

POLICY AND REFORM IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS DURING
THE OCCUPATION OF JAPAN

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ABSTRACT

The present study deals with the educational reforms set into place by the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) from 1945 to 1952. Through the review of several issues within Occupation era educational reform, the research deals with how SCAP's policies directly affected the lives of students. The study of this topic is valuable to the areas of Japanese history as well as educational policy studies and comparative/international education studies. From researching SCAP policies that affected primary school students, the effect that the rapid reforms of the Occupation had on typical Japanese youth can easily be seen. Methods for exploration include an analysis of the school lunch program implemented by SCAP. Also researched are reforms by SCAP to eliminate the presence of religious practices in the schools and the curriculum. The study also covers the problem of providing adequate school facilities to children during the Occupation. A description of physical education reform illustrates the Occupation's decision to ban the martial arts of *judō* and *kendō* from schools due to its wartime connection with militarism. This topic is extremely important to demonstrate how much of an affect reconstructing an entire education system has on the lives of typical students.

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Introduction

When the first occupation forces began landing in Japan in late August 1945 women were told to stay indoors and children were swept into the countryside. With the occupational forces came rapid reform, demilitarization and democracy. Upon hearing of the unconditional surrender, proclaimed by the emperor himself, ten year old elementary school student Mihōko Nakane declared, “Watch out you terrible Americans and British! I will be sure to seek revenge.”¹ With the heavy American influence on the swift reformation of the Japanese education system soon little Mihōko would come to be part of an educational system that took on a wholesale adoption of the American system.²

At the end of World War II, for the first time in her long history, Japan faced a full scale occupation by an alien state. By late August, American ships had begun to arrive in bays and harbors around Japan. The victors brought with them ideas of democracy along with intentions of developing a state that would not pose a military threat towards the rest of the world. The Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, General Douglas McArthur, developed teams of young experts to individually address specific elements and needs of the Japanese people. From 1945 to 1952 SCAP provided reforms throughout almost every facet of Japanese life. A new constitution was written in six days, food rations were distributed and an analysis of the Japanese education system was rendered. The Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers, commonly referred to as SCAP, produced limitless documents in English to be studied and reviewed. Scholarship of educational policies and reforms during this time can be easily found in

¹ Samuel Yamashita, *Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 307.

² Kenneth Pyle, *The Making of Modern Japan: Second Edition* (Lexington: D.C. Heath, 1996), 223.

almost any library. While compiling resources dealing with the occupation of Japan and its effect on the educational system I found only a few resources dealing with what life was like for a student during this time of transformation and development. It is my goal to provide a small voice for the 19,000,000 students that directly experienced an educational system in metamorphosis.³ Through the review of several issues of Occupation era educational policy, I will extend previous research to include topics that directly affected the lives of students, yet have received little scholarship.

In 1978 Thomas R.H. Havens' *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II*, broke ground in the field of modern Japanese social history. More recent trends in Japanese studies tend to tell the story of the middle class commoner rather than the great men of the times. It is my intention, through the review of educational policy, to provide an account of what it must have been like to be a typical student in a typical school during this time.

The study of this topic is valuable to the areas of Japanese history as well as educational policy studies and comparative/international education studies. Not only does the study of student life provide an interesting look at educational reforms during this time, but also the power and influence that SCAP had over the entire system. From researching SCAP policies that affected primary school students daily, the effect that the rapid reforms of the Occupation had on typical Japanese youth can easily be seen. This was a very significant time of change that still affects the highly researched Japanese educational system of today.

³ Supreme Commander for Allied Powers. Civil Information and Education Section *Mission and Accomplishments of the Occupation in the Civil Information and Education Fields* (Tokyo: 1950) 11.

Literature Review

The plethora of sources that I found provide interesting pieces of information that I need in order to conduct my research. While I was able to locate a few recent dissertations dealing with some related topics, I was not able to find any major monographs dealing specifically with occupied Japan's education system published during the last five to ten years.

I was able to utilize several articles in scholarly journals to find recent scholarship on the subject. I used these more recent articles to analyze current trends in the scholarship of the subject. These articles tended to deal with smaller sections of my overall research and topics that were not easily found in monographs.

As for primary resources, I was able to use many SCAP and Ministry of Education sources to provide information on the daily lives of students. In a dissertation by Paul S. Anderson titled *The Reorientation Activities of the Civil Education Section of the Osaka Civil Affairs Team: A Case Study in Educational Change* I found many primary resources from the SCAP office in Osaka. This included inspection reports of schools, letters from the local Parent Teacher Associations (PTA), and translated documents from several local governments.

I also used both the First and Second U.S. Education Missions to Japan to analyze the recommendations that American educators were giving to SCAP for further review. Out of these two Missions' reports came many suggestions for reforms that undoubtedly affected the lives of children throughout Japan. The Missions' suggestions covered everything from language reform to the issue of whether or not moral education should be a part of the curriculum.

The Japanese Ministry of Education also had many documents available for study. I was able to use several reports by the Ministry to prove that it was not always only SCAP's decisions affecting the lives of students. In *Bricks Without Straw* (1950) the Ministry of Education issues a report on the devastating situation of school facilities that followed the war. I found one excerpt particularly interesting and it proves that it was not only SCAP's desire to completely reform the Japanese school system.

This does not mean that Japan accepted the recommendation of the Mission with a passive attitude or cowardly feeling, but rather as an expression of the firm resolve of the Japanese people to reconstruct Japan in accordance with democratic principles. The Mission's recommendations coincided, with the earnest wish of the people to rehabilitate Japan as a peaceful and cultural nation by means of a democratic system of education.⁴

Another type of primary resource that I rely heavily on is diaries and interviews. My goal is to tell the story of what it was like to be a student during this time. While analyzing SCAP and the Ministry of Education documents provides resourceful insight to the daily lives of students my main goal is to utilize first person primary resources. In a telephone interview with the former Japanese Consul General in Kansas City, Takao Shibata I learned many significant details about school life in occupied Japan that I had not seen in some of the secondary resources written over the time period. Mr. Shibata explained such details as the introduction of dairy products in the school lunches and his first encounter with an American soldier.⁵ Mr. Shibata's cooperation with my research highly influenced the focus of my research towards writing about the daily lives of students during the occupation.

⁴ The Ministry of Education, Japan, *Bricks Without Straw* (Tokyo Japan: September 15, 1950.) 2.

⁵ Takao Shibata, (Former Japanese Consulate General of Kansas City, Mo.), Telephone interview By JD Parker, Lawrence, KS, Dec. 2, 2007.

I have also made use of several diaries and memoirs written during this period. I found the memoirs of Michi Kawai particularly interesting. As the principal of a Christian girl's school near Tokyo, Kawai paints a picture of excitement during this time. She writes how her students loved seeing American soldiers and quickly learned how to say a quirky, "Gim-me-ching-gum" and "Hallo"⁶ These memoirs along with Mr. Shibata's interview illustrate a sense of admiration towards the occupational forces by the students. In many cases the occupational forces were the providers of basic foods, as well as chocolate, during a time when Japan could have easily sunk into starvation.

Finally, I was able to use some articles found in popular magazines and newspapers from that time. These included publications from both the United States and Japan. Several of the articles were found translated in scholarly journals as well as in the bibliographies of other works.

I was also able to find a large number of secondary resources, although sometimes dated, dealing with the occupation. The late Edward R. Beauchamp seems to have been not only the top scholar for occupied Japanese education studies but also for Japanese education in general. I found over ten published works by Beauchamp dealing with modern Japanese education. Beauchamp's *Education in Japan: a Source Book* provided to be the single most useful tool for my research. Beauchamp offers almost twenty pages of primary and secondary sources dealing directly with occupied Japan educational topics. I was able to use this list to obtain other valuable resources. I used Beauchamp's research as a foundation to build upon as a guide. Beauchamp covers almost every major aspect of educational reform in his many works but tends not to focus on any personal stories from this time. Beauchamp focuses heavily on the idea of moral education before

⁶ Kawai, Michi *Sliding Doors* (Tokyo: Kasai Publishing & Printing, 1950), 87.

and after World War II. Beauchamp writes that before the war, education in Japan was used as a tool to promote the unthinking acceptance and blind obedience to instructions from the top. He continues on by writing that the notion that education was a tool of a state rather than for the purpose of the liberation of the individual had permeated the entire Japanese education system.⁷ In his bibliographies you will mainly find government generated documents from both the occupational forces and the Japanese government. Beauchamp adds an impressive list of Japanese resources within his sources.

The most active contemporary scholar of education in occupied Japan that I could find was Harry Wray, who currently is a professor at Nanzan University in Nagoya, Japan. His most current articles are *Change and Continuity in Modern Japanese Educational History: Allied Occupational Reforms Forty Years Later* (1991) and *The Fall of Moral Education and the Rise and Decline of Civics Education and Social Studies in Occupied and Independent Japan* (2000). Both of these articles provide a more narrow focus of a topic only recently established by Beauchamp's founding works. The amount of work not yet done leaves an open door to many different subtopics within this area.

While the amount of recent specialized works in this field seem to somewhat small, I did find that several authors included brief descriptions of occupied Japanese education in larger monographs. In John Dower's *Embracing Defeat*, he writes that the Allies used "Readers" to introduced ideas into schools that came directly from the Potsdam Declaration. Some of the questions included, "Is democracy being promoted in

⁷ Edward R. Beauchamp, *Education in Japan: A Source Book* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 87.

Japan now because we have to do so by order of the Allied powers?”⁸ It seems that the Allied forces were able to use the tool of education as propaganda for the promotion of democracy almost as well as the militarists did before the war to drum up support and loyalty.

Kenneth Pyle also briefly addresses some educational issues from the occupation in *The Making of Modern Japan*. He writes that in 1947 the government declared that the official purpose of education in Japan was to contribute to the peace of the world and the welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state.⁹ He also writes about the elimination of multi-track systems, the creation of locally elected boards of education and change to the American style six years elementary, three years junior high and three years high school system.¹⁰ Even though these general works covering large amounts of material do provide valuable information, they are not as useful as a specialist look into a narrower topic.

In the first chapter I discuss a brief history of Japanese education prior to the occupation. Several works on Japanese education prior to the Occupation have provided an excellent introduction to the daily lives of students during World War II. Prior to the defeat of Japan, education was used as a tool for the indoctrination of nationalist and militaristic ideas.

Schools and the curriculum had changed very little since the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, when moral education programs were implemented to promote a national agenda. Prior to this rescript, schools experienced a shift from being a

⁸ Dower, John *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999), 249.

⁹ Pyle, 222-223.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 223.

traditional Confucian based education system studying Chinese classics into a catalyst for social mobility during the early years of the Meiji Restoration. Schools were now teaching Western concepts as the nation sought the development of a modern nation state that would be competitive with the rest of the world. Education provided the opportunities for individuals to rise above one's father's station in life.¹¹ This reform in education helped to completely change society and the traditional social order system. Young people were flocking to the cities to enter new occupations recently created by the new Meiji reformers. Soon after the Meiji constitution of 1899, the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 was issued and instantly became a tool of the state to promote nationalism, uniformity and later militarism. The rescript laid out principles that subordinated the individual to the good of the state and promoted the unthinking acceptance of, and blind obedience to instructions from above.¹² This new ideology promoted a moral education in which children were to love the state just as they loved their parents, with the Imperial Household representing the head of the family.¹³ The rescript placed emphasis on the divinity and sacredness of the Imperial Household. Students bowed to the portrait of the Emperor as they passed it everyday and regularly listened to recitations of the rescript while at school.¹⁴ The system was highly centralized with almost all decisions being made in Tokyo. Even though the original intent of the rescript was perverted slightly on the road to the Second World War, it largely stayed the same and provided established principles that later easily accommodated additions.

¹¹ Pyle, 91.

¹² Beauchamp, 87.

¹³ Pyle, 128.

¹⁴ Thomas R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986) 26.

With the exception of the rapid growth of militarism and new geography classes promoting imperialistic advances into other parts of Asia, the system did not change much until the start of the complete mobilization of the people for the war effort. Students still recited the Imperial Rescript and even felt honored to present it to the younger students.¹⁵ The life of the average student in “total war” Japan was dramatically different from any other previous experiences in Japanese history. Education was seen as the venue for the critical tool of propaganda. Students worked constantly for not only the state’s but also their own survival. Students gathered wild plants and vegetables such as bog rhubarb, stone parsley and other edible plants during the school day.¹⁶ They were also instructed to gather firewood and other materials essential to the workings of the school’s physical plant. Students were taught Morse code and even used it to play games after class.¹⁷ School sports had gradually become more militaristic in nature. Baseball was widely replaced by marching, judō and kendō as well as other military training exercises.¹⁸ Edward R. Beauchamp sums up this time of immense national struggle precisely when he writes that almost two million Japanese were dead, millions more were wounded yet no single group suffered more than the young.¹⁹

When the Occupation was set to begin in late August 1945 women were told to take caution and children were swept into the countryside. Ironically, women would soon be awarded more privileges by the occupying forces than they had ever seen before. Very quickly the people of Japan began to realize that most American soldiers acted in a disciplined and polite manner. According to my interview with Takao Shibata, the

¹⁵ Yamashita, 291.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Havens, 26.

¹⁹ Beauchamp, 85.

former Japanese Consul General at Kansas City, Missouri, the day that he first saw an American soldier was etched into his brain forever. He remembered the day quite well as he reminisced about chasing after the odd shaped vehicle, a Jeep. After finally catching up with the soldiers, they were awarded with a Hershey's chocolate bar in which he described as, "A heavenly taste, so sweet..."²⁰ Michi Kawai, a Tokyo girl's school principal, recalls her own feelings towards the occupational forces. She applauded the politeness and respect that the occupational forces gave to the people of Japan. In particular, when her school had no more charcoal to burn for heat, a chaplain in the Medical Corps saw the need for charcoal in her school then drove over a hundred miles to fetch twenty-five bales of charcoal.²¹ This rapid shift from hatred and fear of the occupation forces to admiration and respect must have been very confusing yet acceptable for young children. It is my hope in this chapter to illuminate some of these feelings and to provide a general timeframe for when the rapid shift took place for school children.

The next four chapters include the core of my research which is centered on analyzing policies that changed the aspects of daily life for students during the occupation. With previous teaching experience in the Japanese school system I hope to discover the beginnings of many of the programs and characteristics of post-war Japanese education. In this chapter I will discuss how many of the reforms implemented by the occupying forces directly touched the daily lives of students during this time. These chapters focus on school lunches, religion and moral education in schools, the problem of adequate school facilities, and physical education reform.

