

Concepts of Professionalism in Teaching in Japanese Primary Schools

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Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirement for the degree of
the Doctor of Philosophy in Education

Institute of Education
University of London
1997



Abstract

This study explores what concepts teachers, parents and school community members have of professionalism in teaching, and especially the boundaries of that professionalism in Japan. It will also consider how these concepts affect teaching practices in schools.

This thesis begins with a review of current theories of teacher professionalism drawn largely from western literature and considers the question of why Japanese scholarship has produced little parallel discussion (Chapter 2). It reviews the origins of teacher professionalism in Japan through a historical and cultural account of the development of the education system (Chapter 3), and through an exploration of the training arrangements for, and the working conditions of, Japanese teachers (Chapter 4).

Chapters 5 - 7 report the findings from an empirical investigation of attitudes to teacher professionalism. Although most of these investigations were conducted in Japan, some data is included from English subjects in the interests of signalling the particular characteristics of the Japanese situation: teachers, school community members and parents, some with experiences of both Japanese and English school systems, are included.

Chapter 8 contains an account of the ideas and practices of a Japanese headteacher who has attempted to reverse many of what he sees as harmful practices within Japanese primary schools, together with the reactions of his teachers, not all of whom are positive. This account illuminates many aspects of professional culture in Japan.

The conclusion reviews the principal themes, attempts to explain why the present situation with regard to teacher professionalism has emerged and offers a suggestion for improving the situation; for teachers themselves to reconsider their own role and responsibility, and how the teacher education system might be changed.

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Acknowledgement

I realise that my PhD was completed due to considerable academic and personal support by many people around me. I was also continuously encouraged by them to carry out the PhD study. Without their help I could not have overcome the problems and difficulties which developed in the process of this study.

First of all, I gratefully acknowledge Dr Janet Harland, my supervisor, and Professor Denis Lawton, my advisor, both in the Curriculum Studies group of the Institute of Education, at the University of London. I could learn not only academic knowledge but also humanity from Dr Harland, and academic distinction and dignity from Professor Lawton. I would like to thank Ms Bet McCallum in the Assessment, Guidance and Effective Learning group of the Institute of Education, my first supervisor, for continuous support both academic and personal.

I also thank three language tutors for helping me to improve my English; Ms Josie Levine, Mr Fred Murphy and Mrs Rosemary Hobbs, all in the Institute of Education.

I thank all the people who generously helped to gather the data: headteachers, teachers, parents, school staff and school community members both in Japan and in England.

I am very lucky to have many good colleagues to support and stimulate each other. I thank all my colleagues for sharing academic experiences. And lastly, I would like to acknowledge my parents, especially my father who passed away during the PhD course, for their unconditional understanding, patience and support.

Chapter 1

Introduction

1-1

Rationale

Education and schooling have become almost synonymous in the minds of teachers, politicians and general public. This is dangerous because it leads people to think that teachers are solely responsible for education and its success or failure. Schooling is part of education and education is part of upbringing.

(Macbeth, 1989, p. 2)

I was a primary school teacher in Japan until 1991. At that time I never thought about the differences between schooling and education. In my experience, Japanese teachers are trained to think that schools carry the main responsibilities for education within society. Thus they unconditionally accept what is in effect a political and social expectation and come to see schooling and education as almost the same.

As a result of that, this view of the school's role has become a well-established part of the social consensus about what schools should be. The role of schools in Japan is therefore very broad, and the social and political expectations from schools are also high.

These broad expectations from schools shape the role of teachers. Conscientious Japanese teachers endeavour to fulfil their role perfectly. The result was that when I worked in Japanese primary schools, I always felt that I needed more time to work for the children, and this is a common experience for Japanese teachers. Campbell named this feeling the 'running commentary' syndrome, and describes a British teacher's comment:

it just seems to be expanding to fill the day and I am constantly getting to the stage where I am noticing it far more now that I never complete what I hope to achieve. ... there is this running commentary really, in the background, saying that, 'You haven't done this' or 'You haven't done that', which I find very annoying considering that you work so hard.

(Campbell, 1992, p. 19)

I had exactly this 'running commentary' syndrome. No doubt the majority of Japanese teachers also suffer from it, because they are always busy.

However, I was also recognising the factors which make teachers so busy and keeps them away from the actual teaching of pupils. The main reasons were not only the broad and heavy expectations laid on teachers, but also the content and system of schooling itself. As will be shown in this study, the existing system in Japanese schools makes many demands upon teachers' time that take them away from their central task of teaching their pupils.

I shall argue that teaching is the crucial activity in schooling and must be at its heart. Thus it seems to me that schooling is facing a crisis because teachers cannot concentrate on teaching. This situation is getting worse because more political and social demands are made on schools and teachers. Many teachers are aware of this and are irritated by it. However, their irritation comes not only from their sense of overload but also from the feelings of guilt which appear to be common in the teaching profession (Hargreaves 1994, Nias 1989). These feelings are associated with their understanding of their own professionalism.

In my experience, both the prefectural and the municipal boards of education in Japan place great emphasis upon professionalism within teaching; this is emphasised in in-service training sessions and also in their inspection visits. Thus it seems that 'professionalism' as a concept is used as a superpower or magic power to drive teachers to devote themselves to their work.

This impression of 'professionalism' accorded with the result of my earlier study with English teachers (Tomita, 1993). The English teachers clearly demonstrated the concept of professionalism underpinning their teaching practices. But as Lawn and Ozga (1981) point out, 'Professionalism may be seen as an externally created force binding the teachers into a particular view of their work.'

Thus professionalism must be a key concept in exploring the role and culture of either Japanese or English teachers. As a primary school teacher myself, I recognised how important research on professionalism in teaching was as a basis for investigating the working difficulties of Japanese teachers and the implication of those difficulties for their perception of their own professionalism.

1-2 Research Topic

In addition to my personal perceptions, it is clear that the concept of professionalism is both socially and politically important.

Notions about the professionalism of teachers have recently been the focus of attention in both Britain and Japan as part of public concern for educational reforms, especially in the last ten years. In the process of reform, the quality of teaching is seen as an essential factor in raising educational standards. As a result much emphasis is placed on teacher professionalism in both initial and in-service training, and in the definition of teacher competence. As education is already not only a social but also a political issue in both countries, which has aroused a high level of public concern, the concept of 'professionalism' in relation to raising the quality of teachers is more important than ever.

I have already suggested that teaching should be at the heart of schooling, just as schooling should be at the heart of education. However, the reality of the schooling system in Japan is, in my experience, at variance with such a view. Direct teaching activities in fact have less priority and receive less time than other activities in schools.

The situation in English schools seems to become more like that in Japan as a result of the educational reforms of 1987, when education became an issue of central importance both politically and socially. Japanese schools as the main educational providers have been subjected to increasing political and social pressures. Recent trends in English education seem to be following a similar path to that which Japanese education has experienced over the last twenty years. The impact of the British educational reforms on teachers' work appears to be both positive and negative. The British educational reforms aim to enhance teachers' skills and knowledge in order to raise educational standards, and are arguably achieving these aims through their implementation. This implementation requires teachers to devote more time to meetings and administration. As a result of this, teachers spend less time on preparation and marking, which are tasks directly relating to teaching. This means that teachers have less time to spend with their pupils. This is a situation which Hargreaves describes as intensification:

(intensification) points to deterioration and deprofessionalization in teachers' work. (Teachers' work is) more routinized and deskilled, with teachers having less discretion to exercise their professional judgments that seem most suited to their own children in their own classes.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 14)

There are of course, many differences between England and Japan. For example, the speed of change in England is more rapid than that in Japan, and only state schools are involved in the change in England. However, there are a number of similar impacts on both Japanese and English teachers, such as increase in working hours and changing working conditions. The process was not resisted by Japanese teachers because they did not realise at the time that the situation was getting harder. So it is very significant, not only for Japanese teachers but also for English teachers, to reconsider the nature of the teaching profession. It is thus important and worthwhile to investigate 'professionalism' in teaching in order to make clear what teachers have to do and do not have to do as members of the teaching profession under such circumstances.

Professionalism is an abstract concept and it cannot be understood simply by observing the external conditions under which teachers work. It is not visible, but clearly underpins teaching practices in schools and teachers' behaviours. Different teachers may have different perceptions of professionalism. Different countries and cultures may also have different perceptions and these may vary over time. Different teaching practices may promote different perceptions. Different perceptions of professionalism by different people may result in different teaching styles and different patterns of teacher behaviour. Therefore, an investigation of professionalism in teaching will need to make clear how teachers understand their own profession and why they behave as they do.

My earlier study about teaching professionalism dealt with English teachers from the Japanese point of view. I investigated what responsibilities English teachers have and how they think about their responsibilities. The study showed that teachers have their own notion of the boundaries of their responsibilities. Their responsibilities are mostly

limited to within-school concerns because English school culture is unlikely to accept responsibilities outside school.

Although my main concern about professionalism in teaching in this thesis relates to that of Japanese teachers, my earlier study did not deal with it. However that study seemed to me to provide the starting point for further development. I now wish to complete my exploration of professionalism in teaching in the Japanese context. Therefore, this Ph.D research builds directly upon my earlier study. Here I intend to extend my research to Japanese perceptions of teacher professionalism. This will involve retaining some focus on English practice but simply to suggest and reinforce an agenda for seeking the views of both parents and community members in both England and Japan in order to illustrate wider social perceptions of the teacher's role.

Comparison is highly effective in highlighting differences, and to make clear what are important issues, this research uses the data from my English investigation in order to suggest issues for the Japanese investigation. Even though this research is not strictly speaking an example of comparative education, the differences between both cultures must be counted as important factors underpinning school practices in order to understand these different practices. For the benefit of the English reader this study will therefore need to address some aspects of the historical, cultural and social background to Japanese education.

My research title is as follows:

Concepts of professionalism in teaching in Japanese primary schools

The research addresses three main questions:

- *How do primary teachers perceive their own professionalism?
- *How do parents and local community members in primary schools view professionalism in teaching?
- *What expectations are held and what duties are required of primary teachers, and how do these influence professionalism in primary school teaching?

1-3 Research Methodology

1-3-1 Nature of the Research

Qualitative Research

This research specifies and focuses on perceptions of professionalism in teaching, and explores what perceptions teachers, parents and school community members have, why they are as they are, and how they affect teaching practices and teachers' attitudes. So qualitative research is more appropriate to these research purposes. Bell makes a definition between qualitative and quantitative research:

Quantitative researchers collect facts and study the relationship of one set of facts to another. They measure, using scientific techniques that are likely to produce quantified and, if possible, generalizable conclusions. Researchers adopting a qualitative perspective are more concerned to understand individuals' perceptions of the world. They seek insight rather than statistical analysis.

(Bell, 1993, p. 6)

This research style is described as the naturalistic paradigm by Guba and Lincoln (1983, 1984, 1989). They argue the limitations of the conventional (scientific) paradigm, and suggest that the naturalistic paradigm is as useful and legitimate as the scientific paradigm.

...two paradigms have emerged as the most widely used: the scientific and the naturalistic. ... It is our position that the naturalistic paradigm is the most useful for all social – behavioural and certainly for responsive naturalistic evaluation. In any case, the choice between paradigms in any inquiry or evaluation ought to be made on the basis of the best fit between the assumptions and postures of a paradigm and the phenomenon being studied or evaluated.

(Guba and Lincoln, 1983, pp. 55 - 56)

In other words the scientific paradigm and quantitative techniques are not always useful for every inquiry. The choice of methodology is a matter of its adequacy for the research purposes and questions, not a matter of better or worse.

In general, all research methods have both advantages and disadvantages. The qualitative research method is not an exception. Miles and Huberman argue its advantages:

Qualitative data are sexy. They are a source of well grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of processes in identifiable local contexts. With qualitative data one can preserve chronological flow, see precisely which events led to which consequences and derive fruitful explanations. ... Words, especially organized into incidents or stories, have a concrete, vivid, meaningful flavor that often proves far more convincing to a reader - another researcher, a policymaker, a practitioner - than pages of summarized numbers.

(Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 1)

Qualitative research methods give fertile data to researchers. In fact, the data of this research tells inside stories of schools and of peoples' confessions which are normally hard to see from outside. Such data has the flexibility and possibility to provide extra information and ideas beyond the original intentions of the researcher.

In the process of qualitative research, although data collection is important, data analysis is to some extent more important in order to secure the quality of research in terms of reliability and validity. Kirk and Miller define the terms reliability and validity:

One appropriate and useful device first used in psychometrics (the field of tests and measurements) is the partitioning of objectivity into two components: reliability and validity. Loosely speaking, "reliability" is the extent to which a measurement procedure yields the same answer however and whenever it is carried out; "validity" is the extent to which it gives the correct answer.

(Kirk and Miller, 1985, p. 19)

These concepts of reliability and validity in qualitative research are generally recognised

as more problematic than those in quantitative research. Miles and Huberman point out the problem:

Seen in traditional terms, the reliability and validity of qualitatively derived findings can be seriously in doubt.

(Miles and Huberman, *ibid.*, p. 2)

Guba and Lincoln suggest that the trustworthiness of quantitative data is assessed by criteria of internal validity, external validity, reliability and objectivity. By contrast the trustworthiness of qualitative data is to be measured against criteria concerned with truth value (or credibility), applicability (or transferability), consistency (or dependability) and neutrality (or confirmability). In order to establish trustworthiness within qualitative measures, they suggest these four categories, and the use of eight techniques;

1. activities in the field that increase the probability of high credibility
2. peer debriefing,
3. negative case analysis
4. referential adequacy
5. member checks (in process and terminal)
6. thick description
7. the dependability audit and the confirmability audit, including the audit trail
8. the reflexive journal

(Lincoln and Guba, 1984, Chapter 11)

Therefore this research is carefully designed and based upon these techniques in order to avoid any predictable methodological risks. It is hoped thereby to ensure that it meets the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

Comparative Study

While this research makes comparisons between Japan and England, it is not intended to be an exercise in comparative education. If it had been a comparative study, then there would have had to be an equal emphasis on the English context, including such matters as the curriculum, and the training and conditions of the work of English teachers. But this research did not offer the fully balanced sample which comparative education requires (for example, there was one English parent in Japan whereas there were four Japanese parents in England). As the main focus is on Japanese education, the data from the English investigation is simply used to highlight the emerging points from the Japanese data.

The comparative method if used to study countries which are extremely different from one another is neither simple nor easy. But what I was looking for here was insights into the special situation of Japanese teachers rather than general principles. Therefore issues which served to highlight the specifics of the Japanese education system received special attention.

However both countries are equally dealt with in the research process. The same method of data collection, the same question design, and the same analysis design were used in the both Japanese and English investigations.

The themes coming from the Japanese data are then placed in a central position within the argument. The English data is used for contrast in order to highlight what appear to be the distinctive features of the Japanese situation: for example, to raise questions that might illuminate the Japanese situation in general and their own situation in particular, and to stimulate the thinking of Japanese subjects by questioning their implicit assumptions about teachers' work. Thus my intention is not to identify general principles in the education systems of the two countries. The conclusions at the end of this thesis will focus on Japanese education and no specific comparative approaches will be used such as the historical approach used by Kandel, the sociological approach by Sadler and Harris and the problem approach by Holmes. (all described in Holmes, 1992)

Research Antecedents

As described in the rationale for this thesis, the starting point of the research came from my earlier study. The research design itself is based initially on that earlier study.

Thereafter it ranges more widely. The research now focuses on people outside of schools such as parents, community members and a retired headteacher. The research area itself is extended to Japan as well as England.

All my experiences in the earlier study were used in this research. The problems in the earlier study could be avoided or diminished. An example may be the difficulties in relation to cultural differences such as language. It was often realised how important these factors were in each stage of the study. These language difficulties were serious both as involving foreign languages and as involving technical vocabulary used in schools. The Japanese and English languages are more difficult to translate into each other than into other foreign languages. Their cultures are also very different from each other. So it is not always easy to translate ideas or understand comparisons from one to another.

Furthermore, the technical languages in schools are also different from each other because of differences in both cultures and schooling systems. In each stage of this research, cultural factors are considered as important.

The success of the earlier study appeared to be a product of its research design and field work schedule. For example, in the approach to the field work, there were three stages; a preliminary informal enquiry to ask consent to cooperate, formal access to get official permission, and practical contact to discover peoples' understanding of the issues. It is important to approach a suitable person in an appropriate way. As a result of the good approach in the earlier study, the response rate to the questionnaires was high (100 %). In order to increase the reliability of this study, these research designs and schedules were used as a base, and then developed to adapt to the new focus of this research.

Thus this research had, to some extent, advantages from its start. These advantages helped to shape ideas about general direction, research title, research plan, research methods, and research questions clearer.

Clarification of Roles of Primary Teachers

As my teaching experience was as a primary class teacher, I am effectively an 'insider' in the practice of primary education. Cohen and Manion (1994) argue that our experience of everyday life shapes the way in which we understand the behaviour of others (p. 30).

My personal experience in teaching is clearly reflected in my concepts and behaviour within this study. Such a position has both advantages and disadvantages for a researcher. The familiarity with and knowledge of the school help deeper understandings not only of the data itself but also of the meanings beyond it. But they may also lead to a bias in the researcher because of his closed eyes, or may even affect the data itself because of impact of the researcher on the research. Thus, although this research does not use ethnographic methods, it includes quasi ethnographical understanding based on my personal experience.

In general, primary class teachers have to play multiple roles because of the nature of primary schooling. This is a universal tendency. However their roles vary in different countries. Some roles are the same or similar to each other, but some are different because schools in each country have different backgrounds deriving from their history, social structure, culture and education system.

Furthermore, different people understand the roles of primary teachers in different ways. For example, people outside schools have a different understanding of teachers' roles because they do not actually know how teachers carry on in school. People expect primary teachers to play roles as perceived from their own point of view. There is no clear general definition of the roles of primary teachers.

This research aims to clarify the roles of primary class teachers by using the perceptions of class teachers themselves, headteachers, parents, school community members and academics.

1-3-2 Choosing the Sample

Two schools were chosen from Japan and one from England, on the basis of their broad similarities in terms of geographical situation, school location, school size and family background.

The Japanese state primary school chosen for the interviews with parents and school community members, and for the classroom observations, is in Ogaki Gifu prefecture. Ogaki city is a suburb of Nagoya city which is the local capital of one of the main industrial areas. The population of Ogaki is about 15,000. The city is a residential, commercial and industrial area. (Ogaki city, 1994, 1995)

The school is located in a residential area 10 minutes by car north of the town centre. The school has 758 children from 6 to 12 years old, 22 classes from year 1 to 6 and 28 staff including 25 class teachers. (1994) This is recognised as a middle size

primary school in Japan. Many of the parents in the school are new residents in this area, but they are comparatively co-operative with each other and supportive of the school and its children.

In the case of its English counterpart, a state primary school was chosen in Stevenage, a town situated about 20 miles north of London. Stevenage was developed as an expanded town after World War 2. (population 6,000 in 1946 and 75,747 in 1992) The city is a residential, commercial and industrial area much the same as its Japanese counterpart. (Stevenage Borough Council, 1990)

The school is situated in a residential area about 10 minutes by car west from the town centre. It is a junior mixed school with 250 children from 7 to 11 year old, grouped into eight classes from year 3 to 6. The seventeen teaching staff include 8 class teachers. (1994) The school is generally recognised as a middle sized primary school. The majority of the children are white and middle class.

Thus, both the chosen schools are average schools within their own countries; in no particular respect do they depart from normal practice or normal conditions to an extent which would distort the data I could expect. While there is always a problem in generalising from such a small sample, nevertheless, since the chosen schools have much in common with so many others in their respective countries, it seems reasonable to suggest that the data gathered here will be both relevant and useful to many others in both settings.

In addition to this, the Japanese school can be understood as fairly typical in respect of the teachers because of the distinctive Japanese allocation system. As Japanese school teachers are civil servants, each regional education board allocates them in all schools within its area according to their age, gender, experience and subject expertise, and makes a balance of staff among schools. Thus all schools have a similar range of teacher types.

Choosing the focus year groups was not simple because of the different schooling systems of both countries and the domestic situations in both schools. The focus year groups in the Japanese school were year 3 and 4 (from 8 to 10 years old), and those in the English school were year 5 and 6 (from 9 to 11 years old). Although they were chosen by each school according to the school situations, they are the third and fourth years in both schools, and the age groups overlap. In both Japanese and English schools one class in each year group was chosen by the school according to their domestic situations such as teachers' consent and school events.

A second Japanese school was chosen for the questionnaires to teachers. This school is in Gifu city, and has a very similar situation to the first school chosen for observation and interviews. I decided on the use of a second school for this purpose partly to avoid asking too much of one school, partly to ensure that the data collected was not influenced by previous contact with the research project.

The main investigations in this research were conducted in these schools and classes.

1-3-3

Methods

Five methods were used in order to collect data in this research; interviews, questionnaires, observation (field notes), commentary method (using trigger material) and study of documents.

I endeavoured to choose an appropriate method of data collection for each aspect of the investigation according to the research questions I had in mind. Two or three methods of data collection were combined in order to provide for triangulation. Triangulation reduces bias and reinforces the reliability of the research.

Anonymity and confidentiality were offered throughout, with the one exception in Chapter 8 of the Japanese headteacher, Marumo, who is already a well known figure in Japan.

Interview

One of the main methods of data collection in this research is interview. Interviews were intended to be exploratory (Oppenheim, 1992). In-depth interviews were used to explore peoples' individual perceptions about matters on which there is often assumed to be a consensus. One-to-one interview style was used. Compared to group interviews, individual interviews are more relaxed and confidential for interviewees, especially for Japanese people who are often nervous about the interview process.

The interview questions were ordered, moving from those with easy and general contents to deep and specific contents. The last questions were open ended in style in order to elicit comments which interviewees could not articulate in other questions. This semi-structured question style is more acceptable for Japanese people because they can gradually relax from question to question, and finally come to the last open questions. Overall, the form of the interview was structured in order to secure comparability of data.

Interviews were recorded whenever the interviewees consented. All six Japanese parents and three out of four Japanese community members did not agree with recording, because Japanese people are generally uncomfortable with recording. They tend to be cautious about expressing their opinions. Therefore they are not in favour either of an interview which requires immediate response, or a recording which is hard to change later. The remaining interviews were recorded, then transcribed. Interviews in Japanese were translated. Although both recorded and non-recorded interview data were equally treated in the analysis, it would obviously have been preferable to have transcriptions rather than field notes of all these interviews. This is an issue which would need further consideration as and when more research of this kind is undertaken in Japan.

All interviews were written up in field notes with their answers correlated with non-verbal observation such as facial expressions and body language. The list of interviewees is as follows:

- 1 Japanese headteacher
- 3 Japanese class teachers (Marumo's ex-staff)
- 6 Japanese parents in Japan
- 3 English parents in England
- 4 Japanese parents in England
- 1 English parent in Japan
- 4 Japanese school community members
- 4 English school community members

All the interviewees were chosen by third parties. Although they knew the subjects, they were unlikely to be biased in their choice, partly because they had no advance knowledge of what I proposed to investigate. My own preferences were also excluded. Three of Marumo's ex-class teachers were chosen by one of their colleagues, with the proviso that each interviewee was likely to offer a contrasting viewpoint on such matters as their general support for their headteacher's policies.

The four Japanese parents were chosen by two teachers of classes which I observed (see below). And the four Japanese school community members in the Japanese school, who represented the school community as the chair of the PTA, the chair of the mothers' association, the chair of the community committee and the chair of a youth development committee, were chosen by the deputy head.

Three English parents of children from classes which I observed and four English school community members were chosen by the school secretary to represent the school community: the chair of governors, a local priest, a local police officer and a school dinner lady.

Four Japanese parents in England were chosen in a Japanese school in London, with the condition that their children had experiences in both Japanese and English primary schools. One English parent in Japan under the reverse condition was introduced by a third party.

The imbalance in numbers between these parents can be explained by the fact that few English parents have children in Japanese schools. Not only is the absolute population of English people in Japan¹ smaller than their Japanese counterparts, but the vast majority of their children are in international schools in Japan (not Japanese schools). There are reasons which can explain why they choose international schools rather than Japanese schools:

- *The English language is more useful for children than Japanese because it is an international language.
- *The Japanese schooling system is too different from its English counterpart.
- *The majority of English parents in Japan are in executive positions with high income such as business people. They are able to pay for private tuition in international schools.

Therefore, in spite of many enquiries to institutions and local governments which have large foreign populations, only one English parent with a child in a Japanese primary

¹ 11,793 (English population in Japan, 1991), 48,200 (Japanese population in Britain, 1991) by Jijinenkan, Jijitusinsya, 1993 1994.

school could be found.

There are significant cultural differences in the Japanese and the English response to interviews. Japanese interviewees showed their uncomfortable feelings about being interviewed. They chose their words carefully in order to articulate their opinions. The interviews with Japanese people needed more time than their English counterparts. Their interview responses read more like written language rather than oral language. Furthermore, most of them disagreed with the suggestion of recording or they were reluctant about it.

On the other hand, the English interviewees were relaxed about the interview process. No one refused permission to record the interview. They seemed to be enjoying the chat rather than having a formal interview.

Due to these differences, the interview may be less suitable for Japanese than for English respondents. Thus more questionnaires were used for Japanese people, and in some cases the interview schedule paper was given in advance in order to give respondents time to think.

Questionnaires

The questions to teachers are in Chapter 5 (p. 83) and the additional questions to headteachers are in Chapter 6 (p. 100). These questions are translations of the text, not reproductions of the lay-out. The type of questionnaire used was largely open or free-response questions as described by Oppenheim:

A closed question is one in which the respondents are offered a choice of alternative replies. They may be asked to tick or underline their chosen answer(s) in a written questionnaire, or the alternatives may be read aloud or shown to them on a prompt card or a slide. ... Open or free-response questions are not followed by any kind of choice, and the answers have to be recorded in full.

(Oppenheim, *ibid.*, p. 112)

The main reason why I chose open response questions is that they provide an adequate means for eliciting deep or even unconscious perceptions. Oppenheim also describes the advantage of this question style:

The chief advantage of the open question is the freedom it gives to the respondents. Once they have understood the intent of the question, they can let their thoughts roam freely, unencumbered by a prepared set of replies. We obtain their idea in their own language, expressed spontaneously, and this spontaneity is often extremely worthwhile as a basis for a new hypotheses.

(Oppenheim, *ibid.*, p. 112)

In fact, two of the Japanese headteachers who were given questionnaires made comments relating to this point:

Please forgive me if my answers are not fitted to your expectation.
I wonder whether my answers are not appropriate to the intentions of your questions. If

so, please forgive me.

Their comments clearly indicate that the subjects of questionnaire attempt to respond to the purposes of questions and the intention of the researcher.

However, the open question has disadvantages relating to the large size of data. The chief problem of this open question is about how to handle the massive and rich data. The data analysis which follows this type of question requires more time, and is a more complicated process. This may involve some risks in interpretation.

In order to avoid such kinds of problems, in fact, semi-structured questionnaires were used in this research. Each contained a small number of multi-choice questions, a larger number of prompted free writing style questions, and lastly one open ended question.

Two sets of questionnaires were give to two kinds of people; sixteen Japanese teachers in Japan including one deputy head and one nurse, and six Japanese headteachers. Fourteen of the sixteen Japanese teachers returned responses (87.5 %), and all six Japanese headteachers did so. (100 %)

All sixteen Japanese teachers were in the same primary school. The school is a state school in Gifu city, which is the local capital of Gifu prefecture. This school is different from the school in which the main data collection was conducted, but it has a very similar situation. So this school also can be understood as an average school, and the range of teachers can be understood as a similar to other schools. (see subsection 1-3-2)

The interview with the headteacher was very formal, probably because once again the interview was not a suitable method with Japanese people. On examining the transcription I concluded that the initial data were not deep enough. I therefore sought additional data via a postal questionnaire sent to six other Japanese headteachers. Once again these headteachers were chosen by a third party.

In Japan headteachers are selected and appointed by the local government, then they are allocated in schools and relocated regularly. So they are similar in age range (normally over 50), gender (94.5% of compulsory school headteachers are male, according to the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture in 1994) and experience (in-service training by local government). Thus these six randomly chosen headteachers can be seen as average headteachers.

Observation

Observation was used to support other forms of data collection in this research. Observations were conducted in both Japan and England. In each country I observed a single class for a full week and recorded my impressions in field notes. These observations was undertaken as a form of triangulation, providing supporting data to confirm the facts which other data showed. It was not however my intention to undertake a full case study as described by Cohen and Manion:

The case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit - a child, a clique, a class, a school or a community. The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit with a view to establishing generalizations about the wider population to which that unit belongs.

(Cohen and Manion, 1994, p. 106)

My own teaching experience was in Japanese primary schools, and I had made many observations in English primary schools for my earlier study. Thus I had some prior knowledge about teachers' responsibilities in practice in both Japanese and English schools. However my experiences were several years ago, and I needed to check the present situations in order to confirm the reliability and validity of my own earlier experiences. Therefore, the main purposes of the observation in this research were to confirm and generalise the assumptions and to get supporting data as factual illustrations.

It is said there are two types of observations; participant observation and non-participant observation. The observation in this research was non-participant. The observer stood or sat at the edge of the classrooms, and watched and took notes about the teachers' activities.

These observations were conducted in each of two classes in both schools where the main data (that of parents and school community members) were collected both in Japan and England. The observations were during one full week in each class in order to obtain accurate data.

Field notes were chronologically taken, mainly with a focus on teachers' activities. It was not a systematic observation. All kinds of activities together with comments by teachers were freely recorded in the notes.

Documents

Both national and local, and formal and informal documents relating to the teaching profession both in Japan and in England were consulted: for example, laws, government reports, job descriptions and school letters.

Documentary analysis is not a method used widely in this research. Documents are mainly used as supporting evidence for the other data and discussions.

All Japanese documents were originally written in Japanese. In order to avoid bias and error in the process of translation, the official translations are used whenever they exist.

Commentary Method: Using Trigger Material

This method of data collection is unique and formed an important part of my data collection strategies. It was originally developed and used for my earlier study.

An illustration of 'One day in the working life of an English teacher' was written by an English teacher. The description included all the activities of the teacher in a single

day. Some parts of the account were about her school and classroom and some about her colleagues and pupils. The description was chronologically written and showed facts without the writer's interpretations or feelings.

The content of the description gave Japanese teachers a general picture or account of how ordinary primary English class teachers work in school. The illustration was given to four Japanese teachers. They were asked to write freely about their reactions. The illustration stimulated Japanese teachers to think of the differences and similarities between Japanese and English teachers' responsibilities. Moreover, their comments provided the researcher with information about what issues seemed to them to be important. In other words, in commenting on the English account, they were giving unconscious insights into their own situation and priorities.

The comments by the Japanese teachers were analysed in the same way as the open style questionnaire. Their comments contained reflections on all the activities in the description, and especially on the similarities and differences between English and Japanese teachers' responsibilities. It is unlikely that this kind of data could have been elicited by conventional methods such as interviews and questionnaires. Therefore this method was very useful to stimulate and elicit unconscious perceptions.

1-4

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is structured into nine chapters: 1. Introduction, 2. Professionalism in teaching, 3. Social and historical background of teaching in Japan, 4. Schooling in Japan, 5. Teachers' perceptions of professionalism in teaching, 6. Headteachers' perceptions of professionalism in teaching, 7. Parents and school community members' perceptions of professionalism in teaching, 8. Further consideration of the concept of professionalism in teaching: the challenge to Japanese education by Marumo and 9. Conclusion.

Each chapter will be divided into several sections, and each section may be divided into some subsections.

After this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 deals with the theory of 'professionalism' in teaching. The concept of professionalism is defined very differently by different people and educational scholars use the term 'professionalism' with different meanings. In the chapter, general concepts of 'professionalism' are discussed, in an attempt to identify a conceptual framework through which the Japanese concept of professionalism may be explored.

Chapter 3 and 4 will deal with Japanese education. Chapter 3 explains the social and historical aspects of Japanese education as the general background to the later discussion. Japanese educational philosophy, schooling system and teacher education are discussed in order to provide a basic knowledge of Japanese education relating to the topic of this thesis, and an overview of the position of this thesis.

Chapter 4 also deals with Japanese education, but it focuses on primary schools

and teachers. The text of this chapter contains substantial details about the primary schooling system, the school practices, the curriculum and the general policies.

Chapter 5, 6 and 7 deal with an analysis of the data collected by various methods from people involved in primary education, both in Japan and England. Chapter 5 focuses on teachers. The main subjects in the investigation of this chapter are class teachers. Fourteen teachers in one Japanese primary school were given a questionnaire. In addition to these, four Japanese teachers gave their reactions to a description of the work of an English primary teacher.

Chapter 6 focuses on headteachers as school managers. One headteacher was interviewed and six Japanese headteachers were given a postal questionnaire

Chapter 7 deals with parents and members of the community associated with the school. They have personal and formal relationship with teachers and schools, and their views on teachers' professionalism are powerful and influential.

Chapter 8 is a case study of a Japanese headteacher. This headteacher through his practice and through many publications has challenged the present pattern of school management in Japan in order to promote his own view of professionalism in teaching. This headteacher and three of his staff (class teachers) were interviewed. This material is included because the philosophy of the management style advocated by this school principal is, in itself, a critique of existing norms of professionalism in Japanese schools.

Chapter 9 draws together the themes in this study and offers a general conclusion concerning changes in thinking about the professionalism of teachers and arguments about the continuing significance of this issue.

1-5

Conclusion

This research aims to explore professionalism in teaching. Although professionalism has been discussed in many studies, it is still both a mysterious and an important concept, well worth the attention it has received in recent educational research.

This research can be specifically characterised as a qualitative study with illustrations of the culture, history and practice of Japanese primary teaching by an internally knowledgeable researcher. My personal experience as a Japanese primary teacher is broadly reflected in many aspects of this research.

The next chapter will discuss the meaning of professionalism in teaching. And it will provide the theoretical background of this thesis.

Chapter 2

Professionalism in Teaching

2-1

Introduction

Yet while the aspirations for greater professionalism in teaching are admirable, what such professionalism might mean is often vague, unclear or contested. Moreover, what teachers themselves think about professionalism or what they experience under its name are addressed too rarely.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, Editorial Preface 7)

'Professionalism' is one of those terms which are widely used without clear common definition. McCulloch (1997) suggests that 'the notion of teacher professionalism is notoriously beset with conceptual difficulties and ambiguities'. In spite of this, the term 'professionalism' is in frequent use, and people do not pay attention to its precise meaning. Not only the general meaning of professionalism, but also its meaning in teaching is not defined enough; when the term 'professionalism' is used, it is necessary to make its meaning clear in a context.

In this general area there are three closely related terms which need to be distinguished: profession, professionalisation and professionalism. Particularly 'professionalism' is currently focused on because of the recent emphasis on teacher development. Frequent references are also made to the notion of the teaching 'profession'. The terms are used inter-changeably and with the assumption of shared meaning. However, they are clearly different from each other. The concept of 'profession' is descriptive and practical. On the other hand, the concept of 'professionalism' is normative and the product of judgment. 'Profession' is a concrete word referring to particular jobs or people. On the other hand, 'professionalism' refers rather to attitude and behaviour in action rather than action itself. It is a conceptual word.

Millerson lists the characteristics of a profession under six headings:

- (a) A profession involves a skill based on theoretical knowledge.
- (b) The skill requires training and education.
- (c) The professional must demonstrate competence by passing a test.
- (d) Integrity is maintained by adherence to a code of conduct.
- (e) The service is for the public good.
- (f) The profession is organized.

(Millerson, 1964, p. 4)

These six features generally apply to all established professions. Among these, some are socially and historically recognised as fully established professions, such as medicine and law. Is teaching recognised as a fully established profession? Teachers are sometimes

recognised as professionals too, but they, especially primary teachers, are more often understood as semi-professionals rather ‘proper’ professions, much the same as nurses and social workers. Etzioni defines semi-professionals as follows:

Lacking a better term, we shall refer to those professions as *semi*-professions. Their training is shorter, their status is less legitimated, their right to privileged communication less established, there is less of a specialized body of knowledge, and they have less autonomy from supervision or social control than “the” professions.

(Etzioni, 1962, Preface, p. 5)

School teaching is hardly accepted as a fully established profession. Therefore teachers status as professionals needs to be differentiated from other professionals, and there needs to be added some specific clarification of their own occupational nature and position in society in addition to ordinary definitions.

Millerson also defines ‘professionalisation’:

Professionalization is the process by which an occupation undergoes transformation to become a profession. As with other forms of institutionalization, professionalization entails conformity, internalization and sanction of specific norms, in this case, by members of a particular occupation.

(Millerson, *ibid.*, p. 10)

In this chapter, I deal with the conceptual aspects of ‘professionalism’, especially in respect of teaching in primary education. This chapter will be divided into four sections; 1. introduction, 2. teachers’ professionalism, 3. competences and professionalism and 4. conclusion.

2-2 Teachers’ Professionalism

The Professionalism of Teaching

This section will explore what teachers’ professionalism is. More precisely, it could be argued that professionalism in primary education is different from that in secondary education, because primary schools are class-oriented rather subject-oriented and usually of a comparatively smaller size.

There is an official definition of teaching profession and professionalism by UNESCO in 1966. The report ‘Special Intergovernmental Conference on the Status of Teachers’ describes how teachers should be considered in terms of their professional orientation and the nature of their work, and makes recommendations to its member countries. This report has strongly affected the notion of teachers’ professionalism in modern Japanese education. Its wide influence over the concept of teacher education and educational policies in Japan can still be recognised after three decades.

In part 3, section 6, on guiding principles states that:

Teaching should be regarded as a profession: it is a form of public service which requires of teachers expert knowledge and specialized skills, acquired and maintained through rigorous and continuing study; it calls also for a sense of personal and corporate responsibility for the education and welfare of the pupils in their charge.

(UNESCO, *ibid.*, p. 1-2)

This statement suggests a model for teaching as a profession. The important point is that this definition implies that teaching may not be generally accepted as a profession yet. However in Japan this definition (including its ambiguities) is widely accepted.

In spite of this official definition, in reality teachers' professionalism in schools is shaped by both social and personal, ideal and practical factors such as the nature of their teaching, their practical roles, administrative responsibilities, social expectations, relationships with parents, school micro-politics, school culture, and teachers' general status in society. In the U.S.A. Lieberman and Miller have attempted to identify the nature of teaching under eight headings:

1. Style is personalized.
2. Rewards are derived from students.
3. Teaching and learning links are uncertain.
4. The knowledge base is weak.
5. Goals are vague and conflicting.
6. Control norms are necessary.
7. Professional support is lacking.
8. Teaching is an art.

(Lieberman and Miller, 1991, pp. 92 - 95)

These eight characteristics of teaching are widely acknowledged by teachers and used in many discussions about professionalism. Primary teachers tend to be more conscious of 1, 2 and 7 than secondary teachers, because primary schools are class-oriented, their work is often isolated within their classroom and their responsibilities not shared.

In the course of developing strategies for evaluating teachers, Darling-Hammond et al. distinguish between four concepts of teaching:

1. teaching as labour

Teaching activities are rationally planned, programmatically organised, and routinized in the form of standard operating procedures by administrators. The teacher is responsible for implementing the instructional program in the prescribed manner and for adhering to the specified routines and procedure. Evaluation system is monitoring and supervision.

2. teaching as craft

Teaching is seen as requiring a repertoire of specialized techniques. Knowledge of these techniques also includes knowledge of generalized rules for their application. General rules for applying specific techniques can be developed, and the proper use of the rules combined with a knowledge of the techniques will produce the desired outcomes. Evaluation system is by managers' checking up.

3. teaching as a profession

Teaching is seen as not only requiring a repertoire of specialized techniques but also as requiring the exercise of judgment about when those techniques should be applied. To exercise sound professional judgment, the teacher is expected to master a body of theoretical knowledge as well as range of techniques. Evaluation style is by peers.

4. teaching as art

Teaching techniques and their application may be novel, unconventional, or unpredictable. Their form and use are personalized rather than standardized. The teacher must draw not only upon a body of professional knowledge and skill, but also a set of personal resources that are uniquely defined and expressed by the personality of the teacher and his or her individual and collective interactions with students. Evaluation system is self-assessment and critical assessment by others.

(Darling-Hammond et al., 1983, pp. 290 - 292)

As they comment 'Obviously, these four conceptions of teaching work are ideal types that will not be found in a pure form in the real world.' Most cases are in fact a combination of two or three types, or a mid-position between two of them. It is not difficult to apply these categories to Japanese teachers' work according to the expectations and understandings of different people, each from his own position in relation to teachers and schools.

Just as Darling-Hammond et al. suggest that the scope for teachers' professionalism is constrained by how the teacher's role itself is conceived, Hoyle (1974 and 1980) has argued that the fact that teachers work as part of an organisational team affects their role as professionals. If we look at a school as an organisation, we must recognise that teachers are workers within that organisation. Thus their professional autonomy is contained by the collective decision making within their institution. Hoyle describes this as follows:

However, teachers work within a formal organization - the school - and in the secondary school omnicompetence has been to some extent modified by a degree of specialization and hence differentiation. And in all schools the activities of individual teachers require a degree of co-ordination. Organization thus imposes constraints on autonomy, and a degree of control is implicit in the system.

