

Moral Education in Japan

The Coming of a New Dawn, Abe's New Moral Education

Kristoffer Hornburg Bolton



60 Credit Master's Thesis in Modern Japan,
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
(IKOS),

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

Fall 2015

Moral Education in Japan

The Coming of a New Dawn, Abe's New Moral Education

Kristoffer Hornburg Bolton



60 Credit Master's Thesis in Modern Japan,
Department of Culture Studies and Oriental Languages
(IKOS),

UNIVERSITETET I OSLO

Fall 2015

© Kristoffer Hornburg Bolton

2015

Moral Education in Japan: The Coming of a New Dawn, Abe's New Moral Education

Kristoffer Hornburg Bolton

<http://www.duo.uio.no/>

Print: Representeren, Universitetet i Oslo

Abstract

This thesis studies the current debate surrounding moral education in Japan, choosing to focus on the criticism of the Abe administration's proposed educational reform. Moral education has received criticism for being overly nationalistic, being too similar to its pre-war iteration, and for supposedly brainwashing children. A majority of this criticism has been centered on the new textbook, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*. Its predecessor, *Kokoro no Nooto*, raised similar concerns and critics fear a worsening of the situation. The Abe administration has also proposed that moral education should be elevated from an 'area study' to 'official curriculum', meaning that teachers will have less autonomy in the running of the class and be legally obligated to use the Ministry of Education's textbook, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*.

This thesis investigates the legitimacy of this criticism in light of moral education's history, an analysis of the former and current moral education textbooks, and a possible disparity between the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines and the actual pedagogical classroom practices. This is accomplished by combining an analysis of Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines, criticism of the former textbook *Kokoro no Nooto* and observations made over the course of five months at an elementary school in Tokyo.

Introduction and Foreword

During my year as an exchange student at Kwansai Gakuin University in Japan, I chose ‘Japanese Psychology 101’ as one of my elective courses, and as a part of that course, we analyzed similarities between Western and Eastern education. During this analysis, the teacher introduced a book known as *Kokoro no Notoo* (*Notebook of the Heart*). This particular textbook asked the children about their feelings and thoughts on various subjects, such as family, the concept of following rules, stealing and many other things. I later learned that this textbook had been subject to a great deal of debate and criticism.¹ This sparked my interest in the topic and further spurred my interest in the field of Japanese education as a whole.

I thought it was interesting, not simply because it asked children from the age of six through the age of 15 to part with very personal thoughts and information, but also because I could never imagine something like this existing in my native country, Norway. Imparting correct morality onto students is considered a part of a teacher’s everyday duties. However, the very notion of a class dedicated to teaching children a distinct set of values was a foreign concept. I also could not help but wonder if this played any part in my Japanese friends’ seemingly unwavering adherence to following rules and the low rate of bullying. Once again, I since learned that far from all Japanese people obey rules without question, and that bullying has been on the rise for many years, but the comparison stuck in my mind.

Doing more and more research, however, I learned that the degree to which teachers adhere to *Notebook of the Heart* and the Japanese Ministry of Education (MEXT)’s guidelines vary greatly from school to school, and even from teacher to teacher. Not only did this bring more questions, but also it meant that determining elements within the education itself would not paint a true picture of the situation if the teachers did not adhere to the state curriculum and guidelines. So I wondered, to what degree do teachers follow MEXT guidelines?

As I was doing research for my thesis, the Japanese government announced the release of a new and revised moral education textbook. *Notebook of the Heart* was now going to be replaced with *Watashitachi no Doutoku* (*Our Morals*), and though it only received mild media coverage, based on what I read in opinion pieces, blogs and even overheard from Japanese

¹ Youko Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing 2002).
Akiko Miake, *Thinking about Notebook of the Heart*, (Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing, 2003).

teachers, this textbook was a throwback to the more nationalistic discourse employed close to the era of World War 2. Popular opinion seemed to be that while this was a bit worse, the disparity between the two books were minuscule.

Thesis Acknowledgements

I would like to thank all those who have given me their support during the writing of this thesis. First and foremost, I would like to thank my academic advisor, Reiko Abe Auestad, who has provided invaluable advice and criticism when necessary. She also helped me find relevant sources, facilitate my fieldwork, and has been great source of inspiration.

I would also like to thank the Takahashi Atsuko and Okada Yoshihiro, both from Waseda University, who helped me with my fieldwork. All of the teachers and students at Hatomori Elementary school also have my immense gratitude for their patience, their openness and willingness to accept me into their school and lives. For almost 6 months, I was able to become a part of their daily work-life, all under the kind guidance of Okada Yoshihiro's wife, Kasumi, who was both a great friend and a patient guide. I will be forever grateful not only for their assistance in the gathering information for this paper but also for their continued friendship and support.

Finally, I would like to thank my girlfriend, Marita Eriksen Haugland, who has no doubt suffered greatly this past year as I have struggled to finish this thesis. She has provided an endless stream of support and handled the majority of the proofreading.

Table of Contents

1	The Purpose of the Study	1
1.1	Method.....	1
1.2	Difficulties	1
1.3	Sources.....	1
1.4	Research question and thesis structure	2
2	Moral Education and the Contemporary Situation in Japan	5
2.1	What is moral education?	5
2.2	The current debate	5
3	History of Japanese Moral Education	9
3.1	Pre- and post-war moral education	9
3.2	Healthy nationalism and Nakasone as number one	10
3.3	<i>Ikiru Chikara</i>	12
3.4	Koizumi's <i>Ikiru Chikara</i> as an continuation of the Nakasone line	15
4	Abe's Reform, Criticism and Validity	16
4.1	Abe's desires.....	16
4.2	Criticism against nationalism	19
4.3	Criticism against idolization of historical figures.....	20
4.4	Criticism of historical inaccuracies and <i>Edoshigusa</i>	23
4.5	Is moral education likely to be an effective counter-measure against bullying?.....	25
4.6	Abe's reform as a continuation of the Nakasone line.....	28
5	Criticism of <i>Kokoro no Nooto</i>	29
5.1	Miyake and Irie.....	29
5.2	Brainwashing or interpellation?.....	31
5.3	Added criticism by Kasahara.....	32
5.4	Connection between <i>Kokoro no Nooto</i> and <i>Watashitachi no Doutoku</i>	34
6	Analysis of Textbooks.....	36
6.1	Index and the four pillars of the <i>ningenzou</i>	36
6.2	Introduction and 'how to use this book'	40
6.3	Tell me about yourself	40
6.4	Stories	43
6.5	Moral education and gender equality	45

6.6	Moral education as a form of failing public pedagogy.....	48
7	Use of Textbooks	51
7.1	Observations of a typical class	51
7.2	What textbooks were used in class?	52
7.3	Similarities between the different textbooks	54
7.4	Analysis of usage.....	55
7.5	Practical line versus theoretical line	57
8	Moral Education outside the Classroom	61
8.1	Moral education and its connection to extracurricular activities.....	61
8.2	Different brands of moral education.....	63
8.3	Moral education outside of the school.....	65
9	Conclusion.....	68
	Bibliography.....	71
	Appendices	79

1 The Purpose of the Study

1.1 Method

I have chosen to analyze both *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku* through two different theoretical frameworks, using the theories of Louis Althusser, as well as the works of Miyake Akiko and Irie Youko. I will gauge the debate and angling of moral education's media coverage by analyzing various newspaper articles and editorials from both leading newspapers and lesser-known blogs, and compare these with the content of the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines for moral education.

In order to understand the possible differences between moral education as the Ministry of Education presents it and the moral education taught in Japanese classrooms, I spent five months observing classes at an elementary school in Tokyo. By analyzing my observations in light of the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines, I am able to discover both similarities and differences between the guidelines and pedagogical practices. This also aids in my reflection of moral education's criticism and the validity of said criticism.

1.2 Difficulties

Nearing the end of the first year of my master's program, the Ministry of Education approved the new moral education textbook. Having devoted large amounts of time to the analysis of the then suddenly outdated *Kokoro no Nooto*, I was forced to realign my thesis and myself to a new reality. Since there was very little existing literature and critique of the new book, I chose to review the entirety of my corpus and run a comparison of *Kokoro no Nooto* and the new *Watashitachi no Doutoku* to discover whether or not the existing literature was of any relevance. As I will examine later on in this thesis, it turns out that the theory used to criticize *Kokoro no Nooto* was still very much relevant, most due to *Watashitachi no Doutoku* being a continuation of *Kokoro no Nooto*. While this added bit of difficulty and caused me no small amount of extra work, it also allowed me the opportunity to observe the introduction of a new moral education book, an opportunity for which I am grateful.

1.3 Sources

My primary sources will be Ministry of Education's latest versions of *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku* as they are provided by the Ministry of Education's website. The Ministry of Education's website also provides various white papers on the subject of moral education as well as both old and current curricular guidelines. I will use the books *Thinking about Notebook of the Heart* by Miyake Akiko and *Textbooks are Dangerous* by Irie Youko as my source of criticism of the moral education textbooks. Tu Wei-Ming's *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons* covers the content of pre-war moral education curriculum, and allows for a comparative analysis of pre-war and contemporary moral education curricular content. Christopher Hood's *Japanese Education Reform: Nakasone's Legacy* together with Marie Roesgaard's *Moving Mountains*, Yoshimitsu Khan's *Japanese Moral Education: Present and Past* and *Japanese education in an Era of Globalization – Culture, Politics, and Equity* by DeCoker are the cornerstones of the bibliography I used to form my understanding of the history of Japanese education.

1.4 Research question and thesis structure

For my thesis, I have chosen the following research question:

What is the current debate and criticism towards moral education in Japan, and is this criticism linked to the actual content of current moral education textbooks, and the practice in moral education classes?

'Current' in this thesis refers to the timespan from 1999/2000 to 2015. The reasoning for this timespan is that 2000 was the year of the last major revision of the moral education curriculum.² This thesis will look at the status of the Japanese moral education, mainly focusing on the coming reform proposed by the Abe administration, and the debate that has been surrounding moral education since the last major revision of the moral education curriculum. I will first analyze the contemporary situation and the way that the Western and Japanese media present moral education. This thesis will then present an overview of the history of post-war moral education, and specifically note the policy-makers behind the reforms. I will also examine how politicians often laud moral education as the solution to

² Akiko Miyake, *Thinking about Notebook of the Heart*, Index-p0

social ills such as school dropouts, teacher-student violence and bullying.³ These are issues which have been steadily worsened since the 70s, with each decade being marked by a particularly unfortunate event, be it the suicide of a high school basketball captain or the stabbing of a teacher.⁴

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone is a central figure in the history of moral education, and his vision for moral education as a preparatory class for international co-operation and careful strengthening of Japanese patriotism, or nationalism, still forms the core of moral education curriculum. With an overview of media coverage and a historical backdrop, this thesis will then reflect on the Abe administration's proposed changes and the criticism it has received. It has received some criticism for attempting to instill children with an undue sense of nationalism, for presenting a both historically inaccurate and overly romantic picture of the past, and for not being an effective counter-measure to bullying or other social ills.⁵

Following the analysis of the contemporary reform, I will present the criticism voiced by several academics, most notably Irie Youko and Miyake Akiko, who both argued that there was a degree of sinister manipulation behind the teaching materials distributed by the Ministry of Education. Irie and Miyake's criticism covers several topics ranging from the literal content of the book to the careful choice of the book's visual layout.⁶ Analyzing the many similarities between the former moral education textbook and the current one, I will consider the validity of their criticism in light of the observations I made as an observer at Hatomori Elementary School.

Using their criticism and my own observations, this thesis will then endeavor to analyze the most recent moral education textbook, *Watashitachi no Doutoku (Our Morals)*. This chapter will focus on some sections of the textbook, how it matches the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines, and finally the concerns raised by Irie and Miyake. I will elaborate on specific sections on the book as they were carried out and consider some of the more prevalent themes. The following chapter also has its foundation in my observations, as it is a description of the typical moral education class. By looking at the teaching materials the

³ "Prime Minister Abe's Desire for Moral Education is Normative consciousness" 47 News, 02/2014,

⁴ Yoshimitsu Khan, *Japanese Moral Education: Past and Present*, (New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 24-25

JapanToday, 09/01/2013, "Student commits suicide after being beaten by school basket coach"

⁵ Ripples caused by Edoshigusa's publication in moral education textbook, Getnews 01/2015

"Why Should We Make Moral Education Official?" NHK, 12/2013

⁶ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, Miyake, *Thinking about Notebook of the Heart*,

teachers used, the lessons that were devoted the most time and their adherence to the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines; I will analyze how well the practical line matches up with the theoretical line and with the criticism of moral education.

In the final chapter, I will look at moral education's role outside of the classroom, examining its influence on extra-curricular activities and school festivals. Some of these mean that moral education is a class whose effects are inherently difficult to measure, which we will consider in the final section of the chapter. Then, finally, I will summarize this thesis' findings and reach my conclusion.

2 Moral Education and the Contemporary Situation in Japan

2.1 What is moral education?

Moral education, often referred to as ‘character education,’ is a broad term commonly used to describe a particular brand of education that focuses on teaching children to be virtuous and law-abiding citizens. This type of education has been part of both state and religious institution but is no longer used in Western societies. In Japan, however, moral education is still very much a part of the school system.⁷

The Japanese moral education has been a source of debate both within scholarly circles and as a part of the political scene. It is currently taught once a week from the first grade through the ninth, uses a variety of teaching supplements (books mainly), and is currently categorized as ‘general studies’ (*ryouiki*) and not an academic study (*kyouka*). In a standard year, Japanese schoolchildren will have had 35 lesson hours in moral education, which is only half of the time dedicated to music or arts and handicrafts, and the children will not be graded in its curriculum.⁸ Despite its few lesson hours, moral education is a topic of much debate both in Japanese and in Western media. One commonly refers to this as the ‘Education of *kokoro*’ (*Kokoro kyouiku*) which can be translated as ‘Education of the heart.’ This is supposed to complete the Japanese notion of ‘whole person’ education (*zenjin kyouiku*), where the aim is to educate one’s body, mind and heart, i.e. physical, mental and moral education. Moral education, physical education, music, arts and academic subjects is considered the vehicle for ‘whole person’ education.⁹

2.2 The current debate

The two issues given most attention in the debate are the 1) teaching materials employed in class, and 2) the possibility of moral education being elevated to the status of an academic study and becoming an ‘official’ class. The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science

⁷ Miki Ishikida, *Japanese Education in the 21st Century*, (New York: iUniverse, Inc. 2005), 5-6

⁸ Ministry of Education’s website, ‘About Moral Education’

⁹ William K. Cummings, *Education and Equality in Japan*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983)

and Technology, often referred to as either MEXT, or The Ministry of Education, manufactures and distributes a moral education book or teaching material, a book that has caused considerable amounts of controversy. Both the current and former edition of the book has received criticism regarding their content and the perceived political intent. Schools are not legally obligated to use the books in class, as they are not official textbooks, but they are obligated to accept them, and the Ministry of Education publishes and distributes them free of charge.¹⁰

Currently, the Abe administration is presenting moral education as the solution to problems such as bullying, increasing drop-out rates, and juvenile delinquency, and claim that moral education will combat these problems by strengthening children's 'normative consciousness' and awareness of their national identity.¹¹ They are suggesting that moral education should be elevated to an official class, which will mean the 'officialization' of the teaching material, and a wealth of other changes to the course such as children being graded, increase in lesson hours and more. The opposition claims that the government wants to use moral education as a means of imposing their ideology on schoolchildren. Moral education has been subject to much debate since the Second World War. Near the end of the 19th century, the Imperial Rescript of Education (*kyouiku ni kansuru chokugo*) had emphasized a Confucian brand of moral education, which was later credited with the 'brainwashing' of Japanese schoolchildren.¹² Moral education has since been an area of discussion where left and right wing politicians often clash.¹³ Should moral education become an official class teachers would be required to use the Ministry of Education's textbook and they would have much less autonomy in the running of the class.

The coverage of moral education in Western media has so far been limited to highly polarizing articles, and newspaper editorials. Under titles such as 'Moral Education's slippery slope,' 'Teaching or brainwashing?' and 'Prime Minister Shinzo Abe wants Patriotism and Moral Education included in School Curricula in Japan. Do you think this is a good idea?' the reform of moral education is referred to as little more than Prime Minister Abe pushing a

¹⁰ Hikaru Kasahara, *Manipulation Hidden Behind "Kokoro No Noto" and Government's Intervention in Children's Minds* (Women's Asia: Recent Events in Japan, 2003), 1

¹¹ NHK 26/02/2013, 'The Abe Way's Bullying Counter-Methods Are?'

¹² Tu Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 114-117

¹³ Christopher P Hood, *Japanese Education Reform: Nakasone's Legacy* (London: Routledge, 2001), 85-87

particular conservative agenda.¹⁴ I will later analyze the possibility of the current educational reform being a conservative effort many years in the making, but regardless of whether these articles are correct in their assumptions, they do little to elucidate an already much-obscured debate.

This is not the only revision to educational policy that has sparked some controversy in the media, as the Abe administration also wishes to further mainstream the moral education curriculum. Their desired changes involve the enforcement of a stricter ‘normative consciousness’ (*kihan ishiki*), a greater sense of ‘national identity,’ and an awareness of Japan’s traditions and cultural heritage (*dentou* and *bunkazai*). These changes have further polarized the debate, with Abe and other conservative agents championing moral education on one side, and the leftist teachers’ unions and academics fighting against it on the other. Abe’s detractors claim that moral education, and its textbook, attempts to instill patriotism (*aikokushin*) and even nationalism (*kokkashugi*) in the mind of Japanese children. These concerns are not unreasonable, given the Ministry of Education’s inclusion of ‘Love for Country’ and the importance of ‘Knowing one’s cultural heritage and legends.’¹⁵ Such concerns, however, do not address the results of the already pre-existing moral education, and what implications this reform might have for its future success. Some of this, I would argue, is tied to the possible loss of curricular autonomy, i.e. teachers becoming unable to freely select what aspects of moral education to emphasize, and not strictly a conflict of values. This degree of teacher control, however, is much of the reason why the effects of moral education are notoriously difficult to measure. Therefore, their ability to influence the class is subsequently what prevents critics and supporters alike from grounding their arguments in concrete results such as a decrease in bullying or suicide rates.

A lack of concrete results, however, is no excuse for the media’s mishandling of the topic. The angling of certain articles claim that Abe ‘introduces’ elements that have already been present for than 30 years. This betrays a lacking insight into the correlation between the Ministry of Education’s curriculum and the moral education class, and obfuscates much of the potentially relevant criticism and discussion that would otherwise be allowed to thrive. In her

¹⁴ JapTimes, 2014 and JapanToday, 2014

¹⁵ Ministry of Education’s Government Curricular Guidelines for Moral Education, 2015 revision of 2008 Curricular Guidelines (http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2015/03/27/1282846_6.pdf).

analysis of the new reform, Tokitsu Kei concluded that for better or worse the new reform would allow for a more concrete analysis of moral education's effects.¹⁶

Japan's educational policies are influenced by the situation outside Japan, and it is possible to observe that international concerns affect domestic educational reforms. Globalization and international co-operation have been prominent buzzwords in educational policy-making since the 80s.¹⁷ Moral education has in this regard been tasked with preparing Japanese children to both compete and function in a globalized society. The implementation of nationalism in Japanese schools can be traced back to Prime Minister Nakasone's educational reform in the 1980s, when the purpose of said nationalistic discourse (dubbed 'Healthy Nationalism') was to ensure that Japanese children retained an awareness of their national and cultural identity in the 'globalized tomorrow.'¹⁸ The continuation of these policies, however, are now receiving criticism for overly nationalistic content, which is awakening memories of the pre-war imperialist discourse.¹⁹ This critique is arguably a narrow view of moral education, as the very aspects that are omitted from the media discourse are the elements that differentiates contemporary moral education from the pre-war iteration, *shuushin*. A focus on Japan as a participating global agent and the importance of internationalization is one of the several reasons that distinguishes it from pre-war nationalism. It is also pertinent to acknowledge that the contemporary nationalism was only one part of several other 'globally oriented' reforms enacted under Prime Minister Nakasone, which I will now examine in an historical overview.

¹⁶ Kei Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School: Focusing on a Relationship Between Political Discourse and Content of Watashitachi No Doutoku* (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Bunka Gakuen University Press, 2015), 37-38

¹⁷ Marie Roesgaard, 2011, 85-87. Roesgaard also mentions David Leheny's 'Think Global, Fear Local (2006)' which offers insight into the practice of using global concerns to accomplish local agendas.

¹⁸ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 78-84

¹⁹ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, Chapter titled 'Return to Imperial Citizens', My Translation

3 History of Japanese Moral Education

3.1 Pre- and post-war moral education

In 1880, 20 years after the Ministry of Education had first been established; the Imperial Rescript on Education was signed by the Meiji Emperor (*kyouiku ni kansuru chokugo*). With this rescript, moral education, then called *shuushin*, was established in schools. This class was based on Confucian doctrine and very emperor-centric. There were several textbooks, bearing some similarities to the currently employed teaching materials, and these included lessons on several topics. These topics were either linked to correct moral behavior or to the Japanese nation in some way (for example, there were chapters dedicated to the Yasukuni shrine,²⁰ to the Japanese emperor, and to the importance of bravery and diligence. The class emphasized the importance of filial piety and the importance of being loyal to one's parents. This concept, which was Confucian in nature, was then applied to the nation, where the people were taught to revere the emperor and obey him as one would obey one's parents.²¹

The Fundamental Law of Education, enacted in 1947 under the American occupation of Japan (1945-1952), formed the core of the democratization of the Japanese school system. The occupational forces had concluded that moral education had played a large part in the brainwashing of Japanese children and called for the immediate suspension of moral education activities, as they were practiced during the war. The occupational forces agreed that the Confucian concept of filial piety (*oyakoukou*) was central to imposition of political ideology onto Japanese citizens.²² Following this and other 'democratically oriented policies' was an updraft of democratic ideals and the subsequent foundation of the Japan Teachers Union, the *Nikkyoso*. The *Nikkyoso* was largely leftist organization, and an opponent of more conservative factions such as the Ministry of Education. They opposed the re-implementation of moral education but only managed a compromise that would see moral education back in schools, but without an official textbook or dedicated lesson hours. They failed, however, to

²⁰ The Yasukuni Shrine is the shrine where those who have died in service of the Empire of Japan are commemorated. The shrine has been a source of political controversy as several war criminals are enshrined there.