²⁰ Shibata, 2007.

²¹ Kawai, *Sliding Doors* 94.

Chapter number two deals with school lunches and nutrition in the schools. During the first few years of the occupation food deliveries were unpredictable and often very late.²² As the occupation progressed foods began to finally enter Japan in at a decent rate. The diet of the normal Japanese student dramatically changed during the occupation. At school lunch children drank skim milk, many tasting it for the first time.²³ As the American presence remained, more and more non-traditional Japanese foods were introduced into the diets of school children. Mr. Shibata specifically remembers eating cheese for the first time in 1948 during school lunch.²⁴ As the amount of protein and other nutrients increased so did children's sizes. Due to malnutrition during the war years many Japanese children experienced stunted growth.²⁵ School children were finally getting to increase their calorie-intake without foraging for food.

The third chapter deals with the strong relationship between state-sponsored Shinto and the schools during the war and the subsequent elimination during the Occupation. State sponsored Shinto was the official government endorsed religion of Japan and was forcibly integrated into the public education system in the form of moral education. State Shinto flooded the entire educational system until being abruptly eliminated with the coming of the American occupation in 1945. The idea that religion and education were inseparable had permeated the entire system. In this chapter I wish to discuss this idea and investigate whether or not SCAP was successful at eliminating the influence of religion in schools during the Occupation.

²² Dower, 96.

²³ Shibata, 2007.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Dower, 92.

The fourth chapter deals with the problems of providing safe and adequate schools for students to study in. Studying in a safe environment, while rather obvious, was a significant change from the education of the war years. According to the needs of the individual, certain essential requirements must be met in order to provide a system that is able to educate children. The most primitive needs must be met before students are able to focus on their studies. During the early years of the occupation students were more preoccupied with the availability of food and shelter than they were concerned about math or science class. The crisis of shortages of educational facilities remained a large problem throughout the Occupation. By 1947 children were starting to enjoy stable home lives which in turn lead to a greater sense of the importance of learning in their everyday lives.

In the fifth chapter physical education issues and the banning of martial arts from schools are discussed. Parallel to SCAP's policies of eliminating ultra-nationalistic and militaristic ideas from the academic curriculum, the elimination of some school sports due to their militaristic ties directly affected the lives of many student-athletes. Also, SCAP found several interesting alternatives with western sports like baseball, soccer and even American-style square dancing.

The educational reforms set into place by SCAP from 1945 to 1952 changed Japanese society permanently. It is essential that we understand what made the system succeed in such a way that other nations now look to Japan as a model for their own educational systems. It can be seen that as a student growing up in this system, rapid change and development was a part of their everyday lives. Students ate different foods, learned from a different curriculum and experienced a moral education totally different

from that of their mothers and fathers. For the students who entered the system after 1945 this new reform was not apparent to them. They had not experienced the nationalistic and militaristic education as had their predecessors. They represented the birth of a new kind of Japanese citizen. They represented the citizen that was trained, and taught to think more independently, to be open-minded and liberal. In conclusion, it is my goal to describe the unique experiences endured by the children of Japan during the difficult years of the occupation. I hope to shed light on the often overlooked social history of Japanese school children during the occupation.

Chapter 1: Introduction to Japanese Education

In order to better understand the rapid changes that students experienced during the occupation, the creation of the modern educational system must first be analyzed. Universal education remained a foreign idea within Japan until the 1872 Educational Law opened the door to all students to gain a modern education. Before the radical changes that the Meiji government implemented, education in Japan was highly localized in the feudal domains and mainly dealt with the education of the elite samurai class. Schooling became the cornerstone for the building of the modern nation-state and installing the policies of “rich nation and strong army.” By 1872 there were 25,000 primary schools in Japan.²⁶ While this number may seem impressive, the schools were commonly found in the homes of local residents or in one room buildings and dealt with only limited topics. Over the next two decades the government attempted to introduce compulsory education into a society that was somewhat critical to a system based on a Western model. As the system was scrutinized as being too unfamiliar, pushes called for more nationalistic education. Efforts to form a more patriotic system drew support from the government as the Imperial Rescript on Education was confirmed in 1890.

The Imperial Rescript on Education transformed the Japanese educational system for the next fifty-five years, infusing it with national objectives of religious, moral and historical uniformity. The rescript, which was reactionary against the importation of Western ideas and material goods, became the voice of the emperor and public morality.

With the emergence of directives from the state like the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and the Fundamental Principles of the National Structure (*kokutai no hongu*) in

²⁶ Okano, Tsuchiya, *Education in Contemporary Japan*, 1999, pg 14.

the 1930s, militarism, nationalism and state sponsored religion rapidly became entangled into the education system. By the late 1930s and into the 1940s, as militarism, nationalism, religion, spirituality and education reached their zenith during the Pacific War, the bubble burst with the surrender of Japan in August 1945. The educational system was promptly and completely dismantled by the Occupation forces. The allied occupation of Japan swiftly changed the educational system in Japan and therefore changed society as a whole. Just as the Meiji reformers and the nationalists had done in the past, SCAP looked to the education system as a means to democratize, liberalize and de-militarize the island nation. On April 28, 1952 the official end of the Occupation took place with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. For the first time since Japan's surrender in 1945 the sovereignty of the nation was returned to the Japanese government. During the six years and eight months of the occupation SCAP was able to completely redefine the Japanese educational system and attempt to purge it of its prewar doctrines of militarism, nationalism and spirituality. In 1956 the 1948 Board of Education Law was abolished to appease the desire for central authority in Japanese society. The law, which originally transferred power from the Ministry of Education to locally elected Boards of Education was changed to return to more central authority. This would greatly affect the decision making process and give more power to the Ministry of Education to choose curriculum. With the exception of a few neo-liberal reforms from the late 1980s to the early twenty-first century the Japanese educational system enjoys the same basic structure put into place by the Allied Occupation.

Chapter 2: The School Lunch Program

By the end of World War II a severe food shortage had gripped the entire nation. Rationing throughout the war had already left the Japanese people with shortages in foodstuffs. General Headquarters did not believe that the shortage in food was caused only by wartime rationing and the lack of commerce in the immediate postwar period. In 1949, a report illustrating the mission and accomplishments of the Occupation in the fields of public health and welfare was written. It stated that historically Japan, had a food deficiency. With its large population and small amount of arable land (estimated in 1949 at only sixteen percent) Japan had to rely on imports for almost fifteen percent of its food.²⁷ GHQ wrote that the war did not create problems in nutrition but only exacerbated the inadequacy of the indigenous food supply. Japanese nutrition was centered on grain consumption, which was high in carbohydrates but lacked adequate amounts of protein or calcium.²⁸ By 1944 Japan had suffered a seventeen percent drop in the amount of daily calories consumed per person in comparison to the pre-war period.²⁹ Dependence on the colonial imports coupled with the annihilation of the merchant marines led to more problems by the end of the war. Without the forced imports of rice from Korea and Taiwan, and the worst harvest in Japan since 1910 (forty-percent below normal yield) millions of Japanese stood on the edge of starvation with the beginning of the Occupation in 1945.³⁰ The fight to survive could not have been harder than on Japan's urban youth and those orphaned by the war. By 1946 the average twelve-year-old child in an urban

²⁷ General Headquarters, Mission and Accomplishments of the Occupation in the Public Health and Welfare Fields, 1949, pg 22.

²⁸ Crawford F. Sams, "*Medic*" *The Mission of an American Military Doctor in Occupied Japan and Wartorn Korea* (Armonk, NY:M.E. Sharpe, 1998) 62.

²⁹ Thomas R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986) 130.

³⁰ Takamae, Eiji, *Inside GHQ* (New York: Continuum, 2002), 87.

school was twenty percent lighter than their counterpart in 1937.³¹ Women and children were forced to beg for food in order to survive while university students dug up the university lawns to plant yams and foraged for grasshoppers as a source of protein.³²

The easiest place for SCAP to directly feed the hungry Japanese youth was in the schools. With monthly rice rations cut from 9.7 to 3.9 days in July of 1946 and the reality of a black market that charged outrageous prices for foodstuffs, SCAP provided essential nutrition to students at school whose diets at home were often inadequate.³³ Providing foods high in calories and vitamins saved millions of youths from malnourishment. SCAP developed and implemented a food distribution program in many urban areas that were hardest hit by post-war hardships. While the idea of a nationwide school lunch program that would feed all of Japan's children had never been conceived before the war, there were many isolated instances of lunch programs (or *kyūshoku*) in certain areas within Japan.

Examples of *kyūshoku* can be found as early as 1889. In Tsuruoka in Yamagata prefecture a school lunch program was provided free for students in the form of *bentō* or lunch boxes.³⁴ The invention of this program is not surprising considering the vast social reforms of the Meiji period. Isolated instances like this can be seen throughout the Taishō and Shōwa periods. Although not created by the government, in 1929, private social welfare agencies in Japan instigated a supplementary food program for malnourished children in the form of a school lunch program.³⁵ By 1940, the program

³¹ Sams, 62.

³² Takamae, 78.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Takamori, Naofumi, *Makka-sa- no medamayaki: Shinchūgun ga yatte kita!* pg 119.

³⁵ Sams, 63.

had expanded to include up to 20,000 children. Soon after, total war brought with it the collapse of this program.

Out of the extensive hardships that World War II brought upon the people of Japan none can be greater than the stress placed upon the food supply. Under the extreme conditions brought about by war, nutritious foods provided in schools slowly became more common nationwide. As early as 1942, schools began to provide *kyūshoku* for students a few times a week in order to make up for the irregular nutrition that students were receiving at home.³⁶ The food provided was very low in calories and usually only consisted of a bowl of miso soup. However, the inconsistency of food resources and unpredictability of deliveries marred any attempts to create a dependable lunch program in schools. In one case, a 1942 government campaign to protect the rice crop from birds led to primary school students being fed roasted sparrows for lunch.³⁷ By 1944, the need to feed the students of Japan had expanded exponentially. Japan's ability to import goods was severely hampered by allied attacks on merchant ships and severed supply lines in the colonies. In the country's six most populous urban areas a school lunch program was implemented. Rather than just a bowl of miso soup, students were able to eat small amounts of rice and other foods.³⁸

Food was not always solely provided by the schools, but rather gathered by the students, then redistributed throughout the grades. Student refugees from the city flocked to the countryside where they were housed in make-shift dormitories and attended classes that were more often housed in Shinto shrines than in school buildings. Telling of the daily search for adequate foods, the diary of a ten year old evacuated school girl by the

³⁶ Takamori, 120.

³⁷ Havens, 139.

³⁸ Takamori, 125.

name of Mihōko Nakane is full of examples of the struggle to find food to eat. Enduring a first evacuation to rural northern Tokyo in 1944, and then again in 1945, Mihōko along with 124 of her classmates and nineteen of her teachers relocated to the rural Fukumitsu in Toyama prefecture.³⁹ Mihōko writes that along the way to Toyama some of the fifth and sixth grade students complained that they were hungry. She writes that a swift and stern reply came from a member of the faculty, “Those who are so hungry they could die should eat!”⁴⁰ After arriving in Toyama, Mihōko’s school life was filled with more than just studying the basic subjects like science or Japanese. Mihōko’s extensive journal is abundant with examples of having to forage for food to redistribute to her classmates. Some of the most common items included bog rhubarb, mugwort, bracken ferns, flowering ferns, trefoil, field horsetail shoots, *yamaudo*, stone parsley, chives, apples and wild rocamble.⁴¹ The search for these wild vegetables was cleverly incorporated into the science and physical education curriculum. While spending class time on learning about edible plants and going on long walks, students also contributed to their nutritional well-being.

With the responsibility of feeding the mouths of Mihōko and her 124 classmates now falling on the shoulders of the people of Toyama, Mihōko and her classmates experienced what could be considered a de facto school lunch program. The government had budgeted 241,000 yen to pay many of the inn-keepers, cooks and helpers who fed and housed the children during the evacuations.⁴² According to her diary, Mihōko usually ate rice-based gruel or porridge meals and on special occasions, rice cakes.

³⁹ Yamashita, 267.

⁴⁰ Yamashita, 269.

⁴¹ Yamashita, 279.

⁴² Havens, 163.

Spotted kidney beans with rice, curry on rice, miso soup with dried gourds and tofu, bamboo-shoot rice, dried cuttlefish, cod roe, eggplant, cucumbers, sweet potatoes, radishes, cabbage and a few varieties of fruits all were listed as menu items.⁴³ Despite what seems to be quite an impressive list of foods, Mihōko writes that after moving to the countryside she continuously lost weight. Monthly checkups for all students gave Mihōko the ability to track her progress and feel concern about the weight she had lost. She writes optimistically in her diary, “Unfortunately, I’ve lost weight. I’ll make it up.”⁴⁴ After each checkup Mihōko would write that she had lost weight yet again.

Another compelling diary from the war comes from an eleven-year-old school boy named Ichirō Manabe. Ichirō was evacuated to the countryside of Fukushima prefecture from Tokyo shortly after the fall of Saipan in 1944. Anticipating the bombings that would soon follow, the government issued an order on June 30, 1944 instructing third through sixth graders to evacuate to the countryside by August.⁴⁵ Ichirō’s diary paints a tale of food shortages, hunger and “volunteer” work in a sardine factory. Similar to the meals that Mihōko ate in Toyama, Ichirō’s lunches usually consisted of some type of rice gruel with the occasional addition of vegetables harvested by the students themselves. Ichirō illustrates the inconsistency of war-time school lunch by writing in his diary, “We were supposed to have bread for lunch, but there wasn’t any.”⁴⁶

Even though the lunches were small, inconsistent and not overwhelmingly nourishing, Ichirō was still required to pay the school lunch fees. After the evacuation to

⁴³ Yamashita, 235-290.

⁴⁴ Yamashita, 297.

⁴⁵ Yamashita, 235.

