

Public Acceptance and Articulation of Schools in Japanese Society: Origins in Education and Society in the 1930s¹

KIMURA, Hajime*
translated by NELSON, David**

It goes without saying that character development occurs in school. However, it is necessary to make that very premise an object of analysis regarding the issue of school articulation. This article will reveal the establishment of character development through schools by focusing on the formation of elementary education as well as the expansion of post-elementary education in the 1930s. In addition, this article will present the perspective and viewpoint of Japan's public acceptance of schools, informed by youth, family businesses, teachers, educational practices, etc. leading up to the post-war establishment of a 6-3-3-4 education system.

Keywords: school articulation; 1930s; transition from school to society; post-elementary education; social history of educational systems

Introduction

With its continued expansion and enlargement until the end of the twentieth century, Japanese school education has come to a point of transformation. It is necessary to reexamine Japan's postwar 6-3-3-4 system and reconsider the mission and role of various educational institutions. Part of this discussion centers around the debate over demands to redefine secondary education due to the universalization of higher education and a corresponding need to construct a new school system (Arai & Hashimoto, 2005). The current state of Japan's tiered system of school articulation², from elementary school to higher education, is now a matter for debate and discussion. By raising this debate, this article will attempt to grasp the constitutive principle of the school system and examine the controversial history of school-based education. This discussion also reveals that the incorporation of character development within the school structure inevitably generated problems.

This article provides a historical evaluation of the challenges of school articulation by

* Hitotsubashi University

e-mail: kimura.h@r.hit-u.ac.jp

**California Lutheran University

e-mail: dnelson@callutheran.edu

focusing on public acceptance of methods of character development based upon the tiered school structure. It examines how and when public acceptance of continuing school beyond compulsory education was established, as well as the influence that public acceptance had upon the formation of Japan's school systems. The continuation of education into "secondary" schools can be seen as an indicator of the realization of this tiered system. The term "secondary" is not just limited to the current legal category of secondary schools,³ but it also includes prewar post-elementary educational institutions.⁴ Post-elementary schools included higher elementary schools as well as vocational supplementary schools, young men's training institutes, and a variety of other types of schools. Furthermore, in 1935, these schools were integrated into a new organization, known as youth schools (in 1939, in order to accommodate all working young men, youth school attendance was only compulsory on a part-time basis). Youth schools and other post-elementary institutions facilitated continued education following elementary school. These schools, classified as "youth education" schools, are comparable to secondary school classification. Schools that matriculated higher elementary school graduates were then considered "secondary" schools, not just schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education, but also various schools under the direction of the Ministry of Railroads and the Ministry of Communication, as well as military schools. The attendance trends of these schools are an indicator of the establishment of post-elementary education. Current research has shown that the solidification of attendance patterns dragged on through the 1930s (Hijikata, 1994; Yoshida & Hirota, 2004; Mikami, 2005; Kimura, 2005). Previous research also reveals that the development of a tiered school structure took a meandering path from the 1870s until the beginning of the twentieth century, coming to form the prewar education system framework (National Institute of Education, 1974). By that time, school attendance rates had reached 90% of the school-age population, according to Ministry of Education statistics. However, such data only indicates that the population attended and graduated from school because it was mandatory, and in no way reveals whether or not education had become a permanent component of their everyday life.

For the most part, research regarding the school system in the 1930s focuses either on the framework of its dual track model and points out its limitations (Ministry of Education, 1972), or on the roots of Japan's postwar educational system found in the various reform trends of that period (Sampa, 1993, 1999). More recent research within the latter context, however, has expanded the debate, focusing upon the "modernity" of the issue (Ōuchi, 1995). This article attempts to examine the intrinsic interrelationship between prewar reforms and the postwar system, not through the method of pointing out retroactive facts premised upon the postwar school system as understood through recent research, but to show the transition of public acceptance of a system of character development in the schools and to present the relative nature of school-based character development established during Japan's High Growth Period (the late 1950s–the early 1970s). Public acceptance of individual character development⁵ through schooling was by no means a constant. This was because character development (based on family businesses) thrived in various forms, long maintained by the community and family from before the modern period until the High Growth Period. Schools developed internal institutions to support the school system's role in character development, all the while addressing complications that arose through compromise and antagonism with traditional methods of character development. Although regulations stipulated norms and behaviors within schools, the reciprocal relationship between teachers and students led to the modification of these regulatory standards.

Based on the findings of recent research, this article will show the transitory nature of pub-

lic acceptance of the school system while noting specific aspects of youth, family businesses, teachers, educational practices, etc.

1. The Culture of Character Development Beyond the Classroom

In the prewar period, Japan's dual track school structure functionally inhibited school advancement. By contrast, in the postwar single track 6-3-3-4 system that was put into operation in 1947, middle schools became compulsory for the first time, and Japan's tiered school system was open to those who presumed that middle school led to advancement to high school and then university. However, post-compulsory education attendance trends only show conspicuous increases after Japan entered into the High Growth Period. Postwar rates of school advancement show that by the mid-1950s, 42% of students advanced to high school; by the 1960s, approximately 60% entered high school. After taking into account regional variations over the next decade, the rate rose to over 90%. Meanwhile, university advancement rates in the early 1950s remained constant at around 10%; into the 1960s, rates show a dramatic rise so that by the mid 1970s, advancement rates rose to almost 40% (in 1975, 38%). This data clearly shows that by the end of the 1960s, the 6-3-3-4 system rapidly became entrenched among the general population. While economic conditions facilitated increased advancement rates, the existence of cultural factors inhibiting school attendance, such as community child-rearing systems rooted in family business, also influenced public acceptance.

