers have any bad impression about Development Education. They do not refuse my practice because it is Development Education or focuses on the Third World countries but because they believe I am neglecting my work and doing my own research only....I am going to be as quiet as possible until I leave this school. Well, I do not think it is Development Education or the Third World which is hated by

other teachers.(Anzai)

His case indicates that when a teacher is young, new in the school, and considered to be neglecting school's routine work for his own interest by colleagues, the teacher cannot become an inside advocate to promote Development Education. Thus, becoming an inside advocate is not only a matter of that particular teacher's enthusiasm but is in a complex relation with other factors which are not necessarily directly related to Development Education.

3) Combining supporters

For successful promotion of Development Education, an internal advocate needs other teachers' cooperation. Among interviewees, the teachers who expanded their practice to school level always needed supporters or cooperators who could share the idea with them. The importance of the existence of such people at the early stage of promotion is mentioned by a number of teachers. For example, the science teacher at Nagai faced difficulties at the beginning, but the situation changed when she got more supporters:

When there were only two of us [who were interested in Development Education], disagreeable comments such as, "You must speak in English because we have a foreigner here," and "Why do we have to teach so much about foreign countries? It is more important to teach about Japan," came out....The atmosphere changed after a Japanese teacher who could speak English came to this school.(Hara)

The English teacher at Wada introduced Development Education in her subject but was planning to expand it to other activities in the future. She says:

It is the teamwork of the teachers who are in charge of the same

grade. If the teamwork is good, we can communicate and do anything....If I suggest an idea..., whether other teachers in the same grade say "It is interesting. Let's do it," or not is crucial. Otherwise, I can try Development Education only in my subject. Human relations and mutual trust are, I believe, very important for starting something new. It is difficult to start something on your own. If there is only you, you can not talk. School is an interesting place. If you are talking about your ideas in a teachers' room, people around you start understanding you and joining you.(Tanabe)

Even if other teachers are not doing anything by themselves as in the above example, their approval of, and cooperation with, what an inside advocate is doing is enough to encourage them.

The former art teacher at Konishi had to build up a support group forming supporters from scratch in her new school. She has approached teachers who are ready to listen to her ideas:

The number of teachers with whom I often talk and talk frankly is increasing. I am trying to expand the way of thinking by exchanging information about practice with them....Well, Development Education needs to emerge spontaneously although it takes time. Otherwise, unless they have understood what they are doing before they do it,...a rejection will be the result.(Ushio)

The former social studies teacher at Konishi also mentions that more than two people are needed for promoting Development Education:

If there are two or three teachers who really want to do [Development Education], they will form the core and start [Development Education].(Takamura)

These comments indicate that for an inside advocate, the existence of a small number of supporters is very important for starting Development Education.

4) Supporters

Supporters of inside advocates are not homogeneous. There are several categories of supporters whose roles are slightly different from each other. First, there are supporters who share an interest in Development Education with the advocate and are also doing some experiments themselves. The two or three teachers at the core in the cases of Nagai and Wada can be categorized into this type. They were doing their own experiments independently and decided to cooperate. In Nagai, these teachers' activities were officially recognized but in Wada, they still remain as an unofficial experiment.

The second type of supporters is those who share an interest in Development Education with the advocate and wanted to do something new but could not find the opportunity until the advocate appeared. This type of teachers is seen around the art teacher who taught at Konishi and moved to Kiku. At Konishi, a social studies teacher was interested in developing countries and became a powerful ally of the art teacher. Although he did not do anything special in his subject teaching, he contributed greatly by working as a moderator and organizer among teachers. In Richardson's words, this teacher played the role of an opinion leader.

At Kiku where the former art teacher of Konishi moved to, a small group of cooperators was being formed at the time of the visit by the researcher. The group consisted of a social studies teacher who had been interested in Africa since she was a student and an English teacher who had taught at a school for handicapped children. They had learned about Development Education and had started introducing it into their own subject teaching.

The desire of teachers of this type for doing something new by themselves can be seen in the following comments:

Interest in foreign countries was originally in my motivation to be a social studies teacher. So, I had an interest in other countries. Well, a very simple one. I also felt a sort of timidity about knowing nothing about other countries. Timidity which

came out of the gap between my desire to know and the reality that I could not start anything by myself. And there was not a chance [to have contact with foreigners]. So, I thought I would not be able to learn about other countries myself if I missed this opportunity.(Takamura)

I started feeling the limitation in teaching geography....I started thinking three or four years ago that there was no point in memorizing features of places....I was thinking what was a good way of letting students think more deeply about other countries. ...When I was looking for books on imported food, Mrs. Ushio introduced me a book [written by a teacher who is practising Development Education].(Tsukada)

The approach by an inside advocate was a good opportunity for these teachers to try out what they had been thinking.

The third type of supporters is those who are not especially interested in Development Education but who appreciate the advocates' and their supporters' activities. They give support to these teachers' practice as members in the same institution. Sometimes the principal also becomes this kind of supporter. The maths teacher at Ijima intentionally keeps this kind of supporters. Although there is a group of strongly committed supporters outside of the school, there is not such a group inside. Whenever he needs help, he asks for volunteers for that particular project. He does not expect them to remain around him but leaves that to their own free will. These supporters are just temporary ones and do not become involved in his project any further. They offer a great deal of help but take no responsibility for the programme as a whole and do not form a stable support group. The maths teacher explains the reason for keeping this style as follows:

There is a lot of responsibility in organizing people to move into one direction. There is not much problem in doing something by yourself and failing by yourself.(Sakai)

In the process of institutionalization, supporters sometimes play other roles too. In the case of Nagai, the gap between different types of supporters was

very small because there was only a small number of teachers and they were always discussing how to organize the new school. The practice by the advocate and her core supporters matched this need. Their practice developed to become the new school's policy, and the principal and the head of the teacher training section became promoters. Using Richardson's categories, the opinion leader and the legitimizer joined the circle of supporters.

At Konishi, the former social studies teacher who was the second type of supporter played the role of the opinion leader. He was close to the art teacher and he himself was interested in Third World issues. At the same time, he was at the position of the head of the grade and after the school became a promotion school, he was appointed as the head of the project team. By this appointment, his role as an opinion leader became clear. He listened to both the liberal teachers and relatively conservative teachers at school, found out the point where both of them could compromise and organized programmes along the agreed line. Being in this position, he knew about the complaints of those who could not follow the liberal ideas of the advocate. He supported the project by harmonizing teachers with different opinions so that some teachers' dissatisfaction would not explode to obstruct the whole project:

As the person who was at the front, the biggest problem was not the content of the project but how to make people compromise and put the project into practice....Mrs. Ushio's opinion came out of her ideal but ordinary teachers...could not follow it...Concerning the meaning of the project, their opinions did not meet each other. Other teachers did not understand the issues of global problems and developing countries. The opinion such as, 'It is not the only thing we have to teach at school,' came out...The difficult thing was that they didn't say their opinions openly as the westerners do. After one-sided discussion led by Mrs. Ushio, the opponents were still dissatisfied and kept complaining. So, a person like me had to listen to them and...managed to make a project which was the lowest common denominator. I was manipulating the matter in this way.

(Takamura)

This type of supporter who has the role of an opinion leader tends to appear when the practice starts being institutionalized and a teacher who can

get others together is necessary. Once Development Education is introduced in school policy, whether a teacher becomes a supporter or not is decided not only by personal interest but also by the role which the teacher plays in the teachers' community.

5) Legitimizers

Finally, in order for Development Education to be recognized officially by school, legitimizers play an important role.

