東京大学大学院教育学研究科付属
学校教育高度化センター

研 究 紀 要

第 1 号
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Center for Excellence in School Education
Graduate School of Education
The University of Tokyo
Research Bulletin

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研究科長挨拶

大学院教育学研究科長
大桃　敏行

本センターでは、平成 26 年 4 月に恒吉僚子教授が新たにセンター長に就任しました。新センター長の就任に伴い、センターの研究プロジェクトのテーマを「グローバル時代の学校教育」と設定するとともに、これまで行ってきた大学院生プロジェクトを「若手研究者育成プログラム」として実施しました。また、昨年度までセンターの『年報』として発行してきたものを、本年度から『研究紀要』に改めることとし、本号はこの「若手研究者育成プログラム」の論文を中心に掲載しました。学校教育の高度化の推進を目的とする本センターにとりましても、国際的視点からの学校教育のとらえ直しと研究成果の国際的な発信力の向上が課題となっています。本センターでは英語版のホームページを開設するとともに、大学院生プロジェクトでは学術交流協定を結んでいるストックホルム大学でシンポジウムも開催しました。

本センターは、小玉重夫前センター長のもとで、共同研究プロジェクト「社会に生きる学力形成をめざしたカリキュラム・イノベーションの理論的・実践的研究」の推進において、中心的な役割を担いました。本共同研究は小玉前センター長が研究代表者を務め教育学研究科の 20 名以上の教員が参加した大規模なプロジェクトであり、平成 23 年度から 25 年度まで 3 年間実施されました。平成 26 年度より、私、大桃が研究代表者を務め同じように教育学研究科の 20 名以上の教員が参加する共同研究「ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証に関する理論的実証的研究」がスタートしました。本センターはこの共同研究の推進においても中心的役割を担い、平成 26 年度は東京大学教育学部附属中等教育学校と共催で２つのシンポジウムを開催しました。この共同研究におきましても国際的な視点を大切にし、ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証の問題について検討を行っていく計画です。

平成 26 年度は以上のシンポジウムのほかにも、カリフォルニア大学のカルロス・アルベルト・トレス教授をお招きしてグローバリゼーションと教育に関する公開講演会を実施するとともに、シンポジウムや講演会、セミナーの共催や後援を行ってきました。学校教育の高度化を国際的な視点から進めていくためには、国内外の諸機関との連携・協同が必要です。引き続き関係者の皆様のご支援、ご協力をお願い申し上げます。

センター長挨拶

学校教育高度化センター・センター長
恒吉　僚子

2015 年度の東京大学教育学研究科の『東京大学　学校教育高度化センター研究紀要』をお届けいたします。センターにおいては、本年度、日本語のホームページを整備すると同時に、国際発信力を向上させるべく、英語でのホームページを開設し、動画発信、ニュースレター等の機能を順次追加してまいりました。
また、今年度センターでは、若手研究者支援事業の一つとして、従来、行なってきた大学院生の研究支援を「若手研究者育成プロジェクト」として個人研究も可能にする等、発展的に展開いたしました。本年度は「グローバル時代の学校教育」をテーマに教育学研究科博士課程の大学院生を対象に公募しました。大学院生のプロジェクトの成果は、国際発信力の向上を意図し、研究科が新規に大学間協定を結びましたストックホルム大学での、先方の大学院生や教員との国際シンポジウムにおいて発表されました。
大学院生の各研究グループの成果は、ワーキングペーパーとして電子媒体でホームページで見られるようにすると同時に、紙媒体で本『研究紀要』にも掲載いたします。
また、2014 年度のセンター関連プロジェクトのワーキングペーパーも上記プロジェクト同様、本『研究紀要』に掲載しております。
よろしくご査収くださいますよう、お願いいたします。

2015 年 9 月

2015年度東京大学大学院教育学研究科付属

学校教育高度化センター研究紀要

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【センター関連プロジェクト研究概要】

【2014 年度若手研究者育成プロジェクト（Young Scholars Training Program）
Joint International Symposium with Stockholm University “Education in the Era of Globalization”】

・教員研究論文：

"Global Talent", Intercultural Understanding, and "Englishization": A Preliminary View

Ryoko Tsuneyoshi

Professor, The University of Tokyo

Introduction

League tables on international tests such as OECD’s Programme for International Student Achievement (PISA), and the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement at the secondary school level are now all too famous around the globe. The results of such international tests are often seen as holding serious implications for policy reform; for example, Germany experienced the so-called “PISA shock” after it discovered that its students were not achieving as predicted, and the Japanese government promoted what came to be called “PISA-style” reading as it was discovered that the reading scores of Japanese students were falling short of expectations in PISA 2003 (Waldow, 2009; Nihon Hikaku Kyoiku Gakkai, 2003). The assumption seems to be that such scores are an indicator of educational quality, or at least, educational competitiveness.

The situation in higher education is very similar, as international rankings of universities often hold grave implications for policy-makers (Salmi, 2009, p.1; Liu & Cheng, 2011). However, unlike the international tests for school education in which students from high-achieving Asian countries/cities such as Singapore, Japan, and Shanghai, do well, league tables of higher education are conventionally led by western, especially American universities. For example, according to major world university rankings such as the Academic Ranking of World Universities by Shanghai Jiao Tong University, the QS World University Rankings, and the Times Higher Education World University Rankings, American universities dominate the list of the world-class universities. In the Academic Ranking of World Universities 2014, of the top 26, only two were Asian (both Japanese, University of Tokyo and Kyoto). In the Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2014-2015, the first non-western university came in at rank 23 (the University of Tokyo), and the QS World University Rankings showed only four Asian universities within the top 31 rankings (the National University of Singapore, the University of Hong Kong, the University of Tokyo, and Seoul National University) (1).

Though periodically, there are criticisms as to the culture-biased nature of the indicators used, such rankings are cited by various policy-makers and university faculty around the world. Indeed, as "higher education has assumed unprecedented importance as an educator of people for the new economy and as a creator of new knowledge" (Altbach, 2005, p. 64), the international league tables enjoy increasing publicity. In Japan's case, a major cause of concern in regards to its "world-class universities" is insufficient internationalization, or should we say, internationalization as measured by certain numerical indicators. Even popular magazine reviews of the University of Tokyo-- the leading Japanese university on such international rankings--lament that internationalization (e.g., low percentage of foreign faculty) pulled down the international ranking figures (Toyo Keizai editorial staff, 2012). Such concerns are mainly based on the breakdowns of how international rankings are calculated. For example, in the Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2014-2015, of the categories used (overall, teaching, international outlook, industry income, research, citations), all but two, industry income (51.2) and international outlook (32.4) were over 74 (2).

Globalization is one of the most overarching processes of our era, and no country is totally exempt from its influence. Though globalization can actually be discussed in multiple and contradictory ways, in actuality, the response to globalization in education is looking very similar in many countries as they adopt parallel language and reform strategies. In countries east and west, for example, we see the rise of policies which increase privatization, choice, accountability, competition and other market-oriented behavior. Included in the discussions of globalization is the need to develop "global talent" (Brown & Tannock, 2009).

Now, the rhetoric of the need to develop global talent has been quite prominent in governmental policies in many countries. However, in the Japanese case, one feature sets it apart from English-speaking countries, and even the European countries--the emphasis placed on English. Why has English gained such prominence in the discourse of human globalization in Japan? What are the implications? This paper will address such questions.

"Global Talent" and English

Now, the Japanese government's response to the development of "global talent" is not that different from policy-makers around the globe. According to various governmental documents, the new global knowledge-based economy requires "global talent" (*gurobaru zinzai*). Naturally, being global, "global talent" have to be recruited globally, from both within and without Japan.

The discussion of recruitment from within Japan is twofold. One the one hand, it is closely linked to the need to internationalize Japanese higher education (and somewhat school education) so that students (at least a significant segment of them) may develop into “global talent,” and on the other hand, the discussion is also linked to educating and hiring qualified foreigners (including foreign students). Since “global talent” are dispersed globally, hiring “global talent” also necessitates global recruitment.

For example, the “new strategy for development” (*shin seicho senryaku*) agreed on by the cabinet on June 18th, 2012 (Kantei, 2010), included the call to (1) educate global talent and (2) to incorporate highly skilled international human resources. Higher education in Japan was to internationalize, strategically accepting foreign students, providing international experience for Japanese students, and strengthening foreign language education. By 2020, the goal was not only to accept 300,000 qualified foreign students, but also to send as many Japanese students abroad. Immigration policies were altered in order to give preferential treatment (points system) to highly skilled foreigners starting in 2012--a common strategy adopted by OECD countries today to attract “global talent.”

Reminiscent of the situation in many other countries, education is increasingly discussed in terms of market-oriented competition. To compete globally, research universities are to become centers of “excellence.” Universities not only compete to produce cutting-edge knowledge, they also compete globally for the best staff and students. Indeed, “attracting the best—students, scholars, and research partners—from anywhere they can be found has become the modus operandi of the world’s best institutions” (Salmi, 2009, p. 64).

Now, the Japanese language is a minority language in the world, not spoken outside of Japan. Thus, it comes as no surprise that the Japanese language proves to be a language barrier when trying to attract students and staff from different linguistic backgrounds.

Therefore, a popular strategy to internationalize organizations in Japan is what the author has previously called internationalization using “Englishization” strategies (Tsuneyoshi, 2005). In higher education, this consists most notably in the usage of English as a medium of instruction. Whenever the topic is about internationalizing higher education, Englishization, accepting foreign students, and study abroad are routinely mentioned in Japan, to which we will now turn.

English as a Means of Internationalization

Providing more opportunities for international students to come to Japan and encouraging Japanese students to study abroad is hardly controversial, the use of English as a medium of instruction is. English, despite its popularity as the language of the global economy and the Internet, has also frequently been the target of criticisms; notably, it is criticized as the central tool of language imperialism, of Americanization, and a means by which the centrality of English-speaking countries in the global map of power is sustained (Crystal, 2003; Altbach, 2011, p.207; Phillipson, 1992).

This has not stopped the Japanese government from adopting this strategy, and in the mid 1990s, supported by governmental funding, national universities such as Kyushu University and the University of Tokyo started undergraduate exchange programs in English, followed by other national universities. Private universities had adopted the strategy decades before, for example, Waseda University has accepted undergraduate students (American study abroad students, etc.) in English from as early as the 1960s (Shirai, 2012).

In attempting to produce world-class universities that can compete globally, the Japanese government launched the 21st Century COE (Center of Excellence) program in 2002, followed by the Global COE program in 2007. In 2008, the government issued the International Student 300,000 plan to bring the number of international students to that number by 2020. The Global 30 project chose 13 universities as target institutions: Tohoku, Tsukuba, Tokyo, Nagoya, Kyoto, Osaka, Kyushu, which are all national, and Keio, Waseda, Sophia, Meiji, Doshisha and Ritsumeikan which are all private. The motive of Global COE was that "as rapid globalization and the competition between world-class universities worldwide increases," it is "urgent" for Japanese universities to strengthen their global competitiveness and to attract qualified international students, and to enable students to become global, through providing an environment in which Japanese and international students can interact and grow together (Monbukagakusho, 2009).

The government has used funding such as those stated above to promote the goals of certain forms of internationalization. For example, Global 30 asked applying institutions to erect courses in which students could graduate using only English. There were only 5 universities and 6 departments, 68 graduate schools and 124 graduate school departments in which students could earn a degree taking courses exclusively in English when the program started (Naikakufu et al., 2009, p.7), but with the Global 30 Initiative, 33 undergraduate departments and 124 graduate school courses opened in English in 2009. The English-medium courses totaled to about 300 as of 2012 in the 13 target universities [(3)]. In its homepage invitation in English, the project describes why English courses were necessary:

With the introduction of the "Global 30" Project, the best universities in Japan are now offering degree programs in English. By doing this, these universities have *broken down the language barrier* which was one of the obstacles preventing international students from studying in Japan. A range of courses in a number of fields are offered in English at the universities under the "Global 30" Project (http://www.uni.international.mext.go.jp/global30/, retrieved August, 2012, italic by author).

Other measures for Global 30 approval included providing more information to foreign students and promoting strategic international liaisons, and opening common facilities abroad to assist international student to study in Japan; thus offices were opened in Tunisia, Egypt, Germany, Russia, India, Uzbekistan, and Vietnam.

In 2012, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (which will be shortened as MEXT from here on) solicited applications for a new five-year project called the "project for promotion of global human resource development" for the FY 2012 (scheduled to start in 2013). The project targeted the education of "global talent" and in its application, the sense of crisis that reverberates throughout various governmental and corporate documents on the subject were repeated: Japanese youth are becoming inner-looking, young employees no longer want to be stationed abroad, the society is aging, while as the world economy is globalizing and corporate Japan needs to move out into the emerging economies. More recently, in 2014, there has also been funding for universities aspiring to become Super Global Universities.

In 2011, May, a governmental committee to promote the development of global talent was established and in its report, global talent was seen to have the following characteristics.

> Component 1: language ability, communication skills
>
> Component 2: self-initiated stance and positive attitude, pioneering spirit, cooperativeness, flexibility, responsibility, a sense of mission
>
> Component 3: understanding of other cultures, identity as a Japanese

In addition, the committee added the following as desirable traits regardless of whether one was global or not: “being cultured in a multifaceted manner, as well as having an in-depth knowledge of a special area, the ability to find and solve problems, the ability to work in teams, and the ability to lead (in bringing together people from different backgrounds), promoting the public good, having sound moral values, and media literacy, etc.” (Gurobaru Zinzai Ikusei Suishin Kaigi, 2012, p.8). Now, if components 1 and 3 were dropped, the above-stated description would sound like a regular list of leadership traits desirable for anyone in any Japanese organization. Thus, what signals the “global” nature in the list are components 1 and 3: basically, communicative language skills and an understanding of other cultures with a secure “national identity.”

It is safe to say that given the national discussions on language in this context, 1 refers mostly to English and to a lesser degree, Chinese or other strategic languages. Emphasizing communicative English, and communicating with speakers of English (e.g., assistant English teachers in English activities and English classes, the JET program) have been the focus of language education reform in Japan for decades (Tsuneyoshi, 2013). The MEXT action plan to educate “Japanese who can use English” (Monbukagakusho, 2003) supported English as a means of communication, emphasized verbal communication in the initial stages and a balanced development of the four core abilities of listening, speaking, reading and writing. The lack of equity language is problematic from a liberal view, as is the emphasis on a secure "Japanese identity." However, unlike topics in which we witness a relatively clear clash of ideologies, “cooperativeness,” “ pioneering spirit,” “a sense of mission,” are all goals which would be supported by various camps. Moreover, unlike levels of English language, such traits are difficult to measure. Since the trend in Japan, like other countries, is for institutions to provide accountability measures, improvement tends to be expressed numerically.

In this context, since acquiring working language (basically English) skills is a major and measurable component of what it means to be a “global talent,” liberal critics have been quick to respond that overemphasis on English implies giving in to language imperialism and indicates an English and western-centered bias, or is actually ineffective and does not bring about the desired results (cf. below). However, such voices are overridden by the scramble for "global talent".

The Language of “Crisis”

Now, the language behind English promotion is one of crisis: the world has globalized and Japanese corporations are facing intense global competition from rising economic powers such as China. To make matters worse, in this period when Japanese need to be outward looking, Japanese youth are becoming increasingly inner-looking. The sense of crisis reverberates throughout government documents and accumulates in the call for the corporate world and higher education, not just the government, to come together (Sangaku Renkei ni yoru Gurobaru Jinzai Ikusei Suishin Kaigi, 2011, p. 5). Since rising to meet the challenges of global competition means moving out into the world where English has become the global language, English is seen as crucial.

As the reasoning goes, for Japanese companies to operate in these new markets, they need to flexibly meet customer needs, and communicate with necessary actors; in other words, corporate Japan needs “global talent.” The “Garapagosization” (garapagosuka) of Japanese society became a buzz word, signifying that Japan is at risk of being left behind of the evolution of the times, like Garapagos Island, which might have benefitted Darwin’s theory of evolution, but is certainly not in the national interests of Japan. In a global knowledge-based society, the recruitment of global talent, whether Japanese or non-Japanese, is seen as a matter of national interest.

In April, 2012, after two preparatory years, in a symbolic move, a large online retailer, Rakuten, made an announcement to make English the lingua franca of the company, inviting widespread publicity and controversy. The use of English as the official language within the company was justified as facilitating the company to go global (Neeley, 2011, 2012). UNIQLO was reported to have adopted a similar policy. In response, a scholar well-known for his writings on English imperialism, sent letters of protest to both Rakuten and UNIQLO (Tsuda, 2011). This yes or no debate extended to whether English should start from elementary school or not. There is thus controversy over how far Englishization should be taken (Funabashi, 2000; Otsu &Torikai, 2002; Torikai, 2010).

The sense of crisis abounds in government and corporate documents. The rising consensus seems to be that something should be done or else risk the danger of losing the global competition. The survey showing that "acquiring and training personnel within Japan who can promote globalization" was by far the highest concerns of Japanese companies planning to increase overseas operations, has been repeatedly quoted in various governmental and university reform committees (Keizai Sangyosho, 2010). Similarly, the low TOEFL scores of Japanese, one of the lowest in Asia, or that the number of Japanese studying abroad is dropping while as the numbers for China and India are growing, were also widely publicized.

The "Crisis" of Higher Education

Just as the corporate world is pressured to meet the "crisis" and recruit globally and provide its employees with international experience, higher education is encouraged to employ more foreign faculty, recruit international students, and emphasize English that can be used in the real world (the use of TOEIC and TOEFL are routinely cited in this context) (Sangaku Jinzai Ikusei Partnership, 2010).

The "crisis" is not only associated with the handful of "world-class" universities, many of which are national. Just as elite national research universities are pushed to compete globally, the diminishing youth population, the recession, etc. have pushed private universities to pursue aggressive marketing strategies to attract students (Goodman, 2009, p. 23). Internationalization, especially offering courses in English and attracting students from foreign countries, or providing various opportunities to study abroad for Japanese students, are among the popular strategies. Indeed, private universities are pioneers in offering lectures in English, or adopting Englishization for internationalization.

There are now well-publicized universities or departments which are known to conduct their courses largely or totally in English. Examples include School of International Liberal Studies at Waseda University, the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Sophia, the public Akita International University (Kokusai Kyoyo Daigaku), and Ritsumeikan Asia Pacific University (APU, Ajia Taiheiyo Daigaku) among others. Using English as a medium of instruction makes it possible to accept students from many different countries, and also has its practical appeal. The employability of the students tend to be emphasized by the media. In a Japan Economic Newspaper (Nikkei) survey of corporate personnel as to which university interested them, the Akita International University came in first, APU third, with the University of Tokyo at second (4).

"Global Talent" as Global Citizens

The promotion of English as the core of global talent in Japan is, in one aspect, a reflection of its dilemma as a non-English speaking country. Unlike in countries which were colonized by an English-speaking power, Japan is one of the few countries which was not a colony in Asia--in fact, it was a colonizer. No other language than Japanese is required in everyday life. In addition, though political and corporate leaders may talk about the need for English, it is not a reality for students on the job market. They are not competing globally, but are competing in a domestic market shielded by the Japanese language and customs (Yonezawa, 2014). The Japanese labor market is characterized by recruiting customs, language, and recruitment style in which students start their job-hunting during their junior and senior year, and effectively end their job-hunting before graduation. No matter how much talk there is about "global talent", shielded from the outside, the Japanese graduates are hardly competing with job-hunters from other countries directly.

Now, one of the criticisms waged against the emphasis on English is that other traits, such as leadership, integrity, and thinking skills, are much more fundamental to a healthy human character than English is. It is difficult to conceive that this would be disputed at a general level. Very few would argue that English is necessary *at the expense of* other desirable character traits (e.g., being able to cooperate with others, communication skills, and self-motivation). Corporate leaders would undoubtedly also agree that having working skills in multiple languages, given that English is included and all else is equal, is even better than just English.

It is also true, however, that it is extremely difficult to acquire a certain level of English when the only time one really needs it is for examinations. Indeed, English is taught in Japanese schools, tested in high school and university exams, and eventually, it is the foreign language most required by Japanese companies in the form of TOEIC scores. However, it is hardly necessary in everyday life. The most pressing need for English is, therefore, for most Japanese, getting high scores on tests. This also means that the student will most likely have to go out of his/her way to acquire a working level of communicative English (or any language other than Japanese), if he/she is unable to go abroad. It also means that mastering a certain level of English takes time for those in Japan, and may very well take time away from other activities that the student might have engaged in.

The problem, from an intercultural, multicultural perspective, is thus more in the ends and process than in the act of learning English in and of itself. Is the goal to primarily score high on the TOIEC, in other words, has testing become an end in itself? Is English assumed to be superior to other languages? Is a student studying English at the expense of other more important activities? Is the student's understanding of why a communication tool is necessary (which happens to be English in many international contexts in our era), simply pragmatic, without knowledge and commitment to the ideas of multicultural diversity and equity? If students answer “yes” to such questions, there is an educational problem.

Compared to mathematical reasoning, programming, etc. which are cited alongside language skills as internationally in demand (Carnoy, 2000, p. 52), language tends to be more tightly bound with a certain culture and ethnicity. This is quite understandable, given that the history of language cannot be separated from conquest and domination. Before English, there was French and Latin, and colonization has often been accompanied by the cultural domination (including language) of the colonizer, especially for the local elite.

The situation is complex, however. At a certain level, like among the educated from different linguistic backgrounds, studying English today makes intercultural sense. It is the language most often used as a communication tool in such contexts. This situation may of course be linked to English imperialism, but it is also increasingly the case that once outside Japan, English enables people to communicate with those from different linguistic backgrounds more than other less spoken languages such as Japanese. Without interaction with culturally different others, international business would be difficult, but so would international exchange. English is of course not enough if one wants to talk with the local population in non-English speaking countries.

Obviously, the strategic rhetoric of the corporate world that justifies the emphasis on

English, global competitiveness, and making economic sense, is different from the liberal ideology promoting multilingualism, or the protection of minority languages and language rights. From a multilingual point of view, English would be only one language among many. From an intercultural perspective, even learning simple words in multiple languages makes a lot of sense, since it generates curiosity for that culture. Whether Japanese, living in a largely monolingual environment, will be able to master that language enough for business negotiations is another issue. The purpose is not the same.

The business perspective and intercultural perspective intertwine in reality. Chinese is the national language of a rising economic giant and is gaining popularity worldwide. Learning the language increasingly makes economic sense; China is part of BRICS and is one of Japan's largest trade partner. At the same time, learning Chinese also makes multicultural sense within Japanese society, since Chinese are now Japan's largest alien nationality. Even better would be to learn Korean as well.

It is this fuzzy area of idealism and realism that Englishization in Japan faces difficulties.

Global citizenship argues for a commitment to goals such as a common good, to diversity, and to justice. The logic is to link the awareness of interdependency with a respect for diversity and a commitment to furthering the democratic cause, rather than goals that simply increase profit or advance individual careers. The language of global citizenship is different from the language of the global market. However, educating a global citizen does not exclude the acquisition of language skills including English. In fact, learning foreign languages can be promoted by those advancing global citizenship, since it provides insights into other cultures, and can serve as the basis for intercultural communication. The divide between educating for global citizenship and global competition is thus nowhere clear if the discussion is simply about whether more or less

English education is required, without regards to how and for what purpose.

Concluding Remarks

According to Brown & Tannock (2009), the political climate these days towards equity issues tends to be dismissal: “The commitment to equality, according to the global war for talent, is an old-fashioned relic from the past, at best, and an obstacle to survival and success, at worst” (p. 383). In other words, global competition justifies the language of national crisis--everyone’s life will be worse off if we lose the global competition.

In the global arena, the rules of the game seem to be played in English in favor of English-speaking countries. Even university rankings cited above, rely heavily on articles in English in “world-class” journals predominantly situated in the western centers, thus, any country with a strong domestic language, such as Japan, is bound to face dilemmas. Regardless of how it would be in an idealized multilinguistic world, Japanese is a minority language, one that is not used outside of Japan.

English, however, is also not just something that is desirable in terms of marketability. It can also be justified on the grounds of attracting students from different linguistic backgrounds, and providing an opportunity for students in Japan to interact with people with who are different from them, outside of Japan.

Indeed, the world that the “global talent” is to compete, is far from neutral. The power structure of nations is unequal, as are the resources. Being subjected to global competition means playing the global standards game. But under whose rules? For example, the most preferred language of the global economy, as of present, is English. If Japan and other non-English speaking countries do not find a way to cope with this disadvantage, the Englishization pressure will continue—until, of course, English is replaced by another global language. This has grave consequences for Japan, which has a national language very dissimilar to English, and where English is not used in daily life. Indeed, since the immediate need is largely exams or utility for an imagined future, this creates an artificial environment in which need is created by a sense of crisis.

Education is often asked to respond to the needs of the society, which is embedded today in the context of global competition. However, if this were the only goal of education, it would not be worth pursuing for many educators. Education is also a pursuit of a social vision, a vision of a society and world which is not yet a reality, but what should be. In this sense the students are agents of change. The second without the first is difficult to maintain in the face of real or perceived threat; in times of so-called global competition. However, the first without the second reduces the meaning of education to pragmatic issues and to educational hysteria fueled by some “crisis” or another.

Notes

(1) https://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings;
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http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/world-university-rankings/2014, retrieved June 18, 2015.

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International Competition and Cooperation in Higher Education in East Asia:

Some reflection based on the concept of "knowledge diplomacy"

Yuto Kitamura

Associate Professor, The University of Tokyo

Introduction

Today's universities are under strong influence of globalization in various aspects. A particularly marked manifestation of this trend is the transnational movement of students. On a worldwide basis, the number of students who study at higher education institutions outside their home countries passed the one-million mark in the 1990s, currently exceeding two million (Sugiyama 2009). The number is expected to reach 7.2 million in 2025 (Brown et al. 2003).

In the background of such a remarkable increase in the number of students studying abroad is the emergence of a global higher education market. This has promoted partnerships between universities in different regions (such as North America, Europe, and Asia), accelerating the mobility of students and researchers. At the same time, intra-regional international alliance and cooperation have also become active in higher education, resulting in an unprecedentedly vigorous movement of persons within the respective regions. In such a situation, the actors of higher education all over the world are pondering over how their human and intellectual resources can be put to optimal use within and between the regions. In Asia, in particular, which had overcome the financial crisis of the late 1990s, higher education expanded rapidly in response to the demand for human resources supporting the globalizing economy and the formation of a knowledge-based society (Yonezawa et al. 2014).

The purpose of this paper is to examine international competition and cooperation in higher education, with special focus on East Asia, where universities are being rapidly globalized, and student mobility is increasingly accelerated. (In this paper, the greater geographical region composed of the regions generally known as Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia is collectively referred to as "East Asia.") To do so, we will first address the question of the quality of higher education, which largely determines the transnational flows of students, surveying the progress that has been made thus far through international collaboration for ensuring quality in higher education. Secondly, we will attempt to apply the concept of "knowledge diplomacy" to the analysis of the globalization of higher education. Finally, we will discuss international cooperation as an essential aspect that must be explored in the discussion of the globalization of higher education.

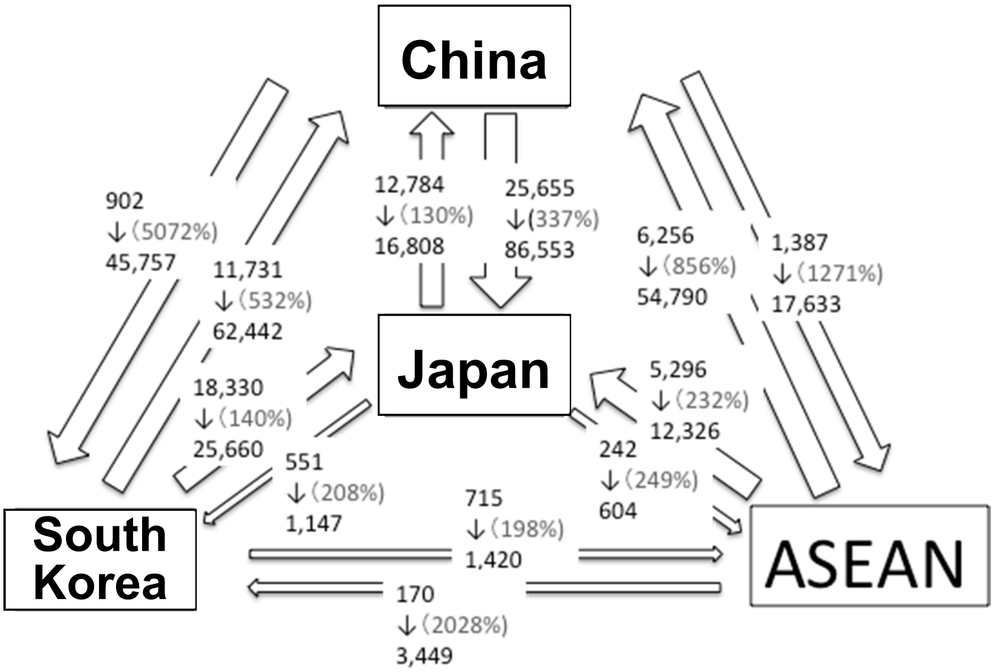
It should be noted at the outset that this paper is intended to describe the current status and tentatively present a new angle of analysis. More demonstrative studies would be necessary to develop a fully conclusive argument.

Studying abroad in East Asia

As is generally known, Europe has been the world leader in the globalization of higher education, particularly since the second half of the 1990s. With the Bologna declaration, that is, the joint declaration signed by the 29 European ministers in charge of higher education, in Bologna, Italy in June 1999, Europe launched the Bologna process, a series of reforms aimed at the harmonization of higher education in Europe. In concrete terms, the Bologna process has so far resulted in the Europe-wide adoption of a credit conversion system, a comparable degree system (a three-cycle structure composed of bachelor's, master's and doctorate programs), the Diploma Supplement (a document attached to higher education diplomas to increase international transparency), and the "tuning" of educational structures. Furthermore, a European framework of qualification has been developed to explicitly indicate the levels of knowledge, skills, and competences required to acquire specific qualifications. While these mechanisms are intended to facilitate the mobility of students and guarantee the quality of education, their ultimate goal is to construct a European Higher Education Area (EHEA).

Referring to such pioneering European initiatives, East Asia has been undergoing rapid changes with respect to students studying abroad in recent years. One remarkable change is a rapid increase in the number of students who study in other countries within East Asia, in addition to their traditional destinations, mainly English-speaking countries in North America, Europe, and Oceania. As Fig. 1 illustrates, the last 10 years or so have seen an impressive increase in the number of students from Japan, China, and South Korea who study in ASEAN countries, and vice versa.

Figure 1: Increase in the number of students studying abroad within East Asia (from 1999 to 2010)



* Upper figures: Number of students studying abroad in 1999
Middle figures: Percentage of increase from 1999 to 2010
Lower figures: Number of students studying abroad in 2010

Source: Kitamura (2014)

While student mobility is accelerating within East Asia in this manner, in Australia, which used to be a predominant host country for foreign students in the Asia-Pacific region until the beginning of the first decade of the 21st century, the number of students from other countries has been gradually leveling off. This is not to suggest, needless to say, that universities in Australia and New Zealand, as well as other regions outside Asia, are watching from the sidelines the rapid expansion of demand for higher education in East Asia. On the contrary, educational institutions in non-Asian countries have been trying to attract East Asian students through their active involvement in the region.

Pioneering examples in this regard include the Malaysian Campus of Australia's Monash University, and Yale-NUS College, which Yale University and the National University of Singapore jointly opened in Singapore in 2011. This liberal arts college has been attracting great attention for its uniqueness. There are other European and North American universities opening their branch campuses in East Asia, particularly in China, Singapore, Malaysia, and Thailand, or starting common-degree programs with local universities. Such initiatives have rendered the opportunity to study abroad more accessible to East Asian students, who have hesitated to leave for Western countries to study for financial or socio-cultural reasons.

International inter-university alliance

The number of East Asian students studying in other East Asian countries has jumped recently on the strength of the widespread conviction that East Asia is destined to be the growth center of the 21st century. Another important factor is the active development of a range of educational programs that support students wishing to study abroad within the region amid growing inter-university alliance and cooperation within East Asia.

The educational programs in this context include, most commonly, exchange programs based on academic exchange agreements between individual universities. At the same time, it should be noted that various international networks of higher education have been or are being constructed in order to promote inter-university exchange and student/researcher mobility within East Asia. Such networks include the following: in Southeast Asia, where intra-regional higher education alliances have been actively developing, the ASEAN University Network (AUN), composed of leading research-oriented universities in the ASEAN countries, and the ASEAN International Mobility for Students (AIMS), led by the Regional Center for Higher Education and Development (RIHED) of the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO); and in Northeast Asia, CAMPUS Asia, a Japan-China-Korea trilateral inter-university consortium, operates an exchange program with a uniform system of mutual credit transfer, grading control, and degree conferment. This is an epochal initiative in that it has been designed and developed through close cooperation and accumulated efforts by the three governments and member universities.

One major common characteristic of these networks is that they aim to improve quality in education with reference to the international standards that have been established in the mainly Western-led higher education market, while at the same time allowing for more Asian diversity. In such developments, the framework of Southeast Asia plus Japan, China, and Korea, that is, “ASEAN Plus Three,” has been growing in importance in more recent years. On the occasion of the workshop organized by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan (MEXT) at the end of September 2013, the governmental officials in charge of higher education and representatives of some higher education networks from the ASEAN Plus Three countries assembled in Tokyo and engaged in active discussions on the formulation of guidelines for quality assurance in education, essential for greater transnational student mobility.

Such initiatives through international higher education networks are also faced with a mountain of challenges. It is often pointed out that it is extremely difficult to promote international higher education alliances, particularly due to the educational systems that largely differ from one country to another in East Asia. For example, a joint educational program between universities in different countries cannot be developed without great difficulty because each country has different systems of university accreditation, credit transfer, and so forth. In this regard, an active debate has been taking place recently in Japan over the question of the academic calendar, and whether or not to standardize university admissions in the autumn. In Southeast Asia, where each country has a different academic calendar, launching a joint international program at the same time for all participating students would be next to impossible. A SEAMEO/RIHED report indicates that there are only about 10 weeks within a single year during which the academic calendars of the 10 ASEAN countries overlap (this problem is all the more serious in the domain of higher education, which has more extended holiday periods). Further promotion of an international alliance would be quite challenging, as it would require some extensive institutional rearrangements.

International competition for students

As the environment surrounding international students has been dynamically changing as surveyed above, the importance of government-led strategies for sending and accepting students across national borders is becoming widely recognized. Prof. Jane Knight of the University of Toronto points to the trend among some Asian and Middle Eastern governments to aim to become an international education hub (a center of an international higher education network) as part of their strategies for the globalization of educational programs (Knight 2011). In East Asia, Singapore and Thailand seem particularly enthusiastic in this regard, actively accepting foreign students, establishing centers of research, knowledge, and innovation, and improving and expanding education and training structures designed to produce highly-skilled workers. It should be noted, however, that these countries do not share a single model of an international higher education hub since they are trying to build varying types of hub that reflect their respective national situations and contexts, as well as their respective sets of policy goals.

Moreover, as already stated above, it has become clear that there are challenges to be overcome in the process of promoting student mobility in Southeast Asia, while this process has nevertheless steadily yielded positive results through accumulated efforts. For example, the AIMS program led by SEAMEO/RIHED is confronted with the difficulty of maintaining a balance between incoming and outgoing flows of students. One concrete factor in this is the fact that Malaysian and Indonesia students are far more enthusiastic about studying in Thailand than Thai students are about studying in those countries. As another factor, Singapore, which is generally more Western- than Asian-oriented in its university reforms, attaches greater importance to partnerships with North American and European universities, which the Singaporean government also supports, while collaboration within regional frameworks such as those with the ASEAN Plus Three is kept to a certain level. As a result, Singapore's higher education, whose standards are extremely high in Asian terms, does not benefit its neighboring countries very much.

As for joint educational programs between East Asian and Western universities, whose number has been on the rise, the flow of students is predominantly directed from Asia toward North America and Europe, except in the case of Singapore. The movement of students in the opposite direction is not very brisk. Consequently, some universities in East Asia have turned into a kind of common hunting ground, where Western universities vie with one another for students.

The globalization of higher education in East Asia can be contrasted with that of Europe in terms of the situation surrounding students. Kazuo Kuroda of Waseda University argues that East Asia is undergoing, not a process of simple harmonization, but harmonization that aims at enhancing connectivity (Kuroda 2013). In other words, while a highly homogeneous and standardized zone of higher education is possible in Europe through simple harmonization, Asian countries with their diversities and disparities are attempting harmonization, not to drastically reform their educational systems from within, but to strengthen connecting points between the systems (parts that different systems can share). Students comprise the most important constituent of these connecting points.

Importance of the quality of higher education and intra-regional networks

Various problems have been identified amid the increasingly active transnational student movement in recent years, not only within East Asia but across Asia. The problem of the quality of higher education is widely recognized as one of the most important. As a region, Asia is particularly characterized by its diversity. Asia is diverse politically, economically, socio-culturally, and in terms of its higher education systems. Even within East Asia, on the one hand, countries and areas such as Japan, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan, enjoy high and stable reputations in the international higher education market, while, on the other hand, countries such as Cambodia and Laos are still in the process of establishing their higher education systems. In China, there are an increasing number of universities mainly in the coastal areas that are highly evaluated internationally, whereas many universities in inland areas lag behind. This Asian diversity takes on an even more complex dimension when South Asia, Western Asia, and Central Asia are included in the comparison. In such a situation, the disparity in the quality of higher education at universities in different countries and areas has resulted in problems in various situations.

When students move between higher education systems constructed in such widely diverse Asian countries and areas, coordination is extremely difficult in the field of university education. Take, for example, credit transfer. In an exchange program based on an agreement between two universities, credit transfer is relatively simple. Today, however, students study abroad in more varied manners, and more and more universities are troubled by the question of how or whether to recognize credits that students have obtained in universities abroad outside a traditional exchange program. At the same time, universities, for their part, are trying to increase the number of international academic exchange partnerships on their way to furthering university globalization. This process can be especially troublesome if a university is trying to build a partnership with a university in another country or area with which the first university's country has not cultivated a long history of academic exchange and whose educational system is unfamiliar. How can one decide what mode of credit transfer is adequate in such cases? (For the diversity of credit systems in Asia, refer to the table comparing 13 countries in East Asia included in Hotta 2010.) In any case, what is most importantly revealed in this example is that credit transfer between two universities only becomes possible when they mutually acknowledge the acceptable quality of each other's education.

The importance of carefully examining a credit transfer system for a regional network has thus come to be recognized. Europe has been the pioneer in this regard with the European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS), developed in accordance with the Bologna declaration of 1999. With reference to ECTS, two credit transfer systems have been developed in Asia: the ASEAN Credit Transfer System (ACTS) and the University Mobility in Asia and Pacific (UMAP) Credit Transfer Scheme (UCTS). The two systems, each forming a network, support credit transfer for students in transnational movement. Nevertheless, the parallel existence of two or more systems creates another problem: insufficient coordination between the systems. There are numerous technical obstacles to interlinking several credit transfer systems due to their differences, including, for example, the notion of a credit, that is, whether it is based on the period of time spent on learning or on the period of time combined with the learning outcomes. However, a solution to this problem is expected to emerge before long, since Vice Executive Taiji Hotta of Hiroshima University has been conducting research in collaboration with SEAMEO-RIHED and other parties on this theme.

Another problem whose importance is also growing along with the transnational mobility of students is quality assurance. As already mentioned, in greatly diverse Asia, the quality of higher education is also diverse. Although international networks have been formed in Asia for quality assurance in education, they have not been very successful in realizing practical alliances due to the widely differing educational situations in the member countries(1).

Whether it is rearranging a credit transfer system or securing quality assurance, what is essential is that such effort should lead to easier transnational mobility for students. Furthermore, higher education should be invigorated across Asia through the anchoring and generalizing of higher education at a certain stable level. The author believes that not only quantitative but also qualitative development of higher education is highly contributory to regional peace and stability, considering that East Asia is expected to play an increasingly important role in the international community, partly because further economic growth is anticipated in the region and also because it is geopolitically significant for the location of China, an emerging great power. The presence of students, who represent the younger generation of the population, moving across national borders and accumulating cross-cultural encounters through studying abroad, is extremely meaningful in this regard.

In view of all these ramifications of the globalization of higher education, the ASEAN Plus Three Working Group on the Mobility of Higher Education and Ensuring the Quality Assurance of Higher Education has been repeating discussions on transnational student mobility and quality assurance in East Asia. The objectives of this group are (1) to pursue examination toward the formulation of guidelines for the promotion of quality-assured student exchange while respecting the different educational systems and diversity of the ASEAN Plus Three countries and (2) to hold discussions among the concerned parties toward the creation of opportunities for the periodic gathering of ASEAN Plus Three quality assurance organizations(2).

The formation of the Working Group was agreed at the First ASEAN Plus Three

Education Ministers Meeting held in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, in July 2012. The initiative that the Japanese government took in this process was highly appreciated by the East Asian education ministers. The Working Group's First Meeting was held in Tokyo in September 2013, followed by the Second Meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia, in June 2014, and the Third Meeting in Bali, Indonesia, in October 2014. The Fourth Meeting is scheduled in Bangkok, Thailand, in June 2015. As stated above, the Working Group is mainly concerned with the development of guidelines for credit transfer and quality assurance so as to realize the smoother international movement of students. The Working Group's deliberations on guidelines will be reported at a future meeting of the education ministers. The adoption of guidelines at this meeting will mean the formation of a fixed common framework for studying abroad among the ASEAN Plus Three countries.

