

Japan : Challenges in the 21st Century

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要 旨

明治時代に近代化のために作られた様々な制度は日本社会を縦に統合することを促進した。特に教育制度は決定的な役割を果たした。この制度の意図は、権力、秩序、ヒエラルキーを受容させ、倫理的基盤と社会化に影響させることである。21世紀の始めにおいて、その倫理的基盤と社会化の内容は危機にあるように見える。子どもたちの反抗とその影響はこの危機に対する最も明らかな表現の一つである。日本社会がこの状況にどのように対処するかは日本市民の将来に多大な影響を及ぼすであろう。

Introduction

Mental setting of the post-WWII generations in Japan was shaped by a solidly rooted *monogatari*: Japan is a group oriented consensus, and middle class society. The policies of the last 20 years, and their implications, have shaken the foundation of these myths. Japan at the beginning of the 21st Century is looking at her self again with many questions un-answered. This situation, as worrying as it might be, could have important positive implications: more conscious choices by the people living in Japan about the quality of the society they want to have. Challenges created by this fundamental question encompass many aspects of life. One of most urgent ones seems to be related to the quality, and aims of education.

Mass media frequently reports the decay of education and crime among lower age children and it tends to focus on negative aspects of children and school; there is no denying this fact. However, there are many highly-motivated children who try to take part in school life and who lead daily school life despite their difficulties in actual elementary school.

Educational administration and policies have been changing in recent years. The New courses of the Study have come into force in 2002 and the comprehensive five-day school week system has taken effect. And “*Sougoutekina gakushuuno jikan*” (Hour for integrated studies) has started as the new subject and curriculum of school education has converted. The New Courses of the Study has two key words of “*yutori*” (room to grow) and *ikiruchikara* (zest for living) and it insists that those will lead to opening to the

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way to 21st century. However, criticisms for *yutori* has increased as *yutori* education can potentially incur a lowering of academic ability, which the research of OECD has proven that and also the tendency of decline of academic ability of Japanese children is often cited. Monbukagakushou announced change of direction on “*yutori* education” and reconsideration of school hours which has decreased with five-day school week system.

And now, the Central Council for Education (*Chuokyouikushingikai*) is discussing amendment of the Fundamental Law of Education (*Kyouikukihonhou*) which gives the principal of Japanese school education. *Kyouikukihonhou* has played a role as the pillar of post-war democratic education and this revision would symbolize that Japanese school education faces a new situation.

Kyouikukihonhou was established March 1947 after taking demand for change by CIE of GHQ to delete wording to “respect tradition”. Now, there are arguments that “sense of public morality” and “identity as Japanese (spirit to respect tradition and culture and to love home province and country)” have to be added to educational principal.

Japanese school education started with the promulgation of the school system (*Gakusei*) in 1872 and has changed its roles along with the change of society; however, it sticks to basic style of centralization. Since Imperial Rescript on Education (*Kyouikuchokugo*) before the war, the direction of school education has been decided by law in Japan.

In centralized Japanese school, education based on the educational objectives decided by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (*Monbukatakushou*) is done through teachers in the “class” of each school. Educational practices can be realized in the style that the children accept the teacher’s leading of the class. However, there are more than a few classes which cannot carry out that basic style today.

The mass media has made reports of school problems of school violence, bullying and non-attendance at schools as modern pathology since 1970’s, and phenomenon of “class disruption” has been socially problematized as the new educational pathology since the late 1990’s. Children don’t accept teacher’s leading with “walking around in class”, “private talk”, “abusive words” and so on, so that the “class” casses to function properly as the basic unit of Japanese school education. However, this rebellion of children against teacher seems to reflect confusion of adults groping in the dark for the direction of Japanese education. According to this confusion, *Monbukagakushou* is forced to take prompt measures, and takes steps for training and firing teachers who are thought to be lacking in teaching ability and of out-of-school suspension of children with behavioral problems. In this case, “class disruption” is regarded as the new educational problem which troubles adults, however, the emergence of children who don’t accept teacher’s leading of the class would make us feel the new possibility.

“Class” in school education has been called a role to transmit knowledge efficiently from teacher to children. However, in this modern society of diversification of values, it is difficult to decide uniform contents of teaching for children throughout the country. Is what every teacher teaches in school truly correct? Are those necessary for us? Those questions have existed among children for a long time. And such simple questions of children have been drowned out with words of parents as “you have to listen to teacher in school”. Today, the authority of school and teacher has declined in society so that

simple questions of children which have existed since old times are presented as always to be in front of a teacher in “class”. This makes us to consider the new possibility of how a “class” should be composed of teacher and children.

This paper considers the phenomenon of “class disruption” which is generally recognized as the new educational “problem” as a chance to reconsider how “class” has existed as the basic unit of Japanese school education since Meiji period. Beside that, we will grope for the possibility of “class” in the present days. An indication of the new possibility of “class” would suggest the sense of values which have to be transmitted to children in modern Japan.

I- The phenomenon of “class disruption”

What is the phenomenon of “class disruption” which appeared in Japanese fields of education in 1990’s? This chapter will explain the actual condition with taking the view of not only school but also the family and social environment surrounding children.

§ 1. Social problematization of “class disruption”

When and how was “class disruption” of the new educational problem recognized as a Japanese social problem?

According to Naoki Ogi who has dealt with study of “class disruption” as the new “desolation” of class faster than anybody, school teachers started to talk about class disruption from 1993 or 1994 and they said that “never had it happened before,” “class doesn’t work” [Quoted by Katsuno 2001: 157] 1), and phenomenon of “class disruption” nationally spread from around April 1997 [Ogi 1999a: 86]. Some educational magazines pointed out the new teacher’s problem to teach children who couldn’t adapt to “learning” in collective class from lower grades of elementary school as “the new ‘desolation’ of children” [Nakata 2002: 125].

There is no theory which generally indicates when and where the term “class disruption” was started to be used, however, it is said that reports in newspapers and television played an important role in spreading all over the country a recognition of an educational problem [Ibuka 2000: 175].

According to Yoshimitsu Ota who studies class management, many educational problems have been problematized by mass media [Ota 2002: 82], and he also says that class disruption was problematized in the same way.

Haruo Kamijo who is the delegate of “*Jugyouzukuri network*” (network of making classes), one of the educational research groups, points out a TV program about “class disruption” by “Document ‘97” by Nihon television in April 6, 1997 as a pioneering report. It was televised at midnight so that not so many people paid attention to that report [Kamijo 1997a].

Shortly into 1998 the term of class disruption was started to be used by the mass media. NHK Sogo Television broadcasted the program of “School: spreading class disruption — how do teacher deal with moral decay? Vol. 1”, in which NHK televised the state of class disruption in 1st and 4th grade of an elementary school in Sakai city in Osaka [Nakata 2002: 124]. Further, NHK broadcasted “class disruption — how can teacher face children?” in Nichiyou touron in May 2, 1999 and TV Asahi also televised “class disruption and Japanese education” in *Asamade namatrebi* in April 30, 1999 [Ogi 1999a: 78].