In the cases of Konishi and Nagai, the principals played the role of a legitimizer. The principal at Konishi who decided to accept the request to be a promotion school for the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education officially recognized a group of teachers' experiment of Development Education. This decision to become a promotion school made it an obligation for the staff of the school to do something related to Education for International Understanding. Especially for writing a report which was submitted to the Board of Education in the final year of the assignment, it was necessary to stress a whole school approach no matter what the reality might be because the research was supposed to be done by the whole school. For this reason, not only teachers who were enthusiastic about the project but also those who were rather reluctant had to participate in it. The former art teacher explains the situation as follows:

In a way, it is easier to do something new if a school is appointed as a promotion school for Education for International Understanding because teachers have to do something. In other words, there is a basis for others to get involved in the project if you do something because they have to. If a person suggests implementing some programme, other people will be relieved because they are under pressure to do something. It makes their lives easier because they only have to follow the programme. For those who want to try out their ideas, such a situation gives them a good opportunity.(Ushio)

Thus, this principal contributed towards making the whole school involved in

the practice and to institutionalize Development Education.

Although the whole school approach had only a temporary effect and the scale of practice shrank afterwards, the committees and some school events remained. What is more, teachers at Konishi now take it for granted that such a committee exists and such events take place in their school. This legacy of the period as a promotion school is no longer something special for them but part of the routine of school life.

Apart from the role of a legitimizer, the principal at Konishi did not play other roles. Even after Konishi became a promotion school, the principal kept the same stance with his staff. He neither intruded nor took an initiative in the teachers' project. The social studies teacher who was the head of the project team says:

[The principal] completely left the matter to us. He only came to ask about what we were doing. From our point of view, he was not very much involved in the project.(Takamura)

Nagai also accepted the city's request to be a research school but the difference between the principals at Nagai and Konishi was that the principal at Nagai did not only bring the research school assignment into the school but also actively led the promotion of Education for International Understanding himself. The concept of Development Education was included too. It was he who decided to include international unity as part of their school mission statement after he considered teachers' practice and parents' expectations of the school. This decision to develop some teachers' ideas within the school was made before the request for a research school came up. After international unity was adopted as the school's mission statement, the individual practice of some teachers was justified as an effort for living up to the mission statement. At Nagai the obligation of each teacher to cooperate for this purpose was generated from within the school without utilizing pressure from educational authorities. Teachers were comfortable with the principal's legitimation and wanted to avoid the assignment of a research school because they knew that would give them extra administrative work

which was not relevant to their actual teaching. The science teacher at Nagai says:

All of us disagreed with the idea of being a research school. If you accept it, you will have to accept the request for a presentation quite often. You have to do a presentation at a certain stage and you have to publish something at another stage. A lot of such official things will come in. You will have to pay attention to things such as to whom you have sent an invitation and to whom you have not....We thought that would make the school busier.(Hara)

They accepted the principal's request in the end when he said that he would not mind writing the report himself. He did not actually write the report but his words were enough to convince teachers to follow him. Thus, the principal of Nagai played not only the role of a legitimizer but also a supporter who was very close to the inside advocate. This case indicates that if the principal is motivated for the promotion of Development Education no matter what the term may be, it is possible to legitimize Development Education without any pressure from outside. The principal's support gives teachers the same freedom to try out their practice as the status of a research school allows.

The difference between these two principals can be explained by their different motivation to legitimize Development Education. For the principal at Nagai, the legitimization took place as the result of his personal belief and understanding of the situation at the school. Whether to accept an invitation to be a research school or not is another matter. In contrast, for the principal at Konishi, becoming a promotion school itself was the most important issue and what kind of promotion school it was did not really matter. The former social studies teacher suggests that the principal's motivation to become a promotion school was his position in the administration system of the City Board of Education rather than his interest in Development Education. The former social studies teacher says:

It was not because of his awareness of international

understanding or Development Education. It was because of his position in the city. In the city he had some influence. He had been there for quite a while and that made him say, 'If you have any problem, bring it to me.' This is why he brought the promotion school project to his school high-handedly. (Takamura)

No matter what the motive might be, it is important that the principals legitimize teachers' practice. It means the practice is officially accepted by the principal and the school. Whether the principals legitimize, support, or reject Development Education makes a great difference to the promotion of the project. There are examples which indicate the influence of the principals and the vice principals on the promotion of Development Education.

The inside advocates at Nagai, Konishi and Ijima experienced some kind of rejection from their supervisors at other schools where they taught or teach. The teacher at Nagai had to face a strong rejection by the principal and the vice principal at her previous school where she went back after teaching in Kenya for two years through the programme of a member of Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers. Despite the request from other teachers to her to give a talk on Kenya, the principal and the vice principal at the school which she was working for said that she could not give a talk because they had already planned that year's school events. The science teacher recalls:

I came back from Kenya in September. The principal and the vice principal rejected the idea of my talk by saying, "You came back right in the middle of the school year and say, all of a sudden, that you want to give a talk.² We can not spare school time for such a thing."...I was often invited to other schools as a guest speaker but I was not given an opportunity to give a talk at the school where I was teaching. Such a strange thing happened. (Hara)

The teacher at Ijima also faced opposition by the management side both at the previous school and the present school. He was called to the principal's room and had to listen to his complaint when he planned to take some of the students who were involved in fund-raising for UNICEF on an overnight excursion. This experience taught him a lesson. At Ijima, although he faced

a similar difficulty in the first year, he overcame it by getting the approval of the City Board of Education in advance. Thus, by bringing in the power of authority from outside, the teacher succeeded in making the principal approve his project.

The art teacher at Konishi faced a difficulty at her present school. When she tried to invite a student from Bangladesh for extra-curricular activity, the vice principal was very negative. The art teacher says:

He asked me where I met the student, why I invited him, which language he spoke and why it was necessary to invite him....I explained a lot. What do you think the vice principal said at the end? He said, "Next time, invite a beautiful blonde."...He was so different from those who I met at Konishi. The principals and the vice principals whom I worked with before were wonderful.
(Ushio)

Thus, when the principals and the vice principals are negative to Development Education, the same teachers who were successful as inside advocates in other schools cannot promote Development Education. The art teacher at Konishi points out that in order to expand their practice, if not as legitimizers, at least they need to have principal and vice principal who do not intrude upon teachers' practice even if the principal and the vice principal are not supporting the practice actively:

Of course the attitudes of the principal and the vice principal are influential. The principals I have met before were old foxes. Yes. It is important to be an old fox. They move without playing with theories. Then, when something inconvenient happens, they take care of it. As if they were saying, 'Don't worry. I will take care of the external matters.'...I could do as I wanted to because all three principals I worked with [at Konishi] were like that.(Ushio)

In Japanese state schools, the principals usually move every three years. Within this short term, it is hard for them to break the old tradition of a school and introduce a new policy unless there is a strong pressure from outside just like what happened to Konishi. Even at Konishi, there were criticisms of the

principal's decision among teachers who were not enthusiastic about Development Education. Thus, even for the principal, it is difficult to legitimize a new idea. In the case of Nagai where the legitimation took place spontaneously, it is important that the number of staff was very small and most of them, including the principal himself were supporters when the principal made the decision. Such a case is very rare, and it was the product of a combination of some favourable conditions.