⁴⁶ Yamashita, 238.

the countryside, Ichirō's diet seems to have changed. Sweet potatoes appear to have dominated the menu of this young boy's meals. Pumpkin gourds, small amounts of rice, potatoes and curry were often served to the children. Despite this variety of foods, like most children in Japan, Ichirō began to shrink in size. In December, two months after moving to Fukushima, Ichirō writes that after measuring their chests at school his had shrunk since his last measurement.⁴⁷ His height had also suffered from malnourishment. In December of 1944, Ichirō writes that most of his classmates had shrunk. His height dropped from 136.6 to 132.6 centimeters.⁴⁸

The majority of memories about war-time school foods usually are centered on the constant search for edible weeds or vegetables. As told by a primary school's principal, despite the difficult nature of performing labor service, children often found this time the most pleasurable because at a time when food was so scarce, they would receive sweet potatoes for working on the farms.⁴⁹ A teacher of a school group that was evacuated to Nagano prefecture wrote, "It was pitiful to see the children lament when they took off the covers of their lunch boxes, to find them only half-full."⁵⁰ Another group of students evacuated to Nagano would lose, on average, two kilograms each between April and August 1945. Although the government forced the evacuation of the students, they were not able to provide enough food to even maintain the basic nutritional needs of the children. Homesick and pleading for her mother's help, the government's incompetence in providing a healthy atmosphere for students can clearly be seen in the

⁴⁷ Yamashita, 258.

⁴⁸ Yamashita, 266.

⁴⁹ Havens, 163.

⁵⁰ Havens, 165.

letter of a sixth grader sent home to her mother in 1944. The elementary school student refers to herself in the third person in the letter home. It reads,

Mother, please listen to Mitsuko's one great request. Mother, as soon as this letter arrives, please come to see me that very day. Please, mother. Mother, everyday Mitsuko goes on crying. Everyone teases me. When a lunch box was missing from our group, I was told by the teacher that I must have stolen it. Everyone tormented me and ostracized me. Mother, Mitsuko might die if you don't come to see me. Please bring a bowl with a little rice, I'm so hungry, I can't stand it. All we ever get as a side dish is pumpkin everyday. Mother, please. As soon as this letter arrives, come right away, OK? By all means come.

As the war came to an end, the need for food did not. Without the steady supply of imported foods from the colonies and with commerce and trade devastated by the war, Japan, and the lives of her citizens depended heavily on the workings of the Occupation. Douglas MacArthur would inherit the biggest problem left behind from the war, hunger.

Students faced many hardships when school came back into session after the summer break. With the Japanese surrender, primary school students would soon come into contact with an educational experience vastly different than the one they had encountered only a few weeks earlier. While immediate changes in textbooks, curriculum and faculty could be seen, a swift remedy for the food shortage was impossible. This did not stop students from being optimistic about their futures when it came to food. A young school girl's first thought on hearing the emperor's surrender broadcast was that she was not going to have to, "look eyeball to eyeball at frogs anymore." This refers to the practice of children being sent out to catch frogs to eat.⁵¹ Even though her optimism was positive, with the state of the food crisis, it could not have been further from the truth.

⁵¹ Dower, John *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999), 93.

The fear of mass starvation permeated the media. It was estimated that as many as 10 million Japanese might starve to death if food imports were not immediately forthcoming. While many question this number, it is known that only three months after the end of the war the number of deaths from malnutrition in Tokyo came to more than one thousand.⁵² Urgent imports of wheat, flour, corn, legumes, sugar, small quantities of rice, powdered milk and canned meat from America came “like a merciful rain during a drought.”⁵³

Due to the immediate need in major population centers, students in urban schools were some of the first children to be directly effected by the new SCAP implemented school lunch program. The decision to establish a nationwide school lunch program was made by the Chief of the Public Health and Welfare Section of SCAP Crawford F. Sams. Sams served under General Douglas MacArthur from October of 1945 to June of 1951. Even though Sams arrived in Japan in September of 1945, it would take almost an entire year before large shipments of relief food could be shipped from overseas. By the spring of 1946, Sams had acquired sufficient nutritional information on the status of the people’s dietary needs to begin action.⁵⁴ According to Sams, his goal was to change the nutritional patterns of Japan for the better.⁵⁵ For Sams, the answer to Japan’s nutritional deficiencies came in the form of liquid whole milk. Before the occupation Japanese children often had no contact with milk after being weaned from their mother’s breast milk. One major obstacle for the milk industry in Japan was an overwhelming lack of refrigeration in most

⁵² Dower, 93.

⁵³ Dower, 93-94.

⁵⁴ Sams, 62.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

homes in Japan. Production was also limited because of a lack of knowledge in methods of production and proper transportation mediums for milk. Sams writes,

Modern methods of processing milk, particularly into powdered skim milk, which contains the essential proteins of animal origin so deficient in the diet of many peoples, have opened a whole new era in nutrition. Powdered skim milk can be distributed and stored until use without the tremendous cost of providing refrigerator cars and household and public eating-place refrigeration.⁵⁶

For Sams, processed powdered milk was the immediate response to Japan's nutritional needs. A surplus of sugar in the U.S. led to a Government and Relief in Occupied Areas (GARIOA) shipment of several hundred tons of sugar to Japan in lieu of a grain requirement.⁵⁷ The thought was that sugar provided the same amount of calories that the grain shipment would. Although this is true, consuming large amounts of sugar led to carbohydrate diarrheas among the children of Japan and created a public backlash. Sams repeatedly advocated for quality foods rather than quantity.

The quickest way to implement change in any nation is to start with the youth of the nation. The children of the occupation would soon be forced to eat foods that not even their parents had seen before via a SCAP-implemented school lunch program. Sams hoped that the program would not only directly provide the foods needed by the malnourished children of Japan, but also would teach them to acquire a palate for foods like powdered skim milk and meat, which they had not had much previous experience with. The change in diet would in the course of many years create a nation which no longer preferred, to the exclusion of other foods, white rice, which Sams claims was the principal deficiency in the Japanese diet.⁵⁸ Sams organized and created a collaborative

⁵⁶ Sams, 62.

⁵⁷ Sams, 60.

⁵⁸ Sams, 63.

effort between the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Welfare, the Civil Information and Education Sections of SCAP and several from the Economic Section of GHQ.⁵⁹ The people of Japan also demanded the restoration of the school lunch program. 250,000 people gathered on the grounds of the Imperial Palace for food on May Day on May 19 1946. In a picture taken of the event “*Gakkoudou kyuushoku sokuji fukatsu*” which translates to “Immediately restore school lunch!” can clearly be read on a large banner being held up by several protesters.⁶⁰ Therefore, it was not only the officials of SCAP calling for a national school lunch program but also the citizens of Japan. This public outcry for a school lunch program illustrates the people’s understanding and familiarity with the system. Although the idea of a school lunch program was not new to the people of Japan, once it was implemented, it would be as foreign to the Japanese as the Occupation itself.

Small shipments of food slowly began to trickle into the country by 1946. In July of 1946, citizens from a Tokyo suburb offered their thanks to General MacArthur for the food aid that was given to them during the food crisis. At the *Bon* festival, which is traditionally held to offer food to departed ancestors, a large banner read, “Mid Summer Mass Dance Party in Appreciation of General MacArthur’s Sincere Aide [sic] for Japan’s Food Crisis.”⁶¹ With food now being distributed to the citizenry, the official school lunch program was started in mid-November of 1946.⁶² This corresponded with the first delivery of Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia (LARA) imports, consisting of 350 tons

⁵⁹ Sams, 63.

⁶⁰ Sodei, Rinjirō, *Dear General MacArthur: Letters from the Japanese during the American Occupation* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers 2001) 208.

⁶¹ Sodei, 40.

⁶² Nishimura, Sey *Nihonjin no inochi wo mamotta otoko: GHQ Sams junshō no tatakai*, (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 2002) 88.

of food and clothing.⁶³ The school lunch program was originally able to provide from two to five mid-day lunches per week for some 251,000 school children in the selected schools of the Yokohama-Tokyo area.⁶⁴ Food for the program included indigenous items, former Japanese Army and Navy supplies and powdered skim milk largely provided by the LARA delivery.⁶⁵ Powdered skim milk was used as the basis for most of the meals. Due to the children's reaction to the strange taste of the powdered milk, it was used in combination with fish to provide a fish soup that was not too alien to the palates of the students.⁶⁶ The sudden rush of proteins into the children's diets also caused some problems. Sams writes there was an epidemic of a new "mystery disease" that appeared among some of the children on the program in one of the schools in Yokohama. It turned out that the new disease was simple hives, caused because their bodies had yet been sensitized to protein.⁶⁷

Other problems facing the success of the program came into existence shortly after the start of the program. A major problem was the lack of kitchens or even kitchen equipment. Central kitchens were sometimes used but food was also sometimes prepared at the schools themselves. The PTA supported the implementation of the school lunch program and in 1948 went as far as building an on-campus kitchen to prepare the meals.⁶⁸ In other areas of the country the PTA had made the school lunch program a top priority on its agenda. While building kitchens they would also help to supply their equipment and donated their services for the preparation and cooking of the food. To supplement the

⁶³ General Headquarters Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, *Mission and Accomplishments of the Occupation in the Public Health and Welfare Fields* (Public Health and Welfare Section: October 1949) 17.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Sams, 63.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Anderson, 227.

food issued by the government parents would supply additional food items. In some cases, students would bring wood for fires or vegetables for soup each morning.⁶⁹ As with many of the major reforms that were implemented during the occupation, success would not have been easily obtained without the support of the Parent Teacher Associations.

Obtaining the types of foods necessary was another difficult problem for Sams and his staff. Consultation with several of Herbert Hoover's staff, who dealt with food relief in Europe after World War I and later World War II, led to Hoover lobbying in Washington for more foods to be sent to Japan. As mentioned before, SCAP was able to successfully use some items from the release of the Japanese military's food stocks.⁷⁰ It would not be until several years later that SCAP would be able create a lunch program with more uniformity and consistency. Many schools reported closing for a few weeks or shifting to morning-only classes due to their inability to provide school lunches.⁷¹

Even though the school lunch program faced many hardships at the genesis of its existence, it was able to expand gradually. By the beginning of the new year in 1947 there were 389 elementary schools in Tokyo with school programs. 76,000 children were receiving some form of school lunch two to three times a week.⁷² After impressing members of the Japanese government with the rapid increase in the weight and height of students receiving school lunch, the program moved rapidly through the country. By the end of 1947 the program had become stable, feeding more than 4,000,000 elementary

⁶⁹ Anderson, 260.

⁷⁰ Sams, 64.

⁷¹ Dower, 96.

⁷² Nishimura, 88.

students more than two times a week. Each meal provided each student more than 300 calories per meal as well as much needed proteins and vitamins.⁷³

With each year came more stability and uniformity in the program. What once had started out with only a few schools in the major urban areas, had soon reached elementary schools throughout the country. Prefectural governments employed full-time staff members to oversee the program. The school health department in Osaka devoted the same amount of individuals to school lunch as the office of supervision did to middle school curriculum.⁷⁴ In one school report conducted in 1948 by SCAP officials, it was found that ninety six percent of the students were served six meals a week.⁷⁵ The amount of students being reached by the program only three years after the end of the war is quite impressive considering the amount of obstacles that had to be overcome. Toshio Nishi writes nostalgically about his experience with school lunch. His words capture the feelings of what must have been in the minds of thousands of students during that time.

At lunch time we were treated to a cup of lukewarm American skim milk, and fresh bread made of American flour. Even though all of us were hungry all of the time, most of my friends found drinking the skim milk a form of self-immolation at high noon. I managed to like it very much in fact, and I gladly drank their share. In addition to the skim milk and some fluffy, airy bread (which was called koppe), we sometimes had a cup of vegetable soup, which was very unpopular. Too infrequently we had strawberry jam for the bread, and a half-dozen roasted almonds, or dried apple strips. We all ate those favorites slowly. To supplement our nutritional needs, once a week the school forced us to swallow a large spoonful of cod-liver oil. A few of my classmates used to cry when faced by the spoon the teacher held. Their tears were wasted: everybody had to swallow this very nourishing fish extract.⁷⁶

⁷³ Nishimura, 90.

⁷⁴ Anderson, 101.

⁷⁵ Anderson, 405.

⁷⁶ Nishi, Toshio *Unconditional Democracy: Education and Politics in Occupied Japan 1945-1952* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1982) xix.

The program, although not popular amongst the students, did provide much-needed nutrition through a variety of foods foreign to these young children's palate. As the program expanded, Sams and the staff of GHQ found that the biggest problem was the never-ending fight to obtain sufficient powdered skim milk and other proteins needed to meet requirements.⁷⁷ However, the changes in diet that Sams deemed so important for the nutritional future of Japan in fact did happen. Throughout the later years of the Occupation, and even beyond, more and more types of foods were implemented into school lunch programs. With the vast imports of U.S. wheat bread and noodles used in dishes like spaghetti and *ramen*, the diets of Japanese school children changed, and so did their size. Whale meat was introduced during this time as a cheap way to provide protein and remains in some school lunch programs today in Japan. Students like Takao Shibata reminisce about eating cheese for the first time in 1948 during school lunch.⁷⁸

These foreign foods were not always welcomed by the schools. With the majority of cooking being done on location, many of the cooks were not trained or lacked the knowledge of how to cook with these new foods. In some situations because the schools did not know how to prepare or cook these new foods they were simply given to the students to take home. In one inspection report conducted by the Osaka Prefecture Superintendent of Schools, it was reported that it was common to see the misuse of American food provided for the school lunch program.⁷⁹ These foods included those supplied by the United States Army surplus, which included powdered milk, cans of grapefruit juice, corn meal and bran flakes.⁸⁰ The schools were not the only ones not sure

⁷⁷ Sams, 64.

⁷⁸ Shibata, 2007.

⁷⁹ Anderson, 229.

⁸⁰ Anderson, 229-230.

of how to prepare and serve these foreign foods. The report showed that if parents could not discover the use of the foods they would often sell the items to local bakeries.

Therefore, even though the people demanded the school lunch program, and widely supported it, foods meant to feed the mouths of Japanese children were often sold in the black market.

By 1949 the school lunch program provided supplementary feedings to approximately 6,650,000 out of the 18,000,000 children in Japan.⁸¹ Despite encountering several logistical hurdles early on, by the end of the Occupation the program had roughly 8 million children eating lunches in schools across Japan.⁸² SCAP had also successfully sold the idea of school lunch to the Japanese government. Two years before the end of the Occupation in 1950, for the first time, a small subsidy was appropriated in order to construct model kitchens for *kyūshoku* preparation. These model kitchens served in each prefecture as models for the efficient arrangement and use of equipment, proper sanitation and centers for instruction in the preparation and planning of meals.⁸³ No program directly affected the lives of Japanese youths during the Occupation more than the school lunch program. Every year students had “Appreciation Days” when they expressed thanks for the food in the school lunch.⁸⁴ Diaries and literature written by those that experienced the Occupation first-hand are constantly filled with interesting anecdotes of tasting such alien foods for the first time. The success of the school lunch program not only provided important nutrients to students after the throes of war but also

⁸¹ GHQ, SCAP, 19.