(Hoyle, 1974, p. 14)

Writing in the 70s, Hoyle discerned two trends in the developing role of teachers: both collaborative teaching and collaborative decision-making. He explained that collaborative teaching and collaborative decision-making both involve a loss in teacher autonomy and thus increase the potentiality for teacher control. As a consequence he suggests that

greater professional control would appear to require a more extended form of professionalism, a professionalism which is not limited to classroom skills alone but embraces a wider range of knowledge and skill.

(Hoyle, *ibid.*, p. 17)

Then he suggested two contrasting models of professionalism;

Restricted professionalism:

- skills derived from experience
- perspective limited to the immediate in time and place
- classroom events perceived in isolation
- introspective with regard to methods
- value placed on autonomy
- limited involvement in non-teaching professional activities
- infrequent reading of professional literature

involvement in in-service work limited and confined to practical courses
teaching seen as an intuitive activity

Extended professionalism:

skills derived from a mediation between experience and theory
perspective embracing the broader social context to education
classroom events perceived in relation to school policies and goals
methods compared with those of colleagues and with reports of practice
value placed on professional collaboration
high involvement in non-teaching professional activities
regular reading of professional literature
involvement in in-service work considerable and includes courses of a theoretical nature
teaching seen as rational activity

(Hoyle, *ibid.*, p. 18)

Restricted professionalism is an experience-centred model which limits teachers' professionalism to a narrow understanding and to particular activities. This idea is close to Darling-Hammond's concept of teaching as labour and, also to her concept of teaching as craft. In contrast, 'extended professionalism' is a more rational-centred model which involves professional activities including control and judgment based on a professional and collaborative culture. This idea is very close to Darling-Hammond's 'teaching as profession'.

As we shall see in a further discussion of Hoyle's model in the next part, the notions of restricted and extended professionalism seem particularly likely to be useful in my later analysis of the culture of Japanese teachers.

Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) have recently sought to describe what they see as 'five different, often overlapping discourses' about teacher professionalism and professionalisation; classical professionalism, flexible professionalism, practical professionalism, extended professionalism and complex professionalism. I propose to explore these and to use them in the subsequent argument to identify significant links between these discourses and the experiences of Japanese primary teachers.

Classical Professionalism

Classical professionalism has historically rested on the exemplary claims to professional status of law and medicine. In seeking professional status and recognition, it is the claims of these highly ranked, publicly recognizable and largely masculine professions that teachers have usually tried to emulate, not the less recognizable professions like architecture or dentistry, and certainly not the more female (and arguably more closely related) 'semi-professions' of nursing, social work or librarianship.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, 1996, pp. 4 - 5)

Classical professionalism comes closest to the general and conventional understanding of 'professionalism'.

Goodson and Hargreaves see education as less secure in these terms than other established professions; indeed, education is normally seen as lower in status than them. But Goodson and Hargreaves suggest that at all levels educators have a keen interest in arguing for an acceptance of their professional status:

Yet the status aspiration to be like lawyers and doctors (for teachers), or **‘real’ university professors** (for teacher educators), puts the pursuit of professionalization as a self-interested status strategy before the wider social and educational purposes of teacher professionalism in terms of providing service and social justice for the community as whole.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 9)

In relation to classical professionalism, teachers in primary schools are definitely not recognised as having the same status as lawyers, doctors and ‘real educators’ such as professors, and are not professionals. In this sense, school teaching is unlikely to be a real profession. Primary teachers are obviously not real professionals. This view of professionalism does not seem directly relevant to professionalism in Japanese primary schools as explored in this thesis.

Flexible Professionalism

Here the claim to professional status is based on a culture of collaboration within a professional community. The culture of collaboration among teachers not only in schools but also in local professional communities can remedy and enhance their professionalism. Collaboration over pedagogical strategies and new skills can help to develop teachers’ professionalism. This kind of professionalism depends upon co-operation, school by school and community by community.

Building local professional communities which can set standards of practices suited to the immediate context is an important issue ... Professional needs and professional standards will not be absolutely the same for kindergarten teachers and secondary teachers, for teachers in inner city schools and teachers in elite private ones, for teachers of drama and teachers of mathematics, or for subject teachers who need to know their disciplines and teachers in more flexible school settings who need to see the relationships among them. Local professional communities do matter.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 10)

As this professionalism is based on the relationship between professional groups, it is very close to Hoyle’s ‘extended professionalism’. Engagement with the big educational issues and/or links with other institutions or communities both take time and energy. If the system does not support or encourage these activities, they are hard to sustain.

However Goodson and Hargreaves analyse the weaknesses of flexible professionalism. There are two main dangers; localism and isolation from broader professional goals; and insulation from wider community interests. These professional communities can be restricted and limited in their scope, confined to the interests of one school or year group, or to one teaching subject. There is often a lack of communication with other interests. As a result, the development of this culture in terms of breadth, quality and quantity is limited. In order to diminish these problems, they suggest that

there is a great need to push our notions of community and connectedness further, beyond our schools, to the neighbourhood community and the wider society, and not leave them locked within the local institutional preoccupations of teachers themselves.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 11)

It might be argued that primary schools can be seen as naturally more flexible in their professionalism because of their collaborative culture. But they also suffer the dangers discussed above. We shall see evidence of both the strengths and weaknesses of flexible professionalism in the data to follow.

Practical Professionalism

Practical professionalism tries to accord dignity and status to the practical knowledge and judgment that people have of their own work. ... The reliance on experience that was once seen as a failing of teachers is here regarded as central to their expertise and in its own way, a source of valid theory, rather than theory's opposite or enemy.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 11)

Practical knowledge and judgment come from people's experiences. It would seem that the majority of teachers mainly depend on this kind of practical knowledge.

This type of professionalism accords with Schon's concept of the reflective practitioner which has become so influential in recent years, both as an aspiration for initial teacher education courses and as a rationale for continuing professional development:

competent practitioners usually know more than they can say. They exhibit a kind of knowing-in-practice, most of which is tacit. ... Indeed, practitioners themselves often reveal a capacity for reflection on their intuitive knowing in the midst of action and sometimes use this capacity to cope with the unique, uncertain, and conflicted situations of practice.

(Schon, 1995, Preface, pp. 8 - 9)

Teachers often stand on their own practical professionalism with little access to the academic knowledge and pedagogical skills of other teachers. Schon mentions the problem of this professionalism:

I have offered evidence that some professional practitioners do have a capacity for reflection-in-action on their own frames and theories of action. I have also noted limits to reflection-in-action which result from the behavioral worlds and organizational learning systems that individuals are skilled at creating.

(Schon, *ibid.*, p. 353)

Goodson and Hargreaves point to the same problem: an emphasis on practical knowledge can lead no further than parochial knowledge. They argue the weakness of practical professionalism, then warn:

the rise of practical professionalism may threaten to move us into a period of deprofessionalizing professionalism where more narrow, technical definitions of professionalism, emptied of critical voice or moral purpose, seriously damage teachers' long-term aspirations for greater professional status and recognition.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 14)

Another issue around practical professionalism concerns the nature of the knowledge generated. In his discussion of the questions and problems of practical knowledge, Eraut

points to four areas that need clarification:

However the nature and status of this practical knowledge is by no means agreed, and its separateness from discipline-based knowledge may be more apparent than real. Four major issues for debate are the explicitness of practical knowledge, its generalizability, its scope and its morality.

(Eraut, 1994, p. 65)

Eraut's four issues focus on matters which are central to defining the nature of restricted professionalism where the key questions are concerned with the nature and role of practical knowledge. In Japan practical professionalism is likely to feature in professional development such as the in-service training system which I will describe in Chapter 4.

Extended Professionalism

Goodson and Hargreaves use Hoyle's term 'extended professionalism'.

In extended professionalism, teachers derive their skills from a mediation between experience and theory; the teacher's perspective extends beyond the classroom to embrace the broader social context of education; classroom events are perceived in relation to other aspects of school; teachers develop their teaching methodology by comparing it to others; high value is placed on professional activities, reading of professional literature, and theoretical as well as practical in-service education experiences; and teaching is seen as a rational rather than an intuitive activity.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 14)

Their model of extended professionalism does not differ from Hoyle's model described earlier in this section. They define extended professionalism from the macro point of view and they suggest that extended professionalism is an admirable aspiration.

However they notice that extended professionalism as a concept can be an easy trap:

But overall, in the current context of worldwide educational reform and restructuring, extended professionalism often does turn into a kind of *distended professionalism* (my emphasis), where teachers are stretched so far by their new responsibilities they almost tear apart with the workload and the strain. More than this, what passes for 'new' or extended professionalism, may lead teachers to neglect or short-change their own students as their energies are redirected to working with other teachers in collective planning, staff development, designing instructional interventions and so on.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 17)

This kind of problem comes from an over-extension of Hoyle's notion of extended professionalism or a misunderstanding of its nature. It can lead to intensification and guilt, as discussed in Hargreaves (1994) and as I shall take up later. Therefore there needs to be a clear awareness of the potential danger of this concept as extended professionalism. As we shall see, professionalism in Japanese primary schools can frequently be understood in terms of support for this kind of professional discourse. And in Japanese schools, extended professionalism is in practice often exceeded or expanded in the way which concerns Goodson and Hargreaves.

Complex Professionalism

This professionalism closely relates to the recent complexity of teachers' work. This complexity does not come from the essential nature of teaching, but from the requirements of recent educational reforms and technical demands by modern society, such as collective planning and new skills in classroom assessment.

Goodson and Hargreaves discuss the impact of this complexity on teachers' professionalism itself:

what is clear, though, is that work complexity may be a vital key to improving teacher professionalism. It, rather than scientific claims to esoteric knowledge and specialized technologies, constitutes the strongest case for prolonging the period of professional preparation.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 18)

Yet unlimited complexity in teachers' work does not in itself enhance their professionalism:

Unless governments, administrators and teachers together can address and resolve these challenge of restructuring teachers' work with openness, commitment and flexibility, it is likely that complex professionalism - the professionalism that comes with increasing work complexity - will simply become a synonym for teacher exploitation and burnout!

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 19)

These five 'discourses of professionalism' seem to cover almost all the major components of debates about teacher professionalism. Perhaps the ideas of extended professionalism, in both Hoyle's original definition and Goodson and Hargreaves's understanding, are the most significant in relation to an understanding of Japanese teachers' professionalism. However the other four professionalisms are also important for that. Traces of all five can be found in the school system and its culture, and as we shall see they can go a long way to explain why the system and culture are as they are.

The De-professionalisation of Teaching

A further discourse around developments in teacher professionalism has concerned itself with the theme of deprofessionalisation. For example, Ozga and Lawn (1981) discussed another understanding of teachers' professionalism in terms of teachers' unionism. Teachers have worked hard through their professional associations to secure better terms of employment. As McCulloch says:

The major achievements that are viewed as relevant to this process include the enlarging of qualifications, the exclusion of uncertificated teachers, the improvement of conditions of work, the obtaining of security of tenure, promotion to the highest ranks, salary and pension schemes, increased influence and importance as a professional group, the growing trust of parents, increasing unity among teachers' groups, and the creation of a more favourable image or stereotype for teachers and their unions.

(McCulloch, 1997, p.20)

Nevertheless there are concerns that increasing levels of control over professional

practices are threatening these achievements. This is referred to as a process of de-professionalisation, or even as a reduction of teachers to the status of the proletariat.

Kelly suggests that the removal of teachers' control on curriculum and the over-emphasis on the skills of pedagogy have served to move teachers in this direction:

What must be stressed here, however, is that it all adds up to a considerable threat to democracy. For not only are the bastions of higher education and academic freedom under siege but we have already lost the battle to ensure that schools are provided with the kind of teacher who can support the development in the next generation of a proper democratic awareness. The process that has just been described is of course a process of deprofessionalization.

(Kelly, 1995, pp. 140 - 141)

Thus if teachers' work is limited to concerns only within their own classes or to matters directly related to their teaching activities, we can see this as an insistence on what Hoyle describes as restricted professionalism, and associated more with proletarianisation and deprofessionalisation. More recently, changes in the education systems of many countries have sought to reduce teachers' autonomy and to control their behaviour (e.g. curriculum guidelines, advice on teaching methods and external assessment). Apple and Teitelbaum see this as a process which deskills teachers:

In much the same way as in other jobs, we are seeing the deskilling of our teachers. As we noted, when individuals cease to plan and control a large portion of their own work, the skills essential to doing these tasks self-reflectively and well atrophy and are forgotten. The skills that teachers have built up over decades of hard work - setting relevant curricular goals, establishing content, designing lessons and instructional strategies, individualizing instruction based on an intimate knowledge of students' desires and needs, and so on - are lost. In many ways, given the centralisation of authority and control they are simply no longer 'needed'. In the process, however, the very things that make teaching a professional activity - the control of one's expertise and time - are also dissipated. There is no better formula for alienation and burnout than loss of control of one's labour. Hence, the tendency for the curriculum to become increasingly planned, systematized, and standardized at a central level, totally focused on competencies measured by standardized tests, may have consequences exactly the opposite of what many authorities intend. Instead of professional teachers who care greatly about what they do and why they do it, we may have alienated executors of someone else's plans.

(Apple and Teitelbaum, 1986, p. 180)

As the result of the state's control, teachers' work requires less skill and as a result becomes more proletarian. There is no involvement of professional judgment and expertise. Teachers are just required to follow the pre-set programme. As we shall see, the situation in Japan is that while in theory teachers have plenty of scope to exercise professional autonomy, in practice they are heavily constrained towards restricted and deprofessionalised styles of working by excessive work loads.

Goodson and Hargreaves recognise that talk of professionalism may work to hide from teachers the real nature of their role:

Professionalism here is viewed as a *rhetorical ruse* - a way to get teachers to misrecognize their own exploitation and comply willingly with increased intensification of their labour in the workplace. ... It is neither universally negative nor positive; pernicious nor benign. We have shown that discourse and practices that we call professionalism and professionalization can empower teachers or exploit them.

(Goodson and Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 20)

Although teachers are clearly differentiated from both the 'proper' professions and other semi-professions, the delicate and flexible position of teachers' professionalism may allow such a rhetorical ruse. This danger of professionalism is also pointed out by Densmore. She is analysing the recent situation in the USA of the relationship between teachers' professionalism and proletarianisation, and states:

Changes in teachers' work situation are related to similar transformations in the work processes of other employees, especially employees in the public sector. The ideology of professionalism must be challenged because it fosters a feeling of superiority over other workers. It interferes with a recognition of the proletarianization of teaching, and ignores the origins of proletarianization in class conflict.

(Densmore, 1987, p. 156)

The ambiguity of professionalism, and its image as enhancing social status, could be the main reason for misuse or political use of the concept to control teachers.

Professionalism in Primary Schools

The definitions of teacher professionalism with which we have been dealing in this chapter are general and not confined to a special age range. However, primary schools are obviously different from secondary schools in many respects, both as organisations and in terms of their culture, staff and the relationship between teachers and parents. These differences are undoubtedly reflected in teachers' professionalism, both directly and indirectly.

Nias et al. describe the culture of collaboration in primary schools. They suggest that 'the culture of collaboration is primarily concerned with relationships rather than pedagogy' (Nias et al. *ibid.*, p. 48). As primary schools are based on class-oriented work, teachers work in groups such as year groups and working groups. This is quite different from the subject-oriented work in secondary schools.

Its (the culture of collaboration's) existence made it possible for headteachers, teachers and ancillaries routinely and unself-consciously to work as a team, that is, to believe, despite all their differences, that they all shared a common goal, to feel collectively responsible for its attainment and always to be ready to help one another towards it. It was also this culture which helped staff members, including the head, to identify as a group, that is see one another as friends and to feel a satisfying sense of social cohesion. This culture arises from and embodies a set of social and moral beliefs about desirable relationships between individuals and the communities of which they are part, and not from a belief about epistemology or pedagogy. It does however have a multiple effect, over time, on the educational practice of the school in which it exists.

(Nias et al. *ibid.*, p. 73)

In addition to that, Lieberman and Miller's illustration of the 'dailiness' of teaching helps

us to understand primary teaching. They identify its key characteristics as rhythms, rules, interactions and feelings. These are elaborated as follows:

Rhythms:

For elementary teachers the lunch hour divides the day into morning and afternoon activities, each marked by a recess and perhaps some instructional time with an itinerant teacher. They may spend an entire day in one classroom with one group of students. They create routines and patterns that give the day form and meaning. ... In the course of a day, activities accommodate the ebb and flow of the students' and their own energies. There are quiet times and active times, time set aside for individual attention, large-group instruction, small-group work and seatwork.

Rules:

As an opposite to idealism, practicality values adjustment, accommodation and adaptation. Idealism is identified with youth; it does not wear well in the adult 'real world' of teaching. ... To be practical, in this sense, is to accept the school as it is and to adapt. ... The practicality rule has a corollary; that is, be private. In effect, it is practical to be private. What does being private mean? It means not sharing experiences about teaching, about classes, about students, about perceptions. ... Being private also means staking out a territory and making it one's own. For most teachers that territory is the individual classroom. Teachers have a sense of territoriality and an ideology which includes a belief in the inviolability of a teacher's classroom.

Interactions:

Given the power of classroom territoriality, it comes as no surprise that the most important and immediate interactions that teachers have are with their students. ... For elementary teachers, the focus on children is a taken-for-granted phenomenon. ... For most it is the personal interaction rather than instructional interaction that is most valued. ... When the rewards from these interactions are plentiful, teachers are energized and thrive. When the rewards from these interactions are diminished, teachers lose that part of themselves that is most self-sustaining and most central to the well-being of the profession.

Feelings:

The feelings of teachers about their work and their lives are complex, characterized by conflict, frustration, satisfaction and joy. ... The feelings that surround issues of always being with children, of professional competence and of being in-and-out-of-control are highly charged and little acknowledged. They should not be underestimated; these feelings often block a teacher's impulse to work to improve one's teaching or to influence what happens in the school.

(Lieberman and Miller, 1990, pp. 156 - 162)

Even though secondary schools share these four features with primary schools, to some extent, they are more clearly seen in primary schools, and could shape and characterise the nature of primary school as a organisation, which allows teachers more individual autonomy and space for closer relationship with children.

This isolation of primary teachers in the U.S. primary schools as described by Lieberman and Miller, is perhaps contradictory to the collaborative culture of British primary schools described by Nias. This contradiction exists in Japanese primary schools. The culture of Japanese primary schools includes both teachers' isolation, based on the nature of primary schools, and professional collaboration, based on Japanese

culture.

2-3 Competences and Professionalism

In recent years there have been moves to define the skills of teachers in terms of competences, with the additional assumption that competences can be inferred through the observation of performance. This approach has gained in popularity since the development of competency based testing for teachers in the USA in the seventies. In 1993, the DFE in the U. K. set out new criteria for the initial training for primary teachers prepared by the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (Circular number 14/93). This circular sets out the official view of what newly qualified primary teachers should be able to do at the conclusion of their training if they are to meet their responsibilities under the Education Reform Act of 1988.

In the list of criteria, Part 2 shows 'competences expected of newly qualified teachers', divided into three sections and five sub-sections;

1. curriculum content, planning and assessment (a. whole curriculum, b. subject knowledge and application)
2. teaching strategies (a. pupils' learning, b. teaching strategies and techniques)
3. further professional development.

These competences are listed as required skills and knowledge, which follow the expression 'Newly qualified teachers should be able to ...' They describe what kinds of skills and knowledge are needed by primary teachers rather than the attitudes which they would have or the methods which they should use. They are the description of essential techniques for teachers, especially for new teachers rather than for experienced teachers. These competences are also the minimum requirement for teachers as professionals. Teachers having these competences could be seen as having reached the point where professional development can begin.

However, in fact, there is a danger of confusing the acquisition of competences with the development of professionalism. According to the definitions of professionalism in this chapter, professionalism involves not only certain sets of skills and knowledge but also their quality and quantity. To be competent is not the same as to be professional. Competences could be part of professionalism, but it is obvious that they are not enough in themselves. Competent teachers are not guaranteed to become professionals. It is very important that the competences are seen as minimum factors leading towards professionalism. It is notable that the 1993 DFE definition of competences includes a mention of professional development, and perhaps suggests that competences are the first stage of teachers' professionalism.

The content of the competences is also vague. The competences valued by teachers may not be the same as the competences defined by DFE 1993 in terms of kinds,

quality and quantity. Davies and Ferguson (1996) asked a group of serving teachers for their views on the nature of professional competence. They conclude that the majority of the teachers in their sample developed their professionalism by practising their profession, being in the classroom, and observing role models, mainly their own colleagues. This is practical professionalism in Goodson and Hargreaves's definitions. The majority of teachers saw professionalism as a mixture of competence and some other quality which they did not define (Davies and Ferguson, 1996). Even if this view is accepted, teachers' professionalism is still unclear, because professional competence and professionalism are clearly not identical.

The concept of competence in Japan also is not yet clearly defined either officially or academically, and is less a public concern. But the concept of professionalism may include competence, because competence tends to be understood as a concrete aspect of professionalism.

2-4

Conclusion

'Professionalism' is the key word in understanding the role of teachers. It has recently been focused on as an important concept. Although this term has been discussed by many researchers, there exists no single common agreement about it. However it is clear that it has both common aspects and variations between people, even in the same country.

The writers, discussed in this chapter have between them raise a diverse range of questions about how we might understand and explain the issue of teacher professionalism. Their work suggests that any exploration of the concept of teacher professionalism in the late 20th century should include consideration of the following:

- is the notion of 'extended professionalism' a useful construct for understanding the nature of teacher's role? (or conversely, do the conditions under which teachers work impose upon them a more restricted professionalism than they might wish, and which may in itself be a detriment to their students?)

- in examining the nature of teacher professionalism how useful is it to bear in mind issues raised by Goodson and Hargreaves under the headings of flexible, practical or complex professionalism, such as:

- *what is the strength of the collaborative culture among teachers in the area to be examined, and how far does it avoid problems of isolation and localism?

- *how does practical experience shape up teachers' own professional understandings and does this preference for deriving knowledge from experience restrict their professionalism?

*how far do the responsibilities laid on teachers lead to distended professionalism and hence to intensification, and furthermore guilt?

-do contemporary pressures restrict teachers' professionalism by imposing conditions of work which lead to a proletarianisation of their work (i.e. teaching as labour and/or craft as proposed by Darling-Hammond et al.)?

-how far is the professionalism of primary teachers different from that of other teachers?

In this thesis I intend to explore specifically in the Japanese context. Teachers' 'professionalism' in Japan has of course both general and common aspects and its own distinctive character. Unfortunately, there are few Japanese researches on Japanese teachers' professionalism because of the twisted sense of inferiority to Western academics which is felt by Japanese academics. It is similar with education theories such as pedagogy, psychology and curriculum design.

Chapter 3 will illustrate and discuss Japanese education in general. It will provide a general understanding of Japanese education as a background in order to help readers understand teachers' professionalism in Japan. Thereafter in Chapter 4 I will deal with the school system and teachers' work in Japan before turning to the empirical data through which I seek to explore the perceptions of teachers and others.

Chapter 3

Social and Historical Background of Teaching in Japan

The modern Japanese education system was established in 1872. Since then, many reforms have been implemented. In recent history, the position of teachers in society has been changed, and also their social status has come down.

These changes came from political and social factors such as the rise of modern democracy and changes in Japanese culture. And the change of teachers' status is clearly reflected in teachers' perceptions of their professionalism.

In this chapter, I shall examine the historical position of teachers together with some observations on the nature of Japanese democracy and culture as reflected in making Japanese education; this is intended to provide a social and historical background to later arguments about Japanese teachers' professionalism. The chapter will be divided into four sections: 1. the position and public image of teachers in the history of Japanese schooling, 2. Japanese democracy in education, 3. culture in Japanese education and 4. conclusion.

3-1 The Position and Public Image of Teachers in the History of Japanese Schooling

The present Japanese schooling system was established after World War 2 in 1945. The old system was totally abolished, and a new style and new policies were introduced. The position of teachers in society had been changing anyway stage by stage in the process of earlier history. At any stage, political and social factors were reflected in their position. What is more, their public image directly affected their position and indirectly affected the teachers' professionalism as a whole.

I shall examine the position of teachers in various types of education systems, and the kind of public image they had in each period over the last four hundred years. This section will be divided into three parts:

1. Voluntary teachers in the Terakoya in the feudal period,
2. Authoritarian teachers in the modern schooling system,
3. Teachers as civil servants under democratisation and in a period of major economic growth.

3-1-1 Voluntary Teachers in the 'Terakoya' in the Feudal Period

When the present system of Japanese education is discussed, people sometimes quote the 'Terakoya' as an example of the origin of a schooling system for ordinary people, and as proof of how ordinary people have been concerned with education for a long time. I shall focus on two aspects of the 'Terakoya' in order to explore the original position and public image of teachers in the Edo period from 1603 to 1868.

The first aspect is the source of teacher supply. 'Terakoya' means a house in a Buddhist temple. As the Japanese meaning shows, Terakoya schooling was originally held in a temple which acted as a community centre. To begin with, Buddhist priests were in a leading position in the community. They taught mainly reading and writing by using Buddhist scriptures, in order to diffuse Buddhism. The Terakoya was a private and informal institution run for ordinary people who were merchants, craftsmen and farmers. Later, masterless samurai, medical doctors and learned commoners got together with priests as teachers. (Katsuta, 1986)

In the process of political centralisation initiated by the Tokugawa government in the first half of the Edo period, many hans (feudal clans), especially those which used to be in opposition to the Tokugawa clan, were abolished. As a result, many samurai lost their positions. Since the financial situation of each han was getting worse in the second half of the Edo period, more samurai were dismissed. The term 'masterless samurai' means jobless samurai; and being out of work meant that they had to find an alternative way of earning an income. As samurai had been educated in Hankow¹, to change to working as teachers in the Terakoya was comparatively easy for them to manage instantly.

Therefore, working as a teacher had images of being both respectable and poorly paid, because a majority of teachers belonged to higher positions in the social hierarchy in that period (Figure 3-1), and because they were poor and out of work before they became teachers.

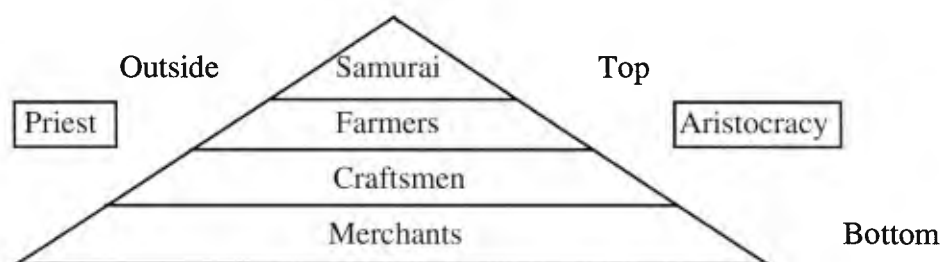


Figure 3-1 Social Hierarchy in the Edo period

This chart shows the formal hierarchy system of the Edo period as endorsed by the government. In the system, samurais were politically in the top position. Priests and the aristocracy were outside the system. Even though farmers were in the second

¹ Central and local government schools run by Tokugawa government or hans in order to educate the ruling class. (Katsuta, 1986)

position, they were substantially at the bottom. Merchants were in fact financially in the top position.

The second aspect is the increase in demand for education in this period, in which there was economic expansion and growth based on manufacturing industry and trade not only nationally but also internationally. As a result of the economic growth, some big merchants gained wealth, and ordinary people could keep a high enough standard of living to enjoy culture. These economic factors and the concurrent political stability² created a remarkable culture. The culture of this period is recognised as one of the greatest mass cultures in world history. This mass culture was stimulated, supported and sponsored by big merchants. People needed the skills of reading, writing and calculation for both their business and their cultural interests. There was a vast demand for education among many people.

To sum up, as supply met demand in this period, the Terakoya schooling spread and was extremely popular and widespread in the whole area of Japan. According to Katsuta, at the end of the Edo period in 1868, the total number of Terakoya was more than one hundred thousand, and the estimated Japanese literacy rate was 54 percent for male and 19 percent for female children. Such popularity, and the contribution of the Terakoya, created a stereotype of teachers' public image as dignified, respectable but poor.

3-1-2 Authoritarian Teachers in the Modern Schooling System under Modernisation and Militarisation

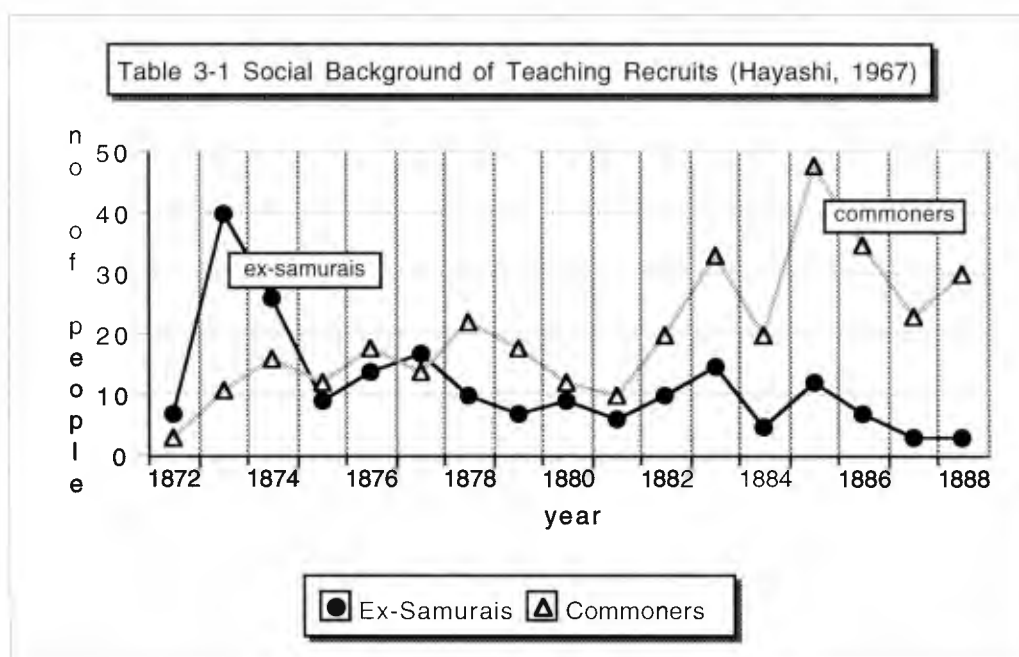
Modern mass schooling was introduced as part of the modernisation programme of the Meiji government in the late nineteenth century, and changed to a more authoritarian style under the militarisation of the early twentieth century. The position and public image of teachers changed stage by stage from modernisation to militarisation. In order to explore how and why their position and image were changed, this subsection will examine two questions: how far did teachers contribute to the successful dissemination of modern mass schooling?, and how did teachers function in society under militarisation?

The first question is about teachers' contribution to the dissemination of the modern mass schooling system. As I examined in the last subsection, the foundation of a formal schooling system had already been prepared and spread throughout the whole area of Japan by the Terakoya schooling by the end of the Edo period. When the modern mass schooling system was introduced from Western countries - France, Germany, Britain, and the United States (Beauchamp and Vardaman, 1994), some concepts and aspects of the Terakoya schooling were carried over into the new schooling system. There are three main common factors: an enthusiasm for education on the part of ordinary people, a social class of teachers and a curriculum.

² The Tokugawa government continued from 1603 to 1868.

The first factor is public enthusiasm for education. Only seven years after the introduction of the new school system in 1872, the school attendance rate was 58 % for boys and 23 % for girls (Yamazumi, 1992), 4 % higher in each gender than the literacy rate at the end of Edo period described in the last subsection. People seem to have held similar expectations of the new formal schooling system.

The second factor concerns the social background of teachers. In the Terakoya schooling, the majority of teachers were masterless samurai as already described before. Miyoshi (1979) quotes the study of Hayashi (1967) which explored primary teachers' social background in the Nagano prefecture in the 1920s. According to Hayashi's study, the majority of recruited teachers came from the samurai class until 1877; then commoners took over the position (Table 3-1).



In spite of the domination of recruitment by commoners after 1878, Figure 3-2 shows that ex-samurai still constituted 37.4 % of the total numbers of teachers and 45.7 % of all headteachers in 1888. Furthermore, 66.6 % of teachers in secondary schools and teachers' colleges still came from the samurai class.

Figure 3-2 Social Background of Teachers in 1888 (Hayashi, *ibid.*)

Schools	Social Class	Ex-samurai	Commoners
Primary School	Headteacher	45.7 %	54.5 %
	Teachers	37.4 %	61.2 %
Secondary and Teachers' College		66.6 %	33.3 %

Overall, as commoners included farmers, craftsmen and merchants, who were the vast majority of the population, a comparatively large number of teachers during modernisation came from the samurai class which used to be the highest class in the hierarchy.

The third factor is the curriculum. The new curriculum content consisted mainly of cognitive subjects based on three skills: reading, writing and arithmetic, rather than vocational content, just as the curriculum in the Terakoya schooling was mainly cognitive skills. Even though such kinds of education were unnecessary for farmers, the government emphasised general education rather than vocational education in order to modernise the nation and to catch up with Western countries. Those were the three main factors that were transferred from the Terakoya schooling system to the new modern schooling system.

On the other hand, there were some new aspects to the system. One of the big differences was to give teachers a formal status. Teachers became government officers. Teaching had been a private and informal business in the Terakoya schooling, but it was now legitimised by the government in the new system. As a result of this, teachers were given authority in addition to public support.

Consequently, both the factors inherited from the Terakoya period and the additional authoritarian power served to create a powerful image for teachers. This powerful positive image, defined as 'authoritative', 'respectable' (Ishitotani, 1979) and 'academic', seems to have made the dissemination of the formal schooling system easier. However, with the establishment of the formal schooling system, teachers' image has changed little by little.

The second question is about the function of teachers under militarisation. In order to answer the question, I will examine three points: the shortage of teachers, the change in teachers' social background and the teacher's role as agent for government policies.

Firstly, a shortage of teachers emerged as a result of the dissemination of the mass schooling system. The school attendance rate had risen to 98 % in 1911 (Yamazumi, 1992). More and more teachers' colleges were founded in each prefecture once the first college had been founded in 1872.³ The more the school attendance rate increased, the more teachers were needed. Once everybody went to school and the number of teachers was increased, the schooling system became a part of everyday life for ordinary people. Schools and teachers were no longer seen as something grand and special.

Secondly, the teachers' social background was changing to be lower in the process of dissemination of the mass education system. Table 3-1 showed that more commoners were recruited than ex-samurai as teachers after 1878, and the tendency continued. This phenomenon brought teachers' social position down, and made teachers' public image change.

Thirdly, teachers came to play the role of government agents in order to implement the government's military policies. For example, the national curriculum

³ For example, Tokyo in 1872 (the first college), Osaka and Miyagi in 1872, Aichi, Hiroshima, Nagasaki and Niigata in 1874.

was changed to be more patriotic through such measures as the introduction of particular values into moral education and the history curriculum, and military practice in P.E. As teachers were government officers, they were controlled by the government. Under the political militarisation and centralisation, military policies were obviously introduced into the schooling system in order to achieve the government's military purposes, and teachers were forced to support them. Under these circumstances, teachers were given more authoritarian power in order to carry out their role as agents of the government.

Consequently, the position of teachers was substantially downgraded in the social system. Teachers used to be respected by people as a result of their social class and their social contribution. Then they gained the additional authoritarian power backed up by the military authority. However, once they had lost the privilege of the higher social class and schools had lost their scarcity value, people no longer unconditionally respected teachers simply for being teachers. Teachers' public image was of dignity, being more authoritarian with a military image, and self-respecting rather than respectable.

3-1-3 Teachers as 'Civil Servants' under the Democratisation and Major Economic Growth

When World War 2 ended many aspects of Japanese society changed dramatically. American-style democracy replaced militarism and released people from the authoritarian schooling system. Although this reform, in fact, was imposed by an external power - the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers (SCAP) -, the vast majority of Japanese people realised how significant and necessary the educational reform was in order to construct a peaceful society, and to comfort and encourage the hopeless people. People welcomed democracy which they saw as a desirable ideology. Both ordinary people and teachers were dominated by the myth of democracy.

During both democratisation and the major growth of the economy, the teachers' position and their public image have declined further. In this subsection, I will explore four points in order to explain how the teachers' position and their public image deteriorated:

1. a change of teachers' role to become leaders of the democratisation process,
2. a new formal position as 'public servants',
3. equality under democracy,
4. a lower salary than in the commercial sector,
5. the implications of recent discussions of 'desolation in Japanese education'.

A Change of Teachers' Role

Under militarisation, as described earlier, teachers had played the role of agents

of the military government. Once the political style became democratic, teachers changed from being agents of militarisation to becoming leaders of the democratisation of society. Teachers positively and actively led the democratisation process because they regretted their previous collaboration with militarisation.

Notwithstanding this, most of the people did not understand teachers' real intentions. However, what they did notice was that teachers became less formal and assertive and more conciliatory in their approach to their job. Thus teachers tended to be seen as cowards by ordinary people.

A New Formal Position as 'Public Servants'

In the previous society, teachers had the status of government officers with authoritarian power. As the result of the introduction of modern democracy from the USA, under the Constitution of Japan, teachers' formal status was reduced to that of civil servants by two laws: the Fundamental Law of Education and the Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel. The Fundamental Law of Education says,

Teachers of the schools prescribed by law shall be servants of the whole community. ...
(Article 6)

As the law used the term 'servants', teachers came to be seen as servants for ordinary people. This concept of servant, which is the result of the meaning shift of an excessively literal translation from English into Japanese, has been broadly accepted and disseminated. People in general have a simple understanding that all civil servants should work for the sake of them, in much the same sense as a domestic servant. Thus, the image of civil servants is of people who owe an endless service to citizens. Teachers of course are not an exception to that. Thus, not only have teachers lost authoritarian power, but also teachers' formal position is now lower than that of ordinary people.

Equality under Democracy

The new constitution of Japan was based on the ideology of democracy. Although it was made by collaboration and compromise between the Japanese Government and the SCAP, the majority of Japanese people respected and were proud of it because of its main three principles which are popular: sovereignty of the people, pacifism and human rights. None of these had existed in Japan before World War 2. Japanese people accepted all of its other principles together without any restrictions. One of the main significant principles is equality. Article 14 says:

The people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.

It prescribed the equality of all kinds of people under the law. People often understood this concept in their own way, and sometimes used the word when they insisted on their rights or demands.

The concept of 'equality' was of course a basic one in the educational sphere. Almost all people understood it to mean that all people in schools such as teachers and children, were simply in an equal position. People tended to let the fundamental concept of 'equality' in democracy slip into the relationship between teachers and children in school without any modification at all. Thus teachers lost their power over children because they were understood to be simply in an equal position with each other. Teachers were no longer powerful by virtue of being in a teaching position and because of their status as adults.

A Lower Salary than in the Commercial Sector

With the major economic growth of the 1960s in Japan, the commercial sector expanded dramatically. Private companies needed greater numbers of people and more able people. In order to recruit such people, the commercial sector offered larger salaries than the public sector. As economic theory would suggest, the more able people were recruited by private companies, and people who could not be recruited became teachers. (Passow et al., 1976) This tendency continued until 1971 when the Law Governing Special Measures on Salaries for Educational Personnel was proclaimed. Teaching posts were less and less attractive to people in terms of salary.

To sum up all four points, the teachers' position slipped down lower than ever, lower than ordinary people because of their formal status as civil servants, and on the same level as children according to the theory of democratic equality. Moreover, people sometimes looked down on teachers because of their lower salary and their image of being cowards. These negative factors indirectly made the quality of teachers lower and lower. This trend continued in the 1970s when the First Oil Crisis occurred.

Thus, the teachers' image was originally based on the samurai's character. Even though the samurai were jobless, their image was comparatively positive, for example dignified and respectable, because they came from the highest social class. But although recently the position of teachers has been shifting down and their public image has changed, some commentators such as Miyoshi (1979) argue that the teachers' original good images such as being 'respectable' and 'ethical' are still kept over in the present society.

The Implications of Recent Discussions of

'Desolation in Japanese Education'

Modern Japanese society embraces various fundamental problems. Despite the fact that the overseas reputation of Japanese education is on the whole positive, at home it is generally thought that there are some fundamental problems. The Japanese National Council on Educational Reform explained the reason for the current social problem, which they call in English 'desolation in education', in the following terms:

Dramatic advances in science and technology as well as rapid economic growth since World War 2 have brought about changes in the nation's industrial structure, a redistribution of the labor force, and other major social changes, such as urbanization and computerization. The education sector has also witnessed remarkable quantitative

development. The proportion of children going on to upper secondary schools, for example, has grown from about 40% in the early postwar period to more than 90% today. These rapid changes in the social environment and this quantitative expansion have had great impact upon education in this country. A number of problems have arisen, such as a lack of discipline among school children and intense competition for entrance to universities.

(The National Council on Educational Reform, 1986, p. 1)

Especially during the period of rapid growth in the 1960s, economic values dominated society. The majority of people were busy with their work, and as a result, they tended to have less time for their children. As the quotation above suggests, there was considerable concern about violence in secondary schools, bad discipline and truancy.

Schools and teachers were naturally expected to contribute to the solution of these problems within their work structure. Many strategies were introduced for that, for example, INSET for psychology and counselling, committees of teachers and enhanced collaboration between teachers and other organisations such as police and social workers. Teachers became even busier than before. Parents also tried to deal with these problems. Many of them paid for additional tuition at 'juku' (informal institutions) to improve their children both academically and personally.

