

THE HISTORICAL TREND OF TEACHER IDENTITY IN JAPAN: FOCUSING ON EDUCATIONAL REFORMS AND THE OCCUPATIONAL CULTURE OF TEACHERS

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Introduction

The establishment of modern countries with modern public school systems required authorized ‘teachers’ to raise the next generation. One can therefore say that the education, posting, and management of teachers are crucial points for educational reforms. Thus, issues related to teachers are always regarded as major. In this paper,¹ the authors have tried to overview how Japanese teachers have been treated under the many educational reforms during the 130 years of the modern Japanese public school system, and then tried to analyze based on previous studies how the identity of teachers, who have been playing a vital role in educational reforms, has been modified at each historical point.

The authors intend to approach the subjects by focusing on the ‘continuity’ and ‘reorganization’ of the unique teacher occupational culture for securing teachers’ identities. The occupational culture of teachers supports mass behavior regarding their identities and ways of securing their social status. Being a teacher might appear to be stable in terms of employment security, but a teacher’s identity as a teacher is not so steady and is accompanied by many difficulties that threaten it (Kudomi, 2003). As a kind of defense mechanism, Japanese teachers have reacted and conquered these difficulties with a unique occupational culture of teachers based on Japanese society (Nakauchi, 2000). This occupational culture is a historical concept or a general term that means teachers’ unconscious strategies and actions formed by their reactions to the practical issues of systemizing Japanese public schools. Through these reactions, Japanese teachers have eventually gained the reputation of being professionals.

Now, we would like to see how the occupational culture of teachers was both shaken and sustained through the historical development of Japanese education reform. A previous analysis of occupational culture focusing on teachers’ status, virtue, and duty (Kimura, 2007) concluded that three characteristic points of Japanese teachers are: (1) Social status — A high reputation supports teachers’ social status; (2) Virtue — A combination of virtue (rich

¹ Although this paper is based on H. Kimura’s presentation, ‘Historical formation of the professional identity of teachers and its contemporary situation — Characteristics of the occupational culture of teachers in Japan’ given at the International Symposium, Education Reform and Teachers, which was held at Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, on 12 November 2005, the two authors pointed out issues at the symposium and produced a historical thesis by period to analyze trends in the occupational culture of Japanese teachers. This paper is based on the work on historical studies for the preparation of the symposium of a group that included, in addition to the present authors, Professor Yoshiko Arai (Shukutoku University) and Ms. Kimie Ohnishi (graduate student of Hitotsubashi University), especially for Chapter II.

humanity) and a high level of knowledge and skills is required as an essential qualification for the teaching profession where virtue is regarded as the basis for professionalism and is emphasized more than knowledge and skills; (3) Duty — Traditionally, the range of a teacher's job tended to be regarded as all encompassing, where highly devoted and self-sacrificing attitudes were especially praised. However, further analysis of these characteristic points, such as how they were established and developed, remains to be carried out.

In this paper, the authors analyze the history of the development of the modern Japanese public school system by setting up two stages — when the public school system was not yet established (unfixed stage) and when it had been established (fixed stage), and then indicate some characteristic facts of the teacher occupational culture of each stage, examining the background of each. We pay particular attention to the turning-point period between the two stages and the period when people's distrust of schools surfaced during the fixed stage, because especially in these two periods, the occupational culture of teachers became a major issue. In the former transitional period, schools had not yet attained a solid reliability among the general public, so the main issue for teachers was how to get the public to trust schools. Teachers at that period selected a certain kind of occupational culture in response. For example, at the beginning of the 20th century, the school enrollment rate rose remarkably when the government made elementary education compulsory. Teachers had to deal properly with the wider variety of pupils who came to school as a result. Then, in the 1930s, with social reform, teachers came to recognize that their profession with its unlimited tasks and their devotion to their jobs needed to have a close relationship with pupils' daily lives. We can see a similar recognition of the teaching profession during the 1950s in the wide participation in voluntary circles for studying pedagogy, which usually met outside school hours.

The latter period began in the late 1970s, after a period of high economic growth. In this period, great changes occurred in Japanese 'children,' 'homes,' and 'regions' since the structure of the Japanese economy, population, and school enrollment underwent important changes. For example, continuing school beyond compulsory school age became the social norm from this period. But in the very same period, the number of children who were not willing to go to school began to increase. After WWII, truancy in Japanese children had been decreasing year by year, but from the mid-1970s, it started to increase. School attendance has no longer been recognized as a top priority. This phenomenon is symbolic because it shows that while the school system succeeded in gaining parents' trust, the number of children who hated school increased at the same time. Any established school system has a crucial weakness, which is that it finds it difficult to adapt itself in response to changes in society, so more and more people criticize schools, and more and more new policies are required to meet these criticisms. At this point, the occupational culture of teachers had to be changed. Policies relating to teachers are always key issues in educational reform in each period, so teachers at any period have certain conflicts although they can correspond school affairs with their occupational culture. But starting from this period, educational policies in Japan have required teachers to rearrange their occupational culture.

In this paper, the authors would like to consider the status quo of the occupational culture of teachers with a historical overview of some aspects of the identity crisis among teachers in Japan.

I. *An Overview of Policies for Japanese Teachers*

(1) Trends in Policies for Teachers and Teachers' Issues

First, we would like to overview developments in the system of teacher (education) reform during seven periods as follows. Each period has its own characteristics, and we can see the issues and situations among teachers through the arguments of the councils and the processes of the enactment of each law (Kimura et al., 2006).

(2) Period 1: The Beginning of the Modern School System (1870s-90s)

After the long reign of the Tokugawa Shogunate, leaders of the *samurai* warrior class, Japan experienced a political revolution that established a new regime with the Emperor (*tenno*) as the head of government. With the Meiji Restoration, Japanese modernization began. The Meiji Government promoted 'Cultural Enlightenment' as one of the most important policies, with the slogans 'Enriching the Nation and Building up Defenses' and 'Promotion of Industries' to establish the new Japan as a modern nation-state like those of the West. So, how to establish and popularize the modern school system for people's enlightenment was recognized as a key issue, to cope with which the Ministry of Education was established in 1871.

At this point, the old image of the teacher as 'master instructor' or *shisho*, which was popular in pre-modern Japanese schools like *hanko* (public education institutes for the *samurai* class) and *tenarai-juku* (popular places for learning), was rejected and replaced by a new image of professional teachers who could teach modern Western sciences. How to develop and train this new type of professional teacher became one of the most important issues in educational reform in Japan.

Arinori Mori, the first minister of education, emphasized these issues relating to teachers when he took charge of the nation's education, and he defined the main purpose of teacher pre-service education as the development of 'obedience,' 'trust,' and 'dignity' and included moral education and physical education in the Normal School curriculum. But under the national school system based on the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890, Mori's image of teachers was rejected. During the process of arrangement of the teacher pre-service education system that included the 'Ordinance for Normal Schools' in 1886 and the 'Ordinance for Normal School Education' in 1897, the Meiji Government promoted the arrangement of the systems and curriculum of Normal Schools, so we can say that the basis of the teacher education system in Japan was established by the late 1890s.

