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The Pedagogy of Occupied Japan

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Acknowledgments

This essay marks an accumulation of my professional and academic career that started with a bachelor's history class in the Autumn Semester 2013 at the University of British Columbia. It was in this course that I discovered the writings of Franz Fanon that would influence the way I think and consider the historical developments of any nation. Next, while teaching in Amman, Jordan, my home country, I had the opportunity to come across the pedagogical thinker, Paulo Freie, whose philosophies in education aligned with my vision of teaching. Starting my masters in Oslo allowed me the opportunity to synthesize Fanon and Freie within a new historical discourse that is transnationalism. Furthermore, the opportunity to write my thesis from Karuizawa, Japan has added a strange transitional dimension to the overall process of this master's thesis. This suggests that transnationalism should exist in the process in addition to the content of the work, although that is something perhaps hard to achieve with the global pandemic of 2020 and 2021.

I would like to emphasize my deepest appreciation and gratitude for the opportunity to be part of the Modern International and Transnational History Program at the University of Oslo. To my supervisor, Daniel Maul, and the Senior Executive Officer Monika Birkeland; and all the professors and fellow classmates at the MITRA program that made the lectures and discussions a wholesome experience which provided crucial insights into the notions and theories of transnationalism. I would also want to extend my gratitude to professors Klaus Nathaus and Toufoul Abou-Hodeib; and fellow masters students Max Easterbrooke, Diego Salazar, Alexandru Prodan, Christopher Syvertsen, Andrine Spets, and Axel Julsrud for their valuable feedback to my draft. The many hours spent at the reading room of the Niels Treschows hus, brainstorming ideas and reading primary sources with the ancient microfilm machine, will always remain a cherished experience. I would also like to express my deepest gratitude to the staff at the Norwegian Nobel Institute; the collection and organization of my primary sources would not have been possible without the help of Bjørn Vangen and Marte Salvesen. I hope that the accomplishment of this master's thesis will push me to at least half the level of the historians and students I have met during my time in Oslo, Norway.

I would finally like to thank Kai Childs, from Sekai Education, in setting up a meeting with Koji Yamasaki and Mark Winchester to learn some insights on the educational development and role of the United States when considering the perspective of the Ainu. This was part of a professional development funded by UWC ISAK Japan, the school that I am currently teaching in while completing my master's thesis.

The Pedagogy of Occupied Japan

Introduction

My goal is to investigate the occupied nature of Japan under the United States Military government within the field of education reform during the early post-war period 1945-1952, using Fanon and Freie's themes as an analytical lens. My focus is on the techniques and ideological policies that entered the field of education as part of the reconstruction and reeducation of Japanese youth and citizens in the post-war period. Using Fanon and Freie's themes is to raise the important consideration of Japan during this period as a neo-colonized country. Although this may raise some sensitivity and controversy, due to Japan's own historical role as a colonizer, it remains important when reconciling and confronting a colonial past to craft a sustainable pedagogical program. This is because any asymmetrical communication would undermine an initiative to teach a history co-authored by various different groups, which includes the conventional one-sided narrative of Japan as a "historical wrong-doer."[1] This author does not attempt to justify the actions of Japan's imperial project, but rather critically examine whether similar patterns occurred, ideologically, during the United States occupation period. If nations are to ever develop a history curriculum where colonial pasts are confronted and reach a sustainable level of reconciliation with groups still effected by colonialism, then a critical historical examination of education policies is required. Reaching this stage will establish proper contemporary communication channels and keep the public critically informed, marking education as a driving force for public discourse rather than one that gears towards apologetic attitudes.[2]

Imperialism and colonialism remain one of the most critically examined long term causes to both world wars as well as the perpetual economic and social disparities in the postwar period. "Imperialism leaves behind germs of rot which we must clinically detect and remove from our land but from our mind as well."[3] This is how Franz Fanon described the long-term impacts that the colonial and imperial, or pre-modern and modern centuries, had on communities. Fanon, although a psychologist in training, is well known among historians who desire to understand 20th century concepts like decolonization and imperialism. Discourses on 'Third World' revolutionary struggles such as the Algerian War of

[1] Denise Bentrovato, "History Textbooks Writing in Post-conflict Societies: From Battlefield to Site and Means of Conflict Transformation," in Psaltis, Charis, et.al (Editors) *History Education and Conflict Transformation* (Cyprus: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 56.
[2] Ibid., 56.
[3] Mumia Abu-Jamal, *Death Blossoms: Reflections from a Prisoner of Conscience* (Cambridge: South End Press, 1996), xviii.

Independence and the Palestinian liberation movement have been influenced by Fanon's ideas. Some historians have also expanded Fanon's ideas to include guerrilla armed conflicts in South America and Southeast Asia that also faced challenges of decolonization and nationalism. In addition to nationalism as a component of decolonization, education has also been an important field for historians to analyze the processes and effects of decolonization on cultural and social levels. Paulo Freie and his grounded work *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, which often cites Fanon's ideas, introduced pedagogical themes to help contemplate the role of education in oppression and control. Fanon and Freie remain important thinkers in studying decolonization in global national liberation movements, but there remains a lack of applicability of Fanon and Freie beyond the conventional colonized countries. The application of Fanon and Freie only to the Third World narrows our understanding of the effects of and responses to oppression as a global phenomenon during the 20th century, as oppression was also an issue in Europe, especially in countries under the Soviet sphere of influence, and Far East Asia during the mid-20th century.[4] Martin Klimke, in a part of his work *The Other Alliance*, highlighted a neglect of the European scene when it came to notions of oppression in the mid-20th century, albeit within a Western European scene.[5] Neo-colonialism or neo-imperialism, according to Gayatri Spivak, is often neglected when considering topics of "development" and "modernization thinking."[6] Therefore, the lens of neo-colonialism should also be considered when engaging with US Occupation policy in Japan during 1945-1952 because it involves notions of forced rule, exercise of hegemonic power, and setting a country on path of development and modernization in economic and social terms.

The first chapter is a close examination of the reform's communist or ideological developments that both reveal and dispute the imperialist and totalitarian natures of the occupied government. The second and third chapters measure the impact of the reforms within the fields of feminist movements and religious affiliation as it further supports the notion of occupied Japan as a subject of colonial manners and policies. These chapters will

[4] For further research on colonial and post-colonial theory of Soviet satellite countries: Geyatri Chakravorty Spivak, et.al., "Are we Postcolonial? Post-Soviet Space" *Modern Language Association* 121 no 3 (2006): 828-836. Tobias Rupprecht, "Socialist high modernity and global stagnation: a shared history of Brazil and the Soviet Union during the Cold War," *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 505-528. David Sweeney Coombs, "Entwining Tongues: Postcolonial Theory, Post-Soviet Literatures and Bilingualism in Chingiz Aitmatov's *dol'she veka dlitsia den*." *Journal of Modern Literature* 34, no.3 (2011): 47-64.

[5] Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protests in West Germany & The United States in the Global Sixties* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2010), 80.

[6] Ilan Kapoor, "Hyper-self reflexive development? Spivak on representing the Third World 'Other'," *Third World Quarterly* 25, no.4 (2004): 629.

feature the significant role played by Japanese university professors, educationalists and columnists, as well as American women occupation officers and American pastors. The fourth chapter introduces notions of the international education system that raises the role of the US occupation government in developing the language and cultural exchange programs between Japan and other countries. The last chapter considers the perspectives of US policy in Okinawa as well as some consideration of the Ainu people in Northern Japan, Hokkaido.[7] The consideration of Okinawa is particularly important because of its own colonial experience with mainland Japan and the United States. Okinawa has been observed as an area "deprived of the political control that would have empowered it to speak for itself," which raises acute implications of neo-colonial practice.[8] This has given rise to the notion of Okinawa having "subaltern knowledge" that explains the experience of local Okinawans with America along colonial lines.[9] This analysis can provide a new perspective on the narratives of oppression and neo-imperialisms on a nation, Japan, that had previously acted as a colonizer rather than a colonized country. This study can perhaps represent the educational considerations and historical roots that must be considered when understanding the rapid global unrest movements that defined the 1960s and 1970s; thus 'setting the stage' for the publication of Fanon and Freie's works. The author of this essay firmly believes that historians must apply the phenomenon that has characterized a wide range of newly nationalized 'Third World' countries, with a long history of colonial rule, to the discourses of state control exercised by the military governments of the United States in the postwar period.

Historiography and Theory

The current literature on educations reforms from the US Occupation of Japan highlights the essential role the United States played in "democratizing" Japanese education, as well as social and economic environments.[10] Part of this democratizing process was conventionally perceived as introducing substantial reforms that put Japan into a period of technological

[7] It is important to note that these considerations stem from secondary sources as no mention of the Ainu people was made with the educational reformations of US occupied Japan. Whether due to this author's failure in finding a particular collection, like the Okinawa Papers, or no involvement at all from the US government, further investigation is required.
[8] Kina Ikue, "Subaltern Knowledge and Transnational American Studies: Postwar Japan and Okinawa under US Rule," *American Quarterly* 68, no. 2 (June 2016): 444.
[9] Ibid., 444.
[10] Robert E Ward, and Sakamoto Yoshikazu, "Introduction," in *Democratizing Japan: The Allied Occupation*, edited by (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1987), x.

development as well as a nation representing peace and prosperity.[11] President Regan even declared that the Japanese government should occupy the United States to "return the favor."[12] Part of these reforms stemmed from the United States claiming to introduce critical mindsets within the educational fields like sciences and humanities.[13] Additionally, the United States education reforms targeted the strict removal of militarism and ultranationalism to strengthen the democratic process as well as install a moral obligation to rectify the prewar expansionist policies of Japans government.[14] It is within these frameworks that we begin to observe the applicability to Fanon, guilt leading to inferiority complex, and with Freie, where pedagogy is used a tool to resist and perpetuate oppression. However, due to surge of revisionist scholars in time with the opening of archives in the 1970s, historians have begun to look at the occupational period with critical lens that engages with Cold War strategic policies.[15] In the wave of the late 20th and early 21st century movement of transitional studies, it remains this author's goal to examine this period under the lens of concepts put forth by Fanon and Freie.

Franz Fanon's the *Wretched of the Earth*, published in 1961, and Paulo Freie's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* will serve as the theoretical thread that I wish to spread across the entire paper. It remains vital to start the analysis of these thinkers on 1945-1952; the occupation of Japan by the United States allows us to consider the impact and effects of their control on social identity and mental health, which are similar to the characteristics of the colonized that Fanon discusses. Military governments and their occupation policy resurface notions of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism, especially when considering the expansionist implications such as the United States developing its foothold in East Asia and its influence in Western Europe. Firstly, we will examine some of the historiography of Fanon and Freie.