A consideration of the history of community child-rearing reveals the existence of a tradition of character development (child-rearing) that originated in the life of village society. The continuity of Japanese popular lifestyle and culture, and child-rearing that developed out of it, spans a long period, from the Northern and Southern Dynasties Period (1336-1392) until the High Growth Period (Amino, 1980). The tradition of character development that supported early modern village society, based upon the spread of independent small farm management and the resultant monogamous, stem family organization, continued relatively unchanged prior to 1960 (Tajima, 1985). The core of people's lives, grounded in the bedrock of this tradition was finally penetrated by schools. While a popular interpretation of Ministry of Education statistics is that school attendance became a permanent fixture in society by the beginning of the twentieth century,⁶ it would be rash to interpret the rise in attendance rates to mean that the population was actively receptive to schooling. Increases in attendance rates must be considered through a synthesis of various issues, such as difficulties in the accuracy and interpretation of actual numbers (Hijikata, 1994), the formation of abilities through extracurricular life experience, schools' use of regulations and compulsory attendance based on attendance rate increase policies, as well as child abandonment practices and its burden on labor, etc. (Nakauchi, 1998) It is an important point that until the High Growth Period, "instruction in household duties of wives," "household head training," etc. as part of extracurricular, (local) community, and family character development, played a significant role in Japanese society.⁷ The considerable changes caused by rapid growth and the post-war evolution of schools eventually broke down the last barriers of Japan's traditional culture of independent character development. These are the major factors that, over a short period of time by the 1960s, transformed "unnecessary" secondary schools into institutions that nearly all students voluntarily sought enrollment.

The 1930s were definitely influenced by the pervading culture of community and family

business character development; at the same time, school attendance became more prevalent. While the 1930s trend of continued education following compulsory elementary school did not match that of the 1960s, schooling nevertheless became increasingly accepted as a normal part of life. Public acceptance of the postwar 6-3-3-4 system reflects the accumulation of experience with school attendance since the Meiji period.

2. School System Formation and School Articulation Issues

In Japan, the word, *shūgaku* (school attendance), originally meant “the beginning of study.” It was only from the modern period that *shūgaku* began to mean enrollment in the public school system. For a portion of the population, *shūgaku*, once meaningful for only a portion of the population, was opened up to the entire population and took on the meaning of “going to school.” Even prior to the modern period, some regions of Japan already had established places of learning, various “schools” such as *tenarai juku* (educational facilities for commoners, usually associated with a Buddhist temple), *hankō* (educational facilities run by feudal domain for samurai), *gōkō* (educational facilities in rural areas), etc. However, without exception these educational institutions limited opportunities based on status, region, as well as gender, and lacked a unified structure that was open to the general population. Following the Educational System Order (1872), the prewar Japanese public school system, incorporated the concept of *ikkun banmin* (one sovereign, all subjects) that instilled a sense of equality meant to overcome status since all are “children of the emperor,” as well as the concept of education as training for citizens to uphold the modern national polity. Although the early school system (its function was to consistently select and sort students) was theoretically open to everyone, it was actually the (ordinary) elementary schools within the compulsory school system that took on the role of inclusiveness.

Throughout the 1910s, Japan’s school structure developed and spread from the top down and the bottom up, with the imperial universities standing at the apex and various schools below that were linked through a series of articulation relationships with elementary schools at the base shouldering the responsibility to shape the citizenry (Sato, 1978). In order to import modern knowledge and technology, the national government set out to create an education system from the top down. The establishment of imperial universities at the peak of the system set an extremely high standard as a principle of “necessity of the national polity,” with parallel educational tracks: government vs. private schools, universities vs. specialized schools (Amano, 1986). Secondary school system orientation was then determined by Japan’s higher education institutions (Terasaki, 1983). Elementary schools, meanwhile, were designed to focus on the body of the citizenry and to carry out citizen formation, centered upon the cultivation of “virtue.” The promulgation of the 1890 Regulations for Elementary Schools required that elementary schools seek to accomplish the goals of providing a “general education indispensable to imperial subjects” (draft revision), a “national education” based upon “moral education” that would be a “suitable foundation for the Japanese people,” as well as a “general education” grounded in general knowledge and technology instruction referred to as a “foundation for handling personal management and business.” All of this placed emphasis on group regulations based on ceremonies, events, etc. that attached great importance to “training” that revolved around the Imperial Rescript on Education. Regarding the consistency of educational content, scholarship was the basis of the curriculum of secondary schools and above; elementary school curriculum was based upon instruction. This strongly suggests that “edu-

cation” had become detached from scholarship. On top of that, the principle of promotion was primarily determined by completion of courses based upon teachers and students spending time together. Ordinary schools, as compulsory educational institutions, placed particular emphasis on citizen (imperial subject) formation, to the shaping of the whole character of the student, valuing moral education more highly than knowledge and technology (Sato, 2004). From the beginning, advanced elementary school courses helped to prepare students for the higher scholastic expectations of secondary educational institutions, but accompanying the extension of compulsory education, they were then used to foster student retention and proficiency of ordinary elementary course content. In the 1930s, the role of advanced elementary courses in character development came to be a topic for discussion.