6) Evaluator: Students

Teachers at Nagai also pointed out students as one of the favourable factors. Students influence the introduction of Development Education in schools in two ways. First, what kind of students are studying at the school makes a difference to teachers' motivation. The following comments by teachers at Nagai and Wada make a contrast between the students who encourage teachers to introduce Development Education and those who discourage them to do so:

At our school,...there are a number of students who have been abroad, there are Italian students and a Laotian student. So, from the beginning, we could start with very little discrimination....We started from a desirable situation. This was very important for us to do this kind of thing....There are a lot of schools where there are problems everyday such as smoking and truancy. Teachers have to cope with them, calling parents and so on. If teachers are using all of their energy on these matters, they have no time for planning these things.(Hara)

One of the reasons why I could not introduce [Development Education earlier] was that I was busy. Especially, the instruction of students in school life is very tough at state schools. At that time, this school was facing a problem of deviant students. I had to run around in this school district on a bicycle, looking for truant children whenever I had time.(Tanabe)

Even if a teacher introduced Development Education, students' behaviour can

easily obstruct its further promotion. The maths teacher at Ijima recalls:

When I cooperated in UNICEF's fund-raising at the previous school, a number of easy going students participated as well as well-behaved ones. Such easy going students looked happy in town, drinking soft drinks while they were raising funds. This was the reason for the criticism....Not wearing school uniforms when they are raising funds is unacceptable for a start. You know, at junior high school, if students buy and eat take away food on their way back from school after club activities, and are found by a teacher, they will be scolded on the following day.(Sakai)

This teacher became exhausted with handling the criticism of students' behaviour in town and gave up this activity when he moved to a new school. Thus, whether students allow teachers to have time for Development Education or keep pulling them back by causing problems which are not directly related to Development Education is a critical factor in the promotion of Development Education.

Students also influence the promotion of Development Education by their response to it. In the interviews, some teachers mentioned that they could get a good response from students which was very effective in convincing the principal and other teachers to agree with the practice of Development Education. Inside advocates of three schools say:

Well, there was a rejection at the beginning. When I invited [Indonesian] students for the first time, there was a person who was afraid that the students would bring in cholera....After they saw our students' good response to the project, teachers who disagreed started saying it was a good project.(Sakai)

At the beginning, some teachers said that since people from South-East Asia, including the Japanese, were uncivilized, it was better to invite Europeans. But...somehow I invited South-East Asians....It was an eye-opener for the teachers....Their discrimination disappeared. Children were honest. They were simply impressed with the Asian students who spoke Japanese well only after their two or three-year-stay in Japan.(Ushio)

At the beginning, when the teachers were shown just the plan, they did not understand why such a thing was necessary. They said, "We are already so busy. What are you going to do by adding more work?" They were conservative. However, after doing some programmes, they came to know that it was not that difficult and also they saw children became very active in such a situation. Once they knew how to move the children, teachers' cooperation followed on smoothly when a similar programme came up.(Hara)

A teacher who had tried to bring in artifacts into classrooms and gone through a difficult time because of the strict control over curriculum in the 1970s says that even during such a difficult time he could still continue his practice by showing his colleagues his classes and the response of the children:

I showed the realities. Children responded actively. I showed my classes to other teachers. They did not say anything but they could see I was doing something interesting....They did not disturb me even during the hard time. So, if teachers do a good practice which is welcomed by children, they can do it. Even if parents and the principal say something against the teachers, such a criticism is just a temporary one. I am saying this based on my own experience.(Sakai)

As the above comments show, children's favourable reaction gives teachers belief, self-confidence and motivation for challenging the next programme. It is the strongest evidence to convince the opposition to change their opinions. The opposition are dubious about the effect of practice by these inside advocates at the beginning and that is one reason why they hesitate to cooperate with them. Once they have seen the students' response which is favourable to and supportive of the teachers' point of view, they also change their attitude and become supportive.

7) Teachers' roles at Heiwa

Development education at Heiwa was not initiated by an interested individual as in the other cases but as the result of research on educational

issues by the research section. Therefore, the roles of teachers are not as clearly divided as in other cases.

As school policy, Heiwa has emphasized Peace Education and Human Rights Education, and teachers are expected to keep improving education at Heiwa based on this tradition. When global perspectives were added to this policy which sought the peaceful coexistence of the strong and the weak, Development Education came in as a consequence.

The principal and the director are not necessarily legitimizers, either. They are elected by mutual vote and they are more like colleagues than supervisors. Although they make official decisions, basically the real decisions are made by the teachers' meeting.

Students are also selected both in terms of academic achievement and family background because Heiwa has an entrance examination and high tuition fee. Many of the students entering Heiwa Junior High School are from Heiwa Elementary School which is operated on the same principle. Hence, they are familiar with Heiwa's way of education. Furthermore, since Heiwa is well known for its philosophy, parents often choose Heiwa because they agree with the philosophy. From the beginning, parental support is guaranteed.

Thus, despite the lack of clear roles among teachers who lead the introduction of Development Education, it naturally came into school life as a result of the pursuit of Heiwa's principle. Why this was possible for Heiwa is related to the school climate which is discussed in the next section. Heiwa has a school climate which makes it possible for the school to adjust to changes in the world outside school.

4. Climate

Richardson asserts the importance of identifying climate "in which decisions are most likely to be right, and the interactions between inside advocates, opinion leaders and legitimizers are most likely to be fruitful."³ The climate influences the effectiveness of players of each role. As mentioned in

the previous section, whether the same person can or cannot expand Development Education depends on the climate of the school to which he/she is assigned.

In the schools where Development Education was expanded to school level, time for special activities in the national curriculum was utilized because it allowed schools to decide content. At Ijima, the attempt did not become a part of the school's official event but as at Konishi and Nagai, Development Education was introduced in school events, grade events and club activities.

What these two schools share is the flexibility in planning of these activities because of the school's short history. As one of the reasons why the art teacher at Konishi and the science teacher at Nagai could introduce Development Education rather easily, both teachers point out that their schools were newly established schools. They had no old traditions which they had to amend or abolish before the implementation of new ideas. The schools were in the middle of the formation of the internal structure and open to any new ideas.

In this circumstances, at Konishi, an exceptionally powerful section which looked after the Students' Council was formed in order to lead students to participate in the formation of the school. It was this section to which the former art teacher belonged. She utilized the function of the Students' Council in order to organize a school festival on the theme of Development Education. Furthermore, owing to the lack of school tradition, the teachers easily abolished the school festival which they had found too demanding and adopted the exchange programme with foreign students in Japan.

At Nagai, a number of school events and grade events were organized around the school mission statement. The science teacher could easily slot her ideas into the events in a way she had not been allowed to do so at her previous school where a year's schedule was already full of events planned by experienced teachers. When comparing the two schools, she says:

Here, things were more flexible. This school was small and it was possible to do anything. This is a very important point.
(Hara)

The former social science teacher at Konishi also mentions the difficulty of inserting new events into an already busy schedule of school events at his new school, comparing with the situation at Konishi:

That means that the new event has to cut into the already completed list of school events. Hence, it is very difficult to insert a new event. Luckily, Konishi was a school which had decreased the number of events. It was easier to insert a new event because of that. It had abolished the school festival once....At a school like my present place, it is difficult to add more events because the year is already full of events.(Takamura)

The more established a school is, the more rigid and tightly packed activities the school has. As a consequence, the school loses the flexibility to take on something new.

At Konishi, once clubs were established and were given their share of time as a part of school life, they functioned as a pressure group for the art teacher who wanted to keep students for the preparation of the activity she was planning. According to the former social studies teacher:

The gap [between other teachers and the art teacher] was to what extent children's power is used [for the programme]. At ordinary schools like here, there are extra-curricular activities and preparation for various school events after school. [The priority] largely depends on the school's policy but other teachers have other things which they want to do. When we discussed what time children should be summoned after school for the preparation of clubs, because the school's health-sports day was coming, when we were planning to have children work on it until certain hours, and allocating time and numbers of students, from the art teacher's point of view she could not help expanding the activity she was leading....This is a matter of the allocation of time. Another is a matter of priorities....The opinion which says "[Development Education] is not the only thing school does." came from teachers.(Takamura)

Thus, once the internal system of a school is established and stabilized, it becomes difficult to change it unless some kind of self-re-evaluating function is built into in the school system itself.