Fanon has been instrumental in Third World Revolutionary struggles, especially in the Algerian War of Independence where he shaped his most influential work, *The Wretched of the Earth*. Few scholars cannot escape citing him and his work when it comes to Third World decolonization. For example, historian Jeffrey James Byrne, writing on Algeria as the "Mecca of Revolution" for Third Worldism consistently cites Fanon. Byrne writes on how

[11] Ibid., x.
[12] Ibid., xi.
[13] Marie Rose Reed, "Teaching Democracy: Education Reforms During the Allied Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952," *Washington State University* (May 2007): 4.
[14] Edward R. Beauchamp, "Reforming Education in Postwar Japan: American Planning for a Democratic Japan, 1943-1946," *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 11 no. 1 (1995): 71, 83.
[15] Ward and Yoshikazu, "Introduction," in *Democratizing Japan,* xii.

the foreign ministry attempted to craft a foreign policy following "Fanon rhetoric" and how Khalil Wazir, one of the founders of FATEH, hailed the idea that revolution was an extension of existence, inspired by FLN's example and Fanon's writings.[16] Klimke, additionally, uses Fanon to link the African American Black Power Struggle with West German student protests movement to demonstrate the goal of liberation from capitalism and imperialism within the First World. Klimke stated:

> In this context, the model of colonial conflicts developed by Frantz Fanon and adapted under this perspective was of great consequence: West German activists adopted the Black Panthers' interpretation that viewed the black population as an "internal colony" of the United States, which could liberate itself from oppression only through the use of violence.[17]

A wide range of examples and links with Fanon can be found among Latin American movements and Arab nationalists like the Palestinian national liberation movement. Moreover, Fanon within the realm of education, has also been deeply explored from texts like *Fanon & Education: Thinking Through Pedagogical Possibilities*, edited by George J. Sefa Dei & Marlon Simmons. Many texts have been written by educationalists and sociologists attempting to synthesize education with Fanon's principles. Examples include Camille Logan's "Body Politics and the Experience of Blackness within the Field of Education," and Paul Adjei's "Resistance to Amputation: Discomforting Truth about Colonial Education in Ghana." Logan highlights that "Fanon's concept of consciousness, identity, and his analysis of the dialect between visibility and invisibility" that can play an important role in "transformative education."[18] The democratization of education that the United States attempted to implement is also a transformative education as the United States claimed to be changing the education system of Japan. Therefore, it is important to highlight whether issues of identity and consciousness are raised during this transformative process under the United States, especially as a postwar period would have topics and issues that are intentionally ignored and others that are emphasized. Adjei, for examples, applies Fanon within the transformative education in the wake of Ghana's independence.[19] Logan and Adjei offers a theoretical foundation to apply Fanon's ideas in education undergoing a transformation,

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[16] Jeffrey James Byrne, *Mecca of Revolution: Algeria, Decolonization and the Third World* (Oxford University Press 2016), 173, 177.
[17] Klimke, "Black and Red Panthers," 108.
[18] Camille Logan, "Body Politics and the Experience of Blackness within the Field of Education," Chapter 2 in *Fanon and Education: Thinking Through Pedagogical Possibilities*. Edited by George J. Sefa Dei & Marlon Simmons (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 2010), 35.
[19] Paul Adjei, "Resistance to Amputation: Discomforting Truth about Colonial Education in Ghana," Chapter 4 in *Fanon & Education*. 94.

where the US occupation's reeducation policies can describe the transformation of Japan's educations system and therefore its influence on the citizen's identity and mindsets to describe postwar Japanese society.

In addition to educationalists and historians referencing Fanon, Paulo Freie's work has also played an important role in Third World revolutionary struggles and decolonization. Writers like Michael F. Shaughnessy, Elizabeth Galligan, and Romelia Hurtado De Vivas have collected a series of essays, *Pioneers in Education: Essays in Honor of Paulo Freie*, that synthesize Freie within teaching practices across the Americas. The introduction to this book outlines five tasks, inspired by Freie, that education must engage in: firstly, "to bear witness to negativity"; secondly, to conduct critical analysis; thirdly, to redefine "research"; fourthly, to keeping traditions alive; and lastly cooperation with counter-hegemonic communities.[20] These tasks demonstrate a systemic process of how pedagogy should be developed, and since the United States education reforms in Japan was conceived along the notions of being critical, it remains important to analyse the reforms under consideration of these tasks. Furthermore, this must remain an important task for educationalists within the United States because, as Fanon notes, it is impossible for oppressors to locate themselves outside of themselves.[21] Freie adds that the pedagogical process allows both oppressors and the oppressed to identify the "certain objective historical conditions" that perpetuate the oppression and perhaps eliminate it.[22] Educationalists Elizabeth Galligan and Diane Pinkey further emphasize that the education process must not be apologetic, which the historiography also shows with US education reforms, but instead be from a place of reflection, listening, and developing a "coalitional identity."[23] Careful analysis of the five tasks, carried out by educationalists and other relevant parties, within the different environments in Japan will perhaps represent this thesis as a search for the "certain objective historical condition" observable in discourses of oppression.

Decolonization and Education, edited by Professors Marcelo Caruso and Daniel Maul, is a series of essays that adds the transnational dimension to concepts of decolonization and education. In de-colonial discourses, education remained a crucial step to creating new

[20] Shaughnessy, Michael F., Elizabeth Galligan and Romelia Hurtado De Vivas. *Pioneers in Education: Essays in Honor of Paulo Freie* (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2008), 3.
[21] Paulo Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (London: Bloomsbury (1968) 2012), 163.
[22] Ibid., 163.
[23] Shaughnessy, et al., "Dialogue on teaching practice and praxis," Chapter 3 in *Pioneers in Education: Essays in Honor of Paulo Freie*, 117.

polities and developing education as a "reproductive" and "productive" function.[24] Caruso and Maul's collection of essays incorporates a range of countries reshaping their educational institutions and intellectual elites in a post-colonial environment. Perspectives of global cooperation of GDR schools to the importance of polytechnical education in Hong Kong are raised.[25] These discussions will play a major role in offering theoretical and geographical considerations for the case in Japan, the country not viewed as post-colonial but rather a former colonizer occupied by another power. Furthermore, one of the essays, by Michael J. Seth, examines the "quest for legitimacy" of the postwar South Korean government in legitimizing the education system that maintained many of colonial policies incorporated by the Japanese imperial government.[26] This raised an important consideration of the persistence and influence of colonial notions in education during a decolonial process. This thesis will highlight similar practices of the Japanese government, as well as the United States, that seek to perpetuate colonial conditions to reach certain goals and policies. The United States Cold War Policy, in particular, has been viewed as "US imperial ambitions in a shifting, de-colonizing world."[27] The notions of the 'American Empire,' therefore, are important to consider in US foreign projects like Japan's occupation because the concepts of perpetuating imperial methods and building an empire are not forgotten in an era described as de-colonial process. While the current literature mentions the theoretical insights manifested by Franz Fanon and Paulo Freie, it remains this author's goal to further extend these applications to the case studies of education reformation in Japan.

Masako Shibata's work, Japan and Germany under the U.S Occupation, undertakes an important comparative analysis of German and Japanese education reform. Shibata's theoretical framework engages with the roles of ideologies shaping the education reforms by the US on Japan.[28] Shibata's focus was primarily on university level education reform, with an insightful argument on the role of elites and small circles between intellectuals and students both in Germany and Japan.[29] Shibata's work shows that the narrative of education includes notions of fighting oppression as education served as a means to open dialogue from the minority sectors of the population, but also lead to forming small elite communities at the

[24] Caruso, Marcelo and Daniel Maul (editors). *Decolonization and Education*: *New Polities and New Men* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020), 9.
[25] Ibid., 17.
[26] Ibid., 91.
[27] Elliot C. Child, Trevor J. Barnes, "American imperial expansion and area studies without geography," *Journal of Historical Geography* 66 (2019): 51.
[28] Masako Shibata, *Japan and Germany under the U.S Occupation: A comparative Analysis of the Post-War Education Reform* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005), 3.
[29] Ibid., 10.

university level.[30] This perspective highlights the phenomenon of Freie's 'oppressed replacing the oppressors' because there is a sign of people using education to escape from a marginalized group but ultimately forming part of an elite that perhaps perpetuates rather than reforms the education system. Shibata also discusses that whereas German education reform was undergoing a process of de-Nazification and a new form of nationalism, it was crucial for Japanese education reform to remain some of its pre-occupation nationalist ideologies. For example, MacArthur, head of the occupation forces in Japan, relied on the Japanese "collective obedience" to uncritically accept the authority and teachings of their new leaders.[31] Shibata, furthermore, highlighted the growing socialization of Japan and their conformity to state policy while incorporating Western knowledge, methods, and principles.[32] These perspectives raise discussions of pedagogy being used as a tool for fighting oppression as well as tools of oppression that have been evident in Japan. Deeper investigation, therefore, needs to uncover the ideological framework from the US perspective on whether or not notions of neo-colonialism and imperialism become evident.

Lastly, Sebastian Conrad's work, *The Quest for the Lost Nation*, provides an insightful historiographical, as well as theoretical, framework of Japanese and German studies in a global and perhaps transnational point of view. Firstly, Conrad highlights the critical implications of Japan and Germany's history of expulsion and genocide to occupation of foreign forces.[33] Conrad further emphasizes that due to this, "transnational contexts" exist in the notions of "institutionalized comprehensive political reeducation in occupied areas."[34] Conrad also raised the weakness of Japanese scholarship to critically examine the past as scholarly work has often tried to avoid critical engagement with the country's history.[35] Conrad marked the lack of the GDR as a another limitation of German and Japanese historiography. [36] Conrad's work suggests the on-going need for critical comparative examination of these transitional topics between Japan and Germany, from a range of archives and perspectives.[37] Initially, this thesis was planned to be comparative analysis with Germany, but due to limited scale and lack of primary sources from the German perspective, the focus remains on Japan. Nevertheless, Conrad's book highlights the need for critical

[30] Ibid., 14.
[31] Ibid., 61.
[32] Ibid., 165.
[33] Sebastian Conrad, *The Quest for the Lost Nation: Writing History in Germany and Japan in the American Century* (Berkley: University California Press, 2010), 3.
[34] Ibid., 3.
[35] Ibid., 5.
[36] Ibid., 8.
[37] Ibid., 10.

investigation of Germany and Japan; representing it as an operating table for future historians to introduce new subjects for critical analysis.

Methodology

The Norwegian Nobel Institute holds microfilm reels and microfiche slides of the United States State Department. A collection and analysis of the internal and foreign affairs in Japan, West and East German from 1945-1963 makes up the majority of primary sources used. The United States collected and translated many newspaper clippings of Japanese publications to include in the reports, which gives insight to the opinions of Japanese citizens as well as the information the United States determined was important to track. Scanned images of close to half a thousand pages dealing with educational matters and reforms has been organized to allow me to write this thesis from Karuizawa, Japan rather than Oslo, Norway as originally planned. Due to COVID-19, research time allocated for the following archives was not able to be met: The National Diet Library in Tokyo, the Berlin- Lichterfelde, Political Archive of the Foreign Office, and the Federal Commissioner for the Records of the State Security Service of the former German Democratic Republic. These limitations made it necessary to reconsider the comparative analysis with Germany into one focused in Japan. My basic level of Japanese, moreover, limited my ability to use secondary and primary sources in Japanese, which may have revealed further insight to information on Okinawa and the Ainu that was lacking from the Nobel Institute archives. Despite these limitations, the author holds confidence that the primary sources collected provided sufficient insight to measure the extent of Fanon and Freie's notions of decolonization, national consciousness, inferiority complex, and pedagogy; and its application to the development of education in Japan during the reconstruction and occupation period of 1945-1952. Fanon's themes reflect colonial implications of Japan's society under power of the United States, as a winning and conquering power. The primary sources, moreover, reveled significant events of resistance and rejection to occupation policies concerning education, which demonstrated the liberatory power of education as highlighted by Freie. This supports the notion that education served as a basis of oppression as well as resistance among Japanese citizens as early as the postwar period that preceded the local and global unrest movement of the late 1950s and 1960s; a

period, moreover, of violent confrontation between left leaning Japanese teachers' unions, schools, and universities with the Ministry of Education.[38]

Chapter 1: Free Speech with an Impediment

The development of the communist ideology played an important role in the reformation of education in Japan during the post-war occupation period. While a range of historians have accurately traced origins of the larger Cold War to the tensions rising between the superpowers' opposing ideologies of capitalism and communism, not enough attention has been given to the role these ideologies played within the realm of education. Communism, and other ideologies that existed on the leftist spectrum, are often raised in discourses of decolonialization, therefore highlighting the potential applicability to the communist discourses of Japan's reeducation. The year 1948 was furthermore a period of "increasingly tense international relations" as the United States policy towards Communist and non-Communist blocs was hardening to prevent any communist plots from growing.[39] For example, the United States demonstrated clear violations of bargaining rights of the Nikkyōso, Japan's Teacher Union, because one fourth of their members were Communists.[40] In addition to political groups like this teacher union, this first chapter attempts to critically examine the occupation policies' neo-imperial attitudes within growing educational communist or socialist affiliated movements and universities during the occupation period.