²¹ Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 135-137

²² Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 121

maintain their influence in the wake of the American occupation. Following student riots sparked by the amendment of the Japan-American security treaty, the government agreed to reinstate moral education in Japanese schools. This marked the beginning of a gradual shift from left to right within the Japanese political sphere, and the subsequent weakening of Japan Teacher Union. As I will now discuss, the weakening of said unions was instrumental in the re-introduction of moral education. This is because the unions, who were traditionally opposed to moral education, lacked the political capital to resist its implementation.²³

3.2 Healthy nationalism and Nakasone as number one

The Japanese educational system received considerable criticism during the 60s and early 70s.²⁴ According to OECD reports, Japan was falling behind in social sciences. The media highlighted a rise in youth suicides, violence on campus and, in 1983, a junior high school teacher was stabbed by one of his students.²⁵ Following the media uproar, the Ministry of Education announced that all prefectural educational committees will be required to carry out moral education programs. This announcement was part of Prime Minister Nakasone's 'Healthy Nationalism' initiative, which consisted of educational and social policies dedicated to prepare Japanese youth for an increasingly globalized society. Moral education's role in this initiative was twofold, to act as a primer for international co-operation, and at the same time to function as a cultural 'gatekeeper,' making the children aware of their national and cultural identity. Despite its 'global packaging,' however, the reform within moral education was very much centered on issues local to Japan. The aim of these reforms was to lessen the pressure put on students cramming for University entrance exams (a period known as 'Examination Hell'), and to decrease juvenile delinquency and school dropout rates.²⁶

The use of words such as 'nationalism' was met with much criticism from moral education's detractors, mainly from the left, but Nakasone claimed that it differed from pre-war moral

²³ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 83-87 and David L Grossman, and Joe Tin-Yau Lo. *Social Education in Asia: Critical Issues and Multiple Perspectives* (Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2008): Grossman mentions the Japanese Teachers Union continued resistance against Moral Education, up until the 00s.

²⁴ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 104

²⁵ Khan, *Japanese Moral Education*, 23-25

²⁶ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 160-161.

education in its focus on international co-operation.²⁷ His argumentation was based on the presumption that this brand of moral education would facilitate international co-operation. Along with other initiatives, such as the implementation of programs specific to ‘returnee’ students,²⁸ and the introduction of the JET program that allowed English natives to work 1-3 years as assistant language teachers in Japan, it could be argued that this reform facilitated a fostering of positive attitudes towards international co-operation even within Nakasone’s more ‘realist’ approach to internationalization.²⁹ Nakasone’s ‘Healthy Nationalism’ was different from the pre-war nationalism in its acknowledgement of Japan as a global agent, and its acceptance of, however mild and filtered, some international influence on Japanese culture and school curriculum. Shimizu claims that Japan experienced an increase of ‘nationalistic attitudes’ at this time, but I would not equate increased awareness of Japanese culture, and the fields where Japan succeeded, as particularly nationalistic. This also becomes apparent when considering the international context where Nakasone was a contemporary of Thatcher, Reagan and Gorbachev, and many nations were finding their footing in newly globalized society. As both Hood and Shimazu emphasize, in their respective works, such elements were introduced in many European countries as well.³⁰

In suit with Reagan and Thatcher, Nakasone’s reform weakened the teachers’ unions. He established an ad hoc educational council, known as the *Rinkyoushin*, and together with the Ministry of Education, they managed to phase out the *Nikkyoso*. *Nikkyoso*, which had been a stronghold of moral education opposition forces, fractured into several smaller unions a few years later and never fully recovered from this. This decline reached new heights under Nakasone, as only 27% of teachers across Japan were unionized, compared to the 60s where almost 80% were part of a union.³¹

²⁷ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 49-51. Here Hood outlines the two prevailing definitions of internationalism as they appeared in political discourse. One side focusing on ‘realistic’ demands such as learning English, the possibility of travelling overseas and being friendly towards tourists. The other more ‘idealistic’ side championed the introduction of western ideas and practices, more foreigners in Japan and an easing of Japan’s naturalization laws.

²⁸ Known as *kikokushijo*, children who have spent a certain amount of time abroad and then return to their native country.

²⁹ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 59-60

³⁰ Naoko Shimazu, *Nationalisms in Japan* (Sheffield: Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies, 2006), 133-134, and Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 51

³¹ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 91, William K Cummings. *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988), 78-79

I would argue that while many of these educational reforms were well intended, such as students being able to choose non-academic electives, less emphasis on entrance exams, and reduced lesson hours, they did not successfully address the more inherent issues in Japanese schools such as competitiveness. Kim, who studied the emergence and prevalence of cram schools in Japan, notes two decades later, these reforms had little impact as the pressure of university entrance exams were simply moved to middle school. The academic culture now required children to enter cram schools at an even earlier age, and the ability to choose non-academic classes resulted in an increasing academic gap. Contemporary grading tests such as TIMSS and PISA show a widening academic gap where the top-scoring children stand in stark contrast to a growing cohort of low-scoring underachievers. Japan is currently one of the nations with the greatest gap between its top and bottom scoring cohorts.³²

3.3 *Ikiru Chikara*

The next reform to affect moral education was dubbed *Ikiru Chikara* ('Zest for Living'), and was launched under Prime Minister Koizumi. This reform, like its predecessor, was born in the wake of disaster. Following the Aum Underground Sarin Attack in 1995, where academically successful and seemingly competent men and women had been persuaded to commit horrible atrocities, the debate started revolving around topics such as moral character and 'an education of the mind.'³³ The media blamed the incidence on their lack of moral judgment and ability to think for themselves. This was reflected in the Ministry of Education's white paper released the following year; 'Successful adaption to a lifelong learning society requires the ability to **think and act independently.**' [bold font added] and; '...the ability to identify problem areas for themselves, to learn, think, and make judgments and acts independently...'³⁴

Following this incident was the 1997 Kobe Child Murders (*Kobe jidou sashou jiken*), where two children the age of 10 and 11 had been murdered by another child, a 14 year old boy.³⁵ Similarly, a female grade school teacher was stabbed to death by a 13 year old boy in the Tochigi prefecture a few months after the Kobe Child Murders, and both of these incidents

³² Hyunjoon Park. *Re-Evaluating Education in Japan and Korea: Demystifying stereotypes*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 33-35, Park also addresses the PISA scores in relation to growing social inequality in DeCoker, 2013.

³³ Shimazu, *Nationalisms in Japan*, 146

³⁴ Ministry of Education, 1996: White Paper on Lifelong Learning and Competency for Living, provisional translation by MEXT (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/hpae199601/hpae199601_2_042.html)

³⁵ Fumihiko Takayama. *Portrait of Boy A at 14 years old* (Tokyo: Shincho Bunko, 2001)

were used to emphasize the need for ‘Education of the Mind.’³⁶ It can be debated whether or not these demonstrate a genuine failure of morality. Nonetheless, these incidents functioned as triggers for the new moral education: ‘Zest for Living.’

This ‘Zest for Living’ aimed for the development of rich humanity and to cultivate morality and ethics.³⁷ The core values prevalent in the educational reform can largely be identified as a continuation of the reforms preceding it, mainly ‘Healthy Nationalism’ and its attempt at ‘gatekeeping’ Japan against the influence of internationalization, while at the same time preparing the children to function in such an everyday. The reform were to increase focus on information technology and international co-operation, and in 2001 came the introduction of the Ministry of Education’s official book on moral education, *Kokoro no Nooto (Notebook of the Heart)*. The book was met with much controversy upon its release and due to the Ministry’s claim that the book was ‘just’ teaching materials and not a textbook, and therefore it was not subjected to the textbook screening process.³⁸

Moral education was experiencing a popular updraft, and noted psychologist Hayao Kawai, who had worked on the compilation of *Kokoro no Nooto*, formed the ‘Kyoto City Moral Education Promotion Group,’ in 2001. They conducted a large-scale survey with over 20,000 respondents, and reached the conclusion that the public was largely positive to moral education and desired more room for family and community involvement.³⁹ Their feedback was reflected in a book published by Kyoto Mayor Yorikane Matsumoto, who argued that individualism and diversity were too prevalent in Japanese society, and that this had come at the expense of ‘good old traditions.’⁴⁰ This should be considered in light of past attitudes towards moral education. Even when the Japan Teachers Union, and arguably the Japanese leftist movement, was at the height of their popularity, the Japanese public still desired moral education.⁴¹

The Ministry distributed the books nationwide, and encouraged teachers to treat the books as official curriculum and to use them as much as possible. Many concerned teachers and

³⁶ Hiroyuki, Ikushima. *Educational Clinical Study on the Recent Juvenile Delinquencies* (Aichi: Aichi University of Education, 2005)

³⁷ Ministry of Education, 2009: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Grade Elementary School Moral Education, Competency for Living (http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/syo/sou.htm)

³⁸ Shimazu, *Nationalisms in Japan*, 144-145

³⁹ Grossman, *Social Education in Asia*, 54-55

⁴⁰ Cummings, *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West*, 78-80

⁴¹ Cummings, *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West*, 79-80. Cummings note that almost 80% of the Japanese public were positive to the re-introduction of Moral Education during the early 60s.

parents voiced their reluctance and suspicions regarding the book, and it was referred to as a throwback to the pre-war *shuushin* by certain parents and scholars. The controversy was raised by assignments requiring the children to write down their thoughts on a variety of subjects, such as what they feel when they see the flag or if they have ever told a lie, and criticism levelled at the book interpreted much of its content as an attempt to brainwash Japanese schoolchildren into loyal nationalistic citizens. The more outspoken scholars, such as Miyake Akiko and Irie Youko criticized the subtle manipulation between the book's carefully chosen words and claimed that the children were forced to accept the 'correct' behavior and then tricked into thinking that the ideas supplied by the Ministry were actually their own.⁴²

10 years after the release and attempted implementation of *Kokoro no Nooto*, however, the book was decried as a failure by the Ministry of Education. The book's failure, from their perspective, lay in the legal limitations of the moral education class. With its status as an unofficial class, the Ministry had no legal authority to enforce its use and so teachers had been highly selective in their use of the book. Further, the books were stored in classrooms and the children were not allowed to bring them home, which was unfortunate for the Ministry considering the book heavily relied on the children doing assignments in the home and in the local community. The increase in bullying has been seen as a consequence of moral education's 'failure,' though said failure is very loosely referred to by the current Prime Minister as moral education's inability to instill the children with a 'normative consciousness'.⁴³

In 2012-2013, the Ministry of Education released a survey on bullying; citing a 180% increase since the previous year with 198, 108 reported cases.⁴⁴ Whether these numbers reflect any real or significant change remains largely unexamined, but what is certain is that the increase, real or imagined, has become a platform for political agenda setting. Current Prime Minister Abe Shinzo voiced his intent to reform moral education during his inaugural speech, and together with the Ministry of Education announced a new moral education teaching material, *Watashitachi no Doutoku (Our Morals)*. This reform aims to lessen the ever-constant social ills that plague that Japanese youth by instilling a stronger normative

⁴² This criticism is addressed respectively in Akiko Miyake's '*Thinking About Kokoro no Nooto*', Youko Irie's '*Textbooks are Dangerous*' and Hikaru Kasahara's '*Manipulation hidden behind Kokoro No Nooto*'

⁴³ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 31

⁴⁴ "Reports of school bullying in Japan up 180%," *Japan Times*, 12/2013

consciousness, an awareness of their cultural and national identity, and strengthen the love of their country.⁴⁵

3.4 Koizumi's *Ikiru Chikara* as an continuation of the Nakasone line

Moral education's role has been that of the 'gatekeeper,' tasked with the continuation of tradition and conservative values, while at the same time being in charge of preparing children for 'globalization.' Introduced shortly after the Ministry of Education was founded, it has functioned as a convenient outlet for the kind of morality that the Ministry wants presented to the public. *Ikiru Chikara* served as a continuation of the Nakasone brand of moral education, evident in its shallow focus on 'international co-operation' and tendency to emphasize the uniquely Japanese. It is difficult to conclude whether this is because of similarities in values or because moral education's given purpose will inherently lend itself to an overt focus on its nation's positive qualities. Therefore, I will now analyze the content of the Abe administration's moral education reform whilst keeping the Nakasone reform in mind. This should either reveal *Ikiru Chikara*'s similarities as an exception or strengthen the possibility of the 'Nakasone line.'

⁴⁵ "Prime Minister Abe's Desire for Moral Education is Normative consciousness" 47 News, 02/2014, and "Why Should We Make Moral Education Official?" NHK, 12/2013

4 Abe's Reform, Criticism and Validity

4.1 Abe's desires

The current debate surrounding moral education is centered on Prime Minister Abe and Minister of Education Hakubun Shimomura's planned educational reform. Abe's views on education were outlined during the keynote speech that marked the beginning of his brief tenure as president in 2006-07. He stressed a desire for '...public service, self-discipline, morals and attachment to and affection for the community and country where we have been born and raised.'⁴⁶

He also expressed a desire to revise the teaching guidelines to expand on moral education, and other subjects. The purpose of these revisions would be to strengthen the educational role of the community and family, solve problems related to bullying and child suicide, as well as dropout rates and a 'downturn in children's morals.' These views are consistent with his overall conservative values displayed by both the Abe administration's policies and from his own statements, i.e. he wishes for more traditional gender roles and social norms, and a focus on market economy with temporary employment.

His brief tenure as president, however, would see these reforms delayed by a handful of years. The Ministry of Education's Basic Law of Education was briefly revised in 2008 despite being met with considerable resistance. It was met with criticism due to the inclusion of the words 'to love our country and one's birthplace' (*waga kuni to kyoudo wo aisuru*), and could be considered Abe's first actual movement towards realizing his educational reform.⁴⁷ His work had not been undone by the time he returned to office four years later and the revision of moral education continued with the introduction of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*. Compared to its predecessor, this book is 80 pages longer, though it is similarly designed and consistent in its focus the four tenets of the ideal person. These tenets detail the moral child's role and expected behavior in four scenarios: alone as an individual, with other people in nature, and in

⁴⁶ Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation.

⁴⁷ Ministry of Education, Current Curricular Guidelines for Competency for Living, 2008. Under the 34rd and 4th year guidelines, the fourth section, sentence number 6.

groups and society.⁴⁸ The first and last respectively are the most relevant to Abe's reform and its subsequent criticism, and they will be examined in greater detail later in this thesis.

The current criticism towards moral education echoes much of the concerns raised during the 2007 Basic Law of Education revision, but are grounded in more than just the ambiguous rewording of moral education's goals. The Abe cabinet is currently working on elevating the moral education class from an unofficial class to part of the official curriculum. This, in turn, would allow the Ministry of Education to enforce the use of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, and subsequently sanction teachers who do not adhere to their guidelines. There are some minor, auxiliary changes such as an increase in lesson hours, reduced freedom for teachers and the demand for a teacher dedicated to moral education, however, one of the more noteworthy changes would be the introduction of grades to the course. Currently, and to the relief of many teachers, children are not graded in moral education. Their opinions are 'tracked' and submitted to a personal record depending on the individual teacher, but they never take 'moral tests' or receive a numbered or lettered grade in the course.⁴⁹

This proposed reform has been met with considerable criticism from Western media in the form of critical articles and editorials. These articles are without fault solely concentrated on the perceived intent behind the proposed reform and neither the revised content nor the intended effect are allotted any kind of attention. It is difficult to judge whether this is due to the difficulty of penetrating the Japanese media or simply inherent issues in observing the Japanese situation from such a distant location, but these articles can at best be described as superficial and at worst be considered pure vilification of the issue and the Abe administration.⁵⁰

The Japanese mainstream media, on the other hand, seem to be weighing both the pros and cons of moral education's impending officialization. In late 2013, NHK (Japanese Broadcasting Corporation) published several opinion pieces detailing the proposed changes and the subsequent consequences simplifying and compressing much of the already dense content into easily digestible paragraphs and pictures.⁵¹ An unfortunate side effect of making the issue easier to digest is that it becomes a gross simplification of a fairly complex issue.

⁴⁸ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku* 1st and 2nd grade edition.

⁴⁹ "Why should we make moral education official?" NHK, 12/2013

⁵⁰ Japan Today, 2014 and Japan Times 2014.

⁵¹ The two previously cited articles by NHK as well as third article titled 'The Abe Administration's Problem, Revitalizing Education and Bullying'

Even more unlike the Western sphere, the Japanese media often writes about moral education together with other anti-bullying measures, such as the revision of bullying's legal implications, and has a tendency to present both a voice for and against the reform. In other words, the Japanese media offers a much more nuanced insight into the issue; even if it's sometimes simplistic approach has a tendency to omit academic articles. This is a concern because a large part of its detractors are scholars and their criticism is not often easily conveyed in a single sentence.

When reading the aforementioned news articles one might be left with the impression that the opposition to the officialization of moral education is grounded in nothing more than fear of a return to pre-war imperialism. As reported by Sankei news, however, a large part of *Nikkyoso* oppose moral education on the grounds that it is a brand of education that 'forces a set of values onto children' (*kachikan wo oshitsukeru youna kyouiku*), and not simply because of its pre-war connotations.⁵² This adds another layer to the debate as the issue of moral education is increasingly multi-faced. A majority of the Japanese criticism is located in the 'fringe media,' lesser known newspapers or more prominent blogs, and so moral education's detractors are not entirely without a mouthpiece.

On the topic of public opinion, the Ministry of Education requested public comments and feedback on their proposed reform, and it received almost 6000 responses in little over two months. Contrary to what some might expect, more than 3400 of these, roughly 57%, were positive towards the reform.⁵³ One should, however, also take into consideration that the Ministry of Education are the ones who are spearheading this reform and as such, their definition of 'consenting opinion' might not be wholly objective or reliable. Allowing the Ministry of Education the benefit of the doubt, however, I would conclude that it is another indicator of how the media has managed to aptly represent the Japanese people's division on this issue.

Another perspective might be that these numbers represent a political shift against moral education. Comparatively speaking, both the polls from 60s and 90s reported overwhelming majorities for moral education. 57% in favor of moral education equates to a drop of over

⁵² Sankei News, 28/3/2015 '60% [agree] to Moral Education's officialization based on the Ministry of Education's public opinion appeal'

⁵³ Sankei News, 28/3/2015 '60% [agree] to Moral Education's officialization based on the Ministry of Education's public opinion appeal'

20% when compared to the height of 80%.⁵⁴ Both of these polls, however, were carried out at a time when moral education had been taught without official teaching materials. This also occurred during periods when criticism of the class was more rooted in political discourse, left versus right, and not in concrete curricular points. Whether or not these curricular items correspond to reality remains to be seen, but given moral education's waning popularity and the decline of Japan Teachers Union's influence, one could reason that opposition to moral education is not linked solely to political allegiance.

I will now address the various aspects of the criticism contemporary moral education has received. Some of this criticism has been met with responses from the Ministry of Education and/or the Abe administration. Granted, many issues that were raised with *Kokoro no Nooto* that are still present in *Watashitachi no Doutoku* have yet to be answered, but the Ministry has made an effort to alleviate some of the concerns voiced in regards to the coming reform.

4.2 Criticism against nationalism

The fear of nationalism has been a mainstay in the moral education debate since post-war days, and it is therefore no great surprise that the inclusion of words such as 'love for one's country and nation' gives rise to a certain amount of outcry from moral education's detractors. As previously mentioned, this criticism is twofold at the least, ranging from criticism linked to its associations with the pre-war emphasis on nationalistic values and the other side being principally opposed to education that forces a set of ideals/values onto children. I would argue that the latter is grounded in the fact that these are ideals presented by the Ministry of Education, and that the *Nikkyoso* would not be opposed to education that supported their ideals, as was clearly evident in the post-war democratic updraft. When the American occupational forces had laid the groundwork for a new 'democratic' Japanese school, they had the full support of the Japanese teachers' unions, who used this as an opportunity to solidify their influence and supported the imposition of 'democratic values' onto children.⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Grossman, *Social Education in Asia*, 43

⁵⁵ Arne, Kalland. *Japans Historie: Fra Jegersamfunn til økonomisk supermakt* (Oslo: Cappelen Forlag as 2005), 333-341

Love for one's country is not necessarily a negative trait and, as noted by both Hood and Shimazu, one that most nations attempt to foster in schoolchildren⁵⁶. The curriculum aims for patriotism, where a person love one's country, but is willing to view it critically. This brand of love for one's country is, however, not what the public has come to expect of the Abe administration. Abe's love for his country is often treated as patriotism's closely related cousin: nationalism, uncritically defending one's nation in the face of all criticism. There are several reasons why such expectations are laid at the Abe administration's doorstep, the first being its involvement in the History Textbook controversies that have circulated media. In 1995, the LDP,⁵⁷ Abe included, helped work and publish the book *Recap of the Greater East Asian War*, a book which claimed that the Nanjing Massacre and Comfort Women controversies were complete fabrications, and that Japan's role in the war was one of the self-defense.⁵⁸ Issues such as Abe's denial of comfort women, a stance that he maintained until mid-2000s, has no doubt marked him as someone who defends his nation against any criticism. The subsequent coverage of this issue in the West has also marred him as a narrow-minded nationalist.⁵⁹

The criticism towards moral education's slight rewording to include words that one might expect to see in many other countries' curriculum is thusly considered a criticism of the hand that makes the change. There is, however, little concrete cause for concern to be found in the actual curriculum. The course of study mentions knowing and loving one's country and culture, which could be considered nationalistic when viewed through a certain lens, but this has been present since Nakasone's reform in the late 80s, where Nakasone put 'teaching love for one's country' on the agenda, and was not introduced by the Abe administration.⁶⁰

4.3 Criticism against idolization of historical figures

Much of moral education's opposition is grounded in the concern that it might, for the lack of a better term, brainwash Japanese schoolchildren similarly to the pre-war *shuushin*.⁶¹ With

⁵⁶ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 51, and Shimazu, *Nationalisms in Japan*, 133-134

⁵⁷ LDP stands for the Liberal Democratic Party, the largest political party in Japan with the incumbent prime minister.