(3) Period 2: The Establishment of the School System (1890s-1920s)

From the late 1890s, two major issues concerning education were to promote educational reform to establish a stable nation-state with a common understanding among people and to fulfill the demand for the popularization of education due to the change in industrial structure. And a process of policy making was established whereby a consultative committee had to submit a certain report before the Cabinet decided on new policies for education. In particular,

TEACHERS REFORMS AND THEIR

Period	Period of formation (~1890s)	Period of establishment (~1920s)	Period of total war (~45)
Background	Introduction of modern school	Response to industrialization	Total war
Final stage of school before work		Ordinary primary school	Higher primary school (Higher course of National Schools)
The main regulatory entity/law	(Education System Order)	(Revision of the Normal School)	Educational and Cultural Policy Council
	(Education Order)	Special Committee for Education	Education Council
	(School Orders)		
Agenda for reforming the school system	Introduction and construction of the school system under the impact of the West	Establishment of the school system / Response to industrialization of society	Response to the war regime with the solution of accumulated problems in education since the introduction of the modern educational system
Provision of funds for teachers' salaries	Reduction of education expenditure due to the crisis of national finance, partial abolition and integration of Normal School	Shared responsibility for compulsory education expenses between the national government and the municipalities (the Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Municipal Compulsory Education Expenses)	Introduction of a fixed percentage amounting to half of the actual sum disbursed by the prefecture (the Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses)
Trends and issues in policy regarding teachers	Teachers as the driving force of the modern school /Conversion from the pre-modern teacher's view	Formation of teachers' response to Japanese society /Response to the popularized teacher society	Formation of a teacher image based on the war regime
Initial teacher training system	Foundation of normal school (secondary education level)	(Ad hoc institutes for pre-service training for school/vocational school teachers)	Secondary education level → Post secondary level
	Initial teacher training of Normal School		
Trend of teachers' society	(Descendants of samurai warrior class who belong to an intellectual stratum in the local community)	Formation of teaching as an occupation /Popularization of teachers society	Lack of male teachers, and an increase in collateral female teachers
Basis of social status	Samurai descendants	Establishment of the teacher licensing system	
Formation of teacher organization	(Organization of workshops in the school)	Establishment of vocational association of teacher (Great Japan Education Association → Imperial Education Association)	Formation and development of voluntary movement to improve education
Teachers management	(Driving force of maintenance of grade system by examination system)	Seminars held for primary teachers under the superintendence of the Ministry of Education	Establishment of the national in-service training center
	Introduction of inspector system		

BACKGROUND IN JAPAN

Period of re-formation (~50s)	Period of high growth (~70s)	Period of post high growth (~90s)	The present
Defeat in the war, and start of postwar society	High growth	Deregulation	Private sector's vitality, decentralization
Junior high school	High school, popularized higher education	Universal higher education	
Education Reform Committee	Central Council for Education		
Education Personnel Certification Law		Ad Hoc Council on Education	Government's Council for Promotion of Regulatory Reform and Private Sector Opening
		National Commission on Educational Reform	
Construction of the new school system under the Occupation (American impact)	Construction of the new school system in response to high growth	Re-construction of school system under neo-liberalism	Competitive environment, autonomy of municipalities, evaluation, accountability
The Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education Expenses (continued)	(Law for the Securing of Capable Educational Personnel)	Generalization of school finance (non-itemization) except teachers' salaries	Arguments for abolition of the Law concerning the National Treasury's Share of Compulsory Education
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Formation of the teacher system as the driving force of grading system (6-3 system)	Increase in efficiency of educational management (Beginning of ladder system of school teachers with various mid-managerial staff)	Requirement for development of teachers' competency to deal with various problems of education	Introduction of private sector vitality, 'Teachers' development' in the competitive environment
Post secondary level → higher educational level/Initial training for secondary teachers in general university, planned initial training for compulsory school teachers	Establishment of prefectural women's colleges with teacher education course and teacher training agencies by municipalities	Teacher education in graduate schools with advanced certificate	Re-organization of graduate schools of education; academic course with MA degree and professional course with MEd degree, professional school for teachers / competency for multi-cultural society
Open system in which a university has responsibility in initial teacher training		(addition of teacher education at graduate schools)	(Pre-service teacher education adapted to various problems and issues on education)
The expulsion of wartime leaders from the teaching profession, and response to the postwar democracy society in the confused situation	Decrease in the proportion of male primary school teachers	Privatization of teachers / Metamorphosis of teachers' collegueship with specialization	Increase in part-time school staff
Revision of the teacher certification system		Raising the basic status of teachers	Diversification of certificate system (renewal system, new recruitment system)
Formation of teacher union (abolition of the Education Association, formation of the Japan Teacher Union)	Development of voluntary movement to improve education	Conservative organization of teachers	Completion of privatization of teachers
Restructuring of the wartime national in-service training center	Assessment of performance	Construction of teachers' in-service training system (probationary status in first year) /Evaluation of teachers mandatory	Management by objectives, examination of a merit pay system and partial introduction of freelance agent
Introduction of supervisor system			

the reports of two major councils or advisory boards directly connected to the Cabinet — the Special Committee for Education (*Rinji-kyoiku-kaigi*) and the Educational and Cultural Policy Council (*Bunsei-shingikai*) — had a great impact on educational policies. The Special Committee for Education was set up in 1917 and submitted a final report on the main principles of education, which was a nationally recommended plan for reform mainly of the higher education system. On the other hand, the Educational and Cultural Policy Council, set up in 1924, investigated and discussed educational policy issues over a long period and made some solid policy recommendations.

During this period, the supply of teachers was insufficient to meet demand since the primary school enrollment ratio rose, the period of compulsory education was extended, and people's desire for secondary education increased. So, fulfilling the increasing demand for more teachers was the most important issue. Various ways of teacher certification such as the Normal Schools of each prefecture, the teacher certification system with and without examination, and temporary institutes for teacher pre-service education were established. But these plans were not a very effective solution to the problem of teacher shortage, and there remained many teachers without proper certification. In addition, the increase in the number of teachers caused new problems for the popularization of teaching as a profession, and it also brought down the quality of teachers. Therefore, the development of the three attributes of 'obedience,' 'trust' and 'dignity' and training to set a moral example through their own behavior were required in teachers' pre-service education, and learning various teaching methods and cultivating their moral culture as practitioners of education under the Imperial system were emphasized in these curricula. In addition, a system of in-service education were arranged for teachers such as those who had not graduated from Normal School. Plans for the interim or trial employment of teachers, recommended by the Special Committee for Education, were also implemented.