⁸² Sams, 64.

⁸³ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 20.

⁸⁴ Anderson, 346.

drastically changed the diets of successive generations of Japanese. Five years after the end of the Occupation, the program was officially crafted into law in 1957.

Chapter 3: Religious Practices and Moral Education in Schools

With the implementation of the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890, the Japanese educational system experienced changes that would greatly affect the country for the next fifty-five years. State sponsored Shinto soon became the official government endorsed religion of Japan and was forcibly integrated into a public education system that was only in its infancy. State Shinto flooded the entire educational system until being abruptly eliminated with the coming of the American occupation in 1945. A half century after the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 was implemented the idea that religion and education were inseparable had permeated the entire system.

It is my goal with this research to identify the level of religion found in the schools prior to and after the end of the Second World War. I plan to illustrate the effect that the American occupation and the post-war constitution had on the amount of religion found in the schools during the post-war period until the reintroduction of moral education in 1958. I intend to use the American Occupation as a filter to find to what extent religious education continued in Japanese schools. First, I plan to describe to transformation of the educational system and its incorporation of religion from the Meiji period until the end of the Second World War. Next, as militarism, nationalism, religion, spirituality and education reached their pinnacle in the summer of 1945, the surrender of Japan in August 1945 led to the Occupation of Japan by an Allied military government. Under the Occupation the educational system and State-Shinto were promptly dismantled and transformed. On April 28, 1952 the official end of the occupation took place and for the first time since Japan's surrender in 1945, the sovereignty of the nation was returned to the Japanese government. It was during the post-war era that the Japanese government

soon made changes to educational reforms implemented by the Allied forces. The transformation of the Japanese educational system completely changed the role of religion in the classroom.

Universal education remained a foreign idea within Japan until the 1872 Educational Law opened the door to all students to gain a modern education. Before the radical changes that the Meiji government implemented, education in Japan was highly localized in the feudal lands and mainly dealt with the education of the elite samurai class. Schooling became the cornerstone for the building of the modern nation-state and installing the policies of ‘rich nation and strong army.’ By 1872 there were 25,000 primary schools in Japan.⁸⁵ While this number may seem impressive, the schools were commonly found in the homes of local residents or in one room buildings. Over the next two decades the government attempted to introduce compulsory education into a system that was somewhat defensive to what some saw was a Western system. As the system was scrutinized as being too unfamiliar pushes called for more nationalistic education. Efforts to form a more patriotic system drew support from the government as the Imperial Rescript on Education was confirmed in 1890.

The Imperial Rescript on Education transformed the Japanese Educational system for the next fifty-five years, infusing it with national objectives of religious, moral and historical uniformity. The rescript, which was reactionary against the importation of Western ideas and material goods, became the voice of the emperor and public morality. It made loyalty and filial piety the foundation of the state and therefore laid the groundwork for the family-state ideal that completely encompassed imperial Japan.⁸⁶

⁸⁵ Okano, Tsuchiya, *Education in Contemporary Japan*, 1999, pg 14.

⁸⁶ Hardacre, *Shintō and the State 1868-1988*, pg. 122.

While the content of the rescript did not particularly deal with reforms in the schools, it did open the doors for the deification of its copies in the schools. Copies of the rescript were distributed to all public elementary and middle schools and students were required to memorize it from the second grade.⁸⁷ Ceremonies quickly developed in the schools and soon the reading of the rescript evolved into highly elaborate rituals. These rituals paid homage to the rescript, the official word of the emperor, and to an actual photo of the emperor himself. These rituals soon progressed into Shinto rites performed in the schools. This transformation into a spiritual practice was most notably illustrated by the actions of Uchimura Kanzō in 1891. Uchimura, a teacher at the First Higher Preparatory School, faced harsh criticism because of his actions while being faced with the obligation of bowing to a copy of the rescript. As a devote Christian, and a strong nationalist, Uchimura decided that bowing to the imperial seal in a way that was reminiscent of Buddhist and Shinto religious practices would directly conflict with his own spiritual consciousness.⁸⁸ Even though Uchimura strongly supported the state he was seen as a traitor and he was eventually relieved of his position at the school. The beginnings of these rites that strongly endorsed the worship of the emperor quickly spread throughout public schools in Japan. From this point forward the rescript was seen as a holy writ, directly handed down from the emperor to his subjects. The distribution of the rescript began in 1882 and was in almost every school in Japan by 1888. The rescript was housed in its own room in each school and an offering, commonly rice cakes, was given to the scroll as if it were a deity. Recitals by the principal were highly ritualized and sanctified events that commanded the reverence of the entire school. For each school's first reading

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Hardacre, pg 123.

of the rescript, a ceremony was conducted which involved the teachers, students, local notables, the mayor, the post office chief, local people in government and the area's oldest residents.⁸⁹ Principals took the recitation of the rescript very seriously by bearing formal attire and white gloves. In some cases it was even told that after making only one mistake while reading the sacred document the administrator would commit suicide.⁹⁰

Under the rescript, Shinto priests were automatically qualified to teach in the primary schools and often exhibited their influence over the texts read in the school. Many Shinto influenced songs were included in the textbooks and music classes in schools. With the increasing number of Shinto priests now teaching in schools, in many cases to earn a living, the amount of Shinto rites and practices in the schools greatly intensified. By 1912 over 70 percent of schools had shrines for the kami in addition to the shrines for the Imperial Rescript on Education and the imperial photo.⁹¹ Shinto priest also used their position in the schools to encourage shrine visits by the school children. This began by encouraging students to attend shrines on national holidays. Schools sometimes found it difficult to motivate their students to attend shrines on their days off but soon learned that offering sweets as a reward for attendance was very effective. Schools also tied music, cultural and sports festivals to the shrines in order to link the two and promote attendance.⁹² As the amount of involvement increased, schools used opening days and graduation ceremonies to require students to attend local shrines in order to increase their reverence for the kami. Monthly shrine visits and shrine cleanings by the students began to become more frequent in schools. From 1934 to 1939 the number of

⁸⁹ Hardacre, pg 109.

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

pupils that visited the popular Ise shrine more than doubled from 1,062,127 to 2,200,173.⁹³ As one of the most prominent Shinto shrines in Japan, trips to the major three shrines of Ise, Meiji and Yasukuni in addition to school's local shrines became an integral part of school life. In 1938, a specific ceremony at Yasukuni Shrine was declared a national holiday and students enrolled in kindergarten through high school were forced to worship the shrine from their home prefectures. As the movement towards a highly nationalistic state evolved, education and Shinto became more and more undividable.

While the Imperial Rescript on Education had laid the groundwork for the permeation of religion and education, another document seemed to extend the ideas of government even further into the lives of students. The Fundamental Principles of the National Structure (*kokutai no hongii*), projected imperial worship in the schools to a much more extreme level.

Another creation of the Meiji elites that directly placed religion in the schools was the development of kokugo or the “national language” of Japan. The idea of kokugo entitles more than just the study of the national language for Japanese students. The movement to unify the nation through a national language began in last half of the nineteenth century and was essentially completed by the end of the Meiji era. Education officials saw kokugo as a tool to make Japan stronger because it facilitated literacy, encouraged a heightened sense of national unity and strengthened the spiritual bond between the subject and the emperor.⁹⁴ With the direct relationship between emperor worship and Shinto, the argument can easily be made that the influence of State-Shinto

⁹³ Hardacre, 112.

⁹⁴ Paul Clark *The Kokugo Revolution*, 187.

was in its highest concentration in the public schools. Learning kokugo had become the sacred duty for all Japanese and there was not a better venue suited for this than the schools of Japan. From the onset of the Meiji restoration the government used language as a method to unify the country and to promote spiritual congruently. Ueda Kazutoshi, one of the original supporters and architects of kokugo commented that the new national language had transformed into the “spiritual blood of the Japanese people.”⁹⁵

Kokugo became an important part of the curriculum in which the state used to create uniformity and imperial worship. This was not the only part of the curriculum that emulated the ideas put forth by State-Shinto. Moral education or *shūshin* became just as much an important part of the curriculum for the incorporation and instillation of nationalistic and spiritual agendas in primary schools. Placed at the center of primary school curriculum, moral education was originally promulgated by the Imperial Rescript on Education and taught pupils the unique characteristics of what it meant to be Japanese. Moral education was also the main venue for the state to transfer ideas of patriarchal family values and imperial education ideology. As the road to militarization began, moral education was given more clout in the schools and militaristic characteristics were integrated into the existing curriculum.

With the emergence of directives from the state like the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 and the Fundamental Principles of the National Structure (*kokutai no hongī*) in the 1930s, militarism, nationalism and state sponsored religion rapidly became entangled into the education system. The push into the war years can be seen as the period with the highest concentration of religious integration into the lives of Japanese primary and secondary school students. The deterioration and eventual cessation of a standard

⁹⁵ Ibid.

education system in wartime Japan became more apparent as the country spiraled into the destruction of total war. By the late 1930s and into the 1940s the separation between education and worship seemed to be nonexistent. “Spiritual training” became such an important part of school life that it dominated the curriculum.

As school children were evacuated from the cities to the country side, shrines and even temples acted as temporary shelter for the students. In the diary of Mihōko Nakane, an evacuated schoolgirl originally from Tokyo but forced to flee to rural Toyama prefecture, it is apparent the amount of her daily school activities were devoted to “spiritual” training. Mihōko and other children stayed on the grounds of the Hachiman Shinto Shrine in Fukumitsu, Toyama. The young writer’s diary describes the school’s plans for celebrating the emperor’s birthday, the anniversary of the Imperial Rescript on education and even an ethics lesson on Yasukuni Shrine in which she proudly exclaimed that her friend’s “grandfather is worshiped at Yasukuni Shrine.”⁹⁶ The entire permeation of religion in education is validated by the many daily activities that this young writer illustrates. The shrine constantly seems to be a central figure for the evacuated students. The shrine housed the students, held classes on rainy days while also remaining functional to the public. When public ceremonies were held at the shrine to honor young soldiers the school children all attended. Teachers served not only as providers of academic knowledge but also piety. After receiving a special surprise one night of several different kinds of candies, Mihōko’s teacher Iwamaru-sensei led a silent prayer.⁹⁷ At the culmination of the mixing of militarism, nationalism, religion and education students were surprised to learn something different in spiritual training, hand-to-hand

⁹⁶ Yamashita, Samuel *Leaves from an Autumn of Emergencies: Selections from the Wartime Diaries of Ordinary Japanese* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2005), 279.

⁹⁷ Yamashita, pg. 287.

combat.⁹⁸ Spirituality was so intertwined with education and society that during this time students often worked in textile, weapons, and agricultural industries in the name of “spirituality.”

Children in Japan were not the only ones being educated with highly nationalistic and religious doctrine during this time. In 1942, the announcement of the Educational Policy for Greater East Asia aimed at educating the children of the Japanese empire. The goal was to transform the people of the Japanese colonies into loyal subjects of the emperor that would lead the construction of the Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere.⁹⁹ Shinto was exported into the colonies and the colonial subjects were obliged to observe their rites. Shrines were erected in the colonies and dedicated to the worship of Japanese *kami*. The shrines’ rites were used to promote patriotism and soon became symbolic images of the subjugation of the people.¹⁰⁰

As militarism, nationalism, religion, spirituality and education reached their zenith in the summer of 1945 the bubble burst with the surrender of Japan in August 1945. The educational system and State-Shinto were promptly and completely dismantled. The Allied occupation of Japan indefinitely changed the educational system in Japan and therefore changed society as a whole. Shinto soon became seen by the allied forces as one of the main methods in which the military and government created a highly nationalistic and militaristic society. Thus began the purging of State Shinto and documents like the Imperial Rescript on Education, the Fundamental Principles of the National Structure, the Peace Preservation Law and militaristic government members.

⁹⁸ Yamashita, pg. 289.

⁹⁹ Okano, pg. 28.

¹⁰⁰ Hardacre, pg. 38.

In order to better understand whether or not the occupying forces were successful in expelling religious influences from the educational system in post-war Japan we must first look at the methods and policies that the occupation used to separate these two highly infused areas. The first occupation forces began arriving in Japan in late August, 1945 amid social chaos. By September, American ships had begun to arrive in the bays and harbors all around the country. Schools, if functioning at all, were highly damaged by the war and unorganized. Children faced the problems of separation from their families, starvation, and the lack of shelter. One of the first priorities of the occupation was to set up a food distribution system that could feed the people of Japan. While the population of Japan balanced on the brink of starvation, shipments of foods from the occupying forces slowly began to alleviate the food shortages in Japan. Once this system was started, General McArthur's office of the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (SCAP) began to focus on social issues and ways to eliminate the presence of highly militaristic and nationalistic thoughts.

SCAP looked to the education system as a means to democratize, liberalize and de-militarize the island nation. Planning for the military occupation of Japan began before the war had even ended. In October of 1944 the Committee on Post-War Programs issued a report entitled *Japan: The Education System under Military Government* in which the importance of removing religion from education was mentioned. While still in its infancy, in September of 1945 the General Headquarters of SCAP announced a new education policy to advocate for the maintenance of the national policy and the construction of a peaceful nation.¹⁰¹ At the forefront of this attack was Shinto in the schools. The official view of Shinto by the occupation forces was that it

¹⁰¹ Okano, pg. 30.

consisted of mythology and “primitive chronicles” and was inferior to more other religions like Christianity.¹⁰² Due to the association with militarism and the strong sense of separation of church and state in the United States, Shinto was immediately targeted in the schools for elimination. The abolition of religious education began on September 26, 1945 when SCAP issued the Plan for Educational Control in Japan under Military Government. According to this plan, the first major step towards forming a separation between religion and education was made. The plan declared that no visits to shrines would be permitted during any school activities.¹⁰³ This was not only an attack on school policy but some saw it as an attack on the very essence of the official national philosophy.