Concerning newspapers, in the national edition of *Asahi shimbun*, an article by Kei Hisada (non-fiction writer) titled “class disruption — Did ‘school’ lose significance?” in April 15, 1997 is the first report 2), and it is the only article in 1997. However, *Asahi* ran 48 articles including the term class disruption in 1998. In the national edition of *Mainichi shimbun*, the term of class disruption appeared first in the editorial column titled “School violence adult power in order to solve children’s crisis” in December 24, 1997, and it ran 31 articles next year [Ota 2002: 83]. And in the editorial column of *Yomiuri shimbun* in August 7, 1997, as the background of murder case of elementary school children in Kobe and *Kokorono kyouiku* of *Chukyoushin* (Central Council for Education), it used the term of “class disruption” as follows:

“What I worry about is the phenomenon which children so-called “good children” “honor students” have started to go wild. Teachers call such a phenomena “class disruption” and the children suddenly do violence to classmates or break lessons. Psychiatrists and psychologists analyze that such children go into a stall as the result of which they continued to play the role of “obedient good children” for parents or adults beyond their abilities. [Kamijo, 1997b]

On the other hand, *Monbukagakushou* treaded warily in “class disruption” thinking it as “special case”, so that *Monbushou* later started to research actual conditions in 1999 3), and announced that *Montushou* would start to get hold of actual condition January 8 1999 and request *Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai* (Study group of classroom management) of *Kokuritsukyoku kenkyuujo* (National Laboratory of Education) February [Mainichi 1999.1.8] 4). *Monbukagakushou* also officially announced “the interim report” in September 1999 and “the final report” in March 2000. And before the countrywide research by *Monbukagakushou*, the educational committees of Local Government Units and study groups researched concerning on “class disruption” 5). Moreover, at the same time of the start of research of *Monbukagakushou*, teachers actively discussed on “class disruption” at “the National Meeting for Educational Study” by *Nikkyouso* (Japan Teacher’s Union) and *Zenkyou* (All Japan Teachers and Staffs Union) starting from January 21, 1999.

Almost all research by Local Government Units was reported from 1998 to 2000. Although coverage is confirmed from 2001 to 2004, reports tend to decrease and change the contents from research of actual conditions of “class disruption” to measures coping with “class disruption” 6). After 2001, reports on research of actual conditions of “class disruption” decreased. However, a lot of results of research said that “class disruption” tended to increase. Besides that, *Monbukagakushou* and Local Governments take measures so that “class disruption” can be thought to continue to be seen in 2004.

As I mentioned above, there is no accepted view of appearance of the term of “class disruption”, however, it is an educational problem seen from 1993 or 1994 and was reported by mass media intensely and socially problematized in 1998 or 1999, continuing until 2004.

§ 2. Definition of “class disruption”

2-1. What is “class disruption” ?

Then, what kind of phenomenon is concretely a case of “class disruption”? Here I will

give two actual examples.

(1) “What waited for me was an actual terrible condition of a class which I was no match for with my experience.” A female teacher of the Tohoku region with almost 20 year’s experience tells the situation of 2nd grade class in which she charged like this.

“There is no moment when children try to concentrate and listen to me. I feel emptiness in walking round, monologues and noise of children.” “There are fights and someone cry everyday. They look to ease stress and I feel their moral decay.”

At the center were some boys. Boy A breaks window panes over and over and he cannot take part in class with walking on desks or crouching at the corner of classroom. He also scatters things of classmates in lockers and hits weak children. Boy B makes a noise with boy A and also does not participate in class by lying on the desk. He behaves violently when he loses control and it takes long time to make him calm down. Other children started to walk around during class and violence spread as “chain reactions” [Yomiuri 1999.1.14] 7)

The above is a report of a teacher told in National Meeting of *Nikkyouso*. Next, let’s see a description of “class disruption” by a child.

(2) The home room teacher was a male teacher, Hayashi-sensei who had just been transferred in his 40’s looked gentle when I was in 5th grade.

In the 1st school hour of the first day of class, the teacher copied a question on the blackboard. “Yoshiko-san went shopping to a town 10 kilometers from her house. Her car goes at 5 meters. How long does it take?” And he drew an illustration of a car with a carp streamer. “This car is a carp streamer car because Children’s Day is coming soon.” The teacher started to idle talk. “This carp eat earthworms.” Keiko-san started to have a doubt to Hayashi-sensei at this moment.

“That teacher is strange”, other girls agree with her. “That hair looks a wig.” “He is aging himself.” “His jacket smells of a moth repellent.” And he smiles. “Ho, there, that sounds cruel.” “He looks to pretend to be refreshing and to curry favor with children,” Keiko-san felt. Teacher’s idle talk lasted until the last 10 minutes of class and he told only the conclusion and ended class with saying “there is no more time”, our class fell into disruptive situation from the next school hour.

Close friends of Keiko-san are 5 girls who excel in many sports and their results in school are not so good, not so bad. Those 5 girls dragged their chairs with noise and crowded at the back of classroom. “Let’s ignore him.” They crushed eggs of Japanese killifish he kept and poured soap water into the fish tank. A rumor that “he was also excluded in ex-school” spread and other girls got to say “wig”, “don’t touch me” to his face. But he still smiled. The defiant trend spread to boys. Teacher didn’t get angry even if children read cartoons and took exam by looking at textbooks, and he continued teaching for serious-minded children in the front of classroom. Other teachers were late to find that situation because the classroom of Keiko-san was placed at the dead end of the passageway. In the second semester, the schoolmaster picked up an examination paper which a boy threw from the window. After that, the school master started to check our class, however, our situation didn’t change [Yomiuri 1999.1.14] 8).

Various cases are taken up in books on “class disruption” and reports of mass media

in deed. Concerning those two cases, the description by the teacher mainly focuses on children's behavior and the one by children takes a close-up of the teacher's speech and behavior.

Next, let's see recognition by scholars which tries to catch the process of "class disruption" objectively. Tatsuya Matsubara.

"During class, children ignore teacher's attention and continue private talk or mischief. This situation leads to increase of children who side with them. And sometimes, things of certain children are hid or played with. If teacher leaves class as it is, children get to lose control themselves and class loses its order. Strong scolding of teacher calms them down temporarily, however, class get to be noisy soon after that. In such situation, a certain group looking for opportunity to confuse class appears. And children's spirits which stop confusion cool and a certain group starts to behave as it likes and they get to ignore the teaching and attention of the teacher entirely." [Matsubara 2002: 69]

Though cases of "class disruption" are various indeed, a class is thought to pass such a process to the situation of "class disruption". Ogi explains this process as the following three steps:

- (1) The existence of children as triggers
- (2) other children follow them
- (3) phenomenon of disruption continues for a certain time [Ogi 1999c: 38]

Concerning on existence of children as triggers, "children don't listen to teacher", "children walking around", "children easy to lose temper", "children saying bad things about teacher", as I mentioned above, would had been seen in school in any age. The reason why the phenomenon of "class disruption" is regarded as new is (2) and (3) of process explained by Ogi. Once, if there were children having behavior problems, other children behaved in following the teacher. And around autumn, some "small teacher" appeared to take care of them, so that the existence of children having behavior problems would have an effect on their education [Ogi 1999c: 39]. However now, other children also side with them so that children get to ignore direction and teaching of teacher 9).

2-2. Definition of "class disruption"

Thus far, it has been confirmed how "class disruption" was socially problematized and what kind of phenomenon is "class disruption". In order to go on with the argument on "class disruption" as the subject of study, I will show definition of "class disruption" next.

At first, let's see the definition in "Investigation concerning on enhancement of classroom management" by *Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai* (study group of classroom management) at the request of *Monbukagakushou*. It says, "the term of 'class disruption' has a sound which makes people aware of the seriousness of the situation, however, it can discourage the attitude to consider the complex situation carefully from various angles," and "this investigation calls 'situation which class doesn't work well". Besides that, it shows the following definition.

"A class condition in which the function of the class as a system of group education

doesn't work for a certain period of time because teachers cannot organize classes, children behave selfishly and don't follow teacher's instructions and teachers cannot solve the problem with normal methods." 10)

In regard to this definition, Kenji Oride, studying educational guidance and teaching in class, takes the definition as follows.