(4) Period 3: The Age of Japan on a War Footing (1930s-1945)

In this period, the issue of first priority for educational reform was how to adapt to the wartime situation. During the depression between the wars, educational reform played a significant role in policies to put teachers on a total war footing. Policies relating to teachers were particularly emphasized in the reorganization of the nation's education.

The Education Council (*Kyoiku-shingikai*) was founded in 1937 and decided the main principles of educational reform while the nation was on a war footing. The council, which was placed directly under the Prime Minister with a statement from the Emperor, was the most important of all the committees for the discussion of educational policies. Important reforms of the educational system and its content were planned by the council according to the principles of 'Elucidation of our National Polity' (*Kokutai-meicho*) and 'Renewal of Science and Education' (*Kyogaku-sasshin*). The council then asked for the conclusion of lengthy discussions on the issues of the reform of the school system as a part of general wartime policies. Based on a report of the council, some new policies were implemented such as the establishment of 'National Schools,' the unification of various middle schools, and the organization of learning opportunities for working youths.

Above all, reforms concerning teachers and the teacher education system were aggressively executed. A report entitled 'On issues concerning Normal Schools' recommended that

Normal Schools be upgraded to post-secondary education institutes, operated by the national government, and use government-approved textbooks. According to the reports, the 'Normal School Order' was revised, and the 'Regulation of Normal Schools' was established in 1943 to implement these policies. In addition, stronger control by the government of school management and operation started while national school teachers had much better treatment and Normal School students were given more generous scholarships.

The identity of Normal Schools was in crisis due to the lack of teachers with proper certification, the increase in female substitute teachers, and the increase in delays or cancellations of teachers' pay. In such a situation, it is remarkable that the council discussed the status of Normal Schools with the special aim of providing pre-service education for primary school teachers that was different from the other schools. So, the major issues were to reform and reorganize the educational principles and systems to enhance the character of Normal Schools, such as the traditional image of 'obedience,' 'trust,' and 'dignity,' a boarding system, and payment. Thus, Normal Schools were shored up under strict control of the government but eventually collapsed because the progress of the Second World War deteriorated the quality of teachers and the continuous labor mobilization of students made education itself difficult.

(5) Period 4: Postwar Reform (1945-1950s)

In the postwar reform of education, the major issue was to build up a solid basis for the beginning of a new Japanese society after Japan's defeat. New systems and structures for postwar education were built up under the occupation through the acceptance of American guidance typified by the Mission Report. But we also should note that some of the new systems, such as the introduction of the 6-3 educational system, were set up on the basis of conclusions reached through discussion of the prewar school system.

The Education Reform Committee (*Kyoiku-sasshin-iinkai*), which was established as a highly independent organization with the approval of the CI&E (Civil Information and Education Section), had a very important role in building up the new systems and structures of postwar education. This committee had its origins in the Japanese Educators' Committee that was set up as a host for the American Educational Mission. The Education Reform Committee investigated and discussed 'significant issues in education' under the supervision of the Prime Minister from 1946 to 1952 under various names and established the basic framework of postwar education. Many of the core policies of postwar education were based on the committee's proposals, laws, and acts relating to education (i.e., the Fundamental Law of Education), the introduction of 6-3-3-4 single school track, and the decentralization of educational administration.

Concerning the system for training teachers, the old-fashioned style of pre-service teacher education through 'closed' Normal School education was rejected and replaced by the new principle of 'teacher education at universities' and an 'open system for teachers' certification.' Teachers should study the liberal arts to develop their knowledge and academic wisdom as the basis for their life in the teaching profession.

The 'open system' for teachers' certification in postwar Japan practically means a dual system of pre-service teacher education with both specified 'Universities and Faculties for Teacher Training' (reorganized Normal Schools) and other universities and junior colleges offering approved courses for teachers' certification with minimum standards regulated by the

Education Personnel Certification Law. This new 'open system' for teacher pre-service education with autonomy for each university seems to have provoked some resistance from the administrators who had totally controlled the teacher education system at Normal Schools and still had responsibility for meeting the demand for teachers. Teacher education reform in postwar Japan was strongly affected by the intellectualism and academism of the prewar period, although it accepted the criticism of the old image of teaching as a 'sacred profession' and freed itself from the stereotype of the 'Normal-School-type' teacher (TEES, 2001).

(6) Period 5: High Growth Period (1960s and 1970s)

This was a period of rapid industrial expansion in Japan, and the education also expanded during the period of high growth, so the major issue in education was to respond to the new trends. Teachers were required to develop the human resources needed to support the high growth, and it was worth noting that the Law for Securing Capable Educational Personnel enacted in 1974 guaranteed extra pay to recruit better teachers.

The Central Council for Education (*Chuo-kyoiku-shingikai*) was set up as an advisory board of the Ministry of Education. Many of the new policies of this period were implemented based on the reports of the council, including the 'modernized' course of study revised from 1968, many fundamental changes based on the 1971 report, and basic policies to reform the teacher education system.

An important part of the background of the policies regarding teachers in this period was a severe shortage of teachers in every kind of school due to the mass of baby-boomer children (born between 1947 and 1949) entering and moving up through the system. In spite of the principle of 'teacher education in universities' and holding a bachelor's degree, many elementary and junior high school teachers only had certification based on an undergraduate diploma (from junior college), and two-year municipal institutes for teacher training were established. Moreover, since the percentage of female students advancing to higher education increased, the feminization of the teaching profession progressed remarkably during this period. Concerning the occupational culture of teachers in this period, it was highly motivated by the strong organization of the Japan Teachers' Union, which was in clear opposition to the Ministry of Education, encouraged by the vigorous labor movement at that time.

During this period, policies of 'modernization,' 'increasing efficiency,' and 'specialization of teachers' at schools were implemented. Kazue Ito's hierarchy system (school organization with three levels — field level of ordinary teachers, mid-managerial level for leader teachers, and administrative level for principals and vice-principals) was the theoretical basis of new policies for teachers in this period, and included legislation relating to the position of 'vice-principals' from 1974 and the establishment of a new system of 'chief teachers' from 1975. But, in fact, most teachers developed their teaching skills among their colleagues and in private educational study groups, and the 'division' of teachers' tasks was not so common among teachers in this period.

(7) Period 6: The Period of Stable Growth and the Collapse of the Bubble (1980s and 1990s)

After the period of high economic growth, growth stabilized. New problems appeared in education, such as school violence, truancy, and bullying (*ijime*), and the earlier common

understanding about education was shaken. Teachers during this period had to be able to respond adequately to these new problems, while other demands on teachers increased greatly. As a result, neo-liberalistic policies for the development of teachers' qualities have begun (Iwata, 2006). The Ad Hoc Council on Education (*Rinji-kyoiku-shingikai*) was established in 1984 as an advisory board directly operated by the Cabinet and replaced the Central Council for Education until 1987. The key words in the Ad Hoc Council on Education's discussions were 'deregulation,' 'individualization,' and 'diversification.' In line with these principles, many new policies for deregulated, individualized, and diversified education were implemented, including the introduction of elective subjects in compulsory education, the diversification of upper-secondary education, the expansion of private institutions for children who refuse to go to school (with the special measure of recognizing attendance at these institutions as equivalent to attendance at public school), and administrative measures such as the deregulation of school districts and an elective system for elementary and junior high schools. The beneficiaries of education (pupils and their parents) have become to a greater extent responsible for their own choices.