The spread of communist ideas in Japanese universities, and US management of said spread, represents an important case study to highlight the neo-imperial implications of the occupation period. A report, dated October 7th, 1946 indicated that the "majority of students are Social Democrats and that the Communists composed 30% of the student body, including some who claim to be Communists but uphold the Tenno or 天皇 [Emperor] system."[41] Additionally, another report shows how the US military government made efforts to ban communist-influenced teachers in universities and schools, which Japanese ministers also supported as they were "inspired" by the "development of anti-communism in the United States."[42] Furthermore, professors were also dismissed for arranging "political activities" and

[38] Benjamin C. Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers: A History of the Left-Wing Teacher's Movement* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1973), 136.
[39] Ibid., 78.
[40] Ibid., 81.
[41] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Policy for Revision of the Japanese Educational System," October 7, 1946, page 1.
[42] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1950-1954*, Reel 52, "Communism in Japanese Universities," May 9, 1950, page 2.

being communist.[43] The United States, however, also understood that the full efforts to ban communist activities might further legitimize the communist movement, as the US was trying to keep a balance of political forces and activities while maintaining that the "dictatorship of communism" was incompatible with the "academic freedom and individual judgement" that the US attempted to enforce.[44] Therefore, the report also highlighted a strict "no embarking on indiscriminately repression against communist teachers and students."[45] These contradictions represent a controversial approach to democratizing the Japanese political activities in the education sphere. The United States appeared to craft an environment for free thought and expression but ensured that communist ideas don't grow too large. The attempted expression of communism here exemplifies the structural conditions of a society that people are dialectically framing in order to improve on the communication between educators, teachers or students, and the government authority.[46] Consequently, problems rise like school authorities "left in the wrong are unable to deal with agitating students;" who were accused of being communist inspired.[47] This convinced Education Ministers, such as Maeda Tamon, to deem students unable to properly govern themselves when going "beyond their proper functions."[48] This reveals imperialist implications, as student bodies attempted to reform the education system but appeared to be shut out of communications. The Communist Party, for example, formed a Student League, under the leadership of Sato Yoshino, where university and college students were organized to present plans to voice proposed reforms.[49] Without student participation like this in education reform, whether or not they contain communist ideas, the notion for a "liberation education" cannot be achieved thus perpetrating the oppressed and oppressor relationship. The elimination of communist "thought and language" stands as an example of neo-imperialist implications that mark the occupation of Japan as an important study of post-war colonialism.

In addition to the concerns for student autonomy in education reform, the United States', as well as partners in the Japanese Ministry of Education, containment of communism in Japan also created consequences of a return to rightist ideology. Studies have

[43] Ibid., 2.
[44] Ibid., 3.
[45] Ibid., 3.
[46] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 96.
[47] Education Ministers, Maeda Tamon, replying to Nagaoka Ryuichiro of the Kyo Club in *Nippon Times* from Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, December 1st, 1946, page 5.
[48] Ibid., page 5.
[49] Confidential US State Department Central File, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, *Everyday Press*, March 7th, 1946.

shown that Japan's impending defeat concerning the entry of the Soviet Union raised fears in the Japanese leadership of communism spreading.[50] The United States, however, did not provide Japan with permission to maintain "direct contact with foreign nations," which made it difficult for Japan to effectively judge "the two-world situation" and Japan's accurate "attuited toward communism for international and national policy."[51] Japan's inability to objectively assess their position to communism with respect to the global situations questions the "progressive" nature of postwar Japanese politics and education.[52] Consequently, Japan's lack of autonomy in Cold War politics created a vacuum for Japan's rightist politicians returning; or in other words, finding haven at the spaces where the United States rooted out communism.[53] For example, the occupation government released many elite members of Japanese imperial society, and anticommunists such as Nabeyama Sadachika were allowed to re-employ former ideologues, journalists, and academics that were deemed ultra-nationalistic; these people were considered as "Minkan" or 民官.[54] This was noticed by Japanese intellectuals such as Yasuzo Suzuki, who wrote in the newspaper *Koron*, "retention of hold-overs from the old regime [who have] bad cultural character [and influenced] Japanese education educational policy on the feudalistic concepts of absolute obedience, absolute power of the family head, the subordination of women, and narrow-minded anti-foreign nationalism [...] It was indeed barbarism."[55] The United States release of these elites raises the notion of the willingness to allow the reemergence of rightist ideology instead of communism. Kiyioji Honda, writing in *Taihei*, said:

> that education has failed to instill the capitalistic idea of success in life, and instead has included a servile feudalistic spirit. The people have not been taught the deep connection between the feudal nature of the land system and the Tenno system, nor between State Shinto and nationalism. To correct this is to take the democractic education, which must break down the barrier between the ruler and the people.[56]

Freie's concept of "liberating education" or "participatory democracy" appears to align with Honda's notion on education because stakeholders like teachers, parents, students, governors,

[50] Reto Hofmann, "What's Left of the Right: Nabeyama Sadachika and Anti-communism in Transwar Japan, 1930–1960," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 79, no. 2 (May 2020): 405.
[51] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1950-1954*, Reel 52, "Communism in Japanese Universities," May 9, 1950, page 3.
[52] Hofmann, "What's Left of the Right," 403.
[53] Ibid., 403.
[54] Ibid., 406.
[55] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Civil Information and Education Sector," February 21st, 1946, page 1.
[56] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "State Department Responsibility for Re-Education Policy in Japan," February 15, 1946, page 2.

officials can all be interpreted under the "ruler and the people" that must engage in critical dialogue.[57] This "participatory democracy" must reflect an "an equal footing in the most important decisions that determine the quality and relevance of education provided to the children, youth, and adults in society."[58] Instead, the reports by the United States files shows that "Japanese education is an organization in which teachers only give lessons, and in which there is no cooperative study between students and teachers."[59] As a result, student organizations formed in universities like Osaka Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University to establish "more contact between teachers and students [and] shortening of hours of instruction."[60]

Rightist ideology, however, perhaps was not the goal of United States as it was rebuilding a national image. Although nationalism was a primary cause for the emergence of Imperial Japan, nationalism still remained an important component of retaining democratic values of freedom and liberty. Nationalism, even within the discourses of education planning, remains crucial to consider as they represent the practical methods in keeping people "organized and guided."[61] The United States, however, appeared to use nationalism for division in Japanese society as seen through the close cooperation with conservative politicians, government bureaucrats, and corporate managers to target and "purge communist teachers; they believed that "communism can only be defeated by nationalism."[62] The "patriotic rhetoric" level, however, had to be scaled down in fear of ultranationalism rising. Occupation officers raised these fears when citing that, "under the present education system, even if full liberty be given to the people, they would be unable to enjoy and use it, and this sort of ephemeral freedom might easily be swept away should any fascist tide recour after the termination of the American occupation."[63] The United States occupation government was faced with a task of maintaining a balance of ideologies, while retaining the face of democracy and liberty. Therefore, two important ideologies started to emerge: Nabeyama's

[57] Shaughnessy, et al., "Resurrecting democracy in public education through Freie's pedagogy of indignation and hope," Chapter 7 in *Pioneers in Education: Essays in Honor of Paulo Freie*, 117.
[58] Ibid., 117.
[59] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Media Analysis Division: School Administration," February 21, 1956, page 5.
[60] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Observations of Educational Institution in Various Cities other than Tokyo," November 27, 1945, page 1.
[61] Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth* (New York: Grove Press (1961) 2003), 92.
[62] Hofmann, "What's Left of the Right," 411, 415.
[63] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Civil Information and Education Sector," February 21 1946, page 1.

"socialism in one country, or *Ikkokushakaishugi*," and Kotaro Tanakan's, Chief of the Bureau of School Education, call for traditionalism.

Nabeyama's "socialism in one country" stemmed from the Marxist principle of class struggle and argued that it was not a struggle of class but nation; which separates this ideology from communism where the roots align with class. [64] "Socialism in one country" started as a fascist vision of Japan where national harmony would replace class struggle as Japan would be the caretaker and assert power in Asia.[65] It was important not to compare this ideology with communism, therefore Nabeyama started political and educational organization such as the Public Security Intelligence Agency (*Kōanchosa*) and World Democracy Research Institute (*Sekai Minshu Kenkyūjo*) to prevent any communist affiliation and influence.[66] After the war Nabeyama mobilized these organizations to reinstate anti-communist networks and shape the basis of the political elite along national lines.[67] Despite Nabeyama's activities and networks started as early as the 1920s, when Japan was under an imperial and expansionist policy, Nabeyama reemergence of these programs was tolerated by the US occupation authority.[68] Moreover, "socialism in one country" was an ideology Nabeyama first tested in Taiwan, Manchuria, and Korea during the imperial reign.[69] Nabeyama's organizations reflected nationalistic goals that perhaps were not the national concerns of the education system. If communist ideologies identified problems in the education system, then Nabeyama's practice proved determinantal to his own ideology because the effort for an "undifferentiated nationalism with a social and economic conscious" could not be possible.[70] This undifferentiated nationalism perhaps represents the "organized and guided" practicality of nationalist ideology where particular social and economic classes can be identified and the appropriate parties are given the authority to exercise the best courses for change.[71] Nabeyama's strategies, however, appear to represent the extent right-wing ideas have "interpenetrated postwar democracy amid the Cold War and decolonization," as it demonstrated signs of a nationalism meant to control and divide along objectives that strictly remove communist notions. [72]

[64] Hofmann, "What's Left of the Right," 408.
[65] Ibid., 403.
[66] Ibid., 412.
[67] Ibid., 412, 414.
[68] Ibid., 412.
[69] Ibid., 408.
[70] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 93.
[71] Ibid., 93.
[72] Hofmann, "What's Left of the Right," 404.

Similarly, the occupation in West Germany also had a problem of remerging National Socialists in education, but due to a teacher shortage.[73] The report reveals that the emergence of right-wing ideologies also occurred in Germany, which perhaps suggests a pattern of US occupation management unable to carefully exercise education reformation. Unlike in Japan, however, the attitude to prevent the spread of fascism was as high as communism, while in Japan rightists like Nabeyama were tolerated. The problematic claim that "we have successfully supervised changes in Japan" suggests that 1949 reflected a decrease in the mobility of the Nabeyama and Minkan, or an attempt to cover the lack of control concerning the spread of rightest ideologies. Nabeyama was not the only Japanese public official to use education as a space to remerge nationalism. Kotaro Tanakan highlighted a more traditionalist and transnationalist approach to using nationalism in crafting the new Japanese image. Writing in *Nippon Kyoiku* (日本教育), or *Japanese Education*, Tanakan stated that, "before one talks about liberalism or democracy, one must observe the universal moral law of mankind, for morality must be the foundation of a democratic nation and a free world." [74] He warned people not to forget to retain the "fine things of old Japan as a cultured nation are a peaceful nation."[75] Different from Nabeyama's use of rightist roots, Tanakan invited attention to the universal application of morality to ensure that democracy does not subjugate any idea or notion of expression. Tanakan, however, raised concerns of a return to a hierarchal way of living and politics as he highlighted, "the reflection of sovereign and subject, the relation of master and pupil […] they must be appreciated now more than ever."[76] It appears that Tanakan suggested a social morality where traditional education can be based on the principles of loyalty to the Emperor. Furthermore, Tanakan's notion concerning the morality between the "sovereign and subject" extended to education as he stressed the "importance of the Code between Teachers and Pupils will always be the same regardless of time." [77] Matsuhoi Matsuoka, Liberal Party Official, on the other hand, suggested that labeling this as a "main factor of democratic education in Japan" is "not enough."[78] While Tanakan showed

[73] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Germany: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 7, Elaine B. Fischel, "Letter to Helen G. Douglas, House of Representatives," December 2, 1949.
[74] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "State Department Responsibility for Re-Education Policy in Japan," February 15, 1946, page 2.
[75] Ibid., 2.
[76] Ibid., 2.
[77] Mr. K Tanakan, Director of the Bureau of Education, Education Ministry, "Student Organizations," in *Nippon Newsreel* from US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, October 25, 1945, page 5.
[78] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "State Department Responsibility for Re-Education Policy in Japan," February 15, 1946, page 2.

signs of a universalist value that educators and citizens must strive towards, this source still suggested a lack of advocacy for autonomy and power for students. System education should be conceived as a direct cooperation between the studies and the process that organizes them to empower all affiliated parties.[79] The systematic education, instead, returned to rightist ideological behavior, which targeted and eliminated communist movements, thus showing neo-imperialistic implications that the United States occupation government did not prevent but perhaps encouraged.