"This is an operational definition frequently used in investigations. It is clear, on the other hand this definition has a limitation: looking only from view of management by teacher as looked in the word of "a school function of group education". It regards "class disruption" as a disruption of class management from first to last and looks children as objects of teacher's management consistently." [Oride 2001: 71.]

The description of "method of investigation" mentions that "we couldn't hear children's voice except for some parts" 11) so that it is possible to say that the definition Gakkyuukeiei ken'yukai uses takes stands on Monbushou, school and teacher.

Ogi simply defines "class disruption" as "phenomenon of elementary school in which classes cannot be organized for some children behaving selfishly like walking around, talking privately," and mentions three points of this definition as follows.

- (1) Phenomenon confining to elementary school
- (2) Phenomenon which class cannot be formed
- (3) It doesn't problematizes existence of interference in class by some selfish children, but disorganization of teacher's leadership to whole class.

Concerning point (1) and (2), Ogi considers "class disruption" as wavering of "system of class kingdom" (system of class with only one teacher) in elementary school. And concerning point (3), "if there are some children who easily go wild, it just shows the difficulty of teaching. If teacher can give instruction to children somehow, it is not called "class disruption" [Ogi 1999a: 82]. Nevertheless the phenomenon of "class disruption" can be recognized from various aspects and it is very important.

§ 3. Social background of appearance of the phenomenon of "class disruption"

As I mentioned above, the phenomenon of "class disruption" is an educational problem in elementary school which has appeared since 1990's all over the country. Then why did such a phenomenon appear at this time? From mentioning by teacher as "I was no match for with my experience", teachers seems to feel that they cannot be accepted although they continue to use same method of teaching as they used to do. So you should think that children have changed. However, when you focus on change of children, it is necessary to consider parents and family as fosterer and society surrounding them. Many scholars argue that "children", "parents/family" and "society" are causes of "class disruption" and I will mention that.

3-1. Change of children

What can be pointed out on the situation of modern children is that they face "severe competition" 12).

Ota shows a perspective in which the phenomenon of class disruption is one of "school violence" in junior high school got down to elementary school. He gives the interpretation of school violence as caused by the exclusion of children who dropped out

of the competition for school entrance exam, and he also says that it could be thought that stress of children at studying with the fear of the so called “dropout” is the cause of class disruption [Ota 2002: 87].

Ibuka also points out “exclusive competition” as the cause of class disruption, and furthermore, he analyses how the development of educational industries, like *Juku*, have accelerated education with competition and children in such situation shows the distribution of academic ability in “two-humped camel”. According to an investigation by *Monbukagakushou*, the proportion of children going *Juku* is 29.6% in 1985 and reaches 41.7% in 1994 (13), and it points out that style of *Juku* differentiates between *Juku* for going to the next stage of education and those for supplementary lessons so that the distribution of academic ability is polarized in higher group and lower group [Ibuka 2000: 185]. Ibuka says, in classes showing the distribution of academic ability in “two-humped camel”, if teacher go on class based on children at average ability, children in higher going group *Juku* get bored and children in lower group have difficulty in understanding, which would lead to the grounding of “class disruption” [Ibuka 2000: 188].

As the second point on modern children, it could be pointed out that “children live in society with fewer children. Tatsuya Matsubara says that children brought up in family with fewer children have few experience to compete with others, to fight and to cooperate with each other so that they tend to be lacking sociability and to take a selfish attitude after entering elementary school [Matsubara 2002: 71]. This point is also indicated in the aforementioned report of *Gakkyukeiei kenkyuukai* as follows:

“Although various causes can be supposed, it should not be overlooked that the change of environment by falling birthrate isolates children and undermines condition for them to make human relations positively. The classes formed out of such children tend to lack a group cohesiveness and function of learning human relations and living in group rather than to make children have a sense of solidarity.” 14)

There is a view in which a lack of sociability by lower birthrate and stress specific to modern children symbolized by the word “good child’s stress” are causes of class disruption. Ogi points out that some children have to play “good children” in order to get affection from their parents and that causes stress. Therefore, they are easy to get panicky or apathy and that cause class disruption, he mentions [Oride 2001: 72].

Furthermore, as the fourth point, the aspect of “children living in information society” is pointed out. According to Ogi, children in the past could live with being patient and following directions of adults and teacher in stable structure of society. However, that basis has disappeared and children live by touching a lot of information in an individuated society. Violent wave of infomatization reduces the attraction of knowledge transmitted in school. Ogi also says that individuated society contradicts “discipline” or “cooperation” in school so that it got to be difficult for children to submit teacher without any criticism [Ogi 1999c: 163-164]

Here the situation of children has been noted that they have stress for trying to respond to expectations of their parents and they cannot easily accept what is taught in school because of exposed to a lot of information. Next, I will mention arguments about the change of parents and family.

3-2. Change of parents, family

Let's focus on parents with children living in the present day and family life.

The report of *Gakkyuukeiei kenkyukai* recognizes that “the transfiguration of family and local society is severer than that of school and children” 15), and points out that some parents cannot have model for education in modern society and mentions the following on the existence of parents unconcerned about education.

“The social situation of lower birth rate, trend toward the nuclear family and change of family relations has been pointed out. With their experience having grown in such changing of the society, parents understand importance of child care, feel its difficulty and endure the heavy responsibility. On the other hand, existence of parents unconscious of responsibility as a protector and disregard for child rearing is a cause of worry for school. Such parents tend to devote themselves to their own lives and having no interest in education.” 16)

Concerning the parents who cannot have model of child care and education, Ogi refers to environment where parents grew and mentions as follows:

“The system of big family and local communities have disappeared, and their childhood is the first generation of falling birthrate and deviation value education in consuming society. So their parents hammered the principle of efficiency and competitive way of living into their head. Besides, the bubble economy burst in 1991 and sense of value which their parents hammered had collapsed. After that, the economic and political situation continues to be confusing. They cannot become the leader of children because they don't know what kind of moral should be transmitted to children with weakness of their own social standard.” [Ogi 1999a: 88]

Shiomi Toshiyuki also points out, “parents who lived their childhood in the time when competition for getting academic record had been generalized feel uneasy unless they swamp children according to the way they were brought up.” [Shiomi 1999: 30]

Concerning parents having no interest in child care, Ogi points out that in the consideration for inquiry survey to instructors of After School Care Program and nurses it states: “Features of recent parents appear which they are lack of moral, are not keen on greeting and breeding and they cannot distinguish acceptance from selfishness.” [Ogi cited by Ota,2002: 85.] Here, the picture of parents can be seen who goad on their children and make children accumulate “good child's stress”. Moreover, it is pointed out that big change of Japanese society of collapse of bubble economy makes it difficult to form model of child care.

3-3. Change of society

The report of *Gakkyuukeiei kenkyukai* refers to severe mutation of modern society and says, “it cannot be ignored that uneasiness at society in the future and economic depression seriously influences parents. There are parents and their family having worries of life planning in the future for employment uncertainty.” And it also points out that such social background has a negative effect on education for children because that invites attitudes of individualism and good child's stress [Nakata 2002: 126] 17).