As for the status of teachers, teachers' certification and the degree obtained were brought into closer relation by the amendments to the Education Personnel Certification Law in 1989. 'Advanced Certification' based on a Master's degree was added to the existing first-class certification with a Bachelor's degree. Moreover, many graduate schools for Master's degrees in education were set up especially among universities and faculties of education, and opportunities for incumbent teachers to receive in-service training at graduate school widened with the special measure for in-service graduate students (entering them to complete the whole curriculum essentially in a year through the exception in the Standards for Establishing Graduate Schools). At almost the same time, compulsory in-service training programs for all first-year teachers started along with a one-year probation period. Since then, the process of professional development of incumbent teachers has gradually changed from voluntary study groups and colleagues to official systems.

In addition, the increase in extra part-time teachers employed by local governments created a new pecking order among teachers. The so-called 1955 order (the political order based on rivalry between the two major parties, the LDP & the SP) collapsed, and the Ministry of Education and the Japan Teachers' Union reached a historic settlement, so solidarity based on hostility toward the government, which was an important part of teachers' common identity, was lost.

(8) Period 7: The Educational Issues of the 21st Century

Under the influence of a neo-liberalistic trend, educational organizations have been set in a competitive environment and are now required to be accountable for what they do. It is characteristic in this period that most of the reforms are led directly by the Prime Ministers, and the Cabinet's power to control education has increased. More opinions have emphasized that the 'private sector concept' is important for improving the efficiency and quality of educational service, and quality assurance and evaluation systems for schools and teachers have been introduced. Details of the issues and problems of this period are dealt with in Chapter III.

II. *Establishing the Values of Schools and the Occupational Culture of Teachers*

(1) The Nation's Role in Setting up the School System

A public school system was introduced in Japan in 1872. The system required systematically trained teachers, especially for elementary schools, which all the children in the nation were supposed to attend. The establishment of prefectural Normal Schools to supply elementary school teachers was recognized as an urgent need. Normal Schools had a unique relatively independent position, from their beginning, as special institutes for teachers' pre-service education. They were planned and established as special schools with the mission of supplying teachers with teaching skills of an approved level. They were boarding schools, and the students paid fees or received scholarships. The Normal Schools were supported strongly by the central government.

It was quite difficult to set up the new system. As for the process of the development of a child's character, knowledge, and skills, the school system suddenly replaced the former style of development based on the traditional value system, so most people found it hard to readily accept the new system of school education. Many analyses described the difficulties experienced at that time. People were not willing to make their children attend school, and some schools were even set on fire due to outbursts antagonism to the introduction of the new system. Eventually, the enrollment rate for schools rose during the late 19th century as a result of reforms of the system and the policy for promoting school education. But the rise in the enrollment rate itself did not mean that people came to accept schools in general. It was from around the 1930s that people recognized attending school to be a useful part of their life cycle (Hijikata, 1994).

Thus, teachers had significant roles and faced significant difficulties in performing their tasks in the school system as public servants.

(2) Systemized Defense Mechanism of Teachers

In pre-modern Japan, popular places for learning literacy were *tenarai-juku* or *terakoya* (the latter were in Buddhist temples). The relationship between 'shisho' (teacher or instructor) and 'terako' (learner at *terakoya*) produced a unique style of cultural transmission, the so-called osmosis model (Azuma, 1994), based on deep reliance on 'shisho,' whose background was Confucian culture. The key factor in building up the unique teaching-learning relationship was respect for teachers, so the pre-modern non-elite usually went voluntarily to *tenarai-juku* or *terakoya* to learn literacy and so on. There was a kind of spontaneous relationship between teachers and pupils (Tsujimoto, 2000).

Modern public education was established and systemized on the basis of different logics and frameworks from the spontaneous relationship described above. When the modern school system was introduced, many guidebooks for teachers were published to impart suitable models of teachers' behavior and teaching methods, such as Nobuzumi Morokuzu's *Shogaku-kyoshi-Hikkei* (Handbook for elementary school teachers, 1873). Through such guidebooks, teachers grouped learners into small units according to each pupil's understanding of what s/he had been taught. The teaching content was organized hierarchically, the final summit

being the study of Western 'systemized science' (Hiroshige, 1973) at university. A 'grade system' from elementary school to university was established that required every learner to pass through strict examinations at each step to proceed to higher-grade school. Teachers were recognized as transmitters of knowledge to be in charge of the promotion system.

The formation of the nation or subjects was one of the key issues from the beginning and was gradually realized through the Imperial system of public education that was established during Mori's time as Minister of Education. In elementary schools during this era, the promotion system based on the grade system had to be changed, and morals for the nation came to be increasingly emphasized rather than achievement for promotion and advancement to upper school. From the 1880s, the promotion system was gradually changed from one depending on the standard of each learner's achievement to one depending on the length of time each learner had studied in school with the teacher. Regulations for the Organization of the Classroom, 1891, and '*Kyoiku-chokugo*' or the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890) expressed the philosophy of this change, and clear aims of education based on the Imperial system were indicated. The rescript stated that education should be conducted with the blessing of the Emperor. However, a relationship between teachers and children that was formed based on personal connection in the classroom was realized in this period (Sato, 2004).

In pre-modern educational institutions for the common people, a spontaneous relationship was established between teachers and pupils based on voluntary learning, which was an element of Confucian culture. Modern schools were systemized based on the same relationship: the reform of the relationship between teachers and children was intended to be carried out from within with natural affection rather than with naked political power or regulation. This aim was achieved by the application of the Imperial system to education. Teachers, who were trained with teaching viewed as a sacred profession, were faithful to national norms, or were leaders of moral education.

The system of education with the relationship between 'protection' and 'obedience' was also used as a kind of defense mechanism by teachers. As a background to these choices, we should point out that the increase in the enrollment rate caused a wider variety of children to attend school than ever before. So, teachers in this period had to re-examine the relationship between pupils and teachers themselves. Further background factors were the strong pressure for enrollment from the government and the social accumulation of school experience by the people.

Thus, the situation required a unique relationship between teachers and pupils. W. de S. Moraes (1854-1929), a Portuguese who stayed in Japan during this period (late 19th century and early 20th century), observed this relationship and described it very well as follows (Moraes, 1926[1985]: 267):

Teaching in school, as in all teaching, aims to create useful individuals who are proficient in life, to raise competent people as well as a few with sparkling intelligence. The choice of career generally depends upon the teacher, whom the student follows. The duty of the teacher is to lead the student in the right direction and protect him, and the duty of the student is to obey the teacher. Protection and obedience are the two great springs that can alleviate the most complex mechanisms of public life within the empire, and are springs of incalculable potency.