As these problems are fundamental and structural social issues, they are not simply educational. So it is impossible for teachers to deal with these problems by themselves. Notwithstanding both teachers' and parents' challenges, the 'desolation in education' is not yet completely overcome. But the high levels of concern and public attention have concentrated social criticism on teachers, and have served to damage their professional image.

3-2 Japanese Democracy in Education 'Equality' and 'Freedom'

Democracy is essentially a political ideology. But once a political system is formed on the base of democracy, the ideology spreads through all aspects of society. Democracy becomes no longer simply a political ideology, but rather becomes a social philosophy. As described in the last section, in the post-war period, democracy was introduced into Japan as a fundamental political ideology. It seemed to be a perfect ideology to Japanese people. Although democracy was a totally new idea to Japanese people, it was quickly adopted and widely spread in the society and all areas of national life within little more than a decade of the post-war period.

It became not only a basic political principle of Japan but also its basic educational principle. In the preamble of the Fundamental Law of Education, a function of education is stated by citing the Constitution of Japan.

Having established the Constitution of Japan we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realisation of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education.

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, p. 9)

The main purpose of education is clearly defined as to build a democratic and cultural state. Democracy is a significant and basic principle in education. But in the process of the diffusion of democratic principles in society, only the outward forms of democracy and its style of procedure tend to be emphasised rather than its doctrine. In Japan, social change was rapid, and people could not find enough time to deliberate about democracy at their own practical level. Democracy was misunderstood and misused in many cases not only due to its unfamiliarity to Japanese people, but also due to its quick dissemination.

Democracy in educational society is one of these cases. People who relate to schooling such as decision-makers, educational scholars, teachers, community members, and parents, understand and sometimes misuse the term 'democracy' in their own ways. Different people interpret 'democracy' with different meanings, and use it in different ways. However, there is no doubt that 'equality and freedom' are accepted as the main principles of democracy.

In spite of a great number of studies about democracy as a political ideology in Japan, its application in education has been adequately discussed and the term in educational use is neither clarified nor defined. In education the term 'democracy' is used with a variety of implications, which are often not precise and are sometimes mutually contradictory. These sometimes not only differ from the original doctrine of Western democracy but also distort it. The main problems come both from the various interpretations of the term of 'democracy' in education by various people, and also the wrong interpretations by some people.

For example, Konishi criticises the post-war democracy in Japanese education:

Many teachers believe the same idea (all pupils in a class should contribute their ideas to every lesson). This is thought to mean that all pupils should make an equal contribution to a lesson. ... That is said to be democratic. ... Yet it is practically impossible for all pupils to present in 45 minutes. ... That is an illusion of equality for all.

(Konishi, 1995, pp. 26 - 27)

In fact, this is not an extreme example. Equality for all is widely believed to be an essential educational philosophy. This is called the post-war doctrine of equality, and ironically an extra word 'bad' is often added to it as 'bad equality doctrine'.

I do not intend to argue about the doctrine of democracy or democracy as a political ideology in this section. I shall deal with two principles of democracy; 'equality' and 'freedom', which are recognised as the main common concepts of democracy both in Western countries and in Japan, and both in politics and in the other social sections including education (Fukuda 1977, Watanabe 1985, Kaneko 1985). I shall examine how far an idea of democracy is applied to Japanese education, and how far the democratic idea affects school practice.

3-2-1 **‘Equality’ in Japanese Education**

‘Equality’ in a Homogeneous Society

‘Equality’ in a democracy is emphasised in different ways in homogeneous and in heterogeneous societies. Multicultural heterogeneous societies such as the United States and Britain mainly define ‘equality’ as equal opportunity, because their main problems relate to race, social class and gender. Tsuneyoshi points out;

Many Americans also assume that the concept of democracy is inseparable from socioeconomic equality. In contrast to Japan, American discussions of equality incorporate problems of race, class, gender and ability.

(Tsuneyoshi, 1991, p. 169)

People are concerned more about questions of inequality related to race, social class and gender rather than other factors because these three factors are fundamentally significant and inevitable for the majority of people and many dimensions of such societies. People are naturally aware of how unequally they are treated on the basis of differences of race, social class and gender in each social institution.

On the contrary, Japanese society, which is recognised as a homogeneous society as to race and social class, if not gender⁴, does not pay much attention to equal opportunity related to such social factors. As differences in race and social class scarcely exist in Japan, society is concerned about equal opportunity related to individual and personal factors rather than social factors.

Terminology of ‘Equality’

When Japanese society adopted the concept of ‘equality’, it was translated as ‘byoudou’, a Japanese equivalent term for ‘equality’. ‘Byoudou’ means ‘to be even and the same’ according to the Japanese dictionary (Koujien). On the other hand, ‘equality’ in an English dictionary (Collins Cobuild) is explained as the same status, right and responsibilities for all the members of society, groups and families.

Thus the Japanese definition states only a general idea of ‘equality’ while the English definition precisely describes its subjects and contexts. According to the terminology of ‘equality’ in English, a usage of ‘equality’ in Western countries as requiring equal opportunity is naturally understandable. The English term of ‘equality’ is a more social concept related to social dimensions than its Japanese counterpart.

The main problem with the term ‘equality’ in Japanese is the potential for various interpretations. People believe that for something to be simply the same as something else is ‘equality’, and this is exactly democracy. This simple formula sometimes leads to a misuse of ‘equality’. In many cases, the concept of equality is understood as a synonym for ‘the same for all’.

For example, teachers believe this simple formula of ‘equality’, and apply it in school practices. This belief sometimes dominates staff meetings because of its democratic camouflage. In fact, in my experience in a staff meeting, a headteacher proposed that all teachers tried not to drink tea or eat anything except school lunch

⁴ Gender issues exist in Japan. The gender questions are still unsolved because males dominate the society.

during schooling hours till 4:30. The reason was that it was unfair to pupils if only teachers could eat or drink, and pupils could not. The headteacher's view was that teachers should be treated the same as pupils because of the concept of 'the same for all' as being the meaning of 'equality'. Moreover it was surprising that all the teachers agreed with his view and followed it.

Teachers react to even professional matters in the same way as in this example. One teacher wore a red swimming suit in a swimming lesson so that pupils quickly found the teacher. This is very important and professional in order to ensure pupils' safety especially in such a risky lesson. However, other teachers privately criticised her because of unfairness because all the pupils wore dark blue-uniformed swimming suits, and she did not. In fact, so far as I know, all the teachers in all Japanese schools wear the same dark blue swimming suits as pupils wear, in spite of no formal agreement on this among the teachers.

Clearly the misuse of 'equality' is widespread even at such a practical level of education. Such a misuse of the term sometimes makes school practice stagnate.

Social Ignorance of Innate Difference of Ability

Another factor which intensifies a misuse of 'equality' is the strong common belief in the importance of nurture in Japan. Kohama (1993) points out the Japanese disbelief in innate ability;

Most of the Japanese educators, who suggest what education should be, tend to ignore individual differences in intelligence as a natural ability.

(Kohama, 1993, p. 94)

Not only educators but also ordinary people, especially parents, have this tendency. Tsuneyoshi states;

None of the surveys suggest that Japanese generally consider innate differences as meaningful. Indeed, the possibility of differences in potential is ignored. ... Parents also supported this view.

(Tsuneyoshi, 1991, p. 172)

This view is commonly held by Japanese people. Tsuneyoshi also explains how this view affects Japanese schooling compared with the American counterpart:

American educators commonly proceed on the assumption that there are inherited differences among children. The Japanese do not. American schools have programs for gifted children. Japanese school do not. Students in the U.S. may skip grades. Japanese children can not. Americans rely on IQ tests to track children. The Japanese prefers tests of achievement.

(Tsuneyoshi, 1991, p. 168)

This Japanese belief in nurture has been shaped under the democratic society after World War 2. In the process of social change, new social values were created by democratic ideas and people's hopes. Once people were released from the social hierarchy system and gained equality and freedom, they sought a meritocratic society in which everybody was able to achieve their goals by their own efforts. Therefore people



believe in the potentiality for achievement as determined by effort rather than by genetic factors. This belief is based on the concept of 'the same for all', like the misuse of 'equality' explained in the last subsection. A combination of the belief and the misuse is the view that everybody has the same innate intellectual ability as others, and can achieve the same goals. The DFE report about Japanese education points this out:

It is expected that virtually all children will be able to master the contents of the course of study⁵ given appropriate effort on the part of pupils themselves, parents and teachers.

(DFE, 1992, Main Findings, p. 6)

When a child cannot achieve the same level as other children, his parents do not accept as a reason his lack of ability; rather they tend to attribute his failure to factors in the nurturing environment or to his own conduct such as a lack of effort on the child's part; alternatively they may blame bad teaching skills, and lack of appropriate materials. Ultimately in most cases, schools and teachers are seen as responsible for failure in children's achievement. This view works strongly to shape both teaching professionalism and school practice; thus teachers readily internalise what they feel to be a social pressure.

3-2-2 'Freedom' in Japanese Education

In the same way as 'equality', 'freedom' seems less political in Japan than its Western counterpart does. 'Freedom' was also given to Japanese people when democracy was introduced in the post-war period.

Japanese society generally appears to offer less freedom and more uniformity. But, in fact, Japanese society has greater and wider freedom than people think, but as its freedom differs from the Western counterpart, outsiders might not recognise it. Japanese education has such a kind of freedom. The education system is generally regarded as uniform in such aspects as centralisation, the curriculum, class teaching style, text books, uniforms and so on. But most of these features are actually a result of choice or agreement reached in conditions of 'freedom' rather than as a result of control by authorities.

In this subsection, I shall examine how Japanese 'freedom' differs from the Western counterpart and how far 'freedom' affects schooling practice.

Preference for Uniformity as a Choice in 'Freedom'

In general people tend to see 'freedom' as something manifested in individual differences, and to judge it by explicit phenomena such as appearance, style, and behaviour. However, in my understanding, 'freedom' is not an outcome, it exists as a process. These explicit individual differences or the lack of them are a result of free decisions or choices.

Most of the uniform aspects of Japanese society are a result of the people's

⁵ Equivalent of Japanese national curriculum.

choice within freedom. Uniformity is one of their choices. The term 'freedom' is mainly understood as 'freedom of choice' in Japan. Then there is the question, why Japanese people chose uniformity rather than individuality. The key answer is Japanese people's preference for uniformity as a social and cultural ideal.

As mentioned in the last subsection, Japanese society is homogeneous in race and social class. A homogeneous society in which everybody is similar to one another creates its own value of uniformity. Individual differences are a result of individual abilities rather than individual choices. Only people, who cannot achieve the same standard as others, ought to differ from others. In Japan, individual differences are seen as a result of poor abilities, not a result of individual choice within freedom.

Many educational phenomena in Japan can be explained by this mechanism. For example, the Fourteenth Report by the Central Council for Education of Japan explains the outcome of the competition in entrance examinations as a result of this mechanism:

The real reason for the high rate of students who go on to post-compulsory education in Japan⁶ is neither people's willingness to study nor their desire to win a race. This is the product of a preference for uniformity, to get the same qualification as others. ... That is not competition, rather an avoidance of competition.

(The Central Council for Education of Japan, 1991)

A trivial but significant example is the choice of children's bags by their parents. When children get into Year 1⁷ in primary school, parents prepare some necessities for children such as clothes and stationery. All parents prepare red satchels for girls and black ones for boys. Although schools and teachers do not advise this at all, this informal social agreement has operated for several decades.

The uniform satchels of children are a social signal that these children become members of the Japanese homogeneous society. Therefore parents are happy to choose the same satchels. This is a symbolic example of Japanese parents' psychology of 'preference of uniformity'.

'Preference of uniformity' closely relates to the Japanese meaning of the term 'equality'. The key common word is 'same'. I shall examine the Japanese concept of 'sameness' in the next section.

To sum up, clearly Japanese society has greater and wider freedom than outsiders think, but it is unique. Freedom mainly exists in a process of choice in Japanese society.

The Misuse of 'Freedom' in Japanese Schooling

In Japan freedom is widely interpreted and variously used, but the main understanding of 'freedom' in Japan is that 'freedom' is used without involving any responsibilities or duties. The concept of freedom in Japan is completely separated from responsibilities and duties. 'Freedom' is simply a 'right' in Japan. People tend to use the term of 'freedom' as their right in order to justify their selfish attitudes.

⁶ 95.9 % in 1991 (Ministry of Education).

⁷ The starting year of compulsory schooling in Japan.

'Freedom' does not always give positive things to people in Western countries. It sometimes requires responsibility or duty, with a penalty or a restriction to people. People often have to accept a risk as a result of failure of responsibility or duty. In Western countries, people generally understand how much effort is required in order to keep 'freedom' because they gained it as a result of a long fight against authorities.

On the other hand in Japan, 'freedom' was given as one of the concepts of democracy by the SCAP; people accepted just its fruitful and easy aspects as an excellent concept. Therefore people tend to ignore its bitter and hard aspects such as penalties, restrictions, responsibilities, duties and risks.

The problem is that people bring this tendency into school practice too. For example, in higher education, it is found in the relationship between teachers and students, and again in primary education it is commonly seen in the relationship between teachers and parents. Students and parents understand that all of them basically have equal rights in any occasions and aspects of school matters. They are like friends so that teachers have less autocratic power than before. Teachers also accept this view as a correct understanding of democracy. Konishi criticises freedom without responsibility as a feature of Japanese post-war democracy. He describes the seriousness of freedom as its hard side:

I was feeling something heavy and dark. This can be said to be the seriousness of being free. This is a sort of cost for freedom.

(Konishi, *ibid.*, p. 22)

He emphasises that people should recognise both aspects of freedom. Otherwise its significance within democratic principles is not fully understood.

3-3

Culture in Japanese Education

Although the culture of Japanese education is often described in terms of democratic equality and freedom, this section will focus on three features generally recognised as salient parts of Japanese culture: group culture, perseverance and an understanding of children. These three principles are widely and naturally accepted by people.

Group Culture

It is well known internationally that Japanese business people work in groups, and this system is sometimes highly effective in contrast to the Western tendency for individualism.

This is not only a feature of Japanese business, but is also very common in other fields. This principle can be found in many social aspects in Japan. It is clearly a part of Japanese culture.

Duke points out that Japanese schools contribute to this group culture:

One of the predominant traits of the Japanese - be it at work, school, or play - is loyalty to the group. It transcends all layers of the society. It is the stuff of "being Japanese". Company loyalty, a peculiarity of labor practices in Japan, typifies the allegiance that binds workers to their company. Although group loyalty has become a cultural element of the society, it must be systematically transmitted from one generation to the next. The Japanese school stands out as a major instrument in the process of understanding the tradition of one-company employment to retirement among the Japanese work force.

(Duke, 1986, p. 25)

Group orientation is a very common principle in Japanese schools, and in fact most school activities are carried out in groups. So whether or not schools intend to prepare children for the Japanese workplace, group orientation in schools automatically works as an initial training for future Japanese workers.

Many other studies about Japanese education (Lynn 1988, Stevenson and Stigler 1992, White 1987, Benedict 1946, Doi 1971) also indicate how groupism operates in Japanese society. In the DFE reports about the Japanese primary education we read

Strong emphasis is placed on developing a group ethos by regarding the class as a group for recreational activities in and outside school and by using han (small mixed-ability groups) who take responsibility for aspects of classroom life such as serving lunches, cleaning classrooms and corridors and dealing with discipline among their members.

(DFE, 1992, Main Findings, p. 6)

This Japanese groupism is different from its Western counterpart. Western groupism is based on compromise, suppression of individuality, patience and loyalty while Japanese groupism is based on harmony, cooperation, collaboration, shared values and security. People feel more comfortable and peaceful when they belong to a group rather than in isolation. The School Education Law in Japan shows one of the aims of Japanese school education related to this:

To cultivate a right understanding and the spirit of cooperation and independence in connection with relationship(s) between human beings on the basis of the children's experience in school life both in and outside the schools.

(Article 18-1)

Japanese education aims at the development of individual children through social activities with other people, both children and adults, in either small or big groups. The emphasis on groupism is not an end in itself; it is only a method for the achievement of individual development. From a foreigner's point of view, some dimensions of Japanese society especially in education seem to aim for the development of the group itself rather than individual people. The implicit intention of the grouping strategy is not always easily perceived by outsiders. This common strategy is often used not only in education but also in other areas of Japanese society, particularly in the business sector. Groupism in Japan is mainly recognised as an instrument, neither an aim itself nor simply an opposite idea to individualism.

Tobin et al. (1991) point out that even Japanese preschools contribute to the preparation of Japanese future workers. Although in many countries a large class size is generally seen in negative terms, it is positively accepted by Japanese teachers, and is used for group orientation in order to socialise children as 'being Japanese'. When

asked about the benefits of small classes, a Japanese teacher is reported as saying:

Well sure, better for the teacher, but it (a small class) wouldn't be better for the children, would it? Maybe, I'm wrong, but it seems to me that children need to have the experience of being in a large group in order to learn to relate to lots of children in lots of situations.

(Tobin et al., 1991, p. 110)

This group orientation closely links to 'harmony', one of the salient features of Japanese society (White 1987, Duke 1986). This point will be examined in Chapter 9.

Whether group orientation is an instrument for large class management or a preparation for 'being Japanese', it is undoubtedly part of Japanese school culture.

Persevere: Gambaru

Duke translates 'gambaru' (Japanese) as 'persevere'. A dictionary (Collins Cobuild) says that if you persevere with something, you keep trying to do it and you do not give up, even though it is very difficult. So his translation is perfect because its meaning is completely articulated. He understands gambaru as an important spirit not only in the Japanese society but also in Japanese schools:

One of the major motivating spirits that has buoyed this society through adversity in its tenacious pursuit of postwar national regeneration can best be illustrated by the exclamation, "Gambare!" "Persevere!" "Endure!" "Don't give up!" Throughout the lifetime of the Japanese they are surrounded, encouraged, and motivated by the spirit of gambare. It begins in the home. The school takes it up from the first day the child enters the classroom. It continues through graduation. The company then thrives on it. It engulfs every facet of society. It is employed in work, study, and even at play and leisure. Gambaru is integral to being Japanese.

(Duke, 1986, p. 122)

In my experience as a Japanese teacher, 'gambaru' is one of the most frequently used words in schools.

Singleton argues that gambaru is part of the spiritual culture in Japanese education in the context of seeing ability as a result and effort as a process:

The one difference that has specifically impressed me is the Japanese emphasis on gambaru (to persist) in explaining and organizing education. This contrasts with the American emphasis on ability (that is, intelligence and talent) and is an underlying assumption of the Japanese cultural theory of learning. ... They (the Japanese teachers) knew that the IQ scores were on file, but the scores themselves were not an item of teacher interest or concern. They would not assess children as underachievers or overachievers. Gambaru could be measured by test scores achieved. Comparison with IQ scores was irrelevant. Persistence is the secret; effort, not IQ, is the Japanese explanation for educational achievement.

(Singleton, 1991, pp. 199 - 121)

He translates gambaru as persistence, which is similar in meaning as well to 'persevere'. The meaning of gambaru is to try to do your best, and never giving up. As this word is a verb, it indicates action and process rather than situation and result.

The term gambaru is recognised as typical of the Japanese spirit by Japanese themselves. Japanese teachers and parents presumably use this expression daily in order to encourage children. The term suggests how expectations about children and

understanding of the learning process are addressed in Japanese school culture.

An Understanding of Children

In a Christian society, people are understood to be born with sin. In contrast to Christian society, in Japan people are understood to be born with innocence. This idea comes from the Chinese philosophy of Mencius. So all children are considered basically innocent in Japan.

This belief is naturally reflected in Japanese education. Stevenson points to this belief:

According to Chinese conceptions, childhood is divided into two periods, one sometimes described as the age of innocence - usually considered to encompass the child's first six years - followed by a stage known as the age of reason. The age of innocence is considered to be a time for indulgence by adults. ... The Japanese hold a similar conception of these two periods. "We think of young children as angels who are visiting this life," our Japanese colleague Hiroshi Azuma says. "We believe we must treat them with great love and affection if we are to convince them to stay with us, rather than returning to heaven."

(Stevenson, 1992, p. 74)

There is no clear definition of how long children remain innocent. However, people tend to believe that school age children are innocent. There is no doubt that this belief has operated in Japanese school education.

This understanding of children works both positively and negatively in school practices. Teachers firmly believe in the potentiality of pupils as a product and consequence of their innocence. So teachers try to encourage and develop children as much as they can. On the other hand, for example, if pupils do not achieve their tasks, teachers attribute it to something else rather than pupils themselves. Michimasa Sato points to this negative aspect:

Everything, even crimes by children and their illnesses, may be said to be the teachers' responsibility. ... The belief in the innocence of children dominates us for long. People escape to the utopian idea of children's innocence rather than face the difficulties of reality.

(Sato, 1993, p. 139)

It is not a question of whether children are innocent or not. However, whether the belief in the innocence of children works positively or not, it definitely underlies Japanese school culture.

3-4

Conclusion

Since the modern education system was introduced in Japan in 1872, teachers' position in society has changed as part of the process of political and social change. Not only has their social status declined, but also their role has been changed. These changes have been directly reflected in the nature of teacher professionalism at each historical stage. Especially, the introduction of modern democracy after World War 2

directly and indirectly had an important impact on teachers and school practices.

The two main concepts of democracy, equality and freedom, operate as absolute values in education. The problem is that certain aspects of equality and freedom are intensified and are understood in specific and often narrow ways.

However, democracy is clearly now a strong feature in Japanese school culture. But there are some other aspects of school culture which are the product of historical elements in Japanese culture. Three prominent features focused on in this chapter are: group culture, perseverance and a particular understanding of the nature of children.

These comments on the social and historical background and on school culture in Japan are clearly related to its school practices and reflect its teachers' professionalism. The conception of the teachers' role held both by teachers themselves, and by pupils, parents and the wider community is constructed within and constrained by this historical, social, political and cultural scenario. The chapters which follow will demonstrate these attitudes and will raise questions about the extent to which teacher professionalism is determined by structures and habits of thought which are not susceptible to rational decision making and collective preferences. However, before them, the next chapter will describe the organisation of schools, and the curriculum of the present Japanese education system. The next chapter will thus help the reader to understand the practical realities of teaching in Japanese primary schools and will supplement the conceptual analysis of professionalism offered in Chapter 2.

Chapter 4

Schooling in Japan

School practices and teachers' professionalism in Japan are clearly based on the social background and school culture described in the last chapter. This background and culture and the political and administrative structure of schooling are all linked together to shape the school system.

The present Japanese education system was established in 1947, based on the Fundamental Law of Education. It was systematically designed and has been revised. Just after World War 2, when everything was destroyed, Japan tried to create a new society, and education was recognised as one of national priorities for the purpose.

In this chapter, the present Japanese school system is illustrated with a special focus on practice as it affects teachers. The chapter will be divided into six sections; 1. Japanese education system and government education policies, 2. teacher education, 3. teaching conditions, 4. Japanese school curriculum, 5. teacher professionalism and 6. conclusion.

4-1 The Japanese Education System and Government Education Policies

The present Japanese education system and school system were developed in the 1940s and 50s. The original system has undergone minor changes, but its fundamental functions and structures remain the same. I will examine the basic structure of the Japanese education system and the Japanese government's education policies. This section will provide a general view of Japanese schooling as a background for examining the practice of teaching.

Educational Purpose

The Fundamental Law of Education dating from 1947 is regarded as the most significant and fundamental regulation of education; it clearly describes the purpose of Japanese education as follows:

Education shall aim at the full development of personality, striving for the rearing of people, sound in mind and body, who shall love truth and justice, esteem individual value, respect labour, have a deep sense of responsibility, and be imbued with an independent spirit, as builders of a peaceful state and society.

(The Fundamental Law of Education, 1947, Article 1)

This article shows the purpose of education in its widest sense, not simply the purpose of school education. However as people regard schooling as having the central position in education, schools are the main institutions for implementing this purpose.

The government elaborated the aims, methods and principles of all school levels in the schooling system in the School Education Law in 1947. Thus we have a hierarchy of prescription. The Japanese Constitution covers education in Article 26. The Fundamental Law of Education, quoted above, is based on the Japanese Constitution; it prescribes the parameters of the schooling system and the education system in general. The School Education Law is also based on the Fundamental Law of Education, and prescribes the details of all schooling systems at all levels.

Above all, in short, the purpose of education comes directly from the Japanese Constitution. The details of the education and the schooling systems are prescribed in the Fundamental Law of Education and the School Education Law.

The purpose of the primary school is clearly prescribed in the School Education Law as follows:

It aims to provide general primary education according to the development of children's minds and bodies.

(The School Education Law, 1947, Article 17, my translation)

This is very general and ambiguous. What does general primary education mean? Is it the development of children as individuals or as members of their year age group? Article 18 of the School Education Law prescribes further details of the goals of primary school education.

Primary schooling should implement all the following goals in order to achieve the purpose of general primary education.

- 1) To develop accurate understanding and collaboration, and a spirit of willingness and self-control in relation to children's experiences of social life both inside and outside school.
- 2) To develop an accurate understanding of the present national situation and of local and national traditions, and subsequently to develop a spirit of international co-operation.
- 3) To develop basic understanding and practical skills regarding, for example clothes, accommodation, industry and so on.
- 4) To develop competence in and an accurate understanding of the national language as required for daily life.
- 5) To develop an understanding of and be able to deal with, numbers and quantities as required for daily life.
- 6) To develop competence in scientific observation and to deal with social phenomena in daily life.
- 7) To develop necessary habits for health, safety and happy life in order to develop harmoniously in mind and body.
- 8) To develop a basic understanding of the skills of music, art and literature which enrich and enliven life.

(The School Education Law, 1947, Article 18, my translation)

These eight points are clearly more concrete than the broad purpose of primary school expressed in Article 17 of the School Education Law. Given that the curriculum is organised on the basis of traditional subject matter, each of these eight goals seems to be an aim either for each subject or for a combination of two subjects. For example, No. 1 seems to be an aim for social studies and No. 4 seems to be an aim for the subject of the national language. These eight goals directly relate to the Course of Study which will be dealt with in Section 4-4.

The Central Government and Local Governments

Japan is generally recognised as a centralised society. In fact, some aspects of Japanese society are highly centralised at national level, and some at regional level. The education system can be said to be partially centralised both at national and regional levels.

Both national government and local government have their own role to play in education. I quote the description of their roles in compulsory education in the report of the English DFE (1992) which accurately describes the differences between the roles of national and of local government in education.

The Monbusho (National government on education) formulates national education policy drawing on the advice of 13 standing advisory committees, the most influential being the Central Council for Education which is concerned with foundational educational issues. Besides its responsibilities in formulating and enacting national policy, the Monbusho had a range of other responsibilities including;

- 1) prescribing curricula, standards and requirements
- 2) approving textbooks
- 3) providing guidance and financial assistance to prefectures and municipalities.

Prefectures, which are the upper tier of local government, exercise their educational responsibilities through a Board of Education appointed by the governor.

Their main responsibilities are:

- 1) operating schools established by the prefecture, mainly upper secondary schools
- 2) licensing teachers and making appointments to elementary and secondary schools
- 3) providing advice and financial assistance to municipalities.

Municipalities, the lower tier of local government, have educational responsibilities which are also exercised through a Board of Education appointed by the mayor and which include:

- 1) operating elementary and lower secondary schools
- 2) adopting textbooks from the Monbusho-approved lists
- 3) making recommendations to the prefectural board on the appointment and dismissal of teachers

(DFE, 1992, p. 1)

As this description shows, the central government's main roles are to create a framework for the education system and to exercise quality control, whereas local government is responsible in practical terms for schooling. All state schools from preschool level to higher secondary level are controlled by their municipalities.

There is neither a formal system of school inspection by the central government, nor a system whereby schools report directly to the central government. There is no direct contact between schools and the central government. Everything relating to schools is in fact controlled by the two levels of local government, and all go through local government to the central government. In short, the Japanese education system is recognised as being mainly controlled at the regional level, but within parameters set by the Monbusho (the Ministry of Education).

The School System

The age range of compulsory schooling in Japan lasts 9 years from age 7 to 15. The compulsory schooling system consists of two parts: primary school for 6 years from Year 1 to Year 6, and lower secondary school for 3 years from Year 1 to Year 3.

There are state and private institutions at all levels from pre-compulsory education to higher education in Japan. In compulsory schooling, each state school has a catchment area, but private schools do not. The vast majority of the compulsory schools are state schools.

At the compulsory education level, 99.3 % of all elementary schools and 94.5 % of all lower secondary schools are public (national and local public) schools.

(Japanese Ministry of Education Science and Culture, 1994c, p. 22)

The Japanese academic year starts on 1st April and ends on 31st March. It has three terms. Between these there is a summer holiday from July to August, a winter holiday from December to January, and a spring holiday from March to April. These details vary depending on each local government. There is no such thing as a half term holiday.

Weekly schooling is from Monday to Saturday¹ (except every second and fourth Saturdays²). The compulsory minimum length of the year is required to be 35 weeks.³ Most prefectures, in fact, have a school year of more than 35 weeks. For instance, in Gifu prefecture it is 40 weeks.

Curriculum and Assessment

Since the first Course of Study⁴ was prescribed in 1947, it has been revised four times, about once every ten years. The first Course of Study which was used in schools until 1951 was officially called a 'plan' and public debate on it was invited. It was the government's intention to listen to public opinion in order to refine their original plans. In fact, a revised curriculum was issued in 1951.

However, this second course of study no longer included the word 'plan' in the

¹ All day from Monday to Friday, and morning on Saturday.

² This system was only introduced in 1992.

³ The Course of Study.

⁴ Japanese national curriculum.

title any more. Although very little public debate had been held on the question of this change before 1951, the Course of Study was given statutory force by the government.⁵ What is even more serious, the majority of teachers were scarcely aware of this change. They did not understand the implications of a national curriculum imposed by statute. Although I do not intend to develop the point in this thesis, the lack of concern with this issue on the part of teachers has implications for how they understand their own commitment to the curriculum, and to external intervention in the curriculum.

All the revised Courses of Study were implemented nationwide without either any special problems or any special resistance. The whole process of revision including implementation is now familiar to teachers who nowadays expect that the curriculum will be revised at intervals. Then once a new revised curriculum comes out, teachers smoothly accept it without any confusion.

The government prescribes all kinds of school curricula for all age levels from kindergarten to upper secondary school, both for main stream and for special needs schooling. Each specified curriculum covers both state and private schools, and from nursery schools to post-compulsory schools except for universities. The details of the Course of Study in primary school will be illustrated in Section 4-4. However, it is worth noting here that, in spite of being entitled a 'Course of Study', it is clearly a national curriculum because of its wide coverage over all areas of the schooling system.

Although Japan has a precise national curriculum, there is no formal assessment system in compulsory education at all. Generally, there are entrance examinations for both pre- and post-compulsory schools, and private schools at all age levels. Entrance examinations for local state upper secondary schools are run by each prefecture, and entrance examinations for private schools from kindergarten to university are run by each school.

There is a standard test for university entrance run by the central government and valid for all national and most local government universities, and some voluntarily cooperating private universities. However each student's results for this state regulated test are used as only a part of the data by which they are selected for university entrance. All universities have their own extra entrance examination systems.

In compulsory schooling, individual schools are responsible for the assessment of their own children. The staff meetings decide about how the school assessment is done; in other words, individual class teachers have autonomy in the assessment of their own classes. The practice regarding assessment in primary school will be described at a greater length in Section 4 of this chapter. The demands made upon teachers by the necessity to deal with the very broad Course of Study, especially when coupled with the responsibility for assessment and the many other duties which will be described below, raise issues concerning Goodson and Hargreaves's notion of complex professionalism, and certainly suggest that Japanese teachers are the victims of intensification.

⁵ Article 20, 38, 43 of the School Education Law, and Article 25, 54, 57 of the Organisation and Management of the School System.

Textbooks

Article 21 of the School Education Law prescribes two significant principles about textbooks. One is that all schools, from primary to upper secondary, are required by law to use textbooks. Another is that all textbooks must be approved by the central government.

The government uses the term ‘authorization’ instead of approval. The ‘authorization’ is explained by the government as follows:

The ‘authorization’ of textbooks means, that, after examining draft textbooks written and compiled by private authors, the Minister approves those which he deems suitable as textbooks to be used in schools.

(Japanese Ministry of Education Science and Culture, 1989, p. 26)

This ‘authorization’ is an issue in public debates about academic freedom in Japan.⁶ The public concern about textbooks is great and widespread not only in education but also in other fields. Although these textbooks are checked against the content of the Course of Study, which is prescribed in detail, the textbooks contain some flexible interpretations.

Central government controls the quality of textbooks by using this system of authorisation. Each municipal authority has the right to decide which textbooks are to be used by its schools. Each school participates in this decision-making process.

In the case of prefectural and municipal elementary and lower secondary schools and upper secondary schools, the respective boards of education have the right to decide which textbooks to adopt; while the right to adopt textbooks for national and private elementary and secondary schools rests with the principals.

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, p. 66)

In fact, individual prefectures choose various kinds of textbooks. There arise a range of textbooks on all subjects for all age levels, but they are all systematically linked to attainment targets and levels because they are based on the Course of Study and the government’s authorisation system.

In compulsory schooling, all children are provided with all textbooks every year free of charge even if they are abroad.⁷ The government explains the reason for the free supply of textbooks as follows,

This system has been implemented under the national budget since 1963, with a view toward fulfilling the expectations held by all Japanese citizens that they might realize to a greater extent the spirit of the provision in the Constitution that “compulsory education shall be free”,⁸ and thus benefit all the children who are Japan’s future.

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, p. 66)

⁶ In the case of Saburo Ienaga, a textbook author, he has argued more than 30 years that the government amendment and suppression of his textbook is contrary to the Japanese constitution.

⁷ The Law Concerning Free Provision of Textbooks in Compulsory Education Schools, 1963.

⁸ The Japanese Constitution, Article 26.

Despite this explanation, the policy of the free supply of textbooks is more of a political matter than an educational matter. It directly relates to schools' budget and to quality control of the school curriculum. I do not intend to examine this point here because of its irrelevance to my research topic. However, textbooks play a significant role for schools and teachers, and they have both advantages and disadvantages.

Class Size

Class size is always one of the main issues in education. It is sometimes debated in connection with the outcomes achieved by children. As raising standards is a major matter for public concern nowadays in many countries, the pupil-teacher ratio is important there as a national issue.

However, this issue is not in fact a matter for serious public concern in Japan. Classes used to be large, with around 50 children in a class, sometimes more than 50. But the number of children in a class has been gradually reduced as a result of government's policy, public demand and the reduction in the birth rate. But in spite of the persistence of large classes in many areas, it is not presently a serious issue in Japan because teachers and parents know the government ongoing scheme. In addition there is strong support for the notion that large classes can be positively beneficial to children, as discussed in the previous chapter.

The present maximum number of children per class is prescribed by statute in both national and municipal law.

The standard number of students per class in local public elementary and lower secondary schools is determined by prefectural boards of education. However the maximum number of students per class in public elementary and lower secondary school is prescribed by law. The present limit of 40 students per class was reduced in 1980 from the previous figure of 45 students per class with a view to ensuring more effective school instruction. The total number of teachers for each prefecture is also determined according to student numbers and is fixed by law.

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, p. 54)

The fact that a reduction in the pupil-teacher ratio is not a matter of public concern in Japan could indicate people's apathy or satisfaction. Like other school factors, differences in numbers of children per class between prefectures are small.

Figure 4-1 (next page) shows that 31 to 35 children per class is the most common size in primary school. The total number of primary school classes with over 31 children per class is 180,788. According to statistical modification of this number⁹, about 6,352,000 children are in classes of 31 or more, which is 71.0% of all children.

In contrast, in England, 1,076,173 children are in classes of 31 and over, which is 28.2 % of all children.¹⁰ The figures of 71.0 % and 28.2 % are very different. However in this thesis it will not be discussed in detail why class size is not a matter of public concern in Japan in spite of there being 71.0 % of children in large classes of 31

⁹ Mean of a range of number of pupils x number of classes = total number of pupils.

¹⁰ TES, 8 September 1995, 'Primary class sizes England January 1994, source: DFEE'.

or over, and why it is an important public issue in England in spite of only 28.2 % of children being in such large classes. Nevertheless, these two figures show clearly the difference between the class situations in Japan and in England. In Japan, large classes clearly increase the work load of teachers and therefore add to the pressure upon their time.

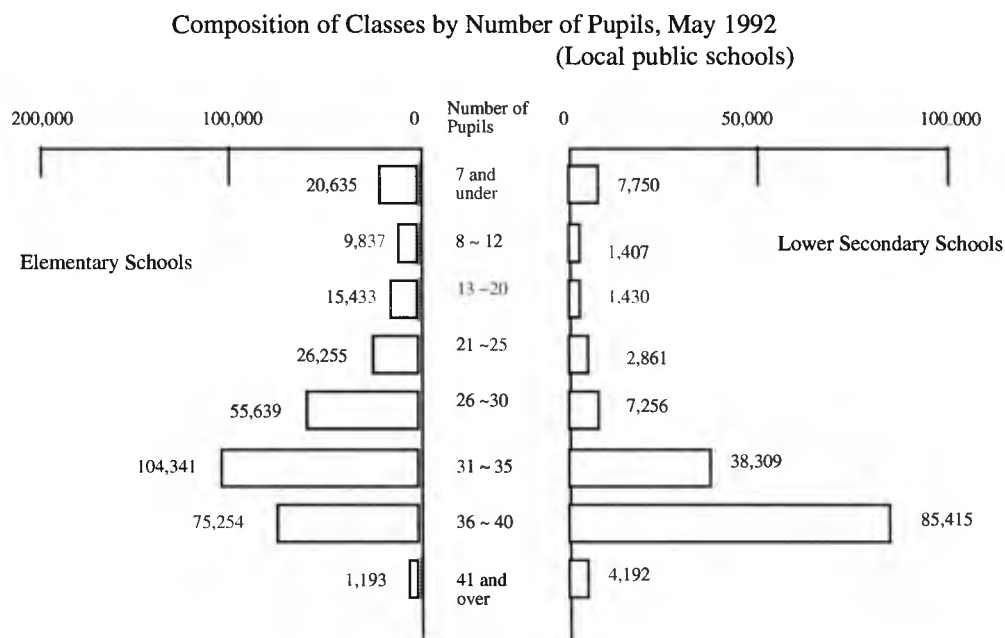


Figure 4-1

(Source: Education in Japan: Graphic Presentation, 1994,
p. 55, Ministry of Education, Science and Culture)

To sum up, the present Japanese education system is systematically managed. Management is decentralised to both prefectural and municipal levels. The central government controls the framework, and local government controls the practice. Thus schools are controlled by both central and local governments.

4-2 Teacher Education

The quality of teachers is one of the largest concerns in discussion of education both in Japan and Britain. It can be said that the quality of education directly relates to the quality of teachers. Cowen (1990) points this out:

This view was pressed hard by several politicians and a number of pressure groups, that we were failing in that competition (international comparison of educational contribution to social development), and that one of the contributory factors was the quality of teachers and the way they were trained.

(Cowen, 1990, p. 49, my brackets)

Whether Cowen's comment is agreed by everybody or not, the quality of teachers and the training system are undoubtedly one of the main issues in education.

The Japanese system of teacher education differs substantially from the system in England and Wales. In order to make clear the differences between them, this section will be divided into 4 subsections: the initial teacher training system, teaching qualifications, the appointment system, and in-service training.

Initial Teacher Training System

The framework of Japanese teacher training system is very different from teacher training in England and Wales. Teacher training is accessible to any student in higher education. It is open for all students in every kind of university. It is termed an 'open system'. Monbusho (Japanese Ministry of education, Science and Culture) states;

... teachers are trained not only at teacher training college, but also in other university courses, this being called an "open system".

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1981, p. 42)

This Japanese open system has both strengths and weaknesses.

Universities and junior colleges which organise teacher training courses must be recognised by the government. In 1980, about 84 % of universities and junior colleges had received 'course authorisation' by the government. As a large number of institutions have teacher training courses, it is sometimes difficult to keep to the standards which are required by the government.

The education faculty in a university includes teacher training units as compulsory subjects. Other faculties provide an extra unit of teacher training for students who wish to obtain a teaching qualification. Although an undergraduate course in a Japanese university is 4 years and a junior college course is 2 years, they both include teacher training units.

In contrast, the Postgraduate Certificate of Education (PGCE) in England and Wales is generally recognised in Japan as a 'closed system'. This is a separate extra course for 1 year after ordinary undergraduate courses, taken in order to obtain a teaching qualification, and students are specifically selected for it.

On the other hand, the content of the Japanese teacher training course is similar to the B Ed course in England and Wales. The Japanese teacher training course includes both academic and professional subjects. Teaching practice is also required for either 2 weeks or 4 weeks depending on the type of qualification. The framework for the training courses was prescribed by the Teaching Qualification Law (1949).

The content of teaching training in England and Wales is defined by the Teacher Training Agency (TTA). The TTA indirectly controls the quality of teacher training by specifying appropriate criteria for courses and allocating funds to those universities and colleges who meet their requirements. Although the contents of teacher training courses in both countries are similar, the numbers of students in both countries are very different. For example, in 1980, 174,500 Japanese students received teacher qualifications, which was around 9 times larger than the comparable total¹¹ in England and Wales.

Obviously such a large number of qualified teachers cannot all become school teachers in Japan. Only a limited proportion can be recruited to a teaching job. The rest of them are called 'paper teachers' because they do not actually teach. The appointment system will be examined below.