⁵⁸ Shimazu, *Nationalisms in Japan*, 131

⁵⁹ The Telegraph, 03/03/2007. "Japanese PM denies wartime 'comfort women' were forced". And The New York Times, 14/11/2014. "The Comfort Women and Japan's War on Truth"

⁶⁰ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 55-56

⁶¹ Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 135-136

these concerns in mind, it is no surprise that one of the aspects of the moral education books to receive the greatest amount of criticism is the decision to include, and revere, several figures from historical times.

Similarly, to the six volumes of moral education texts and lessons that composed the pre-war *shuushin*, the current books teach children about famous historical figures. These are not just from Japan, but also from other countries. Each of the historical figures often imbued a particular aspect of the moral education curriculum; notable examples include Abraham Lincoln (honesty), Florence Nightingale (compassion) and Benjamin Franklin (independence and initiative). The inclusion of these, however, were very limited compared to that of the Japanese characters. Among the Japanese historical figures, those from the Tokugawa period seemed most prominent, and figures such as Ninomiya Sontoku (educator) and Yoshida Shoin (political activist) were featured up to four times.⁶²

The purpose of these figures was to instill the Japanese schoolchildren with ‘a sense of the nation and a civic ethos.’ This is not necessarily negative thing; a national sense and civic duty are things most governments wish to instill in children, nonetheless the sections in the current moral education books dedicated to teaching children about historical figures are similar in certain areas. There are similarities in topicality, format and period of focus means that the scope of similarity between pre-war *shuushin* and contemporary moral education is great but not all encompassing. I would argue that this is because the noted historical figures have remained constant. The most noted exception, however, is perhaps the most relevant one in countering the claim that Abe's new reform is a throwback to pre-war mentality. That exception is the exclusion of the emperor, who was the most prominent figure in pre-war *shuushin*.

A considerable portion of the pre-war *shuushin* curriculum was dedicated to the reverence of the emperor. The later 5th and 6th volumes of *shuushin* books, aimed at middle school children, dedicated almost a quarter of its total page number to such content.⁶³ Currently, as outlined in the curricular guidelines for moral education, Japan is a democratic nation and the sovereignty of the people (*kokuminshuken*) is emphasized at several points. Both the elementary and middle school curricular guidelines refer to Japan as a democratic nation and

⁶² Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 140-142

⁶³ Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 140-145

stress the importance of children learning the significance and importance of democratic processes and political participation. Officially, the Ministry of Education's curriculum promotes democratic values and, as mentioned by Tokitsu Kei, the unofficial practice of moral education are notoriously difficult to measure.⁶⁴

Further, some of the figures included were civil rights activists such as the political revolutionary Sakamoto Ryouma, who fought to overthrow the Tokugawa Shogunate, or Fukuzawa Yuikichi, who founded Keio University. Figures who one would argue that conflict with the projected ideology that critics place on the Abe administration.⁶⁵ Kaizuka Shigeki, lecturer at Musashino University, argues that a natural part of patriotism is to both understand and show compassion for the people who preceded us.⁶⁶ The inclusion of figures who acted on both sides of 'the establishment' also offers a more nuanced insight and is more than a simple affirmation of 'Japan's greatness.'

Given the wide span of different characters who are featured in the textbooks, everything from athletes to Greek philosophers, there is no single trait unifying all of them. They are, however, only used within the context of the four different sections of the textbooks, the four sections corresponding to the four pillars of the *ningenzou*.⁶⁷ The *ningenzou* is a word used to describe the concept of the 'perfect' person, an ideal citizen that one should idolize. As such, they are examples that embody particular aspects of each pillar, i.e. a certain character used to exemplify diligence in the section dedicated to personal values, or a civil servant used in the section dedicated to oneself and society.⁶⁸ Because of this, criticism against a particular historical figure, i.e. due to a businessman who was ruthless in a certain area or a warlord who has murdered people, is largely irrelevant given the limited scope of their introduction. Naturally it would seem out of place to exalt a mass murderer for a trait unrelated to his offense, but the historical figures used in the books are only included on the basis of a particular trait. Criticism drawn from any other aspect of said person's history or actions is irrelevant when criticizing the purpose and intent behind the book's creation, even more so when such characters are understood as a product of their time. George Washington's

⁶⁴ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 2015.

⁶⁵ Sankei News, 14/02/2014 "Official Announcement of The Ministry of Education's new Teaching Material [Watashitachi no Doutoku], reading material like legends of foreign and domestic great men completed,"

⁶⁶ Kaizuka Shigeki, Sankei News, 02/2015 "Is Patriotism Inexcusable?"

⁶⁷ The term was used extensively in older revision, such as the guidelines from 1989, but is not included in the current curricular guidelines.

⁶⁸ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 5th and 6th grade edition, 2014: 30 (Marie Curie and Yukawa Hideki).

historical relevance as a founding father is not diminished because he kept slaves, a deplorable action when viewed through a contemporary lens.

Further, I would argue that some concern have been raised as to the strong focus on community in Japanese schools, and the downplaying of the individual student's achievements. The inclusion of historical figures functions as a weighted counter to this. Contextualized by each of the four respective sections in the moral education book, they exemplify how much it is possible for the individual to achieve when serving, for example, the community at large. At the same time, it is a sobering reminder that an individual never acts in a vacuum, and that most actions, even individual ones, have consequences and often greater repercussions. It is neither an exaggerated worship of certain characters, nor a devaluation of individual efforts, but also a lesson of consequence, which is also one of the overarching curricular goals in the third section of moral education's curricular guidelines. I would therefore conclude that because of the context in which it is employed, the exclusion of emperor worship and the inclusion of notable foreign great people, the idolization of Japanese figures is not simply an added layer of nationalistic emphasis.

4.4 Criticism of historical inaccuracies and *Edoshigusa*

Edoshigusa, roughly translated to the behavior of Edo or manner of Edo, refers to a particular way of living one's life that is thought to have been practiced during the Edo period.⁶⁹ The Edo period was known for its long reign of peace and some scholars attribute this to the manner in which people of that era lived their lives. There are a dozen or so examples of ideal behavior commonly applied in popular discourse, some of these are mentioned in *Watashitachi no Doutoku* and include;

- Withdrawing one's back: When the citizens of Edo crossed one another on a narrow street, they both leaned back their right shoulder and allowed each other uninhibited passage.
- Leaning one's umbrella: When crossing one another on a rainy day the citizens of Edo would always lean their umbrella left and shield one another from the rain.

⁶⁹ The Edo Period. 1603-1868, was a period characterized by internal peace, economic growth and isolationist policies. Kalland, *Japans Historie*, 173-254.

- Saving space: Sitting closer to one another on the bench to allow other people a spot.
- Careless apology: Creating a pleasant atmosphere by apologizing even when one is not at fault.⁷⁰

These examples are provided to the students in their moral education books along with a short text explaining the method and purpose of each act, and why Edo, the capital, was such a peaceful place. This section of the moral education books have been critically singled out for several reasons, because it is historically erroneous and also because it encourages a very passive kind of behavior. Moral education has been criticized for not encouraging Japanese children to actively prevent bullying, and critics note a high percent of passive actors in bullying incidents.⁷¹ Therefore, some would consider it counter-productive to emphasize an almost subservient behavior.

The criticism directed at *Edoshigusa* was, however, mainly grounded in historical inaccuracies and often referred to as ‘the Edo that didn't exist.’ For example the case of ‘leaning umbrellas’ is very unlikely given that umbrellas were only available to people of the upper class and the umbrellas used during the Edo period were different from contemporary umbrellas in a way that did not allow the ‘leaning umbrella’ method. Noted historian and president of Hosei University, Tanaka Yuuko was especially critical claiming that *Edoshigusa* was more fantasy than reality.⁷² Considering these arguments, it is more likely that these moral lessons are a modern day creation and not an accurate reflection of past events.

The purpose of moral education, however, is not to educate children in the field of history but rather to foster their moral self, and the relevance of historical accuracy is debatable. Representatives from the Ministry of Education accepted the criticism, and responded that their inclusion of *Edoshigusa* was not tantamount to them teaching the children about a fictional historical Japan. The purpose was not to teach them historical facts; it was created to serve as an opportunity for them to consider etiquette and manners.⁷³

Lessons on etiquette and manner in *Watashitachi no Doutoku* does not, however, take place in a contextual vacuum. *Edoshigusa* is placed in the third section of the curriculum, the section

⁷⁰ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 5th and 6th grade edition, 2014: 58-59

⁷¹ Frank E Daulton, and Seki Akinori. *Bullying and Biracial Children in Japan* (The Language Teacher, 2000),

⁷² News23, 2015.

⁷³ News23, 2015

that also covers curricular items such as teaching the children about Japanese culture, tradition and national identity. Considering these points, along with the Abe administration's focus on them, there is reason to note the criticism. While the Ministry of Education asserts that they are using these examples of ideal behavior solely for the purpose of teaching children correct manner, one might wonder why they then included it in the section that covers cultural history of Japan. Further, there is no note, bookmark or added line of information denoting the historical inaccuracy of *Edoshigusa*, and given that Japanese schoolchildren will only tangentially have covered the Tokugawa period by the time they reach this section in their moral education studies, they have very little with which to compare *Edoshigusa*.⁷⁴

4.5 Is moral education likely to be an effective counter-measure against bullying?

Moral education is mainly being upheld as a countermeasure against social ills, most pressing of which is *ijime*, bullying, in its many forms. In Japan, the most prevalent forms of bullying are social ostracization and corporal punishment, known as *taibatsu*. The Abe administration has dedicated large sums of money to the Ministry of Education, and currently the moral education program receives a total of 14 billion yen (14 *oku*), a fourth of the money allotted for anti-bullying measures.⁷⁵ The Abe administration has outlined three measures against bullying:

- 1) Moral education
- 2) A revision of bullying's legal implications
- 3) A stricter attitude towards bullying

Moral education is currently fronted as the first, and most important, of three anti-bullying measures that the Abe administration wishes to focus on. The other two being a law concerning bullying and a generally stricter attitude towards bullying.⁷⁶ In light of this, one can perhaps argue that moral education should first and foremost be judged on the criteria of whether or not it is an effective anti-bullying countermeasure.

⁷⁴ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 5th and 6th grade edition, 2014: 58-59

⁷⁵ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 31

⁷⁶ NHK, 26/02/2013, "The Abe Way's Bullying Counter-Measures Are? "

Abe argues that moral education's limited success so far is a result of its full implementation having been a sort of 'pending issue' since the end of the American occupation.⁷⁷ There is some merit to this argument as the issue of moral education has been marred by half measures and policies lacking full commitment. While the Ministry of Education and the incumbent administration create national policy, its implementation relies on teachers and other local agents. Because moral education's main opponents have been teachers and the teachers' union, arguably the sole remaining leftist bastion in Japanese society, thorough implementation of moral education has been met with some difficulty. The Ministry's lacking legal authority to enforce such an implementation has led to moral education's status as a financial drain with hardly any measurable effect. Since the commitment to, and quality of, moral education can vary from school to school it is even more demanding to identify effective or ineffective measures.⁷⁸

There is, however, an available avenue for analysis, which is to examine the more prevalent forms of bullying, their sources and moral education's direct measures towards these. Judging by various studies, we can tell that a majority of bullying takes the form of large groups against one child, often the entire class against a single pupil. The Ministry of Education elaborates that Japanese children are fully capable of recognizing bullying, but that they lack the ability and courage to intervene and prevent further bullying. Research done by Akiba and Shimizu further supports these numbers with qualitative data drawn from a school in Tokyo, where they discovered that victims were often selected based on whether or not they fit in with the class' group dynamic, and that the children who did not initiate the bullying often join in fear of being singled out themselves.⁷⁹

Bullying is not always limited to classrooms, but can also occur in school clubs. Clubs are an arena especially vulnerable to such problems given the Japan's vertically stratified society and norm for using corporal punishment to sanction lacking athletic performances. In 2013, the captain of a high school basketball team in Sakuranomiya committed suicide, and in the note he left behind revealed that he and the team had been subjected to very systematic corporal punishment.⁸⁰ Following this, news of similar systematic abuse at a local handball team

⁷⁷ Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation.

⁷⁸ Discussed throughout Tokitsu Kei's article from 2015.

⁷⁹ Gary DeCoker and Christopher Bjork. *Japanese education in an Era of Globalization: Culture, Politics, and Equity* (New York: Teachers College, 2013),

⁸⁰ JapanToday, 09/01/2013, "Student commits suicide after being beaten by school basket coach"

surfaced and further fueled the debate.⁸¹ The use of corporal punishment had been an integral part of the club for several years, which meant more than a hundred of students were aware of it without speaking up against it or seeking help. The Abe administration, however, has not singled out corporal punishment as a particular item on their agenda of anti-bullying measures, but had this to say in response to the basketball captain's suicide; 'Whether corporal punishment or bullying, at the place of education, this event symbolizes the waning consciousness of caring for the lives of people's children... Now, once more, we want to stimulate an awareness of caring for children's lives.'⁸²

This promise followed the Abe administration's introduction of the plans for revising the law on bullying. Physical injury and extortion, arguably the more severe forms of bullying, are to be criminalized and handled separately by the police.⁸³ In other words, the handling of more severe bullying is handled by changing of legality. Their statement refers to an awareness of teacher's nurturing ability, but this stands in contrast to reality where their ability to handle bullying is weakened as final authority now officially rests with the police. This is an affirmation of Abe's belief that moral education lacks the tools to be an effective countermeasure. Paradoxically, criticism aimed this piece of legislation argues for the subtlety of bullying and that this is not necessarily an effective deterrent against bullying. This contradicts much of the earlier criticism where Abe's statements on bullying as a result of failing normative consciousness came under fire for not being concrete enough.

On the other hand, as Akiba and Shimizu also argues, much of Japan's bullying is rooted in group mentality and children's intolerance towards those who are different.⁸⁴ Abe's idea of reinforcing normative consciousness is more likely to facilitate bullying of this kind than it is to prevent it. His claim is not that moral education has failed to teach tolerance for those who are different, but rather than it has failed to make all children the same. There are also studies supporting the claim that a lot of bullying is caused by relatively minor issues, and that it is supplemented by academic stress, stress caused by entrance exams or performance pressure.⁸⁵ A more conform classroom does therefore not necessarily prevent the creation of 'outsiders,' and a lack of tolerance is not the real cause for the bullying, it is simply a convenient outlet.

⁸¹ Yahoo Japan News, 2013:

⁸² Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation.

⁸³ NHK 26/02/2013, 'The Abe Way's Bullying Counter-Methods Are?'

⁸⁴ Akiba and Shimizu, *Japanese education in an Era of Globalization*, 2010

⁸⁵ Japan Times 25/10/2014, School Bullying on the Increase.

When considered purely in terms on whether it is likely to prevent further bullying, moral education is at best a scapegoat used to fend off the media and at worst something that might worsen the present situation

4.6 Abe's reform as a continuation of the Nakasone line

Yasuhiro Nakasone was a central figure in the creation of contemporary moral education. The Abe administration's reform bears many similarities to Nakasone's 'Healthy Nationalism,' both in its inclusion of curricular elements such as 'love for one's country' and 'respect for one's ancestors,' and in its emergence in the wake of school-related incidents. The two most prominent incidents were the 2011 suicide of Ootsu Middle School student and the suicide of the 2013 Sakuranomiya High School Basketball Captain. These were extensively covered by media, and mentioned in the Abe Administration's 2014 'Meeting for the Realization of the Resuscitation of Education'.⁸⁶ The failure of normative consciousness and 'downturn of children's morals' as explained by Abe, is very similar to the social ills stated by Nakasone in an interview 30 years prior.⁸⁷ Nakasone's ad-hoc council for education, the *Rinkyoushin*, focused on 'the substantialisation' of moral education, family and community, and recommended stricter training for teachers within the field of moral education⁸⁸. These suggestions are similarly reflected in the current Abe Administration's reform of Moral Education, where they emphasize community and family involvement, introduce mandatory moral education training for teachers and an emphasis on the 'neglected values such as public service, self-discipline, morals and attachment to and affection for community and country.'⁸⁹ . I will now further analyze the criticism and content of the moral education books, and, among other things, look at why these books are more likely to reinforce group mentality.

⁸⁶ Abe Administration, Meeting for the Realization of the Resuscitation of Education, first meeting, 2014: 14

⁸⁷ Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation, and Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 80.

⁸⁸ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 80. Here he also cites prior work by Schoppa, 1991: 66 and Kyoiku Seisaku Kenkyukai, 1987: 135-136

⁸⁹ Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation, NHK 2013, "Why should we make Moral Education Official", and Ministry of Education's 'Sweeping Reform of Moral Education', 2015.

5 Criticism of *Kokoro no Nooto*

5.1 Miyake and Irie

There are two prevailing works of criticism on *Kokoro no Nooto*. Irie Youko's *Textbooks Are Dangerous* and Miyake Akikos *Thinking about Moral Education*, both of which were written very early in the book's tenure as the government-approved moral education textbook. These works focus on the political and ideological implications and dangers, and their criticism is complimented by the more utilitarian criticism from MEXT's own educational committee, focusing instead on the book's practical shortcomings. Before examining the similarities between *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, however, I will first detail the criticism of *Kokoro no Nooto*.

Irie Youko's book *Textbooks Are Dangerous* tackles the many potentially negative influences that textbooks can have on children and society large. Irie's book emphasizes topics such as nationalism, citizenship education, patriotism and whitewashing of history, specifically history books. She refers to things such as the exclusion of certain topics, idolization of inaccurate historical times and instilling of certain ideologies on children.⁹⁰ As previously discussed, these are also the prevailing topics in the contemporary debate on moral education. The book was written partially in response to the then newly issued *Kokoro no Nooto*, but her criticism is even more relevant with the 2014 released *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, as I will later argue.

In her chapter 'A fiction called your own *Kokoro no Nooto*,' Irie argues that it is a particularly cynical and careful hand that has designed the textbook, and that there is a special kind of psychology at play. From the opening pages, the books invites children to personalize it and make the book their own. Written in small letters under the square where they are asked to put their name, the book tells them 'Let's work together to make this book precious and one of a kind.' Irie refers to this message as the book asking the children to become its guardian/protector. A few pages later, the book has the same message: 'This book is your

⁹⁰ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*,

precious thing. Let's write down your great and perfectly suited name. Then, let's draw drawings, put pictures and make this a cover that is only yours.'⁹¹

She points out the consistent use of certain key phrases like 'Yours only' (*anatadakeno*), and argues that most children will be left with the impression that this book is their rare and precious possession, and something there is only one of in the whole world.⁹² Further, it gives the impression that this is not a textbook that the government has mass-printed and published to every school and child in Japan, but rather that it is something that the government printed entirely on their behalf. She labels this the government using a two-fold method of imposing their will. The government creates the book, and Irie claims that by covering the book in their own drawings and deciding the book's name, it becomes a synchronization of nationalism and the private person. During my fieldwork at Hatomori Elementary School, I observed a similar result in that children seem far more receptive to influence once they have imparted a piece of themselves, or 'made something their own.'

While schoolchildren are allowed to name the books whatever they want, they tend to end up with somewhat similar names. At an elementary school Irie visited, the younger children had given their notebooks following titles: 'notebook of dreams,' 'air-balloon of the heart,' 'kind heart,' and at another school, the older children had titled them 'lifetime book,' 'book of the changing heart,' 'notebook of the future.' While there are no explicitly stated wrong names, these would definitely fall within the category of obviously 'correct' names. According to one of the teachers there, the titles were noticeably different from one another, but they still fell well within the MEXT's guidelines and intended answers, and that the titles felt like typically 'government-approved' names.⁹³

Further answers at a third school included 'bridge to the heart,' 'shining heart,' 'voice of the heart,' 'notebook of dreams,' and 'notebook for finding oneself,' among other similar titles. Though they were not identically written, they all echoed the same keywords such as dreams, shining or bright, or something related to self-discovery. Irie points out that the book is not a textbook that gives the children the correct answers outright, but encourages them to find them through other clues and ideas. The book is laced with messages telling the children to

⁹¹ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 132-133, my translation

⁹² Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 133-134

⁹³ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 134

discover themselves, but as Irie, and another scholar, Miyake,⁹⁴ both warn, the children do not go into themselves, but rather reflect the answers they believe to be correct. This is exemplified in the names the children suggested for their notebook. Irie claims that they are not giving their own answers, but rather reflecting the Ministry of Education's correct answers. While they are doing this, they are being tricked, or even brainwashed, into believing that these answers came from themselves all along.⁹⁵

The message of self-discovery is not just present at the beginning, but more or less permeates the entire textbook. Many assignments and chapters begin with the headline 'A peek into oneself' or 'Let's discover you.' This agrees with my own observations of the teacher subtly correcting the children's answers in moral education class and adjusting their opinions, or in some cases outright stigmatize them for holding the minority opinion, and then presenting the new and corrected versions as 'their own.'

5.2 Brainwashing or interpellation?

Irie argues that this is brainwashing, but I would argue that instead of 'brainwashing' them, moral education aims to interpellate children. Interpellation, or hailing, in Althusserian theory is the act of naming a person and forcing them to become a 'subject.' For example, a small child seeing an average person and saying 'mama, look at the black man.'⁹⁶ The man's identity is then that of a black man, not whatever other identity he may have been occupying, and from that point on his identity has partially been altered by this act of interpellation.

Teachers, especially using moral education supplements, exercise a similar kind of power over students in marking them as either good or bad. Some of the changes made to moral education include the use of negative and positive examples, referred to as 'bad examples from which one can learn' (*haneikyoushi*) and 'most moral' (*saikou doutoku*). Such examples, however, only serve to strengthen the children's normative perception of what sort of behaviors are 'good' and 'bad,' and thereby risk putting them into simple categories of 'bad' and 'good' children. Polarizing moral issues, and student identities, between good and evil.