These relationships were supported by the devotion of teachers to children, with teachers

trying to gain children's obedience by giving them unlimited affection.

In these relationships, teachers were recognized not only as the transmitters of knowledge, but also as professionals with responsibility for developing children's human nature (the development of people with a moral sense through the study of subjects such as 'Morality and Ethics'), and self-training was often required for teachers. In the 1920s, some teachers considered that they were mere low-level salaried workers, but they also complained that they should have special value as professionals, distinguished from ordinary salaried workers (Maeda, 1994). Teachers were trained at the institutes of post-secondary education (lower than higher education) as semi-intelligent-class professionals who have broad and but shallow knowledge, while they were also required to be special professionals with a well-developed human nature (Maruyama, 1964). Teachers therefore developed a unique defense system.

(3) Formation of the Occupational Culture of Teachers as a Defense System

From the beginning of the 20th century, the enrollment rate rose, and the number of elementary school teachers also increased. Between 1901 and 1924, the number of primary teachers doubled to over 200,000. The increase in female teachers in particular was remarkable; there were 4.4 times as many in 1924 as in 1901, compared with 1.6 times as many male teachers. Thus, a wide variety of teachers and children came to school (Ministry of Education of Japan, 1901-1924).

At the beginning of the 20th century when various kinds of children started to enroll in school, new methods were required for classroom management, one of which was an emphasis on 'educational affection' as a prop for disciplinary actions by adults. Teachers' educational behavior was a kind of solution for building a unique relationship involving behavior and teaching methods that could not be conveyed in guidebooks for teachers (Nakauchi, 2000).

Previous studies do not go very deep in their analysis of the building of this kind of relationship, but we can show an example of a teacher in Kanagawa Prefecture (Kimura et al., 2003). He was born in the rich farmer class in a village where sericulture was the main industry, and he left a detailed diary. According to the diary, he managed his class by forming a core group of children. The core group was made up of 'excellent' children who could quickly understand what the teacher intended and acted accordingly. We can see a kind of patriarchal relationship here, and the structure was based on the relationship between the adorers and the teacher who was adored in his classroom. He might have intended to solve the problems in his classroom through the so-called learner-ism method based on his devotion to 'excellent' children to organize a unique relationship between teacher and children. His practice above should be seen as a typical example when schools could not gain trust from society or children. We can see this kind of teacher behavior in various other materials, for example, a report of teaching practice written by a student trainee in the 1910s (Kashiwagi, 2006). We can see in his report his battle and the way he tried to overcome the problem of being defeated by children who made a lot of noise in his class, by giving a special meaning to his own class. He said about his own class, "When I face the lovely children, I forget all the battles" but that he was 'bored' in other classes. In addition, he shows his unique stance in his observation at kindergarten: "Children in kindergarten are typically delightful, but their delightfulness is different from that of the pupils in my own class." The 'classroom kingdoms' created widely from the 1920s were usually understood as a way to popularize liberalistic

educational practices in municipal schools, but these examples show that many attempts were made to form unique relationships between teachers and pupils in various school situations.

The change in teachers' image from transmitters of knowledge to educators in human nature and morality necessarily required teachers to have an excellent human nature and mature attributes, and to devote themselves wholeheartedly to their tasks. Teachers' devotion to children as the 'Emperor's babies' was emphasized, and one's duty as a teacher was considered a great virtue. These kinds of unlimited contribution as a part of the imperial system were increasingly emphasized, especially during the war. The life stories of 'martyr' teachers were used as propaganda, and the required image of a teacher was shown, for example, in the praise for teachers' unlimited contributions to educating children, i.e., the nation, and this encouraged and inspired them to even greater devotion during this particular period.

We should note that this culture of devotion was voluntarily formed not only in school classrooms, which were systematically organized in line with the established order, but also in the educational practices of educators who were to a greater or lesser extent opposed to that order.

As Ichitaro Kokubun, a member of *Hoppo-kyoshi* (a Northern [Tohoku District] teachers' group that promoted education based on writing pieces about children's daily lives) said, "I will try to continue my little efforts solely for the children themselves, even though I may lose. But I think that is the only way to realize myself at last" (Narita, 1999: 86). *Hoppo-kyoshi* was intended to support the educational movement of the *Tsuzurikata* (pieces about daily life) teachers' group, which had a great influence on education in Japan in the 1930s. *Tsuzurikata* teachers taught their pupils to write not only to express their thoughts well, but also to develop each pupil's human nature through writing. This educational practice was born in this period as a way to develop pupils' ability to reflect on their daily lives and develop the strength to do better in them. In this practice, teachers were expected to be brought face to face with reading about children's lives and develop sympathy with them, acquiring a deep understanding of children's daily lives. The practice also had the meaning for the teachers in providing lessons with relevant content, gaining from the close relationship between the teacher and the children. Studies in education history tried to find a basic model for 'practices in education' in the practices of the 1930s' *Tsuzurikata* teachers, who were always together with children. The origin of this practice can be found in the devotion to children noted above and the 'everyday life' approach to teaching them. The period when school took root was also an era of severe exhaustion of the economy and the advance of heavy industries whose main aim was to build up Japan's military capability for war. Children's lives faced a crisis during this social transformation. During this period, teachers tried their best to deal with the issues faced by children. Japanese teachers in this period devised their own practices, but we should also see these practices as strategies chosen to maintain a relationship in a difficult situation.

(4) Occupational Culture of Teachers during the Postwar Reform: The Golden Age of the Occupational Culture of Teachers in the 1950s

Postwar reform was promoted under the indirect rule of the American Army of Occupation. A new and unique situation arose with key concepts of weakening national regulations and building up teachers' autonomic spaces. The new school system started as

result of criticism of public education under the Imperial system, but there remained the old image of teaching as a sacred profession, so people's recognition of teachers as special because of their task persisted as an undercurrent although the philosophy was revised.

As the background to very active debate about teaching as a profession or teaching as labor in this period, there was strong criticism of the image of 'teachers of the nation.' Teachers' devotion was also recognized to some degree, but the image of teaching as a sacred profession was still strongly supported, even though it was different from that of the prewar period. People still regarded teaching as a unique profession because of teachers' special devotion to children. There was a broad relationship between schools and communities, which had the special relationship between teachers and pupils at its core. Toyoka Elementary School in Hyogo Prefecture provides a good example of this kind of relationship (Takahashi, 2006). In this school, teachers used to ride their bicycles to their classrooms and also order delivery of *ramen* (a kind of soup noodle) through the intra-school PA system, both of which are unbelievable from today's point of view. But the extent to which teachers were trusted by parents and communities allowed such behavior to be accepted without any reproach. Schools then had a certain role as agents of the new culture that could not be given by daily life in communities.