In comparison to agrarian society which people work with familiar people, Shiomi points out that people have to work with strangers in industrial society. And he says that people are easy to suffer from the stress of social thing, however, local society or grand-

parents reduce that, and children can also reduce the stress of school with private human relationship like grand-parents or group of children [Shiomi 1999: 28-29]. Adding to parent's worries caused by the prolonged recession, influences of industrialization since high economic growth to lifestyles of people can be pointed out. Youichi Nakata says that industrialization makes people isolated 18) and also makes local communities decline [Nakata 2002: 126.] Related to this respect, Matsubara points out that people can lead their social lives without communication because daily life is highly mechanized and children playing with the blessings of civilization are increasing, and he says that this means the decline of local society and leads to reduction of children's experiences to play in groups and places for play [Matsubara 2002: 75].

As I mentioned above, parents, family and society have changed and people can live conveniently by development of civilization. On the other hand, human relations have decreased, and the situation is seen that children or family fight a lone battle. Furthermore, both school and society became places of acute competition, so it may be said that stress of parents and children have immeasurably increased 19). In this context, the new phenomenon of "class disruption" appeared.

II- Teacher and children in "class"

Two visible actors have been taking the center stage of the modernizing of the educational system of Japan. What are the present problems with each of them. "Class" system contributed a great deal to spread of Japanese education, however, it was made not for each child but for state, of which hidden problems affected its members as teacher and children and the affection appears more remarkably today.

§ 1. Unification of sense of value caused by "class" system

1-1. Oppressive characteristic of "class"

The introduction of modern school education at Meiji Restoration changed the thought of Japanese people concerning education. Before the Restoration, although people were really interested in leaning, there was no thinking of that state taught something to people [Murai 2000: 39-40]. The main purpose of *Terakoya* education was improving skills of each social position, *Shinoukoushou* (the classes of warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesman), so that the way of education had flexibility and was enough to accomplish purposes of individuals and their "family".

After the introduction of modern school system at Meiji Restoration, the purpose of education changed to create rich and strong state in competition with European countries as expressed in slogans such as *Shokusankougyou* (encouragement of the new industry) and *Fukokukyouhei* (wealthy nation and strong army) shows [Murai 2000: 10] In order to accomplish such purposes, teaching in a lump by gathering children in a classroom with various rules and regulations for education were effective [Murai 2000: 12] Yanagi express such a school in "arranged world" [Yanagi 1996: 40] According to Yanagi, a school as this "arranged world" was produced for a large number of poor children as Monitorial System, and in order to deal with a large number of things, things had to be classified and ordered. School could be formed with classification and combination of human, contents of education, time and space based on each standard. And it may be said that the school was mechanically constructed, not

natural work [Yanagi 1996: 40]. And it is also pointed out that in such a school, freedom of will and ability must be restricted and oppressed [Murai 2000: 12] In a word, “class” which is the presupposition of school education in the present day isn’t originally natural, but it was formed with completely controlling and extracting a certain factor from reality [Yanagi 1996: 43]

Here, taking comparison with *Terakoya* of Edo period again, groups of children in *Terakoya* is what children gathered in order to take education there, so education was suitable for children gathering there. On the other hand, groups of children in modern school education are what children adopt themselves to “class” where various factors are already controlled 20). As Nakano explains, “modern system could be formed with objectivation and reification of humans so that teacher tries to see children as objectively as possible” [Nakano 1994: 119], children are recognized as not human but persons participating in the system of “class”.

However, such participation in a controlled group is naturally unreasonable. School is placed as a system of compulsory education and all children were absorbed in “class”, however, some children couldn’t get used to that for the reason of both ability and personality [Yanagi 2003: 122]. That is, “class” is originally “exclusive” and is not a place where all children can naturally adapt themselves to.

As I mentioned above, the “class” system introduced in the modern period is a system for efficient education [Yanagi 1996: 43] so that the many-sided and complex relations between nature and society could be destroyed there [Yanagi1996: 48].

Then, why did children continue to take part in activities in this oppressive and exclusive “class”? Modern education on the purpose of prosperity of state was regarded as that for *Risshinshusse* (succeed in life) for individuals. Some children think that if going to the next stage of education or graduation will lead to their future dream, they can stand the frustration for the present, so it is not difficult for them to adapt themselves to this asceticism of school. That is, here is a hidden sense of value of a sacrifice of the present time for the future [Yanagi 1996:49] 21) so that children think, “even if this activity in “class” is not interesting now, it will lead to my happiness in the future”. However, for other children who cannot expect their future, the asceticism of school is a postponement of their satisfaction, which should cause their unbearable pressure [Yanagi 1996: 49].

1-2. Unified sense of value of “class”

Children taking part in education in “class” of modern school have got to adapt themselves to “class” by suspending their real personal appearance, and two respects may be pointed out concretely as values which already existing in “class”.

At first, the first point is becoming so-called “good children” such as behaving suitably for teacher’s instruction or dressing alike for school, which was also demanded of children in Monitorial System in Europe. School of Monitorial System is an orderly world the same as Japanese present school, and it demanded punctuality, submission to rules, clean clothes and short hair for children [Yanagi 1996: 113].

Though it is unusual for Japanese elementary school to have school regulations different from junior high school, children act in accordance with school chime and there are tacit understandings concerning behavior during studying, so that children unconsciously understand “what they can do”, “what they cannot do”, “what they can

say”, “what they cannot say”. And although there is no rule as to children’s clothes, there is an understanding of “proper clothes” and “not proper ones”, and if children dress out of that, they would get warning.

The second point is the problem of knowledge transmitted in school. The knowledge is what was abstracted from miscellaneous knowledge [Yanagi 1996: 42] and is mainly scientific knowledge of modern Europe [Nakano 1994: 112]. School as a place of modern education became a place to nurture and to select persons of talent for the modernization of the state, a place of a means for *Risshinshusse* (succeed in life) for individuals [Nakano 1994: 102]. After that, ratio of school education in children’s lives increased in Japanese high economic growth period, however, school education there has a characteristic as a place for study in order to go on to the next higher school, so that children got to be evaluated only within the extent of the acceptance of knowledge [Nakano 1994: 112] 22).

However, I wonder that knowledge can be decided by the government uniformly in spite of children coming from various background having diverse personalities. As I mentioned above, children who need knowledge in order to take entrance examination of private junior high school recognize that knowledge as a real thing, so the acceptance of knowledge has significance for them. On the other hand, other children accept knowledge without any criticism although they think that it is an unrelated thing to them. The situation of children who cannot regard knowledge thought as important and behavior thought as good in school as necessary is described by Mayumi Ujioka, a journalist of Asahi covered “class disruption” as follows:

“There were boys who playing video games in a district center. School teacher said, ‘Video games are originally virtual reality, so I’m anxious that you get to confuse games and reality’, and silent cold smiles spread in classroom. And some girls wrote something on a paper and passed other classmates. ‘School is also a game, isn’t it?’, written on the paper. ‘School would rather be game, without reality.’” [Serizawa et al. 1999: 154]

At the start of modern school system, although Japan took same style as the West, after that, each countries took different paths. Japan understands educational problems that depend on *Kyouikukihouhou*, so it may be said that Japanese education walks on its own separately from teacher to children in comparison with Europe in the present day. Regarding this point, Minoru Murai express, “in Edo period, once ‘*Aoi no gomom*’ (crests of hollyhock) is shown, every people prostrated themselves before that regardless of right or wrong, good and evil, up and down, noble and the common, old and young, male and female. This Edo custom had continued until Showa through Meiji and Taishou.” [Murai 2000: 89]

Concerning the former mentioned school which is a place of transmission of knowledge already decided to “good children”, Nakano says, “it is similar to the system of factory producing many products of the same quality” [Nakano,1994: 118.], and same thing is pointed out by the Western mass media. Television stations of England and the United States made a program titled “Japanese postwar school education seen by Western people” in cooperation, which was televised the autumn in 1991 in Japan. Japanese school was introduced with saying “the prosperity of present Japan is realized with the power of hard-working Japanese people and basis of that is Japanese high level school education”. However, the program showed Japanese school as the most

uniformed and controlled system in the world and said, “there is no atmosphere in which children can express their thinking freely and the education that is done uniforms Japanese character.” At the end, the program said, “The result of Japanese school education is to give high-level education to children all over the country in order to prepare them to go out to industrial society.” [Nakano 1994: 112-113] 23)

As I mentioned above, there is a uniformed sense of value in “class” of modern school, and it may be clear that Japanese school can bring up uniformed children just like producing things of same quality in a factory. However, that is not only reason why “class” is oppressive for children.