The regional networks and guidelines mentioned in this section are all important steps toward constructing a common space of higher education in East Asia. In 2015, the ASEAN Community will be established, ever more strongly solidifying the links between the ASEAN countries. With regard to higher education, transnational alliance and cooperation will be even more actively discussed within the framework of the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community, a component of the ASEAN Community. As East Asia differs from Europe in its historical, political, economic, social, and cultural aspects, it is evident that East Asia's common space of higher education will not be completely comparable to the European Higher Education Area as an intra-regional framework of partnership. Still, efforts are likely to be continued and accumulated in the future to promote system standardization and improve inter-system connectivity. In this process, not all states, organizations and people will share exactly the same vision. Their differing, and even conflicting, speculations and intentions could manifest themselves even more clearly than they do today. Considering such developments, in the section that follows, we will briefly discuss how the concept of “knowledge diplomacy” is related to the globalization of higher education.

Some reflection based on the concept of “knowledge diplomacy”

In today's international community, which is said to be founded on knowledge, many governments are racing against one another to increase their investment in academic activities and research and development, in order to gain supremacy in the creation, acquisition, and transmission of knowledge. Many such countries recognize scientific research and intellectual output as important pillars of their foreign policy. How such international competition in knowledge has become an essential factor in the establishment of a state's political and economic supremacy in the international community is described by Joseph S. Nye Jr., University Distinguished Service Professor at Harvard, in his works presenting the concepts of “soft power” and “smart power” (Nye 2004, 2011). In recent years, as universities all over the world promote globalization, the movement of researchers and students has become galvanized, and these individuals have come to play increasingly important roles as “cultural diplomats.” In addition, many students who study abroad later assume leading positions in political, economic, cultural and other fields upon returning to their home countries.

These phenomena can be perceived as manifestations of “knowledge diplomacy” and its effects. This concept has been discussed since the 1990s, mainly by specialists in international political science and international relations, including Michael Ryan (1988). However, most discussions have basically focused on international negotiations and competition centering on intellectual property rights (such as patent rights, copyrights, and trademark rights). It is only recently that “knowledge diplomacy” has come to be examined in a manner reflecting the broad sense of the word “knowledge.”

The essential importance of promoting strategic knowledge diplomacy or science diplomacy in practical terms for the maintenance and enhancement of a state's international competitiveness has come to be widely recognized, especially among advanced countries. With the enforcement of the Science and Technology Basic Act in 1995, Japan pledged to reinforce itself on the foundation of science and technology, which would be promoted through industry-government-academia collaboration. Similar moves have been observed in other countries as well. In 2010, the Royal Society of Great Britain published a report titled "New Frontiers in Science Diplomacy—Navigating the Changing Balance of Power." In 2012, the Advisory Panel on Canada's International Education Strategy compiled a report on "International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity." In all these examples, strengthening knowledge diplomacy is viewed as a factor for greater national power in the future.

It should be noted, however, that such international competition in knowledge has proven a threat to some traditional values such as the public utility of scholarship and the freedom of learning. In particular, higher education institutions, as centers of intellectual output, are exposed to tremendous pressure from the cause of knowledge diplomacy. This has resulted in situations in which universities are forced to reexamine their autonomy and other fundamental principles as higher education institutions. A particularly marked trend against the background of the increasingly accelerated globalization of universities is the demand for reform imposed on universities not for academic but for political or economic reasons (refer to the theory of "academic capitalism" in Ueyama [2010], the WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services, and the institutionalization of intellectual property protection by WIPO). One factor that further accelerates this trend is the growing influence of international university rankings.

Prof. Jane Knight of the University of Toronto is an international leading specialist on the question of the public nature of higher education as it undergoes globalization. The worldwide survey that she conducted with the International Association of Universities (IAU) sheds light on the current status of the increasingly globalizing higher education market, and presents the effects that the globalization of higher education can have on the public nature of scholarship, as well as future challenges. Later, while studying the regionalization of higher education, Prof. Knight began to point to the important role that higher education plays in respective countries' diplomacy, especially knowledge diplomacy (Knight 2014a). As studies on the current status of diplomacy and soft power in East Asian countries, Lee and Melissen (2011) can be cited. However, discussions on knowledge diplomacy are still in the early stages: as far as the author has verified, little demonstrative research has been conducted, either in or outside Japan, on the possible impact of the globalization of higher education on knowledge diplomacy. In such a situation, in the face of the ongoing trend of examining diplomacy in terms of "power" (strongly influenced by Nye's theory of "soft power"), Prof. Knight has raised the question of whether it is appropriate to attempt to understand knowledge-related international relations from the perspective of "power" (Knight 2014b). While unable to present a conclusive view after studying knowledge diplomacy only for a short time, the author agrees with her that it is essential to find a perspective that does not depend on the concept of "power" (3). This is because knowledge is essentially a common good for humanity, and the form it should take must not depend on factors of power.

International cooperation in higher education

In the survey of international competition and cooperation in higher education in East Asia presented above, the importance of examining this situation from the perspective of knowledge diplomacy has been suggested. In this section, we will examine international alliances and cooperation in higher education to contemplate how they should be promoted in the future.

International alliances and cooperation in education became active in the 1960s in various parts of the world. Regional conferences on education organized or led by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in those days served as opportunities for member countries in the respective regions to confirm the importance of international cooperation for the popularization and qualitative improvement of education. These conferences also spurred the movement to build international networks in various regions, as exemplified by the commencement of periodic ASEAN education ministers' meetings (Jones 1988).

Such efforts continued throughout the 1970s and 1980s. In the domain of higher education, different actors including education ministries, universities, research centers, and international organizations undertook various activities to deepen international alliances. However, it cannot be denied that in the domain of higher education in particular, international cooperation, whether in the form of the exchange of students and researchers or in joint research projects, remained highly restricted, given the largely differing situations of developed and developing countries. In the 1990s, however, international networks for higher education were put in full-scale operation in various parts of the world. This trend was further accelerated in the first decade of the 21st century (Knight 2008).

Over the years, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, where many developing countries are situated, have slowly but surely developed in economic terms, while intra-regional disparities in economic, political, and socio-cultural terms and other problems have remained unresolved. In such a situation, for many developing countries, human resource development to equip the population with advanced knowledge and skills is an urgently needed task to reduce the disparities within each region and to realize each region’s autonomous development. That being said, advanced professional and technical training is not an easy task for developing countries. This is why improvement in higher education is actively sought through international cooperation.

With regard to international cooperation in higher education, there is an important question to be answered: who is responsible for, and who benefits from, the improvement and expansion of higher education? While higher education has diverse objectives, one of the most important is the training of society's future leaders. Therefore, it must be clearly understood that to improve and expand higher education in a developing country, the country's leaders must basically take responsibility, as well as every single citizen of the country as a supporting member sharing in the social responsibility.

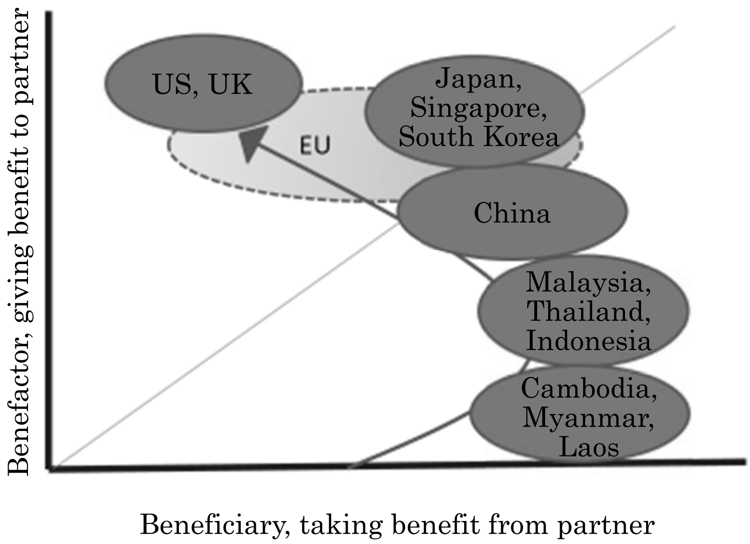
This is obvious from the financial standpoint. For example, the cost of higher education per student (unit cost) is at least several times higher than that of primary or secondary education, with some variations from one country to another. The large part of the cost of higher education is, especially in the case of national and public universities (and also private universities to some extent), covered by public funds (of course, students and their households must also bear part of the cost, but the percentage of burden sharing by society is much greater for higher education than for primary and secondary education(4)). Considering that those who complete higher education usually assume greater responsibilities in society in more socially and economically privileged positions than those completing only primary and secondary education, it seems quite natural that a larger contribution is expected from the public sector(5).

Therefore, it can be said that the primary party responsible for higher education, which has a highly public nature, is the state. Considerable expenditure of public funds is generally accepted because the state must be responsible for training society's future leaders (Maruyama 2007). However, when it comes to developing countries, it is necessary to ask anew what role higher education is supposed to play, keeping in mind that those with higher education usually enjoy more social and economic benefits as stated above.

This question takes on a special meaning when aid is provided to promote higher education in developing countries through international alliances and cooperation. Assistance for higher education basically consisting of tax revenues in developed countries can end up creating an extremely problematic situation in many cases, if the assistance is heavily targeted at a handful of individuals who are in fact rather well off in their domestic context, leaving out the truly socially and economically vulnerable. With such a situation in mind, assistance by aid organizations in developed countries and international organizations for higher education in developing countries often does not provide a fully satisfactory response to the questioning of the largest benefactor, the general public of developed countries. Possible causes for this include a lack of in-depth deliberations between donor and recipient organizations (embassies, aid organizations, governmental agencies for international exchange, etc.) and the persistence of stereotypical ideas about international cooperation.

This problem is perceived presumably because the stages illustrated in Fig. 1 have been presupposed for international cooperation partners in higher education. In other words, a partner may be positioned as a benefactor rather than a beneficiary, or a beneficiary rather than a benefactor, depending on whether it gives more than it takes, and depending on the country's degree of socio-economic development, maturation of higher education, and so forth. Needless to say, these positions can gradually change as the country achieves socio-economic development and its higher education system improves. Nevertheless, as many proponents of the world-systems theory and the dependency theory have criticized, it is reasonable to assume that the relationship between developed countries at the core and developing countries on the periphery does not change easily within the framework of the international creation of knowledge (Altbach 2007; Wallersteinm 1999). While it is true that more knowledge creation is taking place in developing countries today than in the past, this is still limited to leading research-oriented universities, and the range of research and development has not been fully expanded in developing countries (in this regard, refer to Altbach et al. 2009).

Figure 2: Relationships of international cooperation for higher education



Source: Drawn by the author based on Kaneko, Kimura, and Yamagishi (2002)

To further examine this point, the author proposes in this paper to adopt two perspectives: intellectual exchange and development assistance. Accordingly, the author classifies international cooperation for higher education in developing countries into intellectual exchange and development assistance (Table 1). Intellectual exchange includes academic exchange conducted at the level of universities, faculties, laboratories, and individual researchers, as well as international cooperation conducted through support provided by organizations charged with the promotion of academic exchange (such as the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, the Japan Foundation, the Fulbright Program, and the British Council). On the other hand, development assistance, classified into multilateral assistance by international organizations and government-led bilateral assistance, is provided to developing countries in various modalities such as technical assistance, non-reimbursable funds, and reimbursable funds.

Table 1 Classification of international cooperation for higher education

	Intellectual Exchange	Development Assistance
Knowledge transfer	Two-way	- Basically one-way
Funding	- Non-ODA - Funding often by universities or organizations in developed countries, in some cases, in collaboration with organizations in developing countries	- ODA (official development aid) - Funding mainly by developed countries; in some cases, funds secured through collaboration between developed countries and universities/organizations in developing countries
Relationship of actors	- Equal partnership	- Donor-recipient
General period	- Mid- to long-term	- Short- to mid-term

Source: Created by the author

The two types of international cooperation have some characteristic differences. Firstly, in intellectual exchange, "knowledge transfer" does not necessarily occur solely from a developed country to a developing country. Knowledge is often transmitted from the developing country to the developed country as well. In this sense, the parties are in a bidirectional relationship. As for development assistance, on the other hand, its main objective is the transmission of resources possessed by a developed country (such as knowledge, skills, and funds) to a developing country. This therefore indicates a unidirectional relationship. Considering this difference, the actors involved in intellectual exchange are equal partners, whereas in development assistance, a donor-recipient relationship tends to be emphasized between the actors.

In terms of funding, in intellectual exchange, various funds are collected. In many cases, funds tend to be provided by a university or organization in a developed country. In some cases of collaborative projects with an organization in a developing country, funds are also secured by the developing country. On the other hand, in development assistance, official development aid (ODA) constitutes the basic source of funds, provided by the developed country. However, there also cases of development assistance in which the developed country and a university or organization in the developing country work together to secure funds. The duration of the project period, which can be related to funding, tends to be medium- to long-term for intellectual exchange, regardless of the availability or non-availability (or amount) of funds. Development assistance, which largely depends on the ODA budget, is often conducted from a relatively short- or medium-term perspective.

It should be also noted that international cooperation for higher education has basically taken place within one of these two types thus far, but the actual ongoing projects suggest an increase in the number of international cooperation projects that cannot be clearly classified into one or the other.

For example, the most typical example would be the Science and Technology Research Partnership for Sustainable Development (SATREPS), which Japan has been actively promoting in recent years. In SATREPS, jointly operated by the Japan Science and Technology Agency (JST) and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), researchers from Japan and developing countries conduct studies together to find solutions to global problems (relating to the environment, energy, natural disasters [disaster reduction], infectious diseases, food supply and so forth), and propose problem-solving measures through research. International and inter-regional cooperation is indispensable to solve global problems. Developing countries, particularly vulnerable in the face of global problems, require research and development that closely reflect local needs to better respond to these problems. Moreover, the integration of knowledge owned by developing countries and Japan's cutting-edge science and technology is expected to produce highly positive results(6).

Until recently, it has been difficult to expect researchers in developed countries (especially specialists in natural sciences) to actively take part in development assistance, since being based in a developing country, where the research environment is often far from ideal, means that the scientists would be distanced from the front line of international R&D competition. In research programs under SATREPS, however, working in developing countries becomes an advantage for scientists due to the conspicuous manifestation of global problems there, which enable more advanced research. Moreover, in such research programs, it is essential for researchers from developing and developed countries to work on an equal footing, sharing each other's knowledge. Such initiatives have also been promoted by aid organizations of other countries and are likely to spread in the future. (For example, the US Agency for International Development [USAID] is promoting programs called Partnerships for Enhanced Engagement in Research [PEER] in collaboration with the National Science Foundation [NSF] and the National Institute of Health [NIH](7).)

These programs represent a new model that combines the two types of international cooperation—intellectual exchange and development assistance—which the author proposes to call “Intellectual Development Cooperation.” This model, which transcends the conventional two types of cooperation, proposes a new approach to international cooperation in higher education, which is accomplished through mutual efforts by developed and developing countries. To promote international cooperation in this new form, problems facing developed and developing countries must be accurately grasped, and how optimally the resources available on either side can be utilized must be determined to find solutions to these problems, and competencies must be developed that are necessary to make full use of the resources.

Conclusion

The globalization of higher education is basically a phenomenon that naturally occurs as society changes. As a knowledge-based society expands beyond its national borders, students spontaneously move in search of better educational opportunities. In response, universities offer various programs, trying to attract as many excellent students as possible. Governments also devise policy measures that support universities and individual students from the standpoint of building national power or for the purpose of realizing a culturally enriched society. In this process, as symbolized by the concept of knowledge diplomacy, the principle of competition is at work between countries that want to develop or attract quality human resources. Perhaps the globalization of higher education can be described as a phenomenon that occurs as a result of responses by universities and governments, influenced by changes in the international socio-economic environment, to student mobility, which has been a characteristic of university education since its very beginning.

East Asia is one of the regions where the most dynamic environmental changes are taking place in connection with the globalization of higher education. Among the higher education systems in the world, universities in Asia, including East Asia, are expected to promote globalization most actively, as suggested by the rapid increase in the number of transnational students in East Asia. Phil Baty, an editor-at-large at Times Higher Education says in an article that appeared on the website "ReseMom" that, compared to Europe and North America, Asia will witness an increase in the number of students who will go on to higher education in the future, as well as in the number of universities that will focus efforts on research that will create a knowledge economy as a central presence in the world.

The presence of Asian countries has been growing in political and economic terms and in the international community. In the future, it would be necessary to conduct studies to clarify how the geopolitical factors of Asian countries influence the utilization of higher education in knowledge diplomacy. Phenomena such as the globalization of universities and the gathering of students of varying backgrounds are already part of knowledge diplomacy, as well as important developments in the fostering of future actors of knowledge diplomacy. However, little demonstrative research has been conducted from such a perspective. It is essential that researchers and practitioners interested in the globalization of higher education continue further examination of these trends.

Designing systems for quality assurance is essential to improve the quality of higher education in Asia and ensure that students studying outside their home countries, whose number has been increasing, can access appropriate educational opportunities. At the same time, universities must reinforce their administrative and operational abilities and actively engage in faculty development. In making these efforts, the optimization of accreditation and credit transfer systems constitutes an area in which the results from the efforts can be concretely gauged and evaluated. Further efforts are expected in this regard from the governments and universities in East Asia.

To tackle challenges that lie along the way toward realizing optimal higher education, it is important to further examine how international competition and cooperation should be in higher education.

Notes

(1) Network (APQN) and in ASEAN region, the ASEAN Quality Assurance Network (AQAN) have been established. They are faced with several challenges to overcome before becoming practically functioning networks. For these challenges, refer to ideas presented in Kuroda (2013).

(2) Regarding this working group, refer to the report on The First Meeting of the ASEAN Plus Three Working Group on the Mobility of Higher Education and Ensuring Quality Assurance in Higher Education (in Japanese) on the MEXT website http://www.mext.go.jo/b_menu/houdou/25/10/1340245.htm (Retrieved on December 24, 2014).

(3) In her lecture at the international symposium organized by Sophia University in Tokyo on December 13, 2014, "Higher Education Harmonization and Networking in East and Southeast Asia: How the AIMS Program Can Contribute to an Emerging ASEAN Community," and during the conversation that the author had with her following the symposium, Prof. Knight pointed to the importance of research into knowledge diplomacy without reference to the "power" theory.

(4) For higher education costs, refer to the international comparative studies by the Center for Research and Development of Higher Education at the University of Tokyo (2007).

(5) Needless to say, in developing countries, there is often the problem of unemployment

of the highly educated, since the economy and the job market have not fully developed to hire them. Nevertheless, in higher education, low-income countries are characterized by a private earning rate that is far higher than the public earning rate. This clearly indicates that, in general, those who have finished higher education are far more economically privileged (Psacharopoulos and Patrinos 2004).

(6) For details of SATREPS, see the program's website: http://www.jst.go.jp/global/ (Retrieved on June 1, 2015)

(7) For details of PEER, see the USAID website: http://www.usaid.gov/what-we-do/GlobalDevLab/international-research-science-programs/peer (Retrieved on June 1, 2015)

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・プロジェクト採択者ワーキングペーパー（高度化センターHP に掲載のものを再掲）:

A Review on Multicultural Education Programmes in Initial Teacher Training in England

Yoko Morito

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

This paper reviews the literature on programmes of multicultural education in initial teacher training (ITT) in England. England, which has a long history as a multiethnic and multicultural society, offers significant opportunities for consideration for multicultural educational design. The issue of educating teachers for diverse schools and classrooms needs to be addressed urgently (OECD, 2010). Hence, it is significant to grasp how teacher education offers trainees and teachers the knowledge and abilities for responding to the diverse needs of pupils. As a primary step for an empirical analysis on the subject of multicultural education, several future challenges will be identified in this paper.

Keywords: Multicultural Education, Initial Teacher Training (ITT), England

Introduction

In this globalisation era, the activation and entrenchment of the demographic shift across borders is progressing. People face salient issues of race, nationality, and ethnicity in many countries across the world. England, which has a long history of immigration with migrants derived from a large number of ethnic minority groups (Maylor, *et al*., 2006, p. 37) and has been dealing with practical issues of educational achievements at schools and in local areas since the 1950s, has faced major challenges involving discriminatory treatment against ethnic minority communities (e.g., Sakuma, 2014, pp. 3-4; Onai, 2004, pp. 95-96). Table 1 illustrates that the rate of ethnic minority groups of the total population has increased by 5% (from 7.9% to 12.9%) over the past decade between 2001 and 2011.

Table 1: Ethnic Group in the United Kingdom in 2001 and 2011

	Persons Number		Percentage (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
White	54,153,898	55,073,552	92.1	87.1
Mixed / Multiple Ethnic Groups	677,177	1,250,229	1.2	2
Asian / Asian British [Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Chinese, other Asian]	2,331,423	4,373,339	4.4	7
Black / Black British [African, Caribbean]	1,148,738	1,904,684	2	3
Other Ethnic Group	230,615	580,374	0.4	0.9
Ethnic Minorities Subtotal	4,635,296	8,108,626	7.9	12.9
TOTAL	58,789,194	63,182,178		

Source: Census, *Key Statistics for England and Wales*, 2011 & Onai, 2004

Meanwhile, England as a multiethnic and multicultural society, has coped with varied changes and efforts in regard to integrated education, multicultural education, anti-racist education, and cross-cultural education from the 1960s to the 1990s. From around 2000s, education at schools in England has taken a more global perspective that might also be required at other schools around the world. Considering the global context of the present multicultural condition of schooling at various levels (such as the school, teacher, and classroom levels), the above mentioned varied policies and practices, which were experienced in England, will provide opportunities to learn, compare, and think about the practices of multicultural instructions. Even if these experiences cannot be immediately applied to other education systems without consideration of the different contexts of the individual countries, they still offer significant opportunities for consideration for educational design.

For all situations stated above, the issue of educating teachers for diverse schools and classrooms needs to be addressed urgently (OECD, 2010, p. 14). Therefore, it is important to understand what level of challenges teachers face in their everyday classroom experiences with respect to diversity(1) such as cultural and ethnic diversity. Furthermore, how initial and continuing teacher educations provide trainees or teachers the tools and abilities required to effectively responding to the diverse needs of pupils are matters of particular significance (OECD, p. 4). As a preliminary step toward empirical analysis on the subject of multicultural education, this paper reviews the literature on surrounding multicultural education programmes in initial teacher training (ITT) in England, and proposes an agenda for future research.

Literature Review

Multicultural Education at English Schools

A number of studies have focused on multicultural education at English schools. More than one-fifth of the national primary school pupils' population is multicultural(2) (Boyle & Charles, 2011, p. 299): White (76.3%), Mixed (5.1%), Asian (10.4%), Black (5.6%), Chinese (0.4%), and any other ethnic group (1.6%) in England (DfE: School Census, 2013). In spite of such a diverse school context, over 97% of teachers are white in all of England's regions (Boyle & Charles, 2011, p. 299).

Since the 1970s there has been considerable pressure to introduce multiculturalism and multicultural education into English schools. Learning languages and cultures of ethnic minorities at schools was recommended during this period. The following are problems regarding educational issues in this multicultural school environment: conflicts of different behavioral patterns and values; racial harassment; linguistically-disadvantaged situations; the significant gap between white and minority pupils in the level of learning proficiency at schools; and regional and interschool gaps of multicultural practices during this period (e.g., Sakuma, 1993; Nakajima, 1997; Onai, 2004). There is a great deal of complex diverse issues such as language, religion, ethnicity, and race in both monocultural and multicultural environments. Nevertheless, schools and teachers may have to carry out multicultural education at English schools as continuing everyday practices in their school curriculum (e.g., Okumura, 2006). Teacher education needs to develop multicultural programmes so that teachers can improve their skills and raise their confidence in teaching in diverse classrooms.

Multicultural Education in Teacher Education in England

Several studies have been made on multicultural practices and provisions(3) in the area of teacher education for diversity. However, limited literature is available on the relation to multicultural education programmes in teacher education in England.

Maylor, Ross, and Rollock (2006) provide insights into the approaches in relation to diversity and multicultural provisions in schools and ITT adopted by six case studies in England. Each case study consisted of an in-depth interview with the persons responsible for multicultural provisions in order to find evidence of good multicultural practices in both monocultural and multicultural environments (pp. 37-38).

First, one of their cases is *Multiverse*, which established by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA) in 2003. It is a national 3-year professional resource network project composed of eight ITT institutions in England (Maylor, *et al*., 2006, p. 39). *Multiverse* targets the improvement of standards to prepare trainees to teach in a multicultural society through supporting ITT institutions' practices such as on-line teaching and learning resources, regional workshops, and conferences (pp. 39-40). The multicultural resources deliver opportunities to share good practices for ITT institutions and trainees to effectively teach pupils from multicultural and ethnically diverse background.

Next, the two cases below illustrate multicultural projects and modules in ITT, and details on the two cases are provided in Table 2.

Table 2: Details of Case Studies

ITT institution	**Region/community**	**Multicultural provision**	**interviewees**
Springfield College (undergraduate)	East of England/ predominantly white	*Culturally Diverse Teaching Placement* project *(2004-5)*	Head of teacher, tutors
Woolmer University (postgraduate)	London/ multiethnic	*Identity and Equal Opportunities* module *(2005-6)*	Director of programme

Source: Maylor, *et al*., 2006, pp. 39-42

In the first case, Springfield College encountered difficulties in developing trainees' awareness of multiethnic diversity, particularly in the first year of their studies, because most of trainees who attended the college are recruited from white monocultural communities (Maylor, *et al*., 2006, p. 40). The *Culturally Diverse Teaching Placement* project allows trainees to encounter culturally and linguistically diverse schools. Through this project, the ITT institution came to understand that work with multiethnic schools generates awareness of multiethnic diversity among trainees, and can support trainees to feel comfortable and gain confidence in working in a multicultural environment (p. 41).

The second case of Woolmer University explains that trainees from diverse backgrounds studying in ethnically diverse areas also need to generate their awareness of diversity. The *Identity and Equal Opportunities* module(4) emphasizes on valuing individual identities, multicultural issues, as well as raising trainees' awareness of teaching in diverse settings. Through this module trainees are encouraged to think about diversity, what is demanded for working in multicultural contexts of schools, and respect and equal treatment of diverse pupils (Maylor, *et al*., 2006, p. 42).

The case of *Multiverse* and these two ITT cases in both monocultural and multicultural areas in the above study suggest that ITT institutions recognise their deficiencies in multicultural provisions and in meeting pupil's broad needs. Therefore, ITT institutions deem it necessary to improve implementation and initiatives of multiculturalism for their trainees. The efforts of *Multiverse* and the ITT project and module are evaluated well with respect to arrangement of an easily accessible circumstance, and offer valuable information in understanding multicultural education and diversity for teachers or trainees.

The following four assignments will be examined further. First, trainees have less consciousness of the understanding of multicultural education in either monocultural or multicultural society. Second, the efforts centrally focus on trainees' awareness of multiethnic diversity. Third, trial implementations of the ITT project and module remain a low priority in the ITT curriculum, and might end up as unusual and extraordinary experiences. Fourth, whether access to the information and resources are engaged or not are left to the judgment of the individual teachers or trainees. Further effort will be required from ITTs to promote the spread of multicultural opportunities, and offer sustainable multicultural knowledge and experiences.

Besides, although it does not conduct study with trainees in ITT, Atkins and Craft (1988) report an evaluation of the national programme of short courses for training teacher educators in multicultural education in ITT and in-service teacher education (p. 81-83). The University of Nottingham undertook the programme for teacher educators for their developments in 1982, and then almost forty ITT institutions joined the programme. The purpose of the evaluation was to assess the impact of the programme, and three stages of questionnaires were conducted at the beginning, at the end of the course, and nine to twelve months after completing the course (p. 83). The evaluation stressed the absolute need for resources, expertise, and good practices for multicultural education for more effective design of future courses (p. 90). Many participants demanded further professional development in the field of multicultural education: greater knowledge of specific topics or issues (e.g. cultural differences); continuing updating on issues, policy and practice; and further training in curriculum innovation strategies (p. 90). Teacher educators also need to develop multicultural perspectives and experiences so that trainees or teachers can receive appropriate programmes in teaching in a diverse school context.

Multicultural Education in Teacher Education in the OECD Countries

The OECD Centre for Educational Research and Innovation (CERI) project Teacher Education for Diversity (TED) aims to show how teachers were prepared for the increasing diversity of classrooms, and identifies the common benefits and tasks through which OECD countries experience their teacher education in response to increasing cultural diversity (Burns & Shadoian-Gersing, 2010, p. 20). The analysis broadly focuses on three fields: (1) pre-service teacher education (initial teacher training, i.e. ITT); (2) in-service teacher education; and (3) training for teacher educators. A part of this study describes case studies of teacher education itself and the specific strategies teachers utilized as a means to diversify classroom across several OECD countries, such as New Zealand, the Netherlands, the United States, Italy, and Spain. Although the above study does not include the case of England, it gives some notions and ideas about what works in teacher education for diversity. In order to support the literature and practices about multicultural education in ITT in England, some cases from among the above OECD countries, which focus particularly on the ITT curriculum, are picked up and overviewed in this paper.

In one of these OECD examples, Milner IV and Tenore (2010) discuss insight into considerable features of curriculum planning and development for teacher education for diverse pupils in the United States.

> The task of preparing teachers for the diversity they will face in P-12 schools(5) is shaped and grounded in a range of complex realities in United States society and in education (p. 166).

This study focuses on a preparatory education curriculum for trainees to be successful with diverse learners at schools, and provides a set of principles for teacher educators in the process of the ITT curriculum planning and development (pp. 164-165). To assist with analysing the work of curriculum planning and development, Jackson's (1968) defined three essential concepts: a preactive phase, an interactive phase, and a postactive/reflective phase are employed (pp. 168-170). On the basis of these concepts, the above study demonstrates the three principles in which teacher educators should make consideration during the three steps of curriculum planning and development are provided in Table 3.

Table 3: Curriculum Planning and Development Principles

Preactive Phase
Principle 1: Teacher educators think not only about who their teacher education students are, but also about the identities of P-12 school students the teacher education students will teach.
Interactive Phase
Principle 2: Teacher educators enact the preactive plan by deliberately responding to the nuanced needs of the students during the lesson.
Postactive Phase
Principle 3: Teacher educators reflect upon the extent to which their preactively planned lessons are effectively enacted, the extent to which they have been responsive to the learning needs of their students during the interactive phase, and they consider future directions for curriculum planning and development.

Source: Milner IV & Tenore, 2010, p. 179

This study indicates ITT institutions and teacher educators need to take account of several questions not only about particular needs, experiences, and strengths of the trainees who receive teacher trainings, but also about those of pupils with whom the trainees will teach in the curriculum planning and development. Cautious, reflective, and responsive curriculum planning and instructions based on the three active stages are required so that ITT institutions foster trainees who are able to negotiate complicated challenges with pupils from diverse background (p. 179). On that basis, a future challenge will be to understand what to provide in regard to the contents of a preparatory education for diversity or multicultural education.

In another OECD example, Essomba (2010) analyses the status and role of diversity issues in the curricula of four ITT institutions in Spain. The study initially looked at the challenges surrounding teacher education and the background of diversity in Spain. The education system has not historically acknowledged diversity, which means diversity in the classroom is perceived more as a problem than as an opportunity (p. 222). Thus, ITT institutions have not offered substantial teacher training for the trainees to manage diversity at schools (p. 223).

> The increasingly central role of diversity within the educational system means that teachers must be trained in order to build their capacity and professional competencies in this area (p. 224).

In this situation, most expectations and resources are directed to ITT for diversity. The Spanish Ministry of Education and Science acquires 18 core competences for primary education that trainees have to achieve by the end of teacher education (Essomba, 2010, pp. 227-228). Two of these core competences are directly related to diversity as follows.

1) Designing and implementing learning opportunities in diversity contexts, while being attentive to the special needs of students, gender equality and respect for human rights according to the values of citizenship education.

2) Leading situations of language learning under efficacy criteria within multicultural and multilingual contexts (p. 228).

Although all ITT institutions are required to cover diversity issues in the curriculum, a reform of Spanish teacher education is currently undergoing from around 2000s. Then four ITT institutions, which focus on diversity in ongoing new teacher education curricula, were selected in this study on Spain's education. By the listing of diversity contents in the curricula at four universities, the study works out the current conditions: "the percentage of courses on diversity available to…" (Essomba, 2010, p. 229) all trainees is low because of mostly optional courses, and the diversity is still "…seen as a problematic deficit for which to be compensated instead of an opportunity for the enrichment of all." (p. 230)

The challenges presented in this study on diversity in surrounding teacher education are of use in understanding difficulties of moving from theory to practice in diversity issues. As Essomba pointed out that diversity is the context but not the content at the moment (p. 230), the development of explicit content concerning diversity in the ITT curriculum needs to be addressed in the future.

Additionally, little research exists on the importance of attracting and retaining diverse teachers and trainees, as well as of the necessity of focusing on teacher educators and the training they receive. In the conclusion of the OECD project TED, it clarifies three areas that require further research: (1) the education of teacher educators to support trainees and teachers facing diversity issues; (2) the factors involved in improving attraction and retention of ethnically diverse trainees and teachers; and (3) the attraction and retention of highly qualified teachers in ethnically diverse schools (Burns & Shadoian-Gersing, 2010, p. 288-289).

Moreover, according to an online consultation with practitioners in diverse classrooms in 2008 (OECD, 2010, p. 34), a majority of trainees and teacher educators think their teacher education programmes cover some sorts of diversity issues. However, some findings show the lack of preparation to effectively tackle diversity issues as in the classroom described below.

> 47% of student teachers, 51% of teacher educators and 66% of teachers who responded judged that current teacher education is preparing teachers to be not at all or only somewhat well-prepared to effectively handle diversity issues (p. 34).

The results indicate the need to improve the design and progress of teacher training and professional development opportunities with respect to diversity issues.

Although these previous studies reveal the importance of developing multicultural awareness and practices in teacher education, it remains a matter of research and discussion as to how multicultural programmes in teacher education can be effectively prepared for teachers and trainees for their practices in an ethnically diverse classroom. Accumulation of multifaceted and empirical approaches within future studies will lead to accomplished multicultural provisions and practices.

Concluding Remarks

So far this paper has reviewed the literature on multicultural programmes in ITT in England. It is reasonable to view ITT as a preparatory education before becoming a teacher that is incredibly important for working in diverse school contexts within a multicultural society.

As a result of the findings from previous studies, several future challenges of multicultural programmes in ITT in England should be addressed. The first challenge is how to address the need for understanding of the actual nature of the content and its relation within multicultural education programmes. It is necessary for effective development of explicit content itself concerning multicultural education in the ITT curriculum. The second challenge is how to develop trainees' abilities to maximise the effect of the content in the ITT curriculum, while the cases of *Multiverse* and the ITT project and module in England are centered on developing trainees' awareness of diversity. The third challenge is how to carefully analyse the implications from the political and theoretical contexts in connect to the practical contents and needs with respect to diversity, as a gap between policy and implementation of multicultural education is pointed out (Essomba, 2010, p. 227). Final challenge is regarding how to pursue the reflective process of the planning, implementation, and assessment of multicultural education programmes (such as preactive, interactive, and postactive phases), as the lack of rigorous empirical research on teacher education for diversity, and the absence of empirical evaluations and effects of the programmes developed to support teachers in addressing diverse classrooms are pointed out (Burns & Shadoian-Gersing, 2010, pp. 44-45). The effective process of the planning, implementation, and assessment of multicultural education programmes will take a great deal of teacher educators' professional development in creating the ITT curriculum. From these points, a more detailed and sophisticated examination of effective multicultural programmes in ITT in England needs to be conducted.

Notes

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(1) The term of 'diversity' has broad-ranging of definitions; however, in this paper the term 'diversity' is defined as meaning the linguistic, cultural, ethnical, racial, and religious diversity.

(2) This term of 'multicultural' means diverse ethnic communities at schools excluding 'white' pupils.

(3) Multicultural practices and provisions are defined in this paper as various efforts or opportunities for multicultural understanding that teacher training providers prepare and offer for their trainees and teachers.

(4) A module is one of the separate units or course works in the curriculum at the university in England. Usually university students choose a number of modules to study.

(5) P-12 schools are schools that serve pupils from pre-kindergarten through the final year of compulsory schooling in the United States.

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学校と教育行政への父母参加制度の日英比較

－イギリスの学校理事会と学校フォーラムの観察を通じて－

葛西耕介（東京大学）

Abstract

This article aims to comparatively analyse parental participation systems in school-running in Japan and England from the perspective of how parental responsibility and parental wills are reflected and realised in school-running. First the author classifies parental participation systems at both local authority and school level in each country. The author secondly describes the actual situations in England through his observation of 5 meetings of school governing body and its committee, focusing on its agenda and procedure, the role of a chair of governors and a clerk, the difference between a full governing body and a committee meeting and characteristics of the good governing body. The author thirdly deals with Schools Forum in England through interviews with a chair and an officer, examining how it chooses or elects its members in paying attention to the wills of parents. The author argues additional research is needed to further consider whether or not these systems in England can collect and reflect parental voices in school-running, whilst there are more various systems for parents to be involved in England than in Japan.