Heiwa is an interesting example of a school which has such a self-re-evaluating system. Despite the long history of the school, Heiwa maintains school creativity. For example, in 1968, the school abolished the study trip in the third grade after misbehaviour on the part of the students of Heiwa Senior High School during the trip. For ten years after this incident, Heiwa searched for a new form of study trip and introduced a work camp in rural Japan in 1977. It was also in the 1970s that the school festival was introduced into the programme of school events. Concerning grade events, they decided to have a theme for each grade and organize events according to the theme in 1991. For the maintenance of this self-re-evaluation, Heiwa created an interesting communication network among teachers. This overlaps with the emphasis on communication which Richardson points out.

Concerning what kind of climate is preferable, Richardson introduces the opinion of a writer who emphasizes a continuous staff conference as an important factor in determining school climate.⁴ In Heiwa, the policy making system has been established so that the school's most important decision maker is the teachers' meeting. Members are elected by teachers' vote among themselves every three years to three management posts. This system strengthens the communication function of the school because everybody has to participate in decision making and there is little gap between the management side and the teachers. Furthermore, sections in charge of different school affairs are also organized to absorb individual teachers' opinions so that teachers do not have to feel under pressure to suggest a new idea.

Besides this official route of communication, teachers at Heiwa are very close as friends. The director talked about the human relationship at the school as follows:

There are twenty-three teachers at Heiwa. Twenty-three is small enough to get together when we plan something. For example, when we have the end of year party, there is no teacher who goes home....Whenever we get together, we talk about children and education. So, there is no waste of time. We are a group of teachers who enjoy talking like that. When we plan something,

everybody volunteers and does it at once. I am very proud of this....Teachers here can really get together and attack anything cooperatively. So, it is a consensus that we make a decision by discussion, whatever we plan.(Nakata)

In Nagai and Konishi, the fact that they were newly established schools encouraged teachers to have frequent discussions on the organization of schools. Since there were less than ten full-time teachers at Nagai when it started, it was easy to get every one involved in the decision making process. Konishi was larger than Nagai and communication among teachers was not as good as at Nagai. According to the social studies teacher, there were hidden criticisms among those who were passive to Development Education during the promotion school project:

What is difficult is that discussion does not become as open as, and as straight forward as, that which is common among Western people. The discussion ended up as one-way discussion and then dissatisfaction remains in the opposition side later. The dissatisfaction comes out in the form of complaints like, "Well, it is easy to say but...." (Takamura)

However, at least among those who were involved in Development Education, communication was relatively good. These teachers became very close during the promotion school project. The art teacher attributes the success of the project to a good relationship among teachers.

Teachers' team work was excellent. That was why students became interested in the programme. It was really a matter of people, not the system....We still get together twice or three times a year, sing and drink. We became that close.(Ushio)

Thus, not only frequent official conferences but also teachers' good personal relationships and an unofficial talk contributed to the formation of a favourable climate.

Maintaining a favourable climate presents another problem to schools. The case of Konishi where a favourable climate for Development Education was

created but then diminished indicates the difficulty of maintaining the climate. For state schools, the difficulty of continuing Development Education has its roots in the compulsory personnel changes regulated by the educational authorities. Usually at junior high schools, teachers are allowed to stay at a school no more than ten years. For principals and vice principals, the move comes almost every three years. Since teachers move to new schools which have different systems from their previous places, they need the first couple of years to adjust. On the other hand, the school where they were working previously loses its inside advocate and therefore Development Education tends to diminish.

At Konishi, the efforts of teachers in the past would not have continued after they left except for one school event. The former social studies teacher at Konishi also points out the difficulty of continuity. He explains why an exchange programme with foreign students could survive and is still being practised:

People change quickly. Since people change, it is difficult to keep [the same system as when Development Education was at its peak] unless the practice is kept in the form of a school event....The reason why the practice is still continued at Konishi is that we left the framework as a school event. Another reason is that there is an organization which makes it easy for us to invite foreign students. Since there is such an organization [which sends foreign students on a voluntary basis] and we are using it, we do not have to worry about the cost [even now that the funding for being a promotion school has finished].

(Takamura)

The teachers at Nagai also presume that the same thing will happen after they have moved to new schools. The current principal of Nagai who has seen the case at Konishi says:

This is the seventh year since this school was established and there are still seven teachers who were the original members of the school. The rest of the teachers are in their first or second year here. So, I think this school is coming to a turning point. It is desirable to perpetuate what they have done as a traditional

event of this school, but it is also necessary to keep communication going among teachers every year so that they will develop a common understanding about the purpose of such events.(Tamura)

Unless the original members have institutionalized Development Education in the form^{of} a school event and the planning committee has been established in the structure of the school, Development Education can easily disappear. However, even if some events and committees are left, without people who play the appropriate roles, the climate is not maintained.

In the case of Heiwa, the climate is well maintained because staff seldom change. Teachers coming to Heiwa learn its philosophy including the climate and stay there for thirty or forty years. They identify strongly with the climate of Heiwa and pass it on to new teachers who also stay for many years. Thus, for the maintenance of a good climate in a school, it is necessary that such a climate becomes natural for not only the inside advocates and supporters around them but also other teachers in the school. This takes a long time, and the system of compulsory personnel movement causes a negative effect on the development and the continuity of the climate.

5. External Supports

Teachers' roles and the school climate are both created inside the school. Although the influence is not as direct as these two, there are some external supports which foster the creation of a good climate for the introduction of Development Education.

One of them is support by the local board of education. The case of Nagai indicates that when the principal is as enthusiastic as inside advocates about introducing Development Education into the school, it is possible to make Development Education part of the school policy and adopt a whole school approach without having the approval of the local Board of Education. Even at a school like this however, being designated a research school by the Board of Education encouraged teachers to expand their practice even more and

involve a larger number of staff.

In the case of Konishi, the influence of the local authority was more obvious. It was the relationship between the principal at Konishi and the local Board of Education which made the principal accept the request to be a promotion school despite the fact that he was not personally much interested in the theme of Education for International Understanding.

At Ijima, the local Board of Education was used by the maths teacher as part of his strategy to get the principal's approval of the teacher's attempt. The principal was rather negative about the maths teacher's experiment at the beginning but the fact that the local Board of Education had given its approval and encouragement made the principal change his stance. Although the extent to which the attempts at these schools were influenced by the local Boards of Education is different, it is common to all of the three schools that their practices were approved by the local Boards of Education, and their approval contributed to the expansion of Development Education.

The situation is slightly different for Heiwa. Since Heiwa is a private school, there is no direct link between the principal and the state administrative system. The local Board of Education neither gives a direct support to Heiwa's experiment nor interferes in it. However, by not interfering, educational authorities tacitly acknowledge Heiwa's practice. In terms of the protection of freedom, this lack of interference by the educational authorities contributed indirectly to supporting Heiwa's attempt.

Another form of support is from parents. Heiwa, Konishi and Nagai had parents' support for what they were doing including Development Education. At Konishi and Nagai, parents cooperated actively with the school festival and the Nepal campaign. This support validated and empowered the small group of teachers' experiment in the early stages of the expansion of Development Education.