1-3. Competitive characteristic of “class”

The another reason why “class” is regarded as oppressive for children is its competitive characteristic. Such a characteristic of “class” appear in the wording of Comenius cited in the explanation of Monitorial System in chapter 2. I quote a little further:

“It is better to educate young people by gathering in a big classroom all together. ...Perhaps, it is our real nature to imitate others, to go where others go, to follow people taking the lead, to walk the head before people being late. Fine horses can run the fastest because of the existence of racehorses following them or horses trying to get ahead of them.” [Comenius 1657: 89]

“Class” is a place which consists of children of the same age for transmission of the same teaching materials by the same teacher. This homonization displays the difference of ability among children which cannot be felt in confusing world, and they get to be aware of that [Yanagi 1996: 44]. Then, “class” is also a world which classifies children into winner and loser through competitions for praise and honor brought by the gap of school record. Lancaster has already created class as a cruel world of a game giving honor to winner and humiliation to loser, and as a psychological place making children feel hunger and insecurity over the scramble for honor. This structure still exists in Japanese “class” today [Yanagi 1996: 44] 24).

In this competitive “class”, the praise which a teacher gives to a child sometimes means blame for other children, which widens the gap between this honor and humiliation. The hunger for getting superiority and honor as the result of competition and the insecurity to avoid getting lose and dishonor connects children with “class” again [Yanagi 1996: 44-45]

Children are demanded to devote themselves toward only one direction. In such uniformed “class”, some aspects of children which is difficult to be valued in school are neglected, and here a big problem of “class” introduced in the modern period is made clear 25).

As the explanation of influence of oppressive and uniformed characteristics of “class” to children clearly indicates, the characteristics of “children living in the present day”, “children faced severe competition”, children showing the distribution of academic ability in ‘two-humped camel’ of higher group and lower group”, “children having good child stress” are just the result of modern school education. Of course, what changed children is not only school education but also influence of their parents and society, however, their parents have also taken education in modern school that is the same as general members of society. By thinking that, the way of being of school

education should be taken as a cause of a modern educational problem of phenomenon of “class disruption”. However, in reality, the situation which education doesn’t work tends to be regarded as a problem of individual teacher as well as “class disruption” like “the teacher is bad at teaching”, “the teacher is too soft on children.” Then, what kind of existence has a teacher in “class” ?

§ 2. Teacher in “class” and “class disruption”

2-1. Teacher in system

In Japan, teacher had existed before introduction of modern school. As I mentioned before, besides having occupation such as *Chonin* (tradesmen and artisans), *Ronin* (masterless *samurai*), Buddhist priests masters of *Terakoya*, masters of *Terakoya* taught children and they mostly did in their own house in Edo period. That is, before the modern period, a teacher had to prepare a place for education, to collect school fee, run the place for education and to decide contents of education as well as to teach. However, with the introduction of the division of labor in teaching activities, administration of school was put into government’s hands so that contents of education got to be decided apart from teacher and children. Establishment of school and the appointment and dismissal of teacher depended on the law and institutions and facilities of school were provided by public organizations or managers instead of teacher himself/herself. That is, after modernization, educational activities in school turned into systematic ones on the large scale with specialization of and division of labor from comprehensive work of teacher himself/herself [Yanagi 1996: 41]. This rationalization made it possible to spread elementary education all over the country; on the other hand, such rationalization needs to simplify the work and to avoid waste [Yanagi 2003: 94-95]. That is, modern school couldn’t allow children freely to enter and to go out of educational place and it couldn’t teach along with each social position different from *Terakoya*.

Moreover, concerning the relation between teacher and children, that was personal and emotional relation between the being of teaching and being of acceptance of a “natural, warmhearted relation between the master and children” [Nakata 2002: 282], so that knowledge was transmitted with depending on the situation in spite of time and space. However, teacher in modern school have to stand face to face with children as a representative of a system for education, therefore, he/she doesn’t face children as an individual. Therefore, the relation between teacher and children should have been the relation without personality [Yanagi 2003: 110-111] Furthermore, the status of teacher in “class” is not made sure of his/her personality or ability but the system [Ishiguro 1981: 160]

Nakano explained the Japanese modern school education as “it is similar to the system of factory producing many products of a same quality” [Nakano 1994: 118] expresses teacher as “a cogwheel of manufacturing machine” [Nakano 1994: 118], that can be thought to recognize the true appearance of teacher in present school.

However, this recognition of “teacher in a system” is not general in real life, I think. Because teacher is rarely thought to work within the limit of rational system in many cases, educational problems tend to be argued as “teacher is responsible for the outbreak of problems with focusing on only aspects of phenomena [Yanagi 2003: 94] Teacher has to contact with children as if he/she has no personality in “class” as a part of a system in spite of the fact he/she is a person with personality, so that he/she got to

have a sort of dilemma.

2-2. Dilemma of teacher

In modern school, teacher has no choice but to contact with children as a representative of a system in “class” with various regulations beforehand regardless of his/her own thought and feeling. It goes without saying that there are various types of teachers in school so that some of them contact with children by respecting their own thought and feeling, however, the existence of such aspects is undeniable in teacher of school after the modern period. In order to educate many children collectively, a teacher had to train children to behave well disciplined; so that they needed authority without personality for making children adapt to the order of “class”. Therefore, teacher had to behave rationally by excluding vagueness and accident of their behavior and abandoning their behavior to work along with real human relations or their feelings [Yanagi 2003: 114]

Although teacher facing to children naturally has a desire such as “I want to consider each child educationally, with fine grain,” [Kojima 1990: V] such desire is always limited. And a teacher deals with children as a lump in “class” so that there is always a limitation of individual consideration such as “I want to talk with children, but I have to start class.” [Kojima 1990: 6] This limitation of teacher walking up to children is expressed in the next wording.

“Teacher is a person who evaluates children with report books. Even if they want to talk with children, they always have limitation because that seems to shake hands with right hand with a gun in left hand.” [Mainichi 2001.8.6] 26)

Like this, though a lot of teachers have desires to deal with individual children, after all, they must play roles as representatives of a system so that they should be limited to school value. And they get to value and to deal with children with dichotomy of the two values of school like “good child/bad child”, “child with good record/child with poor record” [Ogi 1999c: 192]

Even if teacher directly faces children in “class”, children read not only the personal feeling of the teacher but also the “feeling” of school or state behind their speech after all. On the other hand, when teacher try to respond to the expectation of children, they collide with the line of the state or the school [Koyasu 2004: 47].

That is, to become a “good child” suitable for “class”, to accept knowledge already decided without any criticism and to devote him/her to competition and uniformed sense of value of school oppressing children would also oppress the teacher. Teacher as representatives of educational system have no choice but to become an existence without personalities and to transmit educational contents without any criticism with using the competitive function of “class”. Frequently heard is the complaining of children to teacher, “why we should put on regular gym suit when our teacher cloths freely?”, “why we should study mathematic although it is not interesting?”