Keywords: Parental Participation System in School-running, Japan and England, School Governing Body, Schools Forum

1. はじめに――問題関心

今日，公教育における親の位置は，子ども自身が学習主体であることを前提にした上で，その子どもへの第一次的な教育責任を負う主体として理解される(1)。そうした公教育における親の地位からは，論理的・原理的には，子への教育責任を果たす方法として就学という形態を採るか否かの選択権，就学を選択したとして学校の選択権，ある学校を選択したとしてその教育内容の拒否権（道徳・性教育など）・選択権，さらに選択権を超えて親の側からより積極的な教育要求権・参加権が，認められるはずである。

ところが，わが国の場合，「父母その他の保護者は，子の教育について第一義的責任を有するものであって」（教育基本法 10 条 1 項）とは規定されつつも親の公教育上の権利はほとんど明文上規定されず，公教育における親の地位から導出される諸権利は，非常に限定的にしか認められていない。

本稿は，以上の問題関心に基づき，親の教育権から導出される種々の権利のうち特に教育要求権・参加権を実現する学校や教育行政への父母参加制度について，イギリス(2)と日本との比較を通じて検討し，わが国の父母参加制度の展望を見出す準備的作業を意図するものである。本稿がイギリスを比較対象とするのは，2004 年に導入され学校への父母参加の側面をもつ学校運営協議会制度（コミュニティ・スクール）がイギリスの学校理事会をモデルの 1 つとしていることによる。

この点，イギリスの学校理事会そして日本の学校運営協議会制度は親の教育権という原理に基づく制度ではないとして，両制度を父母参加制度に位置付ける本稿の把握には異論があることも考えられる。しかし，両制度には実際に父母（の代表）が参加しており，そのように住民とは区別される父母に参加を認める正統性をたどれば，親の教育権に逢着せざるを得ないと思われる。こうした認識の下，本稿では，ひとまず両制度を父母参加制度の 1 つと位置付けた上で，実際に父母参加がどの程度実現されているのか，あるいは制度原理は親の教育権ではなくどういった原理なのか，そしてそれは正当なのかといった本格的な分析は，別稿に委ねることとしたい。そのため，本稿では，学校理事会については傍聴による観察を通じた，学校フォーラムについてはインタビューを通じた，実態の描写に重点を置くこととする。以下では，第 2 章で日本とイギリスの父母参加制度を概観した上で，第 3 章ではイギリスの学校理事会についての，第 4 章ではイギリスの学校フォーラムについての実態を描写する。そして，第 5 章で検討課題を示す。

2. 日本とイギリスの父母参加制度の概要

この章では，両国の父母参加に関する制度の種類を確認的に述べることとする。この点，参加制度は，参加の主体（父母か住民か）と参加のレベル（学校か自治体か）の点から大きく区別・整理できる。すなわち，第 1 に，先に述べた親の教育権の視点からは，子の教育について親には特別な地位が認められ，親と住民，したがって父母参加と住民参加とは，慎重に区別されなければならない。第 2 に，各学校レベルでの参加と地方自治体レベルでの参加も区別される。この第 1 の区別と第 2 の区別とががどう対応するかしないかは父母の教育参

加制度の分析において重要な点になると思われるが，ここでは立ち入らず，まずはこの区別を踏まえた上で，イギリスと日本における，学校レベルと自治体レベルでの父母参加制度を概観したい。

2.1. 日本の場合

日本の場合，学校レベルの父母参加のルートとして，第 1 に，伝統的には PTA がある。PTA は，法律上の規定はない慣習法的な制度であるものの，ほとんどの学校に組織されている。その歴史を検討すれば時期によって，学校の財政的・人的支援に留まる時期や，父母の権利主張が高揚する時期が存在している。

第 2 に，近年法制化され，文部科学省によって設置が推進されている学校運営協議会（コミュニティ・スクール）がある。学校運営協議会は，親や住民が委員となり，教育課程の編成その他の「基本的な方針」を承認したり学校運営や職員の任用に意見を述べたりする権限をもつが，教育委員会の学校管理権を前提としているため権限は限定的である。また，この制度の趣旨は，学校・保護者・地域住民の一体性を強調して問題解決を図るという極めて日本的なものである。

第 3 に，学校レベルには，父母会・保護者会があったり，地域・学校によっては子どもや住民の参加も含めた三者・四者協議会といった取り組みもあったりする(3)。親の教育権がどの程度こうした制度の基礎に据えられているかといった分析は，当該制度に即して行う必要があろう。

次に，自治体レベルの父母参加ルートとしては，第 1 に，教育委員会の委員への就任がある。教育委員に保護者である者を任命することが義務になったのは，ようやく 2007 年である。しかし，特に公選制ではなく任命制を取る現在では，委員就任を希望する父母が委員に就任することは容易に可能ではない。

第 2 に，一部の自治体であるが，独自に教育関係審議会を設置し，そこに父母の参加を認め，種々の事項について審議・提案・答申を求めるものがある(4)。しかし，全国的で義務的に設置される制度としては存在していない。

2.2. イギリスの場合

イギリスの場合，学校レベルの父母参加のルートとして，第 1 に学校理事会（School Governing Body），第 2 に親会議（Parent Council, Parent Forum）や PTA（Parent Teachers Association）・PTFA（Parents, Teachers and Friends Association）がある。こうした制度の相互の権限関係・当事者の意識などについては，別稿で本格的に扱いたい。

また，自治体レベルの父母参加ルートとしては，第 1 に，地方議会の一委員会である評価精査委員会（Overview and Scrutiny Committee on Children’s Services）へのその自治体内の学校理事会を代表する父母の出席があり，第 2 に，地方議会とは別に自治体ごとに義務的に設置される学校フォーラム（Schools Forum）への学校理事会の代表としての父母の参加がある。前者では，その親代表は地方議員とともに教育・子どもサービス全般の審議・表決に参加し，後者では地方議会で決められた教育予算総額についてどのように配分するかなどを審議・議決する。

本稿では，このうち，学校レベルでの父母参加として学校理事会を，自治体レベルでの父

母参加として学校フォーラムに焦点を当てる。本章では，まず両制度を概観したい。

第 1 に，学校理事会は，全公立学校に設置され，学校経営（予算，人事，カリキュラム）につき決定権をもつ。学校理事会は，1997 年までの保守党，2010 年までの労働党，現在までの連立政権において，地方（教育）当局（Local (Education) Authority）にそれまであった諸権限の学校レベルへの移譲とその維持という点で，基本的には政策的連続性をもちつつ，その構成（親代表や理事会任命理事の割合）や方向性（効率性，専門化）の点では揺れ動いている。

現行法を概観すると次の通りである。すなわち，学校理事は，最低 7 人必要であり，上限数の規定はない。理事は伝統的に，大きく分けて 4 領域からの職能代表的に選出される。すなわち，親代表，教職員代表，自治体代表，住民代表である。現行法では，保護者から選挙で選出される保護者理事が最低 2 人，校長 1 人，教職員から選挙で選出される教職員理事が最低 1 人，自治体（local authority）が選考する理事が最低 1 人，理事会が選考する理事（Co-opted governors）は全体の 3 分の 1 以下とされる。理事は 18 歳以上であることを要し，当該学校の生徒は 18 歳以上でも理事になれないとされ，学校理事会には，生徒参加の要素はない。ただし，準構成員（Associate members）の生徒は 18 歳未満でもなれる。理事会は，年 3 回程度の全体会があり，日常的には，各種委員会が 2 から 5 程度ある。どこの理事会にもある代表的な委員会は，財政・予算関係の委員会と，カリキュラム関係の委員会である。理事の任期は原則 4 年間であり，再任も可能である(5)。

第 2 に，学校フォーラムは，1998 年学校水準枠組み法（School Standards and Framework Act 1998）で作られた。幼稚園・初等学校・中等学校，アカデミーの代表者から構成され，その代表者らはそのカテゴリーの学校（たとえば，初等学校）からの選挙で選出される。そのカテゴリーの学校の代表者は，校長か理事（学校理事会構成員）であるため，ある学校で親理事を務める父母がそのカテゴリーの学校の代表者として学校フォーラムの構成員になることが有り得る。そのカテゴリーの学校から選出された者は，自分自身の学校の利益ために行動するのではなく，そのカテゴリーの学校の利益のために行動しなければならないとされる。

学校フォーラムの権限については，ある事項については地方議会に対して参考意見を出す権限（a consultative role）に留まり，またある事項については決定権限をもつ。すなわち，予算の決定は地方議会の事項であるため学校フォーラムにはそこへの参考意見を出す限りでの権限しか認められていないが，予算総額に変更をもたらさない事項については，決定権限をもっているのである。

より具体的にみていくと，まず，参考意見を出す権限に留まる事項としては，第 1 に，自治体の各学校への予算配分を決める財政公式（the local funding formula）の変更，第 2 に，学校への最小限の財政保障（the minimum funding guarantee）の運用の変更する提案，第 3 に，たとえば学校給食のように学校に影響を及ぼす契約の変更や新しい契約の締結，第 4 に，特別教育ニーズ（special educational needs）をもつ生徒への措置である。議会に対して参考意見を出す際には，学校フォーラムは，各学校理事会に議会から受けたコンサルテーションを知らせ，意見集約を図る役割を負う。

他方で，以下の事項については，決定に責任を持つ。第 1 に，たとえば，自治体で共通して行う入学手続きサービス費用や入学者が増加しつつある学校のための追加的な財政など

に，いくらを各学校が自治体に対して拠出するか，第 2 に，ある年から翌年へと繰り越される自治体の負債についての自治体からの提案，第 3 に，たとえば，職員の給与の補てん費用，保険，問題行動支援のために自治体から公立小中学校から委譲された予算の自治体への返上についての提案や，財政措置の枠組み（the scheme of financial management）の変更，である(6)。

2.3. 小括

イギリスの学校理事会と学校フォーラムは，全学校，全自治体に設置され，権限も相当に強いものが以上されている点に特徴があり，日本にはみられない制度である。ただ，このように制度的に抽象的に検討してみても，その実態は必ずしも明らかにはならない。そこで，第 3 章では，学校理事会については傍聴によって，また学校フォーラムについては傍聴とインタビューによって，その実態にある程度近づいてみたいと思う。学校理事会については，どのようなメンバー構成で，どのような雰囲気で，どのような順序でどのような項目について議事が進行していくのかを中心に，学校フォーラムについては，親の教育権を基礎とした制度にはなっていないことに焦点を当ててみていきたい。

3. 学校理事会の傍聴

イギリスの公立学校（maintained school）の類型（名称，学年構成，教会とのつながり，公費負担の程度など）は極めて多様であり，そしてそれによって学校理事会の権限や構成も変わってくる。そこで，図 1 の通り，多様な学校種の学校理事会・委員会選択して傍聴した。対象が 5 校のみであり一般化はできないのは十分承知の上で，この 5 校を比較しつつ学校理事会・委員会の実態の一端を論じてみたい。

表 1　今回の調査で傍聴した学校理事会。いずれも，2014 年 10 月，ロンドン内。

学校名	学校の種類	会議名	出席者数
A 校	Infants' School（幼年学校，　4～7 歳）	理事会	16 人
B 校	Primary School（初等学校，3～11 歳）	理事会	12 人
C 校	Secondary School（中等学校，11～18 歳）	委員会（財政）	5 人
D 校	Secondary School（中等学校，11～18 歳）	委員会（財政）	9 人
E 校	Special School（特別支援学校，2～11 歳）	委員会（カリキュラム）	4 人

3.1. 学校理事会の運営

まず，一般的な学校理事会の議事進行の全体像を明らかにするために，A 校の理事に事前にメールで配布され傍聴当日に使われたアジェンダを，A 校学校理事会議長の承認を得た上で以下に引用する。この会議は，年度の初回の会議ということもあってアジェンダ項目は多めである。このアジェンダに見られる会議冒頭の手続き的事項は，他の理事会のアジェンダにも共通してみられる。また，このアジェンダには，学校の方針や目標の設定など大きな枠組みは理事会が担うのに対して日々の学校経営やカリキュラムについては校長の権限で

あること，そして，校長の説明に対して理事が質問をすることによって校長に説明責任を果たさせるという学校理事会制度の枠組みが表現されている。

表2　A 校の学校理事会のアジェンダ

[Meeting of the Full Governing Body (Xth October 2014 at 7.30pm at the School) AGENDA]

	時間	事項	目的	進行	添付書類
手続き的事項					
1.	7.30	欠席連絡	欠席の承認	XX	
2.	7.30	学校と理事との利益相反の申告	• 学校と理事との利益相反の申告 • アジェンダへの利益相反の有無の申告	XX	
3.	7.30	議長選出	• 理事会議長の選出 *推薦受け付け中* • 後継者選びの議論	クラーク	
4.	7.40	副議長選出	理事会副議長の選出 *推薦受け付け中*	議長	
一般的事項					
5.	7.45	理事会の構成･手続き･業績・目標の見直し	• 議事事項と理事会構成の承認 • 理事会規則と理事のスキルを記載した書類の承認 • 理事のスキル・能力の確認 • 議長と理事の役割の承認 • 理事会の目標の承認 • グッドガバナンスレポートについての議論 • 服務規程への同意とサイン • 理事会・委員会・各理事・校長間の権限配分の承認 • 情報保護書類への配慮と同意 • 校長の業績評価委員会の委員の任命	議長	後日送付のグッドガバナンスレポート，添付されたその他の書類
6.	8.00	理事会の構成員に関する事項	新理事の参加承認	議長	
7.	8.05	2014 年 X 月 X 日に行われた会議の議事録	理事会による承認と議長によるサイン • 理事への委託事項の承認 • このアジェンダ外の事項	議長	先日送付済み
学校改善に関する事項					
8.	8.10	校長からの報告	• 質問 • このアジェンダに含まれていない事項について議論	校長	後日送付

9.	8.15	学校改善計画	• 学校改善評価報告についての議論 • 担当者からの報告書と担当者の任命	校長 議長	添付 添付
10.	8.25	学校の自己評価	学校の自己評価の承認	校長	後日送付
11.	8.35	児童の学力データ	• 児童の学力について議論と質疑応答 • 子ども手当と学力への影響について議論	校長	添付
12.	8.45	本校のカリキュラム	最新版の受領と議論	校長	
13.	9.05	生徒の転校	議論	校長	添付
14.	9.10	諸指針	以下の諸方針の承認 • 評価 • 財政 • 職員に対する軽犯罪の取り扱い • 給与 • 学校安全 • 内部告発 • 医療 • 特別教育ニーズと障がい	議長	 後日送付 後日送付 後日送付 後日送付 後日送付 後日送付 添付 添付
15.	9.15	各部門委員からの報告	報告と質疑応答 • 財政委員会 ・ 監査の承認 ・ リスクレジスターの見直しと承認 • 給与・人事委員会 • 施設および健康・安全委員会	 YY ZZ XY	後日送付
16.	9.20	理事研修	出席率についての最新版の受領と今後の研修計画	ZZ	
その他の事項					
17.	9.25	議長の渉外事務	渉外事務についての報告	議長	
18.	9.25	その他，喫緊の事項	その他の緊急の事項（非緊急事項は次回のアジェンダへ）	議長	
19.	9.30	機密事項	機密事項があるかの決定	議長	
20.	9.30	次回の日程	次回の会議の日付の承認：2014 年 11 月 XX 日午後 X 時	議長	

3.2. 成功している学校理事会と議長の役割

このA校は4～7歳の約270人からなる公立の幼年学校（infants' school）であり，専門的知識とスキルとをもった理事がそろっているという意味でうまくいっている理事会に分類できる。すなわち，政府はこの10年以上の間，学校理事会を財政・施設管理・教育政策など学校経営の専門的知識とスキルとをもった理事からなる組織にすることを推進している。この点，A校は比較的裕福な地域に存在することもあって人材に恵まれ，議長には複数の学

校を有するファンデーションに勤める者が就き，理事には弁護士や会計士，その他にも専門的知識がありながら常勤職に就いておらず時間に比較的余裕のある者らによって，16 人（うち男性 6 人）という多数から構成される理事会を有している。他校では理事の空席があり，しかもなかなか埋まらないということがたびたび見られるが，A 校は，議長自身がとても幸運ですと言うように，全国的には珍しい部類に入る。

A 校のこの日の理事会は，夜 19 時半に開始され 21 時半に終了する予定という遅い時間に設定されていた。ほとんどの理事が自身の職業に就いているため，出席者の都合を勘案したものだという。この日の議事の進行は，全体として“しゃんしゃん”で進められ，途中，タイムスケジュールへの 20 分程度の遅れがあったが，予定時刻通りの終了となった。

議長によれば，当日は承認やサインを中心にして議事が効率よく進むよう，事前に理事個人と理事相互で準備がされているという。理事は，質問と議論を効率的に行い当日のタイトな議事をこなすために，アジェンダの右欄に示されているように，事前に大量の書類に目を通しておく必要がある。A 校のこの会議のために議長から配信されたファイルは約 20 に上り，たとえば，前回の議事録，学校改善計画，理事会規則，校長評価，学校の種々の指針や，動きの速い教育政策に伴って新たに審議・承認を要する事項などがある。

こうした会議を周到に準備し当日の議事進行を効率的に行うには，議長のリーダーシップが決定的に重要となる。A 校の学校理事会では，議長が書類・電子ファイルの作成などの準備をほとんど一手に引き受けており，議長本人によれば，週に 10 時間程度の時間を割いていると言う。A 校の理事会は，これまで傍聴してきた 7 つの会議の中で一番笑いにあふれ雰囲気が良く，発言が全員から万遍なく出されるものであったが，これは理事の人材に恵まれているとともに，会議のよい雰囲気を作る議長の努力によると思われる。

3.3. 困難のある学校理事会とクラークの役割

こうした A 校と対照的に，B 校は困難を抱える学校・学校理事会であった。B 校は小学校に幼稚園が併設されている，3～11 歳の子ども約 240 人からなる公立学校（Community School）である。理事は全員で 11 人であり，そのうち，親理事が 4 人，コミュニティ理事が 3 人，教職員理事が 2 人（教師とサポートスタッフから 1 人ずつ），自治体選考理事が 2 人である。その他，理事ではない校長が理事会の構成員となっている。この学校は，新たな校長と学校支援を頼まれた新たな理事会議長とで立て直しを始めている困難校だという。実際，たとえば，トイレにトイレットペーパーが散乱しているといった様子が目に付く学校であった。

B 校の理事会は，平日 18 時過ぎから 2 時間半行われた。議事についてみると，A 校は理事全員が発言する理事会であったのに対して，この B 校では，副校長やクラークなどがたびたび発言するほかは，議題によるとはいえ，議長と校長によって発言時間のほとんどが占められていた。理事 3 名はついに何も発言しないままであった。最近新しく理事になった者も多いことから，知識・経験の不足や理事間の人間関係の未成熟も原因と考えられるが，B 校では，A 校のような豊富な人材がそろっていないことが不活発さの理由でもあろう。こうした学力困難校では，次に見る通り，クラーク（Clerk）の役割が重要になってくる。

クラークは，議題の準備・議事録の録取・通信のやりとりを行うために理事会に任命された者であり，理事会に必ず 1 人置かれ法的・手続き的事項について助言する。クラークは，

ボランティアである理事とは異なり，給与が支払われる役職である。この点，理事会は学校経営に責任を負う正式な機関であるので，その議事には手続き的・内容的な正確性・適法性が担保されている必要がある。たとえば，アジェンダは，必ず欠席者の確認と理事と学校との利益相反の有無の確認から始り，実際，B 校の理事会では，議長が「私は会社を経営しており，学校に教材を販売している」と利益相反を申告する場面があった。また A 校の理事会では，年度の始まりということもあり，議長と副議長を選出したが，この場合にも，議長が立候補した後その議長候補を室外に出し，残りの者でその適任・不適任を議論するという硬い手続きが採られた。議事の承認も挙手を求め，それを議事録に記載するというように丁寧に行われるのが通常である。このように，学校経営機関としての学校理事会の議事の手続き的・内容的な正確性・適法性を担保する役割を担うのが，クラークなのである。

B 校の理事会の傍聴を通して，クラークにはこうした本来の仕事に加えて，困難な理事会を支援する役割があるように思われた。すなわち，B 校の理事会のクラークを務めていたのは自治体の理事を支援・研修する部門の職員であり，昨年度も B 校では，同部門に所属する別の職員がクラークを務めていた。また，この会議のアジェンダが記載された書類は，そのクラークによって作成されており，議長が“自前で”作成していた A 校とは対照的であった。さらに，議事全般でも，A 校ではクラークからの発言はほとんどなかったのに対して，B 校では，クラークが随時発言・助言していた点が観察できた。

3.4. 委員会の運営

次に，C 校・D 校・E 校の委員会傍聴を通じて，理事会とは区別される委員会の議事進行や実態を描写してみる。まず，C 校から委員会の議事進行一般を見たい。C 校は 11～18 歳生徒からなり中等学校とシックスフォームが併存する女子校であり，生徒数は約 1200 人，教師数は約 120 人の大きな学校である。在籍生徒の国籍は約 40 か国に及び，日本人も 2 人在籍している。学力は，近年，全国平均よりも速く向上しているという。

この学校理事会の構成は，職員理事 3 人，親理事 3 人，コミュニティ理事 5 人，校長，LEA 理事 4 人（うち 2 人が地方議会議員）の 16 人である。そして，委員会は 3 つあり，カリキュラム・宗教委員会（Curriculum and Pastoral），人事委員会（Personnel），財政・施設委員会（Finance and Premises）に分かれている。これら委員会は年に各 6 回行われ，3 人の出席が定足数だという。

そのうち，傍聴したのは財政・施設委員会である。この日は，平日朝の 8 時からの開催であった。議長によれば，多忙である各委員に出席の機会を保障するため，6 回のうち半分を午前に，半分を夕方から行っているという。委員会ならではの柔軟性が感じられる。この日の出席者は 5 人であった。議長のほか，学校で会計事務（Bursary）を務める中年の女性，この学校の卒業生である 20 代女性, 教師理事で教員組合のリーダーでもあるという 30～40 代の男性（途中退席），保守党所属の地方議会議員の男性である。女性校長もメンバーであるが，当日は早朝から学校設備の不具合の対応に追われ，欠席した。

アジェンダには，A 校の理事会同様，18 項目もの多数の議題が示され，これが 1 時間程度で処理されていった。すなわち，①学校と理事との利益相反の有無の確認，②前回の議事録の確認，③学校の増築工事の進捗について，④夏休みの活動，⑤柵の建設，⑥清掃業者との契約，⑦監査会社との契約書，⑧監査会社による監査，⑨昨年の修学旅行での欠損金，⑩

自動車保険，⑪年金の利率，⑫理事会総会の日程変更，⑬生徒数，⑭他校理事による訪問，⑮学校会計，情報保護法，学校評価指針，学校徴収費指針などに関する諸方針，⑯締結された契約，⑰業者との諸契約，⑱その他，である。

C 校の委員会の傍聴からは，理事会と比べた場合の，委員会における密度の濃い議論の成立が見える。上記 18 項目を 1 時間程度でこなすため，A 校の理事会で見たのと同様，承認を重ねていく形式的な作業の側面はあるが，A 校の理事会とは異なり少人数で構成される委員会であるため各人の意見を聴取しそれについて議論し深める時間がとられていた。現在，連立政権政府によって学校理事会の合理化・効率化，理事会規模の圧縮が進められている。議長によれば C 校も，徐々に理事の人数を減らしていく計画であり，理事数が多すぎると効率が悪いこと，逆に，理事数が少なすぎると定足数に満たず会議が成立しないことが懸念されることから，理事全員で 10 人程度が適切だと考えているという。学校理事会の目的を，多くの利害関係者・属性代表者の参加に置くのではなく学校の効率的な経営に置くのであれば，人数の圧縮は理にかなっている。

3.5. 議長（委員長）のリーダーシップ

議長の適切な采配や議長と校長との関係は学校理事会が効果的に機能するための要素であることは先行研究によってつとに指摘されるところであるが，議長の強いリーダーシップは学校経営を左右する。これを，C 校についてみてみると，C 校は，近年，その地位を公立学校（Community School）からアカデミーへと変更したが，その際に，議長のリーダーシップが発揮されたという。アカデミーとは，地方自治体の学校管理から離脱し，またナショナルカリキュラムから自由になる学校形態であり，連立政権の下で積極的に推進されている。議長は，自治体の学校だと 1 つの教材を買うことにすら長い時間を要するが，アカデミーであればそれは学校名義のクレジットカードで済むというように，公立学校の硬直性を問題にし，当初は反対者の方が多かったものの，議長としてアカデミー化を推進した。この議長はビジネスコンサルタント（自営業）の男性であり，知識基盤社会における重要性から教育に関心を持つようになり修士号を取得し，学校理事にもなったという。またそのジャーナリスト経験は，大量の文章を作成する議長の仕事に役立っているという。議長は，生徒の獲得は周りの学校との競争だと言うが，そういった競争を勝ち抜くためには，こうした議長のリーダーシップに基づく学校理事会の効率性・合理性・迅速な判断が必要となってくる。

3.6. 大規模な委員会と小規模な委員会

さて，委員会規模と種類・名称は学校によって多様である。同じ財政関係の委員会でも C 校は 5 人のみの出席で行われていたのに対して，D 校では 9 人が出席していた。また，E 校のカリキュラム委員会の出席者は，4 人に過ぎなかった。

D 校は，11〜18 歳の生徒が 800 人以上在籍するイギリス国教会系の公立学校（Voluntary aided）であり女子校である。委員会は①施設（Premises），②財政（Finance），③給与・人事（Pay & Personnel），④カリキュラム・宗教（Curriculum & Pastoral）の 4 つに分かれ，理事会と委員会はそれぞれ年に 3 回開催される。会議にかかる時間は通常，理事会と，①財政，④カリキュラム・宗教委員会は 2 時間，その他は 1 時間の傾向だという。

D 校の委員会（Finance meeting）では，軽食や飲み物が別のテーブルに用意されており，

和やかな雰囲気で議事が進行した。D 校の委員会の出席者が多かったのは，この学校で新しく校長補佐（Assistant Headteacher）になった 2 人が，委員ではないが情報を得るために出席したためだという。平日夕方 17 時から開始され，約 2 時間続いたこの委員会でも，審議事項はアジェンダとして事前に配布され，財政に関する資料を含め立派にとじられたレジュメが配布された。多くの理事会で，こうした資料（回収資料も含め）の閲覧には，寛容であった。財政委員会である D 校の委員会では, 学校の事務長（finance manager, Business Manager）の女性の報告時間が会議の多くを占めていた。出席者からの質問や書類の記載の誤りの指摘とそれに対する報告者による応答が繰り返された。議長は 40 代後半と見える女性で，終始時間を気にしながら議事進行を進める姿が印象的であった。

他方，E 校の委員会は 4 人のみが出席する小規模なものであった。E 校は学校規模も小さく，2 歳から 11 歳の子ども約 50 人の特別支援学校である。理事会は校長を含め 10 人で構成され，親理事が 2 人，職員理事（Staff Governor）が 1 人，自治体選考理事が 1 人，その他は，理事会選考理事（Co-opted Governor）である。委員会は，カリキュラム・進歩・コミュニティ委員会（Curriculum, Progress & Community）と，財政・施設・人事を扱う資源委員会（Resources）の 2 つのみである。

カリキュラム・進歩・コミュニティ委員会（Curriculum, Progress & Community）の出席者は，初老の女性委員長（兼，理事会議長），女性の校長，親理事の女性，自治体職員であり理事会選考理事（Co-opted Governor）の男性であった。この男性は，この日のクラークも兼ねており, 小さな委員会であるため委員が持ち回りでクラークを務めるという。この日の委員会の議事は，校長が E 校の学力達成についてプレゼンテーションする時間が多くを占めた。校長は昨年度の生徒の学力と比較した場合の今年度の生徒の学力を表す数字などをプロジェクターに表示し, 理事はそれに対していくつかの質問を出した。それほど活発な質疑応答は行われず，平日 18 時過ぎから始まったこの委員会は，1 時間半ほどで終了した。

3.7. 小括

このように, 5 校の学校理事会・委員会は構成員・議題・規模などによっても左右され様々であったが, いずれも学校経営機関として, 正当な手続きが重視されている点には着目できる。本格的な検討については，別稿に委ねたい。

4. 学校フォーラム

次に, イギリスの自治体レベルの父母参加ルートとしての学校フォーラムである。調査対象は，2 つの自治体の学校フォーラムに留まった。E メールでアポイントメントを採り，事前に質問項目を送付し，インタビューを行った。インタビュイーからは，論文への実名記載の許可を得ているが，ここでは，イニシャルで表記するに留める。

表 3　傍聴した学校フォーラムとインタビュイー

自治体名	会議名	日時・場所
London Borough of Redbridge	Redbridge Education Funding Schools Forum Mr D. B.(Chair, Redbridge Schools Funding Forum)	2014 年 10 月 15 日 Redbridge Drama Centre
London Borough of Havering	Schools Funding Forum Mr D. A.(Strategic Finance Manager)	2014 年 10 月 16 日 CEME Rainham

4.1. 明らかにしたいことと質問項目

学校フォーラムは保護者理事を含む学校理事の代表者によっても構成されているところ，その学校理事の代表者をつうじて親の教育意思を反映させる実態があるのか，あるとすれば，どの程度親の意思が反映されているのか，この点を明らかにするため，以下の 2 点から質問を組み立てた。

第 1 に，学校フォーラムはどのようなプロセスによって機能し，意思の集約を図っているのかである。具体的には，まず民意を反映し教育行政を民主的にコントロールするための制度だといえるのか，「フォーラム前後に会議をもっているか」「どのように学校フォーラムへ学校理事を選挙・任命するのか」を問うた。

第 2 に，そのような集団的な意思の形成をする際に，一般的民意（住民意思）と異なり，特に親の教育意思を反映する実態をもっているのか否かである。具体的には，学校フォーラムを運営している当事者の意識として，親の教育意思を反映することは，目的の一つ，あるいは考慮に入れられているのか，「親の意思は反映されるのか」「どのように集団的な意思が形成されるのか」を問うた。

4.2. インタビュイーによる返答とその分析

第 1 に，制度的には理事代表は理事からの選挙によって意思の集約を図っているのであるが，それが実際どのように行われているかである。まず，選挙については次のような実態がある。「たとえば，初等学校セクターで 1 つの欠席が出た場合，初等学校のすべての理事が自分自身あるいは他者を選考するために案内がされます。1 人を超える候補者がいる場合には，候補者は 100 単語を超えない“マニフェスト”を書くように言われ，それが投票用紙とともに初等学校セクターのすべての理事に送られます。開票がされ，最も多くの得票を得た理事が，3 年任期で選出されます」（Mr D. B.)。これに関連して，学校フォーラムに選出される際の理事選挙の活発さ，投票率については，「投票の数についていえば，とても低いです。いくつかの理由がありますが，理事は忙しく，また選考対象である理事のことを個人的に知らず，さらに学校フォーラムのことをきちんと理解していないということがあります」（Mr D. A.）との応答があった。

次に，意思の集約の図り方として，選挙の他に，被選出者と選出者集団との間の事前・事後の会議が必要であるはずだが，その実態の存否が問題である。インタビューではその必要性は認めつつも，校長の間では会議はあるが，理事相互の会議はほとんどないことがうかがわれた。「それ〔被選出者と選出者集団との間の会議の存在〕が理想的だということには同意します。最初に私が学校フォーラムに 6 年ほど前に選出されてから，〔私を選出した〕理事らとのコミュニケーションは私が追求してきたものでした。しかし，毎学期に 1 度，理事

会議長の会議の場があるとはいえ，理事が定期的に会い（コミュニケーションする）場はありません。一般的には，およそ半分の学校のみが，理事会議長のそのような会議に参加します」（Mr D. B.）。「〔学校フォーラムに来ている〕校長らは規則的に会います。そして，選出母体にフィードバックします。しかし，理事にそういったことがあるとは思えません。なぜなら，理事は人数が多いからです。…〔しかし,〕地方自治体で，いくつかの会議が理事と日常的に行われています。…これを通じて，理事らは相互に定期的に会います」（Mr D. A.）。

第 2 点目の，一般的民意（住民意思）と異なる親の教育意思を反映する実態の存否については，否定的に捉えられている。「理事会は確かに親によっても構成されていますが，学校理事によって選挙された学校フォーラムのメンバーは，必ずしも親の意思を反映していないと思います。教育予算についての親の意思がどうであるかを，誰が断言できるでしょうか。これを決定する正式なプロセスは存在しません」（Mr D. B.）。また親の意思を反映する他の制度についても，「とても少人数ですが，親の代表者が，地方議会の精査評価委員会にいます。しかし，学校予算に関わっているわけではありません。だから，全ての学校予算に対する決定は，自分たちの子どもがいる学校で理事にならない限り，親が代表するルートはありません。理事にならない限り，学校フォーラムからコンサルトもされません」（Mr D. A.）とされた。

こうした学校フォーラムについてのインタビュー調査によって，学校フォーラムの基礎には，親の教育権が強固に据えられているとは言えない可能性が見えてきた。

5. おわりに――分析課題

本稿では，日本における親の教育権に基づく父母参加制度の不在を問題意識として，イギリスの学校理事会と学校フォーラムとを，日本の制度の比較対象としながら，実態調査も踏まえてみてきた。両制度についての邦文での研究が少ない中，イギリスにおける充実した父母参加制度類型を示し，またこれらの制度の実態を明らかにしてきた点に，一定の意義があると思われる。

本稿は両制度の本格的分析に立ち入らず実態の描写に留めるが，本稿がその一端を明らかにした実態を踏まえ，学校理事会が法制度としてまた実態として親の教育権に基づく制度だといえるかどうかについて理事へのインタビュー等を通じた分析を予定している。引き続き，親の教育権を基礎とする日本とイギリスの父母参加制度について，分析を深めていきたい。

注

本ワーキングペーパーは [http://www.schoolexcellence.p.u-tokyo.ac.jp/cms/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Y-wp02.pdf]を再掲したものです。

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(1) たとえば，子どもの権利条約 18 条。

(2) 本稿では，イギリスとはイングランド（England）を指す。

(3) たとえば，浦野東洋一・三上昭彦編『開かれた学校づくりの実践と理論——全国交流集会一〇年の歩みをふりかえる』同時代社，2010 年。

(4) たとえば，鶴ヶ島市の教育審議会について，池上洋通・安藤聡彦編『市民立学校をつくる教育ガバナンス』大月書店，2005 年を参照した。

(5) 以上は，Department for Education, *Statutory Guidance on the School Governance (Constitution) (England) Regulations*, 2012，および， Department for Education, *Governors' Handbook: For Governors in Maintained Schools, Academies and Free schools*, 2013 を参照した。また，学校理事会の権限の詳細については，葛西耕介「イギリスの学校経営における学校理事会の機能と役割」『東京大学大学院教育学研究科紀要』51 号，2011 年で論じた。

(6) 以上は，Education Funding Agency, *Schools Forums: Operational and Good Practice Guide, For Local Authorities and Members of Schools Forums*, 2013，および，Education Funding Agency, *Schools Forum: A Guide for Schools and Academies on Its Role and Their Responsibilities*, 2013 を参照した。

Development of a Mental Health Literacy Program for Secondary School Students and Its Effects: In-school Mental Health Literacy Education

Yasutaka Ojio

With the assistance of Ms. Yuko Kitagawa and Ms. Naomi Inagaki

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

Objective: Adolescence is the period when the onset of mental illnesses becomes frequent. Providing adolescents with education about mental illnesses and how they are treated may help adolescents recognize any mental difficulties they may be suffering and promote appropriate help. In Japan, however, few mental health education programs have been developed for adolescents and limited studies have investigated their effects. In the present study, we developed a concise, school-staff led mental health literacy (MHL) education program for secondary school students and examined its effect.

Method: The program was given by a full-time school teacher. The objective of the program was to provide students with an opportunity to learn the symptoms of mental illnesses, to understand common mental disorders in adolescents and to encourage them to seek appropriate help if they are suffering from mental difficulties. The evaluations were conducted before and immediately after the program, using a self-report questionnaire. The participants comprised 118 grade-9 and 120 grade-11 Japanese students.

Results: A significant effect was observed on knowledge of mental illnesses and their treatment. Attitudes to seeking help and assisting peers also improved after the program. Conclusion: These findings suggest that concise, school teacher led program might help improve mental health literacy in adolescents.

Keywords: mental health, health education, school

1. Introduction

1.1. **Mental Health Literacy Education and Prevention of Mental Illnesses**

Most cases of mental illnesses begin prior to the age of 25 years (Kessler et al., 2005, Jones, 2013). It is therefore crucial for adolescents to have appropriate knowledge and beliefs about mental health problems that will help their recognition of, coping with and prevention of the problems. Such knowledge and beliefs are referred to as mental health literacy (MHL) (Jorm, et al. 1997, Jorm. 2012). In particular, it is important that students develop the capacity to seek appropriate help for any mental health problems. Help-seeking requires a multistep decision that leads an affected individual to: a) identify the problem, b) acknowledge the necessity of help and/or treatment of the problem, c) understand that mental illnesses are treatable, and d) be motivated to seek help and/or treatment (Santor, et al., 2007, Gulliver, et al., 2010). To acquire the knowledge and beliefs necessary for these steps, MHL education is necessary for students during adolescence. Since most adolescents spend most of their time at school, schools may be the best place to provide such education (Hendren, et al., 1994, World Psychiatric Association 2005, Wei et al., 2011), and programs for use in schools have been developed in several countries (Wei, et al., 2013, Ojio, et al., 2013, Yamaguchi, et al., 2011).

1.2. Current Status of MHL Education in Japan

In Japan, however, mental health education is rarely provided in schools, including elementary, junior and senior high schools. It is especially striking that current school health textbooks, which follow the curriculum guidelines of the Japanese government, contain nothing about mental illnesses (Ojio, et al., 2013). Before 1982, health textbooks for high-school students included detailed explanations of mental illnesses (the names of diseases were listed along with their major symptoms) and also noted the increasing rate of psychiatric hospitalization at the time. The Eugenic Protection Act of the Japanese Government at the time, which aimed to prevent the genetic reproduction of mental illnesses, was also explained in the textbook (Imamura, et al., 1963). This content was, however, totally removed in 1982, to reduce the volume of the curriculum in the elementary school and the high school （National Institute for Educational Policy Research）. This policy of curriculum volume reduction on mental health related topics was adopted to reduce the psychological stress of students who were facing stiff academic competition to enter the more socially respected high schools and universities, which was considered a tough goal for most Japanese students at the time. As a result, knowledge of mental illnesses is generally poor in Japanese adolescents, although a few studies have investigated the issue; and has been shown to be poor in adults, which may be related to lack of mental health education during their school years (reviewed by Ando, et al., 2013). Furthermore, most Japanese people have few opportunities to learn about mental illnesses even after leaving school. In general, Japanese people tend to consider that the major cause of mental illnesses is private psychosocial factors, including weakness of personality, and ignores biological and biosocial factors (Kurumatani, et al., 2004, Nakane, et al., 2005, Tanaka, et al., 2005). In addition, the majority of Japanese people tend to maintain a large social distance from individuals with mental illnesses (Mino, et al., 2001, Katsuki, et al., 2005). Previous study considered the effectiveness of the describing mental illnesses in health textbook before 1982 and after 1982. The author said that the mental health education before 1982 might have several negative effects on the image of mental illnesses, while no describing and no education of mental illnesses at all might also connect to a feeling of dread or fear toward person with mental illnesses (Nakane and Mine., 2013).

To improve this situation, we have developed a school-based education program on mental health and illnesses. In the present paper, we explain the content and effects of the first version of the program, which is currently being improved for the next version. In developing the program, we tried to make it concise and able to be taught by school teacher. The reason for this was to make the program feasible and sustainable in most fields of school education (Han & Weiss, 2005, Santor & Bagnell, 2012). The schedule in Japanese schools is very tight due to the heavy demands of regular curriculum and events such as sports and cultural activities, and preparation for entrance examinations to higher level schools. If the program was long and required several hours to teach, many schools would not be able to employ it. Further, if the program needed to be taught by health professionals outside the school, that would also likely hinder its application, given that schools may not be able to find an appropriate person to teach the program. We therefore tried to develop a program that could be taught in two 50-minute sessions, by school nurses in the Japanese school health system.

1.3. The School Nurse (*Yōgo Kyōyu*) System in Japan

Under the Japanese government act on school health (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), all Japanese schools from elementary to junior-high school (from grade 1 to grade 9), both public and private, must have a full-time school nurse (*yōgo kyōyu*) assigned as a member of the school staff. “Yogo” means nursing and “Kyoyu” means teacher in Japanese. Senior-high schools are also recommended to have full-time school nurses (*yōgo kyōyu*) under the act but it is not mandatory. “Full-time” means that one or two school nurses are assigned to each school to stay and take care of the students’ health every day. The number of school nurses in each school is usually one, but can be two according to the number of students in the school. Y*ōgo kyōyu* are usually stationed in the health-care room of schools and give first aid to students who visit the health-care room for physical or mental health problems and injuries. They conduct annual health check-ups of students, with the cooperation of physicians and dentists (of usually private practices) in the school area, which provides good opportunities for y*ōgo kyōyu* to understand the health condition of each student. They are also licensed to give classes or courses of health education to the students, although this is not mandatory.

In recent years, demands to take care of the mental health needs of students have rapidly increased in Japanese schools, and accordingly, the role of y*ōgo kyōyu* in mental health care has also become more important. A substantial portion of students who are not able to stay in their classrooms due to mental problems, victimization by bullying and other reasons, spend substantial amount of time in the health-care room during their time at school. In the health-care room, they not only receive mental health support but also carry out their regular academic school tasks. This is referred to as “health-care room schooling (*hoken-shitsu tōkō*)”. The number of such students has increased in recent decades. Y*ōgo kyōyu* take care of these students, often very intensively, with cooperation from other teachers, school counselors (usually part-time), families and sometimes medical staff outside the school. Against this background, we considered that, in Japan, y*ōgo kyōyu* were the best candidates for delivering our mental health education program to students.

1.4. Principles and Content of The Program

The mental health literacy (MHL) education program we developed for secondary school students is designed to address the current status of mental health education in Japanese schools. The program was developed by a collaborative team consisting of psychiatrists, public health nurses and *yōgo kyōyu*, to be delivered by *yōgo kyōyu* in secondary schools. The *yōgo kyōyus* were trained for delivery of the program in their schools by one or two of the authors (YO and TS). The objective of the program was to provide an opportunity for students to learn about the symptoms of mental illnesses that are frequent in adolescents, to understand that mental difficulties are not rare in adolescents, and to encourage them to seek help when they are in difficulty.

Table 1 summarizes the content of the program. The program consists of two 50-minuites sessions. The sessions, Lesson 1 and 2, are given one week apart. The program include teaching instruction, animation and group discussion. The animation in Lesson 1 is developed for the program. The animation has two features. First, it is concise, being six minutes long. Second, the characters and background of the animation are friendly and use softly-color. The animation covers three topics. First, mental health problems are common. Second, mental health problems are closely associated with life style including sleep habits. Third, it is important for adolescents to seek help when they have the mental health problems. Another animation which is used in Lesson 2 lasted for approximately 4 minutes per unit, and was taken from the website of the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare of Japan (http://www.mhlw.go.jp/kokoro/youth/movie/b/index.html), which provides animations explaining the symptoms of a number of mental illnesses, including major depression, schizophrenia and panic disorder and others. In the present program, the animations for major depression and schizophrenia are used. The goal of Lesson 1 is for students to understand that mental health problems and mental illnesses are not rare in adolescents and being closely associated with lifestyle including sleep habits. The goal of Lesson 2 is for the students to understand that the signs and symptoms of mental difficulties and illnesses and how they should behave when they themselves or their peers are suffering from mental difficulties. Recognition of the problem is the first step in seeking help from an appropriate professional, and essential to avoid delay in help-seeking (Gulliver, et al., 2010). The contents of Lesson 1 include general explanations of mental illnesses, including prevalence, onset age, risk factors, treatability and possibility of recovery, and frequent symptoms in adolescence in lecture style. Frequent misunderstandings about mental health problems are also explained. The closely association between mental health problems and sleep habits is shown using the animation. The contents of Lesson 2 include that typical adolescent cases of major depression and schizophrenia in their initial phases are shown using the animation. The mechanism of their symptoms including the function of neurotransmitter or hormone imbalance in the brain is also explained using the diagram. At the end of the lessons, the students engaged in group discussions for about 15 minutes, in which they are asked to think about appropriate solutions that would help them when if they were suffering from mental health problems.

Table 1. Teaching methods and main contents of the program

	Instruction	Animation	Group discussion
Lesson 1 (50min)	Explanation of mental illnesses (prevalence, onset age, risk factors, treatability and possibility of recovery, frequent symptoms in adolescence) and frequent misunderstandings about mental illnesses	Showing the association between mental health problems and sleep habits	
Lesson 2 (50min)	Showing the mechanism of their symptoms including the function of neurotransmitter or hormone imbalance in the brain.	Showing typical symptoms of depression and schizophrenia	Sharing their ideas of solutions that help adolescents who are suffering from problems with mental health.
Goal of lesson 1	Understanding that mental health problems and mental illnesses are not rare. Understanding mental health problems are closely associated with life style.		
Goal of lesson 2	Understanding the signs and symptoms of mental problems and illnesses. Understanding how they should behave when they themselves or their peers are suffering from mental problems.		