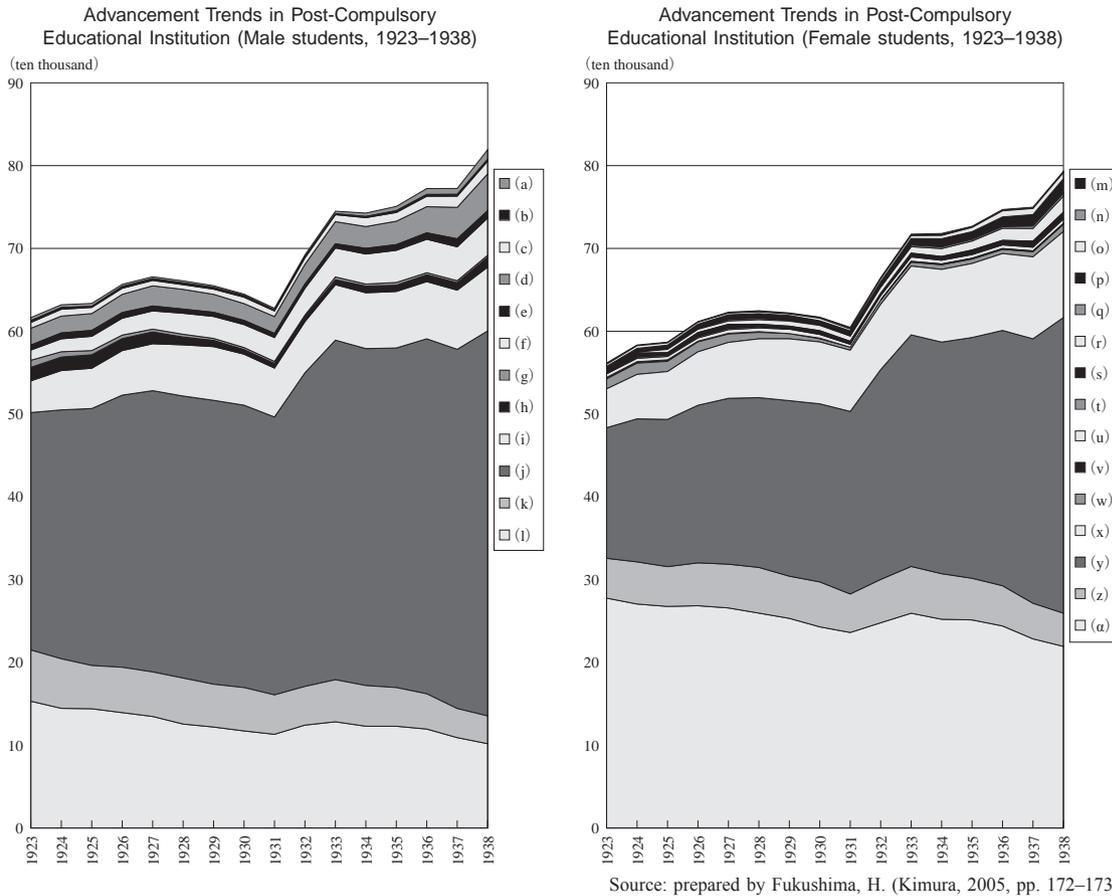
Japan’s changing social structure, as symbolized by a rising labor market society, increases in the number of secondary school applicants as well as students entering other post-elementary educational institutions from the 1920s, caused the population at large to become aware of the social challenges of school articulation. Discussion of reorganization within the highest levels of educational system administration actually began in the 1890s and continued to be of primary concern for the Council on Education Reform (Hirahara, 1970). However, government and ruling class plans for public education were persistently out of sync with the people’s sense of the subject of educational policy (Sato & Terasaki, 1970). The ongoing argument concerning reorganization of articulation relationships remained consistent until the 1930s when it became a concern among the general population, both in rural communities and among the urban working class.⁸ The variety of educational system reform proposals at that time reflect the existence of school articulation issues rooted in the interests and concerns of a broad strata of society. Here it is evident that a new conception of “school,” differing from the pre-modern ideal, was now quite firmly established among the population of Japan.

3. New Trends in the 1930s School System

Direction and Dynamic After Completion of Compulsory Elementary School

What options were open to children who completed compulsory ordinary elementary schools in the 1930s? By sampling the year 1935, it is clear that youth had three primary options: 1. Advancement to secondary schools; 2. Advancement to higher elementary schools to follow the ordinary course of youth school; and 3. Entry into the family business or other occupation upon graduation. In the first option, students could advance through middle school and high school, taking university preparatory courses in order to enter university; graduate from middle school, girl’s high school, or vocational school in order to enroll in a specialized school; or select a career path following graduation from middle school, girl’s high school, or vocational school. In the second option, students graduating from higher elementary schools either found gainful employment in the family trade or other occupation, or continued on to youth school (taking regular courses), leaving open the possibility of advancement into secondary schools such as normal schools, vocational schools, etc. Students taking the third option, while proportionally in decline, were of significant numbers that they cannot be ignored.

Graph 1 show the direction and dynamic of post-compulsory education.



Source: prepared by Fukushima, H. (Kimura, 2005, pp. 172-173)

Graph 1 Post-compulsory educational institutions and population movement

- (a): B-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (b): B-grade vocational school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (c): B-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (d): A-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (e): A-grade vocational school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (f): A-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (g): Middle school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (h): Middle school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (i): Middle school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (j): Higher elementary school graduation only
- (k): Higher elementary school drop outs
- (l): Ordinary elementary school graduation only
- (m): B-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (n): B-grade vocational school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (o): B-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (p): A-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (q): A-grade vocational school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (r): A-grade vocational school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (s): Girl's vocational high school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (t): Girl's vocational high school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (u): Girl's vocational high school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (v): Girl's high school entrants who graduated from higher elementary school
- (w): Girl's high school entrants who completed one year of higher elementary school
- (x): Girl's high school entrants who graduated from ordinary elementary school
- (y): Higher elementary school graduation only
- (z): Higher elementary school drop outs
- (a): Ordinary elementary school graduation only

As the data in the graph shows, there was a sharp increase in the number of compulsory education graduates during the 1930s, revealing a greatly expanded population of school attendees in Japanese society. The data also shows that ordinary elementary school graduation rates exceeded 95%, with ever increasing numbers who continued their education beyond that required by the

state, revealing the self-propagating nature of enrollment (Kimura, 2005, chapter 2).