The third form is what Richardson calls "moral support for inside advocates and practitioners".⁵ There is no powerful network for Development Educators but the teachers at these schools except Nagai have some link with a study group outside schools. This is the same with other teachers who are

trying to introduce Development Education in subject teaching. Although they did not find supporters inside their school, they get information and encouragement from external organizations. The lack of such a link in the case of teachers at Nagai can be explained by the existence of a good teacher training programme inside the school itself. Teachers did not have to go out of school in order to look for moral support.

6. Conclusion

Because of strict control over the subject curriculum, the introduction of Development Education in subject-area teaching tends to remain at the level of teachers' individual experiment and does not grow to become part of the school-wide curriculum innovation in Japan. In the schools in case studies where Development Education was introduced at school level, school activities other than subject teaching were utilized for this purpose. Thus, for the expansion of Development Education to school level, subjects do not play an important role in these cases.

However, the pattern of Japanese schools in this case study has some similarities to what Robin Richardson suggests about the process of the introduction of Development Education into subject teaching in Britain. In both cases, the acceptance of Development Education at school level largely depends on whether a school has the right climate to accept the idea of inside advocates who are trying to promote Development Education. At three state schools, inside advocates struggled to create a favourable climate before they succeeded in expanding Development Education in school activities. At Nagai and Konishi where Development Education was institutionalized, staff at school played the roles of advocates, supporters and legitimizers for the creation and the continuation of the climate. The examples of state schools indicate that it takes several years for internal advocates to develop human relationships and then, with their colleagues' support, a suitable school climate for the introduction of Development Education. The schools also indicate that even if such a human network and climate are created, they can easily be

abolished or undermined by compulsory personnel change.

The importance of school climate is also tested with Heiwa's case. In Heiwa where the school system is organized in the way which maintains school creativity, Development Education was introduced into the school without any particular individual enthusiastically promoting Development Education. There was no need to have supporters and legitimizers particularly for the introduction of Development Education because discussing and adopting new ideas was integral to the school ethos. The case of Heiwa indicates that if a school is open to changes in society, there is no need for individuals to devote themselves to the introduction of Development Education. In other words, a school which maintains school creativity is able to accept Development Education just like any other new idea so long as the staff of the school consider it important.

In contrast, even if an inside advocate exists and the concept of Development Education itself is not criticised, if a school has a climate which rejects change and objects to any new ideas, it is difficult to introduce Development Education in school. In this case, the reason for an unsuccessful introduction is not necessarily anything to do with the concept of Development Education itself but something to do with the school climate in general. Indeed, none of the interviewees said that the concept of Development Education itself was rejected by colleagues. The reasons for unsuccessful expansion were poor human relationships in the school, the advocate's personality, and the rigidity of the system within the school. In these cases, if there was a criticism of promoting Development Education, it was only because the critics believed that there was something more important than Development Education which the school should teach.

Thus, concerning the cases in this thesis, the greatest obstacle to the introduction of Development Education in schools is not the concept itself. The obstacle is the lack of school creativity. This is a general problem of teachers and schools themselves rather than of Development Education. If a school has the ability to change itself in order to catch up with the change in the external world, Development Education can be introduced without the

presence of any enthusiastic proponents. However, in ordinary schools which have fallen into rigidity and have difficulty in changing tradition, teachers who try to introduce new ideas have to start by creating a school climate open to new ideas. For this, it is important that there are people who play the roles of supporters and legitimizers in school. It is favourable to have external support as well, but if staff in the school have good relationships and school creativity exists, this is not essential.

1. Robin Richardson, "Introducing development education in schools", in International Review of Education, vol. 28, 1982, pp. 478.
2. Japanese school year starts in April.
3. Richardson, *op. cit.*, p. 478.
4. *ibid.*, p. 478.
5. *ibid.*, p. 479.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to offer a conclusion to the whole thesis and to make some suggestions about possible themes for future research.

In this thesis, the concept of Development Education, the socio-economic and political contexts for its genesis, and how it is accepted in the formal education system in Japan were investigated. From the investigation, the following became clear; 1) the concept of Development Education is neither stable nor universal but varies depending on place, the people who define it, and the purpose; 2) there is no uniform pattern for the emergence of Development Education which has influenced schools in industrialized countries but there are socio-economic and political contexts which make the emergence more likely; 3) in Japan, these factors-of-context did exist but; 4) a very detailed analysis of educational change, and curriculum change at national level shows how difficult innovation was; nevertheless 5) at classroom and school level, a small number of teachers have introduced Development Education wherever possible within the existing national curriculum.

Initially, the thesis explored definitions of Development Education in order to clarify what was the version of Development Education which this thesis was about. The analysis of the definitions of Development Education in Chapter One revealed that there was no one established definition of Development Education. Among industrialized countries, the only consensus is that Development Education is about raising awareness of problems such as poverty, unemployment and the poor condition of public health in countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Apart from this consensus, definitions vary. Particularly, there is a gap between definitions on the 'development plane' which emphasize 'social change for development' and those on the 'education plane' which stress primarily, 'personal change for the purpose of personal development'. However, these diversities do not mean that one concept of Development Education cancels the other. They coexist as different types of Development Education. In this thesis, whether individual teachers emphasize social change or personal change is not the focal point.

Hence, the thesis limited its range of study to Development Education as something to be taught at school in industrialized countries in order to raise learners' awareness of the link between their lives and the above problems, particularly from economic perspectives.

Education for cooperating in the solution of problems in developing countries sounds hard to disagree with. Indeed, the United Nations adopted this strategy for the Second Development Decade and encouraged all member nation states to raise their people's awareness about the problems. However, in practice, Development Education did not emerge in many countries. Discussion of Development Education was active only among a small number of high-income countries and not in medium-income countries. Furthermore, among high-income countries, there were variations in the way Development Education emerged. There were countries where the governments enthusiastically led the introduction of Development Education and others where the governments were less supportive. There were differences in the timing of the introduction of Development Education as well. In some countries, Development Education emerged in the early 1970s while in others, it emerged much later.

Chapter Two was an analysis of these various styles in the genesis of Development Education. The Chapter investigated whether there was any pattern in that genesis. There was no simple, single pattern. Development Education which was created in these countries was a product of the complexity of domestic and foreign politics, economy, social issues, and even 'accidents', such as particular individuals being in particular positions, or the changes of government, with the new government having different ideas about Development Education.

From the comparative analysis of the selected countries, Chapter Two could not identify a simple pattern for the creation of Development Education but pointed out that despite this complexity, there were socio-economic and political contexts which increased the possibility of the emergence of Development Education. These contexts indicated that the emergence of Development Education was not a result of simple idealism but was also influenced by the political intentions and social needs of the countries.

Industrialized countries which had some sort of link with developing countries

utilized the link for their middle-power politics. Other middle-powers without such links created them. The racial minorities from developing countries in these middle-power countries contributed to raising awareness of economic disparity in the world and in confirming beliefs that there was a job to do and a role to play.

Thus, the contexts which increase the possibility of the emergence of Development Education were identified and a tentative working theory was generated as follows. Development Education emerges in a country which has; 1) high income, and an industrialized economy; 2) a foreign policy for becoming a politically important country by means other than military power; 3) an emphasis on welfare, human rights and the equality of the distribution of national wealth in domestic policy; 4) links with developing countries; and 5) the existence of racial minorities from developing countries who place new demands on the social systems. Political events including 'accidents' in individual countries strengthen or weaken these features of contexts. These contexts are not permanent, either. They change due to changes in the international status of nations.

Thus, the comparative analysis in Chapter Two did not lead to the creation of a formal theory, but a tentative working theory was created, which helps to explain why Development Education became active in some countries while it remained marginal in others. Explanation in terms of these contexts was also useful to understand the Japanese case which was discussed in Chapter Three. In Japan, unlike some other industrialized countries, Development Education did not emerge in the 1970s. Despite the UN policy which encouraged Development Education, the Japanese government did not show an interest in becoming involved in the international movement. The analysis of Japanese socio-economic and political contexts in Chapter Three gives an explanation for this lack of Development Education in the 1970s.