Qualification for Teaching

Teacher qualifications are awarded by the prefecture board of education under certain conditions which the central government requires. Any university student can obtain teacher qualifications if they complete the required credits for teacher training.

The Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (Monbusho) describes what these certificates are like and how to get them;

There are three classes of regular teacher certificates, advanced, first class and second class. Teachers holding an advanced class certificate have earned a master's degree (or its equivalent of 30 credits, obtained by a period of study lasting one year or more in an advanced university course). Those holding a first class certificate have earned a bachelor's degree and those holding a second class certificate have earned the title of associate, obtained by the completion of junior college. In addition to these basic qualifications, required numbers of credits for teaching specialized subjects are prescribed by law and other relevant regulations for each teaching certificate class. For example, students seeking a first class elementary teacher certificate must acquire 18 credits for teaching subjects and 41 credits for specialized subjects in courses given at universities or other institutions approved by the Minister.

(Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, p. 84)

It is not difficult to get a teacher qualification in Japan. As described in the last subsection, in fact many graduates can receive them; but the majority do not and cannot become teachers.

Appointment System

The Japanese appointment system is totally different from that in England and Wales. The Japanese system is more centralised and hence stricter.

Only one quarter of the qualified teachers (42,000, including posts in both state and private schools, and nurseries) get jobs (Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1981, p. 42). Local authorities control teacher supply through teacher appointment examinations, as follows;

¹¹ 18,444 source by Statistics of Education: Further Education 1981.

Usually, the prefectural board of education every year conducts a teacher-appointment examination, which comprises written tests in general education subjects, professional subjects and teaching subjects, interviews, and practical tests in physical education, fine arts, etc.

(UNESCO, 1985, p. 42)

Primary school candidates are tested in all kinds of subject knowledge and practical skills, such as playing the piano, swimming and drawing. Such examinations are very competitive. Each local authority estimates the number of teachers it needs next year, then it selects and appoints teachers.

As a teacher appointment examination is organised by each local authority, the quality of teachers is uneven in each region. The larger cities such as Tokyo, Osaka, Yokohama and Nagoya, need more teachers. Notwithstanding this, because of the conservatism of qualified teachers and the popularity of teaching jobs, the majority of them want to work in their local areas. As a result, larger cities recruit lower standard teachers (Ikeda, 1979).

On the other hand, the appointment system in England and Wales is individual in character. Teachers apply to a school in response to advertisements. The headteacher and the governors can make the decision to employ them. There is no written examination like the Japanese system. An interview, preceded by a C.V. plus references, is the normal requirement. Decision makers have confidence in candidates' teaching qualifications. In this system, managers such as headteachers and governors can assess candidates' personality during interviews, then they can decide whether to employ them as teachers or not. Furthermore, this system encourages mobility between teaching jobs and other jobs. Lawton (1990) points out:

A difficulty: in 1986-7, of the 14,500 female teachers recruited to primary schools, only about one-third were 'new entries' to the profession; approximately two-thirds were 're-entries'-women who had temporarily interrupted their career for child-rearing or other reasons.

(Lawton, 1990, p. 149)

In Japan, teachers are selected by appointment examinations from a large number of candidates; local authorities limit the number of teachers and confirm their quality. However, due to the strict, competitive examination, and to the Japanese tradition of lifetime employment, re-recruitment and mobility from other jobs are unlikely. In contrast, the appointment system in England and Wales is based on individual human interaction. There is no written examination because of the integrity of the initial teacher training and the teacher qualification. In England and Wales, qualified teachers can be recruited at any point in the academic year and from any location.

However, the Japanese appointment system does not overcome the varying quality of teachers. The appointment system seems to favour high academic quality among the 'teacher raw materials' rather than teaching skills. Consequently, teacher training after appointment is important for Japanese teacher education. The following

subsection will examine how the Japanese in-service educational training system works.

In-service Education and Training

In the Japanese education system, INSET plays an important role because the quality of the ITT varies in each university and junior college. As the Japanese Ministry of education, Science and Culture states;

With a view to upgrading the quality of teachers, the Monbusho and local boards of education provide a variety of in service training programmes for teachers.

(Japanese Ministry of education, Science and Culture, 1989, p. 28)

The programme for first year teachers is especially thorough;

In 1988, a system of induction training for beginning teachers was created. Under the system all beginning teachers employed at national and local public schools are required to have a period of induction training for one year after their appointment. During the period, a beginning teacher will be under the supervision of a master teacher, and part of his or her training will be given in a prefectural education centre.

(Japanese Ministry of education, Science and Culture, 1989, p. 28)

Sato also writes about this system;

The in-service training system for beginning teachers is composed of two parts: apprenticeship training in a school (about seventy days a year) and lecture courses in teacher training centres (about thirty-five days a year).

(Sato, Manabu, 1992, p. 159)

This is not a new programme but the system was only formally introduced nationwide in 1988. For example, when I became a teacher in 1977, a similar induction training system started in my prefecture, but there were no master teachers because of lack of money. The new induction training system is systematically structured and is more sophisticated. Furthermore, my prefecture has further systematic INSET for third year teachers and sixth year teachers. Only after the sixth year INSET, are new appointees given final recognition as ‘teachers’.

Sato defines the Japanese INSET as follows:

teacher education is now regarded as lifelong education. Teacher in-service education is offered at many institutions. There are both formal and informal agencies and programs for teacher in-service education.

(Sato, *ibid.*, p. 163)

INSET is seen as one of the daily activities of teachers. Sato also points out the contribution of informal in-service education;

Japanese teachers have endeavoured to cultivate their own professional culture in their schools and in their informal study groups for many years. If Japanese education deserves to be admired, its excellence should be recognized as the rich products of the

informal professional culture that innovative teachers have built since the early days of this century.

(Sato, *ibid.*, p. 166)

As INSET is a legal obligation for all Japanese teachers, there are many opportunities to participate in such training, which is organised by central and local governments and also by educational institutions and research groups. But as Sato's comments suggest, Japanese teachers are trained not only in formal INSET but also in informal, voluntary INSET. For example, there are a large number of these informal INSETs, in both large and small teachers' groups, both school and local based groups, and both subject based and problem based groups. Many teachers belong to one or two of these groups. They are normally held after school, at weekends or in holidays.

INSET is recognised as a significant and supportive programme equal to ITT in Japan. In modern times, society is changing quickly and becoming more complex. Teachers are required to adapt to these changes and to improve their professionalism. INSET has become a core component of teacher education in Japan. INSET is one of the main systems to shape Japanese teachers' professionalism, and it particularly emphasises extended professionalism.

4-3 Teaching Conditions

Job Description

Job descriptions are common in Western countries where the employment system appears to operate on the basis of contract. This of course varies according to the type of job, but a job description tends to be clear and detailed. Teachers in England normally have a job description.

This subsection will use the job description of a state primary school teacher in north London in 1993 as an example. All teachers including the headteacher and the deputy head have a job description. Each job description is composed of individual specifications such as name, post, salary scale, general duties and specific responsibilities. They are fairly detailed and specific. In one London primary school job descriptions for a main scale teacher are written under the following headings:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Planning and preparation | 2. Curriculum responsibility |
| 3. Setting and supervising work by pupils | 4. Marking, recording and assessment |
| 5. Discipline and relationships | 6. Communication with parents |
| 7. Environment | 8. Overall policy and review |
| 9. Reports | 10. Reviews |
| 11. Professional development | 12. Pastoral |
| 13. Corporate life | 14. Cover |

Although those 14 points are based on the Pay and Conditions Act of 1992¹² , detailed

¹² The job description of the state primary school in north London.

contents are modified by the school. The points covered reflect all the professional aspects of teaching.

On the other hand in Japan, teachers do not have detailed job descriptions. Article 28 of the School Education Law prescribes the main responsibilities of each school staff member. However the description is vague and general. It is not specified in detail. For example, the description of a teacher's duties is stated 'To be in charge of children's education.' This is the only formal description about the job of a teacher in the Japanese state school. Such a short and ambiguous description cannot be recognised as a job description. The DFE report also points to this:

As public servants, teachers have security of tenure but they do not have a detailed contract of employment.

(DFE, *ibid.*, p. 3)

In my interviews with a Japanese headteacher, he mentioned the following;

We don't have such job descriptions, but we describe the contents or aims of their jobs in a policy for school management, or in the official files for their posts. But the responsibility for planning how the job will be done is upon the teacher herself.

In such a situation, with no job description, how do teachers choose what kinds of jobs and responsibilities they should undertake in school? The answer is that it is headteachers who make decisions as to which special duties teachers are to have at the beginning of every academic year.

In the first staff meeting, a distribution of special duties is announced to all staff as a confirmed decision. There are no prior negotiations between the headteacher and individual teachers. There is no flexibility for teachers either to change or to refuse the allocated responsibilities: there is no democratic procedure in the process of decision-making about the distribution of special duties. Thus, on the one hand headteachers decide special duties distribution for teachers, and on the other, there is no formal job description to clarify or specify general duties.

It is not clear how teachers recognise their general duties because there are no formal documents, or no in service training about their duties either in school or by the local authority. However, Japanese teachers do in fact cover all the 14 points based on the Pay and Conditions Act of 1992 that shapes the job descriptions of British teachers. It can be said that Japanese teachers undertake general duties, professional duties in other words, without any formal prescription in detail. As the headteacher in my interview states 'the responsibility for planning how the job will be done is upon the teacher herself.'

In Japan, the extent of professional duties for teachers can be a matter of individual teachers' conscience based either on their teaching professionalism or on academic freedom. Thus the boundaries of a teaching job in Japan are ambiguous and the potential for extending the responsibilities of teachers is enhanced by the absence of any specific job description. The absence of a job description can result in ever more

complex professionalism.

Working Time

Primary school hours in Japan are normally from around 8:30 to 3:30 or 4:00 depending on the age of pupils and on local decisions. The English counterparts are from around 9:00 to 3:30 according to most schools which I visited. Japanese schooling hours are thus slightly longer than the English counterpart.

The most significant point is that school hours are for pupils not for teachers. Working time for teachers differs from the school hours for pupils both in Japan and Britain.

Under the Education (School Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Employment) Order 1987 in England and Wales, working time for teachers as 'directed time' lasts for 1265 hours and for a maximum 195 days per school year. The DFE clearly defines only directed time, and a definition of the rest of time is rather unclear and flexible. Busher and Saran (1992) define teacher's working time in three categories; directed time, additional time and voluntary time. Then they discuss about how much additional time and voluntary time teachers spend. Directed time is defined by order as follows;

A teacher shall be available to perform such duties at such times and such places as may be specified by the head teacher ... for 1265 hours in any year, those hours to be allocated reasonably throughout those days in the year on which he is requested to be available for work.

[Education (School Teachers' Pay and Conditions of Employment) Order 1987, Working time (1) - (b)]

Additional time is explained as follows:

A teacher shall, in addition to the requirements set out in subparagraphs (a) and (b) above, work such additional hours as may be needed to enable him to discharge effectively his professional duties, including, in particular the marking of pupils' work, the writing of reports on pupils and the preparation of lessons, teaching material and teaching programmes. The amount of time required for this purpose beyond the 1265 hours referred to in subparagraph (b) and the time outside the 1265 specified hours at which duties shall be performed shall not be defined by the employer but shall depend upon the work needed to discharge the teacher's duties.

[ibid., Working time (1) - (f)]

According to these two definitions of teacher working time by the DFE, the working time for 1265 hours per year seems to include only work time in school which is mainly spent on activities with pupils, parents and other staff. Then teachers spend additional time including private time on endless professional activities when they can work by themselves. The potential for the extension of teachers' working hours still remains in these definitions of directed time and additional time.

However, even so, the directed time for 1265 hours seems to Japanese teachers

favourable and feasible because for them there exists no maximum working time and no distinction between directed time and additional time such as the British teachers have. Even though Japanese teachers have an official working time based on the Labour Standard Law¹³ which is a maximum of 8 hours per day and 46 hours per week, their situation is more ambiguous than for their British counterparts.

According to my experience as a teacher in Japan, the formal working time in many schools is from around 8:30 to 5:15 i.e. 8 hours 45 minutes, including 45 minutes for break time.

The present number of Japanese school days per year¹⁴ is a statutory minimum of 193 days, which include 1468 hours¹⁵ excluding break time. The rule is absolutely different from the British counterpart on two points, which are the total of 203 hours more, and the definition of minimum number, not a maximum. In my experience in Japan the number of school days, in fact, was over 240.¹⁶ Teachers worked for 1760 hours, which was 19.9 % more than the legal figure. The main reason for this is that the legal figure is just a minimum number, and each local government decides how the school year should operate.

Nevertheless the Japanese official working time is either the legal figure of working time or the practical figure, not including private working time; it is therefore much longer than the British counterpart.

Holidays

Most people believe that teachers have holidays which are as long as children's school holidays. And this can sometimes be the reason why a teaching job is considered better than others. In fact this does apply to some schools and to some countries. However, the situation of teachers' holidays in Japan is not like that.

Japanese primary teachers, despite the various situations of school holidays between local authorities, are officially required to work in the school holiday for around 10 weeks in each year. Teachers' holidays are separately regulated by the laws such as the Law Concerning Remuneration in the same way as other public services. So teachers basically have the same holidays as other public services. The DFE report notes that

In most prefectures, teachers have an official entitlement to one week's holiday per year and use the weeks when they are at work, but when the pupils are on holiday, to plan courses, take school activities (such as camps) and given instruction to pupils who have fallen behind in their work.

(DFE, *ibid.*, p. 3)

¹³ Article 22.

¹⁴ 35 weeks per year from Monday to Saturday, according to the Course of Study. (Every second and fourth Saturdays are free)

¹⁵ 8 hours for week days and 4 hours for Saturday.

¹⁶ This was before 1992. After the fortnightly Saturday system was introduced in 1992, about 20 days should be subtracted from the 240 days.

In other words, teachers have to work during holidays even when children are not in school. In fact some schools make teachers do odd jobs such as painting, gardening, moving furniture and cleaning. In other words, if a school asks teachers to come to work during this holiday, they have to accept it.

However with the headteachers' consent, teachers can work at home and do not have to come to school. This is so called self-INSET at home (Law for Special Regulations Concerning Educational Public Service Personnel). As this kind of 'holiday' is officially recognised as INSET, teachers have to submit an outline plan for their self-INSET, and have to report its outcome.

Staff Room

One of the prominent differences between Japanese and English schools is shown by the staff rooms. When I saw the staff room of an English school for the first time, I did not recognise it as a staff room because it did not have desks, books and a schedule board which are necessary for a Japanese staff room. So it looked like a teachers' common room for a break because there were sofas and tea facilities instead of those necessities of the Japanese setting.

The main reason for this difference is due to the different function of a staff room in the two countries. The Japanese staff room is for work, and the English staff room is for relaxation. In fact, all English primary school teachers come to the staff room at break time, and drink tea and chat with other teachers. In contrast, although many Japanese teachers come to the staff room and even drink tea as well, they work at their own desks while there. All Japanese teachers have two desks, one in their class room and one in the staff room. There is no place in schools for Japanese teachers to have a complete break such as an English teachers' staff room.

Support staff

In my first visit to an English school, one of the most impressive features there was the system of support staff for both teaching and non-teaching activities, which Japanese schools do not have. This is very helpful for such purposes as day trips and extra English classes.

A typical Japanese primary school has a headteacher, a deputy head, a curriculum coordinator, a school nurse (teacher), a school secretary, a caretaker, several kitchen staff and one dinner lady. In Japan, all teaching staff are class teachers. There are no support teachers or classroom assistants in primary schools. So one class teacher takes entire responsibility for all the pupils in his class all day, even though the Japanese class size is comparatively large, as described in Section 4-1 in this chapter. Japanese schools not only lack teaching support staff, but also non-teaching support staff. There are neither cleaners nor a sufficient number of dinner ladies.

So, who does all the duties in Japan that these support staff normally do in England? Senior class children normally do these duties under their class teachers'

instructions and supervisions. Those duties which they cannot do properly are done by class teachers themselves. Thus Japanese class teachers are responsible for both teaching activities and others which support staff do in England.

4-4 Japanese School Curriculum

Course of Study

The Course of Study is the Japanese national curriculum set by Monbusho (Japanese Ministry of education, Science and Culture). It consists of three areas; the nine Subjects, Moral Education and Special Activities. It is an objectives-based curriculum, but the process by which these objectives are to be pursued is prescribed in additional guide books on each subject, issued by the Monbusho. The nine subjects are Japanese Language, Social Studies, Arithmetic, Science, Life Environment Studies, Music, Art and Handicraft, Homemaking and Physical Education.

The Subjects area is more clearly spelt out than the other curriculum areas. However, Moral Education and Special Activities uniquely characterise the Japanese national curriculum. Moral education is of course different from Religious Education. Religious Education is prohibited by the Fundamental Law of Education (Article 9). Thus the generalised values often associated in England with religious education are introduced as Moral Education. The philosophy of Moral Education is prescribed in the Course of Study as follows:

Moral Education, in other words, is aimed at realizing the spirit of respect for human dignity and inspiring awe towards life in the actual life of family, school and community, ... Moral Education (operates) through systematic and developmental instruction, by enriching their moral sentiments, by improvements in their moral attitudes and the willingness to practise (these principle).

(Course of Study, 1989, p. 105, my brackets)

The contents of Moral Education are grouped under four headings: 1. mainly concerning oneself, 2. mainly concerning interactions with others, 3. mainly concerning interactions with nature and the sublime and 4. mainly concerning interactions with groups and society. Concrete examples are provided for each consecutive year. For example, these items concerning 'oneself' are proposed for Year 1 and 2.

- (1) To pay attention to health and safety, to properly use goods and money, to keep one's surroundings neat and tidy, to behave unselfishly, and to lead a well-regulated life.
- (2) To completely finish study and work which needs to be done by oneself.
- (3) To do positively what one thinks good.
- (4) To live gently with a feeling of ease without telling a lie or being deceitful.

(Course of Study, 1989, Chapter 3, p. 106)

In practice, Moral Education occupies one hour weekly in the timetable. Each lesson deals with one item of the content. There is no approved textbook in Moral Education.

Another distinctive area is Special Activities. The philosophy of Special Activities is prescribed in the Course of Study as follows:

Through desirable group activities, to promote harmonious development of mind and body, to develop the individuality, to enhance the self-awareness of being a member of a group, and to cultivate self-reliance, independence and a practical attitude (so as) to enrich the school life in co-operation with others.

(Course of Study, 1989, p. 111, my brackets)

The contents of Special Activities consist of: 1. classroom activities, 2. pupil council activities, 3. club activities and 4. school events. For each group there is a description of the range of desirable activities and their nature. For example, the contents of classroom activities are described as follows;

Classroom activities should be conducted by the class as a unit in order to fulfil and improve classroom activities, and to develop sound attitudes towards life.

- (1) Concerning fulfilment and improvement of classroom and school life
Solution of problems relating to classroom and school life, division and performing of work in classroom, etc.
- (2) Concerning adaption to daily life and learning, and health and safety
Solution of anxiety (anxieties) and concerns, formation of basic life habits, development of desirable human relationships, development of positive attitude towards learning, utilisation of school library and proper use of information, development of attitude towards healthy and safe life, school lunch programme, etc.

(Course of Study, 1989, p. 111, my brackets)

In practice, Special Activities also takes one hour weekly in Year 1, 2 and 3, and 2 hours in Year 4, 5 and 6. One hour addresses classroom activities, pupils' council activities and school events in all year groups. And club activities occupy one hour weekly in Year 4, 5 and 6. Special activities do not have an approved textbook either. The curriculum in both these areas is planned by each school.

The most distinctive nature of these areas is that they cover broad aspects of children's activities both within and outside school, and that one of their aims is to develop children's practical attitudes. Therefore, the real assessment of these areas must cover such broad practices of children's life both within and outside school. How is this kind of area able to be assessed? How can class teachers cover pupils' life outside schools?

Responsibility for these two areas creates confusion among teachers and vague perceptions of their responsibilities.

4-5

Teacher Professionalism

We have seen in Chapter 2 that there have been many attempts to define

teachers' professionalism. Different people in different positions at different times understand teachers' professionalism in different ways. So people in different countries understand it in different ways because their education and culture as educational background are different from one another. Of course there are substantial areas in common. Thus teachers' professionalism in Japan has some things in common with its counterparts in other countries, and some differences from them. In this section Japanese professionalism will be explored by relating it to the Japanese cultural and social background in education.

Sadly, many educational researches by Japanese academics tend to use Western theories or to be based on Western models. Western researches and theories tend to be more valued than their Japanese counterparts by Japanese academics. Unfortunately, there is little educational research using Japanese data and theories, relevant to the topic of this thesis. Therefore it seems difficult to define what is teachers' professionalism in Japan, and how different it is from other countries.

However, there are some official definitions and Japanese researches. For example, the report of the Japanese commission for initial teacher training defines the teaching profession thus:

Teaching is a high profession requiring general intelligence, a speciality in a subject, educational belief and pedagogy, knowledge of human development, and accountability and enthusiasm as an educator.

(Policy of Innovation for Initial Teacher Training, 1972)

This definition is mainly concerned to name competences and attitudes rather than define professionalism in any detail.

In 1969, the Japanese National Association of Headteachers in Primary and Secondary Schools suggested that the teaching profession is:

1. an occupation requiring high knowledge and skills.
2. an occupation with legal qualifications.
3. an occupation requiring public commitment and autonomy and self-discipline.
4. an occupation with high social status.

(quoted in Maki, S. 1979)

These two definitions of teaching profession go beyond the indications provided by the Course of Study, but not very far.

Ohashi is one writer who has provided a commentary on teaching in Japan which has a critical and analytical favour. He claims that the real situation for Japanese teachers is that they have an occupation which

1. expects unlimited service because of the ambiguity of its definition as a profession.
2. is multi functioned because of unclear boundaries between schools and people outside schools such as parents and local community members.
3. is an administrative occupation because of the lack of support staff.
4. has diminishing autonomy.

(Ohashi, 1979, pp. 253 - 254)

Although he describes the situation of Japanese teachers two decades ago, it is still the same as the present situation. These points also accord with the recent teachers' situation in other countries described by Hargreaves, Fullan, Nias, Campbell and Pollard.

Ichikawa (1969), who is one of the few experts on Japanese teachers, argues that teachers in Japan have three distinctive roles: as educator; as educational civil servant; and as educational labour. In Japan, state school teachers are technically speaking civil servants. As I have described in this chapter, the teaching qualification is recognised as giving only eligibility for recruitment for a teaching post. It is not a guarantee of becoming a teacher. In this sense, a teaching qualification is very different from the qualifications of a doctor or a lawyer. Ichikawa also suggests that primary teachers are required to play a multiple role which includes an element of mothering. As a result of that, their work tends to be intuitive.

Although these features can be paralleled in other countries, they are more intensified in Japan. And the situation of these teachers is clearly reflected in the perception of teachers' professionalism in Japan.

4-6

Conclusion

This chapter and the one preceding have attempted to contextualise the empirical study which will now be reported. But from the details already provided here, it seems that we may well find tensions between the apparent expectation that teachers should display the characteristics of the extended professional and the heavy work load placed upon them which leaves them with little time to do more than cope.

Teachers in Japan are expected to work collaboratively, for example the meeting schedule implies this; but an issue arises as to how far they do this in isolation from broader social and educational thinking. It seems likely that in spite of the apparent social intention, the workload imposed on Japanese teachers enforces on them a form of teaching as a craft (and sometimes as mere labour) as described by Darling-Hammond. In addition, Goodson and Hargreaves's notion of the distended professional obliged to take an ever more responsibilities may be more relevant than Hoyle's concept of extended or ever over-extended professionalism.

The next chapter will explore teachers' own perceptions of professionalism. It will deal with how Japanese class teachers view class teachers' professionalism, and how they view their own professionalism when they reflect upon their English counterparts.

Chapter 5

Teachers' Perceptions of 'Professionalism' in Teaching

5-1

Introduction

Teachers' perceptions about the teaching profession are the most significant factors to study in order to understand professionalism in teaching. Their perceptions give us a picture of how they define professionalism in teaching.

I explored English teachers' perceptions of their responsibilities in my earlier study in 1993. Although the subjects were English teachers, the study was permeated by the Japanese point of view which was based on my teaching experience when the study was conducted. It identified many differences of view about teaching responsibilities between Japanese and English teachers. These differences seemed to come from the different perceptions of professionalism in teaching held by Japanese and English teachers. Their perceptions of professionalism in teaching also directly reflected their teaching practices in school and their attitudes as teachers.

My earlier study was structured by three sets of investigations: English teachers' perceptions of teachers responsibilities; an English headteacher's perceptions of teachers' responsibilities; and English teachers' views of the role of a Japanese class teacher. The first and second sets were conducted in an English state primary school in London using questionnaires and an interview. The third set was conducted by using a three page description of 'One Day in The Working Life of A Japanese Primary School Teacher'; about which English teachers wrote their impressions and thoughts.

As this present research is the development of the work from my earlier study, all three methods were used again in the set of investigations reported in this chapter. As already described in Chapter 1, one Japanese state primary school in Gifu city was chosen as an example of a typical primary school. The Japanese school was of a similar size to its English counterpart. All 16 teachers in the school were given the same questionnaires used in the investigation with the English teachers. There were 14 responses. (87.5 % response rate)

The text of 'One day in the working life of an English teacher in primary school' was written by an English primary teacher and translated into Japanese. It was given to 4 Japanese primary teachers (the same number as in the equivalent English investigation). The Japanese teachers wrote comments following instructions as their English counterparts had done in my earlier study.

This chapter will explore Japanese teachers' perceptions of professionalism in teaching by analysing the two sets of Japanese data and by referring to the results from

my earlier study. Thus the chapter is divided into 5 sections: 1. introduction, 2. summary of the earlier study, 3. Japanese class teachers' perceptions, 4. Japanese teachers' views of the role of English teaches and 5. conclusion.

5-2 Summary of the Earlier Study

As this thesis is a development of my earlier study, I shall briefly describe it, and with the aim of clarifying my research questions explain how I now intend to build on it. This section will be divided into three subsections: the abstract from the earlier study, the methodology, and a summary of the results and conclusion.

5-2-1 The Abstract

The abstract of my earlier study is as follows;

This report focused on English primary teachers' responsibilities from the Japanese point of view. This was a short ethnographic study of one school and drew on questionnaires, interviews, and observation to portray teachers' feelings and opinions about their responsibilities. The study suggested that teachers have clear boundaries about what is their responsibility and what is not. But teachers also have a grey area between those two categories. They may extend their boundaries according to the headteacher's expectation or according to their own idea about "professionalism". This professionalism relates to matters dealing with their own territory (their own classes and pupils). The study concludes that there is an essential need for a clear, commonly held, definition of professionalism by teachers, headteachers and others involved with the school.

(Tomita, 1993, *Boundaries and Territory: Primary Teachers' Responsibilities*, p. 3)

5-2-2 The Methodology

As the abstract shows, my earlier study was a small scale ethnographic and qualitative study which sought to focus on the responsibilities of English teachers and their perceptions of professional teaching.

The case study was conducted in one English primary school in a London suburb. The school was located in a quiet residential area, largely populated by people from ethnic minorities. Their family backgrounds were varied and included, for example, diplomats, business executives and refugees.

In this case study, four research methods were used: questionnaires to all teachers including part-time support teachers; observations in all classes and assemblies; a tape recorded interview with a headteacher; and document collection. The questionnaire was designed as a combination of three styles: tick boxes, questions requiring short answers and open questions. The same questionnaire was used in this study and can be found in the next section. As a result of the headteacher's collaboration in collecting the responses

to the questionnaires, all of them were ultimately returned. (100 % response rate)

The interview with the headteacher of the school was conducted using structured interview questions. They were given to him beforehand in order to facilitate his answers and to shorten the time needed. This series of questions too was used again and can be found in Section 5-4. The interview was relaxed and the headteacher talked freely; it provided rich data including all the required responses, probably because the questions were already known. The interview was transcribed and ran to 16 pages.

The style of classroom observation was ethnographic and non-participant. Recorded data were chronological and they included episodes and notes about my own reactions. School documents were collected in the school, for example school policy documents, curriculum plans, school letters and job descriptions.

A further research method used was 'trigger material'. The description of 'a Japanese teacher's working day' was written by me based on my teaching experience in Japanese primary schools. This description was given to four English primary class teachers. They were invited to comment freely in writing on the work of a Japanese teacher, without prompting. This method provided significant data for my research and proved interesting for me.

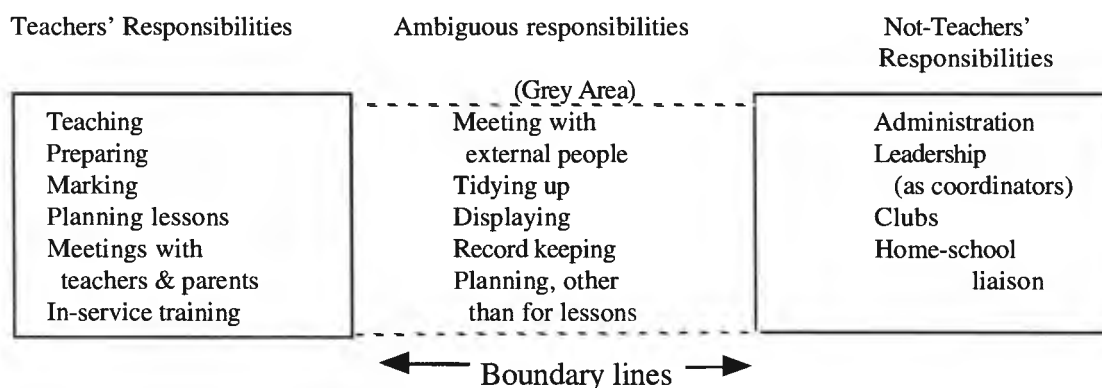
These five methods were used in my earlier study. The main data was provided by the questionnaire and the interview. The data collected by the other three methods was used to provide further support.

5-2-3 A Summary of the Results and Conclusion

The data produced by questionnaire and interview indicated a large difference in perceptions of the work of the teaching profession between a headteacher and his teachers.

Teachers were asked whether they saw themselves as responsible for a range of activities. On the basis of their responses, I proposed a clustering of attitudes as set out below. (Tomita, 1993)

Figure 5-1 (Responsibilities as seen by English Teachers)



Although teachers fulfilled all responsibilities required of them, they indicated their own boundaries. This may well be the 'bounded professionalism' described by Nias (1989) as follows:

They (teachers) took on some of the characteristics of 'extended professionals' - they perceived classroom events in relation to school policies and goals, placed value on professional collaboration, compared their methods with those of colleagues - not so much in pursuit of a managerial career but in order to become better 'restricted professionals'. This is not to argue that the two categories (restricted and extended professionalities) in Hoyle's seminal typology do not exist. Rather it is to suggest the need for a new one - 'bounded professionalism' - which falls between the other two.

(Nias, 1989, p. 167)

On the other hand, the interview with the headteacher showed that he perceived teacher's responsibilities more in terms of 'extended professionalism' in Hoyle's typology (see my comment on Chapter 2) rather than of the bounded professionalism described by Nias. The headteacher expected his teachers to commit themselves fully to undertake all required responsibilities properly as part of their professional role. His expectation largely influenced the work of his teachers. In spite of his statement 'Expectation isn't duty', his expectation encouraged teachers to extend their boundaries.

Well, officially what we have is directed time and non-directed time. Now good headteachers don't bother with that. You forget that because you expect teachers to work more time. You cannot make them. Once you start saying you will work from this time to this time at home, you start to have a different atmosphere in your school. You want to create, as a headteacher, a good work ethic for children. It is part of your professional image. ... When either we can do a lot of work or when we can do no work, so while school is going on, you will expect people to work very very hard after school, things like that. ... I would like the school year to be longer.

(Interview with an English headteacher, Tomita, 1993)

He did not seem to have either a grey area (see Figure 5-1) or boundaries of working time in his definition but simply embraced everything as 'part of their professionalism'. He did not appear to take account of teachers' views of professionalism.

Maybe the whole thing revolves around the fact that teachers' definitions of professionalism are not really heard and the definitions that count are the ones of those in power. My analysis of the data in this earlier study led me to conclude that different definitions of 'professionalism' are in play and the more powerful ones force teachers into activities they themselves would not include. Their own implicit definitions are not heard.

As a Japanese teacher myself, my impression is that Japanese teachers' boundaries are wider than those of English teachers. They may include the English 'grey area' and even what English teachers call 'not part of teaching'. But on reflection I think that, although the boundaries may be different, 'commitment' to children remains similar for English and Japanese teachers. What is needed is a recognition of this by those who define 'professionalism' and a closer working partnership between teachers, headteachers and others in defining teachers' responsibilities.

5-3 Japanese Class Teachers' Perceptions

In this section, I shall examine the data from questionnaires given to 16 Japanese teachers. This parallels the data collected from English teachers in my earlier study, the outcomes of which contributed to the perspectives I could bring to this research. The questionnaires were the same as those used with the English teachers, but were translated into Japanese by me. The questions numbered 1 to 8 were semi-structured in style, in order to find the facts about what teachers were doing as part of their daily responsibilities, and also to remind them about their responsibilities. Then the final open-ended question aimed to elicit their perceptions of their own responsibilities. All the sixteen teachers made good use of the open-ended opportunity to express their thoughts and feelings. The questionnaire given to teachers is set out on the next page.

The analytical categories in this research were also developed from the categories in my earlier study. The questionnaires given to both sets of teachers were grouped into three parts: work on school premises (teaching, other responsibilities, extra curricula activities), work related activities off school premises, and work related activities at other times. The first and second categories were defined by working place, and the third category was defined by working time. This third category overlapped with the first and second categories in many cases. However, the third category made it clear whether teacher's perceptions related to working time or working place.

The data from the questionnaires given to the English teachers in my earlier study was analysed under the headings of teachers' responsibilities and the meaning of teaching. The data from the interview with an English headteacher in my earlier study was analysed under headings of socio-political content and the headteacher's own philosophy and attitude.

As this thesis explores perceptions of professionalism rather than teachers' responsibilities, its analysis and discussion must relate directly to professionalism in teaching. Professionalism in teaching is a concept. But as this abstract concept is reflected in concrete practices, the analysis and discussion will focus on professional commitments in relation to: 1. teaching, 2. pupils, 3. duties and administration, 4. colleagues, 5. parents and 6. continuing professional development.

5-3-1 Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Teaching

No one can deny that teaching is the main activity of teachers and that schools educate children by means of teaching activities. According to the data from Question 1, Japanese teachers work for an average of 10.1 hours per day on school premises. (between 9 and 11 hours) They actually work 2 hours longer than the legal requirement (8 hours) described in Section 4-4. Yet in spite of their long working hours, they do not spend a high proportion of their working hours on teaching activities. The balance between teaching and non-teaching time is set out in Figure 5-2.

Teachers' Responsibilities

Questionnaire to primary teachers Please tick the following Background detail:

Age: 20-30 30-40 40-50 50-60 60, Sex: Male Female
 Status: Main Professional Grade Post of responsibility Deputy

On school premises: teaching

- 1 How long do you spend at work on school premises per day?
- 2 What are your main teaching responsibilities?
- 3 How long would you say you spend on teaching per day?

On school premises: other responsibilities

- 4 What are your other responsibilities?
- 5 How long would you say you spend on these activities per day?

On school premises: extra curricula activities

- 6 As a teacher, do you take part in any of the following?
 - a) meetings
 - with teachers, how often?
 - with parents, how often?
 - others?
 - b) clubs for children, how often?
 - c) duties, how often?
 - d) social activities, how often?
 - e) local events, how often?
 - f) others

Off-school premises: work related activities

- 7 As a teacher, which of the following do you do?
 - a) planning lessons
 - b) marking work
 - c) in-service training
 - d) home-school liaison
 - e) school journeys
 - f) day trips
 - g) other

Work-related activities at other times

- 8 As a teacher, what kinds of responsibilities do you have (and what activities might you do) at the following times?
 - a) before school starts
 - b) lunchtimes
 - c) playtime
 - d) after the children have gone home
 - e) Saturdays
 - f) Sundays
 - g) school holidays

- 9 Please add any further comments about the responsibilities of teachers in the 1990s. Thank you so much for taking part.

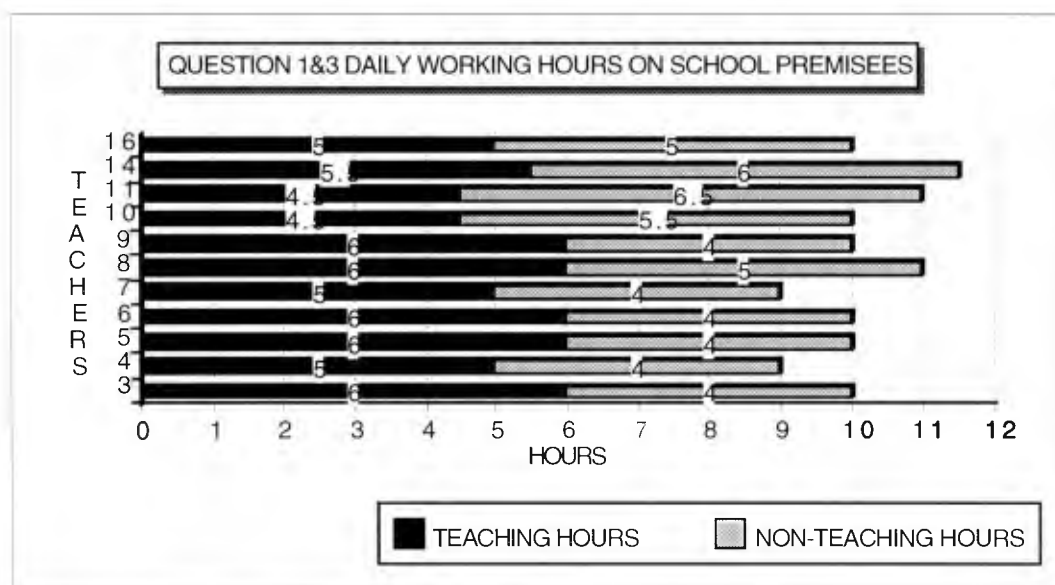


Figure 5-2

Note: Teachers no. 1, 2 and 13 are not class teachers (a deputy head, a curriculum coordinator and a school nurse), so their data is not relevant to the present discussion. Teachers no. 12 and 15 did not respond to the question.

Overall the teachers' data clearly shows that most of them spend only half or less of their working hours on teaching activities. The view of the teachers is that their main responsibility is to teach all subjects to their classes. These subjects are clearly defined in the Course of Study (the Japanese equivalent to the British national curriculum) as follows: Japanese Language, Social studies, Arithmetic, Science, Life Environment Studies, Music, Drawing and Handicrafts, Home-making and Physical education. (see Chapter 4) Teachers understand that teaching means to teach these subjects to their own classes.

So they spend half or less of their working hours on teaching these subjects to their own classes, and another half on what they see as non-teaching activities. Teacher no. 1 commented on the balance between responsibilities for both teaching and non-teaching activities:

A rapidly changing society gives teachers more responsibilities. I think that as the capacity of the bowl cannot be enlarged, the contents are nearly full, and may overflow.

The data indicated that a similar concern about their excessive workload is shared by all teachers. They accept all responsibilities and they carry them out to the best of their ability. As a result of this, most teachers work on average 2 hours longer each day than the legal requirement.

5-3-2 **Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Pupils**

Teaching activities always involve interactions between teachers and children. Non-teaching activities also often involve such interactions in many ways. As I argued in the last subsection, teachers understand teaching activities as teaching the subject areas as set out in the Course of Study. So they include teaching outside these subjects within non-teaching activities. For example, five class teachers see school meal education as one of their non-teaching activities, and six class teachers think cleaning education is also a similar activity. Thus in spite of the fact that both school meal and cleaning education are designated as part of teaching activities within the so called 'Special activity' area of the Course of Study, five and six class teachers out of eleven class teachers do not recognise these as main stream teaching activities. Yet, these activities are clearly part of their commitments in relation to their pupils.

Another example of teaching 'non-subjects' is clubs. Clubs in Japanese schools are normally grouped by children's choice. Each club has various children from Year 5 and Year 6, and different classes. All class teachers must take clubs as part of their responsibilities. Teachers teach pupils from other classes in clubs. From my sample, ten teachers plus the curriculum coordinator recognise clubs as their responsibility. In fact, all class teachers carry out these three teaching activities: Subject teaching, Special Activities (i.e. school meal, cleaning and clubs) area and Moral Education. Thus teachers see Special Activities and Moral Education as part of their professional responsibilities, but not as teaching activities.

Teachers also recognise individual personal interactions with pupils as important and necessary. Four teachers understand 'playing with children' in play time as a teachers' responsibility, and two teachers understand 'talking to children' in play time as the same. Teacher no. 6 shows his feeling about the value of personal talks with pupils as follows:

... I regret that I could not have time to talk to children after the lessons finish because we have 6 hourly lessons every day.

Teachers understand that their responsibilities in relation to pupils are important, whether teaching or carrying out non-teaching activities, and that they need to spend more time on these responsibilities than they actually do.

5-3-3 **Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Colleagues**

According to the general understanding of Japanese society, a group working style is widely operated. Such a style is in fact common in Japanese schools. Teachers work in groups such as year groups, subject groups, project groups and management

groups. These groups require regular meetings. Meetings are formally held by schools and local governments and attendance is accepted as part of the teacher's obligation. All the teachers in my sample understood such formal meetings with other teachers as part of their professional responsibilities.