In the aforementioned first option for compulsory education graduates, the number of students seeking advancement consistently increased in conjunction with variations of secondary school classifications. For this group of students, ordinary elementary schools essentially served as an initial step in advancement through the educational system. Regarding students who selected the second option, the data in the graph calls attention to enrollment in post-elementary education institutions, showing that enrollment in higher elementary schools became a well-established norm among the population. From a legal standpoint, post-elementary educational institutions were consolidated into youth schools and promoted the incorporation of a school system that kept youth in school until adulthood. In 1939, post-elementary school became mandatory only for male youth, intended as a means to strengthen youth awareness of their relationship with the military system under wartime regime.

For both the first and second options, schools had to deal with the connections between schools and occupational systems, although with differing degrees of directness and indirectness. For the first option, schools faced the challenges of competition in school advancement; for the second, schools had to implement social policies designed to address problems with peace and order. The issues that both tracks faced, compounded by the issue of direct connections with the military system, affected school articulation. Such issues overlapped one another and complicated the challenges of connections between school and occupational systems.

The Subsumption of Advancement Structures of Compulsory Elementary Schools

Elementary schools were initially designed to carry out citizen formation, and were not really considered the initial step toward more advanced schooling. During the 1930s, however, the Japanese population came to view elementary schools as the first stage of education. This new role became more prominent in Japanese society due to the challenges of school articulation faced by students in the form of secondary school entrance examinations. Entrance examinations made a limited appearance in the 1920s, later to become a prevalent social concern throughout Japan. Certainly in the 1930s, relatively independent community and family character development, economic restraints based on social class, gender barriers, etc., had placed significant restrictions upon competition in school advancement. Furthermore, regional variations, in conjunction with the 1960s incorporation of all socio-economic classes created a competitive environment (Hijikata, 2003; Yoneda, 1994). The act of enrolling in advanced schools became valuable in and of itself. As described earlier, educational goals established by law in compulsory elementary school education were obstructed by conditions created by school entrance examinations.

In Tokyo Prefecture, such conditions were typical in that “hub” schools appeared in various locations based upon their record of success in placing their graduates into secondary schools (Kimura, 2000). In the 1930s, certain schools annually produced large numbers of students who passed the hurdle of secondary school entrance examinations; among these were public schools that even assembled children from nearby prefectures, not just Tokyo residents (Shozawa & Kimura, 1988). At Hongō Ward’s Seishi Ordinary Elementary School, advancement to secondary schools was of primary concern, thus influencing their educational activities. As a result, the school was able to recruit extensively from outside the school district, bringing in children whose goal was to attend secondary school. Conversely, children within the school district who had no intention of advancing to secondary school attended elementary schools elsewhere. In this manner, schools like Seishi, while supported by a growing popular demand for secondary school advancement, protected

its own interests in the actual practice and valuation of secondary school articulation.⁹

Educational practices that placed a high value on school advancement, particularly in regions where there was a strong demand to enroll students in secondary schools, appeared most prominently in “hub” schools. In every region of Tokyo there developed a clear differentiation between elementary schools that should have all held equal status. At various “hub” schools children crossed school boundaries in order to attend. This trend was quite extensive (Kimura, 2000); for example, even in Asakusa Ward where school advancement rates did not increase like other wards in Tokyo, those considering secondary school entrance examinations crossed school boundaries in order to attend a “hub” school. Differences in elementary schools based on such school advancement trends came to be widespread throughout Tokyo. This was also fairly common outside of Tokyo, even in regions without major cities, such as Yamaguchi Prefecture. The Yamaguchi Prefectural Department of Education expressed its awareness of the situation with the following statement: “It seems as though we are being pulled into a sense of hell ordinarily reserved for big cities like Tokyo and Osaka, for even in our prefecture, where there is little difficulty for students to gain entrance to higher schools, one finds such terms as ‘exam hell,’ etc.” (Chief of Department of Education of Yamaguchi Prefecture, 1940). In Shimane Prefecture, there arose a similar awareness that led to an early forerunner of entrance examination “reform” (Ogura, 1942).

At first, competition in school advancement occurred in the higher end of the school structure, but it trickled down into the foundation of the structure, the elementary schools, drawing in many people. Expressions of concern by children worried about entrance examinations recorded in literary collections of children’s writing, school correspondence, essays, etc. reveal that children were made to compete in entrance examinations to uphold their school’s value, while at the same time emphasizing “ability” (or becoming persons of ability who would then enter society) (Imado Higher Elementary School, 1931, p. 25). In addition, it can also be clearly shown that there appeared rural youth who, realizing that they could not advance to secondary school for economic reasons, used the “fifth year” (second to last year of ordinary elementary school from which it was possible to continue on to secondary school) to qualify for enrollment in middle school in order to confirm their self-identity by proving that they were capable. This trend reveals how deeply ingrained in youth the entrance examination system had become.¹⁰