Chapter 2: Education as Opportunity for Western Feminine Affinity in Japan

In addition to communist discourses revealing neo-imperialist behaviors and thinking, highlighting the education reform's impact on women also invites notions of a colonial narrative entangled with theories on pedagogy. The involvement of the United States, with their accompanying notions on women equality, played a significant part in the reorientation and drastic changes to the lives of women in Japan. For example, the US implemented "The Fundamental Law of Education of 1947" that specified "Men and women shall esteem and cooperate with each other. Coeducation, therefore, shall be recognized in education."[80] However, there still remains a debate that disputes such significance because of the United States' own problematic notions on women equality during the post-war period.[81] For example, the American occupation government aimed to cooperation with Japanese women to work against Japanese men in an effort to improve the situation of Japanese women and consolidate their own "ideological position."[82] The investigation of occupied Japan within educational discourses reveals cases that support the notion that women and education remain a vital part of the colonizing and decolonization process.

Part of the democratization and demilitarization process of American Occupation included the enfranchisement of women to participate in the freedom and peace building of post-war Japan.[83] General Dyke, commander of the United States Army Japan, called these the "the establishment of the principles of *co-education* and of equal education for girls and

[79] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 54.
[80] Julia C. Bullock, ""Female Students Ruining the Nation": The Debate over Coeducation in Postwar Japan," *U.S-Japan Women's Journal,* 46 (2014): 5.
[81] Crista DeLuzio, "The Personal and Political Postwar American Family," *American Studies* 54, No. 4 (2016): 129.
[82] Susan J. Pharr, "The Politics of Women's Rights," in *Democratizing Japan*, 237.
[83] Mire Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy: Feminism and the Cold War in U.S Occupation of Japan* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2008), 8.

women."[84] The United States appeared to view the status of women in Japan as "oppressed," therefore measures were taken to "liberate" women.[85] These reforms in the Japanese education system, promoting these organizations and university departments, included American women educators.[86] Some of these reforms include clubs for reading books, social training, adult education, and democratic disciplines."[87] Furthermore, universities started to enroll a higher rate of women in the departments: literature, economics, agriculture, industrial, and household.[88] This was a primary concern for the CWWA, Committee on Woman in World Affairs, as this organization noticed that the number of female educators was lacking in numbers.[89] The CWWA, therefore, suggested "Miss Hilda Smith of the Hudson Shore Labor School, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Mrs. Bonaro Overstreet, and Miss Winifred Fisher of the American Association for Adult Education […] and for child education: Kathrine Taylor, Shady Hill School, and Miss Gertrude Warren."[90] These reports show that US occupation government assigned organizations and individuals to "liberate" Japanese women.[91] American women appeared to be "bearers of democracy" to facilitate this movement toward co-education, but perhaps also indicated a life for Japanese women in an American style.[92] Similarly, American reports documented the impressions of German women visiting the United States during the postwar period; Dr. Antonie Nopitsch, German leader in religious activities, stated:

> "I was fascinated by women's life and work in America. With joy and admiration, the foreigner's eye discovered behind the well-dressed and cultural American lady the early farmer's very good helpmate [...] Her conventine thome with all the marvelous inventions of modern household machines have not made her lazy but instead eager to participate in and support public and social life."[93]

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[84] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Japanese Education Being [unreadable]," February 28 1946.
[85] Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy*, 26.
[86] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, Emily Hickmen Letter to Secretary Robert Pattinson War Department, "Committee on Woman in World Affairs," January 22, 1946.
[87] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Investigation, Screening, and Certification of Teachers and Educational Officials," October 30 1945., pg. 1.
[88] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, Article in Newspaper *Mainichi*, November 27, 1945.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Ibid.
[91] Michiko Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity: The "Kitchen Debate" and Single American Occupationnaire Women in the U.S Occupation of Japan, 1945-1952," *U.S Japan Women's Journal,* 50 (2016): 3.
[92] Ibid., 3.
[93] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Germany: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 7, "Relations with Occupied Countries" April 15th, 1949.

The account of Dr. Nopitsch supports the notion that the "American way of life" was ideal and progressive for women, which is exhibited through modern technology in the kitchen and fashion. The "American way of life" appeared to have been a fundamental element of the occupation policy in both Germany and Japan, that perhaps the United States government insured the people employed under the occupation government understood. The narrative of "kitchenware," or modern technology in the household, being represented as a sign for supremacy and American authority was also, in addition to Germany, exhibited in Japan.[94]

American female educators in Japan have been considered an important study of the US military government's imperialistic qualities, because it resembles those of European women attitudes to colonized women.[95] General MacArthur considered the reforms an "emancipation" of Japanese women and considered them "victimized of feudal tradition, backwardness and civilization."[96] Japanese writers, like Yasuzo Suzuki, also supported this notion as Suzuki wrote in a publication called *Koron* that "the subordination of women […] was indeed barbarism."[97] The careful use of "barbarism" suggested, perhaps, the labeling of Japanese society as backward and lacking civilization that MacArthur appeared to convey. Scholar Lisa Yoneyama, therefore, recalls the "classic colonial binary of white women as rescuers and brown oriental women as victims" when describing "America's mid-twentieth-century imperial project of democratization."[98] Similarly, Mire Koikari argues that these American educators were agents of "imperial middle-class feminism" that constructed Japanese women as helpless and promoted the "ideal of midcentury American womanhood" to re-create Japanese women as homemakers.[99] Scholar Michiko Takeuchi argues that this was a drive to assert American power in the Cold War as an effort to contain communism; because communism did not offer the same technologies and progress to craft the ideal woman of the mid twentieth century.[100] Historian Mire Koikari supports this argument as she viewed these American middle class leaders as proponents of "motherhood, anticommunism, and Cold War nationalism."[101]

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[94] Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity, 6.
[95] Ibid., 4.
[96] Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy*, 3.
[97] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Civil Information and Education Sector," February 21st, 1946, page 1.
[98] Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity," 4.
[99] Ibid., 4.
[100] Ibid., 4.
[101] Koikari, *Pedagogy of Democracy*, 23.

There was, however, room to interpret the attitudes of American women educators in Japan as places for resistance against the military regime. These American educators saw occupied Japan as a site not only for Japanese women's social advancement but for their own as well.[102] The educators frequently avoided the supervision of their male superiors because they did not want Japanese women to strictly view the liberation as the "repurposed home management of kitchen appliances and house management."[103] Similar to what happened for American women in the 1920s and 1930s, the debate of women liberation formed an important body politic that General MacArthur intended would be the space for Japanese women to introduce the American way life in the home and kitchen.[104] Instead, as a result, the role of American women created the possibility to assert their own "Cold War version of domesticity with political supremacy and economic affluence."[105] This perhaps demonstrates evidence of a "liberating education" as political and economic progress is achieved within the relevance of education provided to people in society.[106] Male members of the US military government were documented stating, "All my life I have believed that women are just as good as men in professional work, and in many executive positions I would prefer to place a woman."[107] This recognition further supports the notion of female educators used the education reformation as space for feminist progress.

The US occupation, as well as the Japanese Ministry of Education, understood that the growing number of women's participation in politics required "long-range plans for raising the level of women's education."[108] Under a new plan that stems further away from motherhood education, which perhaps the previously mentioned American women educators attempted to follow, a coeducation with universities tackling subjects of humanities as well as science and technology were implemented.[109] The increased admission of female students, however, formed a persistent sense of emasculation, which labelled these emerging women as "scary wives" that dominated the public discourse from 1955 to 1976.[110] Although this a typical misogynist reaction of a previously male dominated profession, the economic threats

[102] Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity," 5.
[103] Ibid., 5.
[104] Ibid., 5.
[105] Ibid., 6.
[106] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 160.
[107] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, "General Hilldring, Reply to Emily Hickmen, Chairman, Committee on Woman in World Affairs," February 13, 1946.
[108] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18. "Educational Affairs in Japan," October 1 to November 8, 1945.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Bullock, "Female Students Ruining the Nation," 7.

and fears are perspectives that should also be considered. For example, male professors in the humanities field, like Fukuhara Rintarō, Teruoka Yasutaka, and Okuno Shintarō, witnessed the social transformation of fields that were already under resourced due to attention to the sciences.[111] This debate, known as "female students ruining the nation" should therefore be viewed through the historical contexts surrounding the emergence of women during the post war period. The occupation-era reforms did little to change the existing restraints on the humanities field in former imperial universities that remained intact, like Kyoto Imperial University, Doshisha University, Osaka Imperial University, Imaiya Chu gakko, and Yuhigakko jo-gakko which were already suffering from running costs that lead to malnutrition of several faculty members.[112] The US "simply granted women the legal right to compete for admission to them."[113] Rather than tackling the reformation of the education system directly, perhaps Japanese education ministers saw the entrance of women as adding momentum to the perpetual Japanese imperialist style education; similar to how proletarian literature during the early 20th century, by Hirabayashi Taiko and Kang Kyong-a argued the modernization for Japanese women education was helping an imperialism and colonial modernity to grow.[114] This discussion has attempted to measure the imperial implications behind the US's influence in implementing coeducation for Japanese women, but not enough evidence was found to actions of Japanese suffragists to contrast the conception of US occupying forces as handing "over women's suffrage to a complacent population." [115] As scholar Chandra Mohanty suggests, employing the colonial narrative alongside feminist theory flattens "the complexity of transnational women's history."[116] On the other hand, Japanese home education during the early postwar period exemplified cases of complexity that can be described as transnational women's history. Historians highlight that rural women resisted the education passed down by older women to avoid the reemergence of obedient silence as shown during the war; in those situations magazines were an important source of information.[117] For example, young female rural students would protest against the

[111] Ibid., 16.
[112] Bullock, "Female Students Ruining the Nation," 11.
[113] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Observations of Educational Institution in Various Cities other than Tokyo," November 27, 1945, page 1.
[114] Elizabeth Grace, "Women Educating Women: Class, Feminism, and Formal Education in the Proletarian Writing of Hirabayashi Taiko and Kang Kyong-ae," *US-Japan Women's Journal* 48 (2015): 27.
[115] Yuko Takahashi, "Recent Collaborative Endeavors by Historians of Women and Gender in Japan," *Journal of Women's History,* vol. 25, no. 4 (2013): 251.
[116] Ibid., 251.
[117] Christina Ghanbarpour, "Home Education in Rural Japan: Continuity and Change from Late Edo to the Early Postwar," *U.S.-Japan Women's Journal*, No. 41 (2011): 42.

conventions of Confucian- based samurai values or information solely useful for farming purposes.[118] The home education appeared to serve as places of resistance to the consistent oppressive nature of some schools and the education being taught. While the conversations and discussions that were held in these homes remain undocumented, it is possible that the pedagogy would have resembled notions of open dialogue and critical discussion. The home education, however, remains a crucial perspective to consider when determining the values and beliefs of entire populations under authoritative regimes like, perhaps, the United States occupational military government. Further discussion of home education, or home economics, will be explored in a later chapter that considers the perspective of Okinawa.