The nature of society before the big transformation that started in the 1960s (as described in the next chapter) was another reason for these relationships. In rural communities at least, the basis of people's lives was home industries, so schools were not essential for their lives. People did not have so much requirement for schools, so there was a collaborative relationship between children, parents, communities, and schools in which schools had a certain ascendancy in terms of culture. Based on this stable relationship between teachers and children, teachers devoted themselves to children with the mission of educating them about the disaster of the war and of developing new citizens for the new democratic society. They had the common understanding of the issue of being free from poverty and building up good educational practices to conquer it. It is noteworthy that the first to have an impact on educational practices after the war was Seikyo Muchaku's 'Yamabiko (Echo) School,' a practice of *Tsuzurikata* education. Inspired by these practices, various private groups and organizations were gradually established during the 1950s with the aim of studying and improving education, and important practices were born of the efforts and experiences of the teachers gathered in these groups and organizations. Teachers at this time usually participated in these private groups or organizations based on their own free will, trying to develop their skills for teaching through such voluntary groups organized by teachers themselves. One can see here an expression of the typical character of the occupational culture of teachers in Japan, with its devotion and unlimited tasks.

There were, on the other hand, also some conflicts between the individual-centered education in schools and the traditional relationship among families and communities, especially in rural agricultural areas, since the new school education was seen as a threat to these traditional relationships. In addition, the policies of the American Occupation were partially reversed from the mid-1950s to the so-called opposite course, so the Ministry of Education (government) and teachers (unions) were soon in opposition to each other, especially due to the policies for managing teachers through evaluation systems for teachers' work. During this period, teachers worked unlimitedly for the children, but this could be interpreted as a defense mechanism for gaining trust among communities and families. During

the 1930s when people came to be familiar with schools, schools succeeded in being recognized as agents of transmitting sciences, which, while not itself useful for the communities, could motivate the children to gradually leave the communities. So teachers faced another problem of finding a new way of gaining trust by reducing the distrust of these kinds of ‘knowledge for leaving the community’ (Toh’i, 1957). In this situation, their occupational culture was a valuable support for teachers.

It can be said that the responses of teachers to the government’s policies, families, and children in the 1950s were based on the occupational culture of teachers, which began in the early 20th century and was established in the 1930s.

III. *Issues and Problems of School Teachers after the High Growth*

(1) **Effects of the Development of Capitalism on Schools and Teachers**

As we mentioned above, the modernized structure of Japanese education and schools had been established by the 1970s in the high-growth phase of the 1950s and 1960s. Overall, fast economic growth and manpower-oriented policy attained success but also caused some problems in education and for teachers’ identity.

The development of capitalism caused a change in Japanese people’s lifestyle. Traditional communities no longer worked in the same way as in the past in terms of teaching life skills, and more Japanese children were brought up in two-generation families of parents and unmarried children. As a result, the roles of school teachers have also changed. Before the period of high growth, most people’s requirements for school teachers were based on the ‘teaching’ work itself — to teach each subject well based on a high level of knowledge and good teaching skills. And other aspects of children’s development or human skills such as behavior, communication, and ethics were regarded as a matter for communities. But now, it is school teachers’ responsibility to train children to behave, communicate with others, and to have a moral sense, and this pressure on teachers is increasing.

The educational problem of the so-called ‘escape from learning,’ which expresses symbolically the remarkable decline in children’s willingness to study, began at the end of the 1970s, with bullying (*ijime*), truancy, school violence, and so on. The main factor that caused the ‘escape from learning’ was probably the change in compulsory education from six years of elementary school to nine years including junior high school after the postwar education reform. Even pupils who were not willing to attend and learn at school were obliged to enroll in junior high school, while the teaching method and teacher education system for secondary education were the same as before. These problems were not seen very clearly at the beginning, but after the period of high growth, the ‘escape from learning’ became serious.

In addition, with the growth of private companies providing educational services, such as *juku* schools, many parents see their children’s education as a kind of service that they buy. *Juku* schools are not recognized as formal schools, so the teaching staff in *juku* schools need no certification. But most of them can provide an effective teaching service in a competitive environment, so *juku* teachers have become recognized by the public as professionals with excellent skills in ‘teaching’ itself. And as a result of the popularization of higher education, many parents have a higher academic base than school teachers. So, school teachers have less

prestige than they used to.

The roles of teachers in official schools have changed. Traditionally, teachers in Japanese schools have many roles other than ‘teaching’ itself. They are also ‘counselors’ for pupils with mental problems, ‘social workers’ for pupils in poor families, ‘instructors’ for many kinds of activities, ‘administrators’ in their schools, ‘coordinators’ in the school’s catchments area, ‘guardians’ to secure the pupils’ safety, and so on. At the same time, due to the rising use of *juku*, school teachers’ ‘teaching’ role itself is seen as less important than before.

(2) New Requirements for Teachers and Education after the 1970s

At the beginning of the ‘open system’ for teacher education at universities in Japan, there was a severe shortage of school teachers in Japan, especially for junior high school (G7-9), which had become compulsory for all children in 1947. So the ‘open system’ for teacher education was a solution to this shortage, and this system has contributed to producing a wider variety of school teachers in terms of educational background. But, with the increase in the numbers obtaining teachers’ certification under this system, some problems have occurred.

A phenomenon called ‘teaching practice pollution’ has been a problem since the 1960s because many students do their teaching practice at elementary and junior/senior high schools, but few of them actually become school teachers, so the mentor teachers who instruct them at schools have to work hard with little reward. From another point of view, since obtaining teachers’ certification is not very difficult, its prestige has been reduced, so children and their parents have less respect for teachers.

In addition, as the number of children in Japan is decreasing year by year, competition for posts as full-time teachers is very strong, and many young people cannot get a job as a school teacher.

The biggest problem of the ‘open system’ of teacher education in Japan is that there is no consensus about teacher education among the teaching staff in each university or college, so there are no clear minimum standards to be a school teacher (Yokosuka, 1976). Under the Education Personnel Certification Law (1949), the Ministry of Education qualifies suitable organizations to provide teachers’ certificates. The act has general guidelines for teacher education — regarding subjects, teaching practice, equipment, facilities, and so on — but detailed policies and standards depend on the individual university or college. And the teaching staff (or university professors) of each of these qualified organizations have their own standards for the credits required for students to qualify as school teachers. Therefore, an ironic situation occurred after the high-growth period — people have less confidence in teachers’ certification than before, although almost all teachers now obtain at least a Bachelor’s degree.

The original aim of the ‘open system’ for teacher education in Japan was to meet the need for elementary and junior/senior high school teachers, supplying qualified teachers who held a Bachelor’s degree. The aim seems to have been achieved until the 1970s when teachers from various universities under the ‘open system’ became the majority, and most teachers trained under the old system had retired (Iwata, 1999). Normal Schools were abolished in 1950, so the youngest graduates from Normal School were 60 years old by the 1980s, the usual age at which Japanese school teachers retire.