With thinking like this, it should be really questioned whether the individual teacher is responsible for the cause of “class disruption”. In that case, a sense of value of school as “it is good to make children existences obedient to teacher” is the presupposition, and by supposing that, it results in the belief that both children and teacher who caused “class disruption” are “evil”. However, to begin with, I wonder whether the statements “children are obedient to teacher”, “teacher who can train children to be obedient” are

really “good”.

2-3. Insufficiency of teacher's leadership as a cause of “class disruption”

Another argument seen in arguments of causes of “class disruption” is that of thinking “insufficiency of teacher's leadership” as the cause of “class disruption”. To begin with, what kind of “leadership” is demanded to teacher? As I mentioned above, the trend which teacher's leadership is to make children to follow teacher's direction would be superior in the present school field [Terumoto 2002: 61]. In such trend, teacher who faces “class disruption” gets to have complex feelings that they cannot captivate children, lack leadership, have problems of teaching ability or negation of their pride seen in the wording, “as if you are a veteran....” [Oride 2001: 72]. Recently, it is said that teachers suspended from their work with mental sickness have increased, and some of them couldn't go to school because of “class disruption” [Oride 2001: 72] For example in Osaka, the number of teachers of public school suspended from their work with mental sickness reached 145 in 1999 having risen by as much as 50 % from 10 years ago. The number rapidly increased from 1995 all over the country from 1,017 of 10 years ago to 1,924 in 1999 [Mainichi 2001.7.15] 27).

“7-8 children in fifth grade who I take charge of smoke. I taught the bad effect of smoking for a week and children seemed to reflect on their past conduct. However, I heard the word, ‘smoke again,’ and I got to be unable to believe children. Gradually, I became afraid of looking in children's eyes, so I was suspended from teaching for a month because I couldn't teach. After that, I repeated reinstatement and suspension, the twice suspension adds up to one year and eight months for three years. I have come back to school this spring. (A female teacher in her 30's of elementary school)”

“I worked for an elementary school in a town of mixed new residential areas and old villages. There are children who don't follow teacher's direction. When I complained about that to their mothers, they just abused me, “you lack leadership.” After they went to 6th grade, two children transferred to our class and these two got to control our class, which then had fallen into the disruption situation. Other veteran teacher became an assistant homeroom teacher; however, I was suspended from work and resigned after that. (A male teacher in his 30's of elementary school)” [Mainichi 1999.12.28] 28)

As some such teachers acknowledge “disqualification” and “insufficiency of leadership”, educational committees take the step of training or dismissal. Here is the value as “teacher should maintain order of “class” at first” firmly, and it may be seen that teacher who cannot do that results in leaving “class”. Now, there are actions to welcome the exercise of the measure of “out-of-school suspension” for children at the same time as that “insufficiency of leadership” of teacher is acknowledged. That is an approach whereby “out-of-school suspension” can settle the class having children who don't listen to teacher or don't follow the leading of the teacher. And there is an approach in which teachers who cannot teach well devise methods of “teaching” with interesting classes and school events. Of course, such device of educational activities awakening children's interests is important; however, even if such device recovers the order, the value of “it is most important to maintain the order of ‘class’” is still presupposed. And

this kind of device of “teaching” may be regarded as just upskilling in order to strengthen the diagram of relation between teacher “trying to let children listen” and children “listening to teacher” [Terumoto 2002: 61].

As mentioned before, modern school was not originally formed for people directly charged in educational practices as children and teacher, but for development of state, so that teacher got to have no choice but to come in contact with children as a being without personality as a representative of the system. However, the person who is in front of children is an individual for them, so they cannot ignore teacher’s personality even if he/she is a representative of a system. Therefore, the teacher gets to be caught in a dilemma between state or school and children demanding various things in front of him/her, and some of them would end up in agony accepting measures to leave “class” like suspension from teaching for sickness, or dismissals. Here, it may be seen that both the system of “class” introduced in the modern period and a uniformed sense of value are existing as presuppositions and regarded as “right” thing without being doubted. Since the system is not reconsidered, both teacher and children as a result become worried about themselves. And such worry is, I think, deeper in children than in teacher because children have no choice different from teacher having the choice to leave “class” perfectly.

§ 3. Children in “class” and “class disruption”

In the present day, environment surrounding children as family and society has remarkably changed, and as I mentioned in the chapter 1, children has changed along with that. However, as I pointed out in chapter 4, sensitivity and intelligence of children is really piercing because they are touching more information than before, so it may be also said that they have the new aspects of expressing their thought and feeling and not following to what they cannot agree to [Ogi 1999c: 186].

What happens when such children living in the present day meet teacher limited with uniformed sense of value or order as before?

3-1. Punishing children?

Even if the context in which children live in the present day is not considered, they originally have strong curiosity [Nakano 1994: 119-121] and live in more active and open world [Nakano, 1994: 119], so that they are “not familiar” with school or “class” in which they are demanded to adopt various regulations [Yanagi 2003: 117]. Regardless of that children with curiosity seek new experiences and have enough will to learn, they should learn knowledge separated from them with irrelevant methods to them [Nakano 1994: 121].

Japanese system of compulsory education was originally formed at the aim of development of state, so it was not systematized based on needs from children side, so it is not easy to make children to adapt school or “class” because they have their own direct needs to go to school [Yanagi 2003: 117]. Despite that, teacher try to recognize making children adapt is the most important duty and realize that in order to enable educational practices to go well in “class”.

Some children follow such “leading” by such teacher; such a child is the so-called “good child”. However, Tsuneichi Takeuchi points out that such adaptation would be problem if it goes too far and problematizes that with expressing the situation of children

“internalizes school regulations passively and excessively” in “excessive adaptation” 29). And he also points out that such children of “excessive adaptation” tend to stick to become the winner of competitions or rules with obsession so that they take a discriminatory attitude to the children in the opposite side of such regulations or values. And such children stick to being good children so that they have to continue to oppress and to bottle up their inner feeling [Funakoshi 2004: 46.] However, such children are ones “easy to deal with” for teacher so that they are not targets of “warning”.

On the other hand, children who are easy to get warning by teacher are ones who don't follow the instructions of teacher, take a defiant attitude toward teacher or use violence with classmates. However, such actions can be regarded as expression of inner conflicts of children with violence although their ability to express their feeling is too naïve to make adults understand [Funakoshi 2004: 45] However, such children are thought as “children who don't listen to teacher”, “children confuse the order of class and disturb study” so that they have possibility to become the target of warning of teacher, furthermore to get measures of out-of-school suspension.

This kind of “instruction” is realized with the view of education on the assumption that the sense of value of school and uniformed value of “class” are regarded as “good”. Such education is based on the thought that adults have to control children one-sidedly and the final goal of education is to adapt children to adult's intentions by regarding their crudeness as negative [Yoshinaga 2003: 73]

3-2. “Class disruption” as voices of children

To begin with, the word of “class disruption” itself is based on adults' aspects, which is recognized from the phenomenon that the order or regulations of “class” cannot work [Yoshinaga 2003: 243] Therefore, the expression of “class disruption” doesn't consider the thoughts and feelings of children. And in fact, “class disruption” is thought to be a negative phenomenon which has to be “overcome” in many arguments on “class disruption”. Such arguments deal with the reason why class doesn't work, however, it is also possible to question, “why were children silent, and why did they sit in their classroom” [Asahi1999.5.11] 30).