⁹⁴ Miyake, *Thinking About Notebook of the Heart*,

⁹⁵ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 133-136

⁹⁶ Nesta Devine, *Pedagogy and Subjectivity: Creating our own Students* (Waikato: Waikato Journal of Publishing, 2003), 2-3

The power to ‘interpellate,’ however, resides in the teacher rather than in the teaching supplements. Under the current system, teachers tend to prohibit students from bringing the moral education books home, and exercise great control over them whenever the books are employed in class, i.e. collect the books when they are not in use, only use select assignments and texts in class. Thus, moral education becomes an ideological framework within which teachers exercise a great degree of control. If the teacher is aware of their capabilities within this field they can either work towards ‘creating’ the ideal children that they want, or simply reinforce their existing impression, i.e. a teacher who has reached the conclusion that one of her pupils is a ‘bad student’ can sometimes continuously reinforce this impression. Since the children will only see the reflection of the reflection that the teacher shows them, they are especially vulnerable to criticism that labels them. Interpellation is presented as a constant process, one that continues out into our adult lives, but it is at the height of its effectiveness when the children are in their secondary socialization and creating their core identity.

Interpellation, however, is a process that is considered inherent to human interaction it occurs regardless of the teacher’s intention. It is perhaps stronger or more easily emphasized in moral education, but the teachers’ roles and ability to influence a child’s mental growth is not limited to that particular class. Further, the teachers also answer to the school’s rules and guidelines concerning correct behavior. Therefore, the creation or ‘good’ and ‘bad’ students do not only occur in moral education classes, and while this is not a defense against a brand of curriculum which forces children to either conform or be resigned to maladjusted ‘outsiders’ it is a defense against criticism that moral education forces a set of ideals onto children. Some would argue that the molding of children into citizens is one of the secondary functions of a school, and in order to do this the school attempts to instill a set of ideals onto its pupils. Irie differs between the creating of democratic actors and ‘imperial citizens’ in her criticism of moral education, but the *Nikyoso* limits their criticism to any kind of class that ‘forces ideals onto children.’⁹⁷

5.3 Added criticism by Kasahara

Perhaps ahead of her time, Irie voiced a third criticism of the distribution of the textbooks which she feels speaks to the intent of MEXT. The book is introduced to school nurse

⁹⁷ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*,

association meetings, PTA meetings, and teacher's conferences, as well as public places like large libraries and community centers. Irie argue that the distribution is MEXT's way of proclaiming their correct moral education policy to society at large, as opposed to a careful consideration of the children's privacy and the careful development of their minds. The distribution becomes a political statement and not a measure towards solving private issues. Her argumentation that the use and manipulation of children's minds constitutes as an invasion of privacy conflicts with the Ministry of Education's current hopes. Much of Irie's concerns never came to pass with *Kokoro no Nooto* as a result of the Ministry's limited legal authority. With the officialization of moral education set to 2017, her concerns are bear more relevance to *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, even more so now that the Ministry of Education has singled out lack of community involvement as one of the main reasons for *Kokoro no Nooto*'s failure.⁹⁸ Private matters best handled by the child's parents in unison with the teacher now runs the risk of not just involving the community at large, but also new separately handled anti-bullying office and the local authorities.⁹⁹

Hikaru Kasahara argued for similar ideas in her brief article 'On the Manipulation behind *Kokoro no Nooto*.' She noted the large sums of money spent manufacturing the books, 730 million yen on manufacturing costs alone, and that while MEXT lacked the legal authority to enforce its use, they applied considerable unofficial pressure. Using non-anonymous surveys as a method of singling out schools that had not successfully implemented their moral education classes and subsequently applying pressure. Kasahara is on point when addressing the obscene manufacturing and distribution costs, but we can later observe that the Ministry was ultimately unsuccessful in their endeavor to enforce use of *Kokoro no Nooto*. It is, however, relevant to the understanding of the MEXT's willingness to micromanage its implementation. She also highlights the circumstances under which *Kokoro no Nooto* was approved, arguing that while it admittedly was a period of rising juvenile delinquency and bullying, it was far from as bad as the media suggested and that the extensive coverage of these issues were to facilitate an educational reform. Likewise, the current debate surrounding moral education has fallen victim to extensive agenda setting, and that rather than address academic concerns *Watashitachi no Doutoku*'s content is being used as a response to imagined public outcry.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ Ministry of Education Meeting 18th Moral Education Meeting, 2015 transcript

⁹⁹ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 135-136

¹⁰⁰ Kasahara, *Manipulation behind Kokoro no Nooto*, 1-2

Kasahara's assessment is similar to Miyake and Irie's in that she also criticizes the opening parts of the books for their eagerness to have children share information about themselves, but chooses to focus on another aspect.¹⁰¹ Given the circumstances of its emergence, and governmental curriculum guidelines at the time, *Kokoro no Nooto*'s aim at fixing the problems found in the minds of Japanese schoolchildren. In other words, it implies that the problems related to juvenile delinquency and bullying lies in the mind of young children, as flaws inherent in the Japanese system of education.

The Japanese educational system is one which Kasahara refers to as '...focusing on creating corporate warriors in the post-war period' and further points out that 'This educational system has emphasized correctness and efficiency, and has excluded people that are individualistic, considering them hard to deal with as individualism was shunned.'¹⁰² Her final criticism coincides with Irie's especially, as she points out the more obvious cases of nationalism in the textbook, such as a boy pictured next to the words 'Respect the rights of other people' and 'Perform duties.' Barely visible in the corner are the words 'Assert your rights.' There are also several section that mention 'love of the country' and 'missions to protect and nurture tradition,' all of which are in line with the governmental curriculum guidelines.¹⁰³

5.4 Connection between *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku*

I wish to call attention to similarities between *Kokoro no Nooto*'s emergence in 2001 and the re-emergence of moral education in the 1980s under Nakasone. Both were periods where prime ministers whose political agenda were mainly rooted in economics used moral education as a counter to extensive media coverage on the rise of juvenile delinquency. Current Prime Minister Abe was elected under similar circumstances, but despite its turbulent tenure as the government-approved textbook for moral education, *Kokoro no Nooto* arose under similar circumstances to almost all of its predecessors, and subsequently its successor.

The trend of using cute characters to appeal to young children continues into *Watashitachi no Doutoku*. In the first section, things related to one self, there is a page dedicated to the 'proper

¹⁰¹ Kasahara, *Manipulation behind Kokoro no Nooto*, 3

¹⁰² Kasahara, *Manipulation behind Kokoro no Nooto*, 3-4

¹⁰³ Irie, *Textbooks are Dangerous*, 135-136

lifestyle.’ There are four columns, each dedicated to a particular activity, and each column accompanied by a cartoon character or two. Breakfast rice has the shape of a superhero next to a column telling the children how important it is to eat breakfast. Next to the column on the importance of going to bed early, there is a sinister-looking character, he is the ‘staying up late devil.’¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ Ministry of Education, 2014, *Watashitachi no Doutoku* 1st and 2nd grade edition: 21-22

6 Analysis of Textbooks

6.1 Index and the four pillars of the *ningenzou*

In this section, I will analyze the concrete examples from the 1st and 2nd graders edition of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*. I will do this using my own observation, the criticism by both Irie and Tokitsu, and interpellation as a backdrop for the analysis.

The cover shows a field of small dirt mounds with a patch of grass and a single plant on top of them. There is a close of up one of the mounds and it has a ladybug crawling toward the plant on one side and two ants on the other. Suspended in the air above the plant is a small bee looking down on the other insects. Inside there is a small square in which the children can write their names, the name of their school and what class they belong to. On the second page, before the index, there is a double-paged image of a grass field and an open sky with the text ‘*Watashitachi no Doutoku*,’ a motif popularized in the previous textbook *Kokoro no Nooto*.¹⁰⁵

The index shows that the book is separated into four parts and a particular color is dedicated to each part;

- 1) Looking at one self (purple)
- 2) Together with people (yellow)
- 3) Touching nature (green)
- 4) Together with everybody (blue)

Each of these parts corresponds to a tenet of the ideal person in MEXT’s moral education guidelines, which are divided into things related to oneself, things related to others, things related to nature and things related to society and the nation. The connection is fairly self-evident, it is also a direct continuation of *Kokoro no Nooto*, and these four pillars are recurring themes in moral education’s past and current curriculum. This is also the reason why it is possible to consider the relevance of *Kokoro no Nooto*’s criticism in reference to

¹⁰⁵ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 2014: cover and index. Ministry of Education, *Kokoro no Nooto*, 2001.

Watashitachi no Doutoku. MEXT also defined *Watashitachi no Doutoku* as both a revision and a continuation of *Kokoro no Nooto*.¹⁰⁶

Every part is subsequently divided into 3-5 chapters, each of which corresponds to MEXT's elaboration on moral education class content, provided in their governmental guidelines. The chapter division is as follows:

Part 1 – Looking at one self

Chapter 1: Well-regulated feeling of everyday

Chapter 2: Properly doing the things you have to do

Chapter 3: Advancing things you think are good

Chapter 4: Obedient and carefree

Part 2 – Together with people

Chapter 1: Pleasant and correct behavior

Chapter 2: Kindly, with a warm heart

Chapter 3: Getting along with your friends

Chapter 4: People whose care you are in

Part 3 – Touching nature

Chapter 1: Cherishing life

Chapter 2: Being kind to living things

¹⁰⁶ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 31-33

Chapter 3: With a refreshing heart

Part 4 – Together with everybody

Chapter 1: Keeping promises and deadlines

Chapter 2: Appreciating the value of work

Chapter 3: Being useful in the family

Chapter 4: Having fun with activities at school

Chapter 5: Having affection for one's hometown

Now, when contrasted with the governmental guidelines for the 1st and 2nd grade moral education, there is very little room for uncertainty as to their connection. Tokitsu Kei, professor at Hiroshima University, pointed out the similarity in her own essay and also notes how even the opening poem refers to the four pillars.¹⁰⁷

Part 1 – Things related to oneself

1. Caring for one's health and safety, being careful with things and money, being prepared for the daily life, not being selfish and living a well-regulated life.
2. Properly doing the work and studies one has to do.
3. Separating between good and bad things, proceeding with the things one thinks are good.
4. Not lying or doing hanky-panky, living obediently and carefree.

Part 2 – Things related to people

¹⁰⁷ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 3

1. Honest greetings, use of language, careful and bright behavior.
2. Treating and appreciating the old and young people near you with a warm heart.
3. Helping and getting along with your friends.
4. Being grateful for the people whose care you are in.

Part 3 – Things related to nature and sublime things

1. Being delighted in existence, having a heart that appreciates life
2. Being kind to nature near oneself, treating animals and plants with a gentle heart
3. Touch beautiful things, have a refreshing mind

Part 4 – Things related to groups, society and the nation

1. Keeping promises and deadlines, being careful with things that everybody uses
2. Knowing the value of hard work and working for everybody
3. Loving ones parents and grandparents, willingly helping with housework and knowing the joy of making oneself useful in the household
4. Loving ones teacher, being kind to the people at school and having fun with school and class activities.
5. Having love for one's hometown and having fun with its culture and activities.

Not only are the topics more or less identical, but the choice of wording in many categories is almost identical. The sentences using words like carefree and obedient are phrased almost identically.

6.2 Introduction and ‘how to use this book’

Moving on to the introductory part of textbook, the first two sections before Part 1 are titled ‘How to use this book’ and ‘Please teach me about you.’

‘How to use this book’ details three scenarios in which it is OK for children to use the textbook. The first, colored red, is at school. They are allowed to use it in the moral education lesson hour, other lessons and after lesson breaks, when they are with their families at home, and finally, in the region, when they are together with the people in their region. Each part has an accompanying picture of a small child working together with either classmates, an old man with a sign and an adult woman, presumably their mother. Each picture in the book also has a small catchphrase next to it, for example in the classroom it says, ‘Let’s try write and paint’ or ‘Let’s read the reading part and think.’¹⁰⁸

These explanations are currently irrelevant to the schoolchildren who use the books as the current ruling consensus, at least until the Abe administration’s reform is implemented, is that teachers do not allow students to bring the textbook’s home. Since the textbooks are introduced at PTA meetings, teacher associations and other similar community meetings, the explanation functions instead as an invitation to the children’s guardians and teachers. As I observed during my fieldwork the teacher always, and without fail, collects the textbooks at the end of each lesson hour and then counts them. Several members of the Ministry of Education (unnamed) argue that this is why the *Kokoro no Nooto* was largely ineffectual as an anti-bullying measure and failed to establish itself as anything more than a teaching supplement.¹⁰⁹

6.3 Tell me about yourself

The next part, ‘Teach me things about yourself,’ has two forms for the children to fill out, one marked ‘1st year’ in pink and another marked ‘2nd year’ in bright blue. The form asks the children the following things: a) Favorite food, b) thing you are good at, c) precious thing, d) thing you were the most happy about, e) favorite game, f) thing you want to learn how to do,

¹⁰⁸ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition: 4-5

¹⁰⁹ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 30

and g) dream for the future. ¹¹⁰This is similar to the opening section in *Kokoro no Notoo* and something that both Irie and Miyake heavily criticized. Miyake in particular argued two things:¹¹¹

- 1) Children will not necessarily answer honestly
- 2) Children might start adapting to their dishonest answers

The first point is self-explanatory. She claims that most children are aware that not all answers are equally correct, even when asked to simply state things about themselves. Children are often given ‘clues’ in a number of ways, the teacher will often second-guess answers that aren’t satisfactory or conforms to the curriculum, or even the youngest children have a tendency to confirm their answers with their classmates. The first reason why they might give dishonest answers is that the teacher will examine the book, and that they might be asked to show their answers to their classmates. As such, the child will sometimes write down the things they think their teacher and classmates want to see. As Miyake puts it, instead of being a section about me, it becomes a section about the ‘me it’s OK to show’. Ideally, it should be a page where the child shows off the things they are proud of, interested in and love, as opposed to a list of socially acceptable things.¹¹²

The second point is that once the children have written down a set of correct answers about who they are, what they appreciate and what they like to or want to do, some of them will start changing in accordance with these false answers. The dishonest answers are their perceived ideal self, not necessarily the self they want, but the one they believe others want. They will begin changing to fit the new and idealized [me], and not the real [me]. Miyake describes this as a materialization of the ‘receiver’s me,’ as opposed to the real one.¹¹³

Althusser’s theory of interpellation is relevant, as the children are never told outright that their answers are wrong or dissatisfactory, but rather they are interpellated into becoming the idealized children as presented in the moral education textbooks. There are very concrete examples of what the moral education textbooks deem acceptable and correct behavior, and this behavior is labeled as the behavior of a good child, which the children are subsequently

¹¹⁰ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition: 6-7

¹¹¹ Miyake, *Thinking About Notebook of the Heart*, 15-17

¹¹² Miyake, *Thinking About Notebook of the Heart*, 16-17

¹¹³ Miyake, *Thinking About Notebook of the Heart*, 18-19

recommended to identify with. Nesta Devine analyzes the act of interpellation in elementary school, and argues for the possibility of teachings consciously hailing different kinds of students into being by using similar techniques. The teacher provides the framework for information and supplies the children with enough information for them to ‘interpellate themselves.’¹¹⁴

MEXT’s own explanation/analysis of *Watashitachi no Doutoku* explains that the children are not taught ‘why’ in the lower years. In their analysis ‘About *Watashitachi no Doutoku*,’ they explain that the lower years are to be taught to follow rules and differentiate between right and wrong. A few sentences later they specify that the upper years are to understand the rules and the difference between right and wrong, i.e. the younger pupils are not taught why certain behavior is wrong, only that it is.¹¹⁵

In line with my observations, the younger students are given both subtle *and* clear hints as to what is right and what is wrong. When reading the Ministry analysis, one is given the impression that there will be clear indication of what is wrong and what is right, but this is not always the case. There is a section with four images and accompanying text asking the children if they think the following behavior is acceptable. The four show examples of someone observing the following situations ‘Someone is talking in class,’ ‘Someone has dropped garbage on the ground,’ ‘Someone is drawing on the wall,’ and ‘An elderly citizen wants to sit on the bus.’ The title of the page reads ‘In times like these, what is the right thing to do? Let's discuss it with everyone.’¹¹⁶

The following pages have four columns marked ‘something you did that you thought was good’ and ‘what you felt when you did it’, asking the children to write down their experiences of doing something they thought was good. The first page is for their 1st year answer and the second is marked 2nd year.¹¹⁷ The phrasing is, as Miyake pointed out, asking the children to write down something they ‘thought’ was good, but given the rigid context of the question they are actually asked to repeat what the book is telling them.

¹¹⁴ The theory is that children are used as actors in the creation of the self. The teacher has a reflection of the student, which the teacher shows to the student. Subsequently the child uses this reflection in the formation of its self, becoming a reflection of the reflection that the teacher shows him.

¹¹⁵ Ministry of Education, 2015: 6-7.

¹¹⁶ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition: 34-35

¹¹⁷ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition: 36-37

6.4 Stories

This section is followed by a story about Ponta and Kanta, two raccoons that are best friends. While playing in the park Kanta has discovered a hidden place in the backside of the park's hill, where they are not allowed to go. He invites and goads Ponta to join him, but Ponta, after an inner struggle, decides to speak up in a loud voice and say that he cannot go because it is a place they are not allowed to visit. 'I'm not going. I decided after thinking about it really hard.'¹¹⁸

In this particular story, as it was taught to the first graders I observed, the pupils are not given an explicit reason why they should obey the rule, nor is there provided a particular reason for Kanta's desire to go there, other than perhaps curiosity. The choice that Ponta makes, as it is presented, is not one that factors in any kind of extenuating circumstances or contextual variation, i.e. whether there is a justifiable reason for wanting to go down the park's hill or what implications breaking the rules might carry, but rather a choice of whether or not he is a person who obeys the rules. The children are presented with two characters with which they may identify, Kanta, who breaks the rules, or Ponta who follows them. This is the interpellative power of the story. It is further enhanced by the Ministry's tendency, as noted earlier, to 'deceive' children into believing that they make these choices themselves. Ponta claims to reach the conclusion of not breaking the rules on his own, which in turn makes him a good student. The children, as they react to the story, more or less immediately identify Kanta as a bad person.

The intent behind the story, to implore children to obey the rules, however, can be readily jeopardized by the intervention of the teacher. In the case of the school I observed, the teacher first asked the children to share stories where they had broken the rules. Several examples of which he did not judge, but almost applaud. One particular example was of a child who had, together with his parents, pretended to be taller than he actually was in order to get onto a ride in an amusement park. The teacher considered this and decided that it was 'all right' since he was given his parent's permission to bend the rules. The pupil seemed very hesitant to admit to his part in the lie, but after the initial reluctance and the teacher's explanation, he concluded that he had done the right thing after all. The teacher underlined that the lie was only permissible because of the parents' involvement. In a sense, this goes against the moral of the

¹¹⁸ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition: 38-41

story, where Ponta reaches the conclusion on his own, or at the least reaches the conclusion that he should obey the rules.

The class explored a similar theme in the story titled ‘Mister Moon is watching’ (*otsuki sama ga miteiru*), an adaption of an old story by the same name. The story follows a small child and her parents as they are walking home at night. The child, having concluded that it is okay to steal as long as no one is watching, tries to reach out and grab an apple that is hanging from a tree in the neighbor’s garden. The father then scolds her and explains that someone is always watching, the moon.¹¹⁹ Following this story, some of the children were able to reason that stealing was wrong even when no one, not even the moon, was watching them. The teacher further emphasized the fact that stealing was always wrong.

The last section, dedicated to proper behavior, has a list of things one is not allowed to do. There are six pictures next to the title ‘There are things you can’t do, you know.’ These six pictures are accompanied by a single sentence, explaining the forbidden action inside.

- ‘You can’t lie’ together with a picture of a girl smiling and holding something behind her back
- ‘You can’t hit your friends’ together with a picture of a boy hitting another boy ‘
- ‘You can’t take other people’s things’ together with a picture of a boy stealing a pencil from someone’s pencil case
- ‘You can’t bully’ together with a picture of three students walking away from a sad boy
- ‘You can’t say bad things’ together with a picture of two students badmouthing a girl
- ‘You can’t hide people’s things’ together with the picture of a girl hiding another girl’s shoes¹²⁰

On the very last page, there is a story titled ‘I honestly felt better,’ which provides yet another indirect way of informing children of ‘correct’ behavior without directly telling them. The

¹¹⁹ The story is listed in ‘My Moral Education: Moral Education Hour Guideline and Tricks for Method, 2003: 56 (http://www.bunkei.co.jp/d_magazine/pdf/19kojin.pdf). Variations of the story also include the mother being the thief (<http://www1.m-net.ne.jp/dai8/img/p14/0616.pdf>) and the father (<http://hukumusume.com/douwa/kisetu/tukimi/html/04.htm>)

¹²⁰ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade Edition: 43-44

story is about a boy who told a lie. When he ripped out a page in one of his books, he blamed it on his little brother. After feeling bad, he decided to tell the truth and immediately felt better.¹²¹

The final part of the 1st and 2nd grade edition of *Watashitachi no Doutoku* is dedicated to the fourth of the four virtues, ‘one’s role in relation to everybody’ and titled thereafter as ‘together with everybody’ (*minna to tomo ni*). The chapter is divided into five sub-sections, dealing with 1) upholding promises and rules 2) knowing the value of work 3) being useful at home 4) having fun with school activities and 5) having affection for one’s hometown. The first two pages are a double spread of a lively town with text explaining that it is ‘everybody’s town’ and that the town is filled with things that ‘everybody uses,’ and text asking the children to discuss what things might be like without rules.¹²²

6.5 Moral education and gender equality

Gender equality is a point of contention in the Ministry of Education’s curriculum for moral education. The course of study does not explicitly support any kind of unfair or unequal gender-based treatment, but it does reinforce a very traditional gender-based division of labor. Japan is currently performing relatively poorly on the World Economic Forum’s rankings of gender equality, where it ranks 104th out of 142 countries ranked, and among its many issues, finding full-time employment for women is perhaps the most challenging one.¹²³ Ever since the ‘Equal Employment Opportunity Law’ was passed in 1985, the situation has in fact worsened for most ordinary women. Equality of opportunity came at the cost of several benefits, such as menstrual leave, and saw many women relegated from the desirable career track and life-long contracts to temporary employment.¹²⁴ In other words, the law only provided equality of opportunity for women who were already privileged, i.e. the wealthy and well educated. Since temporary employment is not financially beneficial to families with one other main provider women often end up staying home. Prime Minister Abe has made several

¹²¹ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade Edition, 44-46

¹²² Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade Edition, 2-3 (index) and 118-158 (actual content)

¹²³ World Economic Forum, *Global Gender Gap 2014*, Japan (<http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2014/economies/#economy=JPN>)

¹²⁴ Chizuko Ueno. *Gender Equality and Multiculturalism under Japanese Neo-Liberalist Reform in the Era of Globalization* (Sendai, Touhoku University Press, 2010), 7-8

promises to improve the situation for Japanese women, claims that conflict with his past statements and vision of a ‘traditional Japan.’¹²⁵

This idea of a traditional Japan being a country with gender-based division of labor has long been challenged by feminist Ueno Chizuko, who argues that the nuclear family is a fairly modern creation. Her critique of the modern family claims that it functions as a form of social control where women work as glorified servants at home, a controversial claim according to some, and are denied self-realization through employment in the public sphere and financial independence.¹²⁶ I would argue that some of the criticism Japan’s gender issues receive are a result of Japan being viewed through a Northern European lens, especially when it comes to economy. The wife is traditionally the one who is in charge of disposing of the household income and manages the family’s finances. Further, given the long, sometimes extreme, hours that Japanese salary men dedicate to their companies, I would be reluctant to claim that any one gender holds dominion over the other. Ueno does, however, make a strong point when it comes to the two spheres of control. The father works in the public sphere and the mother is in charge of the domestic.¹²⁷ This paradigm is notably replicated in the moral education books as well, where the mother is in charge of all domestic chores and the father is only spoken of in relation to working.