However, Teacher no. 14 implies that there is a problem with meetings when she writes,

There is not any physical and spiritual space for teachers because of too many meetings.

Even though teachers think that meetings are important for communication with other teachers, they indicate that one of the main reasons for their sense of overwork is that there are too many meetings. Teacher no. 16 also comments on this point.

Although there are many teachers who can run both professional and private lives, I think that we need to review and prioritise meetings and responsibilities. We have often heard the fact that many teachers got ill due to their overwork.

All teachers understand not only how important formal meetings are for their profession, but also how difficult the frequency of meetings makes it for them to carry out their other professional activities.

There are also informal meetings with other teachers such as short talks in the staff room, and advice from veteran teachers to less experienced teachers. Such informal discussions are part of Japanese school culture.

This teachers' culture in Japanese schools is professional and well developed as I argued in Chapter 3-4. Although this culture is important and useful for teachers to improve their professional life, my data does not include it. The main reason is assumed to be that these meetings are held occasionally and based on their voluntary, not formal obligation. If a teacher has restricted professionalism, he/she does not understand about how important this school culture is for teachers.

Only one teacher (Teacher no. 9) made a comment about the relationships between teachers as follows:

We do not have any spare time because of the increase of responsibilities. It is difficult to make good relationships among teachers even in a small school.

This teacher recognised how important the relationship among teachers is to them. Both formal and informal meetings are important and necessary for teachers to build a professional culture and develop their professionalism.

5-3-4 Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Duties and Administration

School duties and administration carried out by teachers, such as writing documents and taking care of buildings, are further non-teaching activities. There are

caretakers and school secretaries both in Japan and Britain. However Japanese teachers have broader duties in relation to the running of the school, just as they teach cleaning and school meal education as parts of the Japanese national curriculum.

Although the teachers do not list such as duties and administration in their main responsibilities, all of them understand that these tasks are part of their responsibilities. In fact, they carry out school duties, such as tidying the class room, setting up displays, administration and taking care of buildings both in working hours and outside working hours. Teacher no. 7 warns that problems can occur as a result of too many duties and administration:

I could not write all in such a small space because I have a lot to say. There are a lot of responsibilities during the spaces between lessons. ... We should think about our priorities, otherwise children might be eliminated from the central focus.

The teacher clearly recognises that such responsibilities are not relevant to their pupils and should not be her main activity.

5-3-5 Teachers' Professional Commitment in Relation to Parents

Parents are neither objects of teaching nor internal people in schools. However the importance of their role for school improvement has recently been recognised and emphasised both in Britain and Japan. Parents are necessary as partners of teachers if the children are to make good progress. Teachers understand how important a good partnership between themselves and parents is.

All the teachers except the school nurse, see meetings with parents as a part of their responsibility. The types of meetings with parents are various, for example both formal and informal, both individual and group, and both regular and extra. Their purposes are also various. The most distinctive meeting with parents in Japan, which is unusual in Britain, is a home-visit by class teachers. There are both formal and informal home-visits. All primary, lower and upper secondary schools have an annual formal home-visit system. As the system is socially recognised, all areas of the schooling system, such as private, state, compulsory and preschool education, make home visits part of their routine practice. All class teachers visit the homes of all their own pupils. The home-visit is held for 3 or 4 afternoons within working hours because it is a formal school activity. Although all the class teachers in my sample carry out formal home-visits, they did not list them in their responsibilities.

Another type is the informal home-visit. The recognition of the informal home-visit by the teachers is the same as that of the formal home-visit. Teachers individually visit their pupils' homes on occasions when it is necessary. In my experience, many teachers visit homes outside working hours. In spite of this fact, only one teacher (Teacher no. 14) writes it in as a teacher's responsibility.

There are two main reasons why teachers may not have referred to home-visits.

The first is that home-visiting is not a regular activity. When the teachers filled in the questionnaires, they might have been thinking only of their regular weekly activities. The second reason is that the informal home-visit is based on the voluntary activity of individual teachers. It is not an obligation.

These meetings are thus professional activities which are both formal and informal, and both compulsory and voluntary for teachers. However, what is the relationship between teachers and parents as a result of these meetings? Only one teacher (Teacher no. 11) makes a comment:

The other thing is that schools accept a role of parental care because children change year by year. Teachers, who should be professional in teaching lessons, have to take a part of the parents' role. The number of parents' requirements of teachers is increasing. For example; asking to give a child medicine at a certain time, asking to pay special attention to a child because of his sickness. It is difficult for a teacher to give parental care to each of 40 pupils in a class.

This relationship between teachers and parents is more personal and informal than it was when these parents were themselves pupils. In my experience, parents wanted a personal relationship with their child's teacher rather than simply a formal one.

However, all the class teachers understand home-school liaison as a teacher's responsibility.

5-3-6 Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Professional Development

Professional development is emphasised both in Japan and Britain. In-service training is recognised as important for this. There are both formal and informal in-service training arrangements.

Formal in-service training is run by both schools, and central and local governments which have a legal obligation to provide and manage it. This in-service training is held in working hours at schools or at the training centres. Such in-service training aims not only to support the implementation of government policies, but also to improve classroom practice. So it is largely focussed on practical training loosely based on theory rather than on purely theoretical discussions.

In my experience, all teachers conduct action research. A school issue is discussed by teachers in a staff meeting. Teachers have individual enquiries based on the school issue. Their enquiries are modified from the school issue in order to seek specific information for their own class situations. These enquiries are practical, and normally relate to either class management or to the teaching process. Teachers then have in-service training meetings with other teachers. They discuss their enquiries and present their studies individually or in a group.

Such formal in-service training is useful and important for them as professionals. In fact, all the teachers, except one, see in-service training as part of a teacher's responsibility.

However, no comments relating to in-service training were made in response to the open-ended question, probably because most of the comments are complaints about daily teaching practices. Only one teacher (Teacher no. 11) implies her views about the necessity of professional development as follows:

I have written a lot of complaints, but as a teacher I also hope to spend time on thinking about lessons, don't I?

In contrast to the formal INSET programme, informal in-service training is personally organised by teachers. Some is organised by particular organisations or groups such as teachers' unions, voluntary groups of subject teachers, and local network groups. They are mainly voluntary activities in private time. They contribute to the professional culture of teachers as I argued in Chapter 3.

However, the data provided no evidence about the informal in-service training in private time, which is recognised as a private activity rather than a professional responsibility.

5-3-7

Commentary

All six aspects of the data indicate Japanese class teachers' perceptions of their profession. There emerge seven points from the analysis; 1. teaching hours, 2. perception of teaching, 3. relationship with pupils, 4. meetings, 5. responsibilities of duties and administration, 6. demands by parents and 7. in-service training.

These Japanese teachers spend just half of their working hours on teaching the subjects specified in the Course of Study. So what are they doing for the rest of the time? Responsibilities for duties and administration must be included in this time. Teachers understand that these responsibilities are necessary for schools and broadly accept this obligation even though they do not see these as their main responsibilities. But they feel that these activities make it difficult for them to concentrate on teaching activities. This is Hoyle's 'restricted professionalism', because they are expressing a wish to stay more firmly in their own classrooms, and it is mainly a primary teachers' tendency rather than secondary teachers' because it is class-centred.

There is an important question about what teachers understand as 'teaching'. It is very significant that they do not have a common definition about what non-teaching activities are. However, it is clear that teaching subjects is a teaching activity.

This distinction between teaching and non-teaching activities is forgotten when it come to interactions with individual pupils and in-service training. Teachers indicate how important they see these interactions to be, not only in teaching activities but also in non-teaching activities. It is also clear that teachers understand how important in-service training is for them

There are two worries which teachers have. Although they understand how important and necessary meetings are, they feel that excessive meetings create unnecessary pressure. Teachers also understand good partnerships with parents as

important and necessary for them. However parents sometimes do not understand the roles which they need to play. They unreasonably rely on teachers. Conscientious teachers accept parents' demands, as many as they can. As a result of that, teachers become even busier.

5-4 Japanese Teachers' Views of the Role of English Teachers

This section will deal with how Japanese primary class teachers view English teaching as professionals.

This investigation used the same method in reverse as the English project in my earlier study. An English primary teacher described 'One Day in the Working Life of an English Teacher' based on her experience. This can be found as Appendix 1.

Four Japanese primary class teachers in different schools were given this description without any further prompting. This study does not aim to make comparisons between both Japanese and English data. This description was used to discover what Japanese teachers think of their own situation. They freely wrote their impressions of and comments on the description offered in one or two unstructured pages. As these comments were written in Japanese, they were translated into English. (see data in Appendices 2 - 5)

I will use five headings for the analysis here, again looking at comments upon professional commitments in relation to 1. teaching, 2. pupils, 3. colleagues, 4. parents and 5. duties and administration. Professional development will however be omitted because there was no comment on it either directly or indirectly.

5-4-1 Japanese Teachers' Views of English Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Teaching

The four Japanese teachers seemed more aware of the differences between their roles and those of their English counterparts than of the similarities. They found more to say about the teaching aspects of the professional role than about the other four aspects. All of them commented on curriculum, teaching hours, class size and grouping style as the major differences between them.

The first point is the curriculum. They noticed that the prevailing curriculum concept in England is integration. Teacher no. 3 comments as follows:

English education has less concept of a time table than is the practice in Japan, and they seem to have no boundaries round each subject. For example, in Japan, a school has 4 hours in the morning; the first lesson is Japanese, the second lesson is Mathematics, and the fourth lesson is P.E.. We make the aim of each subject clear and we normally do not integrate them.

This teacher does not evaluate whether integration is good or not. She simply notes this

difference between English and Japanese primary education.

The second point is teaching hours. Teacher no. 4 comments:

We have 29 or 30 teaching hours a week except for senior year teachers who have alternative teachers for 2 or 3 hours a week. This is more than the English teaching hours.

The English teacher's account shows that she teaches 22 hours a week. Japanese teachers teach 7 or 8 hours longer than the English teachers. All of the Japanese teachers noted this difference. However, they did not clearly show their feelings about this discrepancy.

Teacher no. 2 points it out from a different dimension.

Twenty two hours a week in the English case is eleven hours fewer than mine. ... Her working hours seem to me the same as mine, but morning activities in reality start at 8:15, they are equivalent to lessons. In the lunch time, we teach 'school meal education' and 'behaviour' too.

She understands that the simple comparison of teaching hours is sometimes meaningless. The content of teaching hours may be different from one country to another. She also understands that although extra-curricular duties are not formally included within teaching activities, they are substantially the same. Thus, she implies that effective teaching hours can be longer than the official hours. For her, teaching activities include both lessons and other extra-curricular activities. However she clearly distinguishes those times spent on teaching subjects from extra-curricular activities.

The third point is class size. As Chapter 4 explained, the class size in Japan is different from its English counterpart. Even though the legal maximum number of pupils per class has been decreasing step by step in Japan, it is still larger than its English counterpart. Teacher no. 4 points this out:

Although the number of children in a class in Japan is moving towards 35 and is therefore close to the English equivalent, even getting similar to the English one, a Japanese class is still larger than its counterpart in English.

Teacher no. 1 evaluates it, 'The class size of around 30 pupils seems to me reasonable.' It is understandable that the English class size seems reasonable to Japanese teachers. As Japanese teachers tend to use a competitive mechanism such as a competition in Math between individuals and groups in order to manage and control their classes, a small class (for example 20 pupils) is not large enough for the competition among pupils.

The last point is grouping method. In the description of the English teacher, the teacher uses a homogeneous grouping method, which is unusual in Japan. Teacher no. 3 shows her interest.

The homogeneous ability grouping in Mathematics in England is different from the grouping in Japan. There are no primary and secondary schools which have introduced the homogeneous ability class system in Gifu city. I want to know how effective the grouping by pupil ability is, and what the children think about this grouping system. Moreover, I notice we have a different concept about grouping according to ability from the English one. I have an impression that teachers teach different concepts to different groups in England. ... When we group according to ability in Japan, we have the aim 'to

develop a particular common ability in all groups'. All groups aim for the same goal.

Homogeneous grouping is a delicate question in Japan. Although some teachers tried to introduce this grouping method, it did not work well. There are two main reasons to explain this. One is a pedagogical reason. Teacher no. 3 shows her feeling of the different concept about grouping. The homogeneous grouping in Japan is formulated within a whole class teaching style, but that in England is formulated on the basis of an individual group teaching style. Thus all homogeneous groups in Japan pursue a common aim. Teacher no. 1 also raises a pedagogical question about the homogeneous grouping.

I wonder about how the content of the arithmetic lesson with a homogeneous group and one based on individual ability differ from each other. I am interested in how to fill the gap between an achieving group and an underachieving group.

Her question comes from the principle embodied in Japanese education that all children have the same ability and can achieve the same standard, which was explained in Chapter 3. Their different achievements are the result of their lack of effort, not individual differences. They must catch up and match their performance to their fellows. Thus the practice of grouping children by ability does not suit these pedagogical situations.

Another reason is that the grouping system is not acceptable in Japanese society. Teacher no. 2 pointed this out:

Does Japanese society accept 'a grouping system by homogeneous ability'? There are systems of grouping by ability and by choice in the upper secondary schools. For example, in Year 1, if you point out that a child's answer is wrong, or scold him for breaking the school regulations, some parents come to accuse his teacher because they understand the event as losing face. I always think that teaching is hard because of dealing with such various people. Therefore, when we teach a group method lesson, all we can do at the most is to use the group to answer each question: the lesson is a research study, in which the group chooses a question and works out a method and an answer.

Japanese people are acutely aware of losing face. The consciousness of losing face is a fundamental notion within Japanese spiritual culture. The homogeneous grouping style makes individual pupils' standards clear in public. It seems to pupils in lower groups and their parents that both of them lose face. Thus this grouping style is socially unacceptable in Japan.

The other point which two teachers commented on is teaching style. In Japanese schools, the main activities are led by teachers because the majority of teaching hours are spent on whole class teaching activities. Even activities in groups are directed by teachers. Teacher no. 4 points this out:

In order to follow the Japanese equivalent of the national curriculum, teachers must have the initiative to run whole class lessons.

This idea does not come from authoritarian teaching; it comes from the prevailing principle within teaching in Japan which is the importance of 'interaction between teachers and pupils'. Teacher no. 3 mentions it.

The teaching lesson must be carried out by interaction and discussion between teachers and children or among children, and by experiment.

Teaching in Japan is not simply 'transmission', it is more interaction between teachers and pupils rather than either one-way transmission by teachers or leaving pupils to work by themselves. Japanese teachers are expected to take the initiative in that interaction. Therefore this Japanese teacher finds less interactions between a teacher and pupils, and less activities led by a teacher in the description by the English teacher.

5-4-2 Japanese Teachers' Views of English Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Pupils

None of the Japanese teachers comments directly on professional commitments in relation to pupils. The main reason for this is that the description by the English teacher includes few activities concerned explicitly with this. Most relationships to pupils are through activities such as teaching and duties. Only Teacher no. 2 indirectly commented on this point.

I envy English teachers who have play-time supervisors. All teachers here not only have substantially no break time but also have responsibility for their children over the play-time. The teachers who play with children during the play-time are thought to be 'good teachers'.

Playing with pupils in the play-time seems to be an extra activity outside an English teacher's responsibilities. Japanese teachers have full responsibilities for the pupils in their classes including all their activities in school. As Japanese schools do not have play-time supervisors, teachers accept all kinds of play-time activities as within their commitments. However, this teacher defines how good teachers should be.

5-4-3 Japanese Teachers' Views of English Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to colleagues

Two points are raised in relation to colleagues: meetings and assistant teachers. The first point is meetings, on which two teachers commented. Teacher no. 3 points out how busy teachers are because of many meetings.

The English teachers have many meetings the same as we have in Japan. We also have a lot of meetings such as; 'all staff meetings', 'senior meetings', 'year meetings', 'INSET committee meetings', 'cross curricular committee meetings', 'curriculum development committee meetings', 'teaching material committee meetings'. We sometimes have 2 or 3 meetings on the same day. Are the staff meetings from 1:00 to 1:30 on Thursday in England (in the description of the English teacher) the short meetings? What do the children do during the meetings?

This teacher is also aware of the need to care for pupils during meetings. Japanese teachers normally have meetings after school because they have no support teachers such as play-ground supervisors and assistant teachers. Thus meetings start from 4:00 or 5:00, then sometimes finish at 8:00 or 9:00 if there are 2 or 3 on the same day.

Teacher no. 4 also comments on this and judges that Japanese teachers are busier than English teachers:

We have parallel committees for discipline education, health education and academic education for academic subjects (national language, social subject, mathematics, and science) and practical subjects (P.E., art, home science and technology and music), and also senior staff meetings for school research. Moreover, we have monthly meetings for discipline education and school research for all staff. In addition to those meetings, we have monthly senior staff meetings. Therefore, we are busier than English teachers.

Both these respondents imply that teachers both in Japan and England are busy because of too many meetings. However they do not suggest that these meetings are either unimportant or unnecessary. This can be understood as an indication of extended professionalism because of their acceptance of the value of professional collaboration. But it may also be an indication of pressure on time which is one of the weaknesses of the extended professionalism recognised by Hoyle, Goodson and Hargreaves.

Another point is assistant teachers. Japanese schools have no assistant teachers. Two teachers commented on this point, comparing two new Japanese systems recently introduced in primary schools. These two systems do not involve assistant teachers. They are support systems. The first system is team teaching.

We do not have any assistant teachers. Although I envy English teachers, I suppose that the communication between class teachers and assistant teachers is difficult. We have introduced a team teaching system this year. It is ambiguous which is the main teacher. There needs to be time to communicate between teachers. In my personal opinion, it seems better to work hard on our own.

(Teacher no. 2)

The team teaching system was introduced into a limited number of schools. (For example only two primary schools out of seventeen primary schools in Ogaki city.) Only one teacher is allocated for this system in each school. Thus this system is still at the trial stage and is unfamiliar to ordinary teachers. Many problems may emerge with the team teaching system. Significantly, Teacher no. 2 assumes that there will be communication problems between class teachers and assistant teachers in the team teaching system.

The second system is providing an advisory tutor.

I envy you (English teachers) because you have assistant teachers. We do not have them except only for newly graduated teachers in their first year. (They are advisory tutors for INSET, not assistants actually.)

(Teacher no. 4)

This system was introduced in 1990 in order to train new graduates. All of them have individual advisory tutors for one year. As Teacher no. 4 states, these are not assistant teachers. They help only newly graduated class teachers by acting as mentors. Not only do the advisory tutors play a different role from assistant teachers, but also ordinary class

teachers cannot get their help. The Japanese teacher is clearly envious of the assistant teacher system in England.

Class teachers understand that they need help with their workload. However, they clearly feel that they must retain the main responsibility for their classes.

5-4-4 Japanese Teachers' Views of English Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Parents

There is only one comment about professional commitments in relation to parents. The reason is the same as for commitment in relation to pupils. The description of the English teacher includes few activities directly relating to parents.

However Teacher no. 2 mentions the different procedures for picking up children at the beginning and end of the school day in Japan and England.

I envy the British because parents pick up their children from the school, and this is how things should be. We, for example in Year 1, take children to near their homes for 2 km as part of 'traffic safety education' for the first month. We are really exhausted. All problems even such as traffic accidents and behaviour questions on their way, in their homes and in the community, are teachers' responsibilities. (I do not know whether they are statutory.) The mass media always blame the schools for such problems. Over 19 years I have been trained to accept these as teachers' responsibilities.

The teacher shows that Japanese teachers have commitments to supervise all the activities of pupils even outside school after school. Japanese teachers take all pupils to near their homes every day because their parents do not pick them up. This is a socially acceptable expectation of teachers.

Although the teacher does not mention how pupils come to school, it is also different from the English system. Schools normally group all pupils into small heterogeneous age groups based on geographical convenience for commuting. So parents do not have to take their children to schools. The picking up system is one more example of teachers' extra commitments. But not only this commitment to pupils' commuting but also supervisions of pupils' other activities are all part of teachers' responsibilities to parents. But as this teacher indicates, it is a social expectation of teachers rather than an official requirement.

5-4-5 Japanese Teachers' Views of English Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Duties and Administration

There are limited comments about professional commitments in relation to duties and administration. The reason is, here again, that the description of the English teacher does not include activity directly relating to duties and administration. In the English

teacher's account of her day she wrote:

We all ... perform some administrative duties, share in the ordinary care of new stock and equipment, and take turns to keep the staff room clean and tidy.

Two teachers make comments touching upon these commitments. Teacher no. 4 remarks:

Children clean the staff room briefly, for example such as wiping the desk in cleaning time, but teachers in turn clean the kitchen area, the washbasin and refrigerator, and prepare tea for other teachers.

In Japan, cleaning the kitchen is one of the teachers' duties too. There are various kinds of Japanese teachers' duties, some closely relating to pupils and some not at all, and ranging from professional to casual. This Japanese teacher is describing one of the teachers' duties, but not making any kind of judgment.

Another comment on administration is made indirectly by Teacher no. 3.

Do all children eat school meals in England? Or is it a matter of choice? All have to eat a school meal in Japan. Children cannot choose to bring their own packed lunches. In addition to that, in Japan, teachers in order to avoid money trouble, normally do not deal with cash. We normally use a standing order system. In Japan, we regard the school meal as part of education activities.

In Japan, teachers are normally not aware of their own workload of administration. Most school administration is unconditionally accepted as part of the job. Thus any activities in Japanese schools tend to be considered as part of education. The term 'education' legitimates and justifies any administrative chore for teachers. Collecting money is one of exceptional examples.

The teachers' responsibility for collecting money for school meals was replaced by a standing order system twenty years ago. The reason for this is to avoid money trouble, not to reduce teachers' workload. In my experience in Japanese schools, the majority of teachers were reluctant to introduce this system. Their main argument was that it was part of their pupils' education to bring money to pay because they would then realise how much they owed to their parents. In these teachers' view, all school activities must be operated to serve the overall aims of education or social requirements, not for teachers' convenience.

5-4-6

Commentary

The description 'One Day in The Working Life of An English Teacher' made a big impression on the Japanese teachers because in practical aspects of schooling and teachers' work, Japanese and English practices are very different from one another. The English description stimulated Japanese teachers to reflect on their teaching professionalism. The Japanese teachers found many differences between their teaching professionalism and that of their English counterparts. However they found one thing in

common between Japan and England:

The English teacher looks busy. In Japan teachers are very busy. The tendency we share may be a common characteristic for the job which is a product of dealing with human beings, particularly energetic children.

(Teacher no. 3)

Teaching is a busy job in both countries. It may be the universal nature of primary teaching. But even though all the teachers recognised this, they considered that Japanese teachers were busier than their English counterparts. Teacher no. 1 attributed this reason to their broad responsibilities.

The contents of an English teacher's job seems to me very similar to the Japanese counterpart. But in Japan, class teachers have many responsibilities not only in direct relation to their own classes but also in no relation to them, for example, children's committees, clubs, extra sport clubs with competition, extra duties. Thus, I think that an English teacher has a lesser workload than the Japanese counterpart.

This simple practical comparison of workload between Japanese and English teachers, as reflected in the Japanese teachers' comments, may be useful in helping to understand the Japanese teaching profession.

However, we must also consider the differences in the wider working situation such as the support systems, and more fundamental factors such as national expectations about the social functions of teaching. Teacher no. 1 gave a comment which can serve as a summary:

In Japan, schools have both the task of teaching subjects, and of developing socialisation and personal development. The teachers are required to play both roles. I found a big difference in the role of schools between England and Japan

Her understanding was that English schools have a role in teaching subjects, but not in developing socialisation and personality. The differences in the social functions of the teaching profession in these two countries make a significant difference to teaching practices.

However, as I stated earlier in this section, the description by the English teacher dealt with her school activities during one day from morning to evening. It neither reflected the accidental business, which unpredictably happened all the time, nor the views and intentions of teachers. The English teacher focused on specific activities in her description, which were typical of those carried out by English teachers. Such a description would not necessarily cover routine interactions with children which express the teacher's concern for socialisation and personal development. But such responsibilities are more clearly articulated in the culture of Japanese education and schools.

Therefore, this silence by the English teacher might lead the Japanese teachers to misunderstand the role of English teachers, and heighten their perceptions of their own teaching profession as they saw it reflected in this account of the work of their English counterparts. Thus what emerges is essentially the Japanese teachers' perceptions of their own professional duties, their working conditions, their general social attitudes to work

and their social expectations of schooling.

The main point about their perceptions of Japanese teachers' professionalism is the issue of what they do, not the fact of how busy they are. The most important thing is whether they consider that their responsibilities are professional or not.

All Japanese teachers use the term 'envy' many times over to express their feelings. The term 'envy' seems to symbolise Japanese teachers' perceptions of their own present teaching profession and its responsibilities when these perceptions are reflected back to them as they consider the work of their English counterparts.

5-5

Conclusion

Teachers' perceptions of professionalism directly affect teaching practices; and conversely their perceptions are influenced by their daily practices.

This study shows how Japanese primary teachers view professionalism in teaching and in their own situation. Japanese teachers have their own class territory, and the responsibilities in relation to that, including non-teaching activities, are understood as their main tasks. Furthermore they are busy not only with teaching activities but also with extra work such as duties which they do not understand as their main responsibilities.

However Japanese teachers stress the prominent and salient points which distinguish their professional situation. They work about two hours longer than their legal requirement, and yet spend only half of their working time on teaching activities. As Japanese teachers have no support staff, they have to do all the additional non-teaching tasks by themselves.

As all activities are directly and indirectly linked to children, and Japanese teachers do not have clear boundaries to their professional duties, they have accepted most of the requirements laid on them by society and parents as their responsibilities. Their professional situation has therefore become unmanageable. And teachers show their dilemma and irritation by complaining that they cannot spend enough time on teaching activities.

In their reflections on the description of English teachers' work, Japanese teachers also show their understanding of the present deprofessionalised situation, which takes teachers away from teaching activities and their classes, and fills their time with undemanding and routine tasks of school caretaking and so forth.

This situations arise because the system requires them and the teachers themselves are attempting to be 'extended professionals'. But the outcome is that they are often overwhelmed by the weight of the expectations placed upon them. Such teachers resent the need to spend so much time away from their pupils. A few escape to become, in Goodson and Hargreaves's term, distended professionals.

Chapter 6

Headteachers' Perceptions of 'Professionalism' in Teaching

6-1

Introduction

Headteachers have an important role as school managers. In fact, their management philosophy directly influences teaching practices, and their educational philosophy indirectly influences teachers' perceptions of professionalism.

In order to contrast the views of classroom teachers with those of senior school managers, data was sought from a sample of Japanese headteachers. Two methods were used. First, an interview was conducted with a single headteacher; and second, a postal enquiry was conducted with six others.

A Japanese primary headteacher from another school in Gifu city was chosen for the interview. He is a man in his 50s and was chosen in the hope that his views would typify those of others in his position. The same questions used in the English headteacher's investigation were given to him beforehand to allow him to consider his answers. The interview was transcribed and translated into English. In addition to this, six Japanese primary headteachers were given questionnaires by post. The six headteachers were also from Gifu city. All six responded (100 % response rate) and their responses were translated into English. (Appendices 6 - 11)

The interview questions were the same as the questions given to the English headteacher interviewed in my earlier study, as follows:

Interview questions to a headteacher

1. What are the times of your school days?
2. When do the teachers arrive?
3. When do they leave?
4. What are the statutory pay and conditions of teachers?
5. Do the teachers do anything extra?
6. Do some teachers have more responsibility than others?
7. Do they have job descriptions?

In addition to this interview, six Japanese primary headteachers were given questionnaires, which were designed to elicit more reflective responses.

Questions to headteachers by mail

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?
2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?
4. What do you think of the collective professionalism in primary schools?
5. How do you understand professional development in primary schools?
6. How do you understand the responsibilities of teachers in primary schools?
7. Any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary schools

The interview and question data will be analysed together, using the same 6 categories used for the analysis of the Japanese teachers' data. Thus the headteachers' views on professional commitments will be reported in relation to: 1. teaching, 2. pupils, 3. colleagues, 4. parents, 5. duties and administration and 6. professional development.

6-2 Japanese Headteachers' Perceptions

6-2-1 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Teaching

The interviewed headteacher had a clear definition of teaching. In the interview, he explained his views as follows,

Their (teachers') main responsibilities are about subjects, moral education and special activities. There are moral education and special activities besides subjects. For example, there are pupils' committees in all primary schools, or class activities, and academic teaching relating to basic discipline for each subject area concerned with child development. Secondly, the teaching includes discipline education, vocational guidance (only in secondary school), school meal education, cleaning education, road safety training, clubs, and so on.

Here he listed three categories as teachers' main responsibilities. These three categories are exactly the same as the Japanese national curriculum (the Course of Study). His ideas clearly come directly from it.

Headteacher no. 6 was also in favour of the Course of Study, 'It is very good to keep up a high standard based on the Course of Study.' In fact, the teaching profession is formally defined by the Course of Study and the definition is accepted as a general standard requirement for teachers. However, there are polarised views about the broad role which this requires of teachers.

Headteacher no. 1 emphasised the general role of teachers, rather than specific aspects:

It is said that only people who are learning are eligible to teach. The role of teachers is very important. As teachers are professionals, they must be good at developing children's personalities.

This kind of view does not make clear what teachers should, in practice, do. So this view has the potential to extend the teachers' role.

On the other hand, Headteachers no. 2 and no. 3 pointed to the problem of the teachers' broad role;

The teaching content of school education in both primary and secondary schools is too broad. It is important to make clear distinctions between school education, education by parents, and education in society.

(Headteacher no. 2)

Some parents require schools to offer pastoral care. As a headteacher, I hope that schools will be restored to their role as a place for learning.

(Headteacher no. 3)

We must assume that these two headteachers understand the conventional and formally defined view of teaching as shown by the interviewed headteacher, and Headteachers no. 1 and 6. Thus, they appear to be questioning this view of teaching presumably because they can observe the practical problems it creates in schools.

6-2-2 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Pupils

The interviewed headteacher did not make a comment in relation to pupils. But all the other six headteachers clearly indicated their perceptions in this area.

All of them understood teachers' commitments in relation to pupils as concerned with both teaching and pastoral care, or the whole of personal development. They recognised that this kind of commitment is both broad and vague; then they showed their contrasting attitudes toward this commitment. Headteachers no. 5 and no. 6 were positive about it:

There is no end to education. Even if you are asked by your pupils after working hours, it is not good to refuse them. Although the end of working hours formally means an end of duty, commitments outside working hours must be considered because of the nature of education.

(Headteacher no. 5)

Teachers should teach not only subjects, personal development, school meal education and events in schools, but also life at home and activities in community through any opportunity. So teachers have to accept all responsibilities in school education; then they will gain the trust of parents and communities.

(Headteacher no. 6)

In contrast, Headteachers no. 2 and no. 3 are negative about it, as in the following comments;

I wonder how primary teachers have the confidence to do their subject teaching because class teachers teach all subjects in contrast to secondary teachers who are all experts in their own subject.

(Headteacher no. 2)

The main responsibility of teachers should be teaching in a direct relation to their pupils. ... Although teachers have extra tasks outside teaching, they lack confidence and enthusiasm for teaching which is their main responsibility.

(Headteacher no. 3)

All the headteachers understood the professional commitment of primary teachers in relation to pupils as endless and boundless. Nevertheless their attitudes toward this commitment were various, according to their own educational philosophy. For example, Headteacher no. 3 is critical of teachers. Though he understands how busy teachers are because of the extra tasks required of them, he thinks that this cannot justify their poor teaching performance. Thus although all of these headteachers obviously face a similar reality in schools, some see it in practical terms, some in idealistic terms.

6-2-3 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Colleagues

The interviewed headteacher's perceptions of professional commitments in relation to colleagues were more formal than others. He emphasised formal staff meetings and relationships with outsiders (and not only with other teachers). He sees attendance at staff meetings as a professional commitment to colleagues:

Teachers' working hours end at 5:15, teachers are free after that. However, unless we have INSET meetings or staff meetings and so on, we normally leave school at 6:00.

As I indicated in Chapter 4-4, only minimum working hours are regulated by law. In the case of this school, the teachers must work till 5:15. However the headteacher did not doubt that teachers should work overtime to attend meetings. Thus, when there are meetings, teachers are likely to work longer than the legal requirement. The headteacher did not pay much regard to legal working hours.

Another commitment is relationships to outsiders. He lists these relationships as part of teachers' responsibilities.

Fourthly, concerning relationship to outsiders, there are jobs for the organisation of INSET, for example, with city, region or prefecture level.

There are many public and private associations and seminars for teachers. Teachers take part in them as both organisers and participants. Thus teachers' additional commitments are often not only associated with administration and school management but also with professional development such as INSETs.

Headteacher no. 5 pointed out the importance of collaboration between teachers in relation to the special situation of primary teachers.

In primary schools, teachers must be specialists in all subjects. But, as teachers are not always good at all subjects, it is important for teachers to work in teams within the year group and with the consecutive year group.

6-2-4 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Parents

All the six headteachers saw the teachers' relationship with parents as very important. However, it is in fact difficult to establish good relationships. Headteacher no. 3 noted this point:

I am sure that teachers are nervous with parents. If we look at their situation, there are some problems. ... In these difficult situations teachers are worried, and are reluctant to liaise with parents; what teachers mostly need is their own strong beliefs about education.

Here again, there are two polarised attitudes towards the present situation of the relationship between teachers and parents. One is to encourage teachers to become more committed in relation to parents:

The commitments in relationship to parents outside working hours could be considered the same as those in relation to pupils.

(Headteacher no. 5)

Nowadays, it is said that education at home and in the community is getting weaker. For this reason, primary teachers have to get into close communication with parents and communities for the sake of the children's education.

(Headteacher no. 6)

However the other opposite attitude is the sense that the workload of teachers is too great:

There is too much content in schooling nowadays. It is important to make the responsibilities and role of parents clear.

(Headteacher no. 1)

Teachers do not expect education at home because parents do not seriously consider their children's education. In particular, teachers have too much work because parents expect them to take pastoral care of their children.

(Headteacher no. 4)

Both types of comments show that headteachers acknowledge that parents have an important part to play in school education and that this affects teachers' responsibilities.

6-2-5 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Duties and Administration

All the six headteachers and the interviewed headteacher reluctantly accepted the teachers' commitments in relation to duties and administration as a professional responsibility. All the headteachers saw these commitments as necessary and extra for teachers.

The system of school management is necessary in order to run education activities. But, in fact the system constitutes an extra workload for teachers.

(Headteacher no. 1)

It is necessary that the duties and administration which are part of school management are functionally carried out by teachers.

(Headteacher no. 5)

It is necessary for my school that all the teachers share fairly in the duties and administration which have to be done.

(Headteacher no. 6)

However, they also understand that these commitments represent an extra workload for teachers and that they are being increased little by little. Thus, they sometimes make problems for teachers.

Schools have a larger workload than before. (As teachers have to do it), such a situation keeps teachers away from their pupils.

(Headteacher no. 3)

Thus they thought this situation needed to be thought about.

Simplification of administration should be considered.

(Headteacher no. 1)

Although they are necessary duties for class teachers, we need to increase the number of ancillary staff in order to decrease teachers' workload.

(Headteacher no. 4)

In my school, all the teachers have an equal share of the necessary duties and administration for school education. But we should consider how to avoid odd jobs such as collecting money and administration.

(Headteacher no. 6)

It is clear that the headteachers see teachers' commitments in relation to duties and administration as additional burdensome work for teachers despite the fact that their teachers must continue to carry out such tasks.

6-2-6 Perceptions of Teachers' Professional Commitments in Relation to Professional Developments

In-service training (INSET) is very important for Japanese teachers. As INSET is a statutory requirement for all teachers, it is generally accepted as part of teachers' life.

INSET is part of daily life in teaching. Self-INSET is important, and so is in-school INSET.

(Headteacher no. 1)

However, there are tensions between the present official system of INSET and the teachers' working conditions.

We need a review of the present INSET system. There needs to be a fundamental reform of the INSET system for the real development of the teachers.

(Headteacher no. 3)

The problem is that in spite of many opportunities teachers could not attend INSETs for professional development because of the weight of their daily tasks.

(Headteacher no. 6)

The headteachers expected teachers to develop both the technical and the personal aspects of their role.

These are the competences required of teachers; enthusiasm, intelligence and humanity, commitment and expert knowledge of subjects and, in addition to these, pedagogy.

(Headteacher no. 1)

I think that education is not only teaching subjects but also developing the personalities of children even though professional development in subjects is necessary. Professional development leads to personal development for teachers.

(Headteacher no. 5)

The professional ethos of schools, as well as formal INSETs is understood as important for professional development:

As these qualities are closely related to their individual personalities, it is difficult to change them. Teachers are expected to develop these competences in collaboration to their colleagues.

(Headteacher no. 2)

6-3 Conclusion

The headteachers showed various views about teachers' professionalism in their data. However there are some clear tendencies within the sample. Japanese headteachers

in general could be regarded as middle managers mainly implementing both central and local governments' policies under direct instructions by local education boards, or as mediators between teachers and local education boards. So they tend to be cautious and not to show their own personal views. The interviewed headteacher was rather more bureaucratic and stereotypical than others. His views mainly came from official sources such as educational laws and government policies.

Some other headteachers showed typical views as school managers. Their views tend to be formal and some are rhetorical. For example, they are sometimes impatient with teachers, and stick to pragmatic views about what needs to be done. However all the headteachers used to be class teachers. They can understand the practicalities of the class teachers' situation from their own experiences. They can look at the reality in schools. Therefore they are able to understand the school practices and identify many problems with teachers and children. But their main concern is about how to solve these problems and how to improve schools because of their present responsibilities as school managers. They see teachers as one of the main factors of good education:

The roles of teachers are very important and it is said that all issues of education are ultimately the concern of teachers.

(Headteacher no. 1)

Education relies on teachers.

(Headteacher no. 3)

Thus the headteachers know that teachers are the key people who must deal with school issues.

These headteachers seem to be divided into two types, based on their own educational philosophy. Some are dissatisfied with teachers, and understand them as not being accountable. So these headteachers require teachers to show more commitment and take on more work. And they sometimes emotionally attribute school problems to teachers. But others try to judge the school and teacher situation carefully and objectively, and are rather sympathetic to teachers. This kind of headteacher also recognises the present deprofessionalised situation, and shows concern about it

The differences between these two types of headteachers come from their perceptions of teacher professionalism. Sometimes they appear to understand teachers as professionals, and indeed extended professionals; at other times they talk of teachers more or less as educational workers, a 'proletarian' conception. It may be that they understand the tensions between conceptions and yet their role as headteachers puts them in a position where they are obliged to expect teachers to accept both.

Chapter 7

Parents' and School Community Members' Perceptions of 'Professionalism' in Teaching

7-1

Introduction

Although teachers' perceptions of professionalism in teaching directly affect teaching practices in schools, parents' and school community members' perceptions also have an indirect and informal impact. Their roles as partners of teachers and schools are important and powerful, and have been getting more important recently in terms of support and help for schools.

In this chapter, their perceptions of professionalism in teaching are considered. In my earlier study, the views of English parents and school community members were not included. However their perceptions are included here because they provide a useful contrast to their Japanese counterparts, and therefore help to clarify issues about Japanese teachers' professionalism. Therefore parents and school community members were chosen for study, both in Japan and in England.

Parents living in a foreign country have particular views of teacher professionalism within the schools of the country they currently live. I therefore interviewed Japanese parents living in England, and a single English parent living in Japan, in addition to such parents living in their own countries.

Parents' and school community members' perceptions of professionalism in teaching were examined by six sets of investigations. Four sets are investigations of parents' perceptions; five Japanese parents in Japan, four Japanese parents in England, three English parents in England, and one English parent in Japan. They were interviewed using two sets of semi-structured questions. Five out of nine Japanese interviews, and all the English ones, were recorded and transcribed.

Another two sets of investigations are concerned with school community members' perceptions; four Japanese school community members in Japan and four English school community members in England. All the English interviews were recorded and transcribed. All of them were interviewed with the same semi-structured questions used with parents.

This chapter is divided into eight sections: 1. introduction, 2. the perceptions of Japanese parents in Japan, 3. the perceptions of a English parent in Japan, 4. the perceptions of Japanese parents in England, 5. the perceptions of English parents in England, 6. the perceptions of Japanese school community members, 7. the perceptions of English school community members and 8. conclusion.

7-2-1 The Perceptions of Japanese Parents in Japan

In this section, I shall examine the data from interviews with five Japanese parents in Japan. They were chosen in Gifu prefecture. The interview questions given to them are as follows:

1 Could I just fill in a few background details:

your name
number of children
their ages and years in school

2 a) What do you most expect of your school?

teaching academic subjects
moral development
teaching socialisation
teaching how to clean
teaching school meal education
teaching and monitoring traffic safety
(way between school and home)
taking pastoral care
others

b) Would you say your expectations had been met?

3 a) What qualities do you look for in your children's class teachers?

academic knowledge
teaching skill
personality
morality
motivation
individual care
home-school liaison
others

b) Which of these responsibilities do you think are the most important?

4 a) What are your main responsibilities as a parent for your children?

helping academic subjects
encouraging motivation to study
moral development
teaching socialisation
taking care (physical care, discipline, emotional care, organising leisure activities)
training children to share domestic responsibilities (tidy their own room, make their own bed, help with washing up,

shopping, cooking, cleaning car, coping with the world outside home, managing money)
 taking and picking up children
 others

b) Which of these responsibilities do you think are the most important?