The Chapter argued that Japan did not have those contexts which encourage the emergence of Development Education until the 1980s. Japan's economic growth in terms of GNP by the 1970s was based on an economy which still maintained the structure and features of a developing country (including the

protection of Japanese markets). Such a protection was strong especially in the arena of the financial market. While the Japanese market was protected from foreign investors, Japanese investors' opportunities to invest overseas were also limited. This kept Japan's links with other countries, especially Asian countries, weak.

In politics, Japan tried to remain as insignificant as possible in the international arena after World War II and was completely depended on US protection. Welfare was just about to catch up with the western level but still the priority in the LDP policy was on economic growth. Old colonial links with developing countries had collapsed because of the defeat in World War II and new links based on economic relations had not yet developed. Consequently, there were not many guest workers. Thus, socio-economic and political contexts in the 1970s do not lead themselves easily to the emergence of Development Education.

In contrast to the situation in the 1970s, the contexts in the 1980s were more generally favourable to the introduction of Development Education but there were culturally-specific peculiarities in the pattern - especially notion of welfare - and it was not promoted by ministries in Japan in this decade. In the 1980s, socio-economic and political contexts in Japan had continued to change to become similar to those in industrialized countries where Development Education emerged. Economic structure, foreign policy, domestic policy, and especially the relationship with developing countries changed and racial diversity increased. Economic growth altered the possibility of Japan continuing with its 'being small and harmless' policy. Because of its economic power, Japan had become visible in international politics. The Japanese people became more conscious of welfare issues after they had experienced at home problems caused by industrialization. Japanese industries expanded into Asia and workers from Asian countries came to Japan. Development Education was introduced by UNICEF in 1979 and welcomed by a small number of Japanese NGO workers and Japanese educationists. However, despite all this, Japanese ministries did not try to promote Development Education in schools even in the educational reform in the mid 1980s.

The second half of the thesis concentrated on explaining this situation, in education, after the mid 1980s. The thesis tried to explain why Japanese ministries did not try to introduce Development Education into schools, by analysing the problems of their own policy making system, and the educational policy making system in particular.

Schoppa's study on "immobilism" in Japanese education policy reform provided the thesis with a possible and useful theoretical explanation to the situation. Schoppa's "immobilism" is a period of little progress in policy change which often happens in the Japanese education policy making process. Schoppa explains that such an "immobile" period is generated as a result of conflicts among actors and diverse interest groups who are involved with policy making process. The Ministry of Education and the LDP as internal actors, and the business world as an external actor, are the most influential actors. The conflicts were not necessarily caused by difference in policies but by competition among people who sought their own interests. During the long monopoly of politics by the LDP, such interest groups were formed in the Ministries, the business world and among politicians. Since all of them, with different interests, gathered under the LDP banner, it became difficult for the LDP to introduce new policies without causing any conflict among these actors. So, their solution was to make no new efforts to overcome the problems, but just to let time resolve the issues.

The thesis attempted to apply this theory to explain the lack of involvement of the Ministry of Education in the introduction of Development Education into school education. Since many policy making discussion are often held inside the Ministry of Education and do not become visible, not all the conflicts which existed concerning Development Education can be identified. However, even from limited information, several different opinions about concepts relevant to Development Education became clear.

Another explanation for the lack of Development Education in the national curriculum was approached through an actual example of subject change (Life Environment Studies) which took almost twenty years to be implemented after the idea first came out in an official document. The idea failed to be adopted in the first attempt in the 1970s and had to wait another ten years before the second

chance came. From the adoption until the implementation, another five years were needed. If the period of various discussions about scattered aspects and approaches to this subject is also considered, more than thirty years were spent before the creation of this new subject.

This slowness in curriculum change, and changes in subjects in particular, is due to the central control over the national curriculum. Since the central curriculum influences all Japan and cannot be changed for another ten years, policy makers become extremely careful about the implementation of new ideas and spend many years on experiments and data analysis. Thus, though major changes in socio-economic and political contexts happened in the mid 1980s, it was almost impossible for policy makers to reflect these changes "immediately" in the curriculum reform of the late 1980s.

There are some examples that indicate that the introduction of Development Education is included in discussions for the next curriculum change. Ideas about Development Education had been introduced in one of the geography courses in upper secondary level although its space in the whole curriculum is very limited. In addition, minor experiments are going on to create a new subject for 'international understanding'. However, for these ideas to be adopted, they still have to go through the policy making process without becoming "immobile" by conflicts, and a long process of curriculum implementation which requires another five years after formal adoption. The result of these processes is likely to be twenty years' delay from the mid 1980s when the contexts appropriate for the introduction of Development Education emerged in Japan. Thus, educational policy change in Japan will possibly follow, and certainly will follow very slowly, changes in socio-economic and political contexts.

Since Japan has a centrally controlled curriculum system and authorized textbooks, in theory, if the revision of the national curriculum is ten to twenty years behind the time when the change is needed, teachers always have to follow a curriculum which does not reflect the needs of the moment. In fact, this is unlikely to happen. No matter how strictly the curriculum is controlled, teachers still have to interpret the content in order to teach it and so, their interpretation which is influenced by the contexts of their time, is important. Some teachers

who are aware of the gap consciously try to bridge it.

Small scale experiments of Development Education by teachers which were introduced in Chapters Seven and Eight are examples of such teachers' efforts at bridging the gap. They do not just wait for the curriculum change from the top but they themselves make efforts to adjust the curriculum to changing contexts. What these teachers tried to do was ahead of existing Japanese education policy. This is shown by the cases of two state schools which were asked to become research schools for prefectural or local Boards of Education. The experiments by teachers at these schools were what was needed by policy makers as data for a future educational policy.

Common features of successful schools in case studies also indicate that Development Education in these schools is a result of teachers' efforts at bridging the gap. In three schools where Development Education was introduced into school policy, there was good communication amongst the teachers. In these schools where teachers continuously discuss the improvement of education, they are also open to new ideas. The contexts at the time of discussions influence them. New schools (such as Konishi and Nagai) which do not have an existing tradition that blocks the introduction of new ideas are easier. In the contrast, old schools which try to keep tradition formed in the contexts of several decades ago have difficulty in giving up that tradition. However, even old schools can adjust to new contexts if they maintain school creativity and remain open to new ideas as in the example of Heiwa.

Thus, the schools in the case studies indicate that although change in the national curriculum is slow, it is possible for teachers to adjust their teaching at school level if the school is open to changes in socio-economic and political contexts. As long as the same curriculum continues, the introduction of Development Education depends on such efforts by individuals and the existence of advocates and school creativity are critical issues for the promotion of Development Education. For the improvement of school creativity, Richardson's suggestion is to increase communication among the staff. This is true for Japanese schools. Another possible strategy which was used by the schools in the case studies is setting a theme which is relevant to Development Education for school

events and making other teachers comfortable about doing something new. Inviting guest speakers from developing countries to schools is effective in terms of breaking these teachers' stereotypes about developing countries as well.

Increasing the number of advocates is a matter of individual teachers' motivation and how teachers are motivated for doing something needs further serious study and discussion which are beyond the range of focus of this thesis.

