<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Teachers' Culture in Japan: Narrowness of Teachers' Field</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Kudomi, Yoshiyuki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Citation</td>
<td>Hitotsubashi journal of social studies, 24(1): 9-24</td>
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<tr>
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<td>1992-08</td>
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<td>URL</td>
<td><a href="http://doi.org/10.15057/8393">http://doi.org/10.15057/8393</a></td>
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</table>
TEACHERS' CULTURE IN JAPAN:
NARROWNESS OF TEACHERS' FIELD

YOSHIYUKI KUDOMI

I. It is not easy to see the field of teachers

A teacher is most familiar to us. A person who lives in the modern society has had much contact with various teachers in his growing process. And if he has a child, he will meet some teachers through the child.

As a matter of fact there are numerous school teachers in each modern society. That number is exceptional in comparison with other occupations. In Japan it is now (as of 1st of May 1991) about 1 million 65 thousand in primary, junior-high, senior-high, and other kinds of special schools. This would be one 55th of the working population. This constitutes a big social stratum in our society.

"A teacher" is familiar to us and there is an enormous number, but we are not aware of what they are thinking and how they are going about their daily job and life—the inner side of the field of teachers. As the relations of pupil, teacher and parents make some veils in their communication, the sight through the veils may be misty.

The field of teachers, however, is important for the educational practice and research. Because in that field there are the dreams, the expectations, the worries, the consolations and the interests of teachers, thus the educational practices are supported on one hand and suppressed on the other by the field.

I and my colleagues proposed a concept—teachers' culture—to bring out the specificity of the field of teachers.

II. School as an institution and teachers' culture

The history of the school is very old. But the time when the school involved most of the children of a nation was the second half of the 19th century. And this institution of school became large in the modern society, thus an enormous number of teachers were employed to teach in this institution.

In Japanese two terms, "kyoshi" and "kyoin," mean school teacher. The first is used, for example "kyoshi with regard to the life," even when it's not the school teacher. On the contrary the latter is used in the case of the school teacher only. The suffix '-in' in Japanese means that the word followed by the suffix does not exist singularly but exists in a large number.
The school as a modern institution has required the school teachers. Thus school teachers have been involved and organized in the school. That is to say, the school schools the teachers and teachers are schooled by the school. In these relations the nature of the school as an institution must have had a strong influence upon the field of teachers and their culture. We hope to find an issue in the consequencies of this influence in our survey.

But teachers' culture is not only a passive factor in the relation between the institution and the culture, but is active too. Teachers' culture supports the school as an institution from the inside. Thus the nature of teachers' culture, which has been formed historically, must have strong influence upon the functions of the school.

III. Definition of "teachers' culture"

After some discussions mentioned above we defined the concept—teachers' culture—as follows:

Teachers' culture is that which contains modal or peculiar behavior patterns in teachers' field as elements. It, however, is not the simple sum of these elements, but is the whole of organized principles which regulate teachers' behavior and give the codes for teachers to interprete the world.

These organized principles were historically selected, formed, succeeded and reformed through the performance of teachers' work (job and life). Thus teachers' culture includes sets of beliefs, customs, traditions, mentalities, way of thinking and acquaintances.

IV. Framework of research

The perspective of our survey is shown in Figure 1.

1) We wish to grasp the actual patterns of teachers' culture in each school, in a teachers' group of a school.

2) Each teacher enters into this group with one's socio-cultural background. After the entrance, one's background is involved in the group as a factor and is influenced by the group. But some constituents of one's background remain in the field which is less influenced by the group.

The dividing line between the two field is not clear—in Figure 1 it is shown as a broken line.

3) The formation of the cultural characteristics of teachers' group is not the simple sum of individuals, but is based on the values and norms which have been stored in the school, and has also gone through the specific interaction between teachers.

4) These are all under some institutional restrictions. And these restrictions and the pattern of interaction enter into teachers' culture, so they constitute the organic sides of teachers' culture.

V. Method of the survey

We conducted a questionnaire survey of teachers in town A in 1991. And we com-
pared the results in town A with the results in town B which we conducted 7 years ago.

We distributed the questionnaires in all the municipal schools in town A—1 kindergarten, 33 primary schools, 16 junior-high schools, and 1 senior-high school. (In town B—18 primary schools, and 6 junior-high schools).

The number of questionnaires distributed and collected is shown in Table 1. The effective collection rate is 87.9%. This rate is very high in such a survey. (In town B—the rate was 72.8%.)