Lastly, the US's use of education as a space to "liberate women" merits connection under a religious connotation that is often viewed with imperial studies. The American influenced education to portray the "modern kitchen" as superior to communism, thus justifying the rejection of a US-Soviet joint occupation and the sole role of US as the occupier of Japan.[119] Scholar Takeshi Matsuda called this the opening of a "cultural offensive" that developed into, what scholar Amy Kaplan has termed, "Manifest Domesticity."[120] In addition to the fight against communism, this suggested that American goal in Japan was expansionism, similar to the Manifest Destiny that defined the Christian "civilizing" mission of the Antebellum-era.[121]As an occupation force in Japan, the United States had "an unprecedented opportunity" to establish Christianity; it was General MacArthur's purpose that, "the more missionaries we can bring out here, and the more occupation troops we can send home."[122] Some of these missionaries were also part of the team of American women sent to contribute in the reeducation program and liberation process of Japanese women.[123] Moreover, this imperial project did not originate in the postwar period, as the opening of Japan to the United States in 1853 also witnessed the "Women's Christian Temperance Union [teaching] Japanese women the spirit of capitalism and the ideology of Victorian womanhood and to "purify" Japanese homes with Christianity."[124] The occupation of Japan in the 1940s perhaps suggests the US's intention to continue and complete the project of empire-building, or Manifest Destiny, with a revised

[118] Ibid., 45.
[119] Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity, 6.
[120] Ibid., 6.
[121] Ibid., 7.
[122] Okazaki Masafumi "Chrysanthemum and Christianity: Education and Religion in Occupied Japan, 1945–1952," *Pacific Historical Review* 79, No. 3 (August 2010): 393.
[123] Takeuchi, "Cold War Manifest Domesticity, 7.
[124] Ibid., 7.

Manifest Domesticity that represents Japanese women as colonized.[125] As discussed earlier, however, the American women occupation officers showed signs of resistance against the military regime that perhaps played a role in reforming the Japanese patriarchal household system.[126] Beyond the fight against communism, the American and Japanese women operated with political power that challenged the Cold War domesticity and spoke to a larger transnational movement of women suffrage. Although Manifest Domesticity appeared to reestablish a superiority and inferiority divide, it also "blurs such boundaries at the grassroots level because the domesticity ideology enforces patriarchy on both groups of women in the occupied space," which these women challenged.[127] As scholar Yuko Takahashi stated, "The nature of Manifest Domesticity thus leads to the ambiguous position of women occupiers, especially those who do not fulfill the domesticity ideal as homemakers, in the occupied society."[128]

Chapter 3: Separation of Education and Religion in Japan

While ideology and women remain an important element in the US occupation of Japan, religion must also be considered especially with its entanglement in education and discourse of human rights. It is frequently argued that The United States' notions of church and state separation is the "single greatest concept America has contributed to civilization."[129] The United States passed two landmark laws, in 1947 and 1948, concerning the involvement of the state in matters of education and religion, which emphasized that education should be left to public control and public policy.[130] While the sources suggest that this notion of freedom of religion and authority of the state in education transferred to the Japan during the occupation period, it is still an open question whether the United States, particularly the occupation government, desired to spread Christianity in Japan; thus highlighting a traditional feature of colonialism and imperialism. The favoritism of Christian religion complicates the reforms being pushed by the United States to remove Shintoism, the Japanese religion, from public life as it was perceived to develop ultranationalist notions.[131] The role of religion in the

[125] Ibid., 7.
[126] Ibid., 7.
[127] Ibid., 8.
[128] Ibid., 8.
[129] James E Wood Jr, "Religion and Education in American Church-State Relations," *Journal of Church and State* 26, no.1 (1984): 32.
[130] Ibid., 31.
[131] Masako Shibata, "Religious education reform under the US military occupation: The interpretation of state Shinto in Japan and Nazism in Germany," *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 34 no. 4, (2004): 430.

pedagogy of Japanese peoples highlight neo-imperial characteristics of the United States that must be considered to understand the impact of the occupation.

Inquiry into the policies and behaviors reflected in the United States' mission to spread Christianity in Japan reveled controversial issues or clashes regarding freedom of expression and religion. Freedom of religion, moreover, may not have been the ultimate aim of the United States as they did not remove Tenno [Emperor] system entirely because they perceived the system as a way to avoid showing support to communist groups that wanted it removed.[132] Other issues to freedom of religion appeared in matters dealing with education, such as the production of textbooks and allocation of public funds in deciding to support religious institutions or not. For example, an important letter by General McArthur reveled strict censorship of Japanese texts. The letter stated, "Fortunately, the errors were detected shortly after the first release and corrective action was taken at once […] For this failure strictly to follow instructions, both the author and the publisher were severely disciplined."[133] The text entailed "the accuracy of context bearing upon Chirstianity written under Japanese authorship for school study."[134] The text in question was called *The History of the West* where it appeared that certain ideas and information from a Japanese perspective were removed and, moreover, the people in responsible punished. Although the letter indicated that the people responsible for this "error" were "devout Christian leaders of several denominations," there appeared to be conceptual and linguistic differences that made it difficult to "find an acceptable common ground of reconciliation on points in which there exist differing views among the denominations."[135] These differences reflect that Japanese Christian leaders attempted to establish a Christian pedagogy that perhaps links with Japanese custom and culture. The United States, however, demonstrated measure to prevent such open dialogue from taking place and added a "safeguard" like a "Board of Chaplains" to prevent any future "objectionable material."[136] This reflected the colonization process of pedagogy as only certain information was produced and shows controversy over the United States' claims to freedom of information and expression. Instead, the United States viewed Japan as a "spiritual vacuum left in the wake of war and defeat and destruction which obliterated the very foundations to those false concepts on which the Japanese heretofore have depended on

[132] Ibid., 429.
[133] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, Letter signed by Douglas MacArthur, "I am just in receipt of your letter of January 12th," Date Unknown.
[134] Ibid.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

for guidance, sustenance, and protection."[137] MacArthur goes further to describe that the reeducation project, carried out by American men and women, engaged in the "reshaping of Japan's future, there is penetrating into the Japanese mind the noble influences which find their origin and their inspiration in the American home."[138] MacArthur was convinced that the American influences were "rapidly bearing fruit" to instill the Christian Faith in this mission to "reshape Japan's future."[139] This letter holds significant insight into the principles and ideals of General MacArthur. While it is unclear from the archives when and to who the letter was addressed, the contents still support the notion that the United States intention in Far East Asia concerned matters of expansion and religious indoctrination; especially as MacArthur had similar plans in Korea and China.[140]

In addition to the letter, another primary source from the archives highlighted the concerns regarding the US violation of Japan's newly established freedom of religion and expression. Spoken from the viewpoint of an American missionary, in a special dispatch from Tokyo, the writer raised concerns of chaplains scanning textbooks in Tokyo schools.[141] Some textbook authors in Japan "have written lessons which cast some doubt on the authenticity of certain of the Bible stories."[142] Perhaps the "safeguards" that MacArthur mentioned in his letter included the appointed Christian boards in Allied Headquarters to establish a group of chaplains to review all "materials before it is included in the official textbooks."[143] The writer of the newspaper article explains that his represented a "radical shift in policy" as chaplains had no prior role in the military services and did not interfere with Japanese religious matters.[144] The author directly called this a clear "violation of the religious freedom which has been promised the Japanese and which is basic to our entire policy."[145] The author stressed that the "historical interpretation of the Japanese on matters which have religious significance" remains vital to the establishment of an education system that reflects religious freedom and critical spirit.[146] This way of forming a critical spirit showcases the concept of "dialogue" as a key to liberation; especially considering that the discourses of

[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Ibid.
[140] Matthew Jones, "Marc Gallicchio, The Scramble for Asia: U.S. Military Power in the Aftermath of the Pacific War (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield 2008)," *Journal of American Studies* 44, no. 1 (2010): 1-2.
[141] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949,* Reel 18, "Chaplains to Scan Tokyo Textbooks," *New York Times*, February 7, 1948.
[142] Ibid.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Ibid.
[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.

religion in postwar Japan contained elements of propaganda that can hinder the production of genuine knowledge.[147] The Japanese authors need to unveil these religious ideologies and notions spread by the United States so that there can be a "process of permanent liberation."[148] These ideologies, in this particular case, involve religious matters that defined Japan's nation for generations, therefore emphasizing the perpetual development and reinterpretation of a community's religion. The author, furthermore, highlights that students as well as Christian missionaries employed at universities think this policy is "extremely unwise."[149] The author raised the concerns of how the occupation forces actions will shape the perceptions of a Christian missionary because such a policy that "appears inconsistent with the US moral and political position" would jeopardize the legitimacy of American presence.[150] The official American position, furthermore, highlighted this encouragement of freedom in interpretation and intellectual development as a report stated:

> "Religious freedom implies not only maximum freedom on the part of individuals and groups to practice and propagate a religion of their choices, but it requires as well minimum government interference with the doctrines, philosphoies, and practices of religion groups and abstinence from propaganda or judgement."[151]

The quote highlights that some government interference should be included, as it could add to the dialogue of interpreting the new religious and ideological notions. This however should be at the minimum, whereas the role played by individuals and groups should be maximized. United States' actions suggest a maximum effort, which went against their own declared principles, therefore supporting the notion concerning the failure of Christianity spreading in post-war Japan.[152]

Writing in 1971, scholar Lawrence S. Wittner argued that Christianity did not spread as effectively as the US intended because of the existing religious beliefs, Shintoism and Buddhism, rooted in Japanese identity as well as the lack of genuine interest of the on-ground occupation forces.[153] The US's drive to replace Shinto with Christianity ran counter to the Occupation's Shinto Directive, which promised to only eliminate the ultranationalist and

[147] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 67.
[148] Ibid., 54.
[149] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949,* Reel 18, "Chaplains to Scan Tokyo Textbooks," *New York Times*, February 7, 1948.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949,* Reel 18, "In reply to Professor Hall," May 10 1945.
[152] Masafumi "Chrysanthemum and Christianity," 393.
[153] Ibid., 395.

military elements of the religion.[154] The Shinto Drive, furthermore, established "the fundamental principle of the separation of religion and state" that cut the financial support from the government.[155] The contradiction, however, of the attempted spread of Christianity against the freedom of religious affiliation most dominantly took place in public education, which is where the US were losing influence to spread Christianity.[156] As deeper investigation into the Shintoism developed, the debate continued that contrasted Shintoism as the "root of all evil in Japan" against the idea that it can be an asset due to its involvement with political and religious rule, or Emperor-homage, instead of military rule.[157] The transformation of perceptions surrounding the Emperor went through a significant development as Japanese intellectuals and educationalists wrestled during the postwar period to finding the balance between being faithful to the Emperor and the government simultaneously.[158] The United States observed these developments, which perhaps supports the reasoning to hold the resolution not to provide any funding to religious education in public schools; whether it was Shintoism, Buddhism, or Christianity"[159] Although MacArthur's favoritism to Christianity suggests that such a religion would be enforced, some Japanese noticed this contradiction of not following the separation of church and state, thus Christianity was ignored amidst the development of Japan's religions.[160] This further supported the movement of "national identity" as religious influence in the education system redefined Shintoism to preserve the cultures and roots of Japanese history.[161] In war-torn Japan, the political and psychological conditions appeared to present Japan as a "favorable environment for the growth of some inspiring new religion."[162] This is due to the conditions and environment the citizens faced; described as bewilderment, exhaustion, and hunger. What happened instead was Japan's own definition of freedom of religious thought and practice to enable a discourse of judgment concerning their religion's role in the democratization process.[163] George D. Stoddard, chairman of the mission and president elect of the University of Illinois, submitted a Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan outlining this

[154] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Civil Information and Education Sector," February 21 1946.
[155] Masafumi "Chrysanthemum and Christianity," 401.
[156] Ibid., 393.
[157] Ibid., 393.
[158] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, Yoshiro Nagayo, in *Sekai Newspaper*, November 8, 1945, page, 3.
[159] Masafumi "Chrysanthemum and Christianity," 402.
[160] Ibid., 402.
[161] Ibid., 397.
[162] Ibid., 396.
[163] Ibid., 403.

belief that "religious education was a *sine qua non* [essential conditions] for nurturing democracy among students," that must also come from the authority of the Japanese government.[164] MacArthur's denunciation of Japan's religions as "primitive" and assumption that Japan would be "spiritually vacant" to listen to Christianity reflected imperialist and colonist behaviors, but failed in the wake of discussion and dialogue among the Japanese believers and education government.[165] Scholar Masako Shibata, however, contends that the necessary dialogue for proper religious education reforms did not take place, and was not due to the "American's imposition of their religious principle on Japan nor the so-called American cultural prejudice against the Japanese."[166] Shibata, instead, considers that the Japanese education reforms did not initiate broad and critical enough discussions of the consequences of secularization.[167] This author contends that the role and goals of the United States occupation government played a role in the hinderance of these discussions as exemplified through the disconnected role between the American occupation government and Christian missionaries as well as the religious content in education textbooks.