What the thesis can do here is to suggest what may possibly encourage teachers to become interested in Development Education. From interviews with teachers, two types of teachers who were interested in Development Education were identified. First, the determined teachers who expanded their attempts to school level had personal experiences which made them aware of Development Education. For three such teachers, the experience of teaching abroad triggered their interest. This suggests the idea that if the number of teachers who have been abroad increases, some of them may become interested in Development Education. Indeed, for the promotion of Education for International Understanding, the Ministry of Education adopted this idea. The problem is that the number of teachers who are sent abroad by this programme is small compared with the total number of teachers and it is impossible for state schools on their own to introduce a programme for sending teachers abroad. State schools have to wait for the prefectural authorities' policy to change.

The second possibility is to increase the number of teachers who introduce Development Education in their subject teaching. According to the interviews, teachers of this type were not motivated by special experience but by attending meetings and workshops run by Development Educators. Although teachers of this type tend to keep their experiment in their classrooms, if the number of such teachers increase, they get more support both among themselves and from others. This strategy is taken by a small number of teachers' groups and NGOs and some of their activities have grown to be recognized by the curriculum writers of the Ministry of Education. Thus, although in a very subtle and modest way, the spontaneous movement of teachers for the improvement of subject teaching are also contributing to the promotion of Development Education in broader curriculum change. Hence, in order for teachers to be heard by policy makers, it

is important to keep demonstrating their existence by forming a network and publishing their activities.

The possibilities of raising teachers' awareness of Development Education have already been recognized and put into practice but what can be done by teachers in order to promote Development Education is limited. For further promotion, the contribution of local educational authorities is desired. Simple moral support by local authorities is enough to help teachers to get support in schools as the example of Ijima indicated. If the authorities encourage principals to let teachers attend study groups and courses outside school, that make teachers comfortable about forming groups. The authorities also can contribute by improving the content of teacher training sessions by cooperating with external organizations such as NGOs and the voluntary study group of returned teachers from abroad. Financial and material support is desirable but they are not the most important issue. There are a number of things for which local and prefectural authorities can contribute, but in the current situation, Development Education does not have much support. Since prefectural and local Boards of Education are under the influence of the Ministry of Education, without a change in the Ministry's policy, it is difficult to expect something dramatic to happen at prefectural and local levels.

As discussed in Chapter Five, there are some changes at national level after the mid 1980s. Because of the emphasis on internationalization of education, teachers are more encouraged to go abroad than they were before. The Ministries of Education and Foreign Affairs have some programmes for sending teachers abroad for a short period and this is still the trend in educational policies in the 1990s. Another change is the emphasis on diversity among individuals and schools. Especially at secondary education level, the number of elective subjects was increased and schools are encouraged to create their own individual characteristics. Uniform equality among schools which used to be a target is not emphasized in the 1990s. Uniformity in the national curriculum is being loosened compared with the period when the tension between Nikkyoso and the Ministry of Education was so great that the ministerial control over teachers was strong. Due to the termination of the LDP's dominance and the emergence of the

LDP-JSP coalition cabinet, Nikkyoso and the Ministry announced in August 1995 that they would move into a cooperative relationship from then on. Without this tension, the need for the Ministry to keep strong control over teachers diminishes.

Changes in political contexts indicate the possibility of a relaxation of Ministerial control over the national curriculum and its implementation, for the purpose of controlling teachers' political activities. Without control for a political purpose, flexibility for teachers' interpretation of the curriculum will increase. For creative teachers and schools, including development educators, this is a chance to adjust the national curriculum in the way which is suitable for their schools. This is a change which has just started and still some time is necessary before the influence of the change on Development Education becomes fully visible.

No matter whether Development Education is introduced into the national curriculum or not, teachers' spontaneous activities are most important for the promotion of Development Education. As the analysis using Schoppa's theory in Chapter Five indicates, education policy tends to reflect the interest of the business world and politicians who need talented youth who are useful for economic and political purposes. Hence, there is a danger that problems in the developing countries are treated as knowledge which elites have to have for their careers. This approach easily lead to a superiority complex towards people in developing countries and to a charity mentality.

This is what Development Education has tried to avoid, and should avoid. In Development Education, the link between learners and problems in developing countries should be stressed. By thinking about the link, it becomes clear that problems in developing countries are not caused because of people's laziness or innate backwardness but have been created by complex world economic and political systems.

Pioneer teachers in case studies knew this danger. They invited guest speakers in order to break students' and colleagues' stereotypes, and emphasized the cultural aspect which, unlike economic aspect, cannot be measured by numbers. Thus, for teaching about developing countries and their problems without causing the byproduct of the superiority complex, teachers first have to understand why Development Education is necessary. Such understanding is

hardly achieved by solely distributing a model national curriculum and textbooks.

Since the introduction of Development Education into Japanese schools is ongoing, and political contexts which have influenced educational policies in the postwar period are in the middle of historical change, it is impossible to say that the events which were examined here are completed. However, the aim of the thesis, which was to look at the relationship between socio-economic and political contexts and education at classroom level by using Development Education as the key concept, has been taken some steps forward. A change in Japan's position in the international economy and politics influences domestic society and policies including educational policy. On the other hand, the change also influences individuals who live in these changing contexts. Teachers who are aware of the change try to adjust their teaching without waiting for a revision of the national curriculum. Thus, teachers generate small changes at classroom level although the written curriculum is the same as it was ten years ago. The accumulation of such small changes influence the next curriculum revision together with other major influences from the political and business worlds. Changes do not happen in a one-way transmission from the top to grassroots level but a reverse direction also exists.

Because of the broad comparative focus of the thesis on social contexts initially, there are a number of things which this thesis had to leave untouched. There are thus some suggestions for future studies which arise from this thesis.

One possibility of further studies is to refine the analysis of contexts for the emergence of Development Education. In Chapters Two and Three, the thesis tackled this theme but the attempt finished with a suggestion of a tentative working theory. With more case studies, especially those of the countries where these contexts have newly emerged as in Japan, the theory suggested in this thesis may become more sophisticated. It is also interesting to see what will happen if the number of countries which fall into the category of middle powers increases. Since Development Education was utilized as a strategy for middle powers to maintain their status, if the number of middle powers expands, enthusiasm of older middle powers in Development Education may decrease and something new may take over.

Concerning the promotion of Development Education by the government, more detailed study of how Ministries are supporting Development Education in schools would be useful for identifying what Japanese Ministries can do. At the same time, the investigation of why Japan cannot adopt policies which other countries have adopted, would contribute to understanding the problems in the policy making process which are specific to the Japanese system. Such comparative works on educational policy making process are needed for improving the research on a theoretical explanation of Japan's educational policy making, which is largely missing from the literature.

In this thesis, among the limited theoretical literature on Japanese policy making process, Schoppa's theory was used for the analysis of slow curriculum change. The applicability of this theory to the situation after the political reshuffle in the 1990s is also an interesting question for the future. Since Schoppa's theory is based on the precondition that the LDP's dominance exists, in theory, its termination in the mid 1990s should have made some change in the educational policy making pattern in Japan. How actors, and actors' power relations have changed and whether a new pattern of educational policy making is being generated, need to be investigated to understand educational policy change after the mid 1990s.

From field work, the concepts of school creativity and teachers' motivation came out as key issues. More detailed studies, especially from the psychological side, are needed before suggestions are made about what can be done for increasing school creativity and teacher motivation for the promotion of Development Education. Personal changes in children's attitudes also need a similar kind of investigation. The thesis notes with interest that according to a teacher at Konishi children became active after the three-year project in her school. Why and how such a change occurred must be left for future research; and that research must be done. After all, children are at the heart of the educational process and children are the future citizens of our world. In a small way, Development Education is, and should be, helping to construct that world.