2. Method

2.1. The Pilot Study and Evaluation of The Program

The study of the program was conducted from November to December, 2014. The participants comprised 118 grade-9 students (59 males and 59 females, aged 14 to 15 years) and 120 grade-11 students (all females, aged 17 to 18 years) of each secondary school in Tokyo, Japan. The two lessons were given once a week over a 2-week period at the health education class by the full time *yōgo kyōyu* (school nurse). Students were allowed to stop participating in the program if they experienced any discomfort.

2.2. Evaluation of The Effects

The students were asked to answer the same questions one week before the first session of the program (pre-test) and at the end of the second session (post-test) to evaluate the effects of the program. The first part of the test comprised 10 questions on general knowledge about mental health and illnesses (Table 2). These questions were to be answered “true”, “false”, or “Don’t know”. The second part of the test was about two case vignettes of major depression and schizophrenia (according to the DSM-IV criteria). Having read the vignettes, the students were asked the following: 1) to indicate whether the person in the vignette was suffering from no or any mental illness, including major depression, schizophrenia, eating disorder and social phobia (Table 3), 2) to select from the four-point scale ranging from “extremely unlikely” to seek help to “extremely likely” to seek help in Tables 3 and 4 the most accurately option for major depression and schizophrenia, respectively, if the students had this problem, and 3) to select from the four point response scale from “strongly agree” to “strongly disagree” for each 6 options including (1. I would not know what to do., 2. I would advise him or her to change their behavior., 3. I would avoid conversation with him or her, 4. I would recommend professional care, 5. I would talk to someone who can be trusted., and 6. I would listen for details of his or her condition.) in response to major depression and schizophrenia, respectively, if their peers had this problem. The vignettes were similar to those in Jorm et al. (1997), but were made more concise to make them easier to read. The effects of the program were evaluated by comparing rates of the correct or appropriate answers to the questions in the post-test with the rates in the pre-test.

2.3. Ethical Aspect

This study was approved by the University of Tokyo Human Research Ethics Committee.

2.4. Data Analysis

Non-parametric paired-samples tests (Wilcoxon signed rank test and McNemar’s test) was used to compare the knowledge and the student’s attitude (or selection of appropriate behaviors) for each question between pre vs. post tests, considering the distribution of the data. The level of significance was set at $p < .05$. SPSS version 22.0 for Mac (2012) was used in the statistical analysis.

3. Results of The Pilot Study

3.1. Participants

Of the 118 grade-9 students, 108 students (91.5%; 53 males and 55 females) and of the 120 grade-11 students, 120 students (100%; all females) participated in the lessons and completed the pre- and post-tests for the evaluation. None of the students withdrew during the lessons.

3.2. Effects on Knowledge and Beliefs

The rates of correct answers to the 10 questions on general mental health literacy were significantly elevated after the program had been given, with a mean / median number of correct answers of 7.4 / 8.0 out of 10 in the post-test, compared with 4.0 / 4.0 in the pre-test ($p < .001$). Similar results were found for the total score (the number of correct answers) in Grade 11 students; 5.3 / 6.0 in the pre-test vs. 8.1 / 8.0 in the post-test ($p < .001$).

Table 2. Rates of correct answers to the questions on knowledge of/beliefs about mental illnesses and their treatment (n=94; 47 males and 47 females)

		Rates % (n) of correct responses			
		Grade 9 (n=108)		Grade 11 (n=120)	
Statement		Pre-test	Post-test	Pre-test	Post-test
Around 20% of the population experience mental illnesses in their lives.	T	26.9 (29)	94.4 (102)***	42.9 (48)	78.1 (89)***
Most people with mental illnesses meet the criteria for their illnesses, with first onset usually in their teens.	F	34.3 (37)	59.3 (64)***	25.9 (29)	57.9 (66)***
Incidences of most mental illnesses sharply increase in adolescence.	T	25 (27)	59.3 (64)***	27.7 (31)	53.5 (61)***
Mental illnesses are caused by weakness or a bad personality	F	40.7 (44)	83.3 (90)***	56.3 (63)	90.4 (103)***
People with mental illnesses can't go to school because of being unable to take a train by their symptoms.	F	49.1 (53)	89.8 (97)***	68.8 (77)	98.2 (112)***
Lifestyle, including sleep habits, has an effect on prevention and recovery of mental illnesses.	T	57.4 (62)	92.6 (100)***	75.9 (85)	98.2 (112)***
Personal relationship, including bullying, has an effect on prevention and recovery of mental illnesses.	T	80.6 (87)	82.4 (89)	92 (103)	89.5 (102)
Somatic symptoms including fatigue, abdominal pains and nausea may occur as early symptoms of mental illnesses.	T	31.5 (34)	50 (54)**	49.1 (55)	72.8 (83)***
Most people with mental illnesses are unpredictable and dangerous.	F	38.9 (42)	71 (76)***	67 (75)	86.8 (99)**
Medication improves many mental illnesses.	T	14.8 (16)	55.6 (60)***	29.7 (33)	87.7 (100)***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001 (Comparison of post-test with pre-test)
T: True, F: False

3.3. Recognition of Mental Health Problems and Selection of Appropriate Solutions

Tables 3 and 4 show the rates of students who selected the appropriate diagnosis of in the two vignette cases and the appropriate solutions for those problems, respectively. At the pre-test 41.7% / 47.5% and 7.4% / 10.0% of Grade 9 / Grade 11 students selected the correct diagnosis for the vignette cases of major depression and schizophrenia, respectively. The rate of the correct answers significantly increased at the post-test (94.7% / 94.2 % and 95.4% / 91.7% at the post-test ($p < .001$ and $p < .001$) for major depression and schizophrenia, respectively). The rates of indicating the intention to seek help also increased significantly ($p < .001$) in the post tests, compared with the pre-test (Tables 3 and 4). The rates in Grade 9 / Grade 11 students were 64.8% / 62.5% and 63.0% / 57.5% in the pre-test and 77.8% / 83.3% and 77.8% / 80.0% in the post-test for major depression and schizophrenia, respectively.

Table 3. Answers to the questions about vignette of a major depression case

	Rate % (n) of the correct responses			
	Grade 9 (n=108)		Grade 11 (n=120)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
a. Rate of students who indicated the correct name of the illness	41.7 (45)	94.7 (89)***	47.5 (57)	94.2 (113)***
b. Rate of students who indicated help-seeking intention in the problem described.	64.8 (70)	77.8 (84)*	62.5 (75)	83.3 (100)***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001 (Comparison of post-test with pre-test)

Table 4. Answers to the questions about vignette of a schizoprenia case

	Rate % (n) of the correct responses			
	Grade 9 (n=108)		Grade 11 (n=120)	
	Pre	Post	Pre	Post
a. Rate of students who indicated the correct name of the illness	7.4 (8)	95.4 (103)***	10.0 (12)	91.7 (110)***
b. Rate of students who indicated help-seeking intention in the problem described.	63.0 (68)	77.8 (84)**	57.5 (69)	80.0 (96)***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001 (Comparison of post-test with pre-test)

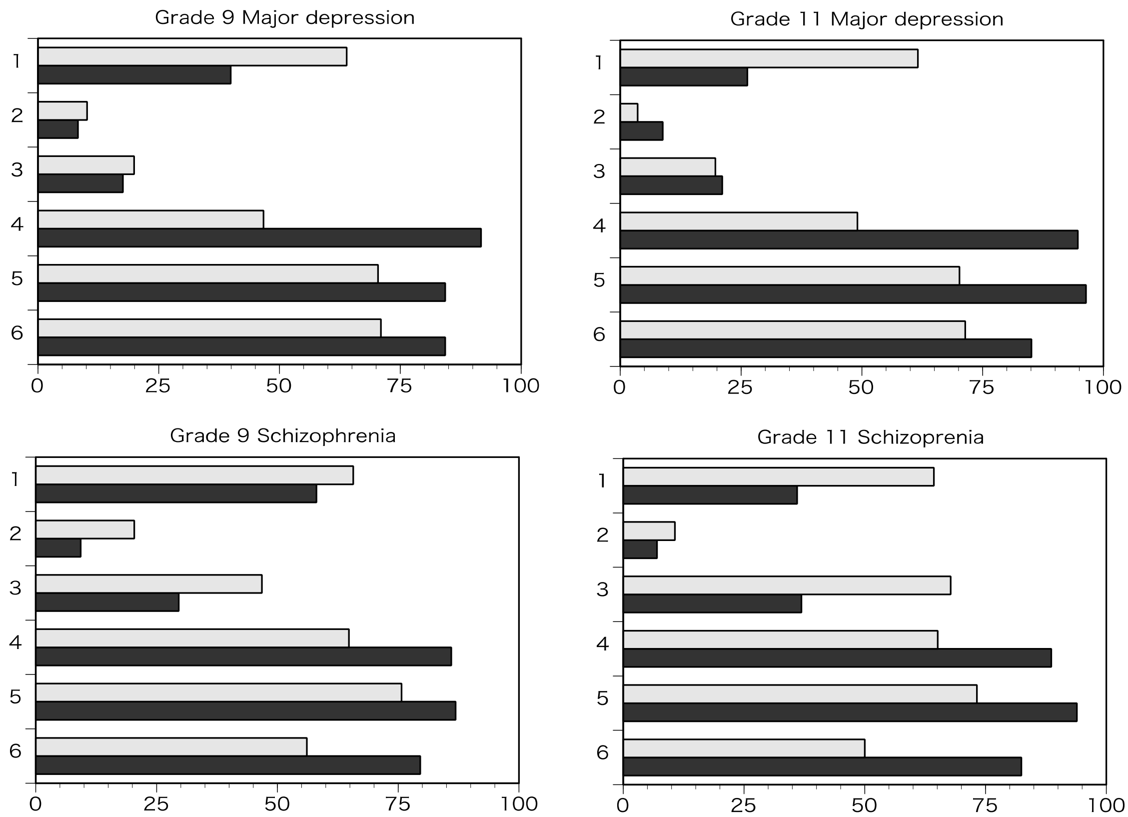
Intention of helping peers with mental health problems

Figure1 showed the rates of selected “strongly agree” or “agree” toward each items about the actions they might take if their peers were suffering from mental health problems. The rates of students who selected “strongly agree” or “agree” to the appropriate behavior (4. I would recommend professional care, 5. I would talk to someone who can be trusted., and 6. I would listen for details of his or her condition.) increased after the lessons (Figure1) for major depression and schizophrenia, respectively.

Figure legends:

Figure1. Rate of the answer to the each question, “How likely it is that you would do each of the following 6 items if your peer had the problem described?”

（1. I would not know what to do., 2. I would advise him or her to change their behavior., 3. I would avoid conversation with him or her, 4. I would recommend professional care, 5. I would talk to someone who can be trusted., and 6. I would listen for details of his or her condition.） The gray bar depict the result of pre-test, and the black bar also represent the result of post-test



4. Discussion

We developed a concise, school staff-led mental health literacy (MHL) program for secondary school students and found significant effects. The effects were evaluated by comparing rates of correct or appropriate answers to a questionnaire immediately after the delivery of the program with the answers before the program both Grade 9 and 11 students. Knowledge and beliefs about mental health/illnesses and their treatment and also the intention to seek appropriate help and to support their peers with mental health problems were significantly elevated following the program. There have been few studies of school-based mental health literacy (MHL) education programs in Japan. To our knowledge, a couple of investigators have been engaged in this area, however, with no publications and therefore with no detailed information available. As a result, we recently developed a school-based MHL program for Japanese secondary school students to bridge the gap in this important but under addressed area in Japanese secondary schools. Out goal for the development of the program is to make it concise and school staff-led, because these may lead to the program being employed in a greater number of schools in Japan.

To our knowledge, there have been a very limited number of school-based MHL education programs of this short length for adolescents. Pinfold et al. (2003) developed a concise school-based MHL program of two 60-minute sessions, and examined its effect. The program dealt with knowledge about mental illnesses and psychiatric care and the stigma toward mental illnesses. Their program employed a short video, lecture, and information leaflets. A short talk with people with mental illnesses was also included in the program. The program had a significant positive effect on knowledge about and attitude toward mental illnesses in the adolescents, which may be similar to the present study. What was different between their program and the present program however was the person who taught the program. Their program was delivered by mental health professionals from outside the school.

Most school-based MHL programs developed thus far have been professional-led (Wei, et al. 2013., Ojio, et al. 2013.). A small number of school staff-led programs have been developed (Petchers, et al. 1988, Rahman et al. 1998, Naylor, et al. 2009, Kutcher, et al. 2013). Naylor, et al. (2009) developed a school staff-led MHL program on knowledge and beliefs about mental illnesses and stigma toward them. The program was administrated by teachers responsible for pastoral care. The program consisted of six 50-minute sessions on mental health issues common to young people. The effect of the program was examined in a simple non-randomized pre-/post-test control group design, and a significant effect was observed on knowledge and attitudes. Naylor *et al.* (2009) and ours may both show that the programs given by school staff could be as effective as those given by mental health professionals, while for this, the school staff may need to be trained to become familiar with mental health issues through training sessions. A difference between the two studies was the length of the program. While the program in the present study consisted of two 50-minute sessions, the program in Naylor *et al.* (2009) comprised the six sessions. The MHL program in MindMatters from Australia is also school-staff led, but it is left up to each school and teacher to decide how many hours to spend teaching the program (Wyn, et al., 2000, MindMatters).

MHL programs which are delivered by school staff, especially by school nurses, may have several advantages compared with programs delivered by heath professionals outside the school, such as physicians and public health nurses. Classes implemented by school nurses may encourage students to seek help from school nurses directly for mental difficulties. This may be especially true in the Japanese system where the school nurses (*yōgo kyōyu*) are full-time, being stationed every day at the same school. Another advantage is that *yōgo kyōyu* are likely to be able to deliver the mental health program with careful consideration for needs of students who have mental health programs because *yōgo kyōyu* observe students' health regularly.

Several limitations may be noted in the present study and the program. The number of the participants (students) was small and they were all from one school in Tokyo. The effects of MHL programs may be associated with baseline characteristics of the students, such as intelligence, academic capacity, and socio-economic status. The effect was examined without a control group. We should conduct the evaluation of the program with more robust design including Cluster Randomized controlled trial. To test the effect, we used a brief self-report questionnaire, which was originally developed for this study and not tested in a large number of adolescents. The limitation of pen-and-paper assessments, which suffer from potential social desirability bias, may also be noted. The *yōgo kyōyu* who gave the lessons in the present program were interested in mental health and might have background mental health knowledge. Without training the school staff, the effect of the program may not be generalized. The effect on the help-seeking intention may however be interpreted with caution. Although the students better understood the importance of help-seeking than before the program, whether they actually seek help when they have mental health problems was not evaluated. The actual behavior may be related with stigma or feeling shy/embarrassed for seeking help for that kind of problems. Change of such feelings (or stigma) is an important focus of the MHL education program for adolescents. We are partly revising our program considering this issue. Videos of the patients who have experienced mental illnesses may be used as a potential approach to address stigma. Another caution may be regarding the effects for the mental health literacy education and its effects. Several studies showed the education of mental illness might have some negative impacts on the belief or attitudes. Romer and Bock (2008)., and Yamaguchi, et al. (2013) reported that direct contact without any quality control may sometimes strengthen negative beliefs and attitudes. Future studies are needed to consider whether qualified direct contact or Video lectures affect knowledge and attitude regarding both the positive and negative aspects for mental illnesses.

5. Conclusions

In summary, we have developed a concise, school-staff led MHL education program for secondary school students. The lessons were given by a full-time *yōgo kyōyu* in the Japanese school health system. The effect was significant on knowledge of mental illnesses and their treatment. Attitudes to seeking help and assist peers for help-seeking if needed also improved, and the effects maintained 3 months after the program was given. This suggests that this concise, school-staff led MHL education might be effective. The study is however small and preliminary. Further studies of the present program using a larger number of students, with a control group, may be required. Thus far, there have been a limited number of studies on the effect of concise, school-staff led MHL education. In Japan, an important issue may be to incorporate a MHL program like the present one into the normal school curriculum of health. Effective programs in other countries with different school health systems may be introduced to and adapted by Japanese secondary schools to nourish MHL programs in Japan.

Notes

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学校教育における地域文化の位置付けに関する一考察

－奄美市立笠利中学校を対象に－

杉浦ちなみ（東京大学）

Abstract

This working paper tries to trace the development of the learning of local culture in school through historical and field research on a school in Amami Oshima Island, Kagoshima Prefecture, Japan.

In Amami Oshima, people used to perform the Hachigatsu-Odori, a traditional community dance. However, as the island was modernized after the Meiji restoration, the schoolteachers in Amami prohibited children from using the local language at schools. Around 1975, people in Amami realized that they must preserve their traditional local culture, which they had almost forgotten. Nowadays schools, the social education administration and local community are working together to preserve local cultures and encourage people to enjoy them.

In the case of Kasari Junior High School, North of Amami Oshima Island, residents come to school to teach students how to sing and dance the Hachigatsu-Odori. The connection of the school and the community is quite strong.

Keywords: Local Culture, Dialect, Community Education, Hachigatsu- Odori

1. はじめに

1.1. 本稿の目的

本研究の目的は，鹿児島県奄美大島の奄美市立笠利中学校を事例として，学校において地域文化がどのように扱われてきたか，その位置付けの歴史を明らかにすることである。本研究の中途報告となるこのワーキングペーパー（以下，本稿）では，そのアウトラインを素描

することを目指す。

本稿が対象とする地域文化は，奄美大島の八月踊りである（以下，本稿の調査対象を説明する際にいう地域文化とは，この八月踊りを指し，そうでない場合はその地域で継承される文化を指して地域文化と述べている）。奄美大島の八月踊りは，集落ごとに歌や踊りに多様性をもって今日まで継承されてきた。本稿が対象とする笠利中学校校区内の集落では，現在も集落ごとの多様性を保ちつつ，旧暦八月を中心として年間を通じ様々な行事で八月踊りが踊られている。一方で，他の多くの地で継承される文化が直面するように，担い手の不足や方言の薄れなど多くの課題が内外から指摘されている。

これに対し，笠利中学校校区では多くの場で八月踊りの学習が行われている。学習の場として，集落が大きな役割を果たしている他，公民館で開かれる講座や住民による自主的な学習会，学校が挙げられる。本稿では，こうした八月踊りの学習の場のうち，学校に焦点をあてる。今日，グローバル時代における生徒の育成の場として多くの期待や要求が学校に寄せられる。一方で，学校と地域文化はどう関係するか。この問いは容易にこたえられるものではない。本稿の作業は，その端緒として，学校でこれまでどのように八月踊りが扱われてきたか，すなわち学校における八月踊りの位置付けの歴史を追うものである。

これまで学校における地域文化の学習については，主に授業実践研究，授業実践の効果を検証した研究が多く積み重ねられてきた。こうした研究は，学校における地域文化の学習をいかに行っていくか，また学校で地域文化の学習をすることで波及する効果の検証という点で示唆に富む。しかし，学校の中での地域文化の学習の位置付けを歴史的に検証することは，すなわち学校をとりまく社会・文化的文脈を精査するものであり，地域文化を学習することの可能性や課題をより深めたかたちで検証することができる。

近年，呉屋が沖縄県八重山諸島の学校における民俗芸能の継承に関する調査を通して，学校が地域文化の継承の場となっていることを指摘し，またそれによって新たに創造されるものを「学校芸能」として提起した(1)。これは，八重山諸島において学校が地域文化の継承・創造の場となっていることを提起したものとして注目に値する。本稿では呉屋の研究に学びつつも，鹿児島県奄美大島における笠利中学校を対象として調査をするものであり，その歴史的展開から異なった様相があることを仮定して調査をする。

1.2.本稿の対象と方法

奄美大島は，行政区分としては鹿児島県にある島である。地理的には沖縄県と本土を結んだ中間に位置している。

奄美大島の八月踊りの継承は，地域の中で営まれてきた。しかし，過疎化や少子高齢化，共通語教育の影響で，担い手の不足や，方言で歌われる唄の意味を理解したり発音することができないといったように，継承が困難となってきている現状がある。一方で，次章以降で述べるように鹿児島県教育委員会が昭和 50 年代以降郷土教育を推進したことで，学校で地域文化を学ぶ実践も重ねられてきた。

現在奄美市には 16 校の小学校，7 校の中学校，5 校の小中学校（一貫校），3 校の高等学校があり，須山らの調査(2)においても示される通り，多くの学校で八月踊りを含んだ地域文化の継承活動が行われている。笠利中学校では，毎年 9 月の体育大会で生徒と集落住民によって八月踊りが披露される。この体育大会での披露に向けての練習は，総合学習の一環とし

て授業時間に組みこまれている。その授業には，校区内の 3 集落が毎年輪番で中学校に唄と踊りを教えに来て，体育大会本番でもその年担当になった集落が生徒とともに披露する。

本稿では，以上で示した笠利中学校の体育大会における八月踊りを事例に，その位置付けに関わる共通語教育と方言の歴史に関する文献調査，主に昭和 50 年代以降の教育行政および学校資料の調査，また元学校教員，集落住民からの聞き取り調査を通して，笠利中学校における地域文化の位置付けの歴史を素描するものである。

1.3. 章構成

第 1 章では目的，対象および方法を述べた。後続の第 2 章では，奄美大島の八月踊りの唄を歌う際に用いられる方言の扱いおよび鹿児島県における郷土教育の検討を通して，笠利中学校の地域文化を重視する教育のあり方がどのような背景のもと生まれてきたかを考察する。第 3 章では，前章までをふまえ，現在の学校教育における地域文化の位置づけについて，元教員や住民からの聞き取り，笠利中学校の教育課程から検討する。最後に第 4 章で，得られた示唆と今後の課題を示す。

2. 奄美大島の共通語教育と郷土教育

奄美大島の学校教育の歴史と八月踊りとの関係に焦点をあてると，両者の不和とも呼べる出来事がある。それが最も顕著にあらわれたのは，共通語教育である。元来，八月踊りで歌われる唄は，方言で歌われるものであることから，2.1 にみるように，共通語教育を行う中での方言禁止とそれに伴う方言の停滞は，地域文化の継承・発展に少なからず影響を与えたと考えられる。

一方で，鹿児島県の郷土教育・郷土学習は，奄美大島の学校における地域文化の位置付けの変化に関わりがある。鹿児島県の郷土教育・郷土学習は全国的な動向と関連をもちつつも，その独自性が指摘されており，2.2 以降でそれについて論じていく。

2.1. 奄美大島における共通語教育と方言の歴史

奄美大島の共通語教育の歴史については，島出身の教育者や教育を受けた者など，共通語教育に関わった当事者が当時を振り返った記録，例えば学校記念誌などに多く見つけられる。そうした中で，奄美大島の共通語教育を歴史的に明らかにしようとした研究は，西村の論稿(3)を除いて管見の限り見つからない。一方で，松本・田畑の研究(4)は島外出身者からの視点（松本）に加え，島出身で共通語教育を受けた当事者としての視点（田畑）から奄美の方言の状況を時期区分を設けて分析したものとして注目できる。

よって本項では，奄美大島の共通語教育の歴史について西村の研究を参照し，対して奄美の方言の状況を時期区分を設けて追った松本・田畑の研究を照らしあわせることで，奄美大島における共通語教育と方言の状況を述べる。

まずは，共通語教育の歴史を，西村の諸研究をもとに概述する。

奄美大島における共通語教育は大正時代から行われ，昭和 50 年（1975 年）頃まで形を変えながらも続いていた。特に行われたのは，教育機関としてはいずれも小学校であり，奄美本島内の地域によって，その厳しさに強弱があった。

共通語教育は，西村が直接聞き取った話では昭和 20 年代（1945～1954 年）まで，間接的な話によれば昭和 32～33 年（1957～1958 年）頃までは，「方言を使わないようにしよう」という形で教育が行われ，以後は「共通語を使いましょう」という形で教育が行われていた。ただし，地域や年代によって共通語教育の厳しい場合とそうでない場合があった。また，共通語教育は，上からの命令というよりも，むしろ，各村々や学校で自主的に行われ，教員の関わり方が大きかった。熱心な教員がいた小学校は，方言使用に関して厳しい取り組み方がなされていた。具体的には，方言札の使用のほか，週番に名前を控えられて朝礼で立たされたり体罰を加えられたりした。方言禁止と方言札の使用の背景の第一に，社会状況の変化への対応があった。特に戦前は，軍国主義戦時体制の強化を目的として行われた。第二に，戦後は都会への集団就職にからみ，都会での生活に困らぬようにという理由で行われた。第三に，「共通語」が使用できないためにいわゆる学力が低い結果となり，教師は学力向上に真剣に取り組んだ。

第二次大戦後，米軍軍政下に入った奄美群島では，他の行政は切り離されても，教育だけは絶対に切り離されないようにしなければならないという教師の熱意が，学校内での方言禁止に強く結び付いていた。そして，昭和 28 年（1953 年）の本土復帰以後は，再び都会への就職が増加する。都会に出てから言葉の面で困らないようにという教師の配慮があった。また，生徒の語彙力の不足，学力問題が大きな問題となっていた。

しかし，昭和 50 年（1975 年）以降になると，これまでとは逆に郷土教育の一環として方言尊重が言われるようになる。鹿児島県の方針も関与するが，学校教育での共通語教育，マスメディアの発達による「共通語」の浸透で，家庭内でも共通語が使用されるようになり，失われゆく言葉への危機感が生まれた。そしてそれに伴い，方言でうたわれるしまうたという伝統文化の継承への危機感が存在した。

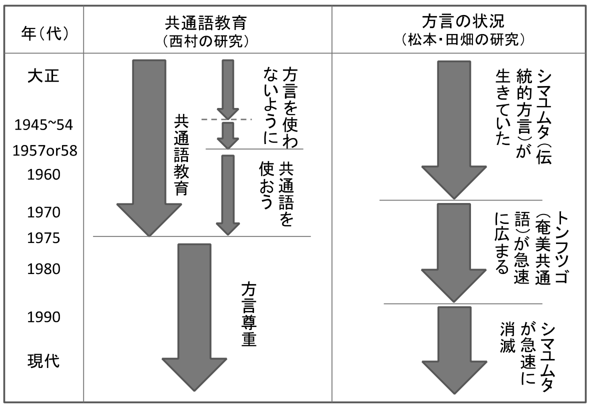
方言禁止の取り組みが自主的に行われた部分が大きかったことに対し，現在の方言尊重は，行政も関わっている。たとえば，学校教育，社会教育の場での実践があるほか，先人から語り継がれてきた奄美の方言を保全・継承していく目的で昭和 57 年（1982 年）から「島口大会」が行われている。学校教育の場では，方言ことわざのカレンダーを作成したり，校内に方言のことわざを掲示したり，文化祭で方言劇を行ったりしている。

このように，現在の奄美大島では，かつての方言禁止と相反し，行政も関わりながら，方言は大切にし守り伝えていくものとして位置付けられている。

次に，松本・田畑の研究から奄美大島の方言が時系列的にどのような状況を歩んでいるかを概述する。松本・田畑によれば，1960 年代まではシマユムタ（伝統的方言）が生きて使われていた時代，1970～1980 年代はトンフツゴ（奄美共通語）が急速に広まった時代，1990 年～現代（筆者注：平成 24 年（2012 年）当時を指して）はシマユムタが急速に消滅している時代ととらえている。

以上の西村による共通語教育の歴史と，松本・田畑による奄美大島の方言が歩んだ歴史を図式化すると下のようになる。

図表１　共通語教育と方言の状況（筆者作成）



ここから確認できるのは，西村の研究でも方言尊重の背景として触れられていたことだが，両者に共通しておおよそ 1970 年代を境にして，方言の状況や，学校教育における方言の扱いに変化が生まれていることである。ただし，西村の研究は奄美大島，松本・田畑の研究ではより広範な奄美諸島を対象としており，対象地域が厳密に一致をしているものではないため，さらなる調査の必要もある。また，伝統的方言の変容がどのような要因のもと起こったかは，西村も述べている通り，共通語教育以外の要因の可能性も見落とすことはできず，両者の比較のみでは明らかにはならない。とはいえ，おおよそ 1970 年代に言語をめぐる変化が奄美の地で起こっていたということができる。

では，方言を含めた地域文化の尊重は具体的に学校教育の場でどのようにあらわれていったか。鹿児島県の場合，ここでいう方言尊重がはじまった時期にあたる昭和 50 年（1975 年）より後に，県の教育行政の指針として郷土教育が打ち出されていた。次にこの鹿児島県における郷土教育について，全国的な郷土教育の流れを確認しつつ検討する。

2.2. 「郷土教育運動」

萩原によれば，全国的に郷土教育が最も隆盛したのは昭和初期である。昭和 2 年（1927 年）の文部省による「郷土教授に関する調査」，昭和 5 年（1930 年）の「郷土研究施設費」の交付，昭和 7 年（1932 年）の文部省主催による「郷土教育講習会」などの取り組みに加え，尾高豊作と小田内通敏が中心となって昭和 5 年（1930 年）に結成された郷土教育連盟などの動きも重なり，郷土教育運動といわれるほど全国的な展開がなされた(5)。

畑によれば，「郷土教育」は戦前におけるもっとも大規模な教育運動であり，昭和 5 年を画してその後 2，3 年間はこの郷土教育を中心としながら日本の教育運動は動いたといえるほどのものである。それは，単なる教科としての「郷土科」にとどまらない教育思潮として，それまでの教育方法・教育目的・教育観に対する批判として展開された。また，昭和 5 年（1930 年）という時期は，日本では恐慌の嵐におそわれていた時であり，とりわけ農村の破壊状況は著しいものであった。また，資本主義体制は帝国主義的原理によってこれをのり越えようとし，ファシズムへの傾斜を急速にしている時期でもある。「教育」はこうした激しい歴史的展開の中で様々な角度から，その〝非現実性〟〝後進性〟が問われ，何らかの対

応・「革新」が求められていた。その中で「郷土教育」は広汎な人々の，多様な立場から支持され，多様な内容を歴史の中に残して一旦，消えていった，と畑は整理している(6)。

この郷土教育運動は，昭和初期から戦時期という困難な時代になされた実践ということもあり，肯定・否定様々な評価があり，近年に至るまで様々な研究がなされている。

2.3. 戦前の鹿児島県における郷土教育

2.1 で概略を示した共通語教育に関する研究で指摘されるように，方言尊重の動きには，住民の「失われる言葉への危機感」にあわせて，行政の働きかけの影響が見られる。このことは，方言に限らず，それと深く関わる八月踊りにも通じるものである。

現在，奄美大島では多くの学校で地域文化の学習に取り組んでいる。そこには，奄美の地域文化継承に関する住民の「危機感」がある一方で，鹿児島県の教育行政の方針として，郷土教育・郷土学習が行われている。

近年の教育史研究で，明治期以降の鹿児島県における郷土教育の独自性が明らかにされつつある。それをもとに，方言尊重，地域文化の学習を含んだ鹿児島県の郷土教育の実態を述べる。

萩原は，明治期から昭和初期の鹿児島県における郷土教育の変遷と，鹿児島尋常高等小学校の郷土教育の実態について検討し，次のことを明らかにした。

第一に，いわゆる全国的な郷土教育運動がさかんとなる昭和初期以前から，鹿児島県当局，県教育会が主体的・積極的に郷土教育に関わっていた。

第二に，大正中期における鹿児島県の郷土教育は，都市部と農村部における郷土の取扱いの違いから「自然科」教育論と「自治公民」教育論に分類することができる。さらに昭和初期には，皇国史観にもとづく愛国心涵養の郷土教育観が表われてきた。

第三に，「郷土研究」実践，兼子鎮雄の「自治の精神」育成を基盤とする公民教育の思想の分析から，鹿児島尋常高等小学校における郷土教育を例にとり，これまで評価されてきた「国家主義的な郷土教育」という側面だけでなく，科学的認識にもとづく「市民教育」としての側面があったことを指摘した(7)。

このほか，萩原は別の論考で(8)，戦前・戦中の昭和期に鹿児島県で郷土誌発刊や郷土教育活動が行われた直接的な契機として，以下の地域的・社会的背景を見出している。

第一に，天皇行幸や皇紀 2600 年記念，学校創立記念などの地域における一大イベントが，郷土誌発刊や郷土教育活動の直接的な契機となっていた。

第二に，それらの郷土誌や郷土教育活動が，郷土史と皇国史観を結び付けた地域的アイデンティティを涵養するものとなっており，ナショナリズム発揚・促進につながっていた。

第三に，〈歴史地理統計調査書〉としての郷土誌は，社会史的・民俗学的・博物学的データを今日の我々に提供してくれるだけではなく，「郷土科」カリキュラム案や郷土地理学習資料集などを生み出す基盤となっていた。

このように，一口に郷土教育といっても実態は非常に多様である。本稿の検討の域を超えるが，近世以前に郷土教育の流れをみる考察もある。鹿児島県で永く教師を務めた池田尚正は，郷土教育の原点である郷中教育は，大口の城主新納忠元が文禄五年・慶長元年（1596 年）に手書きした写本「二才咄格式条目」（「第一武道を可嗜事」など）にその精神が表われている，と述べている(9)。

以上のように，先行研究においては，郷土教育それ自体の評価が多様になされつつ，鹿児島県固有の郷土教育史が明らかにされつつある。次節では，これらをふまえ，戦後，特に昭和 50 年代以降になって推進された郷土教育の動向を記す。

2.4. 昭和 50 年代以降の鹿児島県教育政策における郷土教育

郷土教育の一つの画期は，昭和 55 年（1980 年）から県内各地において進められた「青少年自立自興運動」である。これは，ものの豊かさの中，児童生徒をめぐって意志力の弱さや耐性の低下が憂慮される状況にあって，郷土鹿児島の次代を担う青少年に自立自興の精神を涵養し，郷土に伝わる教育の伝統を現代的視点で見直し，これを生かそうとする運動であった。県教育行政においては「郷土のもつ良き伝統や教育的風土の中で，心身ともに健康で豊かな人間性をそなえ，強い意志と創造性をもち，国際的視野に立って社会の進展に寄与し得る県民をめざして教育文化の振興を図る」（『昭和 55 年度鹿児島県の教育行政』）を基本方針に掲げ，郷土教育の推進に力を注いできた[10]。

昭和 56（1981）年度は，「学校や地域ぐるみで青少年育成の気運づくりを」のスローガンを掲げ，異年齢集団の活動を推奨した。昭和 58（1983）年度は，県教育行政重点施策「郷土教育」の充実のため，郷土の自然・文化・歴史・伝統・芸能・産業経済等を積極的に教育活動に取り込み，郷土の教育力を高めようとしていった[11]。

その後も鹿児島県では，平成 14（2002）年度以降実施される学習指導要領の下での郷土学習の振興方策を検討するため，平成 11 年（1999 年）11 月に新世紀カリキュラム審議会の専門部会である郷土学習振興委員会を発足させた。発足後，同委員会は，郷土学習の振興方策について，①今日的な意義・重要性，②「鹿児島ならではの基礎・基本」の在り方，③「総合的な学習の時間」の導入を踏まえた今後の指導の在り方，④学校における実践を支援する教育委員会の役割の在り方などを検討してきた。その間，本委員会での議論を審議会における検討作業に適宜反映させるとともに，審議会が平成 12 年（2000 年）3 月に公表した「中間まとめ」を踏まえながら，議論を深めてきた。

同審議会では，「郷土で学ぶ」（郷土の素材の教材化を図り，これを生かすことを通して，教科等のねらいをよりよく達成する），「郷土を学ぶ」（郷土の自然・文化・歴史等を学び，郷土についての理解を深め，郷土に対する深い理解と愛情を育てる）という考えに立ち，「郷土学習を通して育成したい資質・能力」として，以下の三点を挙げている。

○ 郷土の自然や文化，伝統，歴史，産業等を知ることによって，郷土への理解を深める【郷土に対する深い理解】
○ 郷土への愛情や誇りをもち，そのよさを守り伝え，郷土の発展に主体的に貢献しようとする【郷土愛と郷土へ貢献しようとする意欲や態度】
○ 異なる文化の存在を知り，それを尊重する【国際的な広い視野と共生の心】[12]

なお，こうした議論の背景には，当然ながら学習指導要領を中心とする国の教育政策の影響もみてとれる。平成 10～11 年（1998～1999 年）の「総合的な学習の時間」新設はもちろんのこと，昭和 50 年代の動きも，昭和 52～53 年（1977～1978 年）の学習指導要領改訂において示された「ゆとりある充実した学校生活の実現＝学習負担の適正化，各教科等の目標・内容を中核的事項にしぼる」という方針（実施年度：小学校：昭和 55（1980）年度，中

学校：昭和 56（1981）年度，高等学校：昭和 57（1982）年度（学年進行））も影響があると考えてよいだろう(13)。

3. 奄美市立笠利中学校の事例から

3.1. 学校のあゆみと「八月踊り」の位置づけ

笠利中学校は奄美市の北部に位置し，昭和 23 年（1948 年）笠利村立第二中学校として設立される。校区は 14.5 km²，8 つの集落からなり（里前，城前田，金久，辺留，須野，用，佐仁 1 区，佐仁 2 区），人口は 1727 人（906 世帯，平成 26 年（2014 年）3 月 31 日現在）である。笠利小学校と佐仁小学校という 2 つの小学校がある。中学校の全校生徒は，かつて 10 学級，約 350 人にのぼった時期もあったが（昭和 45～47 年（1970～1971 年）），平成 26 年（2014 年）5 月 1 日現在で 38 人（1 年生 13 人，2 年生 15 人，3 年生 10 人）である(14)。

同校の歴史の中で，八月踊りという地域文化はどのように位置づけられてきたか。

現在の笠利中学校では，先述したように，毎年 9 月の体育大会で生徒と集落住民によって八月踊りが披露される。体育大会に向けての八月踊りの練習の授業には，校区内でも中学校に近い 3 集落（金久集落，里前集落，城前田集落）が毎年輪番で中学校に唄と踊りを教えに来て，体育大会本番でもその年担当になった集落が生徒とともに披露する(15)。

平成 26（2014）年度は，9 月 12 日に体育館で八月踊りの練習が行われた。金久集落が担当の年で，当日は中学校の全校生徒と，住民 17 人が参加した。一度全体で踊った後，男子と女子に分かれて集落住民から唄や踊りについて指導を受けた。

このように，現在の笠利中は八月踊りの指導的側面から見て取れるように，実態はともかく，授業の目的としては継承が意識されていることが見て取れる。

これはいつから始まったことか。複数の集落住民への聞き取りでは，昭和 50 年代には集落住民が学校に来て生徒に八月踊りをおしえるという「継承」の意味が付与された形式がとられていたという。

しかし，集落住民の口から複数聞かれるのは，元々笠利中学校の体育大会での八月踊りは，現在のような「継承」の場というよりも，集落住民の大人たちによる「余興」として披露されていたことである。昭和 25 年（1950 年）から笠利中学校の教員を勤めていた元教諭への聞き取りによれば，元教諭が笠利中学校に勤めていた当初の八月踊りは，生徒への八月踊りの「継承」という意味はもたされておらず，踊り手は主に保護者を中心とした大人たちで，集落ごとの踊りの披露や紹介など，「余興」としての意味をもっていた。

これは，戦後，中学校が設置されてからのおよそ 70 年の間に，中学校における八月踊りという一地域文化を歌い踊る活動の位置付けが「余興」から「継承」へと変容したことを物語る。

こうした継承を意識した学習は，教育課程の中では前節で示した郷土教育・郷土学習の中に位置付けられている。学校の教育課程に注目すると，学校に残された資料の中で最も古い(16)平成 11（1999）年度の教育課程には，既に郷土教育の一環として八月踊りが位置づけられており，体育大会での八月踊りの練習の時間が組まれている。

平成 11（1999）年度の笠利中学校の教育課程を記した『笠利中の教育」の中に，「郷土教育の全体計画」が示されている(17)。それによれば，郷土教育の分野として，「郷土の人々の

連帯感」,「郷土の自然」,「郷土の文化芸能」「郷土の生活と歴史」の 4 つがある。そのうち,「郷土の文化芸能」という分野の「芸能」の説明として「体育大会，文化祭での実施，鑑賞，クラブへの参加」と述べられている。また,「郷土教育の実践活動計画」中の保健体育の項目に,「民謡舞踊実施」と記載されている。それを裏付けるものとして，同「笠利中の教育」の中の学校行事予定表には，9 月 26 日日曜日に第 52 回体育大会と記載されている他，同月 17 日金曜日に「8 月踊り指導」と記載されている[18]。ここから，平成 11（1999）年度の郷土教育の位置付けとして，八月踊りが指導されるもの，言い換えれば，継承されるものとして位置付けられていることが見て取れる。その際，保健体育の授業の一環とされていた。

その後,『笠利中の教育」では，平成 20（2008）年度以降には「総合的な学習」の時間（笠利中の教育課程上では方言を用いて「ネリヤ」とも表現される）の一環として，体育大会での八月踊りの練習が設けられている。

以上をまとめれば，第一に，笠利中の体育大会における八月踊りの披露は，住民への聞き取りによれば昭和 50 年（1975 年）頃を境として，当初の「余興」から「継承」という位置づけに変容した。第二に，現在確認できる中で最も古い平成 11 年（1999 年）の学校の教育課程から明らかなのは，八月踊りの「継承」は，教育課程の郷土教育としての位置付けに一つのルーツがあるとみることができる。