Many of the assignments that involve the schoolchildren doing housework typically shows a child doing dishes with their mother. Similarly, all texts invoke traditional perceptions of gender-based division of labor. One text, where a child talks about being useful in the home mentions how the child always helps his mother with housework and helps take care of his father when he returns from work.¹²⁸ Whether this is a stereotype or not is a separate discussion, and certainly beyond the scope of this thesis, but this hardly reinforces an attitude of gender equality, which is hailed as a cornerstone in modern democracies. On the other hand, the book is careful to have children of both gender accompany their mother in doing household chores. There are several stories where the main character is a boy who helps with caring for his younger siblings or doing the dishes.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Abe, 2006. Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet, provisional translation

¹²⁶ Chizuko Ueno. *The Modern Family in Japan: Its Rise and Fall*, Tokyo, (Trans Pacific Press, 2009), 63-68

¹²⁷ Ueno, *The Modern Family in Japan*, 69-74

¹²⁸ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 140-141

¹²⁹ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 142-143 (This page is also notable for having the father partake in the cooking)

Such criticism is often countered with the argument that the moral education books reflect contemporary reality and not an ideal one, but the argument is inconsistent with the rest of the textbooks. As I previously discussed, the concept of *Edoshigusa* has been included solely for its use as an idealized society and not because it is grounded in historical truth, and Shimomura, Minister of Education, claimed that they did not teach history but used *Edoshigusa* to display ideal states of correct manner and etiquette.¹³⁰ If this is true, then does the texts involving traditional household display an ideal state of gender-based division of labor? While this would not conflict with what many perceives to be the Abe administration's underlying ideology, it would certainly run counter to the curricular guidelines for moral education.

If it is not the case of an idealized state, but rather supposed to serve as a reflection of contemporary reality, then that is also worthy of criticism. The decline of the nuclear family is a well-documented phenomenon, and in her book *Unmasking Japan Today* from 1993, Fumie Kumagai argues that more than 8 out of 10 Japanese families did not conform to the image of the typical nuclear family.¹³¹ With this in mind, it is clear that the *Watashitachi no Doutoku* books do not conform to any objective and observable reality, but rather an idealized fiction, just as Ueno argued that the nuclear family was never a reality in Japan, but a social construction to which families later conformed.

The division of labor is not the lone stereotype that is being reinforced. A recurring theme, and the critical point in Ueno's theory, is that the mother is too often the sole source of emotional connection at home. Almost all emotional connections, as they are displayed in *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, are between the child and its mother. The father is consistently absent from any kind of emotional exchange. This is a highly interpellative act, as the pupils who use these books will perceive a woman's sole role as that of an emotional provider. This does not foster a consciousness that might understand women as versatile and capable agents. None of the examples of an ideal family have both parents in employment, and this reflects an arguably unfortunate reality for many Japanese women seen from the Scandinavian point of view. They are treated as equals during childhood, but presented with vastly different expectations for adulthood. The children, provided that they identify as 'good children' are

¹³⁰ News23, 2015

¹³¹ Fumie Kumagai. *Unmasking Japan Today* (Westport: Praeger, 1993). This topic is explored throughout the entirety of her essay.

expected to follow the examples presented to them in the moral education books i.e. ‘good children don’t steal, etc.’ and they are subsequently interpellated into this behavior. They will therefore experience a similar form of interpellative pressure when reading stories with adult actors, and be made into ‘good mothers’ and ‘good fathers.’

There are a few exceptions, notably with the community’s elderly functioning as a source of wisdom, and the father sometimes acting in unison with the mother, but the mother is rarely absent from such an exchange.¹³² The gender pattern is even mimicked in stories that do not specifically pertain to the household situation. Stories about the animal kingdom where the mother is treated as a source of emotional comfort and the father leaves the home to search for food.¹³³

I observed several classes in which the children were told a story titled ‘Bradley’s Invoice,’ a story that appears in both *Watashitachi no Doutoku* and several other moral education books.¹³⁴ The story is of a young boy who handed his mother an invoice where had written down all of his tasks and how much money he wanted for each of them i.e. doing homework - 1 dollar. The following day his mother handed him an envelope of money and an invoice of her own, in which she had listed all of the household chores and written ‘0 dollars’ after each of them. Bradley, crying, then realized what a great mother he had.¹³⁵ The children were then encouraged to list all of the great things their mothers did or had done for them. Not a single child, nor the teacher, mentioned anything beyond the domestic realm. To my knowledge there were several of the children who had working mothers, one of them was even a famous artist, none of which were mentioned.

6.6 Moral education as a form of failing public pedagogy

Public pedagogy, also referred to as public sphere pedagogy, is an approach to education that connects the classroom to real world civic activities¹³⁶. This typically involves trips to public institutions such as the town hall or even the supermarket. There are traces of this pedagogical

¹³² Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 142-143

¹³³ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 88-90 and 96-99

¹³⁴ I observed the book as it was used in the 3rd and 4th grade edition of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*

¹³⁵ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 3rd and 4th grade edition, 142-146

¹³⁶ University of East London, ‘What is Public Pedagogy’

approach in the Ministry of Education's goals for moral education, specifically in that they wish to involve the local community, subsequently local businesses or organizations, in the moralizing process. There is already a degree of community intertwined into the moral education curricula with its focus on festivals and inter-school events, and as pointed out, albeit critically, by Irie Youko. Cultural critic Henry Giroux argues that the observation of political and *moral* practices are a necessary function in public pedagogy, and that pedagogy is an inherently moral practice.¹³⁷ The curricular guidelines list the learning of democratic processes as a vital part to the third section of moral education, the section dedicated to oneself in relation to society, and despite being conducted as a part of social studies, field trips should be considered as much a part of moral education as they are a part of social studies. Moral education's status as an unofficial class has permitted a sort of branching of its influence into other classes, as I will later argue.

There is a fine line between politicized pedagogy and political pedagogy, the first denoting a firm and rigid moral stance whereas the second refers to teaching students to engage in a range of moral ideas and perspectives.¹³⁸ The oft-hailed goal of moral education is to make Japanese children equipped to tackle all sorts of challenges using both intellectual and moral judgment, which implies a sense of moral adaptability, but this is poorly reflected in the textbooks.

Public sphere pedagogy functions, to some degree, as a counter to the curriculum's shortcomings. Teaching them the public processes does at the very least provide them with the tools necessary to engage in moral and political issues outside school, even if the curricular content inherently restricts a varied approach to moral issues. Giroux stresses the importance of teaching children about social responsibility and raising an awareness of issues such as poverty, and division of power and resources.¹³⁹ Contrary to this, one might be led to believe when reading the Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines, social responsibility is largely absent in *Watashitachi no Doutoku*. Students are taught that they have a responsibility, or duty rather, to society, but without the contextual framework with which to understand the consequences of things such as misuse of power. They are shaped to become tools for that

¹³⁷ Henry Giroux. Public Pedagogy as Cultural Politics: Stuart Hall and the Crisis of Culture, *Cultural Studies Vol 14, Issue 2*, (2000)

¹³⁸ Henry Giroux. Doing Cultural Studies: Youth and the Challenge of Pedagogy, *Harvard Educational Review* 64, (1994)

¹³⁹ Henry Giroux. *Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy and the Responsibility of Intellectuals* (London: Routledge, 2004), 64

very misuse. They are taught to participate in democratic processes without applying critical thinking, which makes them victims of a politicized pedagogy and not moral agents acting freely.

This brand of public pedagogy also runs the risk of reinforcing social division when not viewed through a critical lens. When bringing children to a town hall meeting where 90% of the attendees are elderly men, one reinforces, be it intentionally unintentionally, the truth that men dominate this particular public sphere.¹⁴⁰ Without being taught how to think critically, Japanese schoolchildren will accept any information as ‘truths.’ Public pedagogy as a function in moral education then becomes instruction in how to further a politicized ideology and not a course in how to engage in varied moral and political discourse. With this in mind, one could argue that moral education works against its own curricular guidelines, undermining democratic processes instead of facilitating the children’s future participation in them. Similarly, to how they are taught to reinforce existing political ideologies they are also taught to reinforce social patterns in the home and local community.

¹⁴⁰ I observed several classes in social studies where 3rd graders wrote summaries, and drew pictures, of their fieldtrip to the city office.

7 Use of Textbooks

7.1 Observations of a typical class

There is a two-fold question connected to the use of textbooks in Japanese elementary schools:

To what degree are the textbooks used when creating a lesson plan, and to what degree are the textbooks employed in class? To answer both of these questions we draw on the moral educational guidance plan (*doutoku gakushuu shidouan*), the specific summaries of class outlines (*tenkai taiyou*) and empirical knowledge derived from observation. Unlike the other classes in Japanese elementary schools, the children are not allowed to bring their moral education textbooks home. They are permanently left in the care of the teachers who hand them out at the start of the class and collect them at the end of the class. In fact, the children are not allowed to open their textbooks unless they are either a) following the story alongside the teacher and b) answering questions in the book itself. In the majority of the classes I observed, the teachers were consistent in their use of textbooks. This consistency was, however, limited only to how much they would use moral education teaching material, not specifically if they would use *Watashitachi no Doutoku*.

A standard class, as I observed them, is limited to 45 minutes and the class outline accounts for about 42 minutes or so of that time, with a few minutes left over in case of trouble or shortage of time. The class outline is divided into four parts:

Introduction 8 minutes

First part: 12-14 minutes

Latter part: 12-14 minutes

Finish: 8 minutes

Each of these are then subsequently divided into three categories:

- 1) Study activity

2) Main question and expected response

3) Method of responding to children's reality/techniques for assessment

The study activity and the main question refers to the course of action that the teachers take during class, where as expected response and the techniques for assessment are pedagogical tools the teachers use to evaluate the children. This structure and subsequent categorization can be applied to the typical moral education class that I observed, which in turn reveals the degree to which the textbooks were employed.

10-minute introduction: Desks are organized into a horseshoe and the teacher reveals the topic of the day. Then, he or she asks the children to consider a particular question and guides the children's answers so that they are relevant to the topic.

6 to 8-minute first part: The teacher hands out textbooks, tells the story and gets brief feedback from students.

12 to 15-minute second part: The class conducts an empathy exercise, the answers are written on the blackboard and the teacher also edits these to keep them relevant to the topic.

8 to 10-minute final: The children do an assignment in the textbook, there are closing comments on the topic of the day, and the teacher collects answers and asks the children to organize the desks back in place.

While the children are given the textbooks at the beginning of the class and they are not collected until the very end, they are not actually used throughout the entire class. The textbooks are used to follow the teacher's story and then to do the assignment at the close of the lesson.

7.2 What textbooks were used in class?

First and foremost, I wish to address the usage (or lack thereof) of the new textbook, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, in the moral education classes. The school I visited, Hatomori elementary school, was referred to by one of the my contact teachers at Waseda as 'a school where moral education has been introduced.' This means that it is a school where moral education has put into use for a specific amount of time. A school where there moral

education curriculum has been put into use is a school where the official curricula has been validated in a sense, which I had confirmed when the teacher in charge of moral education (*doutoku tantou*) showed me the wide variety of books they used. Among these books were *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, which, as she remarked, was brand new. So if they chose not to use the book, it could not be because it was not available to them, as each classroom was equipped with at least 12 copies. According to MEXT, the textbooks were distributed nationwide in mid to late 2013, and this school seemingly received their shipment without any problems.¹⁴¹

This is the list of the books that were used in the moral education classes at Hatomori Elementary School from September to January 2014-15:

Watashitachi no doutoku (Our morals)

X-nensei no doutoku (X-grader's morals)

Minna no doutoku (Everybody's morals)

Nantonaku (Somehow)

Kokoro Akaruku (Bright mind)

Yutakana kokoro (A rich mind)

Doutoku Bunkei (Morals collection)

In addition to these there were at least three other moral education textbooks that were stocked in the classrooms, but not put to use in the classes I observed. These were:

Kokoro no Notoo (Notebook of the heart)

Kokoro wo Migaku (Polishing the mind)

Kokoro Takumashiku (A robust heart/mind)

¹⁴¹ Ministry of Education, 'About Moral Education', http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/doutoku/

There are also an even greater variety of moral education textbooks available for ordering online, many of which are being used at other elementary schools in the same prefecture as the school I observed. These books include, but are not limited to:

Akarui Kokoro (Bright mind)

Kokoro Tsunaide (Connecting minds)

Minna de Doutoku wo Kangaeru (Thinking about morality with everybody)

Doutoku (Morality)

Doutoku Kyouiku (Moral Education)

Kimi ga Ichiban Hikaru Toki (The time you shine the most)

Nukumori (Warmth)

Michishirube (Guidepost)

Shougakusei no Doutoku (Elementary School Student's Morality)

Chuugakusei no Doutoku (Secondary School Student's Morality)

7.3 Similarities between the different textbooks

There are striking similarities between both the design, titles and content of the different moral education textbooks being published. Firstly, the titles of the different textbooks tend to come in two, possibly three different variations. The first, and perhaps simplest, is the straightforward variation that simply states the name of the curriculum or at the very least has a title referring to the course. The textbooks in this category are given titles like: *Everybody's Morality*, *Moral Education for Elementary School Students*, and *2nd graders Morality*.

The second variation of textbook titles often include keywords such as bright and warm, and mention the heart or mind, *kokoro*. Textbooks in this category are given names like *Notebook of the Heart*, *Connecting Hearts* and *Bright Minds*. These titles can be interpreted as softer and perhaps more inviting.

The third and final variation are the textbooks that are given names that are not necessarily linked to the class itself. While someone with an understanding of the content might quickly realize that these are books for moral education, the title itself does not reveal this. Textbooks in this category are given names like *Somehow*, *Guidepost* or *The Time You Shine the Most*.

Despite their differences, the themes are all concurrent with what is recognized as correct moral curriculum, and more importantly, is tied to the content of the MEXT curricular guidelines and overall aim for moral education. Every title is in some way related to the idea of having a sound mind, working well with others and behaving ethically correct. Even the single-word titles such as ‘warmth’ or ‘guidepost’, which are only loosely tied to the content, still fits in neatly with the aforementioned guidelines.

Our Morals and *Notebook of the Heart* can be considered the archetype of these textbooks, because they are MEXT's own produce and thusly fashioned after the then current curriculum, but this does not mean that the other books have been created as a copy of these.

The last book in the list of moral education books used at Hatomori Elementary School, *Doutoku Bunkei*, is actually a collection of stories used in various moral education books. To my knowledge, some of these stories have been printed several times over.¹⁴² This also applies to some of the stories told in *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, *X-nensei no Doutoku* and the outdated *Kokoro no Nooto*. The difference is that *Doutoku Bunkei* is mainly a collection of stories, whereas the other books are divided into thematic chapters, have assignments, etc.

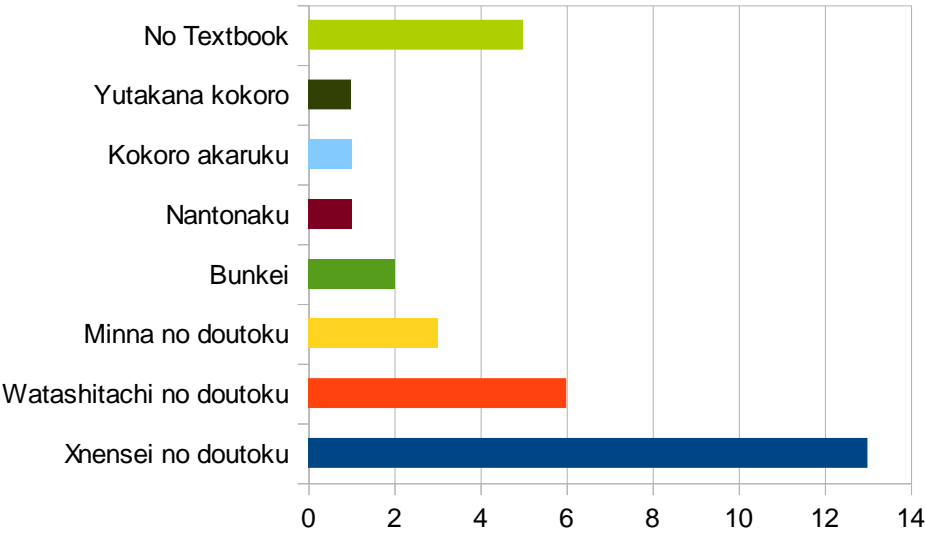
7.4 Analysis of usage

When looking at the graph of the sampled 32 moral education classes I observed, we can see that *Watashitachi no Doutoku* was only employed in six of them. The majority belonged to *X-nensei no doutoku*, which was used in 13 classes. Then followed *Minna no Doutoku*, which was used in three classes. The collection of moral education stories *Doutoku Bunkei* was used in two classes. *Nantonaku*, *Kokoro Akaruku* and *Yutakana Kokoro* were only used in one class each. Finally, five of the classes were conducted without direct use of a moral education textbook. Note that this does not exclude the use of a textbook in the planning of said lesson, on which there is placed no restriction or limit. Regardless of MEXT guidelines, teachers are

¹⁴² Meaning that they appear in different collections of Moral Education textbooks, for example *The Moon is Watching* and *Bradley's Invoice*

free to draw upon whatever they choose when preparing a class. This became clear when observing some classes in which the teacher went completely off the curriculum and other classes where it was followed to the letter. These 32 classes almost account for all of the moral education classes in the fall semester. Since I did not arrive at the school until late September there are at least 5 classes that are unaccounted for, as well as another 5 that were canceled in favor of other classes.

Different usage of textbooks by Hatomori Elementary School September 2014 – January 2015:



Based on the graph one can see that *Watashitachi no Doutoku* is not the most used moral education textbook at this particular elementary school. As previously stated, the new *Watashitachi no Doutoku* textbooks were in distribution by March 2014. In addition to having all of these books available to them, this was also a school where moral education had been introduced. A noteworthy distinction, as some of the teachers I spoke with emphasized the fact that not all schools had successfully introduced the course, and not all schools have a strong tradition for teaching moral education. Given their tradition of moral education, the fact that they had stores of old *Kokoro no Nooto* books, and a wealth of other textbooks at their disposal, we can reasonably assume that the school is not vehemently opposed to the concept of teaching moral education. Their departure from the Ministry of Education’s curriculum, or perhaps selective adaption of its curriculum, is therefore most likely to be a deliberate choice. I can only speculate as to the reason, but the fact remains that *Watashitachi no Doutoku* only appeared in 15% of moral education classes.

The polarization of the moral education debate might be one of the reasons why *Watashitachi no Doutoku* is not being used. Media framing has succeeded, to a certain degree, in labelling the coming reform as Abe's moral education, and the textbook is being treated as an extension of the Abe cabinet's will.

7.5 Practical line versus theoretical line

One of the theories I had about moral education, and how it is being thought, is the possibility of a disparity between the Ministry of Education's curriculum and projected desires, and the actual state in Japanese schools. There were two reasons for this theory, the first being the historical opposition between the Ministry of Education and the Japanese teachers unions, and the second being the legal limitations of an area study class such as moral education.

Teachers' unions and the Ministry of Education have historically been at odds with one another both politically and ideologically. The Ministry of Education has traditionally represented conservative values of the administration, whereas the teachers' unions have been the sole remaining leftist bastion in Japanese society. These two factions have held conflicting views and ideas on the topic of moral education, and as I outlined earlier, the re-introduction of the moral education into Japanese schools was considered a loss to the teachers, but their ability to prevent its full implementation was considered a victory. If moral education was a part of the official curriculum and not an area study class, then the Ministry of Education's authority on the matter would be absolute. Area study classes, or 'unofficial classes,' only have a recommended curriculum and no official textbook. *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, despite being manufactured and distributed using tax money, are only considered 'teaching materials' by law and the Ministry of Education lacks the legal authority to enforce its use, hence the perceived disparity between the Ministry's wishes and the real state in Japanese schools.

Teachers currently hold a considerable amount of sway when it comes to content of the moral education class. As I mentioned earlier this makes it notoriously difficult to measure the effect of moral education because the method and process varies from school to school.