Systematization of the Transition from School to Working World

Part of the impetus driving the rise of secondary school advancement was Japan’s labor market expansion, that effectuated qualitative changes to employment practices due to changes in Japan’s industrial structure in the Meiji and Taisho periods. These changes formed the basis for articulation from school to working world, so that “graduating from school” became a condition for employment and inclusion in the working world. Fewer youth moved directly into the working world from secondary or higher level schools. The post-elementary educational route proved to be a relatively independent process where schools and the working world lacked direct relationships to facilitate the transition. Through the 1920s, factions pushing social policy, from both education and business, took up the issue. The issuance of the 1925 Notification Order, “Matters Regarding the Introduction of Employment to Youth,” by the Bureau of Social Affairs of the Ministry of the Interior and the Bureau of General School Affairs of the Ministry of Education embodied such concerns. In addition, the foundation of the Public Employment Introduction System was built upon the 1921 Employment Introduction Law that was part of unemployment policy during World War I. This order, differing from general employment introduction, established the specialized

treatment of employment introduction for youth under eighteen years old. (Takase, 1998). Efforts to establish peace and order due to labor disputes and the problems associated with an increasing young male population in Japan's big cities, etc., were important considerations for employment policy. School mediation in job placement was seen as a way to bridge the gap between schools and the working world. Schools were given the responsibility to handle employment introduction programs, to determine suitable employment for youth, and to "maintain mutual correspondence and cooperation" with the working world and "guide students in occupation selection."

"Vocational guidance" in the school system was clearly given a place by the 1927 Educational Directive #20, "Matters Relating to the Respect of Individuality in Employment Guidance for Young Students." Under this directive, the government constructed a framework for school career guidance based on the principles of "cultivation of a desire to enter the workforce," and "cultivation of job skills and knowledge." Schools were to facilitate employment selection through mediation with employers and youth aptitude assessment. Furthermore, schools were to provide transitional support and guidance following successful job placement. The Ministry of Education made plans to expand vocational guidance through the auspices of the Greater Japan Career Counseling Association, an organization affiliated with the Ministry of Education. An important characteristic of this plan was that it was an attempt to resolve the problem of the aforementioned secondary school entrance examination, in that it clearly began with school selection based on the students' employment choices that then determined advancement into higher institutions of learning (school selection assumed future gainful entry into society). In order to determine to what degree this policy would address the issue at hand, even considering its practicality and effectiveness, it is necessary to focus on the point at which external demands for articulation between schools and the working world became an educational concern and an internal school system priority. While external control over schools was strengthened through this reform process, it also increased dependence on the school structure upon which the system was reliant. With the establishment of the Labor Mobilization Plan in 1939 that relied upon new elementary school graduates as a supply source for the workforce, school career guidance was transformed into a means to achieve labor "quotas" based on national demand (a legal basis for this change was established by the 1941 Labor Regulation Law).

In addition, the school system's response to the working world from the 1920s can be measured by the institution of higher elementary education reforms. Higher elementary educational content was not simply a repetition of elementary education, but also included, as part of curriculum reform from 1926, practical work study courses that reveal an awareness of the need for student articulation into the working world (Sampa, 1993). By involving commercial and industrial groups and organizations, schools instituted commercial classes and industrial classes (Shimokawa, 1931), and "vocational guidance courses," particularly in the larger cities (Tokyo City Office, 1937), cultivating school and workplace relations. In urban areas such as Tokyo, Kobe, etc., there was also a movement to promote the establishment of *tanchisei* higher elementary schools (schools separate from ordinary elementary schools to teach more advanced courses), representing one formative method of mass secondary education borne out of a focus on advanced courses (Sampa, 1999).

Furthermore, post-elementary facilities facilitated the mutual influence of school and vocational systems. Internal industrial training, which until this point in time utilized different methods of knowledge and skills transmission, had to adjust to the new conditions arising with the development of the heavy chemical industry (Ōyodo, 2009). Industrial training itself was an eclectic mix

of skills transmission methods originally based upon the traditional apprentice system, and now had to be combined with school methods of knowledge transmission that were not based on experiential learning. Beginning in 1935, private youth schools appeared and grew rapidly by taking on a mediating role between school and vocational systems.¹¹ The premise for this, a product of the entrenchment of schools in society, was the formation of a cumulative awareness of the value of school enrollment. The establishment of a learning environment within the working world not only increased the abilities of workers through the acquisition of vocational knowledge and skills, but it also fulfilled the role of demonstrating the appeal of employment as an alternative to secondary education, particularly to children unable to continue their education.

4. Various Aspects of the School System in Development

Throughout the 1930s, popular awareness of the school system's internal (school to school) and external (school to working world) articulation relationships grew, thus initiating a new version of Japan's school system. People came to see the schools as their own, viewing the school's place in their lives positively, thereby increasing school attendance. This section will focus on various aspects connected to articulation that originated with the initiation of the school system, such as: new complications faced by youth, unsettlement of family character development, school culture fostered by teachers and the practices they developed in the schools, children's school relationship development, and changes to educational practices following the establishment of military system articulation.

Expansion of Conflict Surrounding the Selection of Educational Paths

With the start of the school system in Japan, the conflict over educational direction for youth deepened. Even for youth in rural agricultural areas, their outlook on their future prospects had certainly changed.