On December 15, 1945 the *Memorandum to Imperial Japanese Government from GHQ SCAP, abolishing State Shinto* was promulgated to the Japanese government. This memorandum abolished State Shinto and specifically targeted practices in schools. Section 1 states that, “All public education institutions whose primary function is either the investigation or dissemination of Shinto or the training of the Shinto priesthood will be abolished and their physical properties devoted to other uses.”¹⁰⁴ This eventually led to the land reforms that dispersed former Shinto shrine owned lands back to the general populace. Also targeted, the circulation of *The Fundamental Principles of the National Structure (kokutai no hongii)* and *The Way of the Subject (shinmin no michi)* were strictly prohibited.

¹⁰² Shibata, Masako, *Japan and Germany under the U.S. Occupation: A Comparative Analysis of the Post-War Education Reform*, 2005, pg. 80.

¹⁰³ Shibata, pg. 80-81.

¹⁰⁴ General Headquarters, SCAP, CIA, Education Division, *Education in the New Japan*, (Tokyo, 1948), vol. 1, pg. 31.

Before major reforms could be implemented to reorganize the entire educational system some smaller local measures were taken by the occupation forces to immediately target the eradication of militarism, religion and nationalism from the schools.

SCAP found that the old textbooks were filled with references towards the divinity of the emperor and other religious dogma. On January 1, 1946 the emperor read his famous “Humanity Declaration” speech in which he resigned his divinity. This speech, which was originally drafted by a lieutenant colonel during his lunch break in a Tokyo hotel room, opened the way for the SCAP to purge the ultra-nationalistic and militaristic perversion of Shinto theory and beliefs.¹⁰⁵ Students were then forced to black out their own textbooks in relation to any references to the emperor system or the spiritual superiority of the Japanese people. All teachers’ manuals and textbooks were to be censored and all Shinto doctrine would be deleted.¹⁰⁶ These textbooks, filled with black marks, were then used until 1947 when new textbooks could finally be issued.

While there had been many steps taken prior to 1947 to remove religion from education, the major set of legislation that changed educational policy structurally was the 1947 Fundamental Law on Education. This law became the modern version of the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 for the fact that it represented an authoritative document to guide post-war Japanese education.¹⁰⁷ This document explained the aims and principles of education for Japan in relationship to the new Constitution of Japan.

Article 9 dealt specifically with religious education. It reads,

The attitude of religious tolerance and the position of religion in the social life shall be valued in education. The schools established by the state and

¹⁰⁵ Dower, John *Embracing Defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War II* (New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 1999), 309-310.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid.

¹⁰⁷ Kobayashi, *Society, Schools and Progress in Japan*, 1976, pg. 56.

local public bodies shall refrain from religious education or the activities for a specified religion.¹⁰⁸

This law became the first official legislation of the Japanese government to address the memorandums and statements handed down by SCAP over the last two years that dealt specifically with the purging of Shinto from schools. It more specifically illustrated the aspirations of the government to clarify education's role in relation to the "spirit of the Constitution of Japan."¹⁰⁹ As for the Constitution of Japan passed through the diet in October of 1946 in regards to state sponsored religion Article 20 reads

Freedom of religion is guaranteed to all. No religious organization shall receive any privileges from the State, nor exercise any political authority. No person shall be compelled to take part in any religious act, celebration, rite or practice. The State and its organs shall refrain from religious education or any other religious activity.¹¹⁰

The focus of the law was placed on providing a culture rich in individuality despite strong traditional values placed on the group. It was now illegal and punishable by the state to endorse religion in publicly funded educational setting. Teachers, headmasters or town administrative officials could all be held directly accountable for their actions involved with directly sponsoring Shinto in a state funded school.

Teachers that exhibited militaristic agendas were also purged from the schools. SCAP officials often had to deal with teachers that did not wholeheartedly accept the reforms implemented by SCAP and the Ministry of Education. Although the occupation forces successfully purged most of the militaristic teachers in Japan, some remained

¹⁰⁸ General Headquarters, SCAP, CIE, Educational Division, *Education in the New Japan, The Fundamental Law of Education (Law no. 25.)* vol. 2 (Tokyo, 1948), pp. 109-111.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Japan, Ministry of Education, *Educational Laws and Regulations in Japan*, Ser. 1, The Constitution, the Fundamental Law of Education, 1953.

embedded in the system.¹¹¹ Many of the teachers in the countryside continued to teach the pre-war national curriculum with reverence for the emperor. These contradictions in curriculum lead to some problems within the schools for the first few years following the occupation. This was apparent in an interview with the former Japanese Consul General of Kansas City, Takao Shibata, a primary school student during the occupation years. He specifically remembered dealing with a teacher whom, “Everyone hated because of his nationalist agenda.”¹¹² It was always possible to retrain the children but many teachers found it very hard to completely change their religious agendas which they had taught with such fervor during the war. While this would have seemed to be a rather large task at hand, most teachers welcomed the change to the militaristic doctrine in the schools. There also appeared to be a feeling of war guilt from the teachers because often they represented the staunchest supporters of the militaristic government. A large amount of responsibility fell upon the shoulders of educators whom had for years taught students to blindly follow the government into war. Provisions were taken to eliminate any educator that had not given up on the militaristic ideology of the past. In a directive from SCAP in 1947 it was stated that if former service member were employed in schools, especially in the field of physical education, that they should be carefully screened.¹¹³

The curriculum was also radically changed to eliminate the teaching of state Shinto, the veneration of the emperor, racial superiority and the exaltation of the state over the individual from the normal school day. First, the Imperial Rescript on Education

¹¹¹ Edward R. Beauchamp, *Education in Japan: A Source Book* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996), 96.

¹¹² Takao Shibata, (Former Japanese Consulate General of Kansas City, Mo.), Telephone interview By JD Parker, Lawrence, KS, Dec. 2, 2007.

¹¹³ U.S. Department of State revision of the Japanese Educational System, Directive, Serial No. 74.

was not to be used as a basis of instruction, study or ceremonies in schools.¹¹⁴ Courses in social sciences, civics, constitutional law, government and world affairs replaced spiritual and moral education in the classroom. Before the occupation, spiritual education (*seishin kyoiku*) had been highly correlated with physical education. Officials felt that physical education needed to focus more on calisthenics and drill rather the development of the imperial subject with highly militaristic activities and drills. Also, it was apparent that the study of history and geography would be completely refurbished to reduce the amount of attention that was given to Japan's military victories over China and Russia during the Meiji era. Occupation officials looked to Taisho period textbooks and view of Japanese history because during this peaceful time little emphasis was placed on the glorification of Japanese morals and militaristic life.¹¹⁵

On April 28, 1952 the official end of the occupation took place with the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. For the first time since Japan's surrender in 1945 the sovereignty of the nation was returned to the Japanese government. During the six years and eight months of the occupation SCAP was able to completely redefine the Japanese educational system and attempt to purge it of its pre-war doctrine of militarism, nationalism and spirituality. While the democratization and liberalization of Japan seemed to be quite effective, once the occupation forces left, distrust in some of the policies that they implemented became apparent. Many criticized the wholesale implementation of American and Western ideas upon Japanese society. In 1946, the first U.S. Education Mission reported that, "It is recommended that some form of *romanji*

¹¹⁴ Ibid.

¹¹⁵ National Archives of the United States, Modern Military Branch, Record Group 59, General Records of the Department of State. Records of Harley A. Notter, 1939-1945. Records of the Policy and Planning Committees. Box 144.

(western alphabetization of Japanese words) be brought into common use.”¹¹⁶ Although this program was never implemented it was seen as a serious option and experienced great opposition from many Japanese. With sovereignty back in the hands of the Japanese government a careful assessment was taken of the reforms implemented in during the occupation. Some felt that the Occupation reforms had gone too far and had in fact done considerable violence to cherished Japanese values and traditions.¹¹⁷ Many of these reforms were then converted by the government to become more harmonious with Japanese traditions and culture. While the majority of adjustments made by the government dealt with changing the system that the Americans put into place, it was in fact the system that the Americans created that was used to amend the structure. In 1956 the 1948 Board of Education Law was abolished to appease the desire for central authority in Japanese society. The law, which originally transferred power from the Ministry of Education to locally elected boards of education was changed to represent more central authority. Having a more central authority also reduces the risk of economic discrimination, textbook censorship and even religious bigotry.¹¹⁸

Religion was hit very hard by the Occupation forces. Shinto was forced to become separated from the government, a situation that it flourished in for over fifty years. With out the support of public funds and with the stigma attached to it because of its association with the prewar state, Shinto moved into the periphery of Japanese minds. Inside the educational environment religion seemed to be nonexistent while outside of the

¹¹⁶ *Report of the United States Education Mission to Japan*, Submitted to the Supreme Commander of Allied Powers (Tokyo: GHQ, SCAP, March 30, 1948), pp. 42-46.

¹¹⁷ Beauchamp, Edward, *Japanese Education Since 1945 A Documentary Study*, (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1994) pg. 10.

¹¹⁸ Beauchamp, pg. 12.

schools the freedom from religious persecution led to the flourishing of certain religions that had been strongly stifled during the war years.

The elimination of Shinto in postwar Japan led to the growth of the “new religions” Christianity and to a lesser extent Buddhism. Many feared that MacArthur’s true intentions were to Christianize Japan. In a comment given to a group of Protestant leaders visiting Japan in 1945, MacArthur was quoted as saying, “Japan is a spiritual vacuum. If you do not fill it with Christianity, it will be filled with Communism. Send me 1,000 missionaries.”¹¹⁹ The Christian influence did manage to edge into the schools by the 1950s. The “New Life Campaign” was originally developed in the late 1940s and one of its main objectives was the establishment of rational and democratic habits in daily life.¹²⁰ The influence of Christian groups in the New Life Campaign programs became apparent in their effort to elevate public morality. These campaigns began to encourage “chastity education” and “thoughts of purity” in the schools and among youth groups.¹²¹

Kokugo, or national language, became an important part of the curriculum in which the state used to create uniformity and imperial worship before the war. While the backbone of “spirituality” in education was removed during the Occupation with the elimination of the Imperial Rescript on Education and the Fundamental Principles of the National Structure (*kokutai no hongu*), *kokugo* remained in the curriculum. While *kokugo* did experience some changes during the occupation it was by no means equal to the time of the Meiji period.¹²² *Kokugo* has always enjoyed a sense of mysticism as the “spiritual

¹¹⁹ Hardacre, pg. 135.

¹²⁰ Garon, Sheldon M. *Molding Japanese Minds: The State in Everyday Life*. (Princeton University Press, 1997) pg. 163.

¹²¹ Garon, pg. 170.

¹²² Clark, pg. 207.

blood of the Japanese.”¹²³ This connection to spirituality and national identity was not eliminated by the Occupation forces and still resonates today. While *kokugo* does not particularly sponsor Shinto doctrine it does endorse the melding of one mind, one body and the ancestors.¹²⁴ One major *kokugo* supporter was Yamada Yoshio, whom was one of most important advocates for the development and maintenance of the national language during the prewar years. For Yamada, the language had become more than just an object of veneration, it had become a religion.¹²⁵ This makes it apparent that even though after the war Shinto existed in a different capacity it still carried with it spiritual qualities of the prewar period. The Japanese people were aware of this fact as well. During the great purging of religious nationalists during the Occupation Yamada was clearly targeted as a proponent of nationalistic ideology. In a somewhat telling act of Japan’s postwar attitudes towards Yamada’s ideas, shortly before his death in 1958 he was awarded the nation’s highest honor of the “Order of Cultural Merit.”¹²⁶ This clearly illustrates modern ideas to *kokugo* and its spiritual essence.

Another topic strongly associated with religion, spirituality and the emperor system is moral education. Moral education was officially abolished following the war by the Occupation officials. Moral education was another example of how the state used the curriculum to promote Shinto, imperial worship and the development of the group identity. Moral education, or *shūshin*, became one of the most important part of the curriculum for the incorporation and instillation of nationalistic and spiritual agendas in primary schools. Placed at the center of primary school curriculum, moral education was

¹²³ pg. 187.

¹²⁴ pg. 201.

¹²⁵ pg. 208.

¹²⁶ Clark, pg. 193.

originally promulgated by the Imperial Rescript on Education and taught pupils the unique characteristics of what it meant to be servant of the emperor. Moral education served as the primary means by which the state sought to transfer its ideas of patriarchal family values and imperial education ideology to the general populace. Moral education classes were filled with examples of stories dealing with topics of etiquette, civics, national history, mythology and current events.¹²⁷ As the road to militarization began, moral education classes became more prominent in the schools and militaristic education was integrated into the existing curriculum.

Even though the textbooks used for moral education were full of material that was unsuitable for SCAP's policies, some felt that complete elimination of moral education from the curriculum was excessive. A study conducted before the end of the war showed that textbooks from the 1930's were found acceptable enough for use during the early phases of the Occupation. While moral education was the main venue for teaching of students to revere the emperor as well as militaristic ideas, the complete elimination of the subject seemed a bit too excessive to some members of SCAP. Trying to avoid being accused of "thought control" or "book burning," SCAP actually questioned the official ban of moral education completely from the curriculum.¹²⁸ This was somewhat of a shock for some educational reform planners. It was presumed before the end of the war that the textbooks used for moral education would be saturated with Japanese military or ultra-nationalistic propaganda.¹²⁹ In actuality, the course on morals included many ideas and stories not so different from what was being taught in schools in the U.S. However,

¹²⁷ Hall, Robert King, *Shūshin: The Ethics of a Defeated Nation* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949) 13.

¹²⁸ Hall, 14-15.

¹²⁹ Hall, 14.

not all of the stories contained in Japanese moral education textbooks were acceptable to the aims and goals of the Occupation. For example one story taken from a moral education textbook from 1944 read,

To improve the science in Japan, more students have to study it. In the Battle of Greater East Asia, the fighting of a scientific battle is the greater task-hence, Japan must improve her science or the battle will be lost.¹³⁰

The Ministry of Education anticipated SCAP's ban and called for the cessation of all courses in moral education even before SCAP had officially ordered the stop of moral education classes. This order for elimination by the Ministry of Education answered any reservations that SCAP was having about the justification of completely eliminating moral education from schools. However, not wanting to give any credit for this basic reform to the Ministry of Education, SCAP ordered that stopping the teaching of moral education was forbidden until the Supreme Commander had issued a directive compelling them to do so.¹³¹ After filtering through the bureaucracy of the military government, it was a completed a month later when SCAP banned moral education on December 31, 1945.¹³²

Some felt that the Occupation reforms had gone too far and had in fact done considerable violence to cherished Japanese values and traditions.¹³³ Consequently, many of these reforms were later moderated by the government to become more harmonious with Japanese traditions and culture. Even though "moral education" was eliminated from the curriculum, moral teaching did not disappear entirely from schools.