First, the teacher determines what kind of teaching materials the class will use, and many schools hold a considerable collection of different moral education books, not just the ones distributed by the Ministry of Education. This variation has been capitalized on by several

publishing companies, and there exists a wide variety of different moral education teaching materials, many of which can scarcely be considered more than a lightly edited version of the books distributed by the Ministry of Education. These books often employ the same stories and teach the same lessons using different words. There exists a body of popular stories that forms a canon for the moral education class. Some of these stories are not necessarily represented as a part of the moral education class, despite holding very clear moral lessons, but taught as a part of social studies or language.¹⁴³ Therefore, what could be considered a deviation from the Ministry's wishes is only a superficial variation of the same curriculum. The teachers do, however, control the children's access to the teaching material, which brings us to the second point.

The teacher is in charge of activities, and this is where I observed the largest disparity between the Ministry's curriculum and common practice in school. Both *Kokoro no Nooto* and *Watashitachi no Doutoku* have considerable amounts of their books dedicated to homework and activities that need to be carried out in the neighborhood or local community. The most common practice is to strictly control when the children engage with the textbooks and they are almost never allowed to bring them home. In-class activities, however, are often carried out following the books' instructions. This exercise of control suggests perhaps the largest conflict between teachers and the Ministry of Education. Voiced by the Ministry of Education, the greatest failure of *Kokoro no Nooto* was the fact that it did not enter common use. The Ministry was well aware of its limited ability to exercise force on the matter of moral education, but the widespread misuse of the textbooks did not seem to be fully revealed until very recently when one of the Ministry's members visited a local elementary school and discovered that all of the moral education books were stored in the classroom.¹⁴⁴ I observed identical practice at a local elementary school in Tokyo, where every single classroom was equipped with at least two versions of these books. The teachers were also careful to collect the books at the end of each class, or even mid-class if they switched to a new activity.

Any possible conflict between a teacher's plan and the Ministry of Education's curriculum takes place during the planning phase of the lesson, as such the classes I observed all had the image of being wholly complete. The disparity lies therefore in their ability to choose another

¹⁴³ Aman Kimiko, *Chiichan's Shadowsending* (Tokyo: Akane Publishing, 1982)

¹⁴⁴ Ministry of Education, transcript of 2014's 18th meeting (http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_kaigiroku.nsf/html/kaigiroku/009618620140516018.htm).

textbook. The moral education curriculum is presented to the class as a ‘united front,’ without the possibility of the children perceiving any disagreement between the teacher and content. Therefore, it was important to be aware of the teacher’s conscious choice not to use the textbooks, which often occurred. Either before or after the story from the book, the teacher would contextualize it with personal stories or moral lessons of their own. In one example, the first grade teacher asked the children if they had ever told a lie, to which very few children raised their hands. He then imparted a story about how he had lied about being sick when he was a few minutes late to football practice, which prompted the trainer to make him observe for the remaining two hours of the session. He then emphasized that lying could often result in very unpredicted and unfortunate results, and that the children should take care not to lie about important things. Very different from the Ministry of Education’s course of study where ‘honesty’ is a part of the 1st pillar of the ideal person.

Another example is from the 5th graders’ lesson on the use of the Internet. After a brief brainstorming session of the dangers and benefits of using the Internet, the teacher shared a story from his own youth. The teacher, being 25 years old, experienced the Internet’s introduction into public use, and was able to identify with the children to some degree. He told them about how none of the other children in his class were interested in a particular video game that he enjoyed, and that he sought out an online forum where he found like-minded children around his age. To this day, he still consulted online forums when trying to determine whether he should purchase a particular video game or wanted to discuss them with someone outside his own circle of friends.

The teachers’ ability to go against the Ministry of Education’s curriculum allows them not just to oppose conflicting values, but also improvise and diversify classes. These two lessons in particular are also examples of how the teachers can make lessons more personal and current. This does not preclude a conflict or alignment with the Ministry of Education’s values, but underlines the fact that teachers alter moral education classes for a variety of reasons, both practical and political.

Third, moral education is often the first class to suffer under the event of a school epidemic or school festivities. If a large amount of children fall ill and are absent from vital math lessons then this may come at the cost of the moral education class, which will then be de-prioritized to accommodate the other classes. Similarly, the moral education class may often be called upon to give up hours in favor of preparing for school festivals such as the Sports Day or a

student art exhibit. Moral education currently holds the least amount of lesson hours in Japanese middle and elementary schools but seems hard pressed to manage to meet even that requirement. Per my observations, the average class managed to reach 20 or so lessons by the end of the semester, a bit over half of its allotted hours.

Much of the school's inability to correctly meet the class' lesson hours, however, is an unavoidable aspect of elementary school life. When the pressure to meet a tight schedule is faced with an unpredictable reality, the class with the least official demands is often the first to sacrifice its lesson hours. Without an official plan to follow, the teachers are largely in control of structuring the moral education's run and whether they feel a class has met a particular item on the Ministry of Education's list of curricular guidelines is entirely up to that individual teacher, leaving a lot of room for individual assessment of the class' needs. Further, since moral education is taught by the homeroom teacher and not a dedicated teacher like many of the other classes, the teacher might be less reluctant to offer up the moral education's lesson hours. This is even further affected by the fact that the children are not tested or graded in the classes, making it even easier to skirt in lesson hours as they are never called upon to explicitly display the knowledge they acquired from their moral education lessons.

8 Moral Education outside the Classroom

8.1 Moral education and its connection to extracurricular activities

During Nakasone's educational reform, there was an increased focus on time dedicated to moral education both during and outside of classes. Moral education's tradition of being a part of the school day, as opposed to a single class, goes all the way back to the Meiji period.¹⁴⁵ The schoolchildren are expected to pick up garbage if they come across it and every day they have an allotted amount of time dedicated to cleaning their classrooms. On their own, moral education classes are not overly effective, they rely on reinforcement from other school activities, such as constant co-operation between classes and students. This is perhaps why, when the time of *souji* (cleaning) arrives, students from each class are divided into various groups and each group are in charge of a classroom. The part vital to moral education is not the cleaning exercise itself, but rather the chance to co-operate with upper and lower classmates. This constant cooperation across classes was also one of the things that struck me as uniquely Japanese during my observations.

In his essay on social and moral education in Japanese schools, David McCullough defines social and moral education as two separate entities. His definition places the out-of-classroom activities as social education and in-classroom education as moral education. It is a position, however, that conflicts with the scope and aim of MEXT's moral education and its content. Moral education class sets the rules for correct behavior and the daily activities then become the arena in which these rules are obeyed, tested and even broken. School clubs, for example are often times considered separate from official school activities. Senior students, known as *senpai*, are expected to both discipline and educate the younger students, known as *kouhai*. McCullough notes the key venues here are co-operation, courtesy, diligence, self-

¹⁴⁵ Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, Chapter 6 on Confucianism and the Japanese state

improvement, friendship and other elements that the children have been taught in the moral education class.¹⁴⁶

The overriding goal of whole person education and development makes it almost impossible (and I would argue meaningless) to separate all of these activities. I would argue that it is difficult to achieve much more than a limited comprehension when observing these things as separate entities. The club becomes the practical arena where the children acquire experience in dealing with the ideas that were formally discussed in moral education class, making these activities intertwined with one another.¹⁴⁷

The mantra of whole person education also rings throughout the corridors of most schools, as the Japanese elementary schools have adopted a goal-centric brand of education. In each classroom there are two posters, goal of the week (*konshuu no meate*) and goal of the month (*kongetsu no meate*). These goals are similarly found on the ‘character profile’ cards that the children fill out every season. ‘The goal of this semester’ (*kongakki no meate*), ‘study goal’ (*benkyou no meate*), ‘other goal’ (*hokano meate*). The class goals are identical regardless of the year they are posted in and generally focus on something relating to health or atmosphere. Popular examples are *hayanehayaoki*, which translates into early sleep, early wake, the importance of greeting each other in the hallway, helping out with a certain activity at home, not running in the hallways, and so on. The goals of the profile cards were, as one might expect, students wishing to improve one area of their studies and make more friends.

It was not rare for these goals to be centered towards upcoming school festivals. Part of the reason why moral education classes often had to give way for things like preparation of banners, practice of school hymns and so on, was not because moral education was down-prioritized, but rather because it was considered a vital part of the moral education curriculum. These are largely chances for students to work together outside of the classroom and considered immensely important to development of a good *kokoro*. School activities have always been a big part of moral education and while the two are handled separately in the

¹⁴⁶ David McCullough. “Moral and Social Education in Japanese Schools: Conflicting Conceptions of Citizenship,” (Citizenship Teaching and Learning Vol 4, no1 2008).

¹⁴⁷ McCullough, *Moral and Social Education in Japanese Schools*, 24-27

MEXT study guide and educational guidelines, they are usually linked in some way or another.¹⁴⁸

This can partially be attributed to moral education's role as an 'unofficial class.' As previously mentioned this means that the children are not tested or graded in the curriculum, and that the teachers are not required by law to use a specific textbook. As such, the moral education falls into the 'area studies' category, all of which are directly or tangentially linked to activities outside the moral education class and even outside of the classroom. This makes it difficult to define the limits of moral education and in turn harder to differentiate between social and moral education.

8.2 Different brands of moral education

I observed that every classroom had a sort of two-fold system for commenting on other students' answers and communicating to each other without actually engaging in conversation. They signaled agreement by raising a closed fist and saying 'agree' (*sansei*), a fist with two fingers for partial agreement or an open hand for disagreement (*hantai*). At the top of the blackboard, there were drawn images of each, with an explanation written on the fist or inside the hand. A close fist meaning that 'you were in total agreement with the answer,' two fingers meaning that 'you somewhat agreed with the answer or agreed with some parts and disagreed with others,' and finally an open hand meaning that 'you disagree with the answer or their opinion but still respect it.' This is the first system, which was often practiced in the upper classes, but very rarely in the lower grades. As explained to me by a teacher, the students often used this when they were having a classroom debate. This coincided with my own observations, where it was only used during debates or in response to answers that were highly subjective.

The second system, as I observed, was one that was purely complimentary. There were a set of compliments that the children used to support each other, and while it often seemed very natural and organic, they employed the exact same words every time. At the start of the new semester, one moral education class was dedicated to determining *aikotoba*, words which are loosely described as 'motto' or 'watchwords.' They are essentially complimentary words

¹⁴⁸ Hood, *Japanese Education Reform*, 79, and Wei-Ming, *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity*, 135-136

friends use amongst each other, but words that are often determined on beforehand. The teacher listed three different scenarios: 1) When someone gives a good answer in class, 2) When someone does something you like and 3) when someone accidentally messes up in gym class. Then the children suggested various words that they wanted to use and then they held an anonymous vote to determine the three most suitable words. Finally, the class was split into three groups, where they made posters for the different words/scenarios, which they eventually hung on the back wall.¹⁴⁹

These two systems of greetings, created using ‘correct moral guidelines’ are examples how a class held only once a week somehow manages to permeate the entire school day. The words they determine go on to be used outside of the school as well. Before and after the school day I happened to share the same route to school and I often overheard them using the same words when playing. While it could be argued that this is an example of the children affecting the moral education class and not the other way around, Irie Youko argues that this is the aim of the moral education. Both the curriculum, the content and the textbooks themselves are created in a very particular and purposeful way, in which the children open themselves up to influence by imparting a piece of themselves onto the class.¹⁵⁰

Additionally, the schools often choose to focus on one particular aspect of moral education at a time and make a joint effort to emphasize it. Exemplified when the school wanted to celebrate human rights week, the moral education classes were taught in pairs. 1st and 2nd, 3rd and 4th, and finally 5th and 6th grade held shared brainstorming sessions. When the school wanted to put focus on the importance of greetings, they created a new system where each class would elect a bi-weekly ‘greeting captain.’ This person was in charge of making sure that everybody greeted each other, and were to greet very actively themselves. They were given a sort of cloth wristband with a ninja symbol on it and each class made a drawing of the imagined ‘greeting captain.’

A part of MEXT's aim for *Kokoro no Nooto* was to promote moral education outside of the classroom. There are sections that were listed as ‘co-operation’ (*renkei*) with the home (*katei*) and ‘region’ (*chiiki*) and these sections remained largely unused as students were rarely

¹⁴⁹ The children decided on ‘don’t mind’ to use for mistakes, ‘nice’ when someone offered a good answer in class, and ‘agree’ when someone offered a good explanation for something. My translation of ‘*donmai*, *naisu*, and *sansei*’

¹⁵⁰ As covered by Miyake’s criticism.

allowed to bring moral education textbooks home.¹⁵¹ In May 2014, a few months after *Watashitachi no Doutoku*'s first nation-wide distribution, the MEXT head of elementary school education released a paper titled 'About the MEXT distribution of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*.' Here he implores teachers to distribute the books to the children and let them bring them home.¹⁵²

8.3 Moral education outside of the school

The following day, at a MEXT meeting, one of the members brought up a similar concern. Following a visit to the school he had found stacks of *Watashitachi no Doutoku* textbooks left behind at school, and uploaded the picture to his Facebook. He then soon learned that few of the parents had ever seen these books and made the subsequent discovery that the books were not being brought home. He elaborated that, while MEXT was aware that the schools' decision of what to do with the textbooks, being supplementary learning materials and not official curriculum, was up to each individual school to determine, but at the same time he was still surprised. He then went on to emphasize the importance of the children bringing home these textbooks and working together with their parents. He also points out that large sections of the textbooks have activities that are designed to be carried out in the home, as well as sections dedicated to explaining the book's purpose to parents.¹⁵³

Looking at the textbook, there are several sections containing family activities. For example, the section in the 3rd and 4th grade edition titled 'Working together with everybody in the family' has an activity called 'Family Interview.'¹⁵⁴ The pupil's family is asked to write down memories from 'When you were born,' 'When you started school,' but also parts like 'When you were sick' or 'When you were scolded.' At the end, the pupils can write a message that they want to convey to their family.¹⁵⁵ Additionally there are activities where the parents evaluate the children's efforts at various chores. Chores such as tidying up ones room, washing dishes or going to bed early.

¹⁵¹ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 34-35

¹⁵² Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 34

¹⁵³ Ministry of Education, transcript of 2014's 18th meeting (http://www.shugiin.go.jp/internet/itdb_kaigiroku.nsf/html/kaigiroku/009618620140516018.htm).

¹⁵⁴ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 3rd and 4th grade edition, 136

¹⁵⁵ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 14-15

The section is named ‘Properly doing the things you have to do’¹⁵⁶ and each activity has an accompanying column. Inside the column, there is a small picture of the proposed activity, five empty circles and a message box. The circles are for the children to fill out once they have completed the activity, one for every day of the school week, and the box is for the parents to provide feedback and commentary on said activity.¹⁵⁷

The very first and very last pages of the textbook also help stress the textbook’s role outside of the classroom. The first page has a section titled ‘How to use this book’ which explains its application in the home and region, and how it can be used ‘whenever and wherever.’ The last page has a section titled ‘To this child’s guardians.’ This section explains the purpose of the book and encourages the parents to sit down and talk it over with their child.¹⁵⁸

The justification for these activities can be found in in MEXT’s teaching supplement ‘Instructional Materials for the use of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*.’ Here, Japanese elementary school teachers are provided with a detailed analysis of the textbook’s content, and the intent behind its various activities. In the second section of the first part of the instructional, it details the textbook’s applicability in classes other than moral education, classes such as social studies, integrated studies, foreign languages, life environment studies, and ‘special school activities.’ Citing examples from the textbook, they show an emphasis on things such as ‘correctly using public property,’ ‘the cultural properties inherited from the people in their region’ and ‘international communication.’¹⁵⁹

The third section argues for the book’s applicability outside of the school, mainly at home and in the various social arenas in their surrounding neighborhood/region. MEXT implores the teachers to have the children bring the textbooks home. The book has a set of activities dedicated to either personal use, use with one's parents or with the neighborhood. The textbook has two pages dedicated to keeping track of one’s possession and their wellbeing, as well as several pages dedicated to keeping track of school work and other duties.¹⁶⁰ Following these, there are activities and pages aiming to make the children respect the elderly, and learning and following the rules of one’s region.¹⁶¹ The final example is of activities

¹⁵⁶ My Translation

¹⁵⁷ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 12-15, and 3rd and 4th grade edition, 23-25.

¹⁵⁸ Tokitsu, *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School*, 32

¹⁵⁹ Ministry of Education ‘Analysis of *Watashitachi no Doutoku*’s purpose and method of application’, 2014: 10

¹⁶⁰ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 15, 24-27

¹⁶¹ Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 84-84, 128-129

dedicated to making the children be useful in the home, such as helping out with housework or looking after one's siblings.¹⁶²

Currently, moral education is a class that has its curriculum divided into three parts. The first part which is taught during the allotted moral education lesson hours, the second part which is unofficially conducted as a part of other school activities and festivals, and the third part which should ideally occur in the home and local community, but is being actively obstructed by teacher influence.

¹⁶² Ministry of Education, *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, 1st and 2nd grade edition, 159

9 Conclusion

In my introduction, I set out to discover the current debate surrounding Moral Education, as well as the possible similarities and differences between Moral Education's criticism and actual pedagogical practice. In order to understand the status of moral education and the current debate, this thesis looked at Ministry of Education's curricular guidelines, the Abe administration's proposed changes for the course and the popular and academic discourse and criticism surrounding the topic. I also chose to include a brief historical look to better understand how moral education has gone from being a tool for imperial doctrine to somewhat awkwardly become a controversial mainstay in many Japanese schools. Despite the initial protests when moral education was reintroduced in the late 50s, it has been accepted as something of a left and right concession, and ceased to be purely an issue for ideological debate. The initial was centered on whether or not there should be a moral education course. Now, however, the debate mainly focuses on specific aspects of the curricular content, or whether nor it should be elevated to an academic study and have its own textbook and grades. This is perhaps a necessary compromise in order for the moral education debate to progress as much of it has lingered on inaccurate statements and vague ideological debate. Claims from the Japanese teachers' unions that they oppose education that 'enforces a set of values onto students' needs to be grounded in observable reality and not simply in the interpretation of curricular guidelines. Such criticism will hold more weight once teachers are legally obligated to carry out moral education in accordance with the Ministry of Education's wishes.

The Abe cabinet is being credited, or blamed depending on the perspective, with the introduction of 'nationalistic' elements in moral education. Nakasone's emphasis on 'Healthy Nationalism' was as much an introduction of love for one's country, as it was a response to the already existing notion of patriotism. The Japanese people, however, have traditionally been more positive towards moral education in the past and the culmination of the LDP's push for moral education as an anti-bullying measure might simply be a failing public opinion. *Kokoro no Noto*, heavily criticized and labeled as a 'failure' by many, is an example of the Ministry's failure to secure the required legal authority to see through their educational policies. The recent decision to make moral education an academic course is a new attempt at securing control over Japanese teachers. With the Japan Teachers Union weaker than ever, we are led to believe that this might be the final reform necessary to fully implement moral

education back into Japanese schools. The failing popularity, now only at 57% according to the Ministry of Education's poll, might be indicative of an uncertain future.

As we have seen, I employed a two-fold method to discovering what kind of elements were emphasized in the contemporary moral education curriculum and classes. I analyzed the curricular guidelines, and the Ministry approved *Watashitachi no Doutoku*, and then engaged in a five months long period of observation at an elementary school in Tokyo. This led us to an understanding of the disparity between the practical line and the theoretical line. Moral education is a much greater part of some Japanese schools than the Ministry's curricular guidelines would have one assume. Per my observations, we have discovered that despite only being taught once a week, the lessons are a part of the school festival, of miscellaneous systems such as the 'greetings captain' and the 'agreement system.' This, the moral education's 'undefinable' influence on the school, is closer to an extension of the Ministry's wishes rather than a conflict, which I might consider true. There is, however, also a conflict when it comes to the practical carrying out of the course. The teachers are able to freely pick and choose between the many different moral education books, pick and omit items from the curricular guidelines and even elect to use no book at all. I observed deviations from the 'Ministry script' even when the teachers were using the Ministry's teaching materials. Therefore, it is likely that even with the legal obligation to use the Ministry's textbook, Japanese teachers would retain the ability to greatly influence the class.

The Ministry of Education emphasizes the four pillars of the ideal human, also known as the *ningenzou*. It emphasizes the strengthening of personal qualities such as self-control, healthy living and self-improvement, interpersonal qualities such as making nice with ones friends, and helping and respecting other people. It emphasizes the importance of respecting and revering nature, and all living things, and perhaps most importantly it emphasizes ones 'Japaneseness,' the importance of following rules and laws, and love for one's culture and nation.

In closing, moral education's status is that of an unofficial area study, a class whose reach permeates school events, extra-curricular activities and other classes. Ironically, its status as an unofficial area study is what permits such unchecked influence, and said influence might be reduced should the course become part of the official curriculum. Such a change, however, would allow even greater influence from policy-makers and allow them to enforce a much more standardized and particular brand of moral education. This might prevent the course

from spilling over into other curriculum, but would enforce the Ministry of Education's desires for the curriculum and most importantly force children to carry out moral education exercises in the home and neighborhood. Such a change would ultimately result in a more standardized, manageable and easily observable course, but with no guaranteed of an increased effect on children or on solving the problem of bullying, school dropouts and other social ills. As Shimizu and Akiba discovered when studying bullying, Japanese children tend to target the outsiders who resist conformity. Choosing to steer moral education in the direction of greater conformity rather than great tolerance for diversity might have an opposite effect on the bullying issue and further worsen the situation. Further research should then be able to analyze whether the full implementation of official and mandatory moral education would have an effect on bullying.

The one thing that is certain about Japanese moral education is that it is headed for a more observable future, which may or may not be its undoing.

Bibliography

“60% [agree] to Moral Education’s officialization based on the Ministry of Education’s public opinion appeal,” *Sankei News*, 28/03/2015,

(<http://www.sankei.com/life/news/150328/lif1503280017-n1.html>)

Aman Kimiko, *Chiichan’s shadowsending*, Tokyo: Akane Publishing, 1982.

“Co-operating with Moral Education: To the regulations established in Izumisano city” *Asahi Newspaper*, 8/2015 (<http://www.asahi.com/articles/CMTW1508272800001.html>)

Colin Joyce, “Japanese PM denies wartime ‘comfort women’ were forced, *The Telegraph*, 03/03/2007, (<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/1544471/Japanese-PM-denies-wartime-comfort-women-were-forced.html>).