The power balance between universities, which are responsible for teachers’ pre-service

training, and local governments, which are responsible for teachers' screening, in-service training, and personnel, is also crucial in any consideration of the sense of identity of Japanese teachers. With the criticism of the 'open system' and the power balance between universities and local governments, universities' autonomy in teacher education has never had a high reputation.

It is ironic that from the 1970s and the 1980s, when the 'open system' and 'teacher education in universities' were fully realized, people started to have less and less respect for school teachers in Japan. This is one of the reasons that Japanese teachers have had an identity crisis in recent years.

Concerning schools themselves, we had a big change in the image of school organization after the 1970s, which is well known in Japan as the 'Munakata-Ito debate.' Kazue Ito, in his paper entitled 'Modernization' about school management, argued that school organization had to be modernized in line with Japanese society's highly developed capitalism by introducing a similar structure to that of private companies with various levels of middle management (Ito, 1969). Seiya Munakata countered Ito with saying that school organization had a different structure in which all teachers have the same duties as classroom teachers and there was no need to have middle-management staff. After this debate, school organization in Japan adopted the Ito's model from the 1970s. Each leader teacher in school was made a vice-principal from 1974, and from 1975, all schools were regulated to have several kinds of chief such as chiefs for the curriculum and teaching and chiefs for pupils' life guidance. The tasks of teachers are divided into small pieces in the name of modernization of school organization, but there is little responsibility for the total development of each child. Using a model similar to industrial companies such as car makers, this kind of 'modernization' results in high performance, but it has made teachers' job focus more on specific limited skills.

But these changes conflicted to some extent with the occupational culture of teachers in Japan, and there remain many school problems such as the so-called escape from learning. Teachers in Japan are regarded not only as people who teach each subject but also as models and mentors for their developing pupils/students (Yufu et al., 1999). So even if a teacher has excellent ability in teaching a subject well, not everybody respects him/her. People in Japan respect a teacher who combines excellent skills in teaching with 'good humanity.' Therefore, the division of teachers' tasks did not increase respect for teachers. The identity of a Japanese teacher depends not so much on the teacher's specialty as on his or her 'total humanity.' This requirement for teachers to have full humanity seems to be an enduring element in Japanese society.

(3) The Turning Point in the Requirements for Teachers

During this period, people came to see education as a kind of private service, so teachers' image changed greatly from members of a sacred profession to workers in a service industry. And there was a big change in the requirements for school teachers from mere 'abilities' to various 'competencies.' Whereas the 'old-fashioned teacher model' depended on sufficient abilities, such as wisdom, excellent teaching skills, and so on, teachers are recently required to have various competencies to support children's development and deal appropriately with various school problems.

Some private groups of teachers have tried to respond to these changes in teachers' roles,

but these efforts have unfortunately been largely ineffective in supporting the development of teachers, because of the overwhelming modernization of teachers and the too-quick change in policies to put teachers directly under the government.

A system for in-service training for first-year teachers, started in 1989, gives all first-year teachers the status of ‘temporary employment’ for one year and requires them to receive 300 hours of induction under the local government. Most first-year teachers have no time to participate in the extra in-service programs organized by voluntary groups of teachers (Yamada & Tsuchiya, 1987).

So the image of teachers’ development has totally changed. Before the 1970s, first-year teachers usually developed their teaching skills naturally among their colleagues at the same/nearby school, while since the 1980s, teachers usually develop their skills individually through fixed programs operated by local governments.

(4) Teachers’ Identities in the 21st Century in Japan

Since the late 1990s, each educational institution has been in a competitive environment and has to be accountable. More and more opinions recommend that educational institutions improve their efficiency and quality by applying concepts from the private sector, so the establishment of a new system was required to materialize a PDCA (Plan-Do-See-Action) cycle and evaluation for each school. Introducing the vitality of the private sector is intended to make educational institutions more active. The slogan of educational reform in this period is ‘collaboration between schools and communities,’ and many policies have been introduced such as the so-called citizen principal without a teacher’s certificate and externally evaluated school councils (Kioka, 2003). In the 21st century, new requirements for Japanese teachers under the neo-liberalistic policies have appeared. For instance, each school is accountable for the quality assurance of teaching and pupils’ achievement. So in recent years, local governments have set up criteria for evaluating teachers’ performance from a number of viewpoints, some of which are related to teachers’ salaries and bonuses (Fujita, 2005).

These reform plans have been led by the National Commission on Educational Reform (*Kyoiku-kaikaku-kokumin-kaigi*) (2000-2001) and the Government’s Council for Promotion of Regulatory Reform and Private Sector Opening (*Kisei-kaikaku-minkan-kaihou-suishin-kaigi*) (2004-2007), both directly operated by the Prime Minister.

As for the universities for pre-service teacher education, the Committee for the Future Status of National Universities and Faculties of Education (*Kokuritsuno-kyoinyouseikei-daigaku-gakubuno-arikatani-kansuru-kondankai*), an advisory committee for the Ministry of Education (2000-2001), published the outline of a plan that recommends the merging and reconstruction of the universities and faculties of education. In addition, minimum standards for teachers’ certification have been raised by the amendments to the Education Personnel Certification Law in 1998, especially in relation to credits for ‘subjects of the teaching profession’ for the purpose of developing sufficient competencies to tackle up-to-date educational issues and problems that have arisen recently. Teachers are required to have a strong will and vocation for the teaching profession rather than highly professional knowledge in each subject, as is shown by the introduction of the new subject, ‘The Teaching Profession and Teacher Identity.’ Each university is accountable for the quality of its education and its graduates.

All national universities in Japan became autonomous from the 2004 academic year, including faculties and universities of education (former normal schools) with a special course for teacher education. So all the institutes for teacher education including 'national university corporations' and many private universities have to make their own decisions about how to improve their programs and curricula to provide high-quality teacher education. In addition, the 'Good Practice for Teacher Education' program started in the 2005 academic year, with competition for funding among universities that provide teachers' certification. The program will cause universities to be divided into haves and have-nots. These policies seem to be based on the criticism of universities that they could not provide effective education for teachers with sufficient competence and humanity, and are therefore responsible for the recent state of affairs in education.

Creation of a new system of teacher education at the postgraduate level is now under way, including the establishment of in-service training programs for teachers with 10 years' experience and the creation of professional graduate schools for teacher training.

The power balance between universities and local governments has also changed. Some larger municipalities such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Yokohama now provide a solid alternative to teachers' pre-service education at universities. For example, the Tokyo Metropolitan Government started a program called 'Tokyo Cram School for Teacher Training' in 2004. The program aims to recruit excellent young teachers for public primary schools in the Tokyo metropolitan area. One hundred selected fourth-year students can participate in the program, which gives them an advantage in the competition for employment. The program contains special teaching practice, seminars, experience of social services, vocational internship, etc. over the span of one year. The whole program is organized by the Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education, so the program is an alternative to undergraduate education by universities. With these kinds of local policies going in the opposite direction, universities are now facing a crisis. In Japan, most of the power regarding teachers' recruitment, in-service education, and personnel treatment is centered in local governments, so universities' autonomy in teacher education is very limited (The Curriculum Center for Teachers, 2006).