5 Let's change the perspective a little now. I am interested in what I want to call a class teacher's professionalism. When you think about 'class teachers', what is it, do you think, that makes them professional?

6 Do you have any other comment about teachers' role and their professionalism, and parents' role and your expectations?

In general, parents saw teaching activities to be a teachers' main responsibility. All five parents emphasised the teaching of academic subjects. However, only three out of five parents expect their children's class teachers to have in-depth academic knowledge. Parents no. 3 and 4 do not particularly look for it in class teachers. The reason of this is that primary teachers do not require in-depth academic knowledge. Parents see that the academic level of primary education is elementary, and so they expect less academic knowledge from primary teachers than from secondary teachers. But four out of five parents look for teaching skill in their children's class teachers. The primary teachers' skills in dealing with children individually and collectively, such as the establishment of good relationships with children and classroom management skills, are thus regarded as more important than academic knowledge. These parents understand that both academic knowledge and teaching skill are important, but they are just a part of the professionalism of teachers.

In contrast, four out of five Japanese parents understand helping with academic subjects as one of the parents' main responsibilities; and all five Japanese parents also accept that encouraging motivation to study is their responsibility.

Overall, Japanese parents do not have high expectations of primary teachers' academic knowledge or teaching skills, but nevertheless they are concerned about academic teaching.

What else do Japanese parents expect of primary teachers? Japanese parents expect teachers to look after children. Four out of five Japanese parents expect schools to teach moral development, socialisation and traffic safety, and three out of the five parents also expect them to take pastoral care. Furthermore, the Japanese parents' understandings about the principal responsibility of the teaching profession in primary schools is as follows:

Parent no. 1	Developing children's personalities.
no. 2	Training in rules for group life.
no. 3	Understanding child development.
no. 4	Making a good relationship with children.
no. 5	Making a good relationship with children.

Thus Japanese parents seem to expect teachers to focus on children's personal

development rather than their academic attainment.

All Japanese parents expect teachers to take responsibility for home-school liaison. As parents understand this to be important, they tend to pay attention to how it is done and what part teachers play in this. Parent no. 1 makes a comment on her dissatisfaction with this aspect of her child's school,

He (the child) did not do any home work at all. I was worried about that, then I went to get the teacher's advice. But he was not supportive. Well, in such a case, a parent has no person to ask for it. I could solve the problem if I had got his professional advice.

This parent understands a teacher to be an advisor and a partner, so a good relationship with teachers is essential for parents to contribute to their child's development.

Parent no. 3 understands that the teaching profession is developed by professional training (INSETs), but that presently teachers are very busy because of too many meetings and seminars. She worries that such busy teachers cannot properly teach their classes, so they give lots of homework in order that the children catch up with the curriculum schedule.

7-2-2

Commentary

In the interviews with the Japanese parents in Japan, they show their tentative attitudes by expressing themselves very briefly. Nevertheless, they express their understandings and expectations of teachers' professionalism.

They seem to understand a primary teacher as neither a subject expert nor a person who should take the whole responsibility for their children's academic development. They expect teachers as professionals to be as committed to children's personal development as to their academic development. Meanwhile, they intend to share responsibility for both children's academic and personal development. They do not intend to be responsible for either all the personal development or all the academic development. They see teachers as partners. For Japanese parents, a professional teacher should be a good partner or advisor in the education of their children rather than an educational expert in academic development. These Japanese parents' perceptions of teachers' professionalism do not exactly meet any of the models of teachers' professionalism explained in Chapter 2. However, it could be that these parental attitudes may sometimes discourage teachers from developing into 'extended professionals'. Alternatively, we might say that these parents see teaching as a craft rather than a profession. Yet it appears that this contrasts with the general intentions of both teachers themselves and the government.

7-3-1 The Perceptions of an English Parent in Japan

As Japan has become increasingly internationalised, more foreign people live in Japan than before. They face many practical problems in Japan such as how their children's schools are chosen. As the earlier chapters explained, the uniqueness (differences from Western countries) of Japanese education means that the majority of foreign parents cannot choose Japanese public education for their children. The uniqueness of the Japanese language is a particular problem. There are therefore very few English parents sending their children to Japanese state schools. Indeed it was only possible to locate one English parent who could be interviewed in order to investigate a foreign parent's perceptions of Japanese teachers' professionalism.

The interview questions are basically the same as those used with parents in the last subsection, except for some additional questions asking the reasons for their choice of school and their views about the contrast between English and Japanese education. (see Appendix 12)

As this was a single interview, the data cannot be generalised. However it shows the significant features of Japanese teachers, parents and schools from a foreigner's point of view, and an outsider's impressions and understandings of Japanese teachers' professionalism are illuminating.

This parent chose the Japanese state school for her daughter partly for geographical reasons, and partly because of her daughter's age:

well, partly because of geography insomuch as we lived quite a drive away from the international school in a totally Japanese area. And she was still too young to travel so much on a train, so I would have been driving all the time for her. And also living in a Japanese area with only Japanese people I thought it was very important for her to make friends in that area. That's really why I chose the Japanese school.

The first point is about the role of parents. In her view, although Japanese parents play a similar role to English parents, they are more aware of the academic aspects of schooling than its moral aspects.

They (Japanese parents) are concerned about the same things as I'm concerned about. They tend to stress academics more than socialisation. For example I feel that there is too much studying alone and playing computer games, and not enough emphasis on playing outside and learning to mix with other children which is a very important way of learning social skills.

She makes further comments on the attitude of Japanese parents, who do not seek for academic in-depth knowledge of teachers:

I think they are less interested maybe in things like personality and morality than I am. But they certainly want a lot of academic knowledge and the teaching skills. But they are quite willing to accept ... well they sometimes do not notice the lack of teaching skills.

She also has a clear philosophy that parents have to take the initiative in moral education, not teachers:

I would hope they (teachers) would help to back up what I'm teaching them (children). ... Not that I try to teach them directly but I am hoping for certain development. I mean I expect them to back up what I think, encourage fair play, kindness to other children and that kind of thing. I don't expect her to teach morality. They are expected to back up my moral view.

She knows the situation of Japanese extra-curricular aims such as cleaning education in the Special Activities area of the Course of Study, which is very different from the English situation. She is pleased with these activities, but she does not see them as the main responsibilities for schools:

I am not really worried about that unless it's in the home economics curriculum. Then that's fine. But I don't think it's a necessary a part of the school day for them to clean the floor after the lesson. But it's a matter of, I mean what I saw in the Japanese school, I didn't oppose it because I think that it is probably good for the children to realise that the people who come up after them have to do this kind of cleaning, the men and women who are caretakers. Maybe the children in the Japanese school have a better, how can I say, appreciation of people who have to do that kind of cleaning because they themselves have to help. ... I don't think our schools teach it, really. We don't have time for that sort of thing.

She is critical about Japanese parents' perceptions of teachers' professionalism and their understanding of their own roles, because in her view they do not play the proper parent's role in which she believes. But she is impressed by Japanese teachers' professionalism:

One feature that I have experienced is a very impressive concern for the individual child. I was impressed by, for example, when they gave out work and got it in for marking, they would return that work almost immediately. Some of them are spending the lunch time and break time every day. Work is returned to the children the next day, and the children still remember the work. I was very impressed by that. As a teacher myself I know that marking 35 books and giving them back on the same day defeated me. So I was very impressed by their professionalism in that type of thing, the way they prepare their work and follow through. I was very favourably impressed by the Japanese school. I had a lot of bad reports about Japanese education. In my personal experience for a young child anyway, I was pleasantly surprised that the education was good, it was sound and it was thorough. The teachers work thoroughly.

Generally speaking, Japanese teachers are not recognised to have such a concern for individual children. Their approach is understood as collective rather than individual. This parent has plenty of experiences with Japanese teachers and parents through her daughter's attendance at a Japanese school. Thus her understanding and view of Japanese education and teachers' professionalism are based on her own experience rather than information from others. She is impressed by the gap between the real Japanese teachers' professionalism as she has experienced it and their general image.

7-3-2**Commentary**

The English parent in Japan clearly shows her impressions of Japanese parents, teachers and education. She is critical of Japanese parents because of their perceptions of teachers' professionalism and their own role.

She has a clear idea that teachers are mainly responsible for the academic development of the child's education, and parents are mainly responsible for moral development. She considers that Japanese parents misunderstand their role, and Japanese teachers accept their expectations and are concerned for both the academic and the moral development of children:

I think they (Japanese parents) depend too much on the school. I think they pass over too much of moral development and probably socialisation to the school. They themselves are far more concerned with the academic education of the children.

She understands that Japanese parents do not play a proper role (her view), as parents should be responsible for personal development, particularly the moral aspect of children; and that they themselves are too concerned about academic development which should be the responsibility of teachers. As a result Japanese parents enrol their children in after school education such as *juku* (informal supplementary schools) and with private tutors.

7-4-1**The Perceptions of Japanese Parents in England**

As Japan has become more involved in the global economy, more Japanese people live abroad than before. Some of them choose Japanese schools providing a purely Japanese education, some choose ordinary schools in each country where they live. Japanese parents have reasons why they choose one and why they do not choose another. All the Japanese parents interviewed in England mention the same reason; that is, they expect their children to have different cultural experiences, and especially, they expect them to master English as an international language.

This section focuses on the parents' perceptions of English teachers' professionalism. In their comments we can see a reflection of their own educational experiences as both pupils and parents in Japan. This section explores what their expectations of English teachers are and how far they are met. Four Japanese parents in England were interviewed. The interview questions given them are the same as those given to the English parent in Japan in the last section.

Three out of four Japanese parents in England expect schools to teach academic subjects, and three out of four expect teachers to have in-depth academic knowledge. When they compare Japanese and English teachers, they consider that Japanese teachers are rather more expert in developing children's personalities whereas English teachers have more academic expertise. Parent no. 3 makes a comment on this:

I actually don't know how to comment about professionalism, but I can say that they (Japanese primary teachers) are not professional in terms of academic knowledge. However we can say that they are professional in terms of bringing up children.

Parent no. 4 also makes a comment on this,

Well, in the case of primary schools, I think that it is their job to teach socialisation, co-operation and moral rather than academic subjects because they (Japanese primary teachers) have knowledge about children. ... If we look at academic development, English teachers motivate children to do more than Japanese teachers. They are good at making children interested in study.

Thus Japanese parents find one of the main differences between Japanese and English teachers to be that English teachers are experts in subjects rather than experts in personal development.

All the parents expect teachers to care for individual children. They feel that English teachers are more flexible and open in this respect than Japanese teachers. Parent no. 2 makes a comment about this:

I am sure English teachers love their pupils. It may depend on the area, but the teachers do not hesitate to accept Japanese children although they are foreigners, and treat them the same. I am also impressed by their enthusiasm. The teachers do not deal with them specially and they teach them even if they do not understand English. The teachers prefer to praise children. The teachers respect what children do, do not push them. I see English education as flexible and open for children.

Many Japanese parents in England in fact make this point. This strong feature of English education reflects fact that Britain is a multicultural society. This is one of the most distinctive differences between Japanese education in a monocultural society and English education in such a multicultural society.

One of the Japanese parents, Parent no. 3, makes a comment about how busy Japanese teachers are:

They (Japanese teachers) are busy due to all sorts of responsibilities besides teaching. They have to work on teaching preparation and marking at home because they spend their working hours on administration and preparations for school events

Her comment implies that she sees teachers' professional responsibility as mainly concerned with teaching activities and work relating to teaching, such as preparations for lessons and marking, rather than administration and preparations for school events. None of the Japanese parents make a comment on this commitment of English teachers. Thus they do not appear to have an impression of a more 'proletarian' aspect to English teachers' work.

Three out of four parents expect English teachers to maintain good home-school liaison. Parent no. 2 makes a comments:

Well, personally I need it so that I contact the teachers. I hope they will contact me.

She implies that home-school liaison is the teachers' responsibility rather than the parents'. She expects it to be established and kept up by teachers. Parent no. 1 is critical of both English teachers and parents in this respect:

I wonder why they (English parents) just let the children go to school, and leave them. Well they seem to think that children can get all their education in school. They do not have any ambition. ... As far as I know in my school, there are no enthusiastic parents. ... Well, of course, I think that teachers should have the initiative in the education of children but parents must follow and support it, shouldn't they? It's like team work by both teachers and parents. I think there is a lack of co-operation and support for their children. If your children do not understand lessons, you must ask teachers about academic contents and what they study today, or you may go to find books for children. ... They (English parents) do not know what their children study in schools. English teachers do not let parents know such kinds of information. In Japan, parents have their own network for that. It is important, isn't it?

She is making the point that there is a weakness in English home-school liaison which affects team work between teachers and parents. Therefore she is implying that in Japan the team work between them works well.

7-4-2

Commentary

Japanese parents' general perceptions of teachers' professionalism become clear as they express their expectations and criticism of English teachers. The Japanese parents understand that primary teachers' main professional responsibility is the personal development of children rather than their academic development. Parents expect teachers to make a good home-school liaison and establish a good partnership. They themselves are willing to help the academic development of their children. Japanese parents seem to share the role of academic teaching and personal development with teachers, and this is how they see the partnership between them. Thus this distinctive view of teachers' professionalism held by Japanese parents makes the teachers' role as professionals ambiguous, and blurs the boundary between the roles of teachers and parents.

7-5-1

The Perceptions of English Parents in England

Three English parents from north London in England were chosen as the interviewees. Their perceptions were investigated by the same research method as used with their Japanese counterparts.

All three English parents expect schools to teach academic subjects, and look for academic knowledge and teaching skill in teachers. Parent no. 3 thinks academic knowledge is the most important responsibility of teachers, and Parent no. 2 thinks teaching skill the most important element. These English parents expect in-depth

academic knowledge even from primary teachers.

The next point is the moral and social aspects of children's education. All three English parents expect schools to teach moral education and socialisation, and two out of three English parents expect them to take pastoral care. The English parents see personal development of children as one of the teachers' responsibilities. However none of them expect schools to teach cleaning education, school meal education and traffic safety education, which are included in the Japanese national curriculum.

All the parents expect teachers to maintain home-school liaison. They understand a good relationship between teachers and parents as very important for children's improvement. Parent no. 1 comments:

But obviously the taking care role and the example, is very important and taking an interest in their schooling. Parents can't give all the responsibilities to the school. And that comes from the other side as well. The teacher has to feed back to the parents. They have to give information back to the parents. So that in an ideal world parents can encourage from their side. With some parents, it's difficult, but if they've got a caring teacher and a professional teacher then that's something.

Communication and good relationships between teachers and parents are seen as very important. Those between teachers and children are also understood as important as well. Parent no. 1 talks about the importance of fairness:

I think treating the children fairly, looking after their individual needs, and making sure that their progress is monitored properly are important. And making really sure that all children are treated equally and that they are given the care they need when they need it. So that all children are stretched and given appropriate work.

Parents see this as a reflection of the teacher's personality. Parents no. 1 and 3 think the teachers' personality is most important, as well as their academic knowledge and teaching skill.

Another prominent feature of the data is that these parents appear to think that their expectations are met. All the English parents are generally satisfied with the teachers and the school. In fact they did not make any complaints about the teachers or the school.

7-5-2

Commentary

The interviews with the English parents clearly show the tendency of their perceptions. All of them are happy with the school, and they view the school as a 'good school'. Thus they understand that their expectations are met. They think positively, and their attitude to schools and teachers is supportive.

They expect in-depth academic knowledge of teachers rather than pastoral care, or concern for moral and social development. They of course understand that personal development is very important and that the school must cater for moral, social and personal development but these things are seen as mainly the responsibility of parents.

But it is obvious that the parents do not expect teachers and schools to provide practical training in such matters as cleaning and traffic safety.

The parents expect teachers to have a good personality. Teachers are required to have a sense of fairness and good communication skills. This seems to be part of the specific situation in England which is a multicultural society with a strong emphasis on individualism. English people tend to be more aware of these things than Japanese people. Teachers are expected to show flexibility and professional judgment in addition to a range of techniques and special knowledge. Thus English parents' concepts of a teacher's role come close to Darling-Hammond's category of 'teaching as a profession'.

7-6-1 The Perceptions of Japanese School Community Members in Japan

Primary schools exist in local communities. Japanese schools historically and socially have a close relationship with each school community. So school communities play an important role in relation to schools and have both a formal and an informal impact on school practice. Their position is clearly different from schools and teachers as the first person and parents as the second person. They are obviously the third person, but are concerned with school matters to a certain degree. School community members in Japan are normally people living in its catchment area, particularly those who have contact with school matters such as youth club leaders and local community leaders.

Thus their position has an advantage as third parties who can be objective, and their concern for schools can have a powerful impact. This investigation explores how school community members understand teachers' professionalism from the third position.

Four Japanese community members were interviewed. They were a chair of a PTA, a chair of a mothers' association, a chair of a school community committee and a chair of a youth development committee. The interview questions are basically the same as those to parents in Subsection 7-2-1, except for the additional question asking about the expectation of parents. (see Appendix 13)

All four Japanese members see teaching as the school's responsibility. All the interviewees also expect teachers to have subject knowledge and teaching skills. Three of them also expect parents to help with academic subjects and all of them expect parents to encourage their children's motivation to study. All suggested that there should be collaboration between teachers and parents for children's academic development. However two of them suggest that this is the clear priority of schools and teachers. Community member no. 1 makes a comment 'Schools must have the main responsibility for teaching'; Community member no. 4 also emphasises 'Schools are responsible for teaching, and families are responsible for other activities for children.'

Overall, the community members understand that schools and teachers are mainly responsible for teaching and the academic development of children, meanwhile parents

need to support them.

All four members expect teachers to take individual care. They also comment on the relationship between teacher and pupils or teachers' attitudes to pupils. Community member no. 2 expects schools to treat boys and girls equally. Community member no. 4 also expects schools to treat children fairly. These points mainly relate to the interaction between children in their group activities. However in the case of personal interaction between them, for example, there are two opposite opinions on pastoral care. Community members no. 3 and no. 4 consider parents should be mainly and essentially responsible for this commitment, whereas in contrast Community members no. 1 and no. 2 understand that schools should take this responsibility, because it is more effectively dealt with collectively. In fact teachers do take responsibility for considerable pastoral care in schools. This is a fact, whether the community members are personally positive or negative about this situation.

All the members expect teachers to maintain home-school liaison. This commitment is of great concern to the school community members. They also emphasise the importance of community networks, for same reason as home-school liaison. These members understand that cooperation and networking between the school, the parents, and its community are essential in order to develop children effectively. Community member no. 1 states:

Schools are not open about their real minds. We want to listen to them. But we do not always get the response we require. Schools should relax and be open.

Community member no. 2 understands that communication with teachers is important, but she expresses her general impression that teachers are unfriendly.

However these members have expectations not only of teachers but also of parents. All four members expect parents to encourage motivation to study. Community member no. 3 understands it as a parents' duty. All the members expect parents to take responsibility for moral education, and Community members no. 2 and no. 3 make a comment 'Although parents are busy, this responsibility is definitely for parents, not schools.' All of them also understand taking care as parents' responsibility, and Community member no. 3 makes a comment, 'This commitment is absolutely not a responsibility for either teachers or schools.' All of them understand training children to share domestic responsibilities as parents' responsibility, and Community member no. 2 makes a comment, 'This commitment is definitely 100 % of parents' responsibility.'

As these people are school community members, they can objectively view both teachers and parents and judge the situation from the third position. Overall, the Japanese school community members expect schools and teachers to communicate frankly with parents in order to make each role clearer, and to establish a cooperative relationship between them.

7-6-2**Commentary**

School community members are concerned with school matters and practices as supportive people outside schools. Their position is different from teachers and parents who are directly involved in school matters. Therefore school community members have an objective view uncomplicated by personal interests or risks, or emotional elements. Thus Japanese school community members can frankly comment on and, to some extent, criticise both schools and teachers and parents. The Japanese school community members expect teachers as professionals to be:

- experts in both subjects and child development (Community member no. 1)
- experts in teaching both subjects and human being (Community member no. 2)
- experts in all subjects (Community member no. 3)
- experts in pedagogy at each age level (Community member no. 4)

They expect a balance between the personal and academic development of children, in contrast to the Japanese parents who appear to favour a bias towards the social and moral development of their children (the comment of the English parent in Japan confirms this). Overall, teachers are expected to be teaching experts in respect to both subjects and an understanding of children.

The community members understand that schools tend neither to fulfil their own role as primarily a place of teaching and learning, nor to make clear to parents their real intention. Thus they ask for greater clarification of what teachers should do and what parents should do, in order that they can both collaborate together with the school community for the benefit of children. It seems therefore that they look for teachers who have a very broad understanding of and concern for educational issues rather than a narrow focus on their own task: in other words, they look for a form of extended professionalism.

7-7-1

The Perceptions of English School Community Members in England

This section is an investigation of English school community members' perception of teachers' professionalism. As in Japan, these people are associated with schools in many different ways. Again, although they are outsiders, there is no doubt that their views have a powerful influence on school practice.

Four people were chosen as interviewees. They were a chair of governors, a local priest, a local police officer and a school dinner lady. The same questions were used as for their Japanese counterparts. All the interviews were transcribed.

All of the interviewees understand teaching academic subjects, moral education and teaching socialisation as responsibilities of teachers. Three of them think that

teaching school meal education, teaching and monitoring traffic safety and taking pastoral care are also part of the schools' responsibilities. But only one of them sees teaching how to clean as part of the teachers' responsibility.

They have other expectations of schools. For example, Community member no. 1 expects children to learn in school to respect people and to be generous in the community; Community member no. 2 expects that schools should teach good citizenship; and Community member no. 4 expects more and better sports education. Overall, they see the responsibilities of school and teachers as broad. Community member no. 3 comments:

I expect the school to have a wide curriculum and to try get the best they can out of their children

They also expect parents to play a broad role. All of them expect that they should help with academic subjects, and encourage motivation to study; they also see moral development, teaching socialisation, taking physical care, training children to share domestic responsibilities, and taking and picking up children from school as parental responsibilities. Community member no. 1 says that all of these are important because they are all linked. The parents' role is broad and general. Community member no. 2 comments:

I think the responsibilities of parents are so wide. It will encompass all of the things you said and more, and so it's difficult for me to come up with any more really.

These people show a similar tendency in relation to teachers' responsibilities. All of them see academic knowledge, teaching skill, good personality, morality, motivation, individual care, and home-school liaison as aspects of teachers' professionalism. But none of them expect teachers to participate in local events. Overall, they see teaching skill as the most important responsibility of teachers.

They understand teacher professionalism in terms of educational expertise which involves both skill and attitude:

Well, in the first place it is having a training, and secondly their attitude. Being professional is more than simply adhering to a professional code and having qualifications. It demands that there is a certain commitment and enthusiasm for the particular profession, and certainly this is true about teaching. To put it negatively, if teaching just becomes a routine then I don't think that is professional. It's a very personal opinion.

They also understand their role as school community members. They need to back up schools and teachers from their position, and fill the gap between schools and parents for the sake of the children.

7-7-2**Commentary**

The school community members have more objective views of both teachers and parents because of their position in the school community as third persons. They expect both groups to do their best for the school and children, and support them.

Even though they are parents or were parents many years ago, as community members they clearly show a fair attitude to both groups. They now can see the whole scene of the school situation because they have more opportunities to contact both teachers and parents through their association with the school. They look for a balance between academic and social development, and they expect good liaison between school and community.

These English respondents seem to have views which are broadly similar to their Japanese counterparts; that is to say, they appear to prefer a notion of teacher professionalism as broad rather than narrow, or extended rather than restricted.

7-8**Conclusion**

This chapter has dealt with the school outsiders' views of teachers' professionalism, both parents and school community members, and both in Japan and in England. Their attitudes to schools and teachers are various. Parents have more personal and practical perceptions of teachers' professionalism than school community members. Their perceptions tend to be more subjective because their own children are in school, and they experience the work of teachers directly and indirectly through their children.

Japanese parents clearly show their distinctive perceptions of teachers' professionalism, and this is clear whether they are living in Japan or England. They understand teachers as partners or advisors in the education of their children, who may not have to be subject experts. They do not entirely rely on teachers to be responsible for the academic development of their children. Thus they are willing to take a part in teaching their children. The English parent in Japan points out this tendency. She criticises Japanese parents because they are too aware of academic development rather than personal development, which is somewhat in contrast to what the Japanese parents say. On the other hand English parents appear to expect teachers to have both in-depth academic knowledge, such as subject knowledge, and teaching skill, and good personality. They seem to regard academic development as almost entirely the responsibility of the school.

School community members in both countries show a similar tendency in their perceptions of teacher professionalism. In both Japan and England they seem to have a fairly objective view of both parents and teachers. They expect parents and teachers to do their best in their own roles. Japanese school community members tend to be more critical of parents and sympathetic towards teachers because they understand the difficult

situation of schools.

The whole shape of Japanese parents' perceptions of teachers' professionalism is clear. They expect primary teachers to deal with the total development of children in addition to academic development. In this commitment, teachers must be a role model for children. The teachers do of course require some academic knowledge, but it seems this is not expected at a high level. Japanese parents are willing to share these responsibilities with teachers to greater extent than seems normal in England. It seems that this idea comes from neither their commitment as parents nor their understanding of teachers' role. It is simply that they do not totally trust teachers. Therefore this idea seems to come from their view of teachers' official position as a civil servant which is generally understood comparatively lower than others in the society, and from Japanese democracy, in this case especially equality which parents must have equal right to that of teachers, in other words, sharing school responsibilities with teachers. (argued in Chapter 3)

Thus we might see this as a help to teachers because these parents are prepared to support their children's academic development. But in fact their attitude derives from their idea that teachers do not have enough in-depth knowledge. They accept that this means they will need to seek supplementary tuition for their children.

Overall there is no doubt that Japanese parents see no clear boundaries between the role of parents and teachers. This distinctive view of teachers' professionalism obviously reflect on teacher' perceptions of their own practical professionalism, and perhaps can distend their extended professionalism.

The next chapter will deal with the case of one Japanese headteacher who challenged the present school management system in Japan in order to define teaching professionalism.

Chapter 8

Further Consideration of The Concept of 'Professionalism' in Teaching: The Challenge to Japanese Education By Marumo

8-1 Introduction

Educational change is technically simple and socially complex.

(Fullan, 1991, p. 65)

Even in Japanese society, which seems to be rather uniform, there exists one person who has struggled to change the conventional practices in education. That person is a Japanese ex-headteacher, Shoujiro Marumo, who was a rather exceptional school manager in Japanese educational society. An account of his practice will serve to clarify and to highlight the problems which class teachers face in the Japanese educational system. In addition to this, an analysis of the reasons why his policies were neither accepted nor spread by the educational profession will feed into a discussion of how teachers' perceptions of their professionalism operate.

He was described by a Japanese newspaper in the following terms:

An enthusiastic headteacher who released the teachers from meetings and odd jobs, and stuck them to the children, then achieved non-truancy due to his approach.

(Chunchi Shinbun, 1 December 1993)

He is known nationwide as a distinguished headteacher due to his unique educational practices. These were reported by several national newspapers (e.g. Asahi sinnbun, 15 June 1986, and Mainichi shinbun, 30 July 1986) and TV programmes (e.g. Fuji TV, 1994). He has published two books: in 1986 *Kodomo Seiwa Oyanosei* (Parents are responsible for the sex education of their children), and *Sensei Harituke* in 1987 (Sticking teachers to their classes). In 1994 he also wrote a series of articles over twelve months about the questions of bullying, truancy and sex education in *Sinsei*.

He was born in Gifu prefecture in Japan in 1927. He was educated and qualified at Gifu Teachers' College (now National Gifu University). He was a primary class teacher for over ten years, then he became a primary school headteacher in 1973. He worked as a primary headteacher for 14 years in Gifu prefecture, and retired in 1987.

As he was well known nationwide, almost all the teachers in his region have paid attention to him. The writer was also one of them. I have heard about his reputation,

both the good and the bad side, from class teachers, deputy heads, head teachers, local authority officers and parents. However he was recognised not only as a distinguished practitioner but also as a dictatorial manager. For example, one of my previous colleagues, who was an inspector in the local authority of the area, told me how unusual he was by recounting a story about how he cut down all the big trees at his school. The story was quite famous within the educational community. Several years later, I found the real reason for his action in an article:

As it is an old school and has a lot of trees, we suffer from falling leaves every autumn. We have had some branches falling down. This is a danger. In order to prevent the danger and complaints about falling leaves from neighbours, I cut down many trees.

(Marumo, 1994b, p.69)

Almost all schools have similar problems. However, the majority of headteachers might give children some instructions about how to avoid the danger, negotiate with the neighbours, and just leave the trees, not cut them down. As his solution to the problem was unusual in Japanese society, people were surprised and reacted to him in a variety of ways, both positively and negatively.

He believed the idea of *Sticking Teachers to Children*¹ to be one of the main keys to reversing the desolation of Japanese education over the last two decades. (see Chapter 3)

I believe that any educational innovation will not succeed unless every school realises how important *Sticking Teachers to Children* is, and introduces it. Any innovation is meaningless without *Sticking Teachers to Children*.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 3)

We have seen in the previous chapters how teachers' working systems operate in Japanese schools, how busy the daily life of Japanese teachers is, and what kind of jobs they do in addition to their teaching. So it is obvious how unique Marumo's idea is. Japanese class teachers concentrate less on their own classes than their English counterparts because there are few support staff. It can therefore be said that Japanese class teachers cannot stay with the children, 'stick to the children' to use Marumo's own phrase. From this point of view, his school management and practice could be positioned, in some respects, mid way between English school practice and the Japanese counterpart.

This chapter will discuss Marumo's theory and practice as an exceptional practitioner who occupies a mid position between the Japanese school situation and the English counterpart. In the following sections, I will examine both his practices and policies on education by drawing on his writings and my interview with him. I will also examine them from the third party point of view by using interviews with three of his former staff, who worked with him as class teachers.

In the discussion section of this chapter, I shall make clear how a complex mechanism in teachers' perceptions about their teaching professionalism operated in an

¹ The same expression as in the title of his book.

ironically contradictory way.

8-2 Marumo's School Management

8-2-1 His Management Policies

'Sticking Teachers to Children'

What made Marumo famous nationwide is one book entitled 'Sticking Teachers to their Children'. (Marumo, 1987) The sound of *stick* (*harituke*) in Japanese has another meaning which is 'crucifying'. In other words, 'sticking' and 'crucifying' are homophonic words. Although it seems to be a word play, he intended to express both meanings. In doing so he implies both one of his main strategies of school management, in the meaning of 'sticking', and his criticisms of the teaching profession, in the meaning of 'crucifying'. The title is symbolic, and is representative of his educational policies. Therefore I will examine his two ideas: 'sticking' and 'crucifying'.

He explained his use of the first meaning of 'harituke' and about where the idea of 'sticking' came from.

This is prompted by my anger which I felt when I was a class teacher. I could not spend time on my pupils because of too many meetings. I hope teachers do not experience the same anger about the problem.

(Interview with Marumo, April 1994)

He also analysed the reason why schools are very busy.

'Talking', 'co-operation', 'harmony'² and 'working in groups', these are all advantages of Japanese society. Japanese school management is based on those ideas. However, I understand that such a management system is a real cause of teachers' busy work which keeps them apart from children.

(Marumo, 1994a, p. 68)

His view is that the Japanese style of school management makes class teachers busier. Therefore they cannot spend enough time on teaching basic skills such as reading, writing and calculation. Both in his interview and in his writings he mentioned how important those basic skills were for children. He understood that those skills are essential and necessary, and should be at the heart of teaching. Because they are neglected, he claimed schools still have many unsolved problems with children's behaviour.

In the same book he also wrote about how schools and teachers are responsible for the recent problems of educational desolation in Japan.

Schools and teachers have the main responsibility for the failure to find a solution to the problem of educational desolation, even if there are some other reasons.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 2)

² Chapter 3.

Teachers may try to justify their powerless position as being the result of their heavy work load, but this is not an adequate explanation but simply an excuse. Marumo believes that they should be able to fulfil their responsibilities. Thus he uses the second meaning 'harituke': i.e. 'crucify' in order to imply that teachers' current practices are to be criticised.

Another unique expression used by Marumo is 'penicillin teacher'. As we know, penicillin is a medicine which kills bacteria. He uses the word with this meaning. 'Penicillin teachers' are the teachers who solve many problems in their class rooms and change the children for the better. Moreover, they exert a positive influence on other teachers around them. In his book, he states that:

Each school has several teachers who are like penicillin. ... As a result of their influence, some other teachers who are near to penicillin teachers, are becoming penicillin teachers themselves.

(Marumo, 1987, Preface)

He hopes more teachers can become penicillin teachers. Once they 'stick' to the children, they definitely play their role as penicillin. Their children make progress and other teachers around them are influenced by their effect. How do you find and increase the number of penicillin teachers? What conditions are necessary for them to work well as penicillin? The next subsection will answer these questions.

A Manager's Task

In his 40-year-long educational career, he worked for 9 years as an inspector, for 2 years as a deputy head, and for 14 years as a headteacher. In short, he was a manager or a leader in education in his area for 25 years. His work as a decision maker at a practical school level or local level over a quarter of a century shaped his unique management style. This unique management style was built up over a quarter of a century in both careers, a headteacher and an inspector. In this short subsection, I shall examine how he understands school management, and what he thinks a school manager should be.

In his interview, he gave a clear answer about his approach,

My school management policy is to do nothing. It is this which enables the class teachers to devote themselves to their class management.

'To do nothing' seems strange and may not be understandable. I need to explain school practice in Japan to make his meaning clear.

Japanese schools have more extra-curricular events and activities than their English counterparts. Each school plans its own activities within the curriculum guideline³. If you plan a greater number of activities in a more complex style, you spend more time on the preparations. As a result, teachers need more meetings and more time to

³ The guideline book of Special Activities based on the Course of Study for Elementary Schools in Japan, Monbusho (Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture).

give a greater number of instructions to children. This is the context of Japanese school education on which Marumo's comment is based. In this context, 'to do nothing' therefore means 'to arrange no extra-curricular activities'.

He also stated,

I believe that if class teachers are released from meetings, school events and odd jobs, and can stick to their children, educational effectiveness will increase by 200 %.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 89)

He believed that good school management was simply to reduce to a minimum the extra jobs of class teachers beyond teaching in their own classes, and to give them time to spend on their own pupils.

He also trusted his staff and their conscience. If teachers had the good working conditions which he had in mind, they should become good teachers. In his interview, he mentioned this,

I have no experience of giving instructions to my teachers. I have never walked round to monitor their classes. I did not require the teachers to write up and submit their weekly plan⁴ books.

And also,

I believed the teachers do it [proper work] because it is compulsory. I just gave them the text books, time and children, then it's up to them. I have never asked them about their educational policies. They should apply such policies in their own teaching practices.

A classroom is sometimes described as an exclusively isolated society in which one adult as a teacher controls many children. People often have suspicions and are worried about what is going on in a classroom. Due to their position, headteachers therefore concern themselves with everyday practice in classrooms. Nevertheless, Marumo totally trusted his staff; he used his own strategies in order to evaluate and develop teachers' performances instead of walking around the school to monitor them.

Consequently, the key factors of his school management were good working conditions for teachers and clearly demonstrated confidence in his staff. In his efforts to put his philosophy of school management into practice in his school, he undertook many actions which ordinary headteachers never do.

For example, he and his non-class teachers including the deputy head, the curriculum coordinator, the one specialist teacher⁵ and the nursing teacher⁶ did as many of the odd jobs around the school as they could in order to reduce the work load of class teachers.

He thinks non-class teachers are not really busy. They pretend to be very busy,

⁴ Planning note containing all kinds of planning such as yearly, monthly, weekly, daily and hourly, and records and self evaluations. This is a semi-official compulsory document.

⁵ For example, music teachers, sometimes science teachers, art teachers and home making teachers.

⁶ Nursing teachers have a special teacher's qualification, but they never teach regularly. All women. Similar to school nurse in England.

or they invent extra unnecessary jobs in order to seem important. In the interview, he pointed this out:

Schools have more teachers than before. When I was a deputy head, I had my own class in addition. ... They (non-class teachers) were not as busy as they pretended to be. As they were not busy, they had to find something to do even if it was unnecessary work.

He was critical of non-class teachers. In fact, over the last two decades, the numbers of non-class teachers and non-teaching teachers, in other words school managers, have been increased. Some years ago it was common practice for the deputy head and the curriculum coordinator to take some lessons, even if they did not have their own classes. They taught children particular subjects in senior classes. But recently these teachers do not teach. They claim that they can teach few or no lessons because they have more administrative work than before.

Marumo criticised these school managers, and analysed their perceptions about school management in his book,

They misunderstand their role as that of senior administrators, and they then distribute practical jobs to class teachers⁷. A deputy head and a curriculum coordinator monitor their jobs and job documents, then a headteacher signs them. - I want to point out that it is unfair. Why do they [non-class teachers] make class teachers do odd jobs?

(Marumo, 1987, p. 94)

His point is very clear and understandable. His stand is on the class teachers' side, not on the managers' side. Why did he stand on that side? No doubt that comes from his experience as a class teacher. However, he also articulated the importance of his own view in the book,

Children are God. Class teachers are Buddha who serves God. Therefore headteachers and deputy heads are servants who work for class teachers, i.e. Buddha who is serving God.

His priority is children rather than other adults. In order to develop children, all adults in a school have to do their best, How do they do their best for children? Class teachers concentrate on teaching children. What do non-class teachers do? They have to do everything possible to 'stick' class teachers to children. In his words,

In order to stick class teachers to children, we (non-class teachers) will do anything such as construction, building, painting, gardening, printing, writing and so on.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 95)

In fact, he did all kinds of jobs as a headteacher on behalf of the children, not of the class teachers. In the following subsection, I will illustrate his practices.

⁷ Chapter 4.

8-2-2 His Management Practices

Daily Practices as a Headteacher

As he said that he would do anything in order to reduce class teachers' odd jobs, he did various work from early morning to evening every day, sometimes even on Saturdays, Sundays and holidays.

He described his daily jobs in his book:

I am usually in the headteacher's room for only one hour a day. I am in the staff room for only one hour including lunch time. I always work outdoors during the rest of those times. My main jobs are: gardening, cleaning buildings, cleaning drains and plastering walls.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 135)

In Japan, these physical works are usually done by the school staff. Although each school has a caretaker, he does just fixed and limited kinds of jobs according to his job description. The school premises are more or less maintained by teachers and children in either daily activities such as cleaning time⁸, or holidays.

If something needs to be done urgently, class teachers may spend lesson time on the business by using their children's hands. To choose one example, every winter, all the schools have fitted stoves in each classroom, and in spring these are put away into storage. One class teacher is responsible for the arrangement and the delivery of all stoves from the storage to all classrooms. In fact, the class teacher in charge of this spent a half day on this business, using his children's hands. All teachers had to fit stoves and chimneys, either individually or cooperatively within each year group.

Although Marumo's daily practices looked rather bizarre, they were helpful and supportive for all class teachers.

Cutting Down Staff Meetings and PTA Activities

Marumo also set out to reduce the requirement to attend meetings. In Japanese schools, there are meetings with both internal and external people. The former meetings are, for example, a staff meeting, a year meeting and an INSET in school. The latter meetings are, for example, a parent's day, a local committee, an INSET by local authority and an academic committee.

As formal meetings such as an INSET organised by the local authority and some academic committees are compulsory, Marumo could not cut them down. However, he did either reduce or cut out all other meetings as far as he could, or alternatively he sought to replace the teachers and attend the rest of the meetings by himself instead of requiring the class teachers to be present.

His school had just a limited number of whole staff meetings instead of various small sub-meetings of senior members, junior members, specialists and year group.

⁸ Cleaning education. A part of the curriculum.

We do not have any of the following meetings; extra whole staff meetings, year meetings, specialist meetings, cross-curricular meetings, and senior meetings either for INSET for by year heads.

(Marumo, 1994, p. 69)

Furthermore, non-class teachers (mainly Marumo himself) attended all kinds of meetings of both the PTA and all local committees, even those which were held in the evening or during the holiday. In his interview, he said:

The deputy head and the curriculum coordinator attended all kinds of meetings with the PTA. I never ordered the class teachers to attend such kinds of meetings.

To sum up, the class teachers in his school were released from those meetings, so that they could spend more time on work directly related to their children.

Clubs for Children⁹

His policy extended to the organisation of school clubs. In his policies, children were always central and both directly and indirectly they were the priority.

In the direct sense, he set up many kinds of clubs in order to fulfil individual children's requests as much as possible. However, as it was obviously impossible to accept all their requests, he limited these activities to sports clubs and introduced a rotation system. In my experience, the majority of children loved sports clubs rather than cultural clubs. In Marumo's arrangement, children could join all kinds of clubs in turn, and the majority of them were happy.

Moreover, indirectly for the sake of the children, he held clubs three times a week in order to reduce the class teachers' workload. The class teachers each took one club each in a week. But the non-class teachers took a club three times a week. In other words, the non-class teachers had three times more workload on clubs than the class teachers. As a result of that, the class teachers had more time for their own classes.

As he understood how the majority of class teachers felt about clubs, he organised matters so that each class teacher took charge of a club on a day when his own class was involved:

The majority of teachers do not dedicate themselves to clubs because they are dealing with children from other classes.

(Marumo, 1987, p. 138)

His policy about clubs was obviously unique and different from ordinary schools, where all class teachers except non-class teachers take a part in clubs, and the teacher in charge of clubs makes decisions about what kinds of clubs are to be held.