3.2. 現在のカリキュラムの実態

学校の教育課程のなかでは，少なくとも資料として確認できた平成 11（1999）年度以降，郷土教育の一環として八月踊りが位置づけられてきた。平成 20（2008）年度以降は，総合的な学習の時間（「ネリヤ」）に，体育大会での八月踊りの練習の時間が組まれている。現在の郷土教育の全体計画，総合学習の実態については図表２～４に示されるとおりである。まとめれば，現在の笠利中学校の教育計画の枠組みの中で,「八月踊り」は郷土教育の中に位置付けられ，総合学習の時間を使って学ばれている。

現在では，職員会議において翌年のカリキュラムの検討がなされる際に，総合的学習の係となった教員が，翌年の計画案を出す。そのため，年によって八月踊りの練習にあてられる時間は変動している。

現在，集落住民の笠利中体育大会の八月踊りの練習への参加および当日の披露は，校区内でも中学校に近い 3 地区（金久集落，里前集落，城前田集落）が毎年輪番で担当する[19]。集落住民への連絡は，まず教頭が区長へ連絡をとり，その後担当の教員が練習日程の調整等をする。

平成 26（2014）年度は，金久集落が担当した。集落住民が中学生の練習に参加するのは今年度は 1 回（9 月 12 日，金久集落から住民 17 人参加)。中学生のみの練習は，別途各学年音楽の授業で練習した。

図表２　笠利中学校 平成 25（2013）年度 郷土教育全体計画

郷土教育全体計画

教育の今日的な課題

○生徒の実態
- ・基礎学力の低下
- ・道徳の規範意識の低下
- ・対人関係の希薄
- ・体験活動の不足
- ・情操モラルの欠如
- ・体力・気力の低下

○社会の変化への対応
- ・評価の工夫
- ・情報公開
- ・説明責任
- ・国際理解教育

学　校　教　育　目　標

たくましく生きる力を備え，ふるさと奄美や社会のために貢献できる生徒の育成。

《　校　訓　》

・自主自律　　・積極進取　　・創造開拓

本校の教育課題

- ○心の教育の充実
- ○学習指導の充実
- ○体力向上と健康教育の充実
- ○生徒指導の充実
- ○生き方指導の充実
- ○情報教育の充実
- ○家庭・地域との連携強化
- ○職員の指導力・資質向上

めざす生徒像

1　目標を持ち，意欲的に学習する生徒
2　礼儀正しく，情操豊かな生徒
3　強固な意志と強い身体を持った生徒

郷土教育の目標

郷土愛

1　郷土理解を深め，郷土を愛し，郷土の文化遺産を継承・発展させる力をもつ生徒の育成を図る。
2　郷土にある自然的・社会的素材を教材化し，各教科・領域等の目標達成を図る。

連帯感

郷土の人々の連帯感	郷土の自然	郷土の文化芸能	郷土の生活・歴史
・地域活動，集落行事，校区内外行事への参加 ・施設等の利用 ・地域社会での奉仕作業	・自然の保全活動 緑化運動 清掃活動 ・動植物の愛護 観察，育成	・郷土芸能の伝承 体育大会，文化祭で実施 鑑賞 ・史跡，文化祭保護 保存する遺跡，史跡巡り 文化財の鑑賞・保護 ・島唄，八月踊り 伝承遊び	・社会，理科等における地域の教材化 ・生活･･･島口の保存 ・生産，産業 地域の特産物や伝統工芸（とうきび・藍染め・大島紬など） ・歴史，伝統 黒糖問題，奄美復帰運動の先駆者に学ぶ

- ・校区公民館
- ・運営審議会
- ・ＰＴＡ

郷土教育の実践活動計画

郷土教育推進委員会

地域活動	創意・学校行事	特別活動	総合的な学習の時間	道　徳
・校区公民館 ・地域生徒会 ・あいさつ運動 ・高齢者とのふれ合い ・「八月踊り」など行事への参加	・学校内外の積極的な美化活動 ・体育大会 ・文化祭 ・スケッチ大会 ・弁論大会 ・宿泊学習	・地域行事等における事前・事後指導 （浜おれ・八月踊り ・敬老の日など）	・ネリヤ学習 （笠利の歴史・産業・自然・文化・福祉等について，自分で課題を見つけ，調べたり，体験学習を通すことで課題を解決し，それらをまとめ，発表する。） ・島口訓について学ぶ	・郷土の先人達の生き方に学ぶ ・文化を継承することの大切さを学ぶ ・地域の人々と連携して生きることの大切さを知る

教科					
教科	国語 郷土の自然・行事等を作文の素材に活用	社会 歴史・文化財の特色を教材化する	数学 地域産業・経済等を数量化しデータ活用	理科 地域の地形・気候の特徴を調べる	技術・家庭 ・地域産業物の活用 ・島じゅうりの調理実習 ・長寿食の研究
	音楽 ・島唄の活用 ・島太鼓，三線活用	英語 郷土の歴史や偉人伝を英語化する	美術 地域の風景や伝統工芸を活用する	保体 八月踊りの実施	

図表３（左）：同校 平成 25（2013）年度「総合的な学習の時間“ネリヤ”」構想図
図表４（右）：同校 平成25（2013）年度ネリヤ年間計画

平成25年度 「総合的な学習の時間”ネリヤ”」構想図

年間時数	1年 50時間	2年 70時間	3年 70時間

目指す生徒像

1 目標を持ち，意欲的に学習する生徒
2 礼儀正しく，情操豊かな生徒
3 強固な意志と強い身体を持った生徒

4月の段階で，総合の係で，1年間の方針を話し合う。

ネリヤの流れ

4/30(火) 課題(テーマ)設定 ⇒ 探究的学習 ⇒ 11/1(金) 解決(まとめ・発表)

主体的・創造的・協力的な取組 ＞ 調査 思考 判断 ＜ 教師のサポート

具体的な取組

課題解決学習　　29時間

＜学級＞
① 各学年の課題(テーマ)を設定する。(2時間)
② テーマにそった探究的活動を行い，まとめる。(9時間)
　※ 1年:宿泊学習　2年:修学旅行　3年:進路学習　などと関連付けてもよい。
③ まとめた内容を文化祭で発表する。
　※ 発表の仕方は,展示・プレゼンなど各学年で決める。

＜全体＞
文化祭のテーマに沿った内容の劇を行う。(18時間)

課題解決学習に付随するその他の活動　　1年 21時間　2・3年 41時間

☆ 課題解決学習を実施するにあたり，学習方法や自分自身について考えること，他者や社会とのかかわりを必要とする学習を加え，内容の充実化を図る。また，課題解決学習で見についた学習方法や考え方を下記の活動で生かす取組を行う。

	1年	2年	3年
	浜下り活動(2時間)		
	宿泊学習(2時間)	修学旅行(2時間)	進路学習(19時間) ※1～3学期
	教育相談(2時間)	教育相談(6時間)	教育相談(6時間)
	八月踊り(3時間)		
		職場体験学習(24時間)	
		立志式(4時間)	
	福祉体験学習(12時間)		
			卒業式関係(11時間)
合計	21時間	41時間	41時間

ネリヤ年間計画

4月	25日	木	浜下れ活動⑤⑥	
	26日	金	課題解決学習(学級)オリエンテーション＆テーマ決め⑥	
5月	14日	火	1年;宿泊学習　2年;修学旅行　3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
	22, 23	水・木	3年;高校説明会⑤⑥×2日間	
	24日	金	2年;課題解決学習(学級)⑤	2年;課題解決学習(学級)⑥
			3年;進路関係⑤⑥(北高体験授業)	
	27日	月	1・3年;課題解決学習(学級)⑤	1・3年;課題解決学習(学級)⑥
	29～31	水～	教育相談⑤⑥×3 (1年生は29日のみ)	
6月	4日	火	課題解決学習(学級)⑤	課題解決学習(学級)⑥
7月	3日	水	課題解決学習(学級)⑤	課題解決学習(学級)⑥
	9日	火		課題解決学習(学級)⑥
	16日	火	課題解決学習(全体)オリエンテーション⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
9月	5日	木		八月踊りの練習⑥
	9日	月		八月踊りの練習⑥
	13日	金	2年;職場体験学習事前④	
	17日	火	八月踊りの練習④	
	22日	日	第66回 体育大会	
	25日	水	課題解決学習(全体)⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
10月	1日	火	課題解決学習(全体)⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
	8日	火	課題解決学習(全体)⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
	15日	火	課題解決学習(全体)⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
	21日	月	課題解決学習(全体)⑤	課題解決学習(全体)⑥
	23日	水	2年;職場体験学習事前⑤	課題解決学習(学級)⑥
	29日	火		課題解決学習(全体)⑥
	30日	水	文化祭予行	文化祭練習④⑤⑥
	31日	木	課題解決学習(学級)④	
11月	1日	金	文化祭①⑤⑥	
	5日	火		2年;職場体験学習事前⑥
	12～	火～	2年;職場体験学習①～⑥×3日間	
	15日	金	2年;職場体験学習事後⑤	2年;職場体験学習事後⑥
	19日	火		2年;職場体験学習事後⑥
12月	17日	火	3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
1月	10日	金	3年;進路関係⑥	
	15日	水	3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
	21日	火	1年;交流学習事前⑤⑥　2年;立志式事前⑤⑥　3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
	28日	火	1年;交流学習事前⑤　2年;立志式事前⑤⑥　3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
2月	5日	水	1年;交流学習事前⑥	
	6日	木	1年;交流学習①～⑥	
	7日	金	1年;交流学習事後⑤⑥	
	25日	火	3年;進路関係⑤⑥	
3月	10日	月	3年;卒業関係①	
	11日	火	3年;卒業関係①～⑥	
	12日	水	3年;卒業関係①②⑤⑥	

図表２～４出典：いずれも『平成 25 年度笠利中の教育』より

4. 示唆および今後の課題

奄美大島においては，近代，特に大正期以降，学校で共通語教育が行なわれており，伝統的な方言を話すことができる人が減っていった。そのため，方言でうたい踊られる八月踊りについても継承が危ぶまれる事態となった。それが昭和 50 年（1975）以降に，住民の危機感，鹿児島県の郷土教育も後押しして，方言尊重を含む地域文化の継承が意識されるようになった。

その一例として笠利中学校をみてきたが，同校においてもやはり同じ頃に，地域文化の継承が意識されてきたことが，示唆される。

一方で，同校区では多くの集落内で継承活動が活発である。集落の中での八月踊りは主として旧暦八月の「アラセツ」行事，「シバサシ」行事に行われる。

笠利中校区では，8 集落（里前，城前田，金久，辺留，須野，用，佐仁 1 区，佐仁 2 区）のそれぞれで，「アラセツ」「シバサシ」行事がそれぞれ 2〜3 日間にわたって行われた。平成 26（2014）年は，「アラセツ」行事が 9 月 1〜3 日，「シバサシ」行事が 9 月 7〜9 日の間に行われた。「アラセツ」「シバサシ」行事ともに，多くの地区で大人も子どもたちの参加も多い。特に，小学生から中学生は多く参加し，踊りの輪に入って踊り，加えて中学生は踊りの合間に料理を運ぶなど率先して手伝いを行い，踊りの際の伴奏に参加する子どももいる。一方で，高校生の参加が少ないのは，高校生は通える距離にある高校（笠利地区では一校）に通う者をのぞき，自宅から通学することが難しく寮に入寮することになる。そのため，平日に行われる八月踊りの高校生の参加は少ない。土日に踊りが重なった場合は，高校生も八月踊りのために一時的に実家に帰省し，八月踊りに参加している姿もみられる。また，八月踊りの時期にあわせて，島外に出た若者が帰省して参加をすることもある。一方，子どもの数が少なく，高齢化が進んだ集落では，若者の参加が少ない。

現在，八月踊りを大人同士で学習する勉強会が公民館等で開かれている（里前，金久集落で確認）。子供向けには，集落のボランティア講師によって開かれる島唄クラブなどがある（「大笠利島唄クラブ」）。

ここから，第一に，現在においては，毎年の集落行事を通した継承が大きな役割を果している。笠利中学校の生徒も，集落行事への参加をとおしてそれぞれの生徒が住む集落の八月踊りを修得している。ただし，踊ることができても歌うことはできないなど，課題はある。第二に，集落内で八月踊りの勉強会やクラブが開かれており，その関係者が地域文化の継承に果す役割は大きい。

現行の学校教育での継承が，地域文化の継承に突出して積極的な役割を担っているかどうかは現段階ではいえないが，学校に地域文化の継承を意識する視点があるからこそ，逆に地域の継承活動を応援したり，見守る立場になることができ，必要があればまた学校での教育にも何かしら反映できる余地をもつことができる。それを自覚し，グローバル時代においても継続的にその視点をもち，試行錯誤を重ねることが重要ではないか。

本稿では以上のことを論じてきたが，課題も残された。2 章で論じた共通語教育，郷土教育運動のより詳細な分析のほか，両者の関係についての検討，3 章の笠利中学校の歴史および実態も，資料の検討や聞き取りを重ねて更なる検証と掘り下げが必要である。

また，広く地域を題材とする研究として，民俗学運動と学校教育の関係を歴史的に検証した小国の諸研究がある(20)。小国の視点は，郷土教育運動がいかなる意味をもってきたかを歴史的に検証する示唆深いものであり，本研究において，地域文化の学習からいかなる意味が見出せるかの検討が課題として残る。

また，本プロジェクトのテーマであるグローバリゼーションという論点に関しても今後深めるべき課題である。地域文化はまさにグローバリゼーションとの関わりの中で成り立っている。学校はその中で一体何をしうるのか。本稿では深めきれなかったが，グローバリゼーションとの関わりをより意識しつつ，今後検討を進めていきたい。

注

本ワーキングペーパーは[http://www.schoolexcellence.p.u-tokyo.ac.jp/cms/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/Y-wp04.pdf]を再掲したものです。

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(16) なお，資料として確認できたものが平成 11 年度以降というのは，それ以前の資料については現在，見つかっていないためである。

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Endogenous Attributions of Picture-Book Reading in the Early Childhood Education:

Their Implications for Teachers' Professional Development and Children's Learning

Takayo Sugimoto

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

Fostering communicative competence of children has been one of the most important and urgent issues of school education in Japan. In the rapidly changing age of the 21st century, often dubbed as 'the age of globalization', communicative competence has been said to be one of essential skills for effective collaborative learning in school education and profound life-long learning worldwide (Dumont et al., 2010). This paper considers fostering children's communicative competence in Japanese, the language used in the early childhood education forward. This paper reports on preliminary results of our longitudinal observational studies on the picture book reading in one-year old groups in the early childhood education. We discuss some consequences of a distinctive nursery policy of picture book reading and its implications for teachers' professional development and children's learning. In particular, nursery school practices which value endogenous attributions of picture book reading were considered. This type of nursery practice or policy is not only effective from self-regulated learning, but it also motivates teachers rich linguistic inputs and teachers' scaffolding and un-scaffolding in class, resulting in children's active learning through child-oriented interactions. We also found that teachers observing endogenous attributions of picture-book reading tended to talk more to young children to ease them emotionally in the situations that children could be nervous about new activities or had negative emotional experiences from previous events. We conclude this paper by discussing how both children and teachers could benefit from endogenous attributions of nursery practices.

Keywords: Communicative competence, Endogenous attribution of picture book reading, Early childhood education, Professional development

Introduction

Communicative Competence in Collaborative Learning in the 21st Century

In the 21st century, we need collaborative learning and life-long learning to keep up with our rapidly changing world (Dumont, H. et al., 2010). Communicative competence is becoming more important since it is essential for collaborative learning and life-long learning, which involve people from different generations, different educational and cultural backgrounds.

Why, then, are we focusing on the early childhood education in this study? Impact of early childhood education on child development and Japan's social changes. Recent trends of the increasing demand for the female labor force and realization of work-life balance have accelerated the number of infants entering nursery schools rather than family care and starting preschool at the age of 3. More and more children spend longer in nursery schools from early in infancy. At the same time, more and more teachers are needed in the Japanese early childhood education, especially those for infant care and younger children. Therefore, it is of great interest to look at good practices and consider their influences of early childhood education on children's development.

Definition and Ways of Fostering Communicative Competence in School Education

For the definition of communicative competence in school education, we assume two basic components of communicative competence defined by Mori (2004). They are, namely, (a) children's ability to understand what others are saying as well as how they are feeling and (b) to express themselves actively & effectively.

There are also two ways to foster children's communicative competence in the early childhood education (Curriculum Guideline by Ministry of Education, 2009, Education Report by Hamamatsu City Board of Education, 2013, 2014).

(1) a. Everyday routines

e.g., Time for 'Reflections' in group or class; picture book reading in nursery school

b. Occasional events with children from different school types

e.g., Special events with people or children outside schools, Seasonal events such as school excursions.

Fostering Active Listening and Learning in Infancy

One of the important components of communicative competence expected to foster during infancy is 'active listening'. It is mentioned in the curriculum guidelines (Nursery School by the Japanese Labor & Welfare Ministry; Preschool and Primary School by the Ministry of Education and Science). But specific teaching or caring methods and materials are not described in detail and they are up to each teacher in each classroom. This seems to cause diversity/nonuniformity in early childhood education.

This paper is organized as follows: First, we point out some current issues of children's communicative competence in Japanese education, relating the importance of picture-book reading to the development of preliterate children's listening to learn.

Our qualitative research focused on a particular nursery policy carried out as a part of the early childhood education in Hamamatsu, Shizuoka Prefecture located in central Japan. In this preliminary report, we briefly introduce some of the important consequences of endogenous attributions of picture-book reading from one-year olds in nursery school settings.

Research on Picture-Book Reading Research: A Brief Review

Research on Picture-Book Reading at Home and in the Early Childhood Education

Research on picture-book reading can be of two types: one is picture-book reading at home such as a parent-child dyad (Ninio, 1983, Akita, 1997, Sénéchal et al., 1995, Sugai, 2012), and the other is the one in a group such as in the early childhood education including nursery schools (Whitehurst et al., 1994, Fletcher et al., 2005, Sugimoto, 2015). Picture-book reading at home is mainly done between a parent and a child(ren), the parent reads it, but the child often takes the initiative in pace and their communication. On the other hand, the dynamics of picture-book reading in group can be determined by various factors such as (a) relationships between teacher-child, child-child, (b) the quality of the teachers' linguistic input, and (c) the levels of children's language development (Mashburn, A. J. et al., 2008).

Picture-book reading is often utilized as a means of language interventions for children from a low socio-economic status (SES) in the U.S. Previous studies have reported that children from low SES families benefited highest gains from shared book reading. On the other hand, the 'Dialogic Reading' method (Zevenbergen, A. A. et al., 2003), which consists of a set of techniques for adult readers to improve the quality of the reading, is beneficial not just for children from low SES but also those from the middle or higher SES. These studies mainly targeted on children of age 3 or older and equivocally emphasize the importance of the picture-book reading setting. That is, it is good in a small group of children, but it is the most preferred in the adult-child dyad. In such intervention-based reading, adults are encouraged to ask 'open-ended questions' rather than closed questions during picture-book reading and try to give a child ample time to respond to the adult's questions.

Besides picture-book reading research aiming for language intervention, research on picture book reading in group of typically developing children younger than 3 years old is very few worldwide (Fletcher et al., 2005, Terada & Muto, 2000, Sugimoto, 2015a). In Japan, we have good reasons to do this line of research on younger children. First, the number of children growing up in nursery schools from infancy is increasing nationwide. Infants and toddlers stay as long as 8 hours in nursery means they are likely to have heavy influence of the environment they spend during the day. Second, there is currently a severe shortage of highly experienced professionals in the early childhood education, from nursery to preschool. Under the recent national administrative reforms, nursery schools and preschools, which are systematically distinct and have different nursery or educational tradition, have started to merge, creating the third type of the early childhood education, kodomo-en. These recent dramatic changes in the 'early childhood education' are expected to cause some positive and negative effects on children and teachers of the early childhood education. Now we need to identify and support good nursery and educational practices to be succeeded and further developed. This is why we target one-year-old classes in nursery.

Endogenous/Exogenous Attributions of Picture-Book Reading

Akita (1997) discusses picture-book reading within a context of later reading and literacy development and introduces parents' endogenous and exogenous attributions of picture-book reading. Endogenous attributions focus on the processes of reading (for children, it is listening) activity itself such as enjoying the story and one's imaginary word. Exogenous attributions, on the other hand, concern the outcomes or products obtained from the same activity such as acquiring orthographic knowledge and vocabulary growth. So in endogenous attributions, the processes are the goal of an activity and similar to intrinsic motivation; exogenous attributions focus on extrinsically motivated goals and the outcomes are the goal.

In this study, we are interested in a nursery policy (practices) of endogenous attributions of picture-book reading: nursery or educational practices that value the reading process more than its outcomes. We also look at how picture-book reading activities are introduced in each class. We regard teachers' use of nursery rhymes as an introduction to reading as 'exogenous attributions of nursery rhymes'. This study focuses rather on endogenous attributions of picture-book reading: It is a nursery policy or practice that teachers not relying on exogenous attributions of nursery rhymes can make a difference.

Picture-Book Reading as Everyday Routines

Traditionally, Japanese nursery school teachers use nursery rhymes before picture-book reading in Japanese nursery schools (Yumae, 2015, Sugimoto, 2015b). According to the previous survey (Yumae, 2015), even experienced nursery school teachers (40 years of job experience in nursery) do use nursery rhymes when children are restless and teachers want to get their attention. Teachers also use nursery rhymes right before reading books when they have children wait for another quietly. Therefore, nursery rhymes are widely used as an introduction to picture-book reading by teachers. This is rare in picture-book reading at home (p.c. with parents and teachers from public nursery schools in Hamamatsu).

The Nursery Rhyme Effect (Sugimoto 2015b)

Young children, especially those of and toddlers, react well to music and rhythms. Children are seemingly easy to learn words with musical rhythms. Nursery school teachers in general use nursery rhymes as an introduction to picture book reading to get attention of children, calm them down, and make them sit still. This is called the nursery rhyme effect. The nursery rhyme effect can be seen as a kind of positive mood induction and the conditioning of children' internal state and behavior through nursery rhymes. It can be seen as a type of extrinsic motivation (Deci & Ryan, 1987). Nursery teachers use this technique to make children calm down, become quiet, and listen to their teachers. Previous studies on the picture book reading revealed that they use it when their caring children are restless, noisy, are hard to pay attention to their teachers. This technique is shared by experienced nursery teachers (Yumae, 2015, Sugimoto, 2015b). Some primary school teachers do use it before story telling in classroom to avoid the first-grader problem (*p.c.*).

However, there are several negative aspects of using the nursery rhyme effect. That is, as nursery school teachers and primary school teachers pointed out (*p.c.*), children who are conditioned by the nursery rhyme effect become passively ready to listen to the teacher during the picture-book reading. These children are likely to have difficulty paying attention to or listening carefully to the teacher after entering elementary schools. Thus, it is preferable if children can get themselves ready to listen to their teacher without the conditioning them by the nursery rhyme effects.

In nursery schools whose teachers use the nursery rhyme effect, they start reading the book right after the nursery rhyme ends. The teachers do not give children a chance to talk about something just happened in their group activity.

In our preliminary study, we have found that the use or non-use of nursery rhyme effect differentiate teacher-child interaction in reading activity. That is, teachers using the nursery rhyme effect do.

Picture-Book Reading in One-Year Olds

Purposes

The present study aimed to explore the role of picture-book reading in one-year olds in nursery schools. We selected a nursery school that has a distinctive nursery policy of picture-book reading and conducted a qualitative study for 6 months. We compared our data with previous study and consider some educational and practical consequences and implications for the early childhood education in Japan.

Our research questions are the following. (1) How do different nursery policies manifest in picture-book reading in one-year-old classes? (2) How do children develop their ability of interacting with one another in picture-book reading? (3) What do children convey or communicate with one another through sharing picture books?

Method

This fieldwork research was based on participatory observation. The author visited two nursery schools with a nursery policy of endogenous attribution of reading and collected data for 6 months from August 2014 through January 2015. We video-taped picture-book reading in 2 one-year-old groups. Both groups were videotaped in the morning from 10 am: The morning group sessions and teacher-child interactions, focusing on picture-book reading activities.

Table 1 Participants of the study: Groups A & B (as of August 2nd, 2014)

	Group A	**Group B**
Number of children (female)	9 (4)	6 (2)
Mean age in month	22.7mo. (SD: 3.52)	22.17 (SD: 2.79)
Age range in month	16-27	17-25
Job experience of the teacher in charge of the group	7 yrs. and 4 mo.	4 mo.

From the video recording, teachers' talks were all transcribed into Japanese. We measured the length of the teacher's talk in each group before picture book reading and the length of reading itself. We also analyzed videotaped teachers' talks in terms of topics, styles of talk (interactive or not, and/or structured or not), and the number and topics of books read each session observed. We then analyzed videotaped children's reactions and verbal responses in group and divided them into linguistic and paralinguistic ones (Sugai, 2012).

Results

The average length of time each teacher's talk before picture book reading and that of reading in each group were given in Table 2. On average, both teachers talked about for one minute, which roughly corresponds to one book for children of this age. There is no significant difference between two teachers though their working experience as a nursery teacher was different.

Table 2

	Group A	Group B
Length of time of teacher's talk before reading	62.7 sec. (SD: 42.87) Range: 20-102 sec.	63.0 sec. (SD: 48.78) Range: 20-107 sec.
Teacher's style of talk	Structured	Unstructured
Use of emotion words	Moderate	Frequent
Picture book reading time*	252 sec.	213 sec.
Number of books read	2.83 (SD: 0.9)	2.0 (SD: 0)
Talk and reading in second	314.9 (5"14.9')	276.0 (4"36')

We obtained 32 sessions that were analyzable. As far as the number of books read is concerned, Group A was read 2.83 books on average while Group B was always read 2 books (A>B, p<.01). Teacher B constantly read 2 book in each session while Teacher A, who was more experienced in nursery than Teacher B, usually read 3 books in the morning session but occasionally read two books due to tight schedule such as occasional events, etc. Since both groups were read two or more books in each morning session, we have obtained interesting observations from children's interactions.

Children's development of communication within a group

We have divided the 6-month period of the observation into two parts and analyzed developmental changes in interactions between teacher-child, child-child, etc. as well as verbal and nonverbal behaviors, following Sénéchal et al. (1995). We have found that in the first period (August to October), children did not get engaged in child-child interactions verbally; rather they were eager to interact with their teacher verbally as well as nonverbally in one to one fashion before reading and during picture-book reading. However, in the second half of the observation period (from November, 2014 to January, 2015), children talked more to other children (child-child interaction) and teachers talked less: When a child asked a question, both teachers in different group waited until other children responded (un-scaffolding).

Although both teachers' linguistic inputs were natural and rich in grammatical structure, they often tended to continue in a very long sentence by combining them with a word-final particle '…ne,….ne,'. Transcribed sentences produced by the teachers were not equally analyzable in terms of mean length of utterances (MLU).

Discussion

The nursery school policy of not using the nursery rhyme effect could lead to two major communicative outcomes: It promotes (a) teacher's linguistic input and (b) children's interaction with others.

The 'no nursery rhyme effect' policy inevitably forces teachers' linguistic input. Teachers practicing this type of nursery neither start with nursery rhymes before reading nor just start reading a picture book to young children. Rather they carefully talk to the children in group every time before reading books. Thus, natural linguistic input is always guaranteed, which is not possible under teachers relying on the nursery rhyme effects. In contrast, teachers using the nursery rhyme effect are not inclined to talk before reading. After enjoying nursery rhymes, children are ready to listen to their teachers, and so the teacher soon start reading a book without any linguistic input before the children get restless or lose their attention.

Figure 1. Picture book reading in one-year-old class

Sex Differences in Preferences for Books and Implications for Children's Learning

We conducted the microanalysis of the videotaped interaction between children and teacher and among children (Beebe 2014). Teachers read at least two books a morning in group. The books varied in topics. Boys and girls clearly differed in their preference for types of books. That is, boys preferred and reacted verbally as well as nonverbally to books regarding vehicles and large animals. On the other hand, girls showed no reaction to those books but reacted to books about mother-child interaction, and interpersonal relationship.

Children's Self-Assertion within a Group

In the second half of the observation period, children became more interactive and tried to share their preference for books with others during picture-book reading given in (3).

(3) Episode 1: Children's interaction and self-assertions during reading in Group B (in December, 2014)

The teacher brought two picture-books with her and was about to start reading in a one-year-olds' class. Two boys, Boy A (27 mo. of age) and Boy B (29 mo.) are good friends and usually sit next to each other in picture book reading. When the teacher opened a book and became ready to read a book, Boy A pointed at the book and said to his neighbor boy B, "kore suki" (=I love this (book)!). But boy B looked at the picture book and said nothing. Boy A looked into boy B's face and repeated twice, "isshodane!" (=You do, too, right?). Boy B was preoccupied with the picture book and just nodded without turning his face to boy A. They shared their feelings during the picture book reading both verbally and nonverbally. They expressed their feelings in their own expressions that they loved the story and were excited about listening to

it.

(Translated from Japanese)

Use of the Nursery Rhyme Effects and Teacher-Child/Child-Child Interactions

Sugimoto (to appear) observed two different types of teachers: two teachers, teachers A & B, do not use the nursery rhyme effect while the other one, teacher C, uses it whenever she thinks it is necessary.

Teachers using the nursery rhyme effects do not give any linguistic input before reading picture books. This is because teachers want to start reading once children become quiet and pay attention to the teachers. They may think that children may start talking or get interested in something else if the teachers talk to children. On the other hand, teachers B and C cannot use the nursery rhyme effects must talk to children. Younger children can respond well to the topics immediate to them. So the teachers must think and choose topics carefully so that they can create interactions.

(4) Episode 2: Picture-book reading in Group A (December, 2015)

The teacher was reading a book called ‘kingyo-ga nigeta’ (=The golden fish ran away!). This book was one of the most popular books among children and so was read many times until two months ago. It had been a while since the teacher read the book. As the teacher continued to read, Girl A asked a question about the picture of the book.

A: pointing the picture of the book while looking at the teacher

A: ‘sore naani? (=what is that?)

A: nee…sore naani? (=hey, what’s that?)

(no one answered. Boy B showing a gesture of unlocking the door and said,)

B: sore-wa….kagi. (=that’s a key)

A: (With smiling) kagi!
C: kagi! kagi!

In this episode, Girl A started asking a question. It appeared that she asked the teacher the question, but the teacher did not answer, neither was everyone else. So she repeated the same question and Boy B, who was sitting behind her, tried to answer her question. In the beginning, he did not come up with the right word 'kagi (=key)', so he tried to express his image in his gesture of unlocking the door. Finally he could tell the word and Girl A was delighted on her face and repeated the word. Girl B sitting next to her also repeated the word twice. This interaction was observed in the second half of the observation period. By that time, children had become capable of communicating verbally with other peers. As the teacher's scaffolding in children's communication started to disappear (un-scaffolding), children started to help with one another in group. Their communication style had changed from teacher-child interactions to child-child interactions. This qualitative change in communication styles and strategies was caused by both the teacher and children.

Attributions of Picture-Book Reading in Group

Considering picture-book reading in one-year-old groups is concerned, we can have a revised list of endogenous/exogenous attributions of picture-book reading in group as in Table 3. There both endogenous and exogenous attributions of picture-book reading in group are added to the original ones in Akita (1997).

First, from the cognitive point of view, children can enjoy sounds of words in reading (endogenous) and children can recognize differences between them and others.

Through interacting with others, listening to others saying, children may discover individual differences in knowledge, preferences, and so on, which are

Interpersonal aspects of endogenous attributions of reading are

Through picture-books children share their feelings with other children and enjoy interacting with them freely, which are seen as endogenous attributions of reading in group. As a result of these experiences, they seem to develop their active listening ability and learn self-assertions in group.

Emotional experiences through picture-book reading are added to physiological and endogenous attributions of picture-book reading. The children in both groups understood injuries, pains and treatments in the story about heavily injured boy. They even showed some empathy for the injured main character of the story and encouraged him. In this way, picture-book reading in group can benefit from more interpersonal endogenous attributions such as interacting with others and active listening, compared to picture-book reading in dyad at home.

Table 3

	Cognitive	Interpersonal	Physiological
A. Endogenous attributions (Process-oriented)	1. To enjoy one's imaginary world. 2. To enjoy sounds of words	1. Parent-child skin ship and communication. 2. To Experience empathy. 3. To enjoy interacting with others. 4. Active listening.	1. To calm down. 2. Various emotional experiences
B. Exogenous attributions (Product-oriented)	1. Vocabulary growth 2. Enhance reading comprehension 3. To recognize differences with others	1. Learn orthography. 2. Share vocabulary in group. 3. Self-assertion	To fall asleep.

*The underlined items are newly added for group reading.

Conclusion

We have seen nursery practices with respect to endogenous/exogenous attributions. Nursery practices valuing endogenous picture-book reading without the nursery rhyme effect promoted teachers' natural linguistic inputs which correspond to one book in length and volume of vocabulary. In this type of nursery practices, both an experienced teacher and an unexperienced teacher had no significant difference in linguistic inputs. They both used many emotional words in their talk. They also talked longer when children may have negative emotional states.

As for Limitations of this research, we must admit that our research was mainly observation videotaped the picture-book reading session. We have not collected reference data to compare how teachers and children communicate in a dyadic fashion.

For future research, we must take into a consideration of children's personality and behaviors in group. Some children are very interactive and responsive while some others are reserved and quiet in group. We still study how those children react and enjoy and feel about picture-book reading.

Notes

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Citizenship Education in an Age of Measurement (1):

How Did the Japanese Educational Researchers Discuss about Educational End(s), Evaluation, and Ability?

Shinpei Kuwajima, Akira Yanagibashi, Kotaro Abe

Ryoji Nagai, and Kengo Nishimoto

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

In order to clarify the Japanese context of evaluation in citizenship education, we will focus on the thoughts of four educational researchers at the post WW2 Japan: Shuichi Katsuta, Toshio Nakauchi, Kaoru Ueda, and Minoru Murai.

Section 1 will argue the potentiality and limitation of educational theory of ability, achievement, and assessment in Katsuta's and Nakauchi's thought. Their arguments aimed at a criticism against meritocracy, and at this point their argument would be a meaningful suggestion even for our age. There is, however, the limitation of their theory and we will refer to a criticism against their argument after 1980s.

Section 2 will refer to Kaoru Ueda's thought on evaluation. For Ueda, evaluation in education is a start point of teaching. He puts importance on the individual. Ueda says that if you cannot conceive the differences [*Zure*], students' changes appeared after teaching, you are not apt at teaching students any more. However, it needs very high-quality teachers, and it would be a weak point of his thought.

Section 3 will introduce Minoru Murai's theory on evaluation in education. What is an educational problem for Murai? It is goodness. For Murai education is making individuals better. Therefore we should or need to ask what education is for. By this approach, educational bad condition would be reconstructed and get better. At this point, Murai's thought resembles Biesta's arguments.

Keywords: The pedagogy at the post WW2 Japan, Reflecting process of teaching, the differences [*Zure*], Goodness

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the Japanese context of citizenship education. For this purpose we will focus on the thoughts of four major educational researchers at the post WW2 Japan: Katsuta Shuich, Nakauchi Toshio, Ueda Kaoru, and Murai Minoru. They were the central figures in the educational research at the post WW2 Japan and they faced the situation of reconstructing education. That situation seems to similar to the recent circumstances on citizenship education: globalization and its influences on changing citizenship.

At the post WW2 Japan, a new curriculum "Social Study" (*Shakaika*) appeared in order to reconstruct education. For example, Ueda Kaoru who is one of the core members of constructing this new curriculum says "Education is for making children happy. […] Protecting these things [children's will and character] is the ideal of the Constitution of Japan, the point of democratic education, and the starting point of the Social Study (Ueda, vol. 10, p. 17)." For Ueda the Social Study aimed at "the restoration of humans [*Ningen no kaifuku*] (Ueda, vol. 10, p. 17)." It seems that the restoration of humans had to do with the educational end as the model of humans.

This condition at the post WW2 Japan seems to be similar to the recent conditions of citizenship education. For example, Gert J. J. Biesta argues that we should engage with the question: “what is education for (Biesta, 2010, p. 26)?” His book indicated that we should inquire the educational values even if we faced to an age of measurement. This would have to do with the model of humans (or citizens) as an educational end.

In this way, we will focus on the four educational researchers at the post WW2 Japan. Katsuta and Ueda engaged in organizing new curriculum (*Shakaika*). Nakauchi is one of the followers of Katsuta and he constructed a new theory of evaluation in education. Murai is one of the contemporaries of Ueda. He wrote a theory on the evaluation of education. We could regard these thoughts as the undeveloped-chances to reorganize the paradigm of evaluation in citizenship education.

1. Educational Theories of Ability, Achievement, and Evaluation in “Post-war Pedagogy”

1. 1. Educational Theories of Ability, Achievement, and Evaluation in Katsuta’s and Nakauchi's Thought.

In his famous article “What is a concept of achievement? (1)” (1962), Shuichi Katsuta provided a concept of “achievement” [*gakuryoku*] in school education. He regarded “achievement” as a measurable thing (Katsuta, 1972, p. 370). However, it does not mean that he intended to exclude un-measurable abilities from the concept of achievement. He aimed at defining achievement as “provisional” one in order to redefine a concept of achievement in practice.

In his main work, *Ability, Development and Learning* (1964), Katsuta categorized human abilities: recognition, response & expression, labor, and mediation capability. For Katsuta, achievement is what children get at schools. Therefore “it is a mistake that school education can develop all human abilities (Katsuta, 1973).”

Toshio Nakauchi is one of the academic followers of Katsuta. In his work, *A theory of achievement and evaluation* (1971), Nakauchi tried to construct the achievement model as continuously re-creating its standard (Nakauchi, 1971, p. 56). According to Katsuta, he also defined achievement as something “provisional.” For Nakauchi, achievement is the “sharing and conveying something with/ to someone.” At this point we can make educational evaluation possible to improve education (Nakauchi, 1971, p. 56). Nakauchi tried to relate achievement with its evaluation. Achievement is the educational objectives and evaluation is two sides of the same coin (Nakauchi, 1971, p. 135). For Nakauchi, the reflective process of examining on teaching or choosing educational materials guides evaluation of educational achievement. In this way, both of Katsuta and Nakauchi constructed their theory on achievement and its evaluation without sacrificing individuals (pupils, students).

Akirou Takeuchi argued that Katsuta’s educational theory of ability and achievement had the viewpoint of cooperative ability (Takeuchi, 1993). In fact Katsuta said that: “It is true that the individuals get the human ability but its values [are never determined individually, rather its values] lies in making people’s life fruitful and doing something for someone or engaging in social service (Katsuta, 1973, p. 235).”

In this way Katsuta expanded the range of human ability from individuals to social relationship. It shows that he had the sight of cooperative ability. Nakauchi seemed to have the same sight because his theory of evaluation aimed at the reflection of teaching (Nakauchi, 1991, p. 21). Both of Katsuta and Nakauchi tried to construct their theories against meritocracy. However unfortunately it seems that they were misunderstood and their theories were not enough to avoid meritocracy. Their theories have been criticized after 1980s.

1. 2. Limitation of Katsuta’s and Nakauchi’s Thought

To cooperative education from competitive education (Takeuchi, 1988) was a typical criticism. This collected papers said that the “people's rights of education [=

Kokumin no kyouiku-ken]" played an important role to prevent the intervention by the government in education. Unfortunately, however, it did not work well after all because people did not admit its meaning (Ikeya *et al*., 1988, p. 7).

In this point, Akirou Takeuchi's "cooperation" theory is very important because it argued that "ability" should not be regarded as something attributed to the individual but it is constructed by the social demands and the culture. This theory also aimed at the overcoming of oppressing the individuals (Takeuchi, 1993).

> Therefore the argument, which criticized the meritocracy, seemed to criticize the meritocracy without noticing the possibility that, as its nature, the idea of human development could function meritocratically. In other words, they were unaware of the danger that the argument itself could lead to the discrimination or oppression of people (Takeuchi, 2005, p. 125).

Takeuchi's criticism of the post-war pedagogy pointed out that they had criticized the meritocracy but they had not examined whether their own theory was meritocratic or not. It means that, paradoxically, critical theory for meritocracy actually performed meritocratically. If it did not have the reflective viewpoint, the provisional achievement would invert actually an immobile thing. And the theory of evaluation would become to lay the onus on the individuals.

2. The Individual and the Individuals: Kaoru Ueda's Thought on Evaluation

2. 1. The Individual and the Individuals (The Relation between a Student and the Classroom)

Kaoru Ueda's thought on the evaluation in education is premised on the relation between the individual and the individuals: the relation between a student and the classroom. First, we will look at this relation.

Ueda said that “if the teachers would like to make the students to study willingly, there are the problem with the group [= classroom, in this case] (Ueda, vol. 3, p. 170).” However, it is more important for Ueda “to conceive deliberately the results or outcomes of each children [= students, in this case]’s studying or learning (Ueda, vol. 3, p. 170).”

In this way, it is important for Ueda to make the group or classroom preparing for each child. His theory on evaluation not only focused on each child’s outcomes or results of studying or learning, but also focused on the group (the relation of the individuals).

2. 2. Ueda Kaoru’s Theory on Evaluation

Ueda referred to the evaluation in education, in his book *Unkown Education* [*Shirarezaru kyouiku*] (Ueda, vol. 1, pp. 87-95). He defined the “evaluation is not the ends of learning and teaching, but the starting point of that (Ueda, vol.1, p. 87).” Ueda said that “the evaluation must have an aim, and it is the evaluation that refers to relation between this aim and what students actually learned (Ueda, vol.1, p. 87).”