¹³⁰ Hall, 16.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ Beauchamp, Edward, *Japanese Education Since 1945 A Documentary Study*, (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1994) pg. 10.

Students still learned what was sociably acceptable in the school environment.

Nevertheless, many members of the public and even some politicians called for the reimplementation of moral education in schools, but due to its association with the indoctrination of militaristic, religious and nationalistic thought, many highly opposed any reintroduction of it into the curriculum. Public support for moral education would not resurface until the late 1950s well after the Occupation had ended.

The Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan listed the problem of moral education as a major concern amongst the Japanese. Outcries from the public complained that the new education system in Japan lacked the moral fortitude that was required of an educational system.¹³⁴ In the report of the Second Education Mission that was presented to SCAP in September of 1950, the suggestion was made that the reintroduction of moral education was not particularly necessary. The Mission wrote that moral and spiritual values could be found in places in daily life and that a designated class specifically dealing with the topics was not necessary. The Mission presented this message to SCAP.

Moral and spiritual values are all around us; we find them in our home life, in our school life, and especially in those moments we dedicate to religious observance. Good teachers, good parents and good religious leaders seek to identify these values and help young people to find a place for them in their daily lives. There are many times throughout the school day when the teacher can indicate that the pursuit of learning and the cultivation of the arts not only develop intellectual faculties but likewise perfect the moral powers.... It is indeed vain to think that moral education can come from social studies alone. Moral education must be emphasized throughout the entire curriculum and, moreover, it cannot be separated from the training youth receives at home and from religious and social agencies. Democratic training is an ideal social order. No other system can compare with it when it comes to giving

¹³⁴ Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan, 14.

schooling in personal development. It promotes the atmosphere of freedom in which virtue flourishes best.¹³⁵

From this passage, the opinion of the Occupation forces towards the reimplementation of moral education is quite apparent. While some called for more values to be taught in schools, the war-time relationship between militarism, ultra-nationalism and moral education remained the biggest deterrent of its restoration into the curriculum. Teaching students the values of a democratic society was the top priority of the Occupation. These ideas, along with support from students' families and the communities would provide a sufficient moral culture in which Japan's youth could enjoy.

Soon after the Occupation had ended many called for the reinstating of moral education. There was the common belief that the Occupation officials had thrown out the baby with the bathwater, leaving the public education system without a spiritual backbone.¹³⁶ This became a highly controversial topic because of the association of moral education with the prewar militaristic ideology. Much of the public highly opposed moral education and some even saw the reintroduction as a conspiracy to control the people.¹³⁷ Supporters of moral education saw the need for more emphasis in education placed on the Japanese national identity and traditional culture in a world in which Japan experienced more frequent contact with the outside world. In 1958 the Ministry of Education required one hour a week devoted to moral education in which was meant to,

Develop a Japanese who will never lose the consistent spirit of respect for his fellow man, who will realize this spirit in home, school and other actual life in

¹³⁵ Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan, 14.

¹³⁶ Beauchamp, pg. 11.

¹³⁷ Okano, pg 240.

the society of which he is a member, who strives for the creation of a culture rich in individuality and for the development of a democratic nation and society, and who is able to make a voluntary contribution to the peaceful international society.¹³⁸

It is easy to see how much of a change moral education went through during its fifteen-year hiatus. The changing of the term of moral education from *shushin* to *dotoku* also represented a change to the foundation of this aspect of the curriculum. Several observers even noted that the nature of moral education had changed dramatically. Instead of focusing on highly nationalistic or religious lessons, *dotoku* involved teaching fundamental matters such as the value on life, the foolishness of fighting, the importance of friendship and the problems of the elderly.¹³⁹

This reintroduction of moral education meant that the children of the Occupation had once again experienced something unique only to their own generation. The lack of moral education in the schools during the Occupation gave children a distinctive experience that neither their parents nor children experienced.

Moral education is still a controversial topic today. Former Prime Minister Abe Shinzō labeled the reformation of the education system, and in particular moral education, as one of the ‘priorities’ of his cabinet during his opening speech to the Diet in 2006. Prime Minister Fukuda Yasuo was even seen in the media as late as May of 2008 discussing the importance of moral education reform.

Modern education in Japan has become the product of its own very unique historical path over the past century and a half. The daily lives of students in schools after the war was dramatically different from those of students before the war. Before the war, moral and spiritual education dominated the lives of students as the Imperial

¹³⁸ Beauchamp, pg. 11.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

Rescript on Education transformed the Japanese educational system after 1890.

Militarism, nationalism, religion and moral suasion controlled the entire educational system until being abruptly eliminated with the coming of the American Occupation in 1945. The metamorphosis of the Japanese educational system completely altered the role of morals in the classroom indefinitely.

Women's rights were greatly affected by the changes made by the Occupation. Prior to the war State Shinto began to slowly remove women from positions in local shrines. With the full integration of education and State Shinto during the war years it is apparent to see that the attitudes towards women were greatly influenced by Shinto chauvinism. Women rarely studied past primary school and even a fewer number entered higher education. The notion of "good wives and wise mothers" permeated society from the Meiji era to the end of the war. With State Shinto no longer a part of education in Japan, women's opportunities were greatly changed. Christian schools opened many opportunities for women to extend their education past traditional levels. Without the religious reforms implemented during the Occupation, the prospects for women's rights would not have been as great as they became in the years following the war.

Modern education in Japan has become the product of a very unique historical track over the past century and a half. The daily lives of students in schools after the war was dramatically different from those before. State Shinto dominated the lives of students as the Imperial Rescript on Education transformed the Japanese educational system after 1890. State Shinto flooded the entire educational system until being abruptly eliminated with the coming of the American occupation in 1945. The metamorphosis of the Japanese educational system and the elimination of moral education from the curriculum

completely altered the role of religion in the classroom indefinitely. After analyzing the educational system from the beginnings of the Meiji Restoration to World War II it is apparent that religion was a dominant feature in the education of Japanese youth.

However, after the purging of State Shinto and the abolition of moral education by the military government of the Allied Occupation, it is easily seen that reforms put into place virtually eliminated all religious practices and rituals in schools. Post war influences of Christianity, the new religions, Buddhism and conservative politicians have begun to place a degree of influence back into the schools. Overall, the path and relationship that religion and education in Japan will have can only be determined by the wiliness of the government, special interest groups and the populace to either maintain or amend the constitution originally written by the Occupation.

Chapter 5: School Facilities

SCAP's reforms faced serious impediments when it came to the problem of educational facilities. Japan faced a critical shortage of school buildings well before the war's end. By the end of the war, over 3,000 schools had been totally destroyed. 2,360,000 homes had also been burned or destroyed.¹⁴⁰ As late as 1950 schooling was being conducted in former military buildings, silk worm nurseries, private workshops, breweries, tobacco harvest storehouses, private residencies, and youth assembly halls.¹⁴¹ For those students who studied in buildings meant for education they were often found to be in very poor condition. Building materials used to keep schools maintained had been rationed and were hard to obtain since the beginning of the war in China. Construction was controlled and therefore needed buildings were never built. Buildings were allowed to decay without repair, damaged by earthquakes, floods, typhoons and fires.¹⁴² In 1950 it was reported that only a quarter of all of schools in Japan were built within the last ten years, while an eighth of the schools were forty years or older.¹⁴³ Many of the schools were a menace to safety and health of students. As a result, by the end of the war Japan's educational system and its remaining buildings were in a deplorable state of repair.¹⁴⁴

With the surrender in 1945 and the economy bankrupt, providing students with adequate school housing would be a most difficult job. During the war some of this responsibility fell upon local Shinto shrines, but with the elimination of state-sponsored religion, classrooms housed by local priests were no longer permitted. In Japan,

¹⁴⁰ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 1.

¹⁴¹ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 31.

¹⁴² The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 6.

¹⁴³ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 20.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

traditionally school houses were not always buildings built by the government to be used for the sole purpose of housing primary or secondary schools. In the Meiji period, local Buddhist temples served not only as the center of social and cultural life for ordinary Japanese, but were also used as public schools.¹⁴⁵ In 1876, 39.95 percent of public elementary schools were actually Buddhist temples. Private homes, often those of the teachers themselves, made up 31.85 percent of the buildings used. New school buildings only made up 25.73 percent of all buildings used as public elementary schools.¹⁴⁶ While the percentage of facilities designed as schools did grow throughout the Meiji and Taishō periods, the tradition of using Buddhist temples, and eventually Shinto shrines, as educational facilities continued until the Pacific War. Mihoko Nakane, a ten year old school girl who was evacuated to the countryside during the war wrote in 1945 that her Japanese classes were being held in a Shinto shrine.¹⁴⁷ Throughout her diary she gives no examples of classes taking place in an actual school building. Most classes of the evacuees were conducted in the family manor of a local prominent family, outside in fields and parks or in shrines and temples. This example of where students were going to school was not an isolated event. Across the country the hardships of war had made the practice of regularly attending a school almost impossible. The swift disestablishment of state-sponsored Shinto during the beginning months of the Occupation consequently caused an immediate shortage in schooling facilities.

Migration to and from urban centers also created a lack of the enrollment consistency that can usually be found in more stable environments. One way SCAP

¹⁴⁵ Benjamin Duke, *The History of Modern Japanese Education: Constructing the National School System, 1872-1890* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009) 139.

¹⁴⁶ Duke, 139-140.

¹⁴⁷ Yamashita, 275.

combated this problem was to restrict travel in the country immediately following the war. This not only helped to fight the practice of people going to the countryside to barter for food but also limited the amount of people that were coming to urban areas in search of employment. The constant movement of people and their families would place extreme difficulties upon local educators to ensure that there were proper facilities for the amount of students living in each area. The schools in the countryside had already been put through extreme strain due to the massive waves of evacuees moving to rural areas from 1944 to 1945. With the Japanese wartime government's recommended, and later forced evacuation programs, the rural population of Japan grew from 42 million in February of 1944 to 52.5 million in November of 1945.¹⁴⁸ After as many as 300,000 school children had already evacuated to the villages voluntarily, the government forced an additional 350,000 third through sixth graders to evacuate in groups from twelve major cities starting in August of 1944. Later, in March of 1945, another 100,000 first and second graders were forced away from their families, bringing the total number of those relocated in groups to 450,000.¹⁴⁹ This relocation caused emotional hardship and feelings of homesickness for most students involved. The heartbreaking letter of an evacuated sixth grader pleading with her mother to come and visit illustrates the emotional stress that was placed on students forced to leave their families. She writes, "Mother, as soon as this letter arrives, please come to see me that very day."¹⁵⁰

This influx in school-age children meant food, supplies, housing and schools would have to serve a much greater number of people than they previously had

¹⁴⁸ Thomas R.H. Havens, *Valley of Darkness: The Japanese People and World War II* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1986) 170.

¹⁴⁹ Havens, 163.

¹⁵⁰ Havens, 165.

accommodated. With new construction being halted during the war, schools in the country side had an increased student population without the necessary increase in classroom space. In Gunma prefecture alone, 222,880 evacuees had moved in by July 31, 1945.¹⁵¹ This rapid population movement left school administrators scrambling to provide even the basic fundamentals of an education system, learning space and enough teachers. Even with the regulations on relocation put into place by SCAP, by 1950, the ten-million evacuees had slowly filtered back into the major cities of Japan.¹⁵² It would not be until the final years of the Occupation that population numbers would become more consistent and predictable.

Many of the hardest strains on school facilities were not primarily caused by the hardships of the war but by the vast reforms implemented by SCAP itself. One of the greatest reforms implemented by SCAP was the creation of the 6-3-3 system. This meant that there were now six years of elementary, three years of compulsory middle school and an additional three years of optional high school education. This new requirement made it necessary to accommodate almost twice the amount of students than the school systems were originally built to hold. At the end of the war around 3,000 schools had been destroyed.¹⁵³ The estimate for the amount of classrooms needed for the first year of the new school system also underestimated. The estimate was based on the number of first-year elementary and middle school students projected to enter the schools. However, this prediction did not take into account many of the middle school second and third year students that had already enrolled. What further complicated the original estimates was

¹⁵¹ Havens, 170.

¹⁵² Havens, 172.

¹⁵³ P. S. Anderson, "The Reorientation Activities of the Civil Education Section of the Osaka Civil Affairs Team: A Case Study in Educational Change" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, 1954), 174.

the great increase in primary school enrollment due to the high birth rate during the war. Also, thousands of children who had returned to Japan from the former colonies after the surrender were not accounted for in the predictions.¹⁵⁴ This further complicated the ability to provide proper school housing for Japan's children.

Another major change was the implementation of coeducation in all grades. While there had been a limited amount of education for females before the war, schools were usually segregated. Private all-girl schools were some of the only places that women could receive a proper education. These schools had become common in metropolitan areas after the seeds of modern education for Japanese women were planted by the hard work of educators like Tsuda Umeko and Yamakawa Sutematsu during the Meiji period.¹⁵⁵ The establishment of compulsory coeducation increased female enrollment numbers by a substantial amount. While private girls' schools did educate many Japanese girls before the Occupation, the mandated integration in all public schools increased the amount of students that would regularly attend school. This brought more students into school buildings that were built for much smaller numbers. Although coeducation brought boys and girls under the same roof it did not guarantee equal education. Boys and girls sometimes attended separate classes or were seated based on sex on separate sides of the classroom.¹⁵⁶ This reflects the wartime practice of, when integration was present, girls being placed in the back of the classroom while boys were allowed to sit in the front.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁴ Anderson, 174.

¹⁵⁵ Duke, 111.

¹⁵⁶ Anderson, 183.

¹⁵⁷ Havens, 140.