As problematized, the children who excessively try to adapt themselves to the sense of value of school and the problem of children who have maintained order by following the instruction of teacher in the “class” highlight the positive aspects of children disrupting the sense of value. That is the recognition that “class disruption” is clamor of children's mind [Ogi,1999c: 174.] In regard to the aspect of “why were children so obedient?”, Yanagi points out the existence of absolutization of school and spread of educational discourse which school was suitable for children [Yanagi 1996: 52], and actually, it may be said that Japanese school education has guarantee that “good children” in school can become “good adults” and leading “good lives” [Serizawa et al. 1999: 80]. However children living in the present day obscurely infer that “good children” in school can not always seize “good lives [Serizawa et al. 1999: 80] And it may be obvious that such a suspicion can be accepted as a real thing for adults with considering the former facts that modern parents get confused because they cannot have model for child care, and some teacher have left school with mental sickness because they cannot cope with modern confusing parents or “class disruption”.

In reality, although there is every possibility of that the significance of school has

declined, teachers still think leaning in school by the “class” is meaningful and try to “lead” children so that children may show their rebellious spirits to the teacher [Serizawa et al. 1999: 80]. In the first case of the teacher suspended from their teaching for mental sickness, there is a mention that the teacher cannot tell of the bad effects of smoking although she tried to. There, children have already a recognition that smoking is “bad thing” for both themselves and teacher or adults, so if teacher try to “teach” again, children regard the teaching as compulsion of the sense of value of school and reject that. However, is it possible to say definitely that keeping some distance from teacher is bad thing? Funakoshi says that such attitudes of children are an appearance of a request about the relationship whereby both teacher and children respect each other [Funakoshi 2004: 49].

With considering children’s negative attitudes from such a aspect, more positive meaning of “class disruption” gets to be strongly conscious. Oride recognizes “class disruption” from such an aspect, he thinks that “class disruption” is the demand to rearrange the relation between children and adults and the desire to change the vertical relation with teacher [Oride 2001: 70].

Moreover, it may be possible to find out the positive meaning of the existence of children who cause “class disruption”. On this respect, Nakano mentions as follows:

“What is important in the present society rapidly changing is not to follow outside authority blindly and not to live along with surface trend, but to think by ourselves, to insist what we think and to realize that with our will. I wonder that Japanese education has cultivated such abilities for living in the new age, rather than what has been consequently opposite.” [Nakano 1994: 114]

Of course, it doesn’t mean that all children should oppose their teacher. However, by reconsidering children’s defiant attitudes toward their teacher from such a view point, those attitudes may be thought to indicate possibility in children. Actually it is pointed out that communication between adults and children was breaking down in Northern Europe as in Japan, however, that became a chance to notice children’s possibilities [Yoshinaga 2003: 74].

“Class disruption” includes the future [Serizawa et al. 1999: 8], and it can be thought that children’s new possibilities would be there.

3-3. Children as partners of teacher in school

Japanese school education mainly has had a role to transmit knowledge already decided to children with teaching in a lump up to this day to adapt children to the uniformed sense of value has been thought to be “teaching” in “class”. And the more individuals take such education, the more they would get to stick to the sense of value of school. That is, the existence of adults who have already passed a series of school education is, of course differences among individuals cannot be ignored, more difficult to think freely or to have sensitivity than children, I think. Adults tend to think children as “children have small mentality,” , “children don’t think deeply and also cannot do”. It is true that children is a small existence as an organism and they cannot think same as adults, however, their sensitivity is fresh and sharp [Serizawa et al.1999: 28] and they have not touched sense of value of school enough so that they would be able to think with the way which adults cannot have.

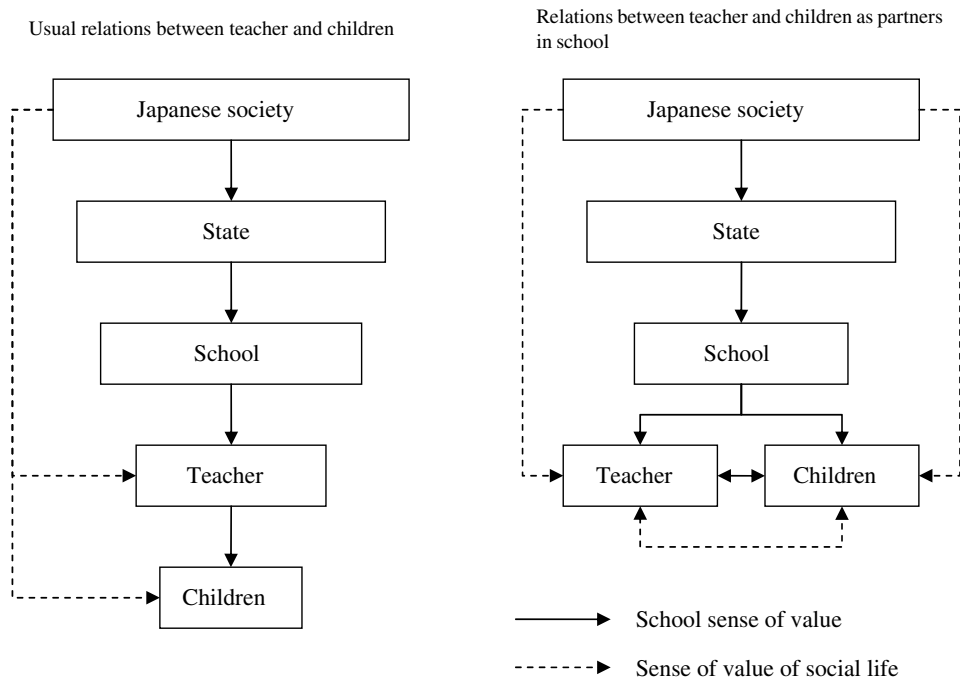
In a sense, many adults including teachers lived their childhood by following teacher’s

intention in school on the sense of value of “sacrifice of the present for the future.” On the other hand, children living in the present days want to change their style of living from following adults with endurance to taking good care of the present [Ogi,2000: 172] Here, the view of children is seen that of “children taking good care of themselves as they are” in stead of that of “children as existences to become adults in the future by acquiring a certain knowledge and skills” [Yoshinaga 2003: 62]

Different from adults, children have limited ways to express themselves so that they can express themselves only with like “actions to confuse the order of classroom” as “class disruption” which is thought as bad thing for adults. However, it is true that children respect their own feeling and think about setting aside the surface word and deed.

Meanwhile children are exposed to violent waves of information. In the present day, children touch so much more information than before that they seek the place to put out that [Serizawa et al. 1999: 102], and it may be said that they are exposed to multitude of value systems, outside of the rime of the school, which gives them somehow an ability to problematize/objectify the school, and the quality of human relations advocated in. Children living in the present day cannot accept teacher’s instruction unless they understand with their sensitivities [Ogi 2000: 171], and they can respect their own feeling and thinking by keeping some distance from school values or knowledge which teacher transmits differently from before. The birth and living environment of children in a “class” is very diversified. What is becoming necessary and has significance for The

Figure: Relation between teacher and children



children who are going to go out into this severely, and rapidly changing society can no more be the existing knowledge, values and rules. Making good use of the various senses of value of children in “class” has become a necessity for the children self-realization as well as the flexible, attractive, and motivating educational system.

While thinking from this perspective, institution, people, and thoughts related to education can no more consider children as “immature existence”, “the object which teacher transmits knowledge and values one-sidedly to”, but as the partners of teacher. When children are recognized as partners in school, it goes without saying that communication between teacher and children becomes of greatest importance. And in the communication, teacher has to think it important the attitude “to take a stand against the senses of value of school” [Koyasu 2004: 48]. And teacher should not criticize the honest feeling of children for being “selfish” [Ogi 2000: 172], but compare that with the sense of value of school. Furthermore, it becomes part of the role of teacher as a partner of children to consider family, society and living environment of children and to pursue the being school or “class” for children.