He emphasized that the evaluation in education should be done continuously and that evaluation should be implemented by teachers (Ueda, vol. 1, pp. 94-95).

2. 3. Teachers as High-Professionals: Is it a Weak Point of Ueda’s Theory?

In that case, how do teachers evaluate each student? -- this question would be a meaningful question. However, Ueda did not refer to how can a teacher evaluate his/ her students, rather he said “teacher must be able to realize naturally the differences between his/ her expectations and what the students actually learned (Ueda, vol. 3, pp. 304-305).”

Ueda emphasized teachers’ talents in such a way. His point is that as a teacher it is natural to know what students actually learned. However, would it need a high-talent to know or to realize such a differences? High-talented teachers, high-professionals may be a weak point of Ueda’s theory on evaluation.

3. “Goodness” in Education: Minoru Murai’s Educational Value Theory and Theory of Educational Ends

Minoru Murai placed the “goodness” at the center of his own philosophy of education. For Murai, human beings are “midway (μεταξυ)”(1), because they have efficient cause to long perpetually for “goodness.”

3. 1. Minoru Murai’s Educational Value Theory: Judgment-based Value Theory

Murai described the judgment of “goodness” as follows: “Our judgment of ‘goodness’ does not depend on the nature of objects nor on our perceptions and sensations (Murai, 1978, p. 110).” However, “at the same time, our judgment [of ‘goodness’] is related to the operation of intellect or reason that tries to be objective (Murai, 1978, p. 111).”

The fact that our judgment of “goodness” requires objectivity is important. At this point, the judgment of “goodness” differs from the judgment of “pleasure.” For Murai “pleasure” is related to our inner demands and its judgment is always subjective. He insisted that the judgment of “goodness” requires satisfying the demand for “mutuality,” and that “mutuality” is based on the fact that “human beings exist among people (Murai, 1978, p. 116).” Furthermore, in his recent book, *Prepare for and Begin the Study of Education Anew* (2008), Murai also emphasized the demand for “mutuality” in the judgment of “goodness” on communication grounded on intellect and reason.

“In this way, finally, our judgment of ‘goodness’ consists of satisfying these demands for ‘mutuality’, ‘consistency’, ‘utility’ and ‘beauty’ simultaneously (Murai, 1978, p. 136).” Murai pointed out that “human beings have an inner mechanism in which these demands operate structurally (Murai, 1978, p. 130).”

However, the judgment of “goodness” is similar to the judgment of “pleasure” in terms of satisfying demands. The objectivity of the judgment of “goodness” that Murai explained was not strict; he merely explained that human beings long for objectivity by intellect and reason. However, this has the reason. Murai rejected the strict objectivity of value in order to prevent a person in power (*e.g.* the ruler) from monopolizing values and politics.

3. 2. Murai's Theory of Educational Ends

As mentioned above, Murai's value theory attempted to overcome the monopolization on values and politics. For Murai, all people including children would judge "goodness." Murai mentioned, "if adults who are compelled to be concerned with children are naturally erotic [= philosophical, in this case; long for something good] as human beings who long for 'goodness,' in the same sense, children are also naturally erotic (Murai, 1976, pp. 145-6)."(2) Therefore, we must acknowledge that both children and adults have the same nature. Both are so erotic (= philosophical; long for something good) that they are compelled to long for "goodness" and judge "goodness" constantly throughout their lives. These are the preconditions of Murai's theory of educational ends.

According to Murai, educational thoughts leading to educational ends are divided into two types, namely, "result-based" and "process-based (Murai, 1976, p. 173)." He argued that result-based educational thought has so strong affinities with political and religious thought, as to result in the confusion of educational thought with political and religious thought. Therefore "now, we must think of process-based educational thought as intrinsically pure educational thought (Murai, 1976, p. 174)." For Murai, "the basis of educational thought (which can hence be radically distinguished from political and religious thought) is to aspire to children's voluntary learning activities and the vigorous development of children's reason as an endless growth process, and to avoid expecting educational results as to what children should become as much as possible (Murai, 1976, p. 174)."

Murai defined “process-based” educational thought as follows: “through their own spontaneity and the external effects of images of E [= ends] (process-based) as clues that are brought by educators, children come to realize images of a ‘good person’ as their own E (result-based) (Murai, 1976, p. 192).” The educator provides images of a “good person” as clues, by which children create their own images of a “good person.” The images of a “good person” that adults have are images of the process of growth for children. In this way, Children learn images of a “good person” from adults and create their own images of a “good person.” Murai acknowledged that children are constantly judging “goodness” and respected that children create their own images of a “good person,” that is, their own educational results.

Conclusions

Finally, we will try to connect our argument about the four researchers with the Japanese context of citizenship education today.

Shigeo Kodama recently argued that it would be possible to think that the educational results were not attributed to the individuals. For example, citizenship and political culture are almost impossible to be measured in the meritocratic way (Kodama, 2013, p. 131). Therefor, if we described the ability or achievement fostered in citizenship education today, it would be based on the “ignorant citizen” (Kodama, 2013; Biesta, 2011). The ignorant citizen is a key concept of citizenship education today. “The ignorant citizen is the one who, in a sense, refuses this knowledge [required as a “good” citizen] and, through this, refuses to be domesticated, refuses to be pinned down in a pre-determined civic identity (Biesta, 2011, p. 152).”

In this way, the ignorant citizen is a keyword in this fields and it suggests a sort of ends of education, which are never predetermined. In this respect, the provisional achievement (Katsuta), evaluation as the reflective process of teaching (Nakauchi), the difference (Ueda), and the process-based end of education (Murai) would be a hint to consider the new type of citizenship education. We can conclude that their theories have some weak points but they are meaningful to us in an age of globalization. If we learned from their arguments, we would construct a new paradigm of evaluation in the post-Biesta's citizenship education.

Notes

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(1) Diotima says "So may we not say that a correct opinion comes midway between knowledge and ignorance (diotima, 1964, p. 35)?" in Plato's Symposium. In the previous quotation, "a correct opinion" means an ancient Greek word, "δόξα."

(2) Murai means this word "erotic" as an ancient Greek word, "ἔρως." Murai associates this word "erotic" with Socrates in Plato's Symposium.

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・vol. 10: *Shakaika to ningen kaifuku*. (*Social Studies and the Restoration of Humans*).

Citizenship Education in an Age of Measurement (2):

Toward a New Paradigm of Evaluation in Citizenship Education

Kotaro Abe, Ryoji Nagai, Kengo Nishimoto

Shinpei Kuwajima, and Akira Yanagibashi

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

The purpose of this paper (the second part of this research) is to describe the resent conditions of citizenship education and to show a new paradigm of evaluation in citizenship education.

Section 1 will show you a new conception of citizenship education by Gert J. J. Biesta. He calls it “subjectification.” However, Biesta has not talk about the evaluation of it. That is why we inquiry of new paradigm of evaluation, and we would refer to Biesta’s intellectual resources: Jacque Rancière and John Dewey.

In section 2, we will describe citizens as the *spectator*s of schooling from Jacque Rancière’s theory: one of the important members for the assessment of schooling. They are *not* the consumers of schooling: they not only pay taxes for supporting their schools but also should participate in the assessment of schooling.

At section 3, we will focus on John Dewey. Dewey’s thought on democracy is very fruitful for constructing a new paradigm of evaluation. Democracy is a way of associated living for Dewey. Democracy consists of association and communication. For Dewey, the democratic society always has fallibility: people have a chance to retry something. Therefore, in the democratic education, if children made a mistake it would not mean an

evil thing to be eliminated. Rather it is a chance to reconstruct one’s ideas and to retry something.
The evaluation in citizenship education should *not* be made up with “predetermined correctness.” If we admired Biesta’s conception of citizenship education, we should also admire some mistakes and the chances to retry.

Keywords: citizenship education, the ignorant citizens, subjectification, spectators, democracy

Introduction

The purpose of this paper (the second part of this research) is to describe the resent conditions of citizenship education and to show a new paradigm of evaluation in citizenship education. We would regard Gert J. J. Biesta’s arguments as a leading theory. At first we would like to refer to his main argument briefly in order to grasp some premises of this paper.

Biesta is not only a thinker of citizenship education but also a researcher who reintroduced the normative question into education: what is education for? For him education “is by its very the nature a process with direction and purpose (Biesta, 2010, p. 2).” “That is why the question of good education […] is not optional but always poses itself when we engage in educational activities, practices and processes (Biesta, 2010, p. 2).” He showed a new citizenship education (“subjectification” in his word) that was not dependent on the predetermined ends.

However, he has not described how its evaluation would be. Therefore, it will be meaningful to us (in an age of measurement) to consider the paradigm of evaluation in a new type of civic learning.

1. On Biesta's Conception of Citizenship Education: What is "Subjectification?"

1. 1. On "The Ignorant Citizens": An Impact of Un-predetermined End

Biesta pointed out the danger of "a *domestication* of the citizen -- a 'pinning down' of citizens to a particular civic identity -- and thus [it] leads to the erosion more political interpretations of citizenship (Biesta, 2011, p. 142)." Biesta said the "danger of domestication […] is not only there because of the existence of particular claims about what the good citizen is, but also flows from more fundamental assumptions about the interconnections between citizenship, knowledge and education (Biesta, 2011, p. 142)." Therefore, he introduced "the ignorant citizens."

> The ignorant citizen is the one who is ignorant of a particular definition of what he or she is supposed to be as a "good citizen." The ignorant citizen is the one who, in a sense, refuses this knowledge and, through this, refuses to be domesticated, refuses to be pinned down in a pre-determined civic identity (Biesta, 2011, p. 152).

Biesta also introduced "subjectification:" a new conception of citizenship education. It "focuses on the question how democratic subjectivity is engendered through engagement in always undetermined political processes. This […] is no longer a process driven by knowledge about what the citizen is or should become but one that depends on a desire for a particular democratic mode of humantogetherness (Biesta, 2011, p. 142)."

In this way, Biesta radically raised a problem of conception of citizenship education. Its key concept is an un-predetermined educational end: the ignorant citizens.

1. 2. The Necessity of "What is Education for?"

Biesta also raised the problem about "good education." In his book, *Good Education in an Age of Measurement*, he criticized an age of measurement and emphasized the necessity of “What is education for? (Biesta, 2010, Chap. 1).”

> I have shown that we live in an age in which discussions about education seem to be dominated by measurement of educational outcomes and that these measurements play an influential role in educational policy and, through this, also in educational practice. The dander of this situation is that we end up valuing what is measured, rather than that we engage in measurement of what we value. It is the latter, however, that should ultimately inform our decisions about the direction of education. This is why I have argued for the need to engage with the question as to what constitutes *good* education, rather than, for example, effective education.
>
> (Biesta, 2010, p. 26, the italics in the original)

For Biesta, education needs to ask what education is for in order to protect education from the erosion of measurement.

1. 3. How Do We Evaluate?

“What is education for?” -- this question is about educational values and educational end(s). However, Biesta has not ever discussed the evaluation in citizenship education. He only emphasized “a desire for engagement with the ongoing experiment of democratic existence (Biesta, 2011, p. 151).” Therefore, it would be valuable to try to construct a new paradigm of evaluation in citizenship education, and this is the starting point of this research.

At the following two sections of this paper, we will focus on the two main intellectual resources of Biesta: Jacques Rancière and John Dewey.

2. From Consumers to Spectators : Participation of Citizens for Educational Assessment

In this section, we will consider a framework of assessment(1) from Jacques Rancière's thought. His thought seems to be a hint when people construct the assessment of public education in an age of measurement. We would like to refer to the NPM (the new public management) theory at first in order to grasp the recent condition of public education.

2. 1. NPM Governance and Public Education Today

Recently the welfare state government has been at the crisis point and a new concept has appeared in NPM (the new public management) theory: governance. Governance has appeared as an alternative concept of "government" in the failure of government and market (Keating, 2004). Governance had been well known by coming the NPM theory in fashion in 1990s. NPM governance has been emphasized and the government reform in private way has been enforced (Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2000).

NPM governance is constructed by managerialism, which leads private sector's method to public sector or to new institutional economics theory that introduces the incentive mechanism into public service. In this respect, less government (or less rowing) and more governance (or more steering) are emphasized (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992).

Today, the method and theory of NPM has used in public education reform. For example, civic assessment plays an important role for school choice. However, there are some problems of assessment (Takami, 2010). For example, the faithful standard or criteria has not been established. The quality of schooling has not been improved by competition with the diversity of suppliers. Therefore, we need to construct a new assessment theory. A new theory seems to be constructed without the measurement based way or the predetermined standard. Moreover, now we may have to abandon the idea that the educational results should always been evaluated by teachers (as specialists who have more knowledge than students). In this respect, Rancière's theory would be a hint for our argument.

2. 2. Ignorant Spectators: Rancière's Spectator Theory

Rancière pointed out that not all spectators have the knowledge to appreciate performances (such as plays, music concerts, pictures), but they can appreciate performances in their own way (Rancière, 2009).

> She[spectator] observes, selects compares, interprets. She links what she sees to a host of other thing that she has seen on other stages, in other kind of place. She composes her own poem with the elements of the poem before her. She participates in the performance by refashioning it in her own way (Rancière, 2009, p. 13).

In this way, "spectators see, feel and understand something in as much as they compose their own poem, as in their way, do actors or playwrights, director dancers or performers (Rancière, 2009, p. 13)." This argument depends on the equality of intelligence between spectators and performers. Such equality is a key concept for Rancière. He showed this idea in his work on education.

Rancière criticized that the old-fashioned principle of education always "divides intelligence into two [knowing minds and ignorant ones] (Rancière, 1991, p. 7)." For Rancière, intelligence exists in the place "where each person acts, tells what he is doing, and gives the means of verifying the reality of his action (Rancière, 1991, p. 32)." Therefore, only the "ignorant" schoolmasters can realize education (that based on the equality of intelligence between students and teachers) for Rancière. Student does not have as much knowledge as teachers have, but they can understand something in their own way. Rancière applied this logic for his theory of spectators.

2. 3. Citizens as the Ignorant Spectators of Schooling

If we premised Rancière's theory, we would conclude that the assessment of schooling should be opened to the citizens as the ignorant spectators of schooling. Of course, they are amateurs of schooling and do not have as much knowledge as teachers have, but therefore it seems that they can make educational assessment better (their participation into the assessment of schooling will enable to realize education with the diversity).

However, this idea does not mean that we should consider the citizens as consumers of schooling: their judgment is not always the most important for schooling. They can only bring the different viewpoints (that is at least different from teachers' viewpoints) into the assessment of schooling.

3. Dewey's Democracy: Democracy as a Way of Associated Living

In this section, we will focus on Dewey's democracy in order to clarify the connotation of Biesta's subjectification: to "exposure to the experiment of democracy (Biesta, 2011, p. 152)."

3. 1. Democracy: Association and Communication

For John Dewey, democracy has two dimensions: association and communication. Association implicates the mode of living and communication implicates reorganizing society.

Association is the way and mode of living with others. Dewey said that democracy is "primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience (Dewey, 1916, p. 93)." According to Satoshi Tanaka, "conjoint communicated experience" implies the care for others (Tanaka, 2012, p. 80). Therefore, association is a way of living, which is opened and communicated experience with others, and it has an ethical aspect.

Communication is the mode that making the common interests. Communication works for reorganization of society (community). "Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. […] Men live in a community in virtue of the things which they have in common; and communication is the way in which they come to possess things in common (Dewey, 1916, p. 7, the italics in the original)."

3. 2. Democracy as "Fallibilism": On Dependence and Plasticity

In order to conceive Dewey's democracy more deeply, we will refer to Richard Berstein's fallibilism. Fallibilism is an intrinsic aspect of the theory of democracy.

In *The Abuse of Evil*, Bernstein referred to Dewey's theory of democracy as a pragmatic conception (Bernstein, 2005). He said, "the mentality of pragmatic fallibilism […] is anti-dogmatic and anti-ideological (Bernstein, 2005, p. 51)." For Bernstein the important point is making not consensus but politics that "requires a commitment to persuasion (Bernstein, 2005, p. 73)." In other words, Bernstein refused the definitive discourse. It is important for him to continue debating and deliberating. This is Bernstein's fallibilism.

To grasp Dewey's democracy as fallibilism, it would be better to clarify two aspects of his association: dependence and plasticity. Dependence is a sort of weakness and "the flexible and sensitive ability […] to vibrate sympathetically with the attitudes and doing of those about them (Dewey, 1916, p. 48)." Plasticity is "essentially the ability to learn from experience; the power to retain from one experience something which is of avail in coping with the difficulties of later situations (Dewey, 1916, p. 49)."

In this way, association is a way of living sympathetically with others (communicating experiences) and of reorganizing action. As well as Bernstein's fallibilism, Dewey's democracy as fallibilism is reorganized constantly.

3. 3. To Exposure to the Experiment of Democracy

Biesta's subjectification has to do with an "exposure to the experiment of democracy (Biesta, 2011, p. 152)." His "democracy" is mainly based on Dewey's democracy.

As we mentioned, Dewey pursued both sufficiency of human life and continuation of social life in the background of democracy. For Dewey, it is very important that education is only possible in the democratic society, and the democratic society could be maintained by democratic education. Dewey regarded dependence and plasticity as the important parts of education. In other words, cultivating association is essential to education. Satoshi Tanaka showed that when association appeared as "altruism" or "unselfishness," it would be the mode of interpenetration (Tanaka, 2011, p. 138).

Now, we can conclude that Biesta's conception of civic education (subjectification) is regarded as the process to be "democratic" in Deweyan meaning: associating with other people and making community through communication. Moreover, Dewey's democracy is regarded as fallibilism. Therefore, Democratic education should be opened to make mistakes and retry.

Conclusion

We can conclude that a new paradigm of evaluation in citizenship education should consist of at least the following two elements: (1) a new participants in assessment of schooling (citizens as spectators) and (2) democratic conditions (in Deweyan meaning).

A new type of citizenship education (such as Biesta's subjectification) has to do with not the predetermined end (such as the good citizens) but an un-predetermined end (such as the ignorant citizens). Therefore, its evaluation (or its assessment of schooling, which contains such type of citizenship education) should be implemented in the un-predetermined way. In a new evaluation, it seems that the "correct" answers cannot be predetermined. Rather the "correctness" of an answer should be confirmed or be revised in the process of evaluating in (democratic) education. In this respect, a new paradigm of evaluation, which has to do with un-predetermined ends, would be very to exposure to “experiment of democracy (Biesta, 2011, p. 152),” and it would be a new step for constructing really democratic education.

Notes

This working paper is reproduced from [http://www.schoolexcellence.p.u-tokyo.ac.jp/cms/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/Y-wp07.pdf].

This research was supported in part by a grant, Youth Scholar Training Program from Center for Excellence in School Education, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo.

(1) In this paper, “measurement” is regarded as concerning a predetermined end (such as “good citizens” in “socialization” of Biesta’s theory). “Evaluation” is completely different from “measurement” in respect of concerning with “subjectification” (Biesta's conception of citizenship education) and with un-predetermined ends. “Assessment” is a word concerned with the level of the accountability of the schooling.

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若手研究者育成プロジェクトについて：

東京大学教育学部グローバル・リーダー育成「スウェーデン研修プログラム」

グローバル・リーダー育成「スウェーデン研修プログラム」幹事
教育学部・准教授／学校教育高度化センター・副センター長
北村 友人

東京大学教育学部では、平成 26 年度にスウェーデンのストックホルム大学教育学部と部局間協定を締結したことを受けて、学生間の交流を促進するために「グローバル・リーダー育成『スウェーデン研修プログラム』」を平成 27 年 3 月に実施した。今回のプログラムには、教育学部から 12 名の学生が参加し、ストックホルム大学教育学部の学生たちと交流を深めることができた。なお、今回のプログラムの実施にあたっては、学校教育高度化センターとも連携し、同センターによる研究プロジェクト「グローバル時代の学校教育」からの研究助成を受けた大学院生たちとともに国際シンポジウムを開催したり、現地の学校やスウェーデン教育庁を訪問したりした。とくに、国際シンポジウムでの発表にあたっては、大学院生たちから重要な助言を学部生たちは得ることができたことを記しておきたい。

プログラムの詳細については別に纏めた報告書をご覧いただきたいが、国際シンポジウムならびに学校・教育庁への訪問を通して、学生たちは日本とスウェーデン、さらにはアジアと欧州という、異なる社会における教育のあり方の相違について、理解を深めることができたと考える。その際、スウェーデンや欧州というそれまで殆どの学生たちにとって未知の世界であった社会において、さまざまな教育課題に直面しながら、それらに対応するために興味深い教育の政策や実践を積み重ねている様子を垣間見ることで、それぞれの学生のなかで「教育」を相対化することができたのではないかと思われる。そのように「教育」を相対化することによって、改めて日本、さらにはアジアにおける教育のあり方について、深く考える機会となったと確信している。

このように、今回のプログラムは、グローバル化時代の教育のあり方についてそれぞれの学生たちが深く考える重要な契機となったことに加えて、そのように考える行為が「実感」を伴ったものになったという意味でも、意義深いものであったと考える。その「実感」とは、現地の学校や教育庁の訪問を通しても感じることができたと思うが、それ以上にストックホルム大学の学生たちと 3 日間にわたり濃密な時間を共に過ごしたことによる成果だと考える。「教育」という事象にこだわりをもって学んでいる学生たちが、国境を越えて出会うことによって、素晴らしい化学反応が起きたことを、引率した教職員たちも目の当たりにした。短い期間の交流ではあっても、それぞれが刺激し合って、さらに深く教育について考えようとする姿勢を見ることができたことは、こうした国際交流プログラムの意義を改めて確認する良い機会でもあった。

東京大学教育学部とストックホルム大学教育学部が、これからさらに教育・研究の両面での交流を深めていくうえで、今回のプログラムは確かな第一歩となった。こうした一歩を踏

み出せたことは、ひとえにストックホルム大学ならびに東京大学の関係各位のご尽力によるものであり、ここに記して謝意を表したい。この歩みをさらに確かなものにしていくために、今後、両教育学部の交流がますます発展していくことを期待している。

発表概要

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Graduate School of Education
Faculty of Education
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Introduction of the University of Tokyo
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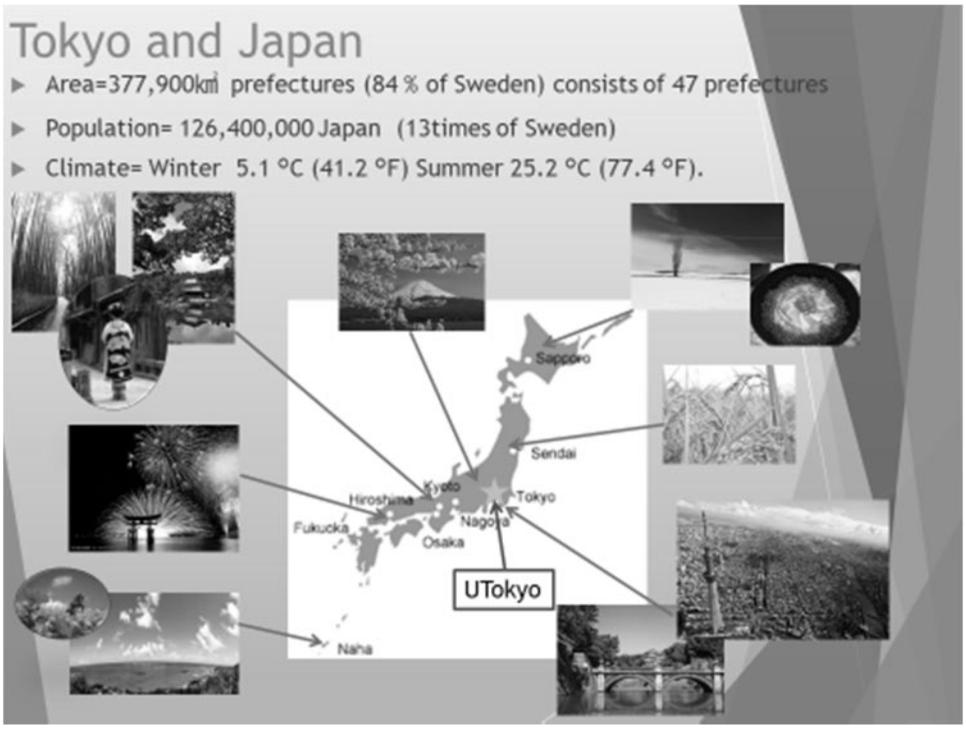
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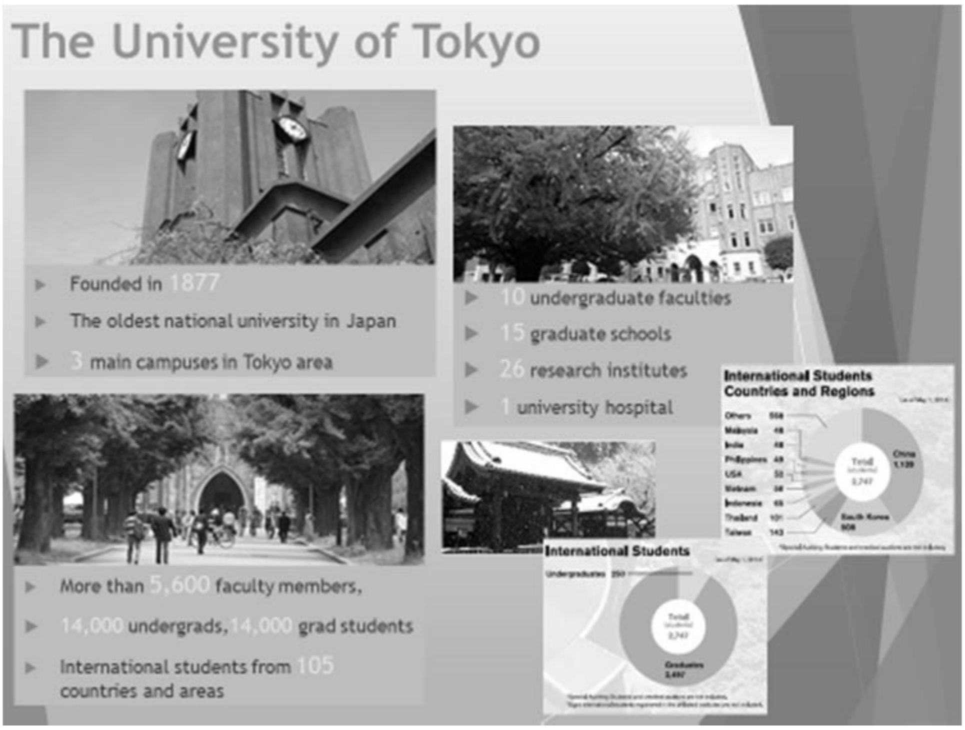
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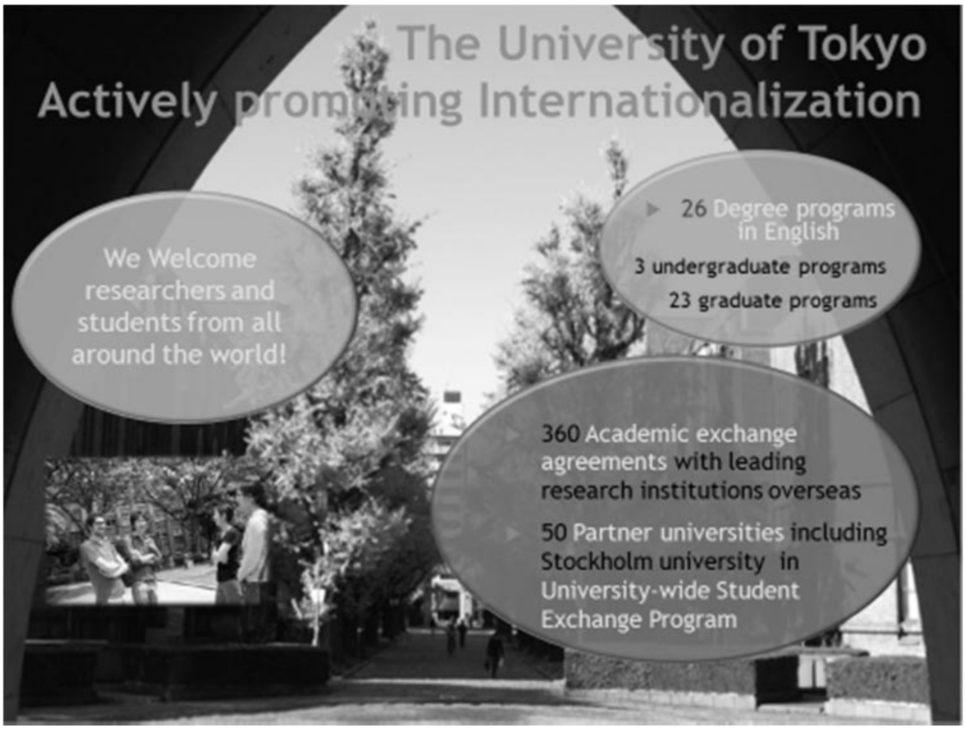
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2014 年度の若手研究者育成プロジェクトを終えて

前学校教育高度化センター・助教
現東京学芸大学教育学部専任講師
伊藤　秀樹

今回のスウェーデン研修では、私は発表を免除してもらったため、じっくりと大学院生・学部生の発表を聞くことができた。英語での発表どころか、海外に行くことすら初めての発表者もいた中、東大の大学院生・学部生の報告内容の質は総じて高かったと思う。ただ、プレゼンテーションの方法については、まだまだ改善の余地があるようにも思える。

私が気づいた課題は以下の 5 つである。①異なるバックグラウンドの聴衆が意義を理解しやすい導入にする、②たまには手元の原稿から目を離し、聴衆の反応を見ながら話をする、③「間」と「強調」を効果的に使う、④事前に発表原稿を作り、練習を重ねる、⑤スライドに文字を詰めすぎない。考えてみると、すべて、かつての自分も海外での発表の中で失敗してきたことだった。これらは、多くの人がつまずくポイントなのかもしれない。

私もそうだったが、初めての発表や 2 回目、3 回目の海外での発表で、うまくいかないのは当たり前である。今回の反省点や悔しさを糧にして、ぜひまた海外での発表にチャレンジしてほしいと思う。異なる文化の人々と日本の学校教育や教育研究について議論を交わすことで、日本人同士の議論では生まれない気づきをたくさん得ることができるはずだからである。

今回のストックホルム研修では、発表以外にも、学校見学、現地学生との交流など、思い出に残ることは多々あったと思う。今回のストックホルム研修がみなさんの研究や人生の幅を広げる機会になることを、心から願っている。

【センター関連プロジェクトワーキングペーパー】（2015 年 2 月〜8 月に高度化センターHP に掲載のものを再掲）

The AmerAsian School in Okinawa

Ryoko Tsuneyoshi and Hideki Ito

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

This working paper offers a case study of the AmerAsian School in Okinawa. Located in a district with a heavy U.S. military presence, it is an alternative school which attracts international children, especially the Amerasian children in Okinawa. The paper traces the origins of the AmerAsian School, in itself an attempt in empowerment. The paper reviews the School's "double" education, which tries to affirm the "double" existence of the children attending there. The efforts to provide a "double" education is reflected in the School's language policies (the use of both English and Japanese), and its educational content; the example of social studies is provided. The latter half of this working paper reviews some of the implications from the research on Amerasians. The paper illustrates the way in which Ameriasians have been discussed in the context of social difference, stigmatization and marginalization, and how that is changing. This is an example of a school in Japan which is related to the construction of a multicultural society.

Keywords: Amerasians, Okinawa, AmerAsian School, double identity, international children, multicultural coexistence

A School for Amerasian Children

There are some educational institutions in Japan, which, by their existence, send out a multicultural message. The AmerAsian School in Okinawa is such an institution[1). The AmerAsian School in Okinawa is an alternative school which tries to address the needs of a specific group of children-mixed-race children, especially the Amerasians in Okinawa.

The term Amerasian was popularized by the Noble Prize winner Pearl S. Buck, who advocated for the improvement of this population. A broad definition of "Amerasians" stands for children born from an "American" and "Asian" couple, but the term tends to be used for children of U.S. servicemen and local Asian women. Even with this latter narrow definition, Amerasians exist not only in Japan, but anywhere with a history of an American military presence, including Vietnam, Korea, Thai, and the Philippines (Shigematsu, 2002, ch.2, pp. 59-90).

In Japan, the history of the Amerasians is intertwined with the history of Okinawa. Okinawa occupies a distinct place within Japan. Before the late 19th century, it was an independent kingdom, Ryukyu kingdom, flourishing in trade, and developing a culture of its own. Today, it is a popular tourist spot, boasting aqua blue shores, resort hotels, and exotic tourist sites of a kingdom in the past. At the same time, Okinawa was subjected to intense combat during World War II, and with the end of the War, Okinawa was occupied by the United States. Though it was returned to mainland Japan in 1972, 73.9 percent of the U.S. military bases in Japan remain on this small island, constituting more than 18 percent of Okinawa [2). The city in which the AmerAsian School resides, Ginowan City, is a city with a large U.S. military presence. The Marine Corps Air Station Futenma lies in the city's center, and Camp Foster is located in its northern parts.

The AmerAsian School traces its roots to five mothers of Amerasian children who came together in 1997 to form the "Study Group for AmerAsian's Educational Rights" (Amerasian no Kyoikuken o Kangaeru Kai) (Noiri, 2010, p. 93). The principal, Ms. Midori Thayer, is herself the mother of Amerasians who attended the school she and others founded in 1998. Today, the school accepts "international children, regardless of nationality, who require multicultural education in Japanese and English" 3).

Figure 1. A Science Class (2014)

Why did the mothers use the term "AmerAsian" (notice that the "A" in "Asian" is capitalized to emphasize the school's message) instead of other terms used for this population, such as children with dual citizenship or "halves" (used to describe children of mixed race/culture)? The reason seems to be that: (1) this term, for the first time, gave these children in Okinawa a name to call themselves, (2) the term AmerAsian allows these children to transcend boundaries of nationality, and to come together, regardless of whether their nationality is Japanese, American, Thai, or Vietnamese. This also supports the concept of a "double" identity promoted by the school, that these are children with a dual cultural heritage (American plus an Asian), and also allows Amerasians to send a message to society as a whole (Terumoto et al., 2001, pp. 160-161).

Most classes are in English, especially in the lower grades, taught by teachers from English-speaking countries, while the classes in Japanese are conducted by Japanese teachers. The school presently accepts children from kindergarten to junior high school. The days the child attends the AmerAsian School are counted as attendance, and children are able to move on to a public or private high school upon graduation.

Double Identity Education

The motto of the AmerAsian School is "double education" (*daburu kyoiku*), in other words, an education that will allow the Amerasian children to take full advantage of their double existence (Noiri, 2014, p. 35). Acquiring both English and Japanese language ability has been emphasized by the School from the beginning, and several reasons are cited by the staff. First of all, without English, these children would not be able to communicate with their father. There is also the expectation of Japanese society that anyone looking "American" would speak English, and English helps these children form a more positive image of themselves (interview with the principal, Dec. 11th, 2014). It is also important to add that the expectation of speaking English is not just a matter of image, it is seen as tied to chances in the labor market (Noiri, 2010, p. 95). A "double" education for the staff, however, signifies something more than just language acquisition, as is evident from the use of terms such as "educational rights" and "multicultural education" in explaining the mission of the school (interviews with staff, Dec. 11th, 2014).

Figure 2. Lunch Time

In a way, the School already promotes a mixed-culture experience by its composition. Students meet children in similar situations as themselves. Visiting the AmerAsian School, it is possible to observe the children code-switching, depending on which language—English or Japanese—better enables the particular group of children to communicate among themselves or depending on the context (fieldnotes, Dec. 11th, 2014).

According to the social studies faculty, an example of the social studies curriculum brings in both points of view from Japanese and Americans, on, for example, controversial issues such as the meaning of World War II (see Appendix for a lesson example).

Figure 3. Developing a Double Perspective

Note: The social studies teacher explains the concept behind the supplementary social studies material he developed to promote a double perspective.

Double Language and ICT

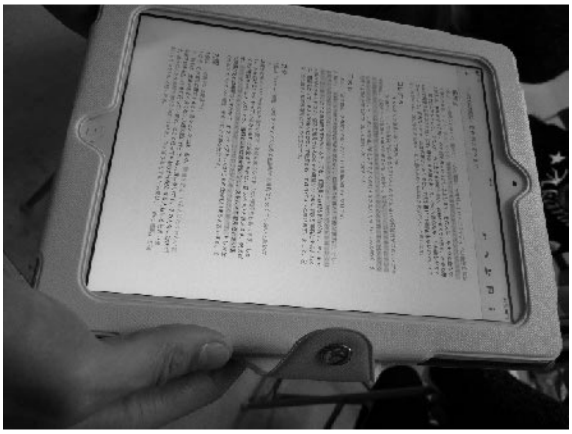
As noted above, the acquisition of both English and Japanese is seen as a basic condition which helps the children to choose from his/her double cultural heritage. Therefore, though the language of instruction, especially in the lower grades, is more English than Japanese, the use of Japanese is brought into the curriculum, and more so as the child matures and has to meet the realistic needs of entering Japanese high schools. Compulsory education in Japan ends at the lower junior high school level. To enter high school, therefore, students have to undergo some kind of selection. As the age of the students goes up, the staff start to prepare students for the entrance examination for high school, and for life beyond the AmerAsian

Figure 4. Japanese flashcards

Note: Pupils prepare for a Japanese test. Each pupil has a different pile of words to remember, depending on his/her Japanese language level.

School.

Figure 5. Tablets



Note: The use of tablets to coach students in taking the entrance examination tests.

Figure 6. Presentation in Japanese Using ICT

Note: A group of children present in Japanese using ICT

With the hiring of an Educational Technology Director, and donations of tablets for each student, there is a new emphasis on ICT.

Some Implications from the Research on Amerasians

The focus of the research on Amerasians in Japan varies, and we have identified several lines of discussions below.

1) First, there is the research on the social construction of difference in relation to this group. Research point to the fact that Amerasians *look* different from the majority of ethnic Japanese, which influences the perception Japanese have of this group of children. Amerasians are identified as "different" the moment people look at them, and their "American" appearance is linked to the expectation that they speak English, are foreign, etc. This also means that, as a visible cultural minority, even if the children try to become totally "Japanese," whatever that means, they tend to be treated as not quite so (Terumoto

et al., 2001, pp. 165-167). This then links to issues of identity formation.

Such constructions of difference are social and context-bound, however, and are subject to change. Thus, it might be said that this line of research implies the need for Japanese society to acknowledge cultural differences, to become a society in which cultural minorities can "be themselves" (*arinomama*). Such a society would allow, by definition, the construction of multiple identities. Phrased as such, the message that is being sent out here is shared with research of other ethnic and cultural minority groups in Japan. At the same time, compared to ethnic schools targeting the needs of a certain ethnic group (e.g., Brazilian schools), the AmerAsian School distinguishes itself in that the School starts from the assumption that children there are "double" (Noiri, 2014, p. 35).

2) The second focus of research places the Amerasians in the context of stigmatization and marginalization. Amerasians in the Okinawan context are often identified with the U.S. military presence in Japan, and with the fact that Okinawa is shouldering the bulk of the military load within Japanese society. The story here is about double marginalization. The marginalization of Okinawa within Japan, and the marginalization of Amerasians in Japanese society.

Though this second line of discourse intersects with the first, there are differences as well. The first line of discussion is based on the social constructions of difference. The socially visible boundary of difference between Amerasians and the majority Japanese lies in their physical "American-ness," though there are differences in what constitutes "American-ness" (e.g., skin color). An "American" look, and the assumption that if you look "American," you would be able to use English, are linked to stereotypes--being exotic, modern, etc. which can work in one's favor, not just the reverse, depending on the situation. Whether they reflect the reality is another matter. The second focus of Amerasian research however, is not just about social constructions of difference, but about the formation of negative stereotypes and stigmatization. The history of Japanese Amerasians in this context, is often discussed in terms of negative social labeling and falling through the legal cracks of both the father's and mother's nations. Identified with the presence of the U.S. military in Japan, they are described as subjected to anti-military sentiments and negative images which come with the military presence. Thus, it is not surprising that this line of discussion leads to an anti-discriminatory human rights message. Here, the AmerAsian School is seen as a bottom-up effort in human rights, to ensure a transnational education, to develop self-esteem, and to empower the Amerasian children (Noiri, 2010).

The research also reminds us how complex the construction and usage of images is. Media and other representations of Amerasians have been accused of reinforcing stereotypes (Gage, 2007, p. 89; Terumoto et al., 2001, p. 118). One is reminded of the criticisms which were targeted at the representation, or should we say, the misrepresentation, of "poor starving children" of the South to solicit support from the affluent North donors.

3) More recently, scholars have pointed to the improvement of the factors which were presumably at the basis of many of the above-stated negative stereotypes. For example, scholars have noted that though the presence of U.S. bases remains controversial, the local standard of living in the area has risen, the status of local women as against the U.S. servicemen has risen, and women have more choice and power (e.g., regarding occupation, childbearing) (Shigematsu, 2002, p.195). The importance of English in Japan has risen, opening up new occupational opportunities for Amerasian children who speak the language. Now, life histories reveal that in some cases Amerasians are envied because they are mixed-race children (with "American" looks, one might add), which may actually hide the hardships that come with being born "double" and being associated

with the U.S. bases (Noiri, 2014, pp. 44-45; Noiri, 2010, pp. 94-95).