Appendix 1 The National Curriculum for Geography A

1. Purpose

To enable students to understand regional features of lives and cultures of peoples in the world, and their common themes. To foster geographical views and ways of thinking by making students study the world in terms of various large and small local units. To foster self-consciousness and an attitude as a Japanese living in the international community.

2. Content

(1) The modern world and region

Enable students to understand the features of the modern world through activities with maps and area study and consider methods to understand the modern world geographically.

a. The modern world through the globe and the world map

Enable students to understand, by using the globe and various maps, the change in the relationship of positions and distances between areas in the world caused by the development of transportation and communication, interaction beyond national borders, unity among nations, and the features and situations of the modern world concerning issues such as territories.

b. The function and use of maps

Through mapping of information and map reading, make students familiar with maps and understand the effectiveness of viewing social issues in terms of geographical relations and distances.

c. Change in regions and the modern world

Enable students to understand through area studies that the influence of the development of internationalization has reached regions around them.

(2) Lives and cultures of people in the world and interaction

Enable students to understand the features of lives of various peoples in the world in the context of the diverse natural and social environments, and consider ways for peoples in different regions to improve their relationships.

a. Natural environment and human lives

Enable students to understand regional features of natural environment; focus on the close relationship between lives and cultures of peoples in the world and regional natural environment; and consider the change in the relationship between nature and human beings.

b. Lives and cultures of peoples and regional features

Enable students to understand the lives and cultures of peoples in the world in terms of regional natural and social environment; and consider the importance of understanding lives and cultures which vary from region to

region.

c. Interaction among peoples in various regions and Japan's theme

Enable students to understand, with the help of examples, the current pattern of interaction among peoples in various regions and their problems based on diversity in the natural and social environment; and consider ways for the Japanese to relate to peoples in the world.

(3) Problems of the modern world and international cooperation

Among global problems, enable students to understand, from global and regional points of view, the problems which need to be learned with regional features; and make students consider the necessity of efforts of individual nations and international cooperation for the solution of the problems.

a. The emergence of global problems and their causes

Enable students to pay attention to the environment, resources and energy, population, food, and dwelling and problems of urbanization; and make students understand that the modern world has a number of global problems; and make them consider the causes which created these problems.

b. Global problems in terms of individual regions

Enable students to understand that global problems are common to all regions and that how they appear varies in individual regions. Enable students to consider the importance of understanding the problems from a regional point of view and the efforts of individual nations.

c. International cooperation for global problems and Japan

Enable students to understand that for the solution of global problems, international cooperation as well as efforts by individual nations is necessary and enable students to consider the effort of Japan and its role in international cooperation.

3. Treatment of the content

(1) Teachers organize the content of instruction by selecting basic issues following the purpose of the subject and pay attention not to go too much into detail or highly complicated issues.

(2) Concerning the treatment of the content, the following items should be considered.

a. Concerning a. of content (1), attention should be paid to grasping the features of the modern world and trends in terms of internationalization. Concerning b., the technique of drawing should be a simple one and technique itself should not be emphasized too much. Teachers should organize classes

with student activities and prepare time for this purpose. Concerning c., plan lessons with outdoor research and put it into practice.

b. Concerning a. and c. of (2) and b. and c. of (3), select two or three examples and concentrate on them. Concerning regions selected as examples, teachers should take care not to be biased when they make a selection so that regions selected are reasonably balanced in terms of features.

c. Concerning a. of (2), ensure that students grasp regional features of the natural environment, and do not pay too much or too little attention to the influence of the natural environment. Concerning b., select about three peoples and compare their life styles with those around the students themselves. Concerning c., pay attention to actual overseas experiences by utilizing people who have lived or travelled overseas, people from other countries, or books written by these people.

d. Concerning a. of (3) treat causes of global problems from various angles. Concerning b., pay attention to the focus of instruction and students' interest and select appropriate topics. Concerning c., encourage students to accept global problems as their own problems and to foster an attitude favourable to spontaneous participation in efforts for solution.

Appendix 2 Briefing Paper

1. The summary of the research

Why Development Education emerged in some industrialized countries, whether Japan has an environment suitable for Development Education, to what extent Development Education has been introduced into current Japanese school education, and finally how Development Education in Japanese schools can be promoted.

The thesis discusses the above themes comparatively and mainly with reference to documents. For the discussion on the possibility of Development Education in Japanese schools, the thesis adopts fieldwork as a method.

2. The structure of the thesis

Chapter 1	Concept and History of Development Education
Chapter 2	Comparative analysis of social contexts for the emergence of Development Education
Chapter 3	Analysis of Japanese contexts
Chapter 4	Theoretical explanation to the creation of a new subject in the Japanese school system: The case of Life Environment Studies
Chapter 5	Development Education in education policy
Chapter 6	Development Education in schools
Chapter 7	A comparison between Development Education in Japanese schools and Life Environment Studies
Chapter 8	Conclusion

3. The purpose of the school visit

In the structure of the thesis, Chapter 6 is on school visits the method which it is planned to use this time. From the research based on literature so far, it has become clear that some elements of Development Education have been introduced into Japanese education policy. However, from my personal experience as a teacher, I understand that policy change does not immediately appear in classrooms. Only when the policy harmonizes with other factors, can the policy be introduced. There are some examples of Development Education in schools which indicate that it is possible to introduce Development Education into schools within the existing national curriculum. The purpose of Chapter 6 is to clarify why it is possible for these schools to introduce Development Education and how Development Education can be introduced into schools by analysing existing cases. For example, the thesis looks at; which area is used for Development Education among school events, subjects, moral education and class activities; how much time is spent on Development Education in subject area teaching; whether schools have teacher training for this purpose.

4. The research method used in the school visit

The purpose of this school visit is to reconstruct the process of the introduction of Development Education in this school from interviews with teachers and documents available from the school. For this purpose, the researcher interviews several teachers who are at the centre of practice and records the interviews with a tape recorder and notes. Tape recording is to prevent bias and misunderstanding of the researcher, but if it is inconvenient the tape recorder will be stopped. The transcript of the interview will be sent to the interviewee later. If there is any misunderstanding or need for correction, they are requested to point it out at this stage. The length of interview differs depending on interviewees and available documents, but it will take from forty minutes to one hour. When it is inconvenient to have an interview at school, a telephone interview may be requested by the researcher. In this case, other conditions are the same as for interviews at school.

5. Questions to be asked

1) How Development Education (or education with the concept of Development Education) was introduced into this school?

Why, when, by whom, in which areas in the national curriculum (eg. subject, moral education, special activities), in which form (eg. activities in class, grade or school; regularly or as a special event). Any change in student or teacher organizations because of this? How was the cooperation between teachers and parents?

2) What were the difficulties at the beginning?

3) How did you overcome the difficulties?

4) Has there been any change in your practice since then?

5) What are the difficulties you have now?

6) About yourself (teaching career, overseas experience, subject, club, teachers committees to which you belong, other things which are relevant to your practice).

Appendix 3: The themes of exhibitions by classes in the school festival at Heiwa which are relevant to Development Education.

- 1977 Discrimination
- 1981 Children in the world
The problem of starvation
- 1983 Solar energy
Seeking the right to live peacefully
Japan in the world
- 1984 A study of rubbish
The earth is in danger now - war and peace in the nuclear period
Nature destruction
Discrimination
- 1985 Toward the twenty - first century
Nuclear weapons
A Nucleus
Self-defence force
Problem of food and us
Is Japan wealthy?
- 1986 Harmony between nature and human beings-nature in Machida
Looking at the earth
- 1987 All about imported food
Seven mysteries of the food problem
- 1991 The influence of water on creatures
- 1992 Peace SOS: peace in danger
Food in danger
Food culture
The first step toward the revival of the earth

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