The spread of *Hoppō Kyōiku* (northern education) within the rural communities of the Tōhoku region is well known in the history of education research. Further careful consideration of the research reveals, however, that challenges facing youth regarding their educational path choices had spread even there. A vivid demonstration of this reality may be seen in the actual account of Sato Saki, a second year higher elementary student at Konoura Ordinary and Higher Elementary School. Her essay, entitled "Vocation," is found in a collection of essays compiled by *Hoppō Kyōshi* (northern teachers) Suzuki Masayuki who taught in the agricultural and fishing region of Yuri in Akita Prefecture (Suzuki, 1979). Saki wanted to be a "working girl," to be a telephone operator in order to provide herself with a source of income as well as a purpose in life. However, her hopes were denied by Tohoku society, and she was forced to compromise her dream. Saki chose to become a midwife, but ran into trouble paying tuition for midwife school. Eventually she was forced to settle for the life of a farmer. "Vocation" describes the girl's plight in a realistic way, showing the grief that befell this one girl's existence as she was driven to follow the "path of the peasant."

It did not just end with girls like Saki. "An Investigation of Elementary School Graduate Children's Employment Aspirations," conducted in Akita Prefecture in 1936, shows that only 3–4% of elementary school (ordinary and higher courses) youth aspired to enter agriculture. While youth expressed little desire to farm, statistics show that two-thirds were to be found engaged in agricul-

ture. Popular acceptance of modern jobs like telephone operator, Saki's first choice, differed in the city and the countryside. The working girl, whose existence was not unusual in the city, represented a lifestyle far removed from the realities for girls in rural Tohoku. For girls like Saki, a telephone operator position appeared to be an attainable and attractive goal image of the working girl, having the unique role of removing them from the rural community and broadening their horizons. Graduation from higher elementary school offered individuals a chance to observe what it would be like to be included in a heretofore alien society (access was gained through new types of jobs). Because of her education, Saki had more options before her, which compounded her worries and complicated her life. The transition from school to working world was certainly not an easy one, and there are likely countless youth like Saki who do not appear in actual statistical data on employment (Kimura, 2005, pp. 500–551). Saki's experience uncovers the reticence of rural communities to accept the rationale behind Japan's new school system and reveals the resilience of community character development, as well as resistance from younger generations that slowly gained in strength, that belies the apparent stability of rural community social norms.

Artisan Use of Schools: The Rational Integration of Apprenticeship and Schooling

Following the successful social integration of schools, the movement toward popular acceptance of the rationale for schooling affected even those within the culture of traditional family occupations, a group that had heretofore distanced themselves from schooling. This movement is described in the correspondence and journals of Nishigaki Katsunosuke, a Toyooka *Kiryū* (willow wicker weaving) artisan.¹²

By the 1930s, Toyooka area's market economy had expanded its connections beyond the local region, causing a period of reform that brought into question the nature of its traditional industry of willow wicker production. Within this context, the Nishigaki clan, a *Kiryū* artisan family, created a unique way of training up the next generation.¹³ Katsunosuke's son, Tetsuichi, attended commerce and craft school (considered a vocational supplementary school), combining a formal secondary education with traditional apprenticeship experience. Outside of school, the route to becoming independent and gaining a vocation was through experiential learning systems, such as apprenticeship, which was a fixture of the traditional working world. Such a system not only served as a means to transmit to youth necessary knowledge, skills, and experience, but it also preserved the customs and practices used to procure potential artisans and laborers. By 1930, Japanese school education was still unable to incorporate with any consistency the kind of cultural (skills) transmission that was inherent in apprenticeship methods of direct character mediation (Toyota, 1984). While secondary schools faced legal and systemic restrictions, post-elementary educational organizations developed flexible educational content.

Tetsuichi, without completing higher elementary school, attended commerce and craft school (this school was promoted in 1935 from a vocational supplementary school to a B-grade vocational school, then in 1937 to an A-grade vocational school), accumulated the experience necessary to become fully qualified in his craft by intertwining within himself models demanded by both apprenticeship and school systems. What is most notable about Tetsuichi's example is that the apprentice experience was incorporated into a school framework. At that time, Tetsuichi took commerce courses to become an independent merchant. Based on his convictions, he made "an effort above reproach," "applying his abilities" not only to acquire knowledge and skills but to make preparations to assume a commercial occupation by attending school. Tetsuichi compared the busy times in his business affairs to "examinations," and that the attainment of excellent grades proved

to be a great mental support for his professional life. From one perspective, one's advancement into commerce and craft school in and of itself had meaning within the order of the school system. This was a unique response that recognized the limitations of increasing social standing through advancement to vocational school but also combined "book learning" with "learning by doing" (apprenticeship), in order to fulfill the purpose of traditional character development through a complementary relationship with the school educational system. This was not a well-planned dual-track strategy to manage the shift between old and new working world, but simply the story of one family's attempt to respond to changing conditions. Journals and correspondence attest to the transitional nature of the situation and conflict that arose over Tetsuichi's acceptance of schooling.

Teachers at the Forefront of Articulation: Formation of Teacher Culture and Practices

This section will look closely at teachers' roles in school-to-school articulation through the 1930s. For teachers and youth, participation in school system vocational guidance was limited. However, that does not mean that schools and teachers could not participate. Rather, it may be said that from the 1930s, there was a growing awareness of the pressures placed on recent graduates and youth facing graduation. It is well known that guidance counseling given by *Hoppō Kyōshi* Suzuki Masayuki to the aforementioned Saito Saki was one opportunity for Akita's *Hoppō Kyōshi* to change their practical framework of counseling. Also, a teacher in Tantō-chō, Hyogo Prefecture, Tōi Yoshio,¹⁴ had to abandon hopes of advancement into middle school, was worried about what to do after graduation, particularly about entering the working world (Kudomi & Kimura, forthcoming).