Separate toilet facilities also had to be built now that schools were desegregated. This task caused more strain on the problem of school facilities. The construction of separate lavatories put an even larger financial burden on schools.¹⁵⁸ Even though subsidies were awarded for remodeling, in some cases the Parent Teacher Associations had to take the responsibility of building separate toilets facilities in the schools.¹⁵⁹ These inequalities did not stop girls from being successful in schools. In 1949, it was considered headline news in some newspapers that girls in the schools were doing as well and sometimes better than boys on their final examinations. It was also reported that seventeen girls were elected presidents of student government organizations in several high schools.¹⁶⁰

Many of the protests towards educational reform during the early days of the Occupation were centered on the extension of compulsory education by three years as a part of the 6-3-3 system. The extending of compulsory education by three years was seen as practically impossible due to budgetary restraints. Despite disapproval from many politicians and educators the system was accepted. The Ministry of Education placed heavy blame on the requirement of an addition three more years of compulsory education for the school building shortage after a nation-wide study was conducted on classroom needs.¹⁶¹ School enrollment numbers had reached heights which had never been seen before for upper secondary schools in Japan. As more students completed the third year of middle school, the number of students in high school consequently increased rapidly.

¹⁵⁸ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 5.

¹⁵⁹ Anderson, 227.

¹⁶⁰ Anderson, 280.

¹⁶¹ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 5.

In 1950, high school enrollment was twice that of prewar enrollment.¹⁶² Due to the absence of a uniform high school system before the Occupation, the problem of school facilities was especially difficult for high school administrators trying to find buildings for the new schools. Typically, high schools were moved into old vocational schools, women's schools, or upper secondary school buildings. Needless to say, students endured extreme conditions, yet still seemed to have been able to progress through the upper grades of their education.

As a result of the scarcity of school housing 560,000 children were without classrooms in 1947.¹⁶³ In an attempt to provide all children with education, schools sometimes adopted a double or triple shift for each day. Reports of school visits show that in some cities there were as many as four shifts a day. Students were sent home almost as soon as the attendance was taken.¹⁶⁴ This process also relieved schools of the burden of feeding the students through the school lunch program. The Ministry of Education knew that this problem was unacceptable and worked out a five year plan to eliminate multiple shifts in schools.¹⁶⁵ As late as May of 1950 there were still 15,676 classes being conducted on double shifts.¹⁶⁶ Students being ushered in and out of schools were surely not receiving the level of education guaranteed to them by the constitution.

School buildings would also sometimes be used by more than one school administration. Schools were occasionally shared by up to three different school organizations. This meant that there would be three sets of administrators, three sets of

¹⁶² Anderson, 179.

¹⁶³ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 7.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid.

¹⁶⁵ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 9.

¹⁶⁶ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 27.

teachers and three student bodies all within one school.¹⁶⁷ The new three year middle schools created by SCAP reforms were supposed to receive priority for building space, but this was not always the case. In many instances the prewar secondary schools were reluctant to completely give up their buildings to be converted into the SCAP created middle schools. The administrators of the former secondary schools were often following their selfish professional desire to convert to SCAP endorsed high schools without regard to the needs of the new middle schools. The conversion into a high school would bring more prestige and status to the school's administration and faculty. In Osaka alone it was reported that of the 216 middle schools only 73 had independent housing.¹⁶⁸

Korean schools were also affected by the school reorganization program. Even though the Japanese government implemented a program to provide transportation for the return to Korea and remuneration for lost property, many Koreans decided to stay in Japan. Some Koreans, after returning home, found themselves disillusioned and quickly returned to Japan.¹⁶⁹ Providing education for Korean children in Japan usually took place at private schools run by Koreans and taught in either Korean or Chinese.¹⁷⁰ In 1948, a number of Korean schools were closed in Osaka in order to reorganize the schools. This resulted in protests by Koreans demanding the reopening of the schools. While some students integrated into schools with Japanese students, other students remained in the Korean schools which now had to find new housing. While the Korean students'

¹⁶⁷ Anderson, 177.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

¹⁶⁹ Anderson, 302.

¹⁷⁰ Anderson, 303.

interests were usually neglected in favor of Japanese students, SCAP's official policy was to avoid contact with the problem.¹⁷¹

The lack of adequate school housing created an extreme environment in which students, both Japanese and non-Japanese, were not able to concentrate on their studies suitably. The Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan made due note of the lack of educational facilities in their report issued to SCAP on September 22, 1950. The mission found that the replacement of educational buildings destroyed during the war was lagging behind replacement of other public buildings.¹⁷² Natural disasters such as typhoons, tidal waves and earthquakes were also blamed for the poor upkeep of the already small number of existing educational facilities. The Mission writes that, "Of all the funds used for public works projects after the war only 6.9 percent have been made available for educational facilities."¹⁷³ This left millions of Japanese youths attending school in substandard classrooms or sometimes halls, corridors, auditoriums, gymnasiums or various makeshift rooms.¹⁷⁴ Due to the poor quality of the schools, students were receiving only half or sometimes a third of the overall education in which the Mission felt they were entitled.¹⁷⁵

Without functioning school buildings almost all other recommendations from the United States Education Missions were unpractical. While the American educators were making detailed suggestions regarding the intricacies of curriculum and teaching methods, the fundamental necessity of having adequate school housing was still unstable. In a somewhat ironic situation in 1948, at a meeting of teachers in Osaka, Japanese educators

¹⁷¹ Anderson, 305.

¹⁷² Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan

¹⁷³ Ibid.

¹⁷⁴ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 15.

¹⁷⁵ Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan

were lectured to by an American instructor about the “Proper Ventilation and Lighting of Classrooms.” This meeting was held in a bomb-shattered school without heat or windows.¹⁷⁶ The Second Education Mission quickly realized the problem that without functioning schools other reforms could not be implemented.

This critical situation alarmed the Mission and led to the creation of a list of six recommendations from the group of educators. First on the list was a request for accelerated schoolhouse construction. A proper functioning physical plant and building would finally allow the full effect of the compulsory school program to be received. Second, the Mission described the need to research the type of buildings that would not only meet the needs of curriculum and that would encourage independent thinking, initiative and creative experiences, but would also withstand typhoon and earthquake damage.¹⁷⁷ The final recommendations dealt with allowing local school boards full authority when planning and building new buildings but also aimed at incorporating teachers, administrators and the community into the planning of the school building. Notice was also given to the planning of areas of attendance for school buildings to be constructed so that there would be no financial waste in duplication or overlapping.¹⁷⁸

Attendance areas were also listed as a problem in a 1950 study written by the Japan Teachers’ Union. In this report, a whole chapter is devoted to illustrating the actual conditions of schools, organization of classes, school buildings, facilities and materials. The description of the schools demonstrates how the geographical conditions of Japan strictly limit the placement of school houses in the mountainous country. Schools ranged in size from large urban schools with more than 4,000 students, to those

¹⁷⁶ Anderson, 243.

¹⁷⁷ Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

in isolated locations with as few as 10 students.¹⁷⁹ Some of the schools with very few students were usually classified as “branch” schools. Branch schools were operated under the same administration as their “mother school” which usually were located within the closest town center. In 1950 there were 1,534 branch lower secondary schools and 4,227 branch elementary schools.¹⁸⁰ A product of the size of the branch schools, children from second to sixth grades were often grouped in the same classroom and taught together. The teacher’s union wrote that these “evil conditions” often were at the mercy of the health of the teacher and his or her indifferent attitude in training children.¹⁸¹ Essentially this meant that with only one or two teachers per school, the responsibility of the students’ school day would be in the hands of only one or two people.

While schools in the countryside faced problems in dealing with the scarcity of students, those in urban environments were extremely crowded and failed to meet the size regulations put into place by the Ministry of Education. When classrooms were available, they often exceeded the limit of fifty students per classroom. In 1949, Ministry of Education statistics showed that 22.8 percent of all elementary and middle schools had only 0.7 *tsubo* or 2.76 square yards of school building space per student.¹⁸² The crowded conditions forced students to learn in an environment that would have lacked the efficiency that a normal classroom could provide. In order to deal with this shortage and meet the regulations prescribed by the Ministry of Education an additional 147,000 more classrooms would need to be built.¹⁸³ According to a school inspection report for Izumi-

¹⁷⁹ Beauchamp, Edward, *Japanese Education Since 1945 A Documentary Study*, (New York, M.E. Sharpe, 1994) pg. 126.

¹⁸⁰ Beauchamp, 127.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸² Ibid.

¹⁸³ Ibid.

Sano elementary school in 1948, the school had twenty-one classrooms but four additional rooms were needed to meet the standards put into place by SCAP.¹⁸⁴ Even though educators realized the serious inadequacies generated by the severe school housing shortage, the ability to acquire enough funding for construction was complicated.

School construction materials must also be taken into account when thinking about the safety of schools. The two most common types of materials used for school construction were wood and ferro-concrete. After the Kanto Earthquake in 1923 and the Kansai Typhoon in 1934, concrete buildings began to be constructed in some parts of Japan.¹⁸⁵ The Ministry of Education wrote that school buildings should be constructed strongly and safely, and therefore, school buildings that were made from concrete would not only be safer for the students but they would also provide the community a safe shelter in the time of calamity. In 1950 only eight percent of middle schools were built with concrete.¹⁸⁶ The Japanese government advocated for increase construction of concrete schools even though they were substantially more expensive than wooden buildings. The national government even passed the Building Standard Law, which required that twenty to forty percent of schools be built of concrete.¹⁸⁷ The Ministry of Education wrote,

Many of the buildings which were erected during and after the war are of such shoddy and dangerous wooden construction as to be easily destroyed by minor storms and earthquakes.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁴ Anderson, 404.

¹⁸⁵ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 21.

¹⁸⁶ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 22.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

Studying in sub-standard schools must have created many hardships for students. With most schools not able to provide safe shelter to students the educational needs of students were not being met.

Another major problem was the misuse of educational facilities. Many schools that still stood after the war had been overtaken by refugees and used as housing. Also, many government agencies had taken over schools to use as office space. It was not until a Cabinet Order concerning the security of educational facilities was issued in 1949, that authorities made attempts at returning the former schools back to their original purpose.¹⁸⁹ However, another Cabinet Order ordered that unless the government could provide replacement housing for those living or using the former schools no one could be forcefully evicted from the former educational facilities.¹⁹⁰

In the beginning of the Occupation, the national budget had been designed to provide a fifty-percent subsidy for the construction of new schools. The decentralization of education from a system highly controlled by the national government to one operated on a local level forced local school boards and communities to search for the rest of the funds to construct new school buildings. Much to the surprise of local communities this program was eliminated by the budget balancing mission of American banker Joseph Dodge in 1949.¹⁹¹ It was believed that by 1949 all of the necessary construction would be complete and help from the national government would not be necessary. In order to prove that the conditions of schools were still below standards set forth by the Ministry of Education a national survey was made in July of 1949.¹⁹² The survey required every

¹⁸⁹ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 25.

¹⁹⁰ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 25.

¹⁹¹ Anderson, 174-175.

¹⁹² The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 10.

elementary, middle and high school in Japan to sketch its building and site, give data regarding the number and kind of facilities available, and to list the number of students and teachers.¹⁹³ The survey was completed in only four weeks and illustrated the poor conditions that students still had to deal with four years after the end of the war.

The elimination of school construction subsidies from the national budget forced many local governments to raise taxes to meet the financial needs of the construction of new schools. This soon became fatal for local mayors on two different levels. First, if they raised the money for construction through heavy taxes, the public became upset and blamed the local government. Second, if the mayors were not able to acquire enough funds to complete the construction of new buildings, failure was soon awarded to the mayor.¹⁹⁴ This huge setback in financial support from the national government led to the resignation of one hundred seventy-seven mayors across the country. At least three mayors who had been very cooperative in the establishment of new schools committed suicide.¹⁹⁵ The Ministry of Education wrote that all the cities, towns and villages throughout Japan that had anticipated completing their school buildings in 1949 despite the heavy financial burden were stunned by the complete elimination of the anticipated government subsidy.¹⁹⁶ A survey of the causes of resignation of mayors made between April 1948 and June 1949 showed that 177 mayors had resigned due to school building problems. This was the third most common cause of resignation behind only “family affairs” and “sickness.”¹⁹⁷

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ministry of Education, *Bricks Without Straw* 3.

¹⁹⁵ Anderson, 175.

¹⁹⁶ Ministry of Education, 9.

¹⁹⁷ The Ministry of Education, 9-10.

After only a year of absence from the national budget, the Japanese government approved a 4.5 billion yen budget for school construction.¹⁹⁸ The change in policy can largely be accredited to the public outrage that followed the original elimination of national funding by the suggestions of the Dodge Mission. The Ministry of Education also fought for national assistance by releasing a study based on school housing entitled “Bricks Without Straw” which was largely based on the national survey that was made in the summer of 1949. This pointed out that the cost of the needed buildings across the country would equal only as much as one battleship.¹⁹⁹ It also showed that in 1949, sixty seven percent of cities, towns and villages throughout Japan were not meeting the minimum standards set forth by the Ministry of Education for classroom space. Additionally, twenty percent of the schools were below the emergency minimum standards which were much lower.²⁰⁰

Regarding the maintenance and upkeep of the buildings, the Second Education Mission called for the creation of an in-service education program responsible for the maintenance of the school buildings.²⁰¹ With the lack of financial support after the war, having students and teachers clean and maintain schools would be a cost effective solution to the problem of maintenance neglect. The cleaning and repair of schools became one of the main concerns for student government and of the homeroom class.²⁰² SCAP felt that with the responsibilities of daily maintenance and upkeep on the shoulders of the students and teachers, the schools would be able to create a program that would foster a sense of hard work amongst the students and also relieve financial constraints.

¹⁹⁸ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 15.

¹⁹⁹ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 26.

²⁰⁰ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 13.

²⁰¹ Second U.S. Education Mission to Japan.

²⁰² Anderson, 184.

This statement by SCAP officials mirrored a statement released by the Minister of Education in April of 1948. The Ministry of Education considered the upkeep of schools an integral part of the sanitation and safety of the schools. A clean and safe school was not the only goal of the educational officials. In the report it is written,

...guidance and training in cleaning at the school should be systematically given as indispensable part of the hygienic education, and the practice of cleaning should be restricted not only to school activity, but it should be popularized in the students' home life with the hope that an idea of hygiene and an aesthetic sense will be enhanced in the lives of the people at large.²⁰³

Officials in the Health and Labor Department feared the spread of disease throughout the general population. Much attention was placed on hygiene to combat the spreading of contagious diseases. For one school student the constant reminders of hygiene as well as the DDT showers given to students seemed to be more than was necessary. He writes that despite showering everyday, officials still felt that they were not doing enough to maintain sufficient hygiene.²⁰⁴

While the push for clean and safe schools did help to improve schools, the supplies needed to implement basic chores were not always readily available. Wanting to reward schools in specific areas, SCAP commended "model schools" for their individual excellence in a particular area. The lack of the most basic supplies can not be more apparent than when you look at the model school for safety instruction in Osaka. Representing a superior level of safety and cleanliness, the school was operating without

²⁰³ Anderson, 393.