Marumo's views confirm the findings in my earlier study which suggest that class teachers are reluctant to do any kinds of jobs, even clubs, which are not related to their own children.

⁹ A part of the curriculum, compulsory.

INSETs in His School

INSET in Japanese school was discussed in Chapter 4. Here, in order to make clearer how INSET in his school is different from others, I will briefly describe ordinary INSET in Japan.

There were mainly two types of school-based INSET in Japan. One is directly related to practical teaching itself. One teacher provides his class teaching performance as material for an INSET topic. All other teachers observe the class teaching and later discuss what they have seen.

Another type of INSET is either a practical workshop or a theoretical lecture, which does not involve any observation of teaching performance.

The latter type of INSET does not cause a problem for class teachers. The big concern for all teachers is the former type of INSET. No one wants to give a class teaching performance because of critical comments not only from the headteacher, a deputy head and an inspector but also from colleagues. The teacher seems like a sacrifice.

In Marumo's school, all class teachers were required to present teaching performances for school INSET once a year even though he knew how much teachers hated such a presentation of their class teaching performance:

The big question among teachers is who will present it. Teachers hate it. If you do it voluntarily, people think you are rather arrogant.

(interview)

But he also said,

INSET is crucial for teachers. I believe that the INSET in Honjou primary school is strict.

(Marumo, 1987, pp.132 - 133)

But despite this strictness, he allowed teachers to prepare only a minimal written teaching plan for INSET. As a result of it, the preparation took just a few hours from their long working hours.

Another practice showing his strictness is the representative system in the INSET meetings. One teacher in each year presented the summary of all the year teachers' opinions. Using his own words, 'as no one recognises who says that opinion, everybody can speak freely without any pressure.'¹⁰ Thus all teachers could articulate directly and criticise straightforwardly.

Keeping Working Hours

I have already discussed the fact that the statutory working hours of Japanese teachers are eight hours per day. Each school arranges the starting and ending times. But as the nature of the teaching job is unpredictable and endless, the ending time is always uncertain.

¹⁰ In the conversation after the formal interview.

However, in his school, the teachers worked until 5:15 everyday without any exceptions. Even if they were in a middle of meeting, they ended it, then left the school by 5:15. This policy was welcome particularly to women teachers, who are the majority in primary school.¹¹ In his interview, he said

Our staff meetings never continued after 5 o'clock. Everybody knew that the working hours of the teachers would be strictly observed.

Of course, the teachers could not complete all their work within the working hours, especially at the end of terms and the academic year. So they took all unfinished business such as marking and planning to their homes and completed it there. However the teachers were definitely encouraged to leave the school at the end of working hours. This fact is rather unusual in Japan.

Substitution for Class Teacher Absence by Non-class Teaching Staff

Substitution for class teacher absence by somebody seems nothing special in Britain. However, it is unusual in Japanese schools. In Japan, when a class teacher is either absent, or away from school for a business trip or INSET organised by the LEA for less than 30 days, no substitute teacher is employed for the class. In these cases, children in the classes basically have to study by themselves, even in Year 1 (6 or 7 year old). Non-class teachers do not always come to either teach or supervise the class. Normally other class teachers in the same year come to supervise the children or they teach or manage both classes together. In most cases, it involves an extra workload for teachers which can disrupt their own classes.

However, the situation in Marumo's school was quite different from ordinary schools. Non-class teachers took turns to stand in for the absent teacher, and the class teachers did not have to substitute at all. As a result they could concentrate ('stick' in his word) on their own classes. In his interview, he said

What do the deputy head, the curriculum coordinator and seitosidou (like school counsellor in Japan) do? They did not have a special job. Their main job was to substitute for absent teachers.

In his school, non-class teachers did not have their own classes. But they were definitely teaching staff because they taught children. Although the Japanese Ministry of Education recognised and counted all those non-class teachers as teaching staff, in fact, in ordinary schools they normally do not teach in either regular lessons or substituting lessons.

¹¹ 63.3 % (Japanese Ministry of Education, Science and Culture, 1994b, *Statistical Abstract of Education, Science and Culture*).

8-3

Marumo's Staff Views

I now turn to the response of Marumo's staff to his policies. I secured interviews with three class teachers who had worked with Marumo. These people were selected because of their perceived views which ranged from positive to neutral to negative. Coincidentally all of them were women. All understood Marumo's school management methods technologically and logically, not emotionally.

I propose to examine their views about his school management methods divided into three categories: about his school management, about what outsiders (parents and school community members) thought of it, and about what class teachers (insiders) thought of it.

About His School Management

All three teachers illustrated his school management methods in exactly the same terms as he stated in his interview and in his writings. All of them saw the main priority of his methods as 'sticking teachers to children'. In fact, both the No. 2 and No. 3 teachers used exactly this, his phrase. As I stated in the beginning of the chapter, this phrase is the same as the title of his book and it is a simple and appropriate way to articulate his school management style in short. Therefore, two of them used the phrase in order to describe his school management method.

The other policy which all of them pointed to as a distinguishing feature is the emphasis he placed on the basic abilities of reading, writing and calculation, especially for underachieving children. The class teachers understood this and other aspects of his educational policy well.

All three teachers pointed to two other key elements in his strategy: strategies to reduce meetings, and to eliminate the odd jobs normally required of class teachers.

Teacher no. 1 pointed to the substitution system using non-class teachers. Teacher no. 2 analysed a significant character of his policy which was in opposition to the Japanese social culture of 'groupism'. (see Chapter 3) And to describe his policy Teacher no. 3 used the word 'child-centred', which does seem to be the core of his educational faith. So on the whole, his staff understood accurately his educational policies including some significant points.

All of them mentioned some of the personal marks of his practice; memorising all children's names, instruction in swimming and so on. And all the teachers concluded their comments with a comment such as Teacher no. 3 made 'No one but him does it. Nobody can introduce his management style. I suppose it is unlikely.'

The teachers understood what he did, how his management worked and what were his principles. They could compare this with ordinary school management by the majority of headteachers. They recognised Marumo's management style as unusual. As a result of that, they concluded that it was based on his personal talent rather than on his management skills.

Outsider Views

All three teachers had similar perceptions about what the parents thought of Marumo; they all stated that his management was accepted by the parents.

Teacher no. 1 mentioned a reason of the acceptance, 'His school was especially good for underachieving children because of his individual care.' Teacher no. 3 also pointed out that the children's attitude explained the parents' acceptance, 'As all children loved the headteacher very much, they (the parents) did not complain about anything.'

To begin with there may have been some concern:

The parents were the same as the teachers. To begin with, they were surprised by his management. They were getting to understand and accept him.

(Teacher no. 2)

But the majority of the parents ultimately understood and accepted his management method and some even welcomed it. In Marumo's own view this was because all his practices and his dealing with children were directly for their benefit.

Parents are of course outside the schools. But they are much closer than other outsiders because they can get up-to-date information through their children day by day. However, other outsiders can not get such information. Many people did not know what was actually going on in the school. As Teacher no. 1 said

They (school community members) felt that it was good in some aspects, but it was too strict. ... It looked so from the outside because the headteacher directly took care of many children's problems by himself, ... Some people thought he was too strict when they looked only at his actions.

This may have come from a lack of information. All the teachers stated that there was a lack of communication even between Marumo and his staff, so it is not surprising that a good relationship between community members and him seems not to have been established.

Teachers Views

Despite their comments about the positive qualities of Marumo's policies and practices, the teachers' personal feelings and reactions were various. However, all of them showed some negative feelings about his management.

Two aspects were pointed out by all three teachers. One was a lack of communication among the teachers and between the teachers and the headteacher. All of the teachers and Marumo stated that meetings of the school were minimised, and were ended within working hours. Even if you have a meeting every day, it is still not enough with a large number of staff. As the school had about 1200 children, it was a large primary school in Japan. The school had about 50 staff. It can be readily understood that the teachers felt a lack of communication among themselves because of the circumstance of a minimum number of meetings in a large group.

Furthermore, Marumo did not recognise the necessity of close communication between a headteacher and his staff. As all of the interviews with the three teachers showed, all of the people around the school felt a kind of embarrassment to begin with because of the unusual, even unique, management style. The people had not previously encountered such a kind of management, so that they did not know what it was in detail, why he did it, how good it was, and what would happen next. Only Marumo knew these things. In fact, the staff gradually understood the way of his management. Eventually, they accepted and supported it. However, this process took time, and many unnecessary and avoidable problems were created such as embarrassment, misunderstanding, conflict, suspicion and waste of energy. I will return to this point in the following discussion section. But as a summary of the issue here, I cite one comment by Teacher no. 1,

Did he try to share his policies with the staff?

He did not do anything of the kind at all. So that some staff could not accept all of them.

The other feature which all of them pointed out is a bipolarisation of teachers' emotions toward his management. Once the teachers understood the rationale for his management, their emotions about it were divided into two types; positive type and negative type. Teacher no. 2 is a representative of the positive type, and Teacher no. 3 of the negative type. Teacher no. 1 was more neutral.

However, we can see one point which all the teachers understood about how Marumo's management system operated, that point was that he had both criticism and support. These teachers views of the strengths and weaknesses of his management were based on their own experiences. The teachers' views are to some extents related to their own ideas of teaching professionalism, whether the teachers comments on strengths or weaknesses.

But despite any reservations, all three teachers had a very positive attitude to two of his policies: eliminating the odd jobs of class teachers and keeping strictly working hours.

8-4

Discussion

8-4-1

Marumo's Management Style

All the interviewed teachers thought that Marumo's management style was based on his personal talent. All of them recognised that only Marumo could promote such a style of school management.

His personal approach had both weaknesses and strengths. His main weakness was a lack of communication with his staff. In his interview, when I asked about this

point, he answered,

I do not know whether they (the staff) could share it (his school management) or not. However, I think it's not necessary to ask them to share it.

Then, he changed to another topic. His basic idea of school management is that a headteacher manages a school, and class teachers manage their own classes. If a headteacher makes a plan for children on a school level, it is not class teachers' business. Class teachers concentrate just on their own classes, and only are responsible for the children in their classes. In order to fulfil this idea, non-class teachers including the headteacher must devote themselves to considering everything for the convenience of class teachers.

However, it seems difficult to separate school management from class management, because children belong to both a class and a school. Class teachers also play both roles, as class teachers and school staff, at the same time. As Marumo's management was particularly unusual, the class teachers as members of the school staff were feeling a need for information about what he was doing, why he did it, and what he would do next.

The class teachers felt excluded from the school management and the process of decision making, just as if Marumo was saying 'I decide everything without you. I do not need you in the process of school management. It is not your business. You just take care of your class management.'

This point is closely related to emotion rather than reason. Teacher no. 1 used a metaphor to describe his character,

When I told him, 'You look like Hitler (meaning a dictator)', he answered, 'You are right.' I think we cannot implement any innovation unless we become Hitler.

Hitler of course was known as a charismatic dictator. Marumo implied that a headteacher should be a powerful leader, and might ignore people when it was needed.

He did not appear to consider what the teachers felt about being ignored, and how far their emotions affected their teaching practices and the school ethos. Teachers are not mechanical parts of a school structure. They have their own thoughts and feelings, nevertheless they may not state these openly.

Handy and Aitken argue how important it is that a headteacher shares his policy with staff:

This means arriving at a shared set of values and expectations - Particularly as schools are inevitably involved in the business of the development and transmission of values.

(Handy and Aitken, 1994, p. 244)

The study by Mortimore et al. (1988) shows the importance of staff involvement in decision-making and the weakness of an authoritarian leadership. Teachers' involvement in decisions concerning school curriculum and class activities is especially significant in the pursuit school effectiveness, and in fact it is one of the twelve key factors. Ball

(1987) categorises headteachership into four styles; interpersonal, managerial, adversarial and authoritarian. He describes the authoritarian style in this way:

The authoritarian is concerned straightforwardly to assert. Statement rather than confrontation is the primary mode of verbal engagement with others. Such a head takes no chances by recognizing the possibility of competing views and interests. Opposition is avoided, disabled or simply ignored.

(Ball, 1987, p. 109)

If we dare to categorise Marumo into one of the four styles, his may be identified as the authoritarian style. In his case he went further than the typical authoritarian style described above, because he did not either assert or explain his policy to his staff. Due to this authoritarian leadership some of his staff resisted him emotionally.

But all the interviewees also mentioned one of the strengths of his practices as a reason why no one else could introduce his management style. As I illustrated in the last section, he found other means to cover all kinds of odd jobs in order to release the class teachers to concentrate on their classes. In Japanese schooling style, primary schools in the main stream do not have either teaching assistants or support staff at all. A lot of odd jobs in schools are usually done by class teachers as part of their duties. Such job distribution is decided mainly by headteachers. Their decisions are sometimes affected by conversations with other non-class teachers during everyday informal meetings in staff rooms while class teachers have lessons. In that respect, the class teachers' position is comparatively weak. Such informal meetings are sometimes more powerful than formal meetings.

Nevertheless, Marumo not only organised other non-class teachers to do odd jobs but also did them by himself. These behaviours are far not only from other ordinary Japanese headteachers but also from an authoritarian dictator. Rather he seems to be a liberal leader with an interpersonal style, to use Ball's definitions.

To sum up, Marumo's style was that of a charismatic leader. He had both authoritarian and liberal dimensions at the same time, and this might explain the complex response of those who worked with him.

8-4-2 Individualism and Groupism

Another issue worthy of comment is related to the significance within Japanese culture of group values as opposed to individualism. One of the interviewees, Teacher no. 2, pointed to this when she said:

In his management, all the other things were unnecessary. Teachers just develop individual children anyhow. The problem is a matter of the group.

According to her assumption, Marumo's priority was individual children rather than children in the group. He believes that if you enhance individual children, groups such as

a class and a school will improve as a result. So that teachers should spend more time on individual teaching, rather than on collective training in the group which is culturally significant in Japanese society. (see Chapter 3) Consequently, some social competences such as leadership, loyalty, cooperation, harmony and patience, may not be developed.

Marumo did not use such a common Japanese strategy for either the children or his staff. As the class teachers used Marumo's strategy in their classes and the children had no experience of the more usual alternative, the children were not uncomfortable at all. But the class teachers' case was different. They were uncomfortable with Marumo's style which dropped the grouping strategy and went straightaway to the individual strategy.

His innovation was to some extent a rejection of the basic Japanese culture which emphasises and uses grouping strategy. If he had recognised how far it challenged normal practice, the innovation might have been more successful and his approach would have been accepted by more people.

8-4-3

The School Ethos

The climate of Marumo's school was different from other ordinary schools. All three interviewees identified a special ethos in the school which was purposeful but tense. And they implied that this was the product of Marumo's management policy and the relationship between teachers. Here I shall discuss my interviewees' perceptions of this tense climate.

One of the interviewees, Teacher no. 3, confessed how much pressure she felt as a result of the school ethos:

It was very hard for me. ... The majority of the class teachers did not come to the staff room for a break. ... the school climate did not allow it. As I said before, it was so hard for me to work there. ... It was psychologically hard. There were few requirements by him, but the school was quite unusual, wasn't it? It focused on the individual class. I was not familiar with such a system.

Although this pressure was clearly caused by the unfamiliarity of the management style, this teacher thought that the main reason was the ethos which was too much focused on class management. The ethos of the school might be strongly purposeful, but some teachers felt it as a strong pressure.

As I argued in Chapter 2, the main object of class teachers' accountability in Japan is their classes. It seems rather ironical that Marumo's teachers experienced negative reactions in a school which guaranteed time for their main accountability. The majority of the teachers appeared to feel an invisible and implicit pressure to enforce upon them unlimited and endless enthusiasm for their teaching practice as class teachers. I suggest that such a strained ethos was created by four factors based on the teachers' professionalism; being a good teacher, rivalry among teachers, the central focus on the

children, and teacher accountability.

First, being a good teacher is directly related to teachers' professional ethical code. Many studies about teachers (Nias 1989, Pollard 1985, Lieberman 1990, Dunham 1990) indicate how much teachers desire to be good teachers. Hargreaves explains teachers' commitment to this notion of good practice as follows:

Many of the demands and expectations of teaching seemed to come from within teachers themselves, and frequently teachers appeared to drive themselves with an almost merciless enthusiasm and commitment in an attempt to meet the virtually unattainable standards of pedagogical perfection they set themselves.

(Hargreaves, 1994, p. 126)

The more conscientious a teacher is, the more she tends to drive herself to be an ever better teacher.

Second, rivalry among teachers, is closely related to the first point. Just as each child is different, so is each teacher. All teachers cannot be good teachers. It was made clearer for everybody who was a good teacher, and who was not. It was not, of course, an official appraisal, but teachers assessed each other by using their own professional values. One of the interviewees, Teacher no. 2 implied this, when she said

We may say less professional teachers resisted him (Marumo) more, on the other hand, more professional teachers such as ...

She evaluated each teacher's classroom management skills, how well he/she could manage his/her class, by using her own criteria about what a good teacher should be like. Marumo used the expression 'Penicillin teacher' to mean a good teacher. His definition of a good teacher puts a heavy emphasis on good class management. Teachers therefore worked very hard at their class management skills. This resulted in rivalry and the ethos therefore became even more strained.

Third, everything in the school was considered and planned on behalf of the children. This was directly related to the heart of Marumo's 'child-centred' policy. In teaching he emphasised the three basic skills; reading, writing and calculation. But all children do not always perform well on the three skills. When this happens, Japanese people believe that underachieving children need to spend more time on study under appropriate instruction; they can in theory achieve anything, because the main reasons for poor performance are just a lack of time and poor teaching skills. Each child needs an adequate style of instruction. The DFE report of Japanese primary education puts this point in the list of their findings:

It is expected that virtually all children will be able to master the contents of the course of study given appropriate effort on the part of pupils themselves, parents and teachers. Poor performance is not excused by reference to pupils' supposed lack of ability or social background.

(DFE, 1992, Main Findings, p. 6)

This comment rightly describes one of the fundamental Japanese beliefs about education.

This attitude does not come only from the insiders of the school, the headteacher and the teachers themselves, but also from the outsiders of the school, the parents and the social culture itself. The DFE report makes a further comment:

Lack of differentiation often results in abler children being given unchallenging work. Partly because of large classes less able children are not always given sufficient support during lessons to prevent them falling behind their peers. These pupils are, variously, given extra tuition after class ...

(DFE, 1992, Main Findings, p. 6)

In his school, Marumo gave the class teachers more time than in other schools, in order to give extra tuition to individual children during playtime and after class until 4:30. This set up a strong implicit pressure on teachers. They were expected to make unlimited demands on themselves according to teachers' professionalism, on behalf of the children.

Last, it is class teachers' accountability. Clearly in Marumo's management style, class teachers are responsible for their classes. Each teacher teaches and cares for all the children in his/her own class. The main problem is that each child belongs to both his class and to the school at the same time. In ordinary primary schools, class teachers care for individual children, and headteachers are not involved. Teachers just report particular children's cases to the headteacher or year heads when it is needed. The majority of headteachers know personally only very limited numbers of children in their own schools.

However, Marumo was not an ordinary headteacher; he not only memorised all the children's names but was also just like a class teacher directly involved in their care, particularly if they had problems. All the three interviewees pointed to this as a negative aspect of his management. One of them, Teacher no. 2, illustrated how the teachers felt about his direct approaches to individual children:

We were responsible for the children in our own classes and to the parents as class teachers. Otherwise, people would wonder what a class teacher is doing. In his management, class teachers seemed to be ignored.

This point accords with one of the findings in my 1993 study. Class teachers in primary schools have their own unconscious boundaries or territories which are based on their sense of professional responsibility for their class. They realise that they need to know everything about the individual children in the class under their control. If someone comes into their territory, they feel threatened and angry. It can be said that Marumo invaded and threatened the territory of these class teachers without recognising what he was doing.

The class teachers were worried about a lack of communication in the school, as I illustrated in the former section. Nevertheless they seemed to want to protect their 'class kingdom' from outsiders, even from the headteacher. This sense of defending their own territory seems to be a common characteristic of primary class teachers in many parts of the world.

Those four points are the main factors which created the strained ethos in the

school. Any one of these factors, or a combination of two or three of them might exist in many other schools. However, it would be a rare case in which all were present a in a high degree. In Marumo's school this appears to have been the situation.

8-5

Conclusion

Marumo's practices were quite unique in Japan. All his educational policies come from his idea of 'sticking class teachers to children'. This idea was based on his personal experiences as a class teacher when he was a young. He developed his own principle about how class teachers should devote themselves to their own classes and class activities for the sake of the children.

There are three points which the Marumo story adds to the picture of the professional culture of primary education which has been explored through the first seven chapters. First, Japanese teachers have a heavy work load which puts pressure on the time available for pupil instruction. Even attention to basic literacy and numeracy, especially for the underachieving, can be limited by all these other pressures. Second, it is possible to reduce this workload, especially by restructuring the work of non-class teachers. Last, Marumo's intention was to create more time for teaching. In practice this had both good and bad results: the good results were fewer distractions, more time for focussing on children's academic development and less pressure; and the bad results were to diminish opportunities for: 1. working across the whole range of the Course of Study with a focus on personal, and moral development (e.g. clubs, home-school liaison, special activities and school events); and 2. collaboration with colleagues (e.g. INSET, meetings and school as opposed to class focused projects). Exclusion from shared activities rapidly leads to exclusion from decision making and hence to a feeling of isolation.

Thus Marumo's story shows that despite a well-intentioned attempt to resolve problems which are widely agreed to exist, Japanese teachers resist an attempt to confine them to the role of restricted professionals; and despite the evidence in the earlier chapters that parents are inclined to discount their academic input as opposed to their role in socialisation, personal and moral development, they seemed unhappy when Marumo tried to save them from being not just extended but rather over-extended professionals.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

What all these characteristics of teaching have in common is their capacity to affect the individual teacher's self-image. This fact is compounded by the existence of historical and cultural traditions in England and Wales which require primary teachers to accept a wider range of responsibilities - moral social, affective, physical as well as cognitive - for their pupils than is the case in many other countries, and to make most of the resulting curricular and pedagogic decisions unaided. In addition, they are assumed to be capable of fulfilling these responsibilities in respect of a large class, with relatively few material resources, in physical isolation, and with little guidance or support from other adults. In other words, they are required to perform complex and demanding tasks under conditions which constantly underline their loneliness and individual accountability, and yet which remind them that failure is a reflection upon their own worth as people.

(Nias, 1989, pp. 205 - 206)

This chapter starts with a quotation from Nias about the professionalism of English primary teachers. Her description applies perfectly to the situation of Japanese primary teachers as well. My intention in using this quotation is to show the nature of primary teachers' professionalism, which in many ways can be seen as universal and general. But in each country and culture the background and situation are clearly not the same as one another.

I am not intending either to repeat the conclusions to each chapter or to summarise them in this last chapter. I shall discuss here the following five questions: 1. the nature of Japanese teachers' broad and various responsibilities; 2. the extent to which these responsibilities are the product of the national curriculum; 3. their impact upon the teacher practice and professionalism; 4. the influence of parental perceptions upon teachers' professionalism; and 5. teachers' own views about professionalism.

First, I will discuss how broad and various teachers' responsibilities are. As Nias describes them, English primary teachers are widely recognised as being responsible for broad areas of education, and as often working under rather unpleasant conditions compared to other countries. Another piece of research which shows similar findings about the professional life of English primary teachers is the large comparative study by Broadfoot et al. (1988 and 1993) which explored primary teachers' professionalism in England and France. The research discovered the differences in teachers' perceptions of their own professionalism in both countries. Whereas French teachers are characterised in Hoyle's term as 'restricted professionals' because they can just follow the centrally-prescribed guidelines, and do not have to justify their own classroom practices, English primary teachers are characterised as 'extended professionals'. The reason why English teachers are characterised in this way is explained as follows:

Because primary schools in England have traditionally been free to determine their own curriculum and pedagogy within broad guidelines, so they have correspondingly tended to develop their own idiosyncratic ethos, centred on the institution itself and the leadership of the head teacher. The lack of any clear central prescription of content has also meant the necessity both to explain and often justify to parents and others the practices adopted.

(Broadfoot et al., 1988, p. 271)

The school situation in England has been dramatically changed since the Education Reform Act 1988 was introduced. As their professional autonomy has become more limited, especially on curriculum matters, teachers' professionalism could well be different from before, and indeed there are signs that the situation is still very fluid. However English teachers could still be characterised as extended professionals, because of new requirements such as local school management and more systematic and school-based in-service training programmes. According to Hoyle's definition, the concept of extended professionalism itself is positive. But Goodson and Hargreaves (1996) comment on the way in which teachers in many countries are experiencing additional demands, and as argued in Chapter 2 suggest that, 'extended professionalism' can turn to distended professionalism. In fact, teachers are heavily occupied by non-teaching responsibilities, which keep them away from direct teaching activities or teaching-related activities.

The curriculum situation in Japan is different from its English counterpart. Japan has had precisely prescribed curricula for long time. Teachers have classroom autonomy, but there is no curriculum freedom for them. They exercise their pedagogical autonomy only in order to teach a prescribed curriculum. However even though they actually have a clear national curriculum, in my view they can still be characterised as extended professionals. And this is because the Japanese National Curriculum is very broad and comprehensive in its objectives and aimed at every aspect of the child's behaviour.

Second was the question about the extent to which such teachers' broad and various responsibilities are the product of the national curriculum. As we have seen, the Japanese Course of Study has three areas: the subject area, the Moral Education area and the Special Activities area. (see Chapter 4) Although these areas are clearly prescribed, they are extremely wide in their range and often imprecise. This is particularly true for the Moral Education and the Special Activities areas. The Moral Education area deals with more spiritual and abstract objectives than the Special Activities area. It aims to deal with every aspect of the child's behaviour including both academic and personal activities, both within- and outside school, every day and all the year. The Special Activities area also deals with every practical aspect of children's lives in school.

The Course of Study is generally understood as a combination between the content and process approaches because in the subject area it uses a combination of approaches. But Moral Education and Special Activities areas are more akin to the objectives curriculum model. The goals of Moral Education especially are understood

in terms of behavioural changes. If there is no visible or measurable change in children's behaviour, this is judged as a failure on the part of the teacher. Moral education is clearly aimed at spiritual development, not skills development.

The Course of Study, both by its breadth and its aspiration to change social and moral behaviour, poses a fundamental problem for teachers, and actually drives them into behaving as extended professionals. Teachers are required to change children's behaviour both in schools and outside schools, every day and all the year. The responsibility of teachers is to achieve the total development of children. Yet the objectives of the Moral Education area are not precisely prescribed, nor are they related to each grade in any detail; their aim is to promote children's proper behaviour in its totality.

My third question concerns the impact of these responsibilities deriving from the Course of Study upon teachers' practice and professionalism. A good example of such impact would be the lack of clarity about teachers' working hours. School hours are seen as direct contact time with children in school; the rest of the time, in school and outside school, when the children go home or are on holiday, is generally understood as stand-by time rather than teachers' private time or off-duty time. Teachers are called out to schools or any other places such as shops and police stations at any time when it is necessary in order to fulfil their responsibility to children. This unlimited responsibility leads to the problem of distended professionalism: Hargreaves claims that this damaging distended professionalism should be characterised as intensification whereby the workload of teachers is continuously increased. He argues that

Intensification is voluntarily supported by many teachers and misrecognised as professionalism.

(Hargreaves, 1994, p. 120)

Many of the demands and expectations of teaching seemed to come from (teachers) themselves, and frequently (they) appeared to drive themselves with almost merciless enthusiasm and commitment in an attempt to meet the virtually unattainable standards of pedagogical perfection they set themselves. They did not appear to need direction or pressure from above to motivate them in their quest. They drove themselves quite hard enough.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 126)

This is the exact point of Japanese teachers' professionalism:

intensification may not impact on all teachers in the same way. It may be felt particularly keenly by those teachers who are, because of their own commitments or work circumstances, rather more work-centred than their colleagues.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 136)

In so far as Japanese teachers tend to work very hard, this concept of intensification seems particularly relevant to their situation. Thus, their professionalism is best understood as the product of intensification, and Hargreaves recognises this as a threat to true professionalism. But he argues that 'more time' is not an adequate measure to deal with this problem of intensification:

intensification and labor process theories more generally do not fully explain what is happening in teachers' work. Our understanding of such work cannot solely be reduced to labor process theory. While time as an antidote to intensification can provide some of the solutions to the problems of teacher development and teachers' work, it can be just as much a source of further problems as well. ... intensification is an important but not the only source of problems within teachers' work, and preparation time is only partly a solution to it. Sincere commitments of a professional and vocational nature among teachers that amount to more than "ideological misrecognition", the increasingly complex nature of society in the postmodern age and the necessarily widening demands it places on education and educators, the complexities and unanticipated consequences of large bureaucracies, and the displacement of struggles about intensification to new sites even when time has been provided as an antidote to it - these things too must be considered.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 138)

My fourth question concerns the influence of parental perceptions upon teachers' practice and professionalism. My data shows that Japanese parents think primary teachers do not need to be academic experts (Chapter 5). They see teachers as partners rather than people with superior knowledge and status. In fact, they do not completely rely on teachers in respect of either the academic or the personal development of their children, and they are willing to share these commitments with teachers.

This is a good example of how parents expect to share their responsibility with schools and teachers. A reform in Syouwa cho (town) (1992) was a challenge to redefine the schools' role and parents' role with regard to school meal education. The local authority proposed to stop serving school lunches and asked the parents to provide packed lunches. But this was not accepted by parents. The majority resisted this reform because they did not want to take responsibility for their children's lunch.

There is no clear evidence as to why Japanese parents have such a distinctive perception of teachers' professionalism. Though the relationship between teachers and parents looks to be collaborative, there are an enormous number of public debates about the relationships between teachers and parents. These debates are not always favourable to teachers, and imply that teachers' social position is not strong and high in the modern Japanese society. Teachers are no longer powerful and respected. Thus parents require even more basic child care from teachers because they do not have to hesitate to ask partners for assistance. In addition to that, the existence of 'juku' (informal private institutions) may explain how Japanese parents see their obligation to the academic support of their children. Juku are very common institutions providing for both academic and personal development of children. The DFE report about Japanese education described them as follows:

Juku are independent private institutions which provide extracurricular tuition. Many are academic 'crammers' but others provide classes in, for example, swimming, music, art and foreign languages. However, a majority of elementary school pupils attending *juku* do so because their parents wish them to improve their academic performance, usually in Japanese, mathematics or science. This work is often targeted upon the entrance examinations for those junior high schools with selective intakes. About a third of the

pupils in grades 5 and 6 of those elementary schools visited attended *juku*.

(DFE, 1992, p. 16)

Although the quality of *juku* is not controlled by any authority and can be very variable, they are popular with parents because of easy access and affordable expense. So *juku* can be one of the factors which shape parents' perceptions of teacher professionalism because they have an alternative choice whenever they need help for their children.

Parents sometimes use the word 'hostages' as a metaphor for the teacher-parent relationship. Parents see their children in schools as captured by teachers; thus they believe that teachers do not treat children properly if they do not like their parents. This may be an extreme example, but it implies the hidden relationship between teachers and parents in Japan, which is no longer characterised by complimentary expressions such as respect and trust. The contribution which the high expectations of Japanese parents make to the quality of school education has been identified in many studies (Stevenson 1992, White 1987). However some of their heavy expectations could be seen as having a negative effect. This weakness has tended to be ignored by commentators and scholars but Toyama has pointed to the unpleasant relationships which often exist between teachers and parents:

What is most unfortunate for children today is that schools and parents do not trust one another. Parents insist that schools and teachers must do their jobs properly, and schools complain that parents are asking them to do what they themselves ought to be doing.

(Toyama, 1987, p. 9, my translation)

He suggests that there needs to be greater clarity about what schools can and should do, and what parents can and should do.

The data which I collected from headteachers confirms this as a serious issue. Headteachers were worried about a situation in which parents are demanding that schools accept ever-increasing responsibilities. They also know how dangerous this can be. Teachers already have as much work as they can cope with, and schools have the maximum responsibilities which they can manage. Thus the headteachers showed their dilemma in coping with these conflicting choices: accepting all demands the same as before, or diminishing them as much as possible. If schools are to claim that they are 'democratic' it is actually difficult to refuse something which has previously been accepted. As Musgrove wrote:

On the face of it, schools which regard parents as consumers and set out to satisfy their needs are 'democratic': they accept the will of the people.

(Musgrove, 1979, p. 132)

People do not understand that there needs to be a change. It is therefore necessary to persuade them. There needs to be a powerful and legitimated argument to change people's minds, and gain their understanding and cooperation. This takes time.

An example of how difficult this is can be found in the government's attempts since 1992 to change from 6 working days per week to 5 working days per week

(Saturday off). This is not a simple change to reduce the number of school days; it implies new thinking about the concepts of the schools' and the parents' roles. The government understands that this is a fundamental social change, and that there needs to be careful preparation and a staged schedule of implementation. 'Saturday off' has therefore been gradually introduced, from once a month to twice a month. However the main problem with the implementation is parents' response to the introduction of this system. The majority of parents disagreed with the system before it began. Even after the first introduction of one Saturday off a month, only 31 % of parents agreed with the next step, i.e. two Saturdays off a month (Japanese Ministry of Education, 1994a). In contrast, 78 % of teachers and 75 % of children agreed with the introduction of the next step. The main reason why parents do not agree is that 58.5 % of them cannot look after their children on their extra free day. This clearly shows what Japanese parents expect of schools. The role of schools for parents seems to be the equivalent of a child care centre rather than an educational institution.

Similar points are made by a major Japanese newspaper. For example:

Parents and community have to recognise the "Saturday off system" as their own problem. As a result of the endless requirements they lay on schools, schools have acquired vast functions. It is the time for people to reconsider their tendency to depend on others for the care of their children, and to stop asking schools to play proxy for parents.

(Yomiuri Shinbun, 1994 October 8, my translation)

Voss (1977) has also pointed to the multiple roles that are expected of Japanese schools. He suggests that

the reasons why parents in modern society have an extreme dependence on others are various, but I think that one of them is a modern trend in Japanese society.

(Voss, 1977, p. 132)

He argues that the boundaries between parental and school responsibilities are too vague.

Consequently, modern society in Japan has a strong tendency to make schools jacks-of-all-trades, and this social uncommon sense, which recognises all kinds of business and responsibilities as schools' business, is extremely widespread and deeply felt.

(Voss, *ibid.*, p. 132)

On the evidence presented here, many teachers and students or educators consider that Japanese parents ought to change their concepts, and to go back to what is a more natural role for parents. Abiko makes a comment on this:

as many people have pointed out already, we have to move education from "school dependence" style to a style which enable parents to exercise their natural right. But although there needs to be this fundamental change, many Japanese resist it.

(Abiko, 1995, p. 83, my translation)

Abiko understands that the key to the full introduction of the 5 day week in schools is how much parents understand the policy and agree and cooperate with it. But current

levels of resistance clearly demonstrate Japanese parents' present perceptions of schools' and teachers' roles.

Finally, I turn to the teachers' view of their own professionalism. My study shows Japanese teachers' anxiety and irritations about their current unmanageable situation. But in public their voice on these matters is not heard. Why do teachers neither raise their voices nor resist the situation? In fact, teachers do not actively protect themselves. In my interviews with school community members, they suggest that schools need to articulate more clearly their real intentions, and to show a clear attitude towards parents. As I have described, teachers have accepted the legal and social requirements laid upon them together with the many requests made by parents; and they understand how difficult it is to manage the existing situation. Even so, they do not take any action to improve their plight.

One characteristic of Japanese teachers is that they are not reluctant to manage and solve all the practical problems of maintaining school by themselves, without any help or support. As I described in Chapter 4, Japanese primary teachers do not have any support teachers or ancillary staff. They even clean schools and serve school dinner to the children. Class teachers maintain swimming pools and gardens. Thus teachers tend to accept without question extra work outside their teaching.

In addition to this, if the request is something relevant to their own classes or pupils, they rarely refuse it because they have a strong sense of territoriality in relation to their own children and their own classroom. They feel committed to their own classes. Pollard (1992) makes this same point about English primary teachers:

Of course the majority of primary-school teachers have a very strong sense of commitment to their work and to the children in their care. This could be seen as part of the professional socialisation begun in teacher-education courses and developed thereafter, or it could be seen as a more free-standing type of idealism. In many cases such commitment forms an element of self-image.

(Pollard, *ibid.*, pp. 30 - 31)

Hargreaves (1994) also mentions it:

The immediacy of the classroom, its centrality within the teacher's world, and the multiple demands it placed upon the teacher for diversified programming and preparation that would be rationally accountable to others made most teachers predominantly classroom-focused and classroom-centred in their actions, thoughts and preferences. They were practical and classroom-focused not just inside their own classrooms but outside them too, concentrating their energies on what would best and most immediately benefit their own students: preparing materials, ordering resources, marking promptly, and so forth.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 131)

We need to remember that all activities in schools always relate to children, and all children belong to classes. Thus any school matter can require a class teacher's commitment. This argument is often used when teachers are criticised. It seems illogical and unfair, but there is no escape for teachers because in Japanese schools all pupil problems are thought to originate in the classroom. Thus teachers tend to be

cautious and silent.

What happens to teachers as a result? Teachers are always psychologically and physically occupied by the school issues, which are endless and unpredictable. The main problem is that they seek perfection in their work with children because of their professional pride. This kind of professionalism works well when teachers' workload is reasonable and manageable. But the Japanese teachers' situation is already too difficult to manage. Therefore teachers are not able to handle all the work required of them to satisfy the demands of parents. They do their best, but it is obvious to teachers, headteachers, and even outsiders such as school community members and academics that the situation is deadlocked.

No one can be content with such a situation. But teachers feel that they are not making enough effort or that they lack professionalism; they may even feel guilty. Hargreaves explores the emotions of teaching, especially guilt. He understands guilt as a central emotional preoccupation for teachers which has both positive and negative dimensions:

The repair work that comes from the need or wish to expiate guilt can be a powerful stimulus to personal change and social reform. Guilt experienced in modest proportions can be a great spur to motivation, innovation and improvement. But in the way that teachers often talk about it, when guilt is bound up with overwhelming feelings of frustration and anxiety, it can become demotivating and disabling in one's work and one's life.

(Hargreaves, *ibid.*, p. 142)

It is very difficult to estimate the exact degree or level to which teachers' guilt is dominated by feelings of frustration and anxiety. It may well depend on the individual characters and situations of teachers. However the Japanese situation is reaching this maximum point: as illustrated in my interview data, teachers show that they understand the dilemma and they show their irritation. This irritation arises from their frustration and anxiety. But the question is whether guilt is a powerful stimulus to prompt teachers' 'motivation, innovation and improvement' in the Japanese case? The answer is yes, at least until the present. Guilt is one of the main emotions experienced by Japanese teachers and presently it works powerfully to drive them to devote themselves to their commitments and responsibilities both in their own classes and in their schools. In Hargreaves's term they are both 'guilt-ridden' and 'guilt-driven'. As this guilt comes from a feeling of incompleteness or imperfection in relation to the endless commitments and responsibilities, the expiation for guilt consequently creates yet further burdens and commitments for teachers.

As the Japanese teachers' present situation is already at the limit in terms of its manageability, further commitments lead on to more serious and unmanageable problems such as burn out and isolation, which can be distended professional. In fact, some headteachers and teachers in my sample indicate that they anticipate ever more problems in the near future. However the majority of teachers are not aware of this unpleasant situation, and they are not actively concerned with the improvement of their

professional conditions. Why are they not critical? Why are they so silent and obedient? Are they happy with the situation? Are they satisfied with the endless responsibilities? Do they think they will be rewarded for self-sacrifice?

In Chapter 8 I described a challenge to this situation by Marumo. He is really worried about the teachers' situation in the same way as the headteachers (Chapter 6) and the school community members (Chapter 7) were. He has tried to minimise teachers' work outside their teaching and their direct responsibilities for their own classes. In his view, non-teaching staff (headteachers, deputy heads, curriculum coordinators, school nurses, care-takers and secretaries in Japanese schools) do not work enough. By this he does not mean teaching as such, because none of them has either their own class or lessons. They do administrative or manual work according to their individual duties. But as I have shown, all kinds of responsibilities end up with class teachers. Non-teaching staff minimise their responsibilities and practical workload by passing it on to class teachers.

However, Marumo's strategies did not allow these people to give extra work to class teachers in order to reduce their own practical workload. He made these people do whatever work they could on behalf of class teachers. This should be welcomed by class teachers even though non-teaching staff were not so happy with his policy. But the fact was that even some class teachers did not welcome it. This is illogical and hard to understand. Why were some class teachers not happy with a situation that seemed to offer them better working conditions?

The answer may be that Japanese teachers were resisting classroom isolation from colleagues and exclusion from participation in school-wide decision making (see discussion of Japanese group culture in Chapter 3). This appeared to limit their own professionalism. Inside the classroom, teachers work to the guidelines set by the Course of Study. They have good text-books, well-prepared INSETs and well-established ways of doing things (Chapter 4). Thus in Marumo's system they coped well but in isolated conditions, lacking the opportunity to communicate with colleagues in a creative fashion. This type of professionalism comes close to Darling-Hammond's concept of teaching as labour or perhaps craft, or to Hoyle's restricted professionalism. It is far from either Darling-Hammond's concept of teaching as a profession or Hoyle's extended professionalism which teachers seem to prefer, and which the system itself seems to require from them. In any situation similar to Marumo's, teachers may never develop their active passion for education. They are supposed to have it when they become teachers, but in time they lose this kind of energy for education. They adapt to the Japanese school culture in the process of their professional development.