Cummings, William K. *Education and Equality in Japan*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.

Cummings, William K. *The Revival of Values Education in Asia and the West*, Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1988.

Daulton, Frank E., and Akinori, Seki. *Bullying and Biracial Children in Japan*, (The Language Teacher, 2000) (http://jalt-publications.org/old_tlt/articles/2000/11/daulton)

David McNeill, “Luxury gap: How Japan turned into a nation of the haves and the have-nots,” *The Independent*, 06/02/2008. (<http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/asia/luxury-gap-how-japan-turned-into-a-nation-of-the-haves-and-the-havenots-778677.html>)

DeCoker, Gary., and Bjork Christopher. *Japanese education in an Era of Globalization – Culture, Politics, and Equity*, New York: Teachers College, 2013. Kindle Edition.

Devine, Nesta. *Pedagogy and Subjectivity: Creating our own Students*, Waikato: Waikato Journal of Publishing, 2003.

Edward Vickers, “The Abe Statement and the politics of war memory in Japan,” *China Policy Institute Blog*, 24/8/2015 (<https://blogs.nottingham.ac.uk/chinapolicyinstitute/2015/08/24/the-abe-statement-and-the-politics-of-war-memory-in-japan/>)

“Effect of Bullying Countermeasure/Moral Education is a Problem”, *Tsutsu*, 01/03/2013
(http://3coco.org/a/modules/d3pipes/?page=clipping&clipping_id=8750)

Fumie Kumagai. *Unmasking Japan Today*, Westport: Praeger, 1996.

Giroux, Henry. *Cultural Studies, Public Pedagogy and the Responsibility of Intellectuals*, London: Routledge, 2004

Giroux, Henry. Doing Cultural Studies: Youth and the Challenge of Pedagogy, *Harvard Educational Review* 64, (1994)

Giroux, Henry. Public Pedagogy as Cultural Politics: Stuart Hall and the Crisis of Culture, *Cultural Studies Vol 14, Issue 2*, (2000)

“Gov't releases guidelines for moral education,” *JapanToday*, 07/02/2015
(<http://www.japantoday.com/category/national/view/govt-releases-guidelines-for-moral-education>)

Grossman, David L., and Lo, Joe Tin-Yau. *Social Education in Asia: Critical Issues and Multiple Perspectives*, Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2008.

Hanano Yuta, “Figures show bullying rife in Japanese schools”, *The Asahi Shinbun*, 11/2012.
(http://ajw.asahi.com/article/behind_news/social_affairs/AJ201211230047)

Hood, Christopher P. *Japanese Education Reform: Nakasone's Legacy*, London: Routledge, 2001.

Hood, Christopher P. *Yutori and Ikiru-Chikara: The New Education System*, Leeds: University of Leeds, 1997.

Hosokawa, Tamao “Completed! Our Moral Education,” *Kirei Style Blog*, 15/2/2014
(http://tamao-hosokawa.kireiblog.excite.co.jp/201402/article_7.html)

Ikushima, Hiroyuki. *Educational Clinical Study on the Recent Juvenile Delinquencies*, Aichi: Aichi University of Education, 2005.

Irie Youko, *Textbooks Are Dangerous*, Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing, 2002.

Ishikida, Miki Y. *Japanese Education in the 21st Century*, New York: iUniverse, Inc. 2005.

Itagaki Eiken, “If Prime Minister Abe Shinzo and Minister of Education Shimomura Hakubun strengthen Moral Education then the thorough education of [Lowest morality = legal compliance] is predetermined,” *Itagaki Eikens the true story of politics and economy that won't appear in Mass Media*, 22/10/2014 (<http://blog.goo.ne.jp/itagaki-eiken/e/2568824bfc0ff4c0bae1ac498d3391e0>)

Japanese Government Chief Cabinet Secretary, Meeting for the Realization of the Resuscitation of Education, First Meeting, 2013.

(<https://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/singi/kyouikusaisei/dai1/gijiroku.pdf>)

Joe Lopez, “Japan's education reform to indoctrinate nationalism,” *World Socialist Web Site*, 03/01/2007, (<https://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2007/01/japa-j03.html>).

Kaizuka Shigeki, “Is Patriotism inexcusable? Concerning the officialization of moral education,” *Sankei News*, 3/2015 (<http://www.sankei.com/life/news/150314/lif1503140033-n1.html>)

Kalland, Arne. *Japans Historie: Fra Jegersamfunn til økonomisk supermakt*, Oslo: Cappelen Forlag as 2005.

Kasahara, Hikaru, Manipulation Hidden Behind “Kokoro No Nooto” and Government's Intervention in Children's Minds,” *Women's Asia: Recent Events in Japan* (2003).

Khan, Yoshimitsu. *Japanese Moral education past and present*, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press. 1998

Kusano Wataru, “Abe Administration's centerpiece policy – the movement towards making moral education official,” *Daisanbunmei*, 1/2015 (<http://www.d3b.jp/npcolumn/5054>, 2015).

“Leave those kids alone”, *Japan Times*, 1/2014. Editorial (http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/01/14/editorials/leave-those-kids-alone/#.VeAVh_ntmkp)

Maruyama, Hideki. “*Moral Education in Japan*” *National Institute for Educational Policy Research*, (2013)

McCullough, David. "Moral and social education in Japanese schools: Conflicting conceptions of citizenship," *Citizenship Teaching and Learning Vol 4, no1* (2008).

<http://www.citized.info/ejournal/vol%204%20no%201/david%20mccullogh.pdf>.

Mindy Kotler, "The Comfort Women and Japan's War on Truth," *The New York Times*, 14/11/2014. Opinion piece. (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/15/opinion/comfort-women-and-japans-war-on-truth.html?_r=0)

Ministry of Education, *About Moral Education*,

(http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/doutoku/07020611/001.htm)

Ministry of Education, – Chapter 2 – 4: Moral Education in Japan (Educational Standards in Japan 1965)

Ministry of Education, – Chapter 1 – 4: International Comparison (Educational Standards in Japan 1971)

Ministry of Education, - The Second Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education (Education, law and plan, 2013) <http://www.mext.go.jp/english/lawandplan/1355330.htm>

Ministry of Education, – Moral Education elementary school: Teacher's instructional materials for use of Watashitachi no Doutoku (2015)

Ministry of Education, *Elementary School Government Course Guidelines*, 2/2015.

(http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/doutoku/ and <http://search.e-gov.go.jp/servlet/Public?CLASSNAME=PCMMSTDETAIL&id=185000740&Mode=0>)

Ministry of Education, *Sweeping Revision of Moral Education*, 3/2015.

(http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2015/03/27/1282846_9.pdf)

Miyake, Akiko. *Thinking About Notebook of the Heart*, Tokyo: Iwanami Publishing, 2003.

"Moral Education raises risks," *Japan Times*, 2/2015. Editorial

(<http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2015/02/10/editorials/moral-education-raises-risks/#.VeAVjfmtmkq>)

“Moral Education's slippery slope,” *Japan Times*, 10/2014. Editorial
(http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/10/26/editorials/moral-educations-slippery-slope/#.VeAVk_ntmkq)

“More Physical Abuse Comes to Light at Public High School in Osaka”, *Yahoo Japan*, 21/12/2013 (http://detail.chiebukuro.yahoo.co.jp/qa/question_detail/q13118276513)

Nishigawa Ryyuichi, “Comment on Current Events, why Officialize Moral Education,” *NHK News Commentators Bureau*, 03/12/2013. (<http://www.nhk.or.jp/kaisetsu-blog/100/174520.html>)

Nitta, Keith A. *The Politics of Structural Education Reform*, London: Routledge, 2008.

Nobuo Hayakawa, “Comment on Current Events, the Abe Administration’s Task: Bullying and the Resurrection of Education,” *NHK News Commentators Bureau*, 09/01/2013.
(<http://www.nhk.or.jp/kaisetsu-blog/100/143094.html>)

Nobuo Hayakawa, “Comment on Current Events, the Abe Way’s Countermeasures against Bullying Are,” *NHK News Commentators Bureau*, 26/02/2013.
(<http://www.nhk.or.jp/kaisetsu-blog/100/147836.html>)

“Official Announcement of The Ministry of Education’s new Teaching Material [Watashitachi no Doutoku], reading material like legends of foreign and domestic great men completed,” *Sankei News*, 14/02/2014,
(<http://www.sankei.com/life/news/140214/lif1402140013-n1.html>).

“Officialization of Moral Education, towards a class with a propensity for aligning minds,” *Sankei News*, 07/02/2015, (<http://www.sankei.com/column/news/150207/clm1502070001-n1.html>).

Päivi Poukka, *Moral Education in the Japanese Primary School Curricular Revision at the Turn of the Twenty-first Century: Aiming at a Rich and Beautiful Kokoro*, (Helsinki: University of Helsinki, 2011)

“Panel Recommends 'Moral Education' to Counter School Bullying, Corporal Punishment,” *Japan Today*, 2/2013. (<https://kwbrow2.wordpress.com/2013/02/27/panel-recommends-moral-education-to-counter-school-bullying-corporal-punishment/>)

Park, Hyunjoon. *Re-Evaluating Education in Japan and Korea: Demystifying stereotypes*, London: Routledge, 2013.

Pradhana, Gillig. “How Moral is Japan?,” (2015).
(http://www.academia.edu/10671181/How_Moral_is_Japan)

“Prime Minister's desire for the officialization of Moral Education is 'Normative Consciousness',” *47 News*, 03/02/2014.
(<http://www.47news.jp/CN/201402/CN2014020301002373.html>)

“Reform directly supervised by the Prime Minister: Conference for implementation of educational recovery,” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 8/2015.
(<http://www.yomiuri.co.jp/kyoiku/special/CO015552/20150807-OYT8T50048.html>)

“Reports of school bullying in Japan up 180%,” *Japan Times*, 12/2013.
(http://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2013/12/10/national/reports-of-school-bullying-in-japan-up-180/#.VgkFoN_tmko)

“Ripples caused by Edoshigusa being published in moral education textbook”, *Gadgetto Tsuushin/Getnews*, 05/01/2015. (<http://getnews.jp/archives/754634>)

Roesgaard, Marie. *Moving Mountains: Japanese Education Reform*, Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1998.

Saito Yasuo, *Education in Japan: Past and Present*, National Institute for Educational Policy Research, (2008).

“School bullying on the increase,” *Japan Times*, 10/2014. Editorial.
(http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/10/25/editorials/school-bullying-increase/#.VgkFq9_tmko)

Shinzo Abe, “Policy Speech by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe to the 166th Session of the Diet”, 29/09/2006. (Transcript: http://japan.kantei.go.jp/abespeech/2007/01/26speech_e.html)

Shimazu, Naoko. *Nationalisms in Japan*, Sheffield: Sheffield Centre for Japanese Studies, 2006.

“Student commits suicide after being beaten by school basket coach,” *JapanToday*, 09/01/2013 (<http://www.japantoday.com/category/national/view/student-commits-suicide-after-being-beaten-by-school-basketball-coach>)

Sugimori Shinkichi, “Anatomy of Japanese Bullying,” *Nippon.com*, 03/12/2012 (<http://www.nippon.com/en/currents/d00054/>)

Takayama Fumihiko, *Portrait of Boy A at 14 years old*, Tokyo: Shincho Bunko, 2001.

“Teaching or Brainwashing,” *Japan Times*, 1/2014. Editorial (http://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2014/01/12/editorials/teaching-or-brainwashing/#.VeAVi_ntmkq)

Tokitsu, Kei. *An Analysis of Watashitachi No Doutoku in Elementary School: Focusing on a Relationship Between Political Discourse and Content of Watashitachi No Doutoku*. (Hiroshima: Hiroshima Bunka Gakuen University Press, 2015)

“Tradition or Fantasy, Edo Shigusa’s Doubting Voices,” *News23*, 25/06/2015, (<http://datazoo.jp/tv/NEWS23/868755>)

Ueno Chizuko, *Gender Equality and Multiculturalism under Japanese Neo-Liberalist Reform in the Era of Globalization*, Sendai, Touhoku University Press, 2010.

Ueno Chizuko, *The Modern Family in Japan: Its Rise and Fall*, Tokyo, Trans Pacific Press, 2009.

Watanabe, Hiro. And, Ikeyama, Katsuyuki. *Transition of Contents and Items in Post-War Japan Moral Education*, (<http://uuair.lib.utsunomiya-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/10241/6302/1/No.35.pdf>. 2008, 7)

Wei-Ming, Tu. *Confucian Traditions in East Asian Modernity: Moral Education and Economic Culture in Japan and the Four Mini-Dragons*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

“What is Public Pedagogy,” *International Center of Public Pedagogy*, (University of East London: <http://www.uel.ac.uk/icpup/>)

Willis, David B., and Rappleeye, Jeremy. *Reimagining Japanese Education – borders, transfers, circulations and the comparative*, Greenwich: Symposium books, 2011.

Wray, Harry. *Japanese and American Education: Attitudes and Practices*, Charlotte: Information Age Publishing, 2008.

Appendices

Appendix 1; Ministry of Education's 'Sweeping Reform of Moral Education':

道徳教育の抜本的改善・充実

道徳の時間の課題例

平成27年3月

- 「道徳の時間」は、各教科等に比べて軽視されがち
- 読み物の登場人物の心情理解のみに偏った形式的な指導
- 発達の段階などを十分に踏まえず、児童生徒に望ましいと思われる分かりきったことを言わせたり書かせたりする授業

教育再生実行会議の提言や中央教育審議会の答申を踏まえ、
「道徳の時間」(小・中学校で週1時間)を「特別の教科 道徳」(「道徳科」
(引き続き週1時間)として新たに位置付ける学習指導要領の一部改正

具体的なポイント

- ☑ 道徳科に検定教科書を導入
- ☑ 内容について、いじめの問題への対応の充実や発達の段階をより一層踏まえた体系的なものに改善
 - ・ 「個性の伸長」「相互理解、寛容」「公正、公平、社会正義」「国際理解、国際親善」「よりよく生きる喜び」の内容項目を小学校に追加
- ☑ 問題解決的な学習や体験的な学習などを取り入れ、指導方法を工夫
- ☑ 数値評価ではなく、児童生徒の道徳性に係る成長の様子を把握
※私立小・中学校はこれまでどおり、「道徳科」に代えて「宗教」を行うことが可能

「考え、議論する」道徳科への転換により
児童生徒の道徳性を育む

平成27年度から、一部改正学習指導要領の趣旨を踏まえた取組可能

今後

- ☑ 教員の指導力向上のため、教員養成や研修の充実等について検討
- ☑ 評価について専門家会議を設け、専門的に検討

小学校は平成30年度、中学校は平成31年度から、検定教科書を導入して「道徳科」を実施

Appendix 2: Ministry of Education’s Analysis of Watashitachi no Doutoku’s Usage page

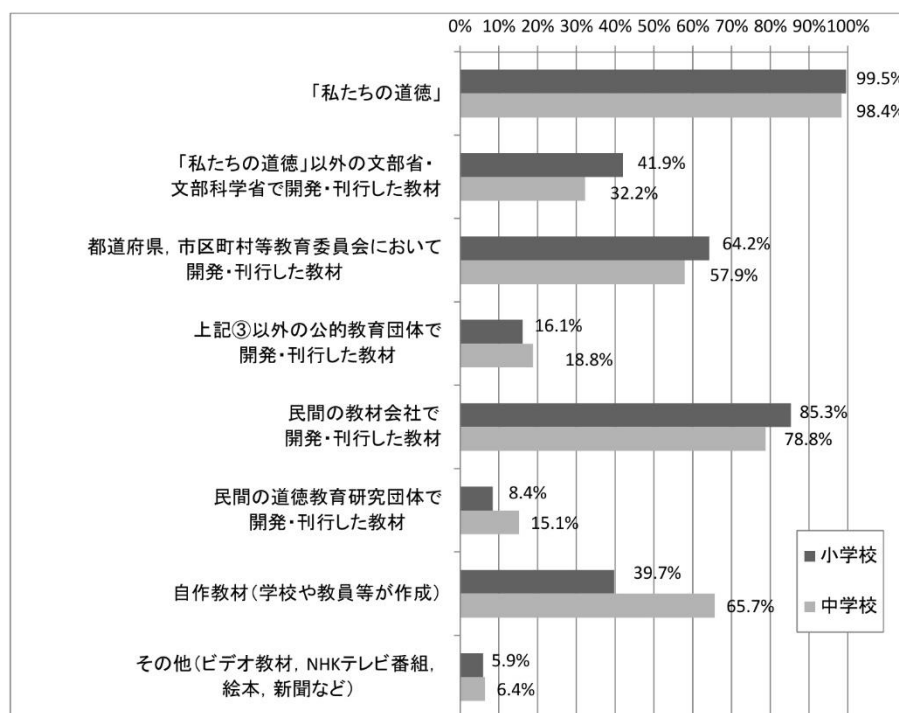
1:

I. 学校における取組(小・中学校)

1 道徳の時間に使用する教材について

(1) 平成26年度の道徳の時間の指導でどのような教材を使用していますか。該当するものを全て選んでください。(平成26年度中の今後の予定含む。)

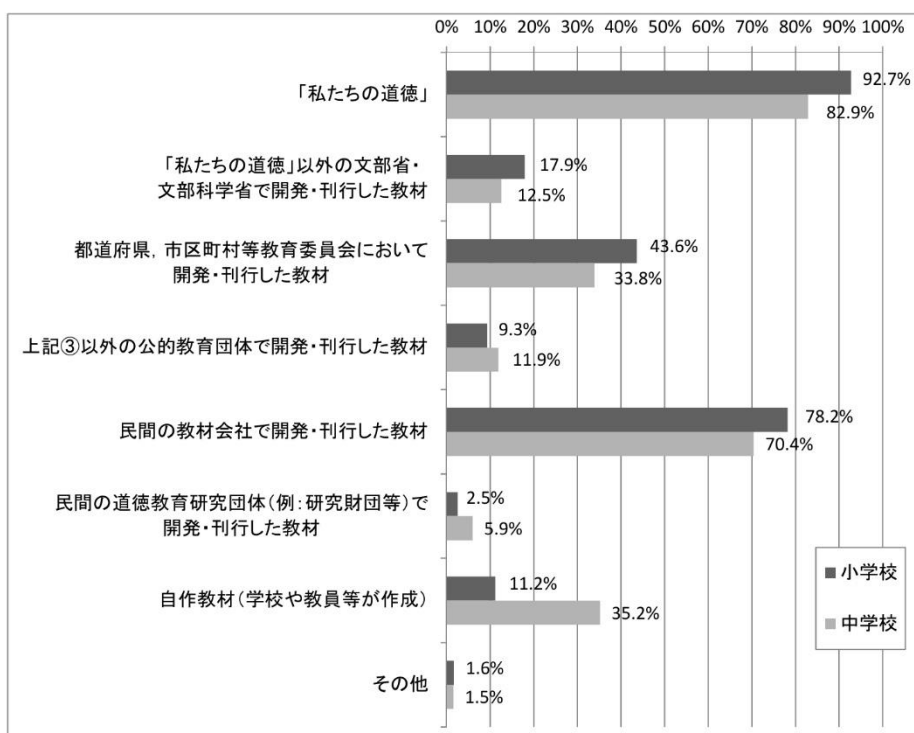
		小学校	中学校
①	「私たちの道徳」	99.5%	98.4%
②	「私たちの道徳」以外の文部省・文部科学省で開発・刊行した教材	41.9%	32.2%
③	都道府県, 市区町村等教育委員会(教育事務所, 教育センター等含む)において開発・刊行した教材	64.2%	57.9%
④	上記③以外の公的教育団体(例: 市町村教職員研究会, 校長会等)で開発・刊行した教材	16.1%	18.8%
⑤	民間の教材会社で開発・刊行した教材	85.3%	78.8%
⑥	民間の道徳教育研究団体(例: 研究財団等)で開発・刊行した教材	8.4%	15.1%
⑦	自作教材(学校や教員等が作成)	39.7%	65.7%
⑧	その他	5.9%	6.4%



Appendix 2: Ministry of Education’s Analysis of Watashitachi no Doutoku’s Usage page 2:

(2) 平成26年度の道徳の時間の指導で主に使用している教材を以下の①～⑧から一つ以上三つまで選んでください。(平成26年度中の今後の予定含む。)

	小学校	中学校
① 「私たちの道徳」	92.7%	82.9%
② 「私たちの道徳」以外の文部省・文部科学省で開発・刊行した教材	17.9%	12.5%
③ 都道府県、市区町村等教育委員会(教育事務所、教育センター等含む)において開発・刊行した教材	43.6%	33.8%
④ 上記③以外の公的教育団体(例:市町村教職員研究会、校長会等)で開発・刊行した教材	9.3%	11.9%
⑤ 民間の教材会社で開発・刊行した教材	78.2%	70.4%
⑥ 民間の道徳教育研究団体(例:研究財団等)で開発・刊行した教材	2.5%	5.9%
⑦ 自作教材(学校や教員等が作成)	11.2%	35.2%
⑧ その他	1.6%	1.5%



Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 1:

第3章 特別の教科 道徳

第1 目 標

第1章総則の第1の2に示す道徳教育の目標に基づき、よりよく生きるための基盤となる道徳性を養うため、道徳的諸価値についての理解を基に、自己を見つめ、物事を多面的・多角的に考え、自己の生き方についての考えを深める学習を通して、道徳的な判断力、心情、実践意欲と態度を育てる。

第2 内 容

学校の教育活動全体を通じて行う道徳教育の要である道徳科においては、以下に示す項目について扱う。

A 主として自分自身に関すること

[善悪の判断, 自律, 自由と責任]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

よいことと悪いこととの区別をし、よいと思うことを進んで行うこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

正しいと判断したことは、自信をもって行うこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

自由を大切にし、自律的に判断し、責任のある行動をすること。

[正直, 誠実]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

うそをついたりごまかしをしたりしないで、素直に伸び伸びと生活すること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