Images are socially constructed. As the context changes, so will the images. Discourse, movements, policies, etc. will influence the direction of the images. Today, as Japanese society diversifies, the message the AmerAsian School is sending out, overlaps with the messages that are sent out by other cultural minorities and indeed by the society at large. Children of international marriages between ethnic Japanese and foreign nationals or Japanese of foreign descent, also face the issue of multiple identity (Shigematsu, 2014). The message of equity and recognition of difference is one which is shared with many Japanese nationals who are in less-advantaged positions. Global citizenship and the appreciation of diversity are often cited in the mainstream reforms as traits that should be cultivated in all Japanese.

Figure 7. Rows of Prizes to the School

In a society in which most cultural minorities are not visible at first sight, being a visible minority is in itself distinctive. The rows of prizes the AmerAsian School has won, perhaps attest to both the distinctiveness and universality of the message being sent out.

Notes

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(1) http://amerasianschoolokinawa.org/, retrieved Jan. 2014.

(2) Military Base Affairs Division, Executive office of the Governor, http://www.pref.okinawa.jp/site/chijiko/kichitai/25185.html, retrieved Dec., 2014.

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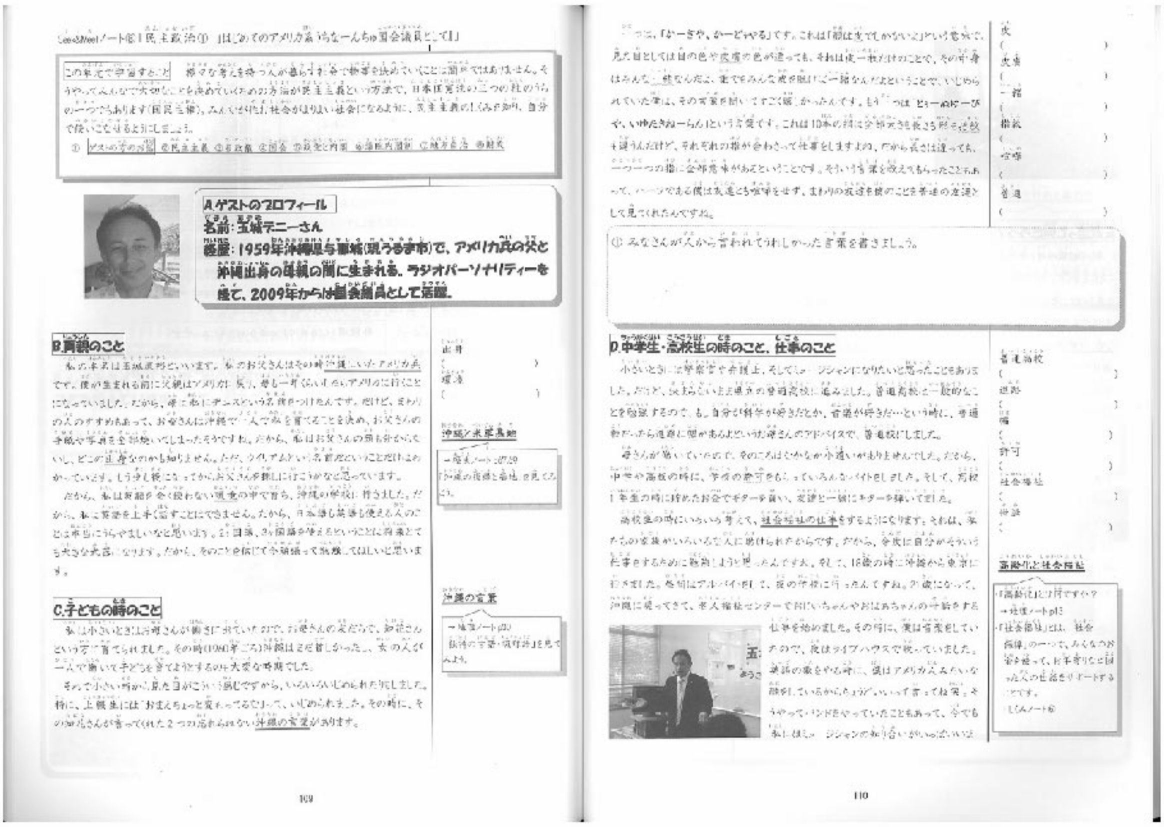
Appendix:

An Example of a Social Studies Lesson for Junior High School (Double Education)

The following is an example of the School's social studies staff to advance "double education," or education for double existence. A guest speaker, himself an Amerasian, was invited to talk about his experiences in class.



Source: Kitaueda 2014, pp. 109-110

The faculty of social studies at the AmerAsian School have been developing junior high school learning material for double existence since 2011. According to the social studies teacher, the teachers tailored the material to meet the needs of the Amerasian students, using the appropriate level of Japanese, etc. (Kitaueda, 2014, pp. 88-89). The school started to invite Amerasian guest speakers after the teachers realized that these children did not have many Amerasian role models around them (Kitaueda, 2014, p.89).

The lesson above, invited an Amerasian diet member in a unit describing democracy. The guest speaker talked about his experience growing up in Okinawa, attending a regular high school, and eventually becoming a municipal diet member at the age of 42. The guest speaker notes that he became a politician so that he could revise the rules of the country, such as those pertaining to nationality. The guest speaker also describes the Japanese political system, human rights, that the law is made by the representatives of the people, etc., and gives an example of a case in which he was involved in changing the law.

In order to assist students, each page has a place in which difficult Japanese words are picked out and listed, so that the students can write down the English translation (e.g., origin, environment). In the same way, key terms in Japanese social studies (e.g., aging, lower and upper house) are also listed, and explanations are provided on a different page. The material encourages students to ask questions on what kind of rules exist around them, and what would happen if such rules did not exist.

Schools Supporting the Migrant Population in Japan:

The Night Junior High Schools

Maiko Sumino

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

Historically, the Japanese government has been reluctant toward stabilizing educational measures for the foreign-born population. A substantial number of foreign-born students drop out of school, and/or do not continue on to education beyond junior high school. This paper focuses on the Night Junior High Schools (hereafter: NJHS), which are known as institutions that accommodate one-third of the migrant students within the total student numbers in these type of schools (Asano, 2012). As the NJHS are labeled as institutions that accept students who are beyond the compulsory school age, these schools have served as safety nets for the migrant population, who might have been at risk of not attending any form of educational institution.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the historical role of the NJHS and how they are publically discussed as institutions in Japanese society. This research shows that there is growing attention toward NJHSs in the political discussion after 2013, and this may have a profound impact on Japanese society, although there still remain many challenges.

Keywords: Night Junior High Schools, Migrant Students, Japanese Education, Migrant Education

Introduction

The migrant population[1] in Japan continues to have disproportionate high rates of absence from school (Sakamoto et al., 2014), and/or not entering school beyond the junior high school level when compared to the total Japanese population (Miyajima, 2014). However, the general political stance towards building a comprehensive education policy to support the migrant population has been noncommittal. In Japan, the students who do not have Japanese citizenship are not legally obligated to attend public schooling. Reflecting this situation, a certain number of migrant students are deprived from any form of education during their compulsory school ages.

Night Junior High Schools (hereafter, NJHS) are known as a type of school which are often run in the evening period within the public junior high schools. These schools are specifically for students who are over the age of 15, who did not have a chance to earn a junior high school degree. Due to the fact that many migrant students find difficulty in keeping up in the daytime classes, these institutions accommodate a third of the migrant students within the total student numbers of these institutions (Asano, 2012). Therefore, this paper focuses on these NJHSs, which play a critical role in the Japanese public school system for the migrant population in Japan.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the historical role of the NJHS and how it is currently discussed as institutions in Japanese society. For doing so, this study hopes to contribute to examining the future possibilities and challenges that lie among the current discussion.

The Japanese School System and the Night Junior High Schools

Who Does the Japanese Public Education Sector Serve?

Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (mombukagakusho: Hereafter, MEXT) states their general policy of "accepting a foreign child[(2)] in public compulsory education" as below:

> A foreign child is not obligated to attend schooling in our country. However, on the basis of the lnternational Covenant on Civil and Political Rights or other laws related, when a child requests to attend public compulsory education, the child is guaranteed to attend school free of charge, along with the other Japanese students.
>
> The student is guaranteed the same opportunity of education as the Japanese people, including the opportunities to receive free textbooks and school financial aid[(3)].
>
> (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2015a)

The term "A foreign child" stated above generally connotes a child who does not have Japanese citizenship. They are not legally obligated to attend education. The government officially states that they will only be accepted if they make a request. This statement reflects the distant standpoint, from which the Japanese government approaches the issue of education for the migrant population. In fact, the Japanese government has not yet laid down fundamental regulation that specifies educational measures for the migrant population. It is largely left up to the local government and schools, whether or not they would carry specific measures to consider students with foreign backgrounds.

What Institutions Support the Students with Foreign Backgrounds?

There are several possible pathways that a child with a foreign background might choose for education. The first choice is to attend “mainstream” schools[(4)]. According to a recent research conducted by MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology), there are 71,545 foreign students who currently attend public school as stated for 2013 (MEXT, 2013). Within that population, 27,013 students need special support for Japanese language education. The practices conducted at schools largely depend on the local education board and the individual schools. If either decide that there should be some special considerations, they provide special classes according to their budgets.

The second choice is to go to an ethnic school, such as Chinese, Korean or Brazilian schools. These schools accommodate such students whom their guardians preferred instruction through their homeland language, or students who had experienced difficulty in keeping up with the “mainstream” schools. Some ethnic schools are sorted as "Miscellaneous Schools" (kakushugakko) in the educational law category. This somewhat awkward definition comes from the term "Article One Schools" (ichijo ko) which is a name derived from the School Education Act (gakko kyoiku ho) Article 1, which allows their position as a mainstream school, while sorting the others as miscellaneous schools. These mainstream schools, which are stated in article one, are expected to follow the regulations and standards that are outlined by the Ministry of Education, and receive a certain amount of grant money in return. In contrast, the miscellaneous schools receives much less money. Some ethnic schools are labeled in the miscellaneous school category; the same rows of schools used for hairdressing schools or driving schools. Many ethnic schools do not even have the status of school. Therefore, they receive no assistance from the Japanese government, except for some amount of assistance from the local level.

Since the conditions the Ministry of Education requires are sometimes contradictory to the ethnic schools' unique purpose, some ethnic schools do not invest in the effort toward being admitted as a mainstream, article one school (Council of Local Authorities for International Relations, 2012). Also, some ethnic schools do not apply for getting approved as a miscellaneous school, because they do not know the advantages they could gain in return, and/or because they lack information about the necessary procedures to get approved (Y. Kojima, 2010). Though from the students' standpoint, these schools require tuition, so the students do not have a chance to enter these schools if they cannot afford to pay. Because the student numbers largely depend on economic circumstances, some ethnic schools faced severe financial trouble after the financial crisis in 2008 (A. Kojima, 2013).

The final choice is to not attend to any type of institution during their school ages. Although there is no comprehensive report that shows the total number of those not attending school, some scholars estimate that the percentage is 10% of the migrant school-going population in Japan (Sakamoto et al., 2014); which is approximately 10,000 people(5). Another fact is that the migrant students' high school entrance rate is noticeably low compared to the rate of the total population of Japan. It is estimated that the migrant students' high school entrance rate is less than half the rate than that of the Japanese population (Miyajima, 2014). Although high school education is not a period regulated as compulsory in Japan, nearly a hundred percent of the Japanese enter high school. Therefore, today it is not easy to find employment options that do not require at least a high school degree. So absenteeism during school years, and the extremely low rates of entrance to education afterward, is a crucial problem in terms of securing a route to future employment options in Japan.

For students who did not have an opportunity to enter school during their compulsory school ages, there are other options; the "Night Junior High School: NJHS" (yakan chugakko) is one of them. This type of school is not an Article One school, though these schools are often placed legally as evening classes within the public junior high schools. These schools provide educational opportunity for the students who are over the age of 15, who did not have a chance to earn a junior high school degree.

According to a most recent research conducted in 2011, NJHSs accept 2,174 students at 35 institutions (Asano, 2012). NJHSs are not significant in number among the 9,707[(6)] public junior high schools in Japan. However, regarding the situation that migrant students are still at the risk of not going to any type of school during their school ages, it is crucial to focus on the role of the NJHSs.

Night Junior High Schools

The first NJHS was established back in 1947, when many people were deprived of the opportunity of education during and after the war period. After WWII, many children did not go to school due to poverty. The children who did not attend needed to work to help their households. So NJHSs were the last options for students who had no other choice than to work during the daytime, as NJHSs allowed them a chance to learn in the evening. In the early 1950s, there were 71 NJHSs and 3,118 students attending throughout the country (MEXT, 2015b).

However, as the social situation changed, the proportion of students entering into daytime "mainstream" education rose. In 1966, the Japanese government officially declared that "Night Junior High Schools shall be abolished, as they are unfavorable in light of the principle of compulsory education" (MEXT, 2015c). The government attempted to scale-down the numbers, leaving just a portion of the institutions for a few students who had no other options. In this era, the emphasis was rather focused toward stabilizing the mainstream route, and was relatively ignorant about the population who needed the NJHSs due to the social circumstances.

After the 1990s, facing the times of the expansion of the foreign-born population, the awareness grew of the NJHSs as an institution playing a critical role: to provide educational support to people with various backgrounds, including a large number of migrant populations. Some politicians recently joined together to move forward and support the NJHSs. Considering the fact that many NJHSs face difficulty in terms of funds and resources, and most are located near the two urban areas of Tokyo and Osaka, the politicians started to argue for the geographic expansion and allocation of resources for developing the NJHSs (Zenkoku Yakan Chugakko Kenkyukai, 2015).

Who goes to Night Junior High Schools?

There are no official reports that show the entire picture of NJHSs in Japan. During and after the war period, NJHSs were predominantly for students who had no other option than working during the daytime, or for the old resident Koreans who were deprived from educational opportunity. However, the below study conducted by Asano (2012) shows an overview about how NJHSs look differently today.

According to a research conducted in 2011, there are 35 public NJHSs throughout Japan, and additionally, it is estimated that there are 30 volunteer-organized classes which are run by local citizens (Asano 2012). These volunteer-classes are often provided in local areas which do not have any public NJHSs. These volunteers try to provide educational support equivalent to the NJHSs, or else, some students would be deprived of their right to equal educational opportunity(7).

Based on a survey provided to 1,150 students from the above-mentioned 30 public schools and 10 volunteer-organized groups, Asano shows the following findings.

First, 61.2% currently do not work(8). This is partly a consequence of the current situation, which is that it is not easy to find a job without a degree in Japan.

Second, regarding ethnicity, the 1,150 students were sorted into four categories. The "Japanese" group represented 24.1%, "Resident-Korean" group 22.7%, the "Chinese Returnee" group 19.7%, and the "Newcomer" group was 33.3%(9). This study shows the fact that in 2012, one third of the students are from the newcomer groups.

Shifting Discourses of NJHSs

NJHSs were assumed to be marginal institutions in the political context. After 1966, the general political stance of the Japanese government was to decrease them in turn to pour effort towards expanding the mainstream day time education. Also, at the local and individual school level, the common understanding was to accommodate the migrant students in mainstream schools (Okano, 2013).

Though, due to the continuous demand by the NJHS practitioners, a new trend rose after the 2000s. NJHS practitioners throughout the nation have joined together as; the “Night Junior High School Research Group (Zenkoku Yakan Chugakkou Kenkyukai)”. This group has been working together for decades, demanding for national level support. For example, the research group officially submitted a statement to the Japan Federation of Bar Associations in 2003, on request of adequate public research and support of the NJHSs. This captured some of the politicians’ attention, and led them to propose the NJHS issue as an independent diet topic in 2003(10). After a two and a half year research and judgment, the Japan Federation of Bar Associations officially publicized a memorandum, demanding support for the NJHSs as an urgent human rights issue. Later on, this movement led the establishment of the bipartisan diet member network in 2014. The politicians joined together with the purpose to support the geographic expansion of the NJHSs.

Concurrently with the establishment of the bipartisan diet member network, the NJHS issue was also addressed within the discussion about child poverty. As the child poverty issues in Japan was belatedly "discovered" in the late 2000s (Abe, 2012), "The Child Poverty Initiative Act" (Kodomo no Hinkon Taisaku Ho) was adopted in 2013[(11)]. The adoption of this act was a crucial step for the NJHSs, as "the promotion of the establishment of NJHSs" were specified as one of the initiatives to be enforced under the act[(12)].

NJHSs were traditionally assumed to be marginal institutions; however, as noted above, the situation began to change due to the continuous effort of local practitioners.

Conclusions

The NJHS issues were raised as an agenda at the Japanese diet in 2003, and subsequently led the establishment of the bipartisan diet member network. Concurrently, after the Child Poverty Act was adopted in 2013, geographic expansion of the NJHSs were promised in the outline. The above process was largely related to the active role of the practitioner research group called the "Night Junior High School Research Group", which continuously demanded for national level support for decades.

The NJHSs have gained in popularity in the past few years from 2013, as an institution that plays a significant role through its unique position within the Japanese school system. However, there still remain challenges.

First, the major concern of the politician network is to expand the number of NJHSs geographically. Needless to say that this agenda is imperative for the migrant group, it would be shortsighted to presume that solely geographic expansion would be a cure-all initiative. The procedures and practices that support the migrant population must be considered for discussion as well.

Second, the educational support regarding the students' diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds is not always assumed to be the central agenda within the NJHS discussion. There is a possibility that the evolving attention toward the NJHSs might elevate the migrant education issue to become a central topic. However, currently it is not always discussed in relation to the migrant student population. The target population is kept rather vague. From this perspective, the governments' attitude towards stabilizing a comprehensive education policy for the migrant population still remains reluctant.

This research indicated that the growing attention toward NJHSs may have profound impacts in Japanese society, though in terms of creating a supporting educational route for the migrant population today, there still remain many challenges.

Notes

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All quotes in brackets were translated from Japanese to English by the author.

(1) I use this term “migrant population”, in contrast to the old-timer ethnic minority population (particularly, the people who are so-called the Zainichi, who resides in Japan directly or indirectly in result of the Japanese colonization).

(2) “Gaikokujin no kodomo” in Japanese.

(3) School financial aid (shugakuenjo) is stated under the School Education Act Article 19, which guarantees financial support for a person who is admitted as under needy circumstances. Under this law, the student or guardian can require financial support

for school activities (such as lunch fees and school supplies).

(4) Which are specifically, public elementary school, junior high school, high school and special-needs schools (schools for the students with physical or mental challenges).

(5) The compulsory school age in Japan is 6-15. According to the public research, the number of 6-14 year old foreign residents in Japan are 101,485 (Ministry of Justice 2013).

(6) Derived from the School General Statistics 2014 (Gakko Kihon Chosa) http://www.mext.go.jp/component/b_menu/other/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/12/19/1354124_2_1.pdf.

(7) Although these volunteer-organized classes provide the similar education as the NJHS, these classes do not offer a junior high school degree.

(8) Suppose, this is because there are a certain number of old age groups. However, even limiting to the newcomer groups, the numbers who do not work are still 44.6%.

(9) 2 students were counted as uncertain in ethnicity.

(10) From the record of the Education Science Committee Meeting (bunkyokagakuiinkai), 26th March, 2003, from the Officical Diet Record System, http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/.

(11) The common belief until the late 2000s was that Japan was rather consisted by a vast majority of the middle class, sharing similar backgrounds.

(12) From the outlines (Taiko) of “The Children Poverty Initiative Act” (Kodomo no Hinkon Taisaku Ho), p14. http://www8.cao.go.jp/kodomonohinkon/pdf/taikou.pdf.
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(http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/042/houkoku/08070301/009/005.htm)

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(http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/hakusho/html/others/detail/1317815.htm)

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Incorporating Foreign Students in Japanese Public Schools

The Case Study of Two Elementary Schools in Gunma

Tate Kihara

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

Since the late 1970s, there has been a gradual increase in the number of foreigners entering Japan. This increase in the foreign population has resulted in the formation of what are called the "*gaikokujin shuju chiiki*" [areas in which foreigners are concentrated] in Japan. Gunma prefecture is well known as one of the "*gaikokujin shuju chiiki*" and the local public elementary schools have taken initiatives to promote the incorporation of foreign students.

The purpose of this paper is to introduce two elementary schools in Gunma and to discuss some of the measures that the schools are taking to incorporate foreign students. These districts are generally considered to be among the pioneering areas in foreign student education in Japan, and as such, they provide models for other Japanese schools.

Keywords: Gunma Prefecture, Migration policy, Foreign student education, Bilingual teacher system

Background

The foreign population in Japan is very small. As of December 2014, there are only around two million registered foreigners in total, which makes up no more than two percent of the entire Japanese population (Ministry of Justice, 2015). This, among other factors, has drawn the attention of Japanese education policy makers and scholars away from foreign students in their education system.

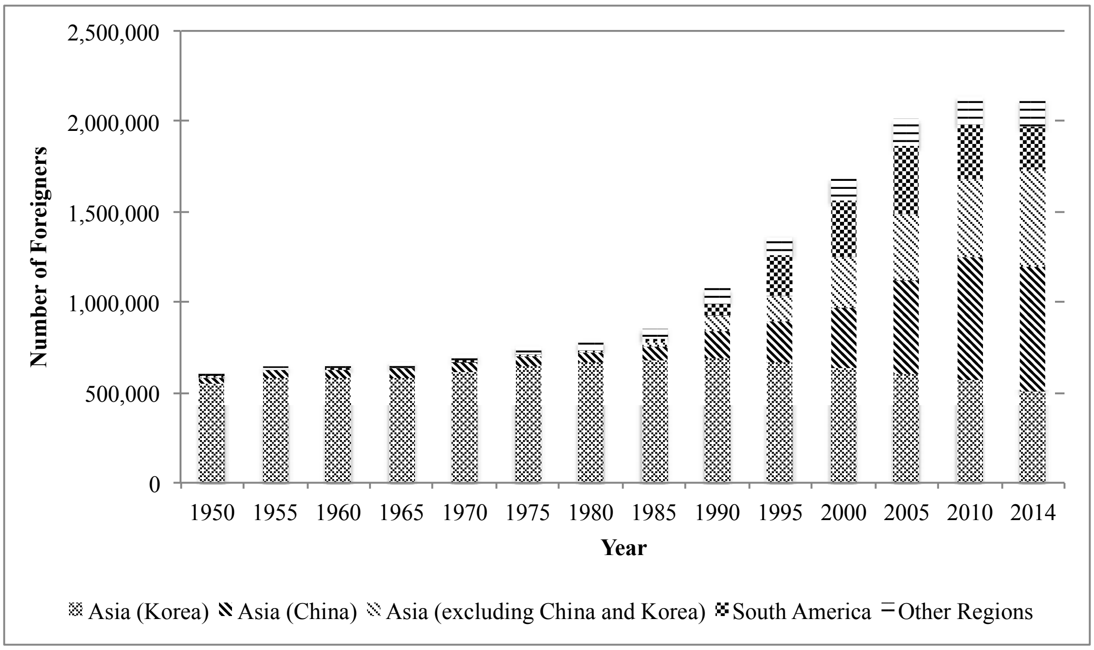
However, there are some districts in Japan called "*gaikokujin shuju chiiki*" [areas in which foreigners are concentrated] that have a considerable foreign population. Faced with pressing needs, these local municipalities are known to be taking progressive measures to ensure the establishment of foreigners as residents (Kashiwazaki, 2014; Pak, 2000). In these districts, most foreign children in their school ages attend local Japanese public schools. Hence, it is of great importance to study how the Japanese public schools are responding to the entry of foreign children, which has become a research genre in the Japanese academia(1).

After reviewing the migration policy reform that led to the increase of foreign population in Japan, this paper will focus on Gunma prefecture that has become one of the most famous *gaikokujin shuju chiiki* in Japan. This paper will introduce practices from the two schools in Gunma that are especially known for the high concentration of foreign students.

Japanese Migration Policy Reform and Gunma Prefecture

Until the early 1970s, the foreign population in Japan mainly consisted of ethnic Koreans and Chinese (often called “oldcomers”) that have resided in Japan since before World War 2. From around the late 1970s to the early 1980s, however, Japan started experiencing a gradual rise in the number of incoming foreigners. These foreigners that came to Japan after the late 1970s are usually referred to as newcomers and are distinguished from oldcomers (Tsuneyoshi, 2011,pp.129-138).

Figure 1: Number of Registered Foreigners in Japan by Region of Nationality(2)(3)



Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (2010), Ministry of Justice (2011), Ministry of Justice (2015)

Figure 1 is an illustration of the number of registered foreigners by region of nationality from 1950 to 2014. In the 1970s and 1980s, the incoming newcomer population mainly originated from the neighboring Asian countries. Furthermore, from the 1990s, newcomers from South American countries began to rapidly increase.

One factor behind the sudden rise of South Americans was the revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Law of 1990. The Japanese government made it possible for "*Nikkei-jin*"[people of Japanese descent] to work as unskilled labor legally under a special permit(4) (Higuchi 2005, pp.4-12). The majority of the *Nikkei-jin* that came to Japan with the permit were children and grandchildren (second and third generation) of the Japanese who have emigrated to Brazil and Peru (Kajita, 2005, pp.120-126).

Gunma prefecture became one of the most popular destinations for these people due to the labor demand in the manufacturing (especially electronics and automotive) industry (Sakai & Yumoto, 2001, pp.49-98). A lot of people came with their family members (including children) to work in local manufacturing plants. Hence, there has been an influx of foreign students in the local education system, and schools have made efforts in adjusting to the diversifying student body (Onai et al., 2001, pp.197-232).

Following sections will focus on the practices at the two public elementary schools in Gunma that are located in Oizumi town and Ota city (Figure 2), both of which are well known for their advanced educational initiatives on foreign students.

Figure 2: Map of Gunma Prefecture(5)

Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School

Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School is in a neighborhood with a lot of Brazilian ethnic businesses with shop signs in Portuguese. Figure 3 is a picture of an ethnic supermarket that sells commodities imported from Brazil. Such ethnic businesses have emerged in Ota city as a result of the inflow of *Nikkei-jin* from Brazil.

Figure 3: Brazilian Supermarket near Nishi Elementary School

Source: Personal picture

Out of the 576 students enrolled in Nishi Elementary School, 128 students (approximately 20 percent) were foreign nationals in the beginning of the school year in April 2014(6) (Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School, 2014a). The majority of the foreign students are Brazilians and Peruvians but the overall student body is represented by more than 10 nationalities (Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School, 2014b).

The school provides Japanese as a second language education (JSL Education) and hires fulltime JSL teachers as well as Japanese teaching assistants with a budget obtained from the local government (interview with the principal, January 30, 2015). This JSL instruction for foreign students is a popular method adopted by schools that are located in areas in which there is a concentration of returnees and foreigners (Tsuneyoshi, 2011, p.143).

In Nishi Elementary School, foreign students that find difficulties catching up to the Japanese students are sent to "pull-out" classes for specialized lessons with the JSL teachers for some part of the day. This "pull-out" method is used for Japanese and math. The School also uses "push-in" methods where JSL teachers and Japanese teaching assistants help students take regular classes by being in the classroom (Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School, 2014b). Japanese teaching assistants at Nishi Elementary School are capable of speaking either Portuguese or Spanish, enabling them to translate for the Brazilian and Peruvian students (Oizumi Municipal Nishi Elementary School, 2014b).

Nishi Elementary School is distinct from most other Japanese elementary schools in that it already has 20 years of experience in foreign student education. The course curricula and materials are well prepared by teachers themselves. Figure 4 is a Japanese picture-word card used in JSL classrooms that teachers at Nishi Elementary School created to facilitate the Japanese learning process of foreign students .

Figure 4: Japanese picture-word cards used in JSL classrooms

Source: Personal picture

In addition to assisting foreign students catching up academically, teachers at Nishi Elementary School support the physical development of foreign students. Some foreign pupils find difficulty getting used to *kyushoku* [school lunch that are provided to students everyday]. In order to encourage these students to be on a healthy diet, teachers have created cards and stickers with food (mostly vegetables) characters (see Figure 5) to reward the students when they finish off their meals (Oizumi Nishi Elementary School 2014c; interview with the principal, January 30, 2015).

Figure 5: Cards and stickers to encourage healthy eating at school

Source: Personal picture

Other challenges experienced by teachers at Nishi Elementary School include difficulty in communicating with parents of foreign students who have no prior knowledge of the Japanese educational system. These parents usually are not fluent in Japanese, compounding the problem. Although the school has been taking deliberate measures to ensure sound communication, there seems to be ongoing miscommunication arising from cultural barriers (interview with the principal, January 30, 2015).

Ota Municipal Hosen Elementary School

Ota Municipal Hosen Elementary School is located 10 km northwest of Oizumi Nishi Elementary School (Figure 2). In Hosen Elementary School, there are approximately 50 students who have their roots in foreign countries (Ota Municipal Hosen Elementary School, 2014). “Roots” is preferred as an expression because there are some students who are Japanese nationals that were born to a foreign father/mother and a Japanese mother/father (interview with a teacher, January 30, 2015).

One characteristics of Hosen Elementary School is the official presence of "Bilingual teachers". Bilingual teachers are not merely teachers who are bilingual. The roles of these teachers are more institutionalized. These teachers are officially called "bilingual teachers" under "the bilingual teacher system" that requires these teachers to hold teaching licenses from either Japan or a foreign country and be fluent in Japanese and Portuguese or Spanish (Ikenaga & Suenaga, 2009, p.19).

The Bilingual teacher system started in 2004 when the neo-liberal government under Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi designated some municipal bodies as "*kozo kaikaku tokku*"[special zone for structural reform]. The government enabled local bodies to deregulate according to their local characteristics to stimulate the economy as well as to make them examples for further regulatory reform across Japan (Cabinet Secretariat Office for the Promotion of Special Zones for the Structure Reform, 2003).

Under this scheme, Ota city was designated as a "*teijyuka ni muketa gaikokujin jido seito no kyoiku tokku*"[special education zone for the permanent establishment of foreign students](Ikegami& Suenaga, 2009, p.18). This enabled Ota city to make many deregulations for foreign students including hiring teachers without Japanese teacher's license at its public schools (Ikegami& Suenaga, 2009, pp.18-20). To add, Ota city has divided its school districts into eight areas and have designated one to two schools in each area to set up classes dedicated to foreign students education (City of Ota, n.d.).

Since Hosen Elementary School is one of the selected schools to set up these classes, the school runs afterschool lessons in "*kokusai kyositsu*"[International classrooms] for foreign students. Hosen Elementary School has two special classrooms for the sole purpose of these after-school lessons.

The walls of *kokusai kyositsu* are covered with words and pictures of the things that the students should know in Japan, such as *Kanji* [Chinese] characters, chronological timetable of events in Japanese history (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Wall decorations of *kokusai kyositsu* [International classrooms]

Source: Personal picture

One of the interesting findings was the importance of non-academic school subjects such as music and physical education. Teachers emphasized that a lot of foreign students found difficulty in catching up to the Japanese students in these non-academic subjects, which may make them feel discouraged. For example, in Japanese music education, students are required to play a flute-like instrument called the “recorder”. Some teachers at Hosen Elementary School have developed recorder training materials for foreign students so that they do not fall behind in classes (interview with a teacher, January 30, 2015).

Though many Japanese elementary schools in districts where there is a concentration of foreigners assist children in catching up by using push-in or push-out methods, the two schools introduced above seem to stand out in their long history of incorporating newcomers and in their development of extensive support materials ranging from history to lunch eating.

Conclusion

This working paper focused on two public elementary schools in Gunma. At both elementary schools, teachers themselves have dealt with the necessities of foreign students by utilizing their own experiences and resources. Also, the local municipalities have developed initiatives to help the incorporation of foreign students in their school system by taking advantage of the policy change at the national level. These two schools provide cases in which the practice of teachers and effort by the local governments are facilitating foreign students incorporation.

It may be important to note here that the elementary schools in Gunma prefecture are special among Japanese elementary schools with their experience in foreign student education since they are located in areas in which there have been a long history of concentration of foreigners. In contrast, most Japanese elementary schools do not have adequate experience to manage ethnic and linguistic diversity in their classrooms.

It is also true, however, that as Japanese society globalizes, more and more schools will face issues similar to what the two schools introduced in this working paper have been encountering. Thus, these schools continue to inspire educators, policymakers and scholars in a diversifying Japan.

Notes

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Educational Efforts to Meet the Needs of the 21st Century and the Construction of International Models: Exploring Pluralistic Models).

Quotes in brackets were translated into English from Japanese by the author.

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(1) According to the analysis by Yamada (2008), members of the Intercultural Education Society of Japan which is a leading academic association in the field of foreigner education, has shifted their research interests from *kikokushijo kyoiku* [Education of Japanese returnees] to *zainichi gaikokujin kyoiku*[Education of foreigners in Japan] over the last 25 years.

(2) Nationality and world region in figure 2 is defined by the Ministry of Justice. In “Asia (Korea)” category, both South and North Koreans are included. In the “Asia (China)” category, both China and Taiwan are included. In the “Other Regions” category, “North America”, “Europe”, “Africa”, “Oceania” and people with “No Nationality” are included.

(3) For each year, statistics is taken from the statistics of December.

(4) There is a debate on whether the increase of *Nikkei-jin* was actually intended by the policy makers or an unintended consequence (Kajita, 2005, pp.114-129).

(5) Gunma prefecture is approximately 70 km north of Tokyo.

(6) The numbers of foreign nationals have increased up to 141 by the end of the school year (interview with the principal, January 30, 2015).

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Educational Supports for Immigrant Children:

Focusing on Programs by Voluntary Sectors

Hikaru Ishiwata

The University of Tokyo

Abstract

This paper is about the support programs for immigrant children in Japan, especially those offered by voluntary sectors. Public schools in Japan do not provide sufficient support regarding the immigrant children. Thus, many voluntary sectors help these immigrant children to enter or to keep up in the Japanese schools. This paper introduces one of the volunteer programs in Japan, which is called "the Bridge School Program [Niji no Kakehashi Kyoshitsu]." This program had been promoted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) from 2009 to 2014. The aim of this program is to facilitate the immigrant children to go to a public schools. In addition, it also promotes communication between immigrant residents and the Japanese local residents. This program offers Japanese language trainings, school study supports and also provides a place where the immigrant children could feel relieved. The program also puts importance to support the children's parents. They help the parents regarding various issues they face, and try to make relationship with the Japanese local residents. Up to March 2015, 4,333 children have entered to public schools, through the support of this program. Besides the support to the immigrant students, this program also creates a volunteer network. However, this program ended in March 2015, leaving a problem to be solved because from the next year, the grant

will be provided to each local government, which will possibly lead to expand the funding gap between each local government.

Keywords: immigrant children, educational support, voluntary sector, out-of-school-children

Introduction

The aim of this paper is to introduce to the international audience, the support programs for immigrant children in Japan, especially those offered by voluntary sectors. Since the children who have different languages and cultures from Japanese tend to have difficulties in studying at Japanese public schools, it is essential for them to receive proper support. Though schools try to arrange the system for accepting them, it is difficult to provide sufficient assistance in the public school sector. Thus, many voluntary sectors such as nonprofit organizations have started to offer various programs in order to support immigrant children who have dropped out of school or to prevent their dropping out.

In this paper, "immigrant children" means children whose parent or parents have come to Japan recently (so-called "newcomers"). It contains both children who come to Japan in their childhood and children who were born and have grown up in Japan. The latter category of foreign children is increasing. Some of these children have acquired a Japanese nationality or have dual nationality.

According to the statistics of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) in 2014, the number of children who have foreign nationality in Japanese public schools (including elementary school, junior and senior high school and other schools) amounted to 73,289 (MEXT 2014a). And 29,198 children have difficulty in Japanese language skills and need supplementary Japanese lessons. In addition, the number of children who have Japanese nationality and have difficulty in Japanese language is 7,897. The total population increased from 35,560 to 3,885 compared to 2012. These numbers are based on the statistics of children who belong to public schools, so probably the actual population is larger.

Background

Since the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (Shutsunyuukoku kanri oyobi nanmin nintei hou) was amended in 1991, a large number of Japanese-descendants (Nikkeijin) have come to Japan as un-skilled laborers, and nowadays, many foreign laborers come to Japan from various Asian countries, such as China, the Philippines and Nepal. According to the Ministry of Justice (2014), the population of foreign residents has grown to 2,359,461 as of June in 2014. Besides increases in the foreign population, there is a trend for them to settle in Japan. This puts pressure on localities to accept them as “residents” and the existing system in localities, such as the educational system have to be adjusted.

MEXT shows that the number of elementary and junior-high school students who require Japanese language instruction is 33,184 (May 1, 2014.) Schools which have had many such students have set up special classes in which Japanese as a second language (JSL), supplementary lessons are given and multicultural teachers help them as interpreters. At the same time, the foreign population tends to be scattered, with the exception of certain well-known areas of concentration, so 75.5% of schools which immigrant students belong to have less than 5 immigrant students per school (the Ministry of Education, 2014). This data suggests that many schools don’t have expertise or incentive to deal with immigrant students.

Previous Studies

Nonprofit organizations have emerged in areas in which the school or any other public sector has not be able to sufficiently provide the assistance necessary, in other words, where there is a need but no one to address it. The nonprofit organizations have their share of challenges, however.

Kojima(2011) researched four nonprofit organizations which help immigrant children over school age to enter senior high school. According to Kojima, flexibility, which is the main characteristic of nonprofit organizations is indispensable because children have various needs and the treatment of local governments and the system of entrance exam differ from region to region. On the other hand, solving regional differences is beyond the scope of nonprofit organizations, so he insists that we should not leave this problem up to volunteers(Kojima, 2011, pp.28-30).

On the contents of support itself to the population in question, it is generally maintained that the nonprofit organizations lack the financial and human basis which it certainly requires. Wakabayashi(2013) says that public schools must set proper educational supports for immigrant children, and that counseling on their future course and career education are also needed. Miyajima and Suzuki(2000) insist that linguistic support should be planned considering the difference between context-embedded language (Shakaiseikatsu gengo) and context-reduced language (Gakushuu shikou gengo), which were advocated by Jim Cummins. The former is like everyday language and comparatively easy to master. The latter is more difficult because it needs abstract thought, that is to say, we cannot surmise the meaning through the situation, gesture or some diagram. It is the latter that is used in school study. They say that schools generally have difficulties in dealing with the problem about context-reduced language, so support systems provided by nonprofit organizations, which have expertise, are indispensable for the present.

Problems of nonprofit organizations are mainly financial vulnerability, shortage of staff and difficulties regarding cooperation with local governments and schools (Miyajima and Suzuki, 2000).

Support Programs by Voluntary Sectors

Many voluntary sectors (such as nonprofit organizations) make up for the lack of support systems in schools. The characteristics of them are flexibility and expertise. And also, they can find "hidden problems" by using local networks. It means that in Japan, school attendance is compulsory, but this rule is not applied to children who have another country's nationality. So, even if the children drop out of the school system, schools tend to be less responsive than if the child had a Japanese nationality. Voluntary sectors try to find these "out-of-school-children" by working with the local government, local residents, and schools.

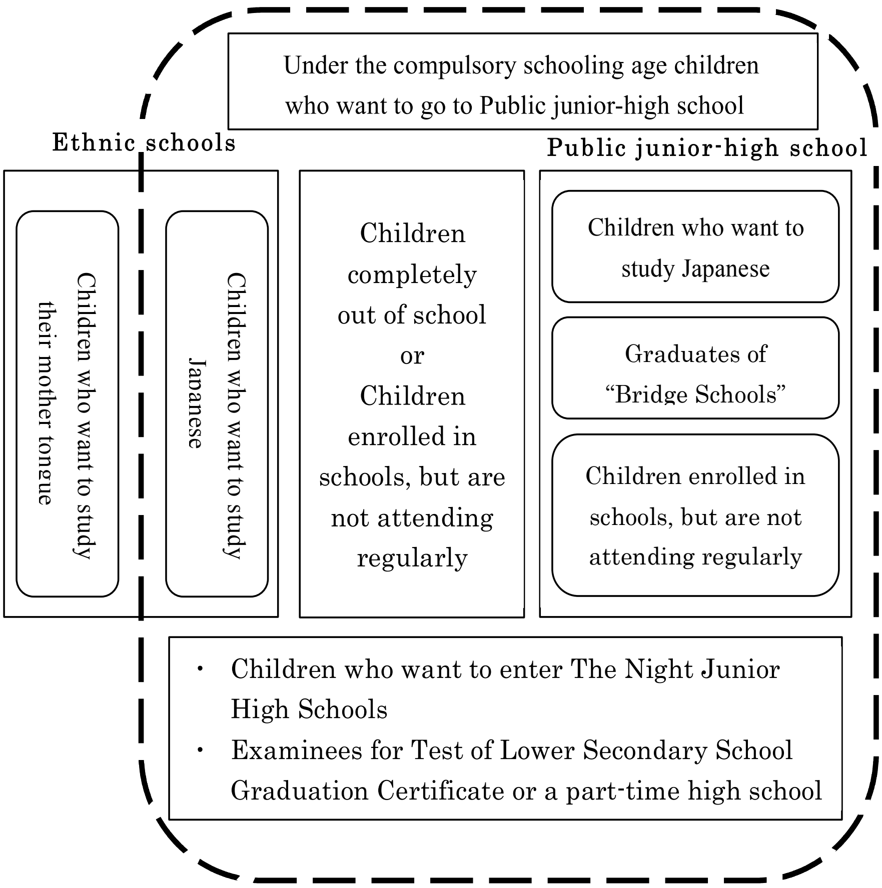
Figure1: Japanese school systems

	Public schools			Year		
	Graduate school			2	Higher education	
	University*2			4		
School for Special Needs Education	Senior high school*1			3	Secondary School Education	Compulsory Education
	Junior high school	The Night Junior High School	Test of Lower Secondary School Graduation Certificate	3		
	Elementary school			6	Elementary school Education	
	Kindergarten			3	Pre School Education	

(*1) Includes schools that offer part-time or correspondence courses.
(*2) Includes Junior College [2years], Professional Training College [4years].
Source: MEXT (2015)

In light of this situation, since 2009, the Ministry of Education has promoted support activities for immigrant children by voluntary sectors. This program aimed to facilitate out-of-school-children's transfer to Japanese public schools. This program is called the "Support Program to Facilitate School Education for Foreign Children in Japan" (commonly called the "Bridge School Program [Niji no Kakehashi Kyoshitsu]"). The main target is out-of-school-children, but it covers a wider range of children who have some difficulty in learning in Japanese schools. An outline of targeted children is as follows (Figure2, circled by dotted line).