²⁰⁴ Nishi, xix.

the necessary supplies of soap, brooms, or running water.²⁰⁵ Out of forty-two model schools in 1950, twenty-four were made from wooden materials.²⁰⁶

With the surrender in 1945 and the economy bankrupt, providing students with adequate school facilities would become one of the most difficult jobs for SCAP and the Japanese government. Students during this time entered an educational system that could not properly or safely house them. Many problems contributed to the school facility shortage after the war. The SCAP reforms of extending compulsory education and introducing coeducation into all grades placed heavy strain on the already deteriorated Japanese educational system. Problems with the budget, poor attendance predictions, and other logistical difficulties all led to the enormous school housing problem during the Occupation. Despite all of these setbacks many worked hard so that the youth would receive an education in a safe and comfortable environment.

²⁰⁵ Anderson, 358.

²⁰⁶ The Ministry of Education, Japan *Bricks Without Straw* 23.

Chapter 6: *Budō* and Physical Education

Organized sports in schools also became a target of SCAP reformers during the Occupation. Parallel to SCAP's policies of eliminating ultra-nationalistic and militaristic ideas from the academic curriculum, the elimination of some school sports due to their militaristic ties directly affected the lives of many student-athletes. It became obvious immediately following the surrender of Japan that the practices of grenade throwing and bamboo bayonet drills would immediately be eliminated from the physical education curriculum. What were not certain were the futures of the Japanese martial arts or *budō* that were a part of the physical education curriculum in schools. The two most common sports being examined by SCAP officials for their militaristic ties were the martial arts of Judō and Kendō. Judō focuses on grappling techniques to pin an opponent while Kendō uses wooden swords in a game of fencing. While the sports were used by the Japanese military in combat training, the strong connection to militarism was not always so apparent. Before the rapid militarization of the 1930s, Judō and Kendō were not very common in physical education classes. With the desire to create citizens, and especially men, that would be competent in hand to hand combat, the militaristic government slowly began to require schools to teach these martial arts. It is my goal to explain the role that Judō and Kendō had in Japanese education prior to and during the war. Then, I wish to examine SCAP's decision to ban martial arts from the schools during the early years of the occupation and how it affected students' ability to participate in these native Japanese sports. Next, it is important to examine the sports and activities that SCAP recommended to replace the newly banned martial arts in the curriculum.

The traditional martial arts of Judō and Kendō have had a long history in Japan. As a result of the militarization of Japan and the Second World War, Judō and Kendō's path into a tool of the state for propaganda led to its own elimination.

From the Meiji restoration, sports in Japan were very popular. With the wholesale incorporation of Western ideas in medicine, industry and military flooding into Japan from overseas, it was only a matter of time before Western sports like baseball, table tennis, rugby and soccer also made their way onto the Japanese mainland. Sports different from traditional Japanese martial arts began to gain popularity. Baseball was introduced into the university scene in 1872 with a national championship being formed by 1925. Rugby was introduced into Keio University in 1899 and a national championship was in place by 1918. Western sports such as these as well as others were fairly popular in Japan and had soon made their way into the school curriculum. In 1872 baseball emerged into the middle school scene and was given a national championship tournament in 1915.²⁰⁷ Western sports were also popular in the Japanese colonies. Before the rapid militarization that occurred after the Manchurian incident in 1931 and then the Marco Polo bridge incident of 1937, western sports were used as tools of the colonial educators to lure students to the Japanese schools rather than the traditional confusion schools that were most common in the colonies.²⁰⁸ Without looking at the official policies put into place by the government during the militarization of Japan, it can

²⁰⁷ Abe, Kiyohara, Nakajima, "Sport and Physical Education under Fascistization in Japan" *International Journal of the History of Sport*, 9:1 (April 1992). http://ejmas.com/jalt/jaltart_abe_0600.htm (accessed December 6, 2009)

²⁰⁸ Patricia E. Tsurumi, *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. (Harvard East Asian series; 88. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1977) 168-169.

be seen from this information that martial arts did not tend to appear in physical education until the 1930s. Much like State Shinto, budō in schools was a creation of the fascist government and not necessarily something that existed at the same levels prior to the war.

The Manchurian Incident in 1931 seems to have been a catalyst for the militarization of sports in school. In 1931 budō, in particular judō and kendō, became required in middle schools as well as teacher training schools. The name was also changed from *bujutsu* to budō representing a major change in the image of budō. Budō were governed by the Dai Nippon Butokukai since 1895. The purpose of the Dai Nippon Butokukai was to "revive bushidō," to "promote *bujutsu* to future military men," and to make Japan "a nation of military prowess."²⁰⁹ With the Dai Nippon Butokukai governing judō and kendō, it was their influence that most transformed the two sports into tools of the state for propaganda.

The Dai Nippon Butokukai was responsible not only for the increase of judō and kendō amongst the police and military sectors but also putting more militaristic martial arts into the schools. Being in charge of budō in the schools as well as having their headquarters in a shrine in Kyoto, it is apparent that there was a connection between sports, religion and emperor worship. Throughout the war years, the Butokukai continued to make the sports more and more militaristic. Strengthening young men in order to fight in war became the purpose of the organization rather than fostering competition. By the 1940s, competition was seen as too liberal of a process for fascist

²⁰⁹ Abe, *Sport and Physical Education under Fascistization in Japan*.

Japan and tournaments were rarely, if ever, seen after that.²¹⁰ It was from this point that it can easily be seen that the main purpose of budō was not to provide sport for students, but rather to prepare them for military service and war. Instilling the idea of bushidō in the students trained them to be loyal Japanese citizens willing to die in the emperor's name. Therefore, by 1945, through the leadership of the Dai Nippon Butokukai, judō and kendō were no longer associated with sport but rather with hand to hand combat training.

Budō were officially banned from the curriculum less than three months after the surrender of Japan. Although SCAP did not immediately call for the disbanding of budō from schools, it was apparent that a broader ban on military education would affect students' ability to participate in these sports. On October 22, 1945 SCAP released directive number 548 which read, "Dissemination of militaristic and ultra-nationalistic ideology will be prohibited and all military education and drill will be discontinued."²¹¹

While it would appear that the decision to eliminate budō from the curriculum would be a judgment to be made by SCAP alone, the Ministry of Education officially ordered the elimination of budō from the physical education curriculum on November 6, 1945.²¹² The Ministry of Education wrote in Order Number 80 from the Bureau of Physical Education that the practicing of kendō, judō and *naginata*, which uses long bamboo sticks in a fencing competition similar to kendō, should be abolished. The hours previously used to teach budō were now to be devoted to general physical training.²¹³

After the decision to eliminate *budō* from the physical education was disseminated, committees were often sent to inspect the schools for banned practices.

²¹⁰ Joseph Svinth, "Documentation Regarding the Budo Ban in Japan, 1945-1950" *Journal of Combative Sport* (December 2002). http://ejmas.com/jcs/jcsart_svinth_1202.htm (accessed December 6, 2009)

²¹¹ Svinth, 2002.

²¹² Anderson, 388.

²¹³ Anderson, 389.

The inspections during the first year of the Occupation mainly acted as a policing function. Schools were searched for banned books and imperial portraits, teachers were interviewed for militaristic behavior, and physical education was examined for the teaching and practice of kendō and judō.²¹⁴ Schools were forced to come up with new activities and exercises in a completely new physical education program that did not reflect militarism or ultra-nationalism of the past. Prefectural educators met within the first months of the Occupation to address this problem. In Osaka, representatives of physical education from all parts of the prefecture met with local SCAP officials to develop exercises and sports programs that would fit the psychological requirements of a more democratic type of education.²¹⁵

The Occupation found many interesting replacements for judō and kendō in the physical education curriculum. In one area, emphasis in the curriculum was placed on folk dancing and rhythmic games to replace the military drill and combat exercises.²¹⁶ One type of dancing that was introduced into the schools that gained quick popularity was American style square dancing. Physical education conferences in 1946 and 1947 developed programs of mass rhythmical exercises and folk dances, with particular interest being awarded to square dancing.²¹⁷ SCAP officials reported that American square dances became very popular with all groups at the physical education conferences. Square dancing societies were formed and an annual competition was created that continued each year throughout the Occupation.²¹⁸ School clubs were formed and local square dancing federations all contributed to contests. These competitions gained so

²¹⁴ Anderson, 224.

²¹⁵ Anderson, 224-225.

²¹⁶ Anderson, 184.

²¹⁷ "Foreign News: Do-Se-Do" *Time Magazine*, December 2, 1946, 36.

²¹⁸ Anderson, 233.

much support that sponsorship was given by a major newspaper, the Mainichi.²¹⁹ In Osaka prefecture alone there were over 20,000 individuals who participated in an annual folk dance demonstration.²²⁰ Square dancing had become a fashionable replacement in schools where students were taught only a few years earlier how to fight with bayonets and wooden spears.

American folk and square dancing helped to eliminate several problems within the physical education curriculum. Due to its similarities with traditional Japanese dances, the activity was quickly accepted by physical education instructors, students and even adults. Square dancing gave teachers an activity that both sexes could participate in together and it soon became a device that could be used to ease the new social relations between boys and girls.²²¹ With the financial problems that schools faced following the war, square dancing provided a very inexpensive form of recreation that could be adopted into the curriculum.

While square dancing became immensely popular in the schools, it was not the only activity introduced by the Occupation. An effort was made to introduce American touch football into physical education. This apparently did not catch on as quickly as square dancing due to the fact that towards the end of the Occupation only a few schools were continuously playing the sport.²²² Only a few months after the end of the war the Ministry of Education created a list of sports and activities that they recommended to be conducted in physical education courses. These were gymnastics, running, jumping, throwing, wrestling (boys only), handball, soccer, basketball, volleyball (girls only),

²¹⁹ Anderson, 291.

²²⁰ Anderson, 325.

²²¹ Anderson, 356.

²²² Anderson, 233.

swimming, skiing and exercises with music. Schools were not rigidly expected to stay within the frame of these recommendations and some discretion was awarded to local institutions. The Ministry would also allow parallel bars, rings, pommel horse, pole vaulting, shot putting, discus throwing, rugby football, baseball, tennis, rowing, skating, and other subjects to be added to the curriculum at the discretion of each school.²²³

Coinciding with the problem of adequate school housing, physical education was also severely limited to the confines of each school's facility. Gymnasium construction was given first priority to schools located in cold and snowy areas.²²⁴ Schools also had to find new uses for rooms built for the sole purpose of housing martial arts. It is no surprise that until new facilities could be built many of the sports that required special accommodations would not be very popular in schools.

The Ministry also specifically listed games, activities and songs that would be prohibited from physical education. All martial games, exercises and events dealing with a strong militaristic undertone were to be eliminated. Marching in marked steps, wall scaling, and hand-grenade throwing were to be strictly banned.²²⁵ There were also many games, songs and plays that were specifically banned. Games with names like, “*gunkan asobi*” or warship play and “*gyokei suirai*” or fish torpedo were forbidden.²²⁶

Throughout the Occupation, many of the games that once held popularity before the war were once again being played in schools cross Japan. The physical education curriculum had changed dramatically from the war years. Once dominated by militaristic practices and exercises, physical education classes were now filled with sports that

²²³ Anderson, 391-392.

²²⁴ Ministry of Education, *Bricks Without Straw* 9.

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Anderson, 389.

promoted teamwork and democratic ideas. Western sports that were banned during the war gained great popularity during the Occupation.²²⁷ Although kendō and judō were completely eliminated from the curriculum immediately following the surrender, tournaments were gradually allowed as early as 1947. In March of 1950 it was recommended by the Civil Information and Education section of SCAP to allow budō to be practice in high schools.²²⁸ The absence of budō was essential for the future of judō and kendō. With the break, the sports could be separated from their wartime militaristic past and be reintroduced later as a legitimate part of the curriculum. Judō has been accepted worldwide and is the Olympic games for many years. Overall, the reorganization of physical education by SCAP and the Ministry of Education affected every student's life during the Occupation. Examining this section of the curriculum helps to better understand a large portion of school life during the Occupation that was radically different from what was seen before.

²²⁷ Svinth, 2002

²²⁸ Ibid.

Conclusion

The educational reforms set into place by SCAP from 1945 to 1952 changed Japanese society permanently. It is essential that we understand what made the system succeed in such a way that other nations now look to Japan as a model for their own educational systems. It can be seen that as a student growing up in this system, rapid change and development was a part of their everyday lives. Students ate different foods, learned from a different curriculum and experienced a moral education totally different from that of their mothers and fathers. For the students who entered the system after 1945 this new reform was not apparent to them. They had not experienced the nationalistic and militaristic education as had their predecessors. They represented the birth of a new kind of Japanese citizen. They represented the citizen that was trained, and taught to think more independently, to be open-minded and liberal. Major reforms implemented during the Occupation have remained an integral part of the Japanese educational system ever since the end of World War II.

From this study, some of the unique experiences endured by the community of Japanese children during the difficult years of the occupation are evident. The topics presented represent the often overlooked aspects of life that school children underwent throughout the Occupation.

This project's main focus was to illuminate specific issues that children faced everyday in schools during the occupation. The reforms implemented by SCAP and the Ministry of Education had both positive and negative influences on the lives of Japanese students. Reforms dealing with the school lunch program, physical education and coeducation represented positive changes to the lives of students, whereas other reforms,

like the extension of compulsory education, created huge strains on the school housing situation. From this study the affect that SCAP and the Ministry of Education's reforms had on the typical Japanese child is visible. Study after study has been conducted on the allied Occupation of Japan, yet none have extensively discussed Japan's biggest victim, its own children. It is my hope that this study allows further research to be conducted in such a pivotal time in Japanese history. This topic is extremely important to demonstrate how much of an affect reconstructing an entire education system has on the lives of typical students. This study should be useful for anyone interested in Japanese educational history, international and comparative education or for those that study how education systems are reconstructed in war-torn areas. Further study on the long term effects that these reforms had on future generations of students should be studied in order to better understand the effect that the reforms still have on the Japanese educational system.

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