過ちは素直に改め、正直に明るい心で生活すること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

誠実に、明るい心で生活すること。

[節度, 節制]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

健康や安全に気を付け、物や金銭を大切にし、身の回りを整え、わがままをしないで、規則正しい生活をする。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

自分でできることは自分でやり、安全に気を付け、よく考えて行動し、

Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 2:

節度のある生活をする事。

〔第5学年及び第6学年〕

安全に気を付けることや、生活習慣の大切さについて理解し、自分の生活を見直し、節度を守り節制に心掛ける事。

〔個性の伸長〕

〔第1学年及び第2学年〕

自分の特徴に気付く事。

〔第3学年及び第4学年〕

自分の特徴に気付き、長所を伸ばす事。

〔第5学年及び第6学年〕

自分の特徴を知って、短所を改め長所を伸ばす事。

〔希望と勇気、努力と強い意志〕

〔第1学年及び第2学年〕

自分のやるべき勉強や仕事をしっかりと行う事。

〔第3学年及び第4学年〕

自分でやろうと決めた目標に向かって、強い意志をもち、粘り強くやり抜く事。

〔第5学年及び第6学年〕

より高い目標を立て、希望と勇気をもち、困難があってもくじけずに努力して物事をやり抜く事。

〔真理の探究〕

〔第5学年及び第6学年〕

真理を大切にし、物事を探究しようとする心をもつ事。

B 主として人との関わりに関する事

〔親切、思いやり〕

〔第1学年及び第2学年〕

身近にいる人に温かい心で接し、親切にすること。

〔第3学年及び第4学年〕

相手のことを思いやり、進んで親切にすること。

〔第5学年及び第6学年〕

誰に対しても思いやりの心をもち、相手の立場に立って親切にすること。

〔感謝〕

〔第1学年及び第2学年〕

家族など日頃世話になっている人々に感謝すること。

〔第3学年及び第4学年〕

Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 3:

家族など生活を支えてくれている人々や現在の生活を築いてくれた高齢者に、尊敬と感謝の気持ちをもって接すること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

日々の生活が家族や過去からの多くの人々の支え合いや助け合いで成り立っていることに感謝し、それに応えること。

[礼儀]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

気持ちのよい挨拶、言葉遣い、動作などに心掛けて、明るく接すること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

礼儀の大切さを知り、誰に対しても真心をもって接すること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

時と場をわきまえて、礼儀正しく真心をもって接すること。

[友情, 信頼]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

友達と仲よくし、助け合うこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

友達と互いに理解し、信頼し、助け合うこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

友達と互いに信頼し、学び合って友情を深め、異性についても理解しながら、人間関係を築いていくこと。

[相互理解, 寛容]

[第3学年及び第4学年]

自分の考えや意見を相手に伝えるとともに、相手のことを理解し、自分と異なる意見も大切にすること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

自分の考えや意見を相手に伝えるとともに、謙虚な心を持ち、広い心で自分と異なる意見や立場を尊重すること。

C 主として集団や社会との関わりに関すること

[規則の尊重]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

約束やきまりを守り、みんなが使う物を大切にすること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

約束や社会のきまりの意義を理解し、それらを守ること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

法やきまりの意義を理解した上で進んでそれらを守り、自他の権利を大

Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 4:

切にし、義務を果たすこと。

[公正，公平，社会正義]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

自分の好き嫌いにとらわれなくて接すること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

誰に対しても分け隔てをせず，公正，公平な態度で接すること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

誰に対しても差別をすることや偏見をもつことなく，公正，公平な態度で接し，正義の実現に努めること。

[勤労，公共の精神]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

働くことのよさを知り，みんなのために働くこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

働くことの大切さを知り，進んでみんなのために働くこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

働くことや社会に奉仕することの充実感を味わうとともに，その意義を理解し，公共のために役に立つことをすること。

[家族愛，家庭生活の充実]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

父母，祖父母を敬愛し，進んで家の手伝いなどをして，家族の役に立つこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

父母，祖父母を敬愛し，家族みんなで協力し合って楽しい家庭をつくること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

父母，祖父母を敬愛し，家族の幸せを求めて，進んで役に立つことをすること。

[よりよい学校生活，集団生活の充実]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

先生を敬愛し，学校の人々に親しんで，学級や学校の生活を楽しくすること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

先生や学校の人々を敬愛し，みんなで協力し合って楽しい学級や学校をつくること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 5:

先生や学校の人々を敬愛し、みんなで協力し合ってよりよい学級や学校をつくとともに、様々な集団の中での自分の役割を自覚して集団生活の充実に努めること。

[伝統と文化の尊重, 国や郷土を愛する態度]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

我が国や郷土の文化と生活に親しみ、愛着をもつこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

我が国や郷土の伝統と文化を大切にし、国や郷土を愛する心をもつこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

我が国や郷土の伝統と文化を大切にし、先人の努力を知り、国や郷土を愛する心をもつこと。

[国際理解, 国際親善]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

他国の人々や文化に親しむこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

他国の人々や文化に親しみ、関心をもつこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

他国の人々や文化について理解し、日本人としての自覚をもって国際親善に努めること。

D 主として生命や自然, 崇高なものとの関わりに関すること

[生命の尊さ]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

生きることのすばらしさを知り、生命を大切にすること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

生命の尊さを知り、生命あるものを大切にすること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

生命が多く、生命のつながりの中にあるかけがえないものであることを理解し、生命を尊重すること。

[自然愛護]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

身近な自然に親しみ、動植物に優しい心で接すること。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

自然のすばらしさや不思議さを感じ取り、自然や動植物を大切にすること。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

Appendix 3: Curricular Guidelines for Lower Elementary School Moral Education page 6:

自然の偉大さを知り，自然環境を大切にすること。

[感動，畏敬の念]

[第1学年及び第2学年]

美しいものに触れ，すがすがしい心をもつこと。

[第3学年及び第4学年]

美しいものや気高いものに感動する心をもつこと。

[第5学年及び第6学年]

美しいものや気高いものに感動する心や人間の力を超えたものに対する畏敬の念をもつこと。

[よりよく生きる喜び]

[第5学年及び第6学年]

よりよく生きようとする人間の強さや気高さを理解し，人間として生きる喜びを感じることにすること。

第3 指導計画の作成と内容の取扱い

- 1 各学校においては，道徳教育の全体計画に基づき，各教科，外国語活動，総合的な学習の時間及び特別活動との関連を考慮しながら，道徳科の年間指導計画を作成するものとする。なお，作成に当たっては，第2に示す各学年代階の内容項目について，相当する各学年において全て取り上げることとする。その際，児童や学校の実態に応じ，2学年間を見通した重点的な指導や内容項目間の関連を密にした指導，一つの内容項目を複数の時間で扱う指導を取り入れるなどの工夫を行うものとする。
- 2 第2の内容の指導に当たっては，次の事項に配慮するものとする。
 - (1) 校長や教頭などの参加，他の教師との協力的な指導などについて工夫し，道徳教育推進教師を中心とした指導体制を充実すること。
 - (2) 道徳科が学校の教育活動全体を通じて行う道徳教育の要としての役割を果たすことができるよう，計画的・発展的な指導を行うこと。特に，各教科，外国語活動，総合的な学習の時間及び特別活動における道徳教育としては取り扱う機会が十分でない内容項目に関わる指導を補うことや，児童や学校の実態等を踏まえて指導をより一層深めること，内容項目の相互の関連を捉え直したり発展させたりすることに留意すること。
 - (3) 児童が自ら道徳性を養う中で，自らを振り返って成長を実感したり，これからの課題や目標を見付けたりすることができるよう工夫すること。その際，道徳性を養うことの意義について，児童自らが考え，理解し，主体的に学習に取り組むことができるようにすること。

Appendix 4: Watashitachi no Doutoku 1st and 2nd grade edition index:

●道徳で学習したことを書きまじりし		
	110	158
3 つぎにふたつ		
(1) いのちを大切に	90	
読みの物 ハムスターの赤ちゃん	96	
(2) 生きものややがてへ	100	
読みの物 虫が大すき	102	
(3) すがすがしい心で	106	
読みの物 アンリ・ファブール	110	
4 みんなととも		
(1) やくそくやきまりをまもって	116	
読みの物 黄色いペンチ	124	
(2) はたらくことのめさをかんじて	128	
読みの物 森のゆうびんやさん	130	
(3) 家族のやくに立つことを	134	
読みの物 学校の生活を楽しく	144	
(4) 学校生活を楽しく	144	
(5) 心をこめて親しみをもち	150	
読みの物 きおんまつり	154	

もくじ

- この本のつかい方..... 4
- あなたのことを教えてね..... 6

1 自分をみつめて

- (1) すぐへ行く気持のよい毎日..... 10
- 読みの物 むすぶうまのたのしみ..... 16
- 生活をふりがえてみよう..... 20
- (2) 自分でやることはじつかりと..... 22
- 読みの物 小さなてがひのつみかた..... 28
- 富田金次郎——
- (3) よいと思うことはすすんで..... 32
- 読みの物 ほんたとかなた..... 38
- じてはならぬことがあふ..... 42
- (4) すなおにのびのびと..... 44
- 読みの物 おおきなこころ..... 48




2 人ととも

- (1) 気持のよいふるまいを..... 54
- 読みの物 たひだ..... 60
- せかいの「ことば」が「あじがた」..... 64
- (2) あたがたい心で親切に..... 66
- 読みの物 はしの上のおおかみ..... 70
- (3) ともだちとながやく..... 74
- 読みの物 およげないりすさん..... 78
- (4) お世話になってる人に..... 82
- かんしゃして..... 82




Appendix 5: Watashitachi no Doutoku, 1st and 2nd grade edition assignments page 1+2:

きそく 正しく 気もちの よい 毎日を

1年

				みもの ものの 回りの	月 日 日 (たしかめた 日)
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/

2年

				みもの ものの 回りの	月 日 日 (たしかめた 日)
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/

● みもの 回りの ものを、かたつける ことが
できて いますか。
学校での 様子を たしかめて みましょう。
できたら、○に 色を ぬりましょう。

● みもの 回りの
かたつけが できて いますか。
学校での 様子を 思い出して みましょう。

● あなたの つくえの 中は どうでしょうか。

● あなたの ロッカーの 中は どうでしょうか。

13







● あなたの つくえの 中は どうでしょうか。

● あなたの ロッカーの 中は どうでしょうか。




12

きそく 正しく 気もちの よい 毎日を

1年

				みもの ものの 回りの	月 日 日 (たしかめた 日)
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/


2年

				みもの ものの 回りの	月 日 日 (たしかめた 日)
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/
○	/	○	/	○	/

● みもの 回りの ものを、かたつける ことが
できて いますか。
家での 様子を たしかめて みましょう。
できたら、○に 色を ぬりましょう。

● どうすれば 気持ちよく すこせむかを、考えて 書きましょう。

15



● どうすれば 気持ちよく すこせむかを、考えて 書きましょう。

14

Appendix 5: Watashitachi no Doutoku, 1st and 2nd grade edition assignments page 3:

自分でやることはしっかりと

2年

勉強

やらなければならぬこと

ぼくは、家で毎日音読をしています。今、学校で勉強しているところやこれから勉強するところを、声に出して読んでいます。音読をして、おくと、学校での勉強もよく分かるので、これからもがんばりたいと思います。

●自分でやらなければならぬことを書きました。○に色をぬりましょう。

家の人から

学校の先生から

家庭のしごと

やらなければならぬこと

1年

勉強

やらなければならぬこと

わたしの家でのしごとは、おふるそうじです。前は、お父さんにたずねてもらって、いたけれど、今は一人でできるよになりました。これからもがんばって、つづけていきたいです。

●自分でやらなければならぬことを書きました。○に色をぬりましょう。

家の人から

学校の先生から

家庭のしごと

やらなければならぬこと

Appendix 6: Watashitachi no Doutoku 1st and 2nd grade editions, rhythm for living:

はやねちゃん

早くねているかな。

すいみんをしっかりと、とって、元気な体をつくらうよ。

元気にうたをうたおう。

体をうたかすと、夜はぐっすりとねむることができるよ。

よふかしおに

©やなせたかし

はやおきくん

早おきして、いるかな。

早おきすると、生活のリズムがととのうよ。

みそしるちゃん

あさごはんまん

朝ごはんを、しっかりと食べて、いるかな。

朝ごはんを、食べて、元気に、行きます。

生活をふりかえって みよう

生活のリズムをととのえて、元気にすごしていますか。毎日の生活をふりかえって、みましよう。

朝ごはん

Appendix 7: Watashitachi no Doutoku 1st and 2nd grade edition, story of Ponta and Kanta Page 1+2:

よいと 思う ことは すずんで



「ぼくも 一人に なった かんたのように あそびたいな。でも……。」

かんたは、ぼんたの 言う ことを 聞かないで、さっさと うら山に 入って いきました。

「二人で 行こうよ。」
かんたは、ぼんたを さそいます。
「だめだよ。うら山には、入っては いけないと 言われて いるよ。」
「へいき、へいき。」

39

ぼんたと かんた

ぼんたと かんたは、大の なかよしです。 今日も、学校から 帰ったら、 いっしょに あそぶ やくそくを して いました。

ぼんたが 公園に 行くと、 かんたは 先に 来て いました。 かんたは、公園の うら山で、 ひみつき地を 見つけたと よろこんで います。



38

よいと 思う ことは すずんで

二人は、なかよく ぶらんこに ゆられて います。 気もちの よい 風が、 ほおを なでて いきました。



41

しばらくして ぼんたは、大きな 声で 言いました。
「ぼくは 行かないよ。だって あぶないから。」



その 声が、とても 大きかったので、かんたが びっくりして、 うら山から とび出して きました。
「ぼんた、どう したんだい。」
「ぼくは 行かない。よく 考えて きめたんだ。だって、うら山は あぶないから。」
もう 一度、はっきりと 言いました。

40

Appendix 8: Watashitachi no Doutoku, 1st and 2nd grade edition, things you are not allowed to do:



Appendix 9: Watashitachi no Doutoku 1st and 2nd grade edition, I honestly felt better:

すなおに のびのびと

すなおに のびのびと

このままじゃ いけない。 思い切って 「ごめんなさい」 って 言ってみた。 「もう うそなんか つかないぞ。」

●あなたが 正直に できた ときの 気持ちを 書きましよう。

うそ ついちゃった。 本当は ぼくが やぶったのに、 弟が やぶったって 言っちゃった。 弟が、「フギヤ」と ないた。 ロボットや ぬいぐるみが ぼくを にらんで いるみたい。

のびのびと 明るい 気持ちで 毎日を すこす ために、 どうすれば よいのかを 考えて みましよう。

(4) すなおに のびのびと

Appendix 10: Watashitachi no Doutoku 1st and 2nd grade edition, being useful at home
page 1+2:

家族の やくに 立つ ことを



●お父さんが、しごとから 帰って きました。お父さんは、つかれた 顔を して、いたので、ぼくが、 「お茶を 入れるね。」 と 言うので、にこっと わらいました。 その 後、お父さんの かたを たたいて あげると、 「ありがとう。とっても 気持ちがいいよ。」 と 言うので、よろこんで くれました。 ぼくも うれしく なって、なんだか おねが なたか くなりました。

141

読んで みよう

家族の ために できる ことは ないかな

●お母さんは、いそがしそうに タはんの したくを して、います。 弟は、お母さんに あそんで ほしくて、今にも なき出しそうです。 わたしは、その 様子を 見て、 弟と いっしょに、にわで あそぶ ことに しました。 お母さんは、 「ありがとう、たすかるわ。」 と 言うので、にこりと わらいました。



140

家族の やくに 立つ ことを

2年

てつだった こと

てつだいを した ときの 気持ち



2年

てつだった こと

てつだいを した ときの 気持ち

家の人から

1年

てつだった こと

てつだいを した ときの 気持ち

●家の てつだいを した ときの ことを 思い出して、その ときの 気持ちを 書きましよう。

1年

てつだった こと

てつだいを した ときの 気持ち

家の人から

Appendix 11: Watashitachi no Doutoku 3rd and 4th grade edition index:

もくじ	
この本の使い方	4
自分のことを書いてみよう	6
1 自分を高めて	
(1)よく考えて節度ある生活を	10
読み物 少しでもいいなら	16
■自分を見つめ、自分を生かそう	20
(2)やろうと決めたことは最後まで	22
読み物 きっとできる	26
(3)正しいことは勇気をもって	30
読み物 よわむし太郎	34
(4)正直に明るいい心で	38
読み物 六セント半のおつり	42
(5)自分の良い所をのばして	46
読み物 うれしく思えた日から	50
2 人と関わって	
(1)だれに対しても真心をもって	56
(2)相手を思いやり親切に	62
読み物 心と心のあく手	66
(3)友達とたがいに理解し合って	70
読み物 同じ仲間だから	76
■ささえ合い 助け合い	80
(4)「合い」の力で 心と心をつなげよう	82
(5)それけいと感謝の気持ちをもって	
3 命を感じて	
(1)命あるものを大切に	90
読み物 ヒキガエルとロバ	96
■たった一つの命 つながる命	100
(2)自然や動植物を大切に	102
(3)美しいものを感じて	108
読み物 富士と北斎	112
4 みんなと関わって	
(1)社会のきまりを守って	118
読み物 雨のバス停留所	124
■みんなが守らなくてはならないきまりがある	128
(2)働くことの大切さを知って	130
(3)家族みんなで協力し合って	136
読み物 フラッドレーのせい求書	142
■共に助け合って生きる	146
(4)協力し合って楽しい学校、学級を	148
読み物 みんな待っているよ	154
(5)きょうしを愛する心をもって	158
(6)伝統と文化を大切に	164
読み物 コンピュータやけい帯電話などをどのように使えばよいのでしょうか	170
道徳の時間に学習したこと	174



Appendix 12: Watashitachi no Doutoku 3rd and 4th grade edition, Bradley's invoice page 1+2:

家族みんなで協力し合って



ブラッドレーのせい求書	
お使いちん	1ドル
おそうじした代	2ドル
音楽のけいこに行ったごほうび	1ドル
合計	4ドル



お母さんは、にっこりと笑って何も言いませんでした。
そして、お昼の時間のとき、お母さんはブラッドレーのお皿の横に、四ドルの

143

ブラッドレーのせい求書

ある朝、ブラッドレーが二階からおりて朝食のテーブルにいたときのことです。ポケットから、一まいの紙を出すと、お母さんのお皿の横に置きました。お母さんは、それを開きました。けれども、お母さんは、その紙に書かれていることを本当だと信じる事ができませんでした。ブラッドレーの置いた紙は、次のようなせい求書だったのです。



142

家族みんなで協力し合って



これを読んだブラッドレーの目は、なみだでいっぱいになりました。
そしてお母さんの所へかけて行き、「お母さん、このお金は返します。そして、お母さんのために、ぼくにも何かさせてください。」と言いました。



145

お母さんからのせい求書	
親切にしてあげた代	0ドル
病気をしたときのかん病代	0ドル
服や、くつや、おもちゃ代	0ドル
食事代と部屋代	0ドル
合計	0ドル

お金を置きました。
ブラッドレーはそれを見て、自分の取り引きがうまくいったと考えて、喜びました。けれども、そこには、お金といっしょに、一まいの小さなせい求書がありました。それには、次のように書かれていました。



144

Appendix 13: Watashitachi no Doutoku, 3rd and 4th grade edition, Family Interview:

家族みんなで協力し合って



わたしが病気になるたとき

- ・早くよくなってるね。
- ・夜もねむれなくらい心配したよ。

わたしをしかるとき

- ・最後まであきらめずにがんばる人になってほしい。
- ・やさしい人になってほしい。

137

(3) 家族みんなで協力し合って

わたしの成長を温かく見守り続けてくれる人……家族

● 次のようなとき、家族はどんなことを思ったのでしょうか。家族に聞いて書きましょう。

わたしが生まれたとき

- ・生まれてきてくれてありがとう。
- ・元気に育ってね。

わたしが小学校に入るとき

- ・楽しく学校に通ってね。
- ・友達をたくさんつくってね。

136

Appendix 14: Watashitachi no Doutoku 5th and 6th grade edition, Edoshigusa:

礼儀正しく真心をもって

用心 しくさ	念入れ しくさ	差し延べ しくさ
<p>子供は、人ごみの中では大人のそばをはなれないようにします。</p>	<p>火の消し忘れや、忘れ物などがなにかしつかり確認するといふ心づもりです。</p>	<p>だれかが困っていたら、それがたとえ知らない人であっても声をかけ、手を差し延べます。</p>

他にもこんなしくさがあります。

「江戸しくさ」は
どして生まれたのでしょうか

江戸時代、江戸の町には、全国から文化や習慣のちがう人たちが集まってきました。そのため、様々な人たちがおたがいに仲良く平和に暮らしていけるようにと、大きな店の商人たちは、当時、「商人しくさ」と呼ばれていたものを広めていこうとしました。「商人しくさ」は例えはお天道様に申し訳ないことにはないとか「おかげさま」などの考えを元にしたい商人の心得を態度に表したものです。この「商人しくさ」が元になり、江戸の町に広がっていったものが「江戸しくさ」と呼ばれるようになりました。

このように、江戸の人々は、お天道様にはすかしけないように行動することや、人のおかけで物事が成り立っていると考えたことなどを通じて、真心をもって人間関係を大切にしようとしていたことがわかります。

59

江戸しくさに学ぶ

三百年もの長い間、平和が続いた江戸時代に、江戸しくさは生まれました。江戸しくさには、人々がたがいに気持ち良く暮らしていくための知恵がこめられています。

かさかしげ

かさをさした人同士が、すれちがうときのしくさです。相手をぬらさないように、たがいのかさをかたむけます。



かた引き

せまい道で人とすれちがうときのしくさです。おたがいに右のかたを後ろに引いて、相手をぶつからないようにします。



おつとめしくさ

人が見ているから良いことをするのではなく、だれも見えていなくても、だれかのためになることをする心構えのことです。



こぶしうかせ

複数の人が一緒にするするときのしくさです。一人でも多くの人がすわれるように、みんなが少しずつこしを上げて、場所を作ります。



58