For teachers, sending youth out into the working world was a new experience wrought with difficulty. Teachers desired a school response to vocational system demands, but because those demands were introduced from outside of the school system, vocational guidance became a decontextualized, generalized program under school direction. Teachers in this situation, at times restrained by system norms, were unable to come to grips with the program in practical terms. This led to the energetic criticism leveled at systematized, normative vocational guidance by teachers who were required to implement the program (Kobayashi, 1930; Hara, 1937).

There were teachers who were particularly devoted to offering vocational guidance to graduates; some of whom quit teaching in order to work full-time in vocational introduction administration (Kimura, 1995). In the *Seikatsu Tsuzurikata* (learning through writing) literary movement of the 1930s, one finds educational practices that went beyond the classroom and penetrated the workplaces of their graduates (such as sending lessons by mail). Such practices represent attempts to support the work life of graduates living in urban heavy chemical industrial zones by forging an expanded classroom community, bridging the distance between graduates in the workplace and students still in the classroom.¹⁵

What appear to be special teachers were in actuality not unusual examples. Rather, the system was the foundation for the appearance of such teachers. Part of this movement to form closer relationships with the children was a change in the concept of school promotion. Beginning with the 1891 *Regulation for Class Organization*, the school system was converted from student promotion based on learning to promotion based on course completion, determined by time spent with teachers. In addition to attendance rate increases that followed this shift in policy, there appeared a trend of unique teacher-child relationship formation.¹⁶ Interaction between devoted teachers and their students came to form the core of Japan's teacher culture (Kudomi, 2003; Kimura, 2007). Out of this culture was born the educational practices of the *Hoppō Kyōshi*, whose efforts to come to

grips with school education are expressed in the following quote: “Let’s continue to put forth an effort, because it is just for the children, and only for the children.”¹⁷ Societal changes in the 1930s helped to facilitate the spread of this particular kind of teacher culture. Various educational practices relating to school articulation developed within the context of teacher-student relations.

The Basis for “Youth Education”: The Military System and School Articulation

The 1935 *Youth Schools Law* clearly pushed Japan’s post-elementary educational institutions more toward a uniform, integrated system. In 1939, the government decided to make youth schools compulsory for all male youth, in order to bring all working male youth under the jurisdiction of the school system. Schools were established to provide an education for teenage boys, ages fourteen to nineteen, in some cases as young as twelve. As a result, these new “secondary” schools, established under the framework of “youth education,” stood alongside the variety of existing secondary schools within the larger school structure. Youth training centers, one of the forerunners of youth schools, had significant ties to the military, which had a strong regulatory relationship over education at these institutions. Before the war, the school system not only influenced school and working world articulation, but also military system articulation, as well as one’s military service privileges. The choices now laid before male youth came to be linked with military service (conscription), something that became a much more pressing concern in the lives of Japanese particularly after the onset of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937. Youth schools became more directly connected to the military system, with greater importance placed on youth drills. Youth drills were a symbol of continuity between the school and military systems. While there has been a tendency to emphasize the military’s regulatory role in youth schools (Hachihongi, 1982), recent research has revealed a unique interrelationship that existed between the military and school systems. This research shows that youth drills at youth schools did more than just train youth to be soldiers, but in actuality fulfilled the school function of character development. Public youth schools, unlike their private counterparts, did not have a specific type of employment in mind for their students, so they maintained relations with Japan’s vocational system by persisting in general character development that incorporated youth drills.

The promotion of youth drills was not only a product of the political influence of the army, but also as part of a larger national plan. However, youth drills were not simply preliminary training for military service. Rather, an army education provided youth with character development that potentially could equip them with the ability to handle any future situation, as bearers of rural community traditions, urban industrial workers, soldiers, etc. Teachers in schools that took in working youth of various backgrounds found it necessary to provide further justification for youth drills by placing the practice into the context of their working lives. For working youth whose physical development had been limited by their need to work, youth drills provided physical strengthening. In response, schools incorporated physical strengthening into the curriculum. In other words, military logic was adjusted so that it could conform to the youth school environment, developing a mutual relationship between the military and youth schools. Herein one can see the relationship of reciprocity between military and educational systems (Kumashiro, 2010).

The youth school was a weak institution from a systemic perspective, but that very weakness prompted the creation of various educational practices. Youth schools addressed the needs of working youth, but as individuals included in the general category of “youth.” Schools attempted to provide a bridge for youth transitioning into the working world, not through worker development but through general character development. As explained previously, character development,

introduced to the population through schools from the establishment of Japan's public educational system, was uniquely altered in meaning by the demands for military articulation of male youth.

5. The 1930s School System as a Subject of Research

Japan's postwar 6-3-3-4 school system followed an earlier system that had secured the popular acceptance of advancement within a multi-track secondary, or middle school, system. With the exception of the United States, no country in the world at that time had a compulsory middle school system. As Japan entered into its High Growth Period, it had moved from a society where youth completed middle school to then enter the work force, to a society where youth completed compulsory education and then were expected to advance to high school. Japan was now a society that placed the burden of character development for youth under the age of eighteen on the school system. By the early 1970s, Japan had become "a society where one studies at [secondary] school, gets hired, and then goes to work."¹⁸

This article is an attempt to reveal the conditions that led to the formation of Japan's postwar school system through a consideration of systematic changes to "youth education" organization within the dynamics of school enrollment and youth employment. Japan's system of character development,¹⁹ segmented through legally shaped school units from elementary school to youth schools, etc., developed substantially with the extension of post-elementary education. The spread of post-elementary education at this time reveals the extensive influence of school education in character development, inhibiting the character development of other sectors of society, all of which represents the first stage in the establishment of a postwar education system (the second stage was Japan's High Growth Period). The trend toward higher elementary school enrollment as well as the legislated establishment of youth schools, while incomplete, hastened the systematization of "secondary" education for youth. This process was caused by "outside" demands from commercial and military sectors of society that encouraged the regulation of school enrollment, as well as popular acceptance and enrollment in schools with "outside" connections.