The recent trends in policies in the 21st century relating to education and teachers mentioned above have made the occupational culture of teachers more and more individualized. The new teacher evaluation system is based mainly on a teacher's individual achievement, and individualized 'career plans' have been arranged for in-service teacher training, and then appointments to posts are being made and salaries are set according to each teacher's achievement and character (i.e., personnel measures such as free-agent and merit pay). The collegiality and the sense of partnership shared among colleagues in school based on the traditional culture of teachers have been greatly diminished by such neo-liberalistic policies. Teachers in each school are ranked and graded systematically by the local government, so teachers are under pressure from the official criteria. Therefore, the leading teachers who appeared naturally from the collegueship have disappeared from schools, and they have been replaced by middle-management staff such as vice-principals and chiefs appointed by the local government. The new policy to establish professional graduate schools for skilled teachers or 'school leaders' is based on similar ideas. But, on the other hand, teachers are still expected to be superior human beings, devotedly spending unlimited time and energy on their work. To be a teacher, now not only good skills and competencies but also special human qualities are required. The new requirements have not replaced the things required of Japanese teachers in

the traditional occupational culture, but have rather added to the already heavy stress load on teachers (Osaka Kyoiku Bunka Center, 1996).

Conclusion

In this paper, the authors have tried to analyze how Japanese teachers have established and kept their identity as teachers through the trends of modern Japanese policy, mainly by focusing on the occupational culture of teachers. For this analysis, the authors set up two periods and considered trends in the occupational culture of Japanese teachers in each. The first period was when public schools had not gained enough trust (the period of gaining trust), and the second was when schools had gained a certain level of trust but gradually also became distrusted (period of trust and development of distrust). The identity of Japanese teachers developed in the context of the historical background above, and the authors propose that teachers' identity as a historical phenomenon should now be re-examined in relation to the present situation and problems of Japanese education.

In modern Japan, policies relating to teachers have been an active area of educational policy. Of course, teachers have been established as civil servants and affected by the strong power of the nation-state, but they have created their own occupational culture in the process of innovation of their educational activities at their schools. The authors have tried to illuminate the real identity of teachers today through a consideration of transformations in the two periods.

In the first period, the authors examined the establishment of the specific culture of Japanese teachers during their efforts to obtain sufficient trust in the school system. The Japanese teaching profession was created based on the prestige of the nation-state. But this prestige alone was not enough to make the teachers' educational practices effective for their pupils. The development of enrollment and promotion to the next school around the turn of the 20th century occurred as a unique culture of teachers based on the values of the pre-modern relationship between masters (*shisho*) and followers (*deshi*). For example, the promotion system changed in this period from one based on how well the students learned to one based on the number of terms they spent in school. A wide variety of pupils came to school with the increase in the enrollment rate. In the midst of systematic and actual changes, the occupational culture of the teachers was born from the unique relationship between teachers and pupils, as a way of developing educational activities. A typical phenomenon of the culture, the defense mechanism of teachers, was developed as a way to gain pupils' trust; so, teachers established a relationship in which their pupils were followers and they devoted themselves to their pupils. In the 1930s, as the school system became more firmly established, the problem of excessive social expectations of teachers to devote themselves to their pupils and to perform unlimited tasks appeared. The idea of 'educational love' between teachers and pupils was promoted, which was not only a slogan of the military regime's education policy but also had a certain reality in terms of teachers' behavior towards their pupils. It is important that teachers themselves chose based on their own free will to behave in this way. This image of teachers established a stable relationship between teachers, pupils, and even the community until the 1950s. For example, most communities and parents were on the teachers' side in the conflict between the Ministry of Education and the teachers during the 1950s.

But teachers' identity faced a crisis during the high-growth period when the various communities in each district were collapsing. During the second period when everybody enrolled in school and schools were a fixed part of society that had gained people's trust to some degree, schools faced serious distrust based on that trust. During the first period, schools were independent from people's daily lives and at a certain distance from them, while during the second period, a kind of oppositional relationship appeared between schools and people's daily lives. The more established schools became, the more complicated their relationship with the local community and pupils' families became. The problem of entrance examinations occurred according to the developed function of a stable school system, the conflict in schools between teachers and pupils was caused by outside evaluation, and a mass society/ information society appeared with the dissolution of the previous relationship based on local communities. Thus, people's attitude to schools changed from that in the first period, which was one of the respects as a place where good social/culture qualities are transmitted, to one which viewed school as a place where children are oppressed. Through the above change and the modification of social structure, people achieved a higher level of education on average, and the development of capitalism produced various educational services outside the school system. As a result, the social status of teachers declined compared with those parents who had a higher level of education and the flourishing private enterprises providing educational services. Most teachers' identity is based on their practice, especially in their classes, and the main aims of teachers' pre-service education are to provide excellent knowledge of each taught subject and a professional development program, while the major requirements for teachers are changing from high skills and abilities to teach each subject to competencies leading pupils' behavior and caring for pupils with learning difficulties. At the same time, a system with middle managers such as head teachers and leaders has been introduced, so school organization has gradually become 'pyramid style,' and the traditional culture of collegueship has been seriously shaken.

The neo-liberalistic trend of educational reform since the mid-1980s is gradually modifying the traditional culture of teachers such as their social status and occupational roles, based on people's criticism of teachers. The introduction of a competitive concept based on liberalization, diversification, and individualization promoted an increase in high performance in teaching through the performance evaluation system for teachers based on the results of teachers' tasks, and ranking and grading of institutes for teachers' pre-service education.

These trends are shaking the fundamental elements of the Japanese culture of teachers such as devotion and an unlimited amount of tasks. It cannot be said that the recent policies have been effective in solving the various problems of education, but they are very effective in increasing the stress on teachers. This shows that teachers' devotion in the previous culture had a certain significance in dealing properly with educational problems, particularly non-classroom problems. Japanese teachers cannot be considered merely in terms of their individual performance in their specialty, but should rather be considered in terms of their collegiality. This is special to the Japanese culture of teachers, which cannot be analyzed based on the Western concept of 'profession.' A simple rejection of teachers' unlimited amount of work will provide no effective solution to the recent educational problems. Teachers' practices developed in the previous culture are effective in various aspects of education, so just eliminating that culture may cause further serious problems. The practices that teachers developed should be examined as voluntary products of teachers' culture.

The previous occupational culture of teachers has both merits and demerits, and it should

be adapted or modified taking account of the changes in Japanese society, but it should not be ignored, since it was developed by teachers ‘at the chalk face.’

[Kimura wrote the Introduction, Chapters I and II, and the Conclusion, and Iwata wrote Chapters I and III, and the Conclusion.]

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