Chapter 4: Conceptions of International Education

The world system, particularly in economic, ideological, political, and social levels, can be traced back to European colonialism and imperialism.[168] The current world education system, or international education, also has a rooted history of colonial influence that this chapter will explore with reference to U.S occupation of Japan. While building this thesis as a justification of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism, it is important to consider the role US occupation has played within the historical development of international education. The range of cultural exchange programs under the United States played an important part in connecting, or globalizing, education across nations. Furthermore, the encouragement raised by the US occupation forces for the English language, particularly in Japan when confronted with Japanese, highlight neo-imperialist approaches that further reflect important considerations of the twenty first century international education system. While some describe the latter half of the mid-twentieth century as a growing decolonization, including the field of education, it is important to examine if the US occupation government proved to be a force for or against the decolonization movement in international education; where students across the world were

[164] Ibid., 403.
[165] Ibid., 396, 406.
[166] Shibata, "Religious education reform under the US military occupation," 437.
[167] Ibid., 437.
[168] Phillip Dylan Thomas Knobloch, "Epistemological Decolonization and Education. International Perspectives," *Foro de Educación* 18, no. 1 (2020): 1.

openly criticizing universities for the content of their curricula and practice in the classroom.[169]

The cultural and education relations between Japan and other countries demonstrated an education movement that was perhaps reinforced by the United States. More scholarly attention needs to be paid to the role of international education in shaping globalization ideas. Scholars like Mark Lincicome, for example, wrote a significant essay that highlighted Japan's support for international education even before the Pacific War.[170] Japanese intellectuals during the prewar period attempted to encourage the "new and liberal education" that challenged "state education" which at the time was imperial.[171] The United States noted these movements like the *Heishikan Institute,* which was an un-fascist nor state involved organization that promoted Japanese culture and international friendship.[172] The United States also held a conference in San Francisco in 1923 to welcome and discuss the publication of Japan's *Theory and Practice of International Education*.[173] Furthermore, some educators, like Daisaku Ikeda, Tsunesaburo Makiguchi, and Josei Toda, developed the *Soka Gakki* movement that infused "an array of educational institutions with priority of peace on the basis of Buddhist principles."[174] For example, an organization called the "International Student Institute," further supports these conceptions of peace as a report by the United States stated, "The behavior of the Japanese people toward the students appears to have been correct and free from the hostility which characterized the attitude of the police. The attitude of the Japanese students to their foreign classmates was regarded as friendly on the whole."[175] This Institute also worked extensively, during the 1930s and 1940s, to keep hostilities between the international students and the police low.[176] During the fall of 1947, the Institute continued to support students who decided to remain in Japan and continue their studies; moreover, some Japanese expressed hopes that universities can receive more foreign students.[177] The United States report quoted a " a Chinese woman student [who] evaluated the relations between the

[169] Shannon Morreira , Kathy Luckett , Siseko H. Kumalo & Manjeet Ramgotra, "Confronting the complexities of decolonising curricula and pedagogy in higher education," *Third World Thematics: A TWQ Journal* 5, no.1-2 (2020): 2.
[170] Mark E. Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 58, no.2 (1999): 339.
[171] Ibid., 340.
[172] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949,* Reel 22.
[173] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," 346.
[174] Peter N. Stearns, *Peace in World History* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 185.
[175] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949,* Reel 19, "Foreign Students in Japan: 1896-1947," April 20, 1948, page 17.
[176] Ibid., 16.
[177] Ibid., v, 15.

students and their hosts in this manner: 'Generally speaking, before the war we were despised, during the war oppressed, and after the war, treated in an ordinary way.'"[178] The United States support of these programs suggests that the "new and liberal education" movements matched those promoted by Japanese intellectuals, which entailed engagement with cultural perspectives that would not hinder the production of creativity.[179] Although international education appeared to have been an effective tool to redefine state education, that may implicitly or explicitly have imperial policies, there is also evidence to suggest its role in strengthening the imperial system.

International education, similar to role of women educators and consideration of religion, was a strategy used by imperial governments to perpetuate repression and restriction of certain freedoms. International education has a reputation of stemming from middle- and upper-class society; suitable for people in economic conditions to support enrollment in international programs.[180] There is evidence of this as early as Imperial Japan's promotion of international education as, according to scholar Nakano Akira, the international education movement was a reform movement that targeted the bourgeois and middle class citizens while allowing the state to ignore the working class and colonial subjects.[181] Additionally, the United States exploited the international cultural exchange and education program, Fulbright Program, by employing a number of research scholars with an international reputation to limit the influence of communism and tighten the relationship between US and Japan, instead of the strengthening relations with the Soviet Union.[182] The US closely monitored the cultural exchange activities between the Soviet Union and various capitalist, democratic, and communist countries.[183] In 1950, for example, the Soviet Union had the highest number of foreign delegations from two state countries like Germany and Korea as well as monolithic ideological nations like China, Canada, and Britain; the US deemed the Soviet Union at that time as the "Mecca of forthcoming World Communism […] and future cultural and scientific

[178] Ibid., 17.
[179] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 152, 160, 181.
[180] Philip G. Altbach, "Globalization and Forces for Change in Higher Education," In: *The International Imperative in Higher Education, Global Perspectives on Higher Education*, SensePublishers: Rotterdam (2013): 8.
[181] Lincicome, "Nationalism, Imperialism, and the International Education Movement in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," 356.
[182] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1950-1954*, Reel 52, "The Proposed Japan Fulbright Program," April 1950, page 3.
[183] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Soviet Union: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 22, "Developments in Soviet Cultural Policy with Particular Regard to Foreign Visitors to the USSR," June 15, 1951, page 1.

center of the world.[184] Absent from the list of foreign delegations are representatives from Japan which perhaps supports the notion of US's intention in keeping the educational relationship strictly between the two nations without communist influence.[185]

The development of international education, as shown by the cultural exchange programs from the early Imperial Japanese government, as well as the postwar influences from the United States and Soviet Union, also convey notions of globalization. Scholars such as Mark Lincicome convey this spread of education during the 20th century as "new nations" seeking to build transnational connections and reveal the truth of the human condition.[186] Lincicome highlights education as an important field to meet the growing demands of global citizenship and transnational civil society.[187] Although his focus lies on the turn of the 20th century, Lincicome suggests that the education reforms during the American occupation period started Japanese education along the track to properly globalize the system.[188] Lincicome further suggests how this stemmed starkly from the Meiji era state controlled education system. The United States occupation period passed reforms so that education would not be centralized but rather left to the influence of local administrations.[189] This was a major part of the education reforms so that schools of Japan would no longer be under "the domination of the Ministry of Education," but rather "are being placed in the hands of the people themselves."[190] Consequently, some local governments started to adapt curriculums to fit the growing globalization needs such as language programs and economic competence.[191] A similar pattern was occurring with globalization under the expansion of Japanese film in the mid 20th century.[192] This way of conceptualizing international education led to deeper attention and focus on Japanese traditions, cultures, and identity that Lincicome highlights as a flaw for an education system in the late 20th century.[193] Lincicome, furthermore, cites this local bureaucratization as the fault because it granted too much "liberalization" that perpetuated elite interference.[194] This "liberalization" was perhaps influenced, if not

[184] Ibid., 1.
[185] Confidential US State Department Central Files *Soviet Union: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 22, "List of Foreign Delegations in the USSR: Period January-May 1950, 1951," June 15, 1951, pages 1-3.
[186] Mark E Lincicome, "Globalization, education, and the politics of identity in the Asia-Pacific," *Critical Asian Studies*, 37 no.2, (2005): 182.
[187] Ibid., 188.
[188] Ibid., 190.
[189] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Organization of Japanese Educationalists Union," November 14, 1945.
[190] Duke, *Japan's Militant Teachers*, 82.
[191] Lincicome, "Globalization, education, and the politics of identity in the Asia-Pacific," 189, 191.
[192] Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "The Postmodern and Mass Images in Japan," Public Culture 1, no.2 (1989): 12, 22.
[193] Lincicome, "Globalization, education, and the politics of identity in the Asia-Pacific," 192.
[194] Ibid., 192.

implemented, by the United States occupation government as seen through the reemergence of right wing groups and agendas behind the various occupation officers. Therefore, this suggests that if Japan's current educations system falls short of the transnational- building that Lincicome argues is an important part of globalization, then the deeper consideration of the education reforms is needed to better understand Japan's education system emphasis on national culture and tradition. Perhaps Lincicome's praise of the education reforms entailed the introduction of certain content in the curriculum that was not previously considered in education systems like the deeper implementation of English, Chinese, German, and Korean language studies.[195] Lincicome later elaborates these contradictions by highlighting the autonomy of local governments, and even teachers, in deciding on textbooks but that the goals for high school and university entrance exams runs counter to the development of a transnational community.[196] Lincicome described an increasingly globalized education system faced with obstacles from local governments that prioritized entrance exams like the case in Japan. Lincicome's praise of United States reforms in attempting to reverse this process needs reconsideration because the actions by the United States played a role in that hinderance.

Within the political and globalization implications, the consideration of language was also significant to consider the development of international education under neo-imperial influences. Part of the reeducation project involved English education, where the military government stressed its urgency for improvement to "enlighten the people in culturism, elevating the people in international knowledge and in fair criticism."[197] Although theory of international education entails the conformity to a single language, there is a significant consideration for multiple languages to develop under international education.[198] Otherwise, attention to a single language will run the risk of perpetuating the colonial system that was considered an exchange of education and culture.[199] The United States perhaps stood as an example of the aforementioned form of the colonial system because while installing English efforts were also made to simplify the written Japanese. One newspaper article, from *Hikari* publication, complained that, "the mere capacity of writing characters has become a kind of

[195] Ibid., 192.
[196] Ibid., 193.
[197] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Media Analysis Division: Language Reform," February 21, 1946, page 2.
[198] Salah Troudi, "Critical Issues: An Introduction," In: *Troudi S. (eds) Critical Issues in Teaching English and Language Education*, Palgrave Macmillan: Cham (2020): 7.
[199] Amal Treki, "Non-native: Problematizing the Discourse and Conscientizing the Teachers," In: *Troudi S. (eds) Critical Issues in Teaching English and Language Education*, Palgrave Macmillan: Cham (2020): 347.

criterion of knowledge and intelligence. Under the pressure of mechanical memoization, ability for elastic thinking dies out."[200] Another article, from *New Nippon*, states that:

> "the use of Kanji is the cause of Japan's cultural lag, and that the adoption of difficult Kanji were used as a symbol of authority […] Newspapers use for easier characters and words than magazines in order to let as many people as possible read them correctly, but there are still many people who cannot read the newspapers […] the rigid pupil-teacher relationship required to memorize Kanji is in itself authoritarian […] As long as we use Kanji, democracy will not develop properly."[201]