The methods of historical research applied in this article, focusing on the popular acceptance and enrollment of schools, are used to reveal the nature of Japan's educational system within the context of social history. This article looks at the centralization of character development in schools. The methods employed in this article do not separate legal history and social history research in the consideration of school character development and subsequent changes in community and family character development, as well as the mediation of non-school forms of character development. A reassessment of standards affecting social change in conduct and conceptions set by schools, within the limits of the law, shows that such standards determined by schools were not in and of themselves effective; in fact, the system naturally arose from the interaction of the national system model and the activities of people's daily lives. School system standards were products of educational goals as well as curriculum regulations and their implementation. These were then incorporated into children's daily lives. Teachers also formed special relationships with the children, assuming that the subject of education was understanding the children, and motivating them to come to school, thereby introducing a unique interpretation of education that shaped their teaching and upheld the ideal of school enrollment. The actions of teachers supported the techniques of character development through accompanying reflection and discourse.

In the social history of Japan's educational system, it is critical to consider teachers' actual

communication regarding the nature of their unique occupation, because its inclusion broadens the field of study. This article points out various aspects of the development of the educational system that deepen our understanding of the subject from a social historical perspective. First, the deep conflict within children because they felt they had betrayed their teacher's devotion when facing contradictions between school and community character development. Second, actions that attempted to address social change by creating a new rationale that linked employment to school enrollment. Third, the existence of a teacher culture that produced distinctive teachers and supported educational practices linking school and the working world. Fourth, a distinctive shift in meaning within military and school system articulation and the formation of an autonomous space for character development that arose there from, etc.

Social historical research on educational systems is significant because it advances understanding of the relativity of character development in schools. By focusing on community character development that occurred outside of schools, this article also addresses the historical spread of schools by highlighting the construction of relationships between schools and the working world.

Supplementary Note: This article is part of a Research Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research project entitled, "Historical features of the relationship structure between society and education in the 1930s: focusing on pedagogy, teacher culture, and educational practice in Japan" (Kimura Hajime, Project Head). The content of this article is based on discussions among project members (Ōnishi, K., Honda, Y., Kumashiro, T., Shiramatsu, T., Kikuchi, A.).

Notes

1. This article was originally published, in Japanese, at *The Japanese Journal of Educational Research*, Vol. 77, No. 2, 2010.
2. School articulation, as used in this article, is not limited to articulation between schools, but also includes articulation between schools and business as well as between schools and the military. Articulation developed out of close relationships, and was subject to outside regulation.
3. Legally classified secondary schools and other similarly delineated institutions such as middle schools, women's high schools, and vocational schools.
4. Post-elementary schools extended beyond legally designated categories, inspiring among the population a move for continued education beyond what was required by law (Kaigo, 1943).
5. This article would like to emphasize character development at schools that restructured teaching-learning communication while stipulating curriculum based upon the purpose, goals, and evaluation standards that support this premise.
6. Most high school history textbooks contain a school attendance graph, the numbers based on Ministry of Education annual statistics reports, showing such an increase in school education.
7. In post-World War I popular parlance, thrift became the new model of common virtue within an ever-changing popular lifestyle (Ōkado, 1992).
8. System reform issues are described in (Yoneda, 2004, pp. 30–31).
9. Standards and frequency of exercise days, off-campus instruction, school plays, and other extra-curricular activities were reduced and folded into supplemental instruction that came before and after regular course instruction. Furthermore, collaborative work was put into practice, and students were required to provide their own study materials used in preparation for school advancement.
10. Tajima (Hyogo Prefecture) teacher, Tōi Yoshio, author of *Scholastic Ability That Can Raise a Village*, stated that within his heart, he advanced to secondary school (Tōi, 1965).
11. Private youth schools originated with industrial sector factory schools built by large companies, industrial youth schools cooperatively organized by small and mid-sized companies, or in the commercial sector with employee dormitories built by department stores, etc. (Kimura, et al, 2006)
12. The following narrative can be found in (Kudomi & Kimura, forthcoming).
13. While household head Katsunosuke was involved in the production of wicker edging, he was also involved in very merchant-like pursuits, such as the purchase of raw willow materials from farmers. As such, the Nishigaki clan came from a dual-layered social class and lineage that straddled the line between the merchant and artisan classes.
14. See endnote 10.
15. Descriptions of this practice appeared in anthologies (The Employment Service Institute of Akita Prefecture, 1940)

- and teacher guidance of graduates (Kyōchōkai, 1939, containing the practices of Saito Tetsushiro, etc.).
16. An example of this aspect of faculty culture can be found in the book, *Classroom Kingdom* (Sato, 2000).
 17. Letter from Kokubun Ichitarō to Sasaki Ko, around April, 1933 (Narita, 1999).
 18. Nakagawa (2000) accepts this premise. Today, character development in the community has become less prevalent with the continued spread of school-based character development, but there still exists some resistance that includes the spread of children and students who do not attend school.
 19. Articulation created a special semantic relationship of reciprocity through the segmentation and subsequent linkage of schools (refer to Miyazawa, 1978), as well as the expression of peculiar forms of character development at different school levels based on the demands of articulation.

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