Conclusion

“Class” which has existed as a basic unit of Japanese school education since Meiji, faces a crisis of “class disruption” today and that is becoming an opportunity to reconsider “class” its content, and relations taking place in it again. Reforms in education which tend to look at the school as the *ordering factory* as a preparation to enter real life are not taking into consideration the transformation of the children into potential active partners with diversified backgrounds, plurality of aspirations, and multitudes of desires. Disturbing *ordering class* might also be a message that the top to bottom *ordering* is not the most vital need of kids in Japan at this beginning of the 21st Century. If this would be understood, *disruptions* won’t anymore be considered as a catastrophic situation to be both avoided, and in case of eruption, eliminated. Children who *disrupt* are sending a message that top to bottom view of the education, child, and society seems not willing to hear: the earnest hope to create mutually respectful human relation.

As going back to the problem concerning educational principal as “for what is education done?” again, what Japanese education aims at shown in “*Kyouikukihounou*” (the Fundamental Law of Education), has changed from prewar problematic aims to the American inspired “Democratic” objective. Despite the change of the sense of value that can be seen there, however, it has not changed the fact that the Japanese school education is based on centralization. The primarily issue of the acceptance of the classroom as a mentally open space, for the children where they would have even the right to think that the school, and the teacher, is wrong, is in fact related to the vision of Japan, and the place that citizens could have in this society. Linking these two aspects together seems to be the greatest challenge of any comprehensive thought for education in this society.

Notes

- 1) And Mayumi Ujioka, a reporter for Asahi, covered the godparent of “class disruption” and says, “I could go back to 1994 and two teachers in Hokkaido and Osaka used the term at about the same time in their memos. Both of two used “class disruption” naturally in some way” (Serizawa, Shunsuke. Fujii, Seiji. Ujioka, Mayumi. Mukai, Yoshihito 1999: 6).
- 2) This article of Kei Hisada is the impression of the above-mentioned broadcast in “Document ‘97”.
- 3) Although Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (*Monbukagakushou*) treated warily in the research of “class disruption, it researched problem behaviors like acts of violence from 1998 with adding to research of junior high school and high school (Yomiuri 1998.10.23 Osaka morning edition).
- 4) Mainichi 1999.1.8 Chubu evening edition
- 5) Cf. List of the end of this chapter.
- 6) “Introducing class of small number of children”, “training and firing teachers thought to be lack of teaching ability”, “introducing the system of Team Teaching (T. T.) stand out as reports of newspapers of measures by Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (*Monbukagakushou*) and Educational Committees of Local Governments Units.
- 7) Yomiuri 1999.1.14 Tokyo evening edition
- 8) Yomiuri 1999.1.14 Tokyo evening edition
- 9) As characteristics of phenomenon of “class disruption”, Ogi points out “children often droptings”, “small violence comes out one after another”, “children use violent words” and “children are afraid to mistake” (Ogi 1999c: 27).
- 10) Report of Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai chapter 2, section 1: 2.
- 11) Report of Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai chapter 1, Section 2: 4.
- 12) Concerning harmful effects of competitive education in Japan, The committee on right of children of the United Nations (18 period) expresses misgivings, “children are exposed to stress by highly competitive educational system, and they are lack of leisure and a rest as a result and get into developmental disorder.” (Citation of “Kodomoki no kaifuku” (recovery of childhood) of NGODCI Japanese brance by Ibuka 2000: 179).
- 13) Citation of “investigation on Juku (1994)” of Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (*Monbukagakusho*) by Ibuka (Ibuka 2000: 185.).
- 14) Report of Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai chapter2, section3: 4.
- 15) Report of Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai chapter2, section3: 2.
- 16) Ibid. chapter2, section3: 2.
- 17) Report of Gakkyuukeiei kenkyuukai chapter2, section3: 2-3. Concerning this respect, Nakata also points out, “some parents are very busy so that their children have to spend their childhood without emotional dependent to their parents and affection”
- 18) Oride express this situation by “atomization of society” and he says that caused composition loosing sight of others in the name of “self-responsibility” “self-choice”. (Oride 2001: 68)
- 19) Adding to changes of “children”, “parents and family” and “society”, Ogi points out change of the line of preschool education as the background of appearance of

- “class disruption” and says as follows. “The line of ‘free nursing started 1989 in kindergartens, 1990 in nursery schools has changed preschool education into respect of individuality and diversity. Old “nursing en masse” has almost disappeared. If elementary school is still out-of-date, the wave against which children hit should be high” (Ogi 1999c: 160).”
- 20) And such education of adopting to those groups or society got to be done on the name of ” *Kuniku*” (character building) actively.
 - 21) Here, although I explained the sense of value of “sacrifice of present for their future” is for the purpose of “*Risshinshusse*” (succeed in life), this “self-sacrifice” in modern school is pointed out from the aspect of influence of Confucianism. Most of people who strongly promoted Meiji modernization were people of high culture of Confucianism and Confucianism spread with *Shuushinka* (moral training) and *Kanbunka*(Chinese writing studies). Spirit of Confucianism spread there is “self-sacrifice, obligation, obedience, sacrifice and so on”, and some scholar point out that was basis to maintain social order(Yanaka 1992:12, Sakikawa 1988: 140).
 - 22) As the harmful influence of this receptive education, Nakano points out the problem of “Student Apathy” and explains that as follows. “To sanitation center of Tokyo University which thought as top of Japanese universities, many students of Tokyo University with various anguish of heart, of which number increase every year. Following is a comment of a counselor. ‘Childish students are increasing who hide bags of a girl refusing to date with them, or who through a stone and break a glass of professor’s office who gave warning (“*Nihon no jouken 15 kyouiku, daigaku to daigakusei*” (Japanese condition 15 education, university and students) Nihonhoushuppankai 1985) Experts of mental health call the symptoms of worried students as “Student Apathy”. Some students cannot judge with their will and act by themselves. This is a phenomenon of students who are with good academic ability without spontaneous motives to learn because they have studied in order to respond their parents’ expectation. Some of those kind of students failure in the company entering as an elite even if they can graduate from university somehow.” (Nakano 1994: 114)
 - 23) This program is NHK prime 10” Nippon ‘oubeijin no mita nihonno sengo’ gakkou kyouiku” (Japan-Japanese postwar “school education” seen by Western people) 1991.11.27.
 - 24) Descriptions related to Lancaster are citation of Hogan, E. (1989) “The market revolution and disciplinary power: Joseph Lancaster and the psychology of the early classroom system”, *History of education quarterly*, vol, 29, No. 3. by Yanagi.
 - 25) Concerning such an exclusive aspect of class, S. J. Ball says, “educational places are exclusive ones where confirm ‘what should be told’ so that points of release of (modern) discourse”. And he also points out that school is not only depend on what should be told in school, that is, what is regarded as right but also playing a main role to increase and spread them in the society (S. J. Ball 1990: 5).
 - 26) Tokyo morning edition
 - 27) Mainichi 2001.7.15 Osaka morning edition
 - 28) Mainichi 1999.12.28 Tokyo morning edition
 - 29) Citation of “*Kodomo no jibunzukuri to jibuntuskuri*” (Self dismantling and self establishment of children) by Tsuneichi Takeuchi (Toudaishuppankai 1987) by

Funakoshi(Funakoshi 2004: 46).

30) Tokyo evening edition.

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