Another article by Tomotaro Suzuki, in *Japan Education*, also emphasized the study of foreign languages and agreed with Kotaro Tanakan comment that the lack of knowledge concerning international affairs played a role in Japan's defeat and hindered world peace.[202] The consideration and development of language reveals important behaviors and attitudes of policy makers. On the one hand, US reforms and Japanese intellectuals appeared to agree that the written Kanji system perpetuated a student-teacher relationship that involved "depository knowledge" that hinders dialogue and critical thinking; Kanji being represented as a depository knowledge in this context.[203] Japanese writers in the article highlight that Kanji, and its method of instruction, cause a "cultural lag" and remain a "symbol of authority." On the other hand, colonization concepts entail the process of the colonized accepting the policies, methods, and beliefs of the colonizer, which in this case study appears to be the adoption of the English language or simplification of a native language.[204] This raises the notion that the US intended to portray the written Kanji system as authoritarian and reminiscent of imperialism. The solution to replace Japanese with a simplification and allow for the growth of English is neo-imperialistic, which some Japanese educationalists noticed. For example, Akira Yoshida, an elementary school principal, says in *Kokumin Kyoiku*, that, "it is more necessary to improve educational machinery and administration than to make some adjustment of words and Kanji."[205] He listed notions like "co-education in the higher grades, occupational guidance courses, actual participation in social service work as a part of the school program, [and] abandonment of the dictatorial manner of teachers."[206] Yoshida's notions of education reform also suggest that international education not be the primary goal

[200] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Media Analysis Division: Language Reform," February 21, 1946, page 3.
[201] Ibid., 3.
[202] Ibid., 5.
[203] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 126.
[204] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 143-44.
[205] Confidential US State Department Central Files, *Japan: Internal Affairs, 1945-1949*, Reel 18, "Media Analysis Division: School Administration," February 21, 1956, page 5.
[206] Ibid., 5.

of Japanese reeducation but instead the above mentioned reforms. Compromise, however, seemed to be reached as some Japanese teaching manuals maintained colloquial Japanese that teachers can understand and supplement understanding of publications and textbooks used for teaching.[207] The absolute role of English, or foreign languages, considered under the development of international education invites us to reconsider the reasons behind the spread of global and liberal education that the major powers, particularly United States, attempted in the mid twentieth century.

Chapter 5: Perspectives on Okinawa

The last chapter will focus on the influence of US re-education policy on the regions of Okinawa and some consideration of the Ainu in Hokkaido. In addition to Okinawa remaining one of the important battlegrounds between the United States and Japan during the Second World War, the area has also been indirectly referred to as a colony by the Japanese Imperial Government.[208] Okinawans formed a part of the state administrated schools and worked in various industries to "prove their worth [and] show that they deserved the status that they had already been accorded."[209] The Japanese settler colonization of Hokkaidō, on the other hand, conveyed direct signs of assimilation and integration of the local peoples, the Ainu, into the Japanese system.[210] American experts appointed by the US government assisted in this colonization as early as the 1870s where various technologies "to reshape Ainu Mosir into a land suitable for Japan's capitalist modernization."[211] Although the personal holdings of primary sources sampled from the Nobel Institute did not reveal explicit US policies on the Ainu people or Hokkaidō in general, it remains an important comparisons to consider because of the neo-colonial implications and past US involvement. Therefore, perhaps under these historical colonial implications, the United States predicted no objections to establishing Okinawa as the center of operations where 75% of all military bases would be established.[212] This presents an important perspective to consider the role of US re-education policy as it appears to perpetuate imperialistic policies, or as scholars Gavan McCormack and Chalmers Johnson characterize as "the limits of sovereignty is subordinated to the logic of exception

[207] Ibid., 5.
[208] Christopher T. Nelson, "Occupation without End: Opposition to the US Military in Okinawa," *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 111 vol. 4 (2012): 829.
[209] Ibid., 829.
[210] Tristan R. Grunow, et al., "Hokkaidō 150: Settler Colonialism and Indigeneity in Modern Japan and Beyond," *Critical Asian Studies*, 51, no. 4 (2019): 604.
[211] Ibid., 604.
[212] Wendy Matsumura, "Postwar Reconfigurations of the US Empire and Global Military Occupation: Struggles against Enclosure in Okinawa," *J Hist Sociol* 33 (2020): 152.

when it obstructs the ability of US military forces to maneuver in the region."[213] The consideration of education under this "maneuverability" reveals consistent objectives that the United States had in mainland Japan, which included discourses of geopolitics, women, and culture or religion.

The United States projects of education reformation in Okinawa played an important Cold War objective in keeping the chain of islands, Ryukyus, a part of their anticommunist containment. From the archives, the major goal of the US Military Government was to "train teachers in school administration and teaching according to American patterns, looking toward making more effective the Army's efforts to change the character of the entire school system."[214] Furthermore, "native capabilities" and "local environments" of the educational program were designed to assist in "early achievement of foregoing objectives."[215] Although the United States appeared to have intended to include localized education, the precedence was set to "foregoing objectives" that included anti-communist policies because Okinawa remained, as scholar Ikue Kina terms, the "keystone of the Pacific."[216] These policies, however, limited the sovereignty of Okinawan peoples to reconstructing their education system. This example of communist discourse demonstrates this as shown by voters of Naha, the capital, where citizens elected "the more radical of two anti-American candidates for mayor;" both candidates were Socialists and victory went to Satchi Kaneshi who had been backed by the Communists.[217] The United States government reported that this "outcome was widely interpreted as proof of the unpopularity of the Americans on the island they have governed for nearly thirteen years."[218] This case shows the importance of socialist or communist ideas as it is represented by voters of Okinawa, which the United States attempted to keep these notions out of the education reformation in the early postwar period. These attempts were made in the secondary level as well as the college education level with the assistance of an advisory delegation from the faculties of Michigan State University.[219] The

[213] Ibid., 152.
[214] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, "To the President," *Memorandum of Information Concerning a Cooperative Project with the University of the Ryukyus*, page 2.
[215] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, "US Military Government on Okinawa, by Leonard Weiss," *Far Eastern Survey*, July 31, 1946, page 234.
[216] Kina, "Subaltern Knowledge and Transnational American Studies," 453.
[217] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, Robert Trumbull "U.S Rule in Okinawa Fails to Win People: They Use Democratic Freedoms to Work Against US Controls," *New York Times*, January 19th, 1958.
[218] Ibid.
[219] Ikue, "Subaltern Knowledge and Transnational American Studies," 455.

United States relied on the cooperation of American Universities to set the education system to American patterns in education, foreign policy, and women in home economics.[220]

The US influence in education perhaps exemplified the reasons leading the Okinawa view of Americans as hypocritical to the "virtues of a democratic government."[221] These notions of rising hypocrisy in discussion with communist discourse also appeared across universities and political platforms in mainland Japan, but for Okinawa a notion of sovereignty is also raised. The United States determined Okinawa a "non-residual sovereignty" where the United States, "by stipulation of Article III of the Treaty of Peace between Japan and the Allies," will "have the right to exercise all and any powers [...] This stipulation deprives the people of their sovereignty and an externally insitutired ruling authority is endowed with absolute power over them, without their consent."[222] This dangerous precedent will not allow for the "adaptive native capabilities" to the education system previously outlined by the US education goals. Regardless of whether it is the topic of communism, the education system appears to obscure, misrepresent, and dismiss the significance of local analysis and synthesis of ideas that has also appeared in pedagogical colonization processes of the US Native peoples as well as the Ainu in Hokkaidō.[223] The absence of voices, concerns, and experiences of any Indigenous or local peoples, from topics of socialism to national mythologies, establishes a settler education system that perhaps justifies the lack of Okinawan popularity to the American presence. As previously mentioned, this lack of popularity raised socialists to the political position of mayor, but it also impacted the relationship between mainland Japan and the United States. For example, the Korean War strained US-Japanese relations as the United States continued to use Okinawa for military operations without the consent of the Japanese government.[224] Furthermore, the Japanese government raised concerns of the limited trade allowed to them with communist countries due to the US air bases and missiles stationed on Okinawa.[225] The existence of nuclear weapons equipped on these bases further frightened the Okinawan people.[226] These geopolitical effects was perhaps rooted in the early educational reformation discourses at the secondary and university level, because, similar to mainland Japan, the country and people

[220] Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, "To the President," 4.
[221] Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, Robert Trumbull "U.S Rule in Okinawa Fails to Win People." January 19th, 1958.
[222] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, Takashi Toshitani, "The Okinawan Occupation- A Tragedy," 1.
[223] Grunow, et al., "Hokkaidō 150," 628-9.
[224] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, Doug Pirnie, "The Problem of Okinawa," November 27, 1968, page 2.
[225] Ibid., 6-7.
[226] Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 1, Takashi Toshitani, "The Okinawan Occupation- A Tragedy," 2.

were not provided with the critical dialectical space to properly form a position in the Cold War; thus demonstrating Okinawa, as an extension of mainland Japan, as a neo-colonial space under the United States.

The US rule of Okinawan college education was "inescapably linked to prevailing Cold War ideology," which depended on the collaboration and use of "a women's international network" that developed home economics education.[227] Brigadier General John Ondrick stated that the US occupation was not a colonial project because there were no "profits" extracted from Okinawa; instead, the organized projects of cooperation between elite American, Okinawa, and American women allowed for "new industries, improvement of public health, and expansion of education."[228] Similar to the occupation responsibilities lead by women in mainland Japan, the development of home education economics "redefined the occupation as an occasion for feminine affinity."[229] The US military government divided the education system in Okinawa under three departments: the Normal School, the Technical School, and the Civilian Police School."[230] This department, furthermore, was headed by a centralized and "native" personnel such as the Head, Yamashiro Atsu.[231] The "Technical School" perhaps provided the space for the emerging "feminine affinity" where groups pursued various "life improvements" focused on home economics.[232] This type of domesticity, however, strikes strong resemblances to the operation of US involvement of women on mainland Japan, where the promotion of "progress and assimilation of those deemed 'other' are reinforced."[233] For example, Onaga Kimiyo, was represented as a facilitator of "manifest domesticity" during prewar and wartime Japan but was seen as "Okinawa's Elanor Roosevelet" therefore establishing Onaga as a model in US-occupied Okinawa.[234] The statement made by General Ondrick conveyed transnational applicability of human cooperation under the notions of feminist movements, but the perpetual perception of hierarchical division of "other" as well as inspired models to follow being limited to the US examples like Roosevelet, demonstrates a pattern of pedagogy being used for occupational purposes and domestic political objectives or "profits." Although the influence of home economic education by Okinawan and Japanese women provided grounds for affinity and

[227] Ikue, "Subaltern Knowledge and Transnational American Studies," 453.
[228] Mire Koikari, "Cultivating Feminine Affinity: Women, Domesticity, and Cold War Transnationality in the US Military Occupation of Okinawa," *Journal of Women's History* 27, No. 4 (2015): 112-113.
[229] Ibid., 112.
[230] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 2, "Report on Military Government Activities for January 1946," 9.
[231] Ibid., 8.
[232] Koikari, "Cultivating Feminine Affinity," 117.
[233] Ibid., 117.
[234] Ibid., 125-6.

improvements in daily lives, the role of the US government maintains neo-colonial implications as further demonstrated by the Michigan State University.