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The current notion, feature and situation of Japanese teachers as professionals has emerged clearly from the five questions addressed in this chapter. I have argued

that the situation needs urgent consideration because teachers are already exposed to almost the maximum pressures that they can manage. Under the Japanese spiritual culture 'Gambaru', teachers themselves have persevered to carry out their responsibility (Chapter 3). But as we saw, the whole character of Japanese teachers' professionalism has been shaped by historical, social and cultural factors in a very complicated fashion, and it cannot be expected that change will occur quickly or easily.

Perhaps one of the ways to improve the situation is a careful and increasingly public consideration of the nature of teacher professionalism. In concluding his book on Education and Democracy Kelly differentiates teachers as professionals from other established professions:

It is of course the case that many people take the view that education is not a matter of professional expertise in the way that, say, medicine or engineering are, and that the professional expertise of the teacher does not go beyond a knowledge of a curriculum subject and of the techniques of controlling pupils in order to teach them that subject. No one could have read the earlier chapters of this book, however, without realizing that the professional expertise of the teacher is far more significant than the mere skills of transmitting knowledge, nor without appreciating the kinds of understanding that expertise embraces. So that one has to be naive in the extreme to continue to regard educational planning as something which does not need that kind of input, and which can be effectively undertaken by laypersons.

(Kelly, 1995, p. 160)

Knowledge of the curriculum and teaching techniques may be developed in training. But teacher professionalism is, Kelly argues, more than this. Lawton argues the differences between education and training:

Training is the appropriate word when we are concerned with a specific skill or set of skills with clear criteria for right and wrong outcomes. ... There is no room for any debate about methods. ... Education, on the other hand, is open-ended. Not all objectives can be defined or prespecified with complete precision, although we may want as much precision as possible. There are criteria to indicate good and bad procedures, but there will not necessarily be a single correct answer, nor one right way of performing. ... It has become fashionable to talk of teacher education rather than teacher training, but for some aspects of teacher preparation the word training might be more appropriate. However, *teachers need to be well educated as well as well trained.* (my emphasis)

(Lawton, 1996, pp. 16 - 17)

Lawton's argument may be a key to the Japanese teachers' situation. There is no doubt that teachers in Japan are well trained. They perform well in teaching and looking after children. But they may not be well educated. Teachers only need to follow instructions set by both official documents and informal cultural norms without using their own judgment. So they can avoid or minimise risks and problems, and get still a certain level of outcome. Although teacher training produces the necessary skills for this unquestioning compliance with instructions, only teacher education can produce extended professionals able to use professional judgment. Only properly educated teachers would not wish to change the inherited and traditional role whereby the teacher accepts responsibility for the development of the whole child (what I have here called

extended professionalism). What is really needed for Japanese education is a teacher education system which develops creative teachers in addition to teacher training. Properly educated teachers are able to judge the differences between education and child care, what they have to do and what parents have to do.

As the initial teacher education system in Japan aims to produce minimally competent teachers (see Chapter 4) and is characterised as training, it cannot be expected to provide the kind of teacher education to which I refer here. Indeed not all students who gain this initial qualification can become teachers, and so teacher education as such may be less appropriate at that point than training. It follows that genuine teacher education in Japan needs to be addressed within the in-service system provided by central and local governments and by other informal institutions. It may also be that the provision of appropriate courses within higher education needs to be expanded more rapidly than presently planned.

The Japanese in-service education system works efficiently because it is highly structured and well managed. The official induction system in the first three years, especially in the first year, aims to shape mainly basic pedagogy and the development of proper attitudes in new teachers. This programme could well be enhanced and extended by the inclusion of more demanding, professionally orientated content to form a sound basis for the young teacher's future career development. These initial years are crucial in shaping professional attitudes.

The current government policy of further qualifications for teachers in universities is still under development. There is a large potential for teacher education within these courses which could include a range of levels up to the masters' degree. Such courses attract experienced and enthusiastic teachers. Many of these senior teachers are promoted to posts in which they have responsibilities to manage schools, advise teachers and educate junior teachers. Thus through their influence, the benefits of upgraded teacher education are diffused through the system. Measures such as those proposed here could be readily introduced into the existing structures of the Japanese education system.

However, what we need to do is to recognise the importance of teacher education, while not damaging existing conception of extended professionalism that is itself shaped by historical, social and cultural factors (Chapters 3 and 4). What Japanese teachers need to do is to be aware of their own role and responsibility as teachers, and to judge the situation in which they find themselves and reasons why it exists according to their own values. Then they need to express their own ideas and feelings publicly, and to act and behave according to their own professional judgment. This would enable them to become extended professionals in a full sense which it seems is what they really want to be.

Appendices

Appendix 1

One Day in The Working Life of an English Primary School Teacher

I am a class teacher in an inner London primary school. This year I am teaching a class of 29 children aged 7-8 years. Class sizes in the school range from 26 to 34 pupils.

We all plan the teaching programme (scheme of work), prepare lessons, mark work, carry out assessments, keep records on pupils, have meetings with staff and parents, take responsibility for maintaining a curriculum area through the school, share some of the discipline duties (supervising detention of pupils), perform some administrative duties, share in the ordering of new stock and equipment, and take turns to keep the staff room clean and tidy.

All teaching staff attend four meetings per week:

Monday, 4 pm to 5:30 pm: either full staff meeting or curriculum development meeting.

Wednesday, 4 pm to 5:30 pm: team meeting.

Thursday, 1 pm to 1:30 pm: full staff meeting.

Friday, 4 pm to 5 pm: year group planning meeting.

Meetings with parents, union meetings, governors meetings, and ad hoc meetings to deal with problems arising are additional to these.

The teachers in our school teach children for 22 hours a week. They have one-and-a-half hours non-contact time every two weeks. Every class teacher has help from a classroom assistant for a certain number of hours each week. The number of hours help for each class varies according to the age of the children, the proportion of children in the class who have special educational needs (e.g. learning difficulties or English as a second language), and the seniority of the teacher (less experienced teachers receive more help). The range is between four and five and a half hours per week. I get classroom assistance for four hours per week. The nursery class is staffed by a full-time nursery nurse in addition to the nursery teacher.

Account of one day: Monday, 14th March

7 am: (At home) Consulted week teaching plans (prepared at the Friday planning meeting with other Year 3 teacher) and noted preparations which would need to be done that morning.

7:45 Left home and drove to school by car, picking up a colleague who I take to work each day on the way. In the car we discussed possible strategies to use for a family who are in distress and have a boy in my class and a younger girl in her class. Both children have been presenting severe behaviour management difficulties. We agreed to set up a meeting with the parent.

8 am Arrived at school. I emptied the staff-room dishwasher, while a colleague filled the urn with water and switched it on for staff coffee.

8:05 Went to office. Printed maths worksheets for the second lesson, and that week's homework worksheets for my class. There had been a delivery of an order my team had made for new story books for the classes in my building. I and one of the junior teachers

in my team checked off the order, stamped the books with the school stamp and delivered them to classes.

8:20 Unlocked my classroom. Put out in the children's places their marked homework books, their homework sheets for that week (different sheets according to attainment level - multiple copies printed by me from a book of photocopy masters), their maths and topic folders and some marked maths and topic work for them to file in the folders, and their writing books ready for the first lesson. Two pupils arrived and helped me with these tasks.

8:45 Prepared a display board for a display of children's work in the hall. Meanwhile, the two pupils who had arrived early set out the lunch-money boxes in which the children put their daily lunch money, and sharpened pencils. I continued to work on the display.

8:50 Went to the kitchen to order a packed lunch for a pupil in my class who was being excluded from school premises over the lunch-period that day for bad behaviour in the playground. Went to the staff-room. Picked up register. Read the week's diary and information sheet which the Head prepares each week. Made a cup of coffee, but no time to finish drinking it.

9:00 Official start of school day. Went to classroom. Eight pupils are already working: reading the assessments on their marked work, filling, and getting on with their writing work, which was work they had begun the previous Thursday. The rest of the pupils arrive almost as the whistle is blown to signal the start of lessons.

9:05 Called the register while pupils work. Checked off the lunch-money boxes and sent the child whose duty it was that day across to the office with them.

9:15 Stopped the pupils working and talked through what would be happening that day (what we would be doing in each lesson), made comments on homework and other work I had marked, gave messages (e.g.. arrangements for booking tickets for the school performance, information about a forthcoming swimming competition they may enter for.) Allowed the pupils time to ask any questions they had about all this.

9:25 Pupils continued with their writing work. I circulated round the class commenting on individual children's work, giving feedback, making suggestions.

9:40 Stopped the class. Wound up the writing lesson by commenting on examples of good writing, getting two children to read from their work, and repeating the objectives I had set. (The children will be continuing with the same on-going writing work tomorrow. They are writing a story book, in chapters, about a mystery. They have been set a number of objectives relating to story construction, spelling, punctuation and audience awareness for this work.)

9:45 Maths lesson. I have four equal attainment groups for maths. On Mondays I give direct teaching to the highest attainment group while the other three groups do maths work which does not demand much teacher intervention. On Tuesdays it is the turn of the average attainment group to receive direct teaching, on Wednesdays the slightly below average group, on Thursdays the group of children with learning difficulties in maths, and on Fridays the whole class do maths assessment tasks. I initiated the lesson by giving instructions to the three groups of children who would be working independently. The lowest attainment group were given an estimation and measurement worksheet. The next lowest group continued some practical work which had been initiated the previous Friday. They had to sort 2D shapes into sets according to various criteria. They worked in pairs, with a worksheet to remind them of the sorting criteria. The average attainment group did a consolidation and practice task designed to help them commit the multiplication facts to memory. Worksheets for all these tasks had been written either by

me or by the other Year 3 teacher.

9:50 Maths work instructions have now been given to all the groups I will not be working directly with, and I now turn my attention to the highest attainment group who have been waiting. I introduce, through demonstration, explanation and questioning the repeated unit digit patterns to be found in the 2x and 3x table. I set them the task of investigating whether unit digit pattern can be found for, e.g.. the 4x, 5x 6x, 7x table. While they work I sit with the group - supporting their efforts, reminding, questioning. Occasionally I get up and circulate around the other groups, monitoring their work and answering questions, but I spend most of my time with the highest attainers on this day's maths lesson.

10:15 I stop the highest attainment group at their work, while the other groups carry on. I discuss with the group what they have found out from their investigation.

10:20 I stop all the children's maths work. I choose one pair of children from the group which have been sorting shapes to present an account on the work they have done to the rest of the class.

10:25 The children tidy away on the equipment they have been using.

10:30 - 10:45

This is supposed to be a mid-morning break for the teachers (unless they are on playground duty), and playtime for the children. I spend the first five minutes supervising two children who have lost their playtime as a punishment for poor behaviour. While I supervise them, I give instructions to my classroom assistant who arrives to work with me at 10:30 am on Mondays. She will be with me until 11:45 am. She will photocopy the rest of the week's worksheets, complete attendance and lateness records for the class for the previous week from the register, and then begin on cutting out the children's costumes for the school Spring performance for parents. By the time I have finished giving her instructions it is 10:40 am. I go to collect musical instruments I will need for the next lesson from the music room, and then collect the class from the playground. Like most morning, I have not had a mid-morning break.

10:50 The class listen to this weeks' music. Each week I choose a different piece of music, which the class listen to and discuss every day, and at the end of the week they write an account of it and draw a response in their music books. This week we are listening to Brahms' Hungarian Dance No. 5. I ask the children particularly to listen for changes in tempo, and count how many times there is a change in tempo in the piece, questioning them on it afterwards. Tomorrow I will ask them to listen for something else in the same piece, perhaps which instruments they can hear. The tapes I use are from my own personal collection, and I use my own personal hi-fi equipment - there are no school resources for this kind of work.

10:55 I take the class into the hall to work on the performance they will be giving for the parents. The children will be performing the Passover story in music.

11:30 Time for art and technology lesson. The class is divided into four groups. One group is working on modelling ancient Egyptian hieroglyphics from Plasticine (our topic in history is ancient Egypt). This task was introduced the previous week and the children independently get their materials and equipment ready and start work. Another group is using Polydron construction kit to build regular solid shapes, counting the number of sides, edges and faces in each shape and recording. They need a short introduction, reminding them of previous work we have done on shape and explaining the task. They then work independently. Another group is finishing paintings on the theme of the Passover. Before they start work I briefly reiterate some teaching on colour-mixing. The

paints have been prepared the previous week by me. The fourth group is the group who receive my main attention this lesson. They are going to make ancient-Egyptian style collars from fabric and beads. I show them how to measure and cut a paper pattern and how to use the pattern to cut out fabric. I then show them how to design a suitable bead pattern for the collars and how to affix the beads. Preparing the materials for this work had taken me about 15 minutes on Friday evening.

12:15 I dismiss most of the class for lunch, but keep two children back for reading practice. This takes 15 minutes.

12:40 I finish putting up the display which I started before school.

12:50 I mark the morning's maths work and enter assessments in my records.

1:10 I eat my packed lunch in the staff room. While I am eating it, I write a response to a query from the head, who is asking for information about our class swimming lesson.

1:20 I am called from the staff room by the playground supervisor because a child in my class has been involved in physical aggression towards other children. I collect him from the playground, talk to him, and find out which other two children were also involved. I collect these from the playground, reprimand all three and tell them they must miss the following day's morning playtime. (This will mean I will have to supervise them during that break.)

1:30 I collect my class from the playground for the afternoon session.

1:40 After register has been called, the children have a silent reading period. While the rest of the class reads, I do reading conferences with two children: hearing them read, asking comprehension questions, checking their reading records.

2 pm I take the class off-site to a nearby nature reserve (15 minutes walk from the school). The children will collect natural textures to use as a stimulus for claywork. (I have no additional help for this visit - there only me accompanying the children.)

3:15 The class returns from the nature reserve. I talk to them about the different textures of the things they have collected (fungi, bark, rocks, etc.)

3:25 I distribute letters from the head which are to go home to parents, and change from their lunch money. The children collect their coats and homework folders. While they do this, I write the daily report home on a child in my class whose behaviour is being monitored.

3:30 I take the children out to the playground to dismiss them. Most are collected from the playground by the parents. Three parents want to talk to me. Two ask questions I can deal with easily. The third wants to discuss something more involved. I make an appointment to meet with this parent at 3:45 pm on Thursday. I expect this meeting to last about 20 minutes. I wait in the playground until all the children have either been collected or left the school site.

3:45 Two children have not been collected. I take them into the office and telephone home. The parent says an older sibling was supposed to collect them by 4 pm.

3:50 I take the children back to my classroom and get them to help prepare clay and clay tools for the claywork the next day.

3:55 The parent arrives to collect the children and talks to me for a few minutes.

4 pm Curriculum development meeting. It is a working party meeting which is developing a new maths policy. Five of the staff are on the working party. We take turns to make coffee and bring it across for everyone at the meeting. This week it is not my turn. One of the other teachers arrives with a tray of coffee.

This week the meeting is taking the form of an editorial board. They have all spent between 2 and 4 hours over the previous week making these drafts. At this meeting we discuss the drafts and make decisions on what will go into the final draft.

5:30 Meeting finishes. The children have not put away the 2D shapes properly earlier the day, and some of the sets are mixed up. I sort them out for the next day.

5:40 I enter in my records the progress made in the art and technology activities earlier in the day. I take the writing work home to mark.

6 pm I leave work and drive home.

8 pm After my evening meal I mark the writing work.

Appendix 2

Comments on “One Day in The Working Life of an English Primary School Teacher”: No. 1

*Number of pupils The class size of around 30 pupils seems to me reasonable.

*The content of teacher's job

The content of an English teacher's job seems to me very similar to s/he Japanese counterpart. Although, in Japan, class teachers have many responsibilities not only in directly relation to their own classes but also without any relation to them, for example, children's committees, clubs, extra-curriculum sports clubs with competitions and a variety of extra duties. Thus, I think that an English teacher has a higher workload than the Japanese counterpart.

*Teaching hours

In spite of varied teaching hours in each year group, all Japanese teachers teach 25 or 26 hours weekly. In this respect, Japanese teachers have a heavier workload than their English counterparts.

*I was very interested in the description. What is most different from Japan is that a teacher spends almost all the time on teaching subjects. In the case of Japan, teaching subjects is of course important, but we need to spend more time on activities relating to class management such as morning meeting, end of day meeting, school meal duty, cleaning duty and duties. Teachers spend a lot of energy on class management. Japanese teachers understand class management to be very important because to good class management leads a good teaching of subjects.

In Japan, schools have roles of both teaching subjects and developing social and personal skills. Teachers are required to play both roles. I found a big difference of school role between England and Japan.

*As I cannot get detailed information about subject teaching from the description, my comment may be off the point.

As there seems to be enough time in the time table and the curriculum plan, teachers can spend adequate time on teaching. In the Japanese case, as there is a required content in each teaching period, teachers are responsible for teaching all the required content within it. From a Japanese teacher's point of view, I envy the English teacher's flexibility to change his/her teaching schedule according to the amount pupils cover. Meanwhile, I wonder how the teaching plan will go in consequence of such changes.

I wonder how the content of the arithmetic lesson differs between the various homogeneous groups based on individual ability. I am interested in how to fill the gap between an achieving group and an underachieving group.

I am surprised that the children study the hieroglyphs of ancient Egypt in Art , and Brahms in Music because, in my experience, young children begin by studying from the objects around them in their life.

Appendix 3

Comments on “One Day in The Working Life of an English Primary School Teacher”: No. 2

1. I suppose that the timetable and weekly schedule are not different from the Japanese ones, but I am not sure whether the actual content is only that or not. For example, preparation for meetings, class administration, variety, quantity and strictness of responsibility, contents of curriculum, and content of one lesson.

2. 22 hours a week is 11 hours fewer than my case. The number of children in a class is 10 smaller than my class. The working hours seem to me the same as mine, but morning activities in reality start at 8:15, they are substantially lessons. In the lunch time, we teach ‘school meal education’ and ‘behaviour’ too. I envy the British because parents pick up their children at school, this is how things should be. We, for example in Year 1, take children to near their homes for 2 km as part of ‘traffic safety education’ for the first month. We are really exhausted. All problems even such as traffic accidents and behaviour questions on their way, in their homes and in the community, are teachers’ responsibilities. (I do not know whether they are statutory.) The mass media always blame the schools for such problems. I have been trained for 19 years as a primary teacher who can accept them as a part of teachers’ responsibility.

3. About assistant teachers

We do not have any assistant teachers. Although I envy English teachers, I suppose that the communication between class teachers and assistant teachers is difficult. We have introduced a team teaching system this year. It is ambiguous which is the main teacher. There needs to be time to communicate between teachers. In my personal opinion, it seems better to work hard on our own.

I envy English teachers who have play-time observers. All teachers substantially not only have no break time but also have responsibility for their children over the play-times. The teachers who play with children during the play-time are thought of as ‘good teachers’.

4. Home work and work sheets

There are exactly the same as in Japan. As I do not have any time to prepare and print them during the school days, I normally do them in the Saturday afternoons or school holidays. The other teachers of the same year group are in the same situation.

5. Lessons

Those kinds of lessons are regarded as “new trend”, and have been formally introduced. The old style teachers could not understand them. I have tried to change my mind and develop the the new style methods for lessons. However, I cannot teach using this style. The reason is that we have to work thorough the textbooks, and moreover, our parents and society do not accept such lessons. In my own teaching, as I have not experienced them, I do not know how to do them.

Does Japanese society accept “a grouping system by homogeneous ability”? There are systems grouping by ability and by choice in the upper secondary schools. For example, in Year 1, if you point out that a child’s answer is wrong, or scold him for breaking the school regulations, some parents come to accuse his teacher because they understand the event as losing face. I always think that teaching is hard because of dealing with such various people. Therefore, when we teach a group method lesson, all we can do at the most is to use the group to answer by each question: the lesson is a research study, in which the group chooses a question and works out a method and an answer.

6. Working hours

I do not understand how busy English teachers are and how much time to think they have, as in the description: 'I could not finish a coffee ...'

In my case, for example, the 6th lesson finishes at 4 o'clock, I dismiss the children and tidy up the class room. Then I attend a meeting from 4:10, though I do not even have time to go to the toilet. However, if the English teacher is the same, I could not deduce such a situation from the description.

Unfinished work to bring home varies depending on the management method in each year team and school team, and on each teacher's position and talent as a manager. Therefore, we cannot judge simply. However, I think *the same* about "marking after dinner".

Appendix 4

Comments on “One Day in The Working Life of an English Primary School Teacher”: No. 3

1. Although the number of children in a class in Japan has become 35 this coming close to the English equivalent, even getting similar to the English one, a Japanese class is still larger than its counterpart in England.

2. The content of the line from 3 to 5 is similar to the Japanese situation. Children clean the staff room briefly, for example such as wiping the desks in cleaning time, but teachers in turn clean the kitchen area, the washbasin and refrigerator, and prepare tea for other teachers.

3. We have parallel committees for discipline education, health education and academic education, for each academic subjects (national language, social subject, mathematics and science) and practical subjects (P.E, art, home science and technology and music), and also senior staff meetings for school research. Moreover, we have monthly meetings for discipline education and school research for all staff. In addition to those meetings, we have monthly senior staff meetings. Therefore, we are busier than English teachers.

4. We have 29 or 30 teaching hours a week except for senior year teachers who have alternative teachers for 2 or 3 hours a week. This is more than the English teaching hours.

5. I envy you because you have assistant teachers. We do not have them except only for years teachers in their first year. (They are advisory tutors for INSET, not assistants actually.)

6. About “one day of an English teacher”

- The English teacher looks busy. If we describe “one day of a Japanese teacher”, it will be just as busy as the English counterpart.

- We normally do not have work and activities in which children work on their own questions or aims (using work sheets). In order to follow the Japanese equivalent of the national curriculum, teachers must have the initiative to run whole class lessons. We have a lot of work because we have to prepare teaching materials for ourselves to use, and also supply materials and tools for the class, and so on.

- We do not need to take children home because they return home by themselves. Children leave school at different times, because we teach particular children who need extra work (if we do not have a meeting), or children on day duty work after school. (As children on day duty in their turn normally clean and tidy up classroom and write a class record, teachers have to train and observe them.)

Appendix 5

Comments on “One Day in The Working Life of an English Primary School Teacher”: No. 4

This teacher responded the description of the British primary teachers’ day by organising her comment into 2 parts; the first part has responses to individual items, and the second part is a general overall comment.

COMMENTS FOR PART 1

*The English teachers have many meetings the same as we have in Japan. We also have a lot of meetings such as; “all staff meetings”, “senior meetings”, “year meetings”, “INSET committee meetings”, “cross curricula committee meetings”, “curriculum development committee meetings”, “teaching material committee meetings”. We sometimes have 2 or 3 meetings on the same day. Are the staff meetings from 1:00 to 1:30 on Thursday in England (in the description of the English teacher) the brief meetings? What do the children do during the meetings? I suppose the school has only morning sessions on Thursday. If so, I wonder about how many schooling hours there are in England. (The minimum annual schooling hours are fixed in Japan: 850hs in Year 1, 910hs in Year 2, 980hs in Year 3, 1015hs in Year 4.)

We have the day off on every Sunday and one Saturday a month in Japan. How are those holidays such as Saturdays and summer holidays in England?

*The weekly teaching hours of each teacher in England are less than the Japanese ones. It is often over 30 hours a week in Japan. Moreover, we do not have any consideration about how long teacher teach depending on their experiences. We only have differences depending on our duties in school. We do not have any assistant teachers. Only some schools in Gifu city have introduced the trial system of team teaching in Mathematics.

*I envy the starting time at 9:00 in England. In Japan, the pre-notifying alarm is at 8:20, the starting alarm is at 8:25. Half the number of the children come to school at 8:00 and put their bags in the classrooms, then they play in the playground in order to improve their physical strength.

*The homogeneous ability grouping in Mathematics in England is different from the one in Japan. There are no primary and secondary schools which have introduced the homogeneous ability class system in Gifu city. I want to know how effective the grouping by each pupil’s ability is, and what the children think about this grouping system.

Moreover, I notice we have a different concept about grouping according to each ability from the English one. I have an impression that teachers teach different content to different group in England. (for example; “estimation and measurement”, “2D shapes” and “multiplication”)

When we group according to each ability in Japan, we have the aim “to develop a particular common ability in all groups”. All groups aim for the same goal.

COMMENT FOR PART 2

English education has less concept about a time table than the one in Japan, and it seems to have no boundaries round each subjects. For example, in Japan, a school has 4 hours in the morning; the first lesson is Japanese, the second lesson is Mathematics, the third lesson is social subject, and the forth lesson is P.E. We make the aim of each subject

clear and we normally do not integrate them.

*The main activity of the lessons in England seems to me that “children use work sheets which teachers make for individual who work by themselves”. Work sheets in Japan are regarded as only substitute materials. The teaching lesson must be carried out by interaction and discussion between teachers and children or among children, and by experiment.

*The English teacher looks busy. In Japan teachers are very busy. The tendency we share may be a common characteristic for the job which is to deal with human beings particularly energetic children.

*Do all eat school meals in England? Or is it a matter of choice? All have to eat school meals in Japan. Children can not choose their own pack lunch. In addition to that, in Japan, teachers in order to avoid money trouble, normally do not deal with cash. We normally use a standing order system. In Japan, we regard the school meal as a part of educational activities. Teachers and children share duties of serving school meal, then, eat it together in the classroom We teach the behaviour of eating any food without leaving it, how to use chopsticks, and so on.

Appendix 6

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 1

59 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

- *Education as the foundation of life long education
- *Need to develop a balanced personality in children.
- *Need to teach fundamental content and basic skills, and develop children's individuality.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

- *There is too much content in schooling nowadays.
- *Making the responsibilities and roles of parents clear. (As an extreme example: parents think they are responsible for teaching, and that schools are responsible for personal development.)

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

- *The system of school management is necessary in order to run education activities.
- *But in fact the system constitutes an extra workload for teachers. Each teacher in smaller schools has a too heavy workload. The school management system must be modified to fit school size and situation.
- *Simplification of administration should be considered.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

- *In primary schools, as teachers teach all kinds of subjects, it is difficult for them to have expertise in all of them.
- *It is necessary to introduce the system of specialist subject teachers.
- *There are specialist teachers for particular subjects which are recognised as difficult to teach such as science and music.

5. What do you understand by professional developments in primary schools?

- *There are competences of teachers: enthusiasm, intelligence and humanity, commitment and expert knowledge of subjects and, in addition to these, teaching practice.
- *INSET¹ is part of daily life in teaching.
- *Self-INSET is important, and so is in-school INSET.

¹ Self initiated professional development. e.g. voluntary attending conferences, reading books on subjects, watching TV reflected on experience.

*In-school INSET should take the form of class observation and discussion of the observations among teachers.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

*It is said that only people who are learning are suitable to teach. The roles of teachers are very important. As teachers are professional, they must be good at developing children's personalities.

*Teachers must have an overview of what is most important for children's future and what has to be done now.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

The roles of teachers are very important and it is said that all issues of education are ultimately the concern of teachers. As spiritual education is especially recognised as important, teachers as role models affect children. We need to develop a good human environment for children. These are the following requirements of professionalism:

*teachers with abundance of humanity

*teachers who love children, with an enthusiasm for education

Appendix 7

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 2

52 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

Subject teaching

I wonder how primary teachers have the confidence to do their subject teaching, because class teachers teach all subjects in contrast to secondary teachers who are experts in their own subject. It is very difficult for them to teach all subjects to a good standard because of a lack of free time in working hours.

*I hope that in primary school particular subjects requiring skills, such as P.E., music and art will be taught by special experts.

Pastoral care

Primary schools have the advantage of understanding individual children because of the class teacher system. I am concerned about the present situation in which class teachers are required to include school meal education, health education and pastoral care within their responsibilities.

*In relation to these two points, I expect teachers to devote themselves mostly to teaching subjects.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

The class teachers' tasks in relation to parents are to gain an understanding of children through the occasions of home visits and parents' meetings, and to help parents understand their policies.

In order to do this, class news letters are produced to let parents know about class teachers' policies, and individual children's diaries are used to communicate between teachers and parents.

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

*Both teaching activities and school management duties are distributed to individual class teachers. In the smaller primary schools, teachers work harder because individually they have greater workloads, including business trips (e.g. meetings and conferences) in particular. (Other teachers have to look after classes whose teachers are absent for this purpose, because there is no substitute teacher system in Japan.)

*There are many extra tasks such as administration and money collection, but the present situation is better than before because of the introduction of a standing order system for money for school meals and educational materials.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

Teachers must be professional. However, they do not always have the confidence to be experts in all aspects of education because of the high content of pastoral care in the present system of school education. In addition to this, many parents are knowledgeable about education. If teachers are to maintain their professional position, they need to develop more professionalism and competence in many aspects of teaching.

5. What do you understand by professional development in primary schools?

In speaking of the development of teachers' competence, the most important factor is teachers' attitudes to children, in other words, humanity in a teacher is more important than expert knowledge of subjects. Teachers must love children, and be cheerful and lively. As these qualities are closely related to their individual personalities; it is difficult to change them. Teachers are expected to develop these competences in relation to their colleagues.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

The teaching content of school education in both primary and secondary schools is too broad. It is important to make clear distinctions between school education, education by parents and education in society. It might be the fault of schools, they have accepted many responsibilities which should be carried out by parents. For example, school meal education includes training even in how to use chopsticks. In my personal opinion, and it may be currently impossible, I hope that school meals will be discontinued. It takes time to prepare them and clear them away. There needs to be more flexible time in school. In addition to these responsibilities, education in the home and society is getting weaker. We need to create a good environment for children such as a supportive local community.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

If we look at the situation of the primary schools in Gifu city, 80 % of teachers are women. In addition to the fact that women teachers do not want to work in secondary schools, the absolute number of men teachers is small. Equal numbers of men and women teachers would be better for primary schools.

Appendix 8

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 3

57 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

*The main responsibility of teachers should be teaching in direct contact with their pupils. I am worried that teachers cannot spend enough time on marking homework, diaries and daily reports by pupils. They need to spend more time on activities with pupils such as plays and conversations. Although they made the excuse of the lack of time, this must be their justification. They cannot decide to cut off time on marking. They need to change their routine situation.

*Teachers generally have less social experience, thus they tend to be naive.

*Although teachers have extra tasks outside teaching, they lack confidence and enthusiasm for teaching which is their main responsibility.

*Teachers need to develop professionalism about child development.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

I am sure that teachers are nervous about parents. If we look at their situation, there are some problems.

1. In fact, recent parents have various values and concepts of education on their children. Many of the eighty parents in a class with forty children (general class size) have graduated from universities. They insist on their own opinions as the best. It is difficult to get agreement with them in parents' meetings about classes and individuals.

2. In addition to this, teachers have poor levels of thinking about education. In fact, few teachers can strike parents by their educational theories and experiences.

3. Both some religious people, such as people in Ehoba, and new religions and non religious people make teachers' lives more difficult.

4. There are in fact various opinions about issues such as controlled education, bullying and truancy.

In these difficult situations, teachers have worries, and are reluctant to liaise with parents. What they mostly need is a strong belief in education.

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

*Nowadays many aspects are getting to invade (bad expression - in his words) the education field. (for example: life long education, sex education, computer education, ecology education etc.) When these come into the existing school education, more meetings are required. My school is in a better situation because it has twenty classes. (moderate school size.) Even small schools with only seven classes need to join these meetings too as extra duties. Local and regional education boards intend to control more (It is rather for the implementation of their new policies), so schools have extra workload. (It is not only in primary schools.)

*Such a situation makes teachers keep away from their pupils.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

There are universities with three types of teacher training system: only providing primary qualification, only providing secondary qualification and providing both qualifications. In the present system, as there are more universities providing only primary qualification, once primary teachers get jobs as primary teachers, they work in primary schools for life. In addition to this, about 80 ~ 85 % of teachers in Gifu city are women. Thus, teachers become routinised, and have less motivation as a profession. The next stage will be to lose pride as a teacher and in team work. Then, in fact, they will be excluded. In the situation that bad secondary teachers come to primary schools, and good primary teachers go to secondary schools², team work in school is more difficult. In other words, teachers are getting more isolated. In addition to this, the social tendency to have less relationship with others makes the problem more difficult.

5. What do you understand by professional development in primary schools?

*Introduction of specialist teachers in subjects in primary schools.

There is a limitation which one class teacher teaches 8 subjects. This system is one solution for the weakness.

*Review of the present INSET system.

There needs to be fundamental reform of the INSET system for the real development of the teachers. e.g. One term course in universities.

*Reform of the present teachers' qualification system.

The present system is that the first and second qualifications are different only in form. It is a good idea that more kinds of qualification should be introduced, and reflected in the salary scale. Salary and promotion according to INSET by teachers is a good idea. The system with no impact on teachers' salary and promotion from their work does not motivate them.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

As I suggested often before, there are many problems facing them. These require big decisions by the government, ministry of education and local education boards to implement them. Schools nowadays are losing parent's confidence. Some parents say that supplementary schools teach better than schools. On the contrary, in fact, some parents require schools' pastoral care. As a headteacher, I hope that schools will recover their position as learning places. I need good teachers. I hope I will discuss and develop educational policies with these teachers.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

*"Education relies on teachers."

As I mentioned before, when I moved into a primary school, I was uncertain whether such a bad situation was only in my school. The other headteachers have the same impression. I want to develop teachers more. If we need to get good teachers, we need to raise their salaries.

*"All teachers except headteachers and deputy heads are teachers."

² A varied special system in Gifu prefecture; all teachers in compulsory schools are employed and allocated by the local government and they are mobile between primary and secondary schools.

Newly recruited teachers and veteran teachers with 30 years experience should not be treated as the same. (Very often, new teachers are better than experienced teachers.) I think we may need a hierarchy in schools like commercial companies. It is good that capable and good teachers can get promotions. A promotion exam is a good idea for that.

*It may be a good system that after ten years' work in primary schools, teachers move to work in secondary school for five years. The teachers not working well in secondary schools may resign, and there may be a reverse situation in primary schools. (There are some teachers who would do better to resign in my school.) They may cause educational problems in spite of staff development.

Appendix 9

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 4

56 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

As you have chosen this job, you must be patient with a certain workload and bad conditions. You must be pleased to have a job bringing up human beings. There are some parents who do not have confidence, and rely on schools. Then they are critical of teachers and schools without deep considerations about their children. There is less job satisfaction for teachers year by year.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

Although the question is not clear, from a class teacher's point of view, teachers do not expect education at home because parents do not seriously consider their children's education. Especially, teachers have too much work because parents expect them to take pastoral care of their children

And there is no communication between neighbours in the community because parents have a concern only for their own children. They abandon responsibilities to schools. Teachers are expected to organise the community.

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

Although these are necessary duties of class teachers, we need to increase the number of people in order to decrease teachers' workload.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

As teachers have less communication with people outside schools, they are naive, and especially more selfish than other civil servants.

They have less creativity and individuality with clothes, hobbies and interests. They have less motivation in specialities and self development.

It is hopeless unless headteachers get more right to choose their staff.

5. What do you understand by professional developments in primary schools?

Teachers should have more motivation even though it is a personal matter. I am worried about the increase in teachers who commute between school and home because there are more women teachers.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

There is no implementation in class rooms of the policies of the ministry of education and the local education board.
We need to consider how to raise the quality of lessons.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

I wonder whether veteran teachers are less serious about teaching. As teaching can not be assessed in the short term, it is difficult to judge; the present Japanese education cannot develop people with full personalities. What we need to do now is to increase the number of teachers by 150 %, and create a good attitude to professional development.

Appendix 10

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 5

60 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

There is no limit to education. Even if you are asked by your pupils after working hours, it is not good to refuse them. Although the end of working hours formally means an end of duty, commitments outside working hours must be considered because of the nature of education.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

The commitments in relation to parents outside working hours could be considered the same as those in relation to pupils.

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

It is necessary that the school management of duties and administration by teachers works efficiently.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

In primary schools, teachers must be specialists in all subjects. But, as teachers are not always good at all subjects, it is important for teachers to work in teams for each year and the consecutive year. Especially, teachers have to have pride as educational professionals, not a narrow view as primary teachers.

5. What do you understand by professional developments in primary schools?

I think that education is not only teaching subjects but also developing the personalities of children, even though professional development in subjects is necessary. Professional development leads to personal development for teachers.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

It is necessary for children to develop self-education in order to manage social changes. And it is also necessary for children to develop competence and capability for individual self-realisation.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

- *It is necessary for teachers to have awareness of themselves as professionals.
- *INSETs are necessary for professional development as a teacher.
- *Teachers need to develop their own personalities.

Appendix 11

Supporting Data: Questions to Japanese Primary Headteacher No. 6

59 year old, Male

1. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to pupils?

Teachers should teach not only subjects, personal development, school meal education and events in school, but also life at home and activities in the community through any opportunity.

In order to do so, teachers have many responsibilities in school education, and they need to be trusted by parents and communities.

2. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to parents?

Nowadays, it is said that education at home and in the community is getting weaker. In this point of view, primary teachers have to develop close communication with parents and communities for the education of children.

3. What do you think are the professional commitments of primary teachers in relation to duties and administration?

In my school, all the teachers equally have necessary duties and administration for school education. But odd jobs such as collecting money and administration in indirect relation to children should be considered to avoided.

4. What do you think of collective professionalism in primary schools?

Primary teachers comparatively have better working conditions as a profession than others. In spite of the good conditions, there are, in fact, many primary teachers who do not their best.

5. What do you understand by professional development in primary schools?

The problem is that teachers could not attend INSETs for professional development because of a lot of their daily tasks, in spite of many opportunities.

I hope that when the system of 5 working days a week is completed, then the summer holiday will be used for professional development.

6. What do you understand by teaching in primary school?

It is very good to keep a high standard based on the Course of Study³ in all areas of Japan, and to be at the top level in the world. Generally speaking, teachers are highly

³ The equivalent national curriculum in Japan.

professional.

However, we need to produce more people who can use English in order to contribute in the international society. So, we need to teach English from primary education, especially speaking English. I realise that Japan is a developing country on education in English.

I hope the early complete implementation of the 5 days working week will give more free time to children.

7. Do you have any other comments about teachers' professionalism in primary school?

If we look at working conditions, primary teachers (especially women teachers) are privileged. Thus everything depends on the teacher's awareness of themselves professionals.

Appendix 12

Interview Questions to Japanese (English) Parents in England (Japan)

- 1 Could I just fill in a few background details:
 - your name
 - years of your stay in England (Japan)
 - number of children
 - their ages and years in school

- 2 a) Could you tell me why you decided on an English school (a Japanese school) for your children?
 - b) Would you say your expectations had been met?

- 3 a) What are your main responsibilities as a parent for your children?
 - helping academic subjects
 - encouraging motivation to study
 - moral development
 - teaching socialisation
 - taking care (physical care, discipline, emotional care, organising leisure activities)
 - training children to share domestic responsibilities (tidy their own room, make their own bed, help with washing up, shopping, cooking, cleaning car, coping with the world outside home, managing money)
 - taking and picking up children
 - others
 - b) Which of these responsibilities do you think are the most important?

- c) Do you think that English (Japanese) parents around you have the same responsibilities for their children as yours?

- 4 a) What do you most expect of your school?
 - teaching academic subjects
 - moral development
 - teaching socialisation
 - teaching how to clean
 - teaching school meal education
 - teaching and monitoring traffic safety (way between school and home)
 - taking pastoral care
 - others
 - b) Do you think that English (Japanese) parents around you expect the same of their children's schools?

- 5 a) What do you look for in your children's class teachers?
 - academic knowledge
 - teaching skill
 - personality
 - morality
 - motivation
 - individual care
 - home-school liaison
 - others

b) Do you think that English (Japanese) parents around you expect the same of their children's class teachers?

6 a) Let's change the perspective a little now. I am interested in what I want to call a class teacher's professionalism. When you think about English class teachers, what is it, do you think, make them professional?

b) And, when you think about Japanese class teachers, what is it, do you think, make them professional?

7 Do you have any other comment about class teachers' role and their professionalism, and parent's role and their expectations both in Japan and England?

Appendix 13

Interview Questions to School Community Members

1 Could I just fill in a few background details:

- your name
- your status related to the school

2a) What do you most expect of your school?

- teaching academic subjects
- moral development
- teaching socialisation
- teaching how to clean
- teaching school meal education
- teaching and monitoring traffic safety (way between school and home)
- taking pastoral care
- others

b) Would you say your expectations had been met?

3a) What do you most expect the parents?

- helping academic subjects
- encouraging motivation to study
- moral development
- teaching socialisation
- taking care (physical care, discipline, emotional care, organising leisure activities)
- training children to share domestic responsibilities (tidy their own room, make their own bed, help with washing up, shopping, cooking, cleaning car, coping with the world outside home, managing money)
- taking and picking up children
- others

b) Which of these responsibilities do you think are the most important?

4a) What do you look for in the class teachers?

- academic knowledge
- teaching skill
- personality
- morality
- motivation
- individual care
- home-school liaison
- others

b) Which of these responsibilities do you think are the most important?

5 Let's change the perspective a little now. I am interested in what I want to call a class teacher's professionalism. When you think about 'class teachers', what is it, do you think, make them professional?

6 How would you describe a community's role on education?

7 Do you have any other comment about teachers' role and their professionalism, and parents' role and their expectations?

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