Figure2: Targeted children at the bridge schools



Source: Miyajima (2014, p.93)

Unfortunately direct governmental funding for this program finished at the end of February 2015, but each support activity itself continues to this day. Therefore, introducing the contents of this program will help us understand what kind of educational supports are given in Japan to the target population. It attaches importance not only to offering opportunities to study, but also to making relationship with local residents.

Main contents are ①conduct classes on Japanese language and other subjects, ②training of their mother tongue, and ③promotion of acceptance into public schools and exchanges with the local society. This program is entrusted to the International Organization for Migration (IOM). IOM invites voluntary sectors which agree to this concept, and entrust the practical programs to them. To be exact, the Bridge Schools are not limited to voluntary sectors. Some public sectors, such as municipalities, boards of education and educational foundations took charge of this program and set the classes up using public facilities or schoolrooms.

Figure3: List of participants in the Bridge School

Year	Public sector (the number)	Private sector (the number)
2009	municipalities(5) board of education(1) educational foundation(6)	nonprofit organization(13) incorporated foundation(3) social welfare juridical person(1) business(3)
2010	municipalities(1) board of education(3) educational foundation(7)	nonprofit organization(21) incorporated foundation(2) social welfare juridical person(1) business(5) religious corporation(1)
2011	municipalities(3) educational foundation(6)	nonprofit organization(17) incorporated foundation(2) social welfare juridical person(1) business(3) religious corporation(2) corporate juridical person(1)
2012	municipalities(1) board of education(2) educational foundation(4)	nonprofit organization(12) incorporated foundation(1) corporate juridical person(1)
2013	municipalities(1) board of education(2) educational foundation(3)	nonprofit organization(11) incorporated foundation(1) religious corporation(1)
2014	municipalities(1) board of education(2) educational foundation(4)	nonprofit organization(10) incorporated foundation(1) religious corporation(2)

Source: International Organization for Migration (2015b)

Japanese Language Instruction and Study Support

"Bridge Schools" offers the children Japanese language instruction and study supports. If teachers are multilingual, they can help the children with study in their mother tongue. But because children come from various countries, in fact teachers manage to teach in Japanese and English, using some aides such as pictures or body language.

Giving the children a place to study is very important, because many of the immigrant children lack a desirable learning environment at their home because of poverty. By offering them a place to study, the aim is to get the children into the habit of studying. In the class one of the nonprofit organizations entrusted with this program, teachers always ask their students if they have already finished their school homework at the beginning of the class. And if they haven't, teachers tell them to do it firstly. It can be said that teachers put an emphasis on study by themselves.

And moreover, such a place to study can be a place where the children feel at ease. According to the staff of the nonprofit organization mentioned above, most of the immigrant children are under stress at school or at home, so the place where they are allowed to speak their mother tongue, and have the opportunity to meet other immigrant children refreshes them (interview, Dec. 29th, 2014). That contributes to their mental health and establishment of identity.

Figure 4: lessons

Support Programs Involving Parents

The members of the support programs regard connection with the parents as important. For example, according to the staff of the nonprofit organization mentioned above, they explain Japanese school system, share information about the child and advise on daily life. They also help out with dealing with complicated procedures for entering school. The purpose of this is to facilitate the transfer of the children from such out-of-school facilities to public schools, but in addition, another aim is to prevent the parents from being isolated. Foreign residents have difficulty building a relationship with Japanese neighbors, so nonprofit organization staffs try to become a person who they can rely on (interview, Dec. 29th, 2014).

Figure 5: A handcraft class

Note: Not only main subjects but other ones, such as music, handcraft

Events held in local society play an important role in making relationship between foreign residents and local residents. So nonprofit organization staff take an active part in local events, such as traditional festivals, sports festivals and school events with the children and their parents. Through these events, foreign residents can have an opportunity to meet local residents and become aware of themselves as members of the community. On the other hand, this aims to make local residents acknowledge foreign residents and accept them.

The Future of "Bridge Schools"

Unfortunately, the Bridge School Program finished in the end of February in 2015 because it originally started with a time limit. IOM published the final report on this program in February in 2015. According to this report, IOM recognized that the program helped the transition of many immigrant children to Japanese public schools or other formal schools, and moreover, it contributed to the development of human resources, skill and local networks to assist immigrant children.

However, the end of the Bridge School left problems to be solved because the alternative aid is to be given to local governments. It means the support systems for immigrant children depends on the initiative of each local governments which will possibly expand the gap between regions.

The condition of learning for immigrant children is still insufficient, so the organizations which conducted the Bridge Schools program will continue their support activities. Those attempts to connect foreign residents with schools and local community are based on the idea that regards them as people who live together with Japanese as residents. With this concept, nonprofit organizations continue to be a bridge between immigrant residents and Japanese schools, society and residents.

Notes

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【センター関連プロジェクト研究概要】

「ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証に関する理論的実証的研究の概要」
（科研基盤A）研究概要

大桃　敏行

はじめに

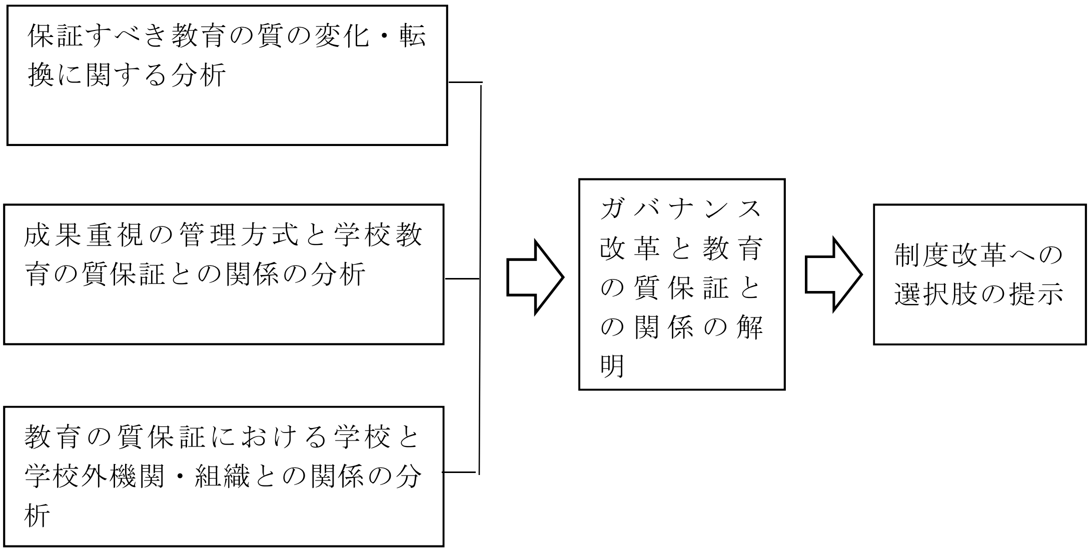
東京大学大学院教育学研究科では，研究科全体の有志により，2014 年度より 3 年間にわたる「ガバナンスと教育の質保証に関する理論的実証的研究」（科学研究費補助金基盤研究（A），研究代表者：大桃敏行）に取り組んでいる。2014 年度は研究の初年度で，文献研究を行うと同時に国内・国外調査に着手し，公開シンポジウムで本研究の課題や初期の成果を示した。

研究の目的

ガバナンス改革の進行に伴い教育の領域でもその供給や質保証の方式の改革が進められる一方で，グローバリゼーションの進展や知識基盤社会への移行が言われるなかで保証すべき教育の質自体の転換が求められ，ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証との関係の解明が喫緊の課題になっている。本研究は，①求められる教育の質の変化・転換の内容とそこに内在する課題，②成果重視のガバナンス改革における学校教育の質保証の手法としての評価の有効性と課題並びにその課題の克服に向けた取り組み，③ガバナンス改革に伴う教育の質保証における学校と学校外の諸機関・組織との関係の流動化と連携の取り組みに関する理論的実証的研究を通じて，ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証との関係を解明し，制度改革への選択肢を提示することを目的とする。

研究組織と方法

この目的を達成するため，本研究プロジェクトは3つのユニットと事務局を設けて，研究を遂行している。ユニットＡは「保証すべき教育の質の変化・転換に関する分析」を，ユニットＢは「成果重視の管理方式と学校教育の質保証との関係の分析」を，ユニットＣは「教育の質保証における学校と学校外機関・組織との関係の分析」を担当して研究を進めている。事務局は研究代表者，各ユニットのリーダー及び連絡調整の役割も担う研究分担者から構成し，随時全体会を開催して各ユニット間の調整や研究成果の共有などをはかるとともに，公開シンポジウムを企画している。


保証すべき教育の質の変化・転換に関する分析
成果重視の管理方式と学校教育の質保証との関係の分析
教育の質保証における学校と学校外機関・組織との関係の分析
ガバナンス改革と教育の質保証との関係の解明
制度改革への選択肢の提示

「日本型 21 世紀対応教育の国際モデル化に関する国際比較研究
ー多元的モデルの構築」（科研基盤 A）研究概要

恒吉　僚子

今日、21 世紀型能力や資質の育成を目指して各国が教育改革を推進し、グローバル化を背景にした国家間の教育モデルの借用も盛んである。しかしながら、21 世紀型能力や資質を育成する教育の論理や実践枠組み、つまり、21 世紀型対応教育への改革のマスタープランのレベルにおいては、西欧先進諸国のモデルが国際的な独占状態にある。本研究の目的は、日本の学校教育における特徴的な実践を国際的に発信しながら、アメリカ、シンガポール、中国（上海）、スウェーデンとの国際比較を通して、日本の 21 世紀型対応の教育モデルを分析し、西欧の代替モデルの概念化、海外教員の研修を相互に関連させて推進し、「研究―実践」を連続的に位置付け、国際モデルの多元化を模索することにある。

「アジアにおける「知識外交」と高等教育の国際化に関する実証的研究」

（科研基盤 A）研究概要

北村友人

研究の目的

本研究は、アジアにおいて高等教育の国際化が「知識外交」に対してどのような影響を及ぼしているのか、定性的研究と定量的研究を組み合わせて実証的に明らかにすることを目的としている。そのために、国レベルにおける高等教育の国際化が国家による「知識外交」の展開やそのインパクトに対してどのような影響を及ぼしているのかを検証するとともに、アジアの地域・サブ地域レベルでも高等教育の国際化によって「知識外交」がどのように促進（あるいは阻害）されたり、そのインパクトがどのような形で具体的な現象として立ち現れているのかを明らかにする。それらの結果を踏まえ、高等教育の国際化が進展するなかで大学が有する知的・人的・物的な資源が「知識外交」にいかなる役割を果たしているかを解明し、国際高等教育と「知識外交」に関する理論的な枠組みを構築する。

研究の背景

知識基盤社会と呼ばれる今日の国際社会では、「知」の創出・獲得・発信において優位を得るために多くの国家が学術活動や研究開発への投資を競うように増大させている。それらの国のなかには、科学研究や知的生産が外交政策の重要な柱に位置付けられているケースがしばしば見られる。こうした「知」の国際競争は、国際社会における国家の政治的ならびに経済的な優位性を確立させるうえで重要な要因となっていることは、Joseph S. Nye Jr. による「ソフト・パワー」や「スマート・パワー」に関する研究で指摘されてきた通りである。また、近年、世界各地の大学が国際化を進め、研究者や学生たちの国際的な移動が活発化するなかで、これらの人々が果たす文化的な「外交官」としての役割が重要度を高めている。加えて、留学生のなかには自国へ帰国した後に、政治、経済、文化などの諸分野で指導的な立場に就いている者も少なくない。

これらの現象は「**知識外交（Knowledge Diplomacy）**」とその影響として捉えることができるが、こうした概念は、Michael Ryan（1988）をはじめとする国際政治学や国際関係論の研究者たちが主導する形で 1990 年代から議論されてきた。そして、先進諸国を中心に、より戦略的な「知識外交」あるいは「科学外交（Science Diplomacy）」を推進することが、国家の国際的な競争力の維持・向上のために不可欠であることが広く認識されるようになった。日本でも 1995 年の科学技術基本法の施行によって「科学技術創造立国」の旗印を掲げ、産官学の連携による科学技術振興が目指されてきた。諸外国においても、2010

年にはロンドン王立協会が『科学外交の新領域－権力バランスの変容を導く－』という報告書を出したり、2012 年にカナダの国際教育戦略に関する諮問委員会が報告書『国際教育－カナダの将来的な繁栄の原動力－』をまとめるなど、「知識外交」を強化することが将来的な国力の増強に繋がると考えられている。

ただし、こうした「知」をめぐる国際競争は、学術の公共性や学問の自由といった伝統的な価値観を揺らがせる要因ともなっていることに留意する必要がある。とくに、知的生産活動の拠点である高等教育機関には多大な影響が及んでおり、大学の自治をはじめとする高等教育機関の基盤に対して問い直しを迫られるような状況が散見される。とりわけ、近年、大学の国際化が非常に活発化するなか、学術的な価値観よりも政治的あるいは経済的な観点から大学に改革を迫る動きが顕在化している（上山隆大（2010）の「アカデミック・キャピタリズム」論、WTO のサービス貿易協定、WIPO による知的財産保護に関する制度構築など）。そうした動きを加速化する要因のひとつとして、国際的な大学ランキングの影響力の増大などを挙げることができる。

このような高等教育の国際化における公共性の問題については、Knight、Marginson、Altbach、Kehm, Massen、de Wit といった研究者たちが国際的な議論をリードしてきた。とくに Knight らが国際大学協会（IAU）と共同で実施した世界調査の結果は、グローバル化する高等教育市場の現状を明らかにするとともに、高等教育の国際化が学術の公共性に及ぼす影響や課題を提示している。また、国内では、塚原、山本、羽田、大塚、米澤などによって、高等教育の国際化が社会に及ぼす影響について、諸外国の動向を視野に入れつつ多角的な分析が行われている。しかしながら、「知識外交」に対して高等教育の国際化が及ぼす影響について、とくに実証的に明らかにするような研究は、管見の限り、これまでほとんど行われてこなかった。

そうしたなか、研究代表者（北村）は主にアジア諸国における大学の国際化の現状と高等教育の公共性の問題について、科学研究費補助金（若手研究（A)、基盤研究（B)）による研究や文部科学省国際課の委託調査などを通して実証的に明らかにしてきた。また、研究分担者らとともに国際交流基金の助成を受けて国際高等教育フォーラム「急変する世界環境における高等教育の公的役割」（2009 年より隔年開催）を開き、多極的なイニシアティブにもとづく高等教育の国際化のあり方について、国内外の研究者たち（Altbach、Knight、Marginson、山本、羽田など）を招いて活発な議論を行ってきた。その成果は、Springer 社より学術書として刊行されている（Yonezawa, et al.（2014))。加えて、本研究のメンバーたちは国際機関や政府関係機関による国際会議や専門家会合に数多く出席し、国内外の専門家たちとの意見交換を積み重ねてきた（アジア開発銀行主催「高等教育の地域連携」（2010 年 7 月）、OECD・文科省共催「高等教育のグローバル戦略」（2013 年 2 月）など）。

これらの研究や議論を通して研究メンバーたちは、多くの国・地域で高等教育の国際化が進展するなかで、大学が有する資源を「知識外交」に戦略的・効果的に取り入れていくことの重要性を強く認識し、本研究のテーマを着想するに至った。

研究の射程

上記のような学術的背景を踏まえ、本研究では高等教育の国際化がいかなる影響を「知識外交」に及ぼしているのかについて、とくにアジアにおける国レベルならびに地域レベ

ルの事例を取り上げ、実証的な国際比較研究を行う。なお、本研究でアジアに焦点を絞る理由は、留学生数の急増といった統計データなどにも明確に表れているように、世界各地の高等教育システムのなかでも今日最も積極的に国際化を推進しているのがアジア諸国の大学であると考えられるためである。また、アジア諸国は政治的にも経済的にも国際社会における存在感を高めており、そうした地政学的要因が高等教育を「知識外交」に活用するうえでいかなる影響を及ぼしているのかを明らかにする。

こうしたアジアにおける実証研究を踏まえたうえで、アジア以外の地域に関する先行研究も参照しつつ、「知識外交」を促進するうえで高等教育の国際化が果たす役割について、理論的な枠組みを構築することを目指している。そして、これらの実証研究と理論研究にもとづき、日本が「知識外交」をさらに促進していくために、どのように大学が国際化していくべきかについての提言をまとめたい。

研究期間は 5 年間を設定し、1 年目に先行研究のレビューや現地調査の準備を行い、2～4 年目に調査対象国・機関における実地調査を実施する。また、並行して理論研究を進める。研究成果の公表・普及のために、2 年目と 3 年目に中間会合としての国際専門家会議を、4 年目と 5 年目に総括的な議論を行い、研究成果を発信するために国際会議の開催ならびに書籍・雑誌の出版を予定している。

学術的な特色・独創性・意義

本研究の特色であり独創的な点は、アジア諸国が「知識外交」を展開するなかで大学が果たしている役割を、とくに国際化に焦点をあてつつ、実証的に明らかにすることにある。これまで、高等教育の国際化が「知識外交」に及ぼす影響について検証した研究は国際的にも十分な蓄積があるとは言えず、本研究の成果はアジアのみならず世界各地の「知識外交」と高等教育の関係を考える際の貴重な参照枠組みとなることが期待される。このように、国際高等教育論に新たな理論的枠組みを構築することで学術的な貢献を目指すとともに、本研究で得られた知見を踏まえて今後の日本の「知識外交」に関する政策形成に対して提言を行うことから、社会的な意義も有すると考える。

また、本研究の研究代表者と研究分担者たちは、ユネスコ、OECD、アジア開発銀行、Consortium for Higher Education Researchers、北米比較国際教育学会、国際交流基金、国際協力機構などが主催する国際的な学会・会議の場で発信してきた実績を有しており、海外共同研究者たちとも協調しつつ、本研究の成果を積極的に国際発信していくことが見込まれる。

研究成果は、英文と和文による書籍・論文の刊行や、国際シンポジウムの開催などを通して、広く公表していく。とくに英文の成果については、国際的な学術出版社とも学術誌ならびに学術書シリーズの刊行を交渉中である。たとえば、主にアジアの研究者たちが中心となって、高等教育に関する国際ジャーナルを創刊することを協議している。これは、欧米の研究者たちが主導してきた国際的な高等教育研究分野において、アジアから新たな視点を提示し、発信していくための試みである。また、1 冊 100 頁程度のブックレット・シリーズの刊行について検討している。このブックレットという形態は、本研究を通して得られる研究成果をできるだけタイムリーに発信するためと、研究者以外の実務家などにも広く成果を知ってもらうために適している。これらの試みは、それ自体がアジアの「知識外交」を活性化することにも繋がると考えている。

研究計画・方法

本研究では、（1）関連研究のレビューと理論研究、（2）国レベル・地域レベルでの事例研究（関係者への面接調査、文書分析）、（3）留学生に関する事例研究（面接調査、各種世論調査の分析）、（4）高等教育の外交的インパクトに関する指標の開発とデータベース化、という 4 つの研究を行う計画である。これらの研究を実施するに際して、「相互パワー」の概念を理論的基盤とするが、この概念を国内レベルでの多様なアクターの相互作用によって形成される「外交力」に関してのみならず、地域・サブ地域レベルにおける国家間の相互作用によって形成される「外交力」にも適用し、分析を行う。

これらの研究を行うために、初年度の準備段階と最終年度の現地へのフィードバックを含めて、計画期間中は毎年、調査の対象国ならびに対象機関を訪問し、面接調査や資料・データの収集を実施する。その際、外交的インパクトに関する指標を開発し、その指標についてのデータを収集・分析する。

本研究の目的を達成するために、次の 4 つの取り組みを行う予定である。(1)「知識外交」政策と高等教育の国際化を促進する諸要因（地政学的要因や社会文化的要因）との関係についての関連研究のレビュー、（2）　高等教育機関の国際化が「知識外交」に及ぼす影響に関する事例分析、（3）「外交資源」としての留学生に関する事例分析（例：留学生数の推移と対日（対中、対韓…などの）世論調査との関係などを国別に分析）、（4）高等教育の外交的インパクトに関する指標の開発。

これら 4 つの研究を行うにあたっての理論的枠組みとして本研究では、これまで「知識外交」や高等教育の国際化を論じる際に用いられてきた「ソフト・パワー」概念ではなく、Jane Knight（2014）が提唱する「**相互パワー（Mutual Power）**」概念を軸として設定したい。この「相互パワー」とは、従来の外交における主要なアクターである国家（＝政府）に加えて、大学、政策フォーラム、NGO、メディアなどの新たなアクターたちが相互に連携し合うことで形成される、「知識外交」を推進する力のことを意味する。この Knight の概念を基盤としつつ、本研究では高等教育ガバナンスの観点から、**①国家主導型**、**②大学主導型**、**③折衷型**という 3 つの類型を設定し、ガバナンスの違いが「知識外交」への影響にどのように出現しているかを分析する。また、非常に多様なアジア諸国のなかから事例対象国を選定するにあたっては、**①先導国家**（leading state）、**②架け橋国家**（bridging state）［先進国の先導的なモデルと途上国の発展的なシステムとを繋げる立場］、**③追走国家**（following state）、**④巨大国家**（mega state）というカテゴリーを設ける。

上記の**研究（2）・（3）**の事例対象国は、これらの類型とカテゴリーを組み合わせることで、下の表に挙げる国となる。事例研究では、マクロな政策分析や社会経済的インパクト分析とミクロな大学レベルの調査を組み合わせる。

	先導国家	架け橋国家	追走国家	巨大国家
国家主導型	シンガポール	マレーシア	ラオス・ミャンマー	中国
大学主導型／折衷型	日本・韓国	タイ	カンボジア	インド

大学レベル調査では、各国で特徴的な大学を抽出して訪問調査を行うと同時に、アジアの 20 ヵ国・地域の大学 1,500 校を対象に大規模な質問紙調査を実施する。これらの調査では、対象大学を ①研究大学、②国際化牽引大学、③先端的科学技術大学、④教養大学、⑤大衆的大学に分類し、大学の国際的な活動を「国際共同研究」「留学生交流」「国際共同学位プログラム・海外キャンパス」「MOOCs 等のオンライン遠隔教育」「産学連携」などの領域ごとに調査・分析を行う。

これらの事例対象国に加えて、地域・サブ地域レベルでの高等教育ネットワークが「知識外交」にどのような影響を及ぼしているのかを分析するために、アジア開発銀行、東南アジア教育大臣機構（SEAMEO）（とくに SEAMEO College ならびに高等教育開発センター（RIHED））、アセアン大学ネットワーク（AUN）、南アジア地域協力連合（SAARC）などの地域機関や地域ネットワークも調査対象として予定している。これらの地域的な組織が、どのように域内の高等教育の国際化を促進し、各国が展開する「知識外交」に影響を及ぼしているのかを明らかにする。加えて、国連教育科学文化機関（ユネスコ）、経済開発協力機構（OECD）、英連邦事務局（Commonwealth Secretariat）といった高等教育の国際化に影響力を有する国際機関が、どのような役割を各国が展開する「知識外交」のなかで果たしているのかについても検証する。（機関名に付した括弧は、調査担当者を示している。）

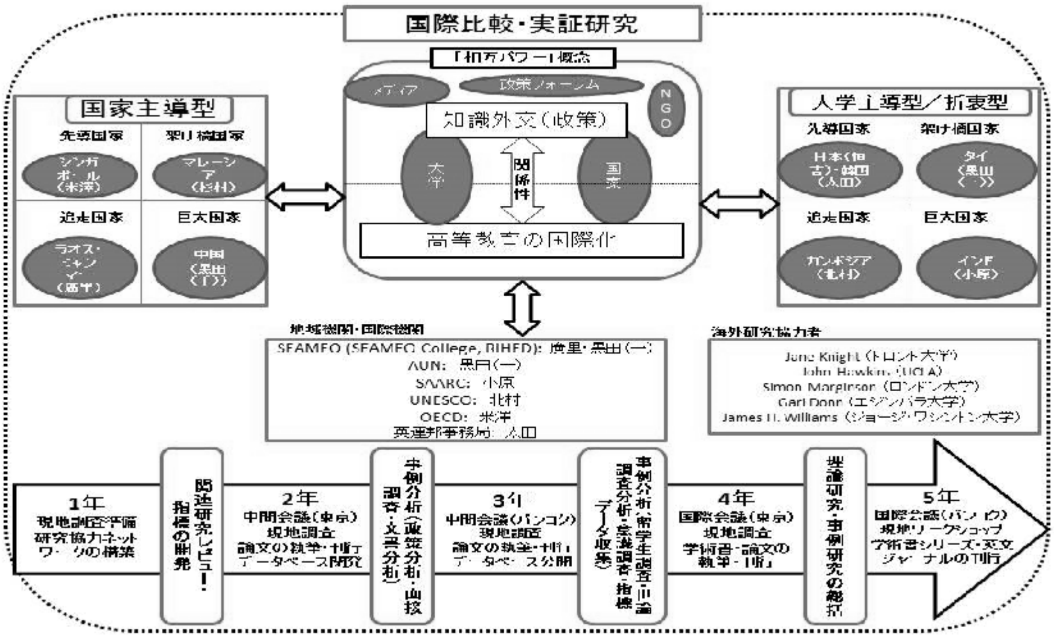
「知識外交」が具体的に表出する場としては、主に 2 つの類型が考えられる。一つ目の類型は、経済開発、政治的な民主化、平和や危機管理に関するガバナンス、人的資源開発、先端科学技術、文化芸術といった諸領域で、それらの知識・技能・経験・価値観などを共有することである。こうした外交の具体例として、分担者の黒田（千）の研究が示すように中国の孔子学院が非常に積極的な展開をみせてきたが、近年になってその活動への批判も高まっている。また、韓国の文化政策が戦略的に韓流ブームを形成することを意図し、対韓感情の向上に貢献してきたことは周知の通りである。もう一つの類型が、国際的な課題（貧困、人権、平和、環境、エネルギーなど）についてアジェンダ設定を行い、多様な国際会議やフォーラムの開催やメディアを通した発信をすることで、国際的な知識連帯と合意を形成していくことである。金子・北野（2014）が指摘するように、これら 2 種類の「知識外交」の結果、国際社会のなかでの自国の立場を知的交流を通して明らかにするとともに、国際的な「知識共同体（epistemic community）」の構築において主導的な役割を果たすことができるようになる。

ただし、こうした「知識外交」は、必ずしも国家間の競争を煽るのみではなく、仮に国家間の連携による「相互パワー」が発揮されることになれば、国を越えた「高等教育の公共圏（higher education common space)」が構築され、域内の知的生産が活発化し、ひいては政治的・経済的な発展にも寄与し得る。こうした連携は、欧州連合（EU）において具現化されつつあり、アジアでも東北アジアにおける「キャンパス・アジア」プログラムや東南アジアにおける AIMS プログラムなどにその萌芽をみることができる。本研究では、こうした具体的なプログラムの外交的なインパクトについても検証する。

研究（4）で掲げた高等教育の外交的インパクトに関する指標については、研究代表者が中心となって行う研究（1）のレビュー結果を踏まえ、ユネスコ・アジア太平洋地域教育局教育統計課と協同して開発する（現在、同課の教育統計官と協議を始めている）。この指標は、「留学生数」「海外学術交流協定校数」「国際共同学位プログラム数」「国際共著

論文数」などの高等教育の国際化に関するデータと、「（COP10 など）国際会議の主催実績」「産学による共同特許出願数（国内・海外）」といった外交的・社会経済的インパクトのデータを組み合わせる。そして、研究（2）・（3）の事例調査を通して、それらに関わる量的・質的なデータを収集・分析し、その結果を国際比較することで、各国の「知識外交」を多角的に検証する。さらに、これらのデータは、データベース化して公開する。

なお、本研究を通して、各国の「知識外交」に対する高等教育の国際化の影響をみるのみならず、いかなる地域的な連携の枠組みが「相互パワー」を発揮しているのかといったことや、どのような国の組み合わせが最も「相互パワー」を生み出せるのかといったことも検証していく。



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学校教育高度化センター　研究紀要　執筆要項

2015 年 9 月

1. 本研究紀要掲載の論文等の内容は、学校教育の高度化に関係するものとする。

2. 掲載する論文等は未発表のものに限る。

3. 論文等の使用言語は日本語または英語とする。

4. 本研究紀要が掲載する論文等の原稿枚数は下記のとおりとする。ただし、依頼論文など、編集委員会がとくに指定したものについては、この限りではない。

(1) 研究論文（日本語）	20 枚以内
(2) 研究論文（英語）	5,000words
(3) ワーキングペーパー（日本語）	15 枚以内
(4) ワーキングペーパー（英語）	3,500words

上記の枚数・語数には、本文の他、タイトル、注記（Notes)、参考文献（References)、図表等を含み、付録（Appendix）は含まないものとする。

5. 本研究紀要に論文を執筆できる者は、センタープロジェクトに従事している本学教員と大学院学生および協力研究員（「東京大学教育学研究科付属学校教育高度化センターの組織と運営に関する申し合わせ」参照）とする。センタープロジェクトに従事している他大学大学院学生は、協力研究員が第一著者となっている場合に第二執筆者以下として執筆することができる。

6. 研究論文およびワーキングペーパー（日本語）のフォーマットは以下のとおりとする。具体例はサンプルを参照すること。
   - 用紙はＡ４判縦とし，余白は上下左右すべて 30ｍｍに設定する。
   - 本文のフォントサイズは 10.5 ポイントで，40 字×40 行で作成する。
   - フォントは，日本語は MS 明朝，英語は Times New Roman を使用する。
   - 1 ページ目には，題目（日本語)，執筆者名（日本語)，題目（英語)，執筆者名（英語)，Author’s (Authors) Note の順に記載すること。
     - 題目（日本語）は，フォントサイズを主題は 14 ポイント，副題は 12 ポイントにし，フォントを MS ゴシックにする。
     - 題目（英語）は、フォントサイズを主題は 12 ポイント、副題は 10.5 ポイントにする。
     - 題目（日本語)，題目（英語)，執筆者名（英語）は中央揃え，執筆者名（日本語）は右揃えにする。

・　2ページ目には，要旨（英語）（150-250 words 程度），キーワード（英語）を５語以内で記載する。
  - “Keywords”の小見出しはイタリック体で記載する。
・　3ページ目には、題目（MS ゴシック・中央揃え・12 ポイント)、副題目（MS ゴシック・中央揃え・10.5 ポイント）で記載し、一行あけて、本文を始める。
・　本文には適宜，小見出しをつける。章，節，項などの小見出しは，フォントは MS ゴシック・10.5 ポイントにする（冒頭の英数字はすべて半角)。
・　句読点は，「,」と「。」に統一する。
・　本文中の英数字は半角を用いる。
・　図表については，図 1・表 1 などのように表記し，通し番号をつける。なお、図表番号は、図の場合は下、表の場合は上につけ、フォントは MS ゴシック・10.5 ポイントにする。
・　図や表に関して転記する場合には，著者の責任において原著者，版権をもつ出版社などに許可を得ること。
・　注はページ脚注とせず，本文の該当箇所に上付きで(1) (2) …などと表記し，原稿末にまとめて列記する。
・　原稿末の注は引用文献より前に記載する。注番号は上付きにせず、(１)，(２）のように表記する。
・　引用文献はページ脚注とせず，原稿末にまとめて列記する。
・　参考文献の書き方については、以下のとおりとする。
  単行本（編者あり）: 著者（発行年)「題目」編者名『書名』出版社、頁.
  雑誌論文：著者（発行年)「題目」『雑誌名』巻号、頁.
  学会発表等：発表者（発表年)「題目」第 X 回 X 学会（場所、日にち）発表
  URL：題目[http://xxx]（accessed on Month Date, Year）
・　原稿末の「注」「引用文献」の小見出しのフォントは MS ゴシック・10.5 ポイントにし，左揃えにする。

7.　研究論文およびワーキングペーパー（英語）のフォーマットは以下のとおりとする。具体例はサンプルを参照すること。
＊英語版の研究論文およびワーキングペーパーは基本的に APA スタイルに従うものとする。
・　用紙はＡ４判縦とし，余白は上下左右すべて 30ｍｍに設定する。
・　本文のフォントサイズは 12 ポイントで，25 行で作成する。
・　シングルスペースで、フォントは Times New Roman にする。
・　1ページ目には，タイトル，執筆者名，Author’s(Authors’) Note の順に記載する。
  ・　タイトルは 14 ポイント、サブタイトルおよび執筆者名は 12 ポイントとし、ともに中央揃えにする。
・　2ページ目には，要旨（150-250 words 程度），キーワードを 5 語以内で記載する。
  - “Keywords”の小見出しはイタリック体で記載する。
・　3ページ目には、タイトル・副タイトル（Times New Roman・中央揃え・12 ポイント）

を記載してから本文を始める。

- 本文には適宜、Heading をつける。Heading 1 は中央揃え・太字、Heading 2 は左揃え・太字、Heading 3 はインデントし、太字で記載する。Heading 1, 2 の後は改行し、本文を始める。Heading 3 は”.（ピリオド）”を付し、本文を続ける。各 Heading の間は行をあけない。
- 図表については，Table1・Figure1 などのように表記し，通し番号をつける。なお、図表番号は、Table・Figure ともに上につける。
- 図や表に関して転記する場合には，著者の責任において原著者，版権をもつ出版社などに許可を得ること。
- 注はページ脚注とせず，本文の該当箇所に上付きで(1) (2) …などと表記し，原稿末にまとめて列記する。

・ 原稿末の Notes は References より前に記載する。番号は上付きにせず、（１)，（２）のように表記する。
・ References は改ページして記載する。
・ References はサンプルのように、投稿論文・本・章などそれぞれのフォーマットにしたがい、著者名のアルファベット順に列記する。

8. 執筆希望者は、学校教育高度化センターに原稿（電子ファイル）を提出する。

問い合わせ先：
〒113-0033　東京都文京区本郷 7-3-1
東京大学大学院教育学研究科付属
学校教育高度化センター
TEL: 03-5841-1749
e-mail: c-kodoka@p.u-tokyo.ac.jp

＜サンプル（研究論文およびワーキングペーパー（日本語））＞

題目

ー副題ー

著者が１人の場合は、
Author’s name の下の行に改
行して大学名を書く。

第１　著者（○○○○○大学）
第２　著者（○○大学）

Title:

Sub-Title

1st AUTHOR’S NAME ,UNIVERSITY NAME
2nd AUTHOR’S NAME,UNIVERSITY NAME

Authors’ Note
Ryoko Tsuneyoshi is the Professor of Comparative Education, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo, and the Director of the Center for Excellence in School Education.
Xxxx Yyyy is a PhD student, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo.

This research was supported by the Grants-In-Aid for Scientific Research, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Kiban A, No. [NUMBER].

若手研究者育成プロジェクトの場合は、”supported by a grant, Youth Scholar Program from Center for Excellence in School Education, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo”と記載する。

Abstract

The abstract should be between 150-250 words.

Keywords: within 5words,

Abstract と Keywords の間は 1 行あける。

題目

副題

1. はじめに

（章）章見出しの前後は各1行空ける

本文をここに書きます。句読点は，「,」と「。」に統一してください。本文中の英数字は半角を用いてください。

（節）節見出しの前は各 1 行空ける

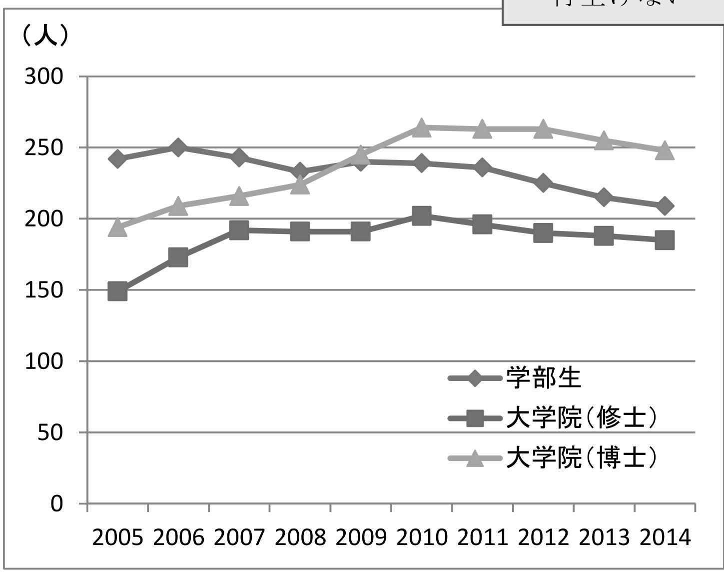
1.1. 問題設定

本文をここに書きます。図表については，図 1，表 1，図表 1，Table 1，Figure 1 などのように表記し，通し番号をつけてください。提出原稿では，本文の適切な位置に埋め込んでください。

1.1.1. 問題の所在　（項）

本文をここに書きます。注はページ脚注とせず，本文の該当箇所に上付きで一連番号で表記し，原稿末にまとめて列記してください[1)]。

（項）項見出しの前は各 1 行空けない



ここでは注番号は上付きにしない。

図 1　教育学部・教育学研究科の在籍者数

注

(1) 文献の参照・引用方法は分野によってかなり異なるので，注の形で引用文献をつける方式（例 :『教育学研究』）でも，本文に著者名（出版年）などの形で挿入し，原稿末にアルファベット順に列記する方式（例 :『教育心理学研究』『教育社会学研究』）でもかま

いません。

引用文献

東大太郎（2014）『東大の歩き方――本郷キャンパスを中心に』東京大学出版会

＜サンプル（研究論文およびワーキングペーパー（英語））＞

The AmerAsian School in Okinawa

Ryoko Tsuneyoshi and Hideki Ito

The University of Tokyo

Author's Note

Ryoko Tsuneyoshi is the Professor of Comparative Education, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo, and the Director of the Center for Excellence in School Education. Contact: tsuney@p.u-tokyo.ac.jp

Hideki Ito is the research associate (*jyokyo*) for the Center for Excellence in School Education, Graduate School of Education, The University of Tokyo

This research was supported by the Grants-In-Aid for Scientific Research, Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Kiban C, No. 24531056.

Cited from Ryoko Tsuneyoshi & Hideki Ito, Amerasian School, the 21st Century International Educational Models Project Working Paper Series No.1.

Abstract

This working paper offers a case study of the AmerAsian School in Okinawa. Located in a district with a heavy U.S. military presence, it is an alternative school which attracts international children, especially the Amerasian children in Okinawa. The paper traces the origins of the AmerAsian School, in itself an attempt in empowerment. The paper reviews the School's "double" education, which tries to affirm the "double" existence of the children attending there. The efforts to provide a "double" education is reflected in the School's language policies (the use of both English and Japanese), and its educational content; the example of social studies is provided. The latter half of this working paper reviews some of the implications from the research on Amerasians. The paper illustrates the way in which Ameriasians have been discussed in the context of social difference, stigmatization and marginalization, and how that is changing. This is an example of a school in Japan which is related to the construction of a multicultural society.

Keywords: Amerasians, Okinawa, AmerAsian School, double identity, international children, multicultural coexistence

Cited from Ryoko Tsuneyoshi & Hideki Ito, Amerasian School, the 21st Century International Educational Models Project Working Paper Series No.1.

Title:

Sub-Title

Introduction

Heading 1　中央揃え・太字

The aim of this paper is to examine … .

………………In this paper, I will explain ….. and finally conclude…..

Background

Heading 2　左揃え・太字

It has been argued… .

Literature Review

Author A says that …

……….

Limitations of These Studies

Technological limitations. First, in the studies of …..

……………………………………………………………

……………………………………………………………

Heading 3　インデント・太字
ピリオドをつけて本文を始める。１文字目のみ大文字。

Discussion

Heading 1　中央揃え・太字

In late 1990s, …………………………..

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…………………………………………………………………………………………..

Notes

The project staff thank the principal, Ms. XXX YYYY, the director, University of A, Mr. ZZ AAAA, and other teachers for their assistance.

(1) http://[URL] /, retrieved [Month, Year].

(2) [NAME OF THE WEBSITE], http://[URL], retrieved [Month, Year].

(3) Taken from the School's homepage, http://[URL], retrieved [Month, Year]

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上記の例にしたがって、アルファベット順に並べる。

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c-kodoka@p.u-tokyo.ac.jp

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