The role of the Michigan State University (henceforth MSU) provides important insight to the synthesis of pedagogical, agricultural, and feminist developments of Okinawa under US rule. Since 1855, the Agricultural College of the State of Michigan had extensive resources to export technical and vocational educational programs that placed emphasis on agriculture, engineering, and home economics.[235] One of the important objectives of US-occupied Okinawa was the "large scale domestic reform to 'modernize' Okinawa domesticity."[236] Across the US governmental reports, a significant amount of emphasis was placed on the agricultural development of Okinawan country alongside the vocational courses and other educational programs like English instruction.[237] As part of Article III mentioned earlier, the US government had authority of over 10% of prime agriculture lands which local courts or police did not have jurisdiction of.[238] The consequences of this policy were placed heavily on women.[239] In part to make these lives on the agriculture sustainable, the MSU opened up many opportunities such as visits to the United States, discussion panels with economists from India and the UK, scholarships for Okinawan home economics students.[240] The reports further reveal these opportunities as universities such as Advisory Committee on the University of the Ryukyus, Association of American Colleges, Institute of International Education, Association of Lang-Urant Colleges and Universities, American Council on Education, and United States Office of Education all expressed interest in student exchanges and focuses on agricultural development.[241] In addition to students, the MSU placed emphasis on Okinawan women to engage in "people to people diplomacy" to bridge the historical and cultural gap between Okinawa and the United States.[242] This diplomacy perhaps supports the notion of MSU home economics providing the space for women to employ and develop their own distinct "professional" and "scientific" natures, similarly to what was occurring in mainland Japan.[243] These missions, however, remained under the larger operations of Cold War politics as the "domesticity, multiculturalism, international education and military

[235] Mire Koikari, "The World is Our Campus": Michigan State University and Cold-War Home Economics in US-occupied Okinawa, 1945–1972," *Gender & History* 24, No.1 (April 2012): 74.
[236] Ibid., 75.
[237] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 2, "The Educational Program on Okinawa" January 15th, 1946.
[238] Matsumura, "Postwar Reconfiguration of the US Empire and Global Military Occupation," 152.
[239] Ibid., 155.
[240] Koikari, "The World is Our Campus," 75.
[241] James T. Watkins, *Okinawa Papers*, Roll 2, "The Educational Program on Okinawa" January 15th, 1946.
[242] Koikari, "The World is Our Campus," 75.
[243] Ibid., 84.

expansionism" were programs prepared and developed in various regions like "Taiwan, Korea, Okinawa, Pakistan, India, Nigeria, Argentina, Columbia and Puerto Rico."[244] The United States used vocational pedagogy, particular on the development of the agriculture sector, and women, for the case of Japan and Okinawa, to establish a sphere of influence that promote Americanism in home economics and limit the possible evaluation of other ideologies like socialism. Despite there being a hierarchal relationship at the interstate level, reports reveal that the "grassroots friendships" between Okinawan and American women emphasize the decolonial process of social communities.[245] As mentioned in chapter two, the discussion of neo-colonial implications within the role of women perhaps limits the transnational stories of these historical actors, but when considering that these perspective rise with further discussion of neo-colonial topics it is difficult to avoid the synthesis. In addition to gender perspectives, race considerations also raise a further example of this transitional applicability. Ainu novelist, Hatozawa Samio, spoke of the "black problem" in the United States being connected with the "Ainu problem" as the struggles for certain freedoms and rights are a humanistic struggle.[246] This insight reveals the important consideration of feminist movements under the neo-colonial projects during the Cold War, because they provide further support, rather than hinderance, to the transnational applicability. Further research in the education project of Okinawa and the Ainu peoples, particularly with the role of female historical actors, need to be considered to appropriate document this transnational development.

Finally, before moving to the conclusion, it is important to emphasize the lack of in-depth discussion when considering the perspective of the Ainu. As stated previously, research from the Nobel Institute did not reveal insight into the role of the US education reforms during the occupation period. Some secondary sources have highlighted that the US played a role in developing the colonization and assimilation of the Ainu, but do not specifically highlight the role of education.[247] Speaking to Koji Yamasaki, Associate Professor at Hokkaido University for Ainu & Indigenous Studies, reveled further involvement of Britain as Japanese colonists went overseas to learn these two superpower's methods in colonization. For example, Zenichiro Kotanibe, who was employed in the "Purpose of Indigenous Education and Research," was sent to study in the United States to further develop the

[244] Ibid., 77-78.
[245] Ibid., 75.
[246] Mark Winchester, "'To be the antithesis of all that is called human': Sasaki Masao and political redemption in contemporary Ainu thought," *Japan Forum* 25, no. 1 (2013) : 61.
[247] Grunow, et al., "Hokkaidō 150," 604.

"nursery society," which was an assimilation approach.[248] Ainu attempts at reforming education did surface at the end of the Second World War, under what is known as "the Second Ainu Liberation Movement," to take advantage of Japan's broken imperial system.[249] What lacks, however, is the direct involvement of the United States in these affairs. I also spoke with Associate Fellow Mark Winchester at National Ainu Museum, who raised the history of the United States occupation government collecting intelligence on the Ainu community while the war was still on-going. More research, however, needs to look into the transnational applicability of communist, women's, and religious roles of pedagogical developing in the Hokkaido region with Ainu discourses. The consideration of the Ainu raises important implications of this thesis, which the author will elaborate in the conclusion.

Conclusion

The educational field serves as a significant space where both the perpetuation and opposition to oppression occurred in occupied Japan. Japan, under US influence, exhibited a consistent series of problematic ideological, theoretical, and practical clashes; particularly when education engaged with politics as well as the redefinition of women and their new roles in postwar society, the causes to ultranationalism and national identity as expressed through religion, and the development of an international awareness through global networks and language reform. These issues of education, women, and religion form examples of the individual and human rights that the postwar century attempted to guarantee the protection and freedoms are. These freedoms, however, were still defined and carried out by superpowers that, as this essay has attempted to show, exhibited neocolonial and neo-imperial behaviors. Fanon said, "At the level of the individual and human rights what is fascism but colonialism at the very heart of traditionally colonialist countries."[250] Fanon invites us to examine the colonialist and fascist like behaviors that "traditionally colonialist countries" within the role of pedagogy.[251] Fanon warned that education would exacerbate the "collusion between the colonial authorities and the nationalist parties" if the structural reforms proposed by the government did not come from a shared discussion and openness of information regarding objectives, national policy, and international issues, and many more.[252] Similarly to Freie's concept, both thinkers justify the crucial historical examination of education as a tool

[248] Takega Harayuki, "Ainu Education History," *Pedagogical Research* 43, no. 3 (1976): 303.
[249] Ibid., 309
[250] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 48.
[251] Ibid., 71.
[252] Ibid., 71.

for the persistence as well as resistance to education, which can be applied to the discourses of occupied Japan; despite not officially labeled as a colonized country. These considerations are important because the historiography of the education reforms during the occupational period remain a discussion of the United States democratizing the system through decentralization of the Ministry of Education as empowering of local and municipal governments.[253] Any study of Japan's contemporary education system should perhaps incorporate a colonial analytical lens of Japan's entire educational historical development that includes the occupational period and not only during the Imperial period where Japan was the colonizer; although there still remains a lack of critical investigation of this period also.[254] Perhaps, then, critically considering this occupation of Japan, alongside other colonial discourses, as a period for the United States to perpetuate neocolonial education while establishing its influence in the Far East within a Cold War narrative, will build a healthy the of education reforms that can encompass a wide range of perspectives and offer in-depth historical analysis.

The wider implications of this thesis, a critical study of Japan's historical and educational development, involve the existing complications for governments and schools on how to confront colonial history. Pedagogy on history, especially with one on colonial discourses, memories, and events, needs to be based on critical truth that recognizes the "plurality of legitimate memories."[255] This means that sources and documents need to remain open for a wide variety of analysis and interpretation, which would resemble a sustainable manner of confronting colonial histories. This is a practice in pedagogy that democratic countries like the modern US and Japan fail to effectively employ.[256] Although the United States Occupation period is conventionally represented as critical progressing Japan's education through, for example, the use of textbooks, it remains the purpose of this author's thesis that such a progress still had flaws and social consequences.[257] The lack of explicit education reforms to Okinawa and the Ainu, in addition to the implicit ideologies operating on mainland Japan, demonstrate the lack of a sustainable pedagogical reform that I attempted to highlight with Freie's themes. Modern discourses on education problems in Japan's

[253] Yuto Kitamura, "Chapter 1: Background and Context of Education System in Japan," in *Education in Japan: A Comprehensive Analysis of Education Reforms and Practices* (Singapore: Springer, 2019), 3-4.
[254] Edward Vickers, "Critiquing coloniality, 'epistemic violence' and western hegemony in comparative education – the dangers of ahistoricism and positionality," *Comparative Education* 56, no.2 (2020): 178
[255] Mario Carretero, "The Teaching of Recent and Violent Conflicts as Challenges for History Education," in Psaltis, Charis, et.al (Editors) *History Education and Conflict Transformation* (Cyprus: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020), 345.
[256] Ibid., 346.
[257] Bentrovato, "History Textbooks Writing in Post-conflict Societies," 66.

education system compromise of complications being made to teaching of Japan's colonial history in Japanese high schools; namely the content produced in textbooks which eliminates certain accounts and does not incorporate or utilize the opinions of teachers.[258] Moreover, the topics of Japan's colonial history are still only limited to the expansionist policies and not enough attention is given to how to confront and reconcile with the internal colonization of Okinawa and the Ainu. The United States occupation government's influence on Japan's education reform is marked as a period where the sustainable ways to reconcile with colonial history was possible, but this author remains firm in believing the contrary occurred.

This thesis has attempted to provide this historical examination through analysis of the US's Occupation of Japan during the postwar era in areas that entangle communism, women issues, religion, international education and language instruction, as well as consideration of the Okinawan and Hokkaido regions. Evidence of the United States persistence in limiting free expression of communist "thought and language" represent the closure of "structural conditions" that Freie warns is essential to build effective communication between educators and politician. [259] These structural conditions are often conceived as the elements of nation building, which Fanon marks ideological interpretation and discussion of as essential for an "undifferentiated nationalism with a social and economic conscious."[260] Without proper channels or educational projects for analysis of communism, organized and guided political power could not be achieved to establish an effective communication between studies, students and teachers, and those who hold political authority. The result, perhaps, is the tolerance of a reemergence of rightist ideology like that displayed by Nabeyama Sadachika.[261] The colonial narratives entangled with feminism topics also demonstrate Freie's liberating education theories, which even within studies of decolonization, some scholars agree that the contribution and subjectivity of women to these discussions are often neglected. [262] Political and economic advancement was demonstrated by Japanese and American women who worked in solidarity to liberate themselves under "the social conscientization" and collective action toward women equality.[263] Education, or home economics, provided the platform for Japanese and American women to redefine neo-colonial practices as well as push forward the movement for greater female representations in these

[258] Peter Cave, "Japanese Colonialism and the Asia Pacific War in Japan's History Textbooks: Changing representations and their causes," *Modern Asian Studies* 47, no.2 (2013): 542.
[259] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 96.
[260] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 93.
[261] Ibid., 92. Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 54.
[262] George Sefa Dei, "Introduction," in *Fanon and Education: Thinking Through Pedagogical Possibilities*, 22.
[263] Freie, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 117.

discourses. Japanese and American women perhaps exhibited the humanization process of people working in solidarity to liberate themselves under "the social conscientization" and collective action toward women equality. The discussion of religious notions also provides further insight to the transnational applicability of freedom of religion and religious information processed through an education system. Postwar Japan resembled a collapsed society, both in terms of infrastructure and psychology, which Fanon considered as important elements for a race of people to develop an inferiority complex, which lead to an acceptance of new forms and ideologies, like US Christianity, delivered through aid and development.[264] Moreover, international education as well as the policies of the US in managing education within Okinawa and Hokkaido, regions considered colonized by the Japanese Imperial government, demonstrated signs of language superiority, perpetual discrimination based on race, and intentional lack of critical incorporation due to geopolitical considerations. Fanon and Freie's concepts of decolonization and pedagogy are examined through these historical topics of US occupation in Japan to bring attention to the transnational applicability of decolonial education to areas not conventionally seen as a part of colonial studies. Thinkers like Fanon, who employed an important decolonial framework, and Freie, who provided a similar framework in a pedagogical lens, are exemplars of a larger decolonization movement that must be employed to consider the narratives which can, while unconventional, be deemed colonial.

[264] Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, 16.

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