VI. Profile of respondents

Sex and age of respondents are shown in Table 2. This data shows that within kindergarten and primary level teachers are predominantly female (kindergarten—100.0%, primary
**Table 1. Distribution and Collection of Questionnaires**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kindergarten</th>
<th>Primary School</th>
<th>Junior-high School</th>
<th>Senior-high School</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Distribution</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>577</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>1,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Collection</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>1,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Effective collection rate (%)</strong></td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>88.5</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>87.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2. Sex and Age of Respondents**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>20~24</th>
<th>25~29</th>
<th>30~34</th>
<th>35~39</th>
<th>40~49</th>
<th>50~60</th>
<th>Age group</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kindergarten</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6 (0)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>479</td>
<td>(22)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Primary school</strong></td>
<td>774</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>479 (22)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>207</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>62</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>36.3</td>
<td>63.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Junior-high school</strong></td>
<td>511</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>185 (5)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>62.7</td>
<td>37.3</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>18.1</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Senior-high school</strong></td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>8 (1)</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>82.2</td>
<td>17.8</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>37.2</td>
<td>27.9</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,337</td>
<td>621</td>
<td>678 (38)</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>276</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>107</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>52.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>21.5</td>
<td>23.4</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* D.K. and N.A. are omitted from the calculation of %.  
—continued on following pages.

**Table 3. The Present Job in the School**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Frequency</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Principal, vice-principal or chief who is not in charge of class</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Class teacher</td>
<td>884</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assistant teacher or school nurse</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Others</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The thirties age group is predominant in primary school (48.8%) and junior-high school (41.7%). We are able to say that in town A there is a relatively high rate of young teachers. In senior-high school this data shows a tendency to younger teachers there (the twenties age group—41.9%). But as a matter of fact in town A there are some other senior-high school—prefecture run schools and private schools. We surveyed the only city run school, whose data is shown in our Tables.

The present job in the school is shown in Table 3. This data shows that ‘class teacher’ makes up the majority of respondents (68.7%). The frequency of ‘principal, vice-principal or chief’ is 152 (11.8%), but within that number 135 are male and only 17 are female. This 17 is 2.5% of the total number of females. Then the route for female teachers to reach...
the administrative level is very narrow. The possibility is about 1/10 in comparison with that of male teachers.

The rate of 'assistant teacher or school nurse' of female (23.6%) is higher than that of male (9.7%).

VII. Limitation of teachers' field

D. H. Hargreaves said that the social relations of teachers are incestuous about teachers' field in England. In Japan is teachers' field also closed?

(1) The sphere of teachers' marriage

Table 4 shows the occupation of spouse. Of the total, 49.9% of respondents' spouse are presently teaching. How high this rate is! Further more item-2 and -3 are 'previously teaching.' The sum of the first three situations is a total of 58.9%. These tendencies are almost the same in each group in the table (male, female, primary, junior-high).

In the case of data shown in Table 5 from town B, the rate of presently teaching is similarly high at 48.5%.

50 or 60% is extremely high and this is probably the highest rate of married couples in the same professional occupations as compared with any other occupations, although we don't have such data concerning other occupations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4. Occupation of Spouse [Data from town A]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Presently teaching (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Previously teaching, now in other occupations (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Previously teaching, now unemployed (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. No teaching experience, presently in other occupations (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. No teaching experience, presently unemployed (%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5. Occupation of Spouse [Data from town B]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Presently teaching (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Other occupations (%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Unemployed (%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total | 295 | 100.0 | 110 | 100.0 | 177 | 100.0 | 190 | 100.0 | 105 | 100.0 |
(2) The sphere of teachers' acquaintances

Figure 2 shows the results of the question, "What kind of people do you meet out of working hours? Please select the number in order of relevance up to three." Even out of working hours teachers meet most frequently the teachers of the same or different schools (item-1 and -2). The next frequency is 'old school or university classmates,' but the pos-

**Figure 2. What Kind of People Do Teachers Meet out of Working Hours? [Data from town A]**

(Please select the number in order of relevance up to three.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. teachers of the same school</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. teachers of different schools</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>61.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. school board members</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. pupils (students)</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. old students</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. parents of pupils</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. cultural circle members</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. old school or university classmates</td>
<td>16.2</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. relatives</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. people in school neighborhood</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. people in neighborhood</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>32.9</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. others</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TEACHERS' CULTURE IN JAPAN: NARROWNESS OF TEACHERS' FIELD

Figure 3. What Kind of People Do Teachers Meet out of Working Hours? [Data from town B]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>The Top %</th>
<th>Total % Up to Three</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. teachers of the same school</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>68.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. teachers of different schools</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>48.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. pupils (students)</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. old students</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. parents of pupils</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. cultural circle members</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>14.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. old school or university classmates</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>64.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. relatives</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. people in neighborhood</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>25.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. others</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The probability that 'old classmates' are now teachers is relatively high, because most teachers graduated teachers college or faculty of education of university.

Figure 3 is the data from town B about the same question (number of items is two less than Figure 2). In this case item-1, -2 (teachers) and -7 (old classmates) are also highly selected. The fact that teachers meet other teachers out of working hours is undoubted. In the case of data from town A 'teachers of different school' is the highest rate (the top—23.6%, up to three—61.1%). On the contrary in the case of data from town B 'teachers of the same school' is the highest rate (the top—39.5%, up to three—68.1%). Town A is a more urbanized city than town B, thus teachers' acquaintances may be over one school. But they may not be over teachers' field.

(3) Subjects of conversation with fellow teachers

The kinds of subjects of conversation with fellow teachers in daily school life are shown in Figure 4. From 21 items the most relevant three were selected by each respondent. Conversation is the most important interaction between teachers.

Item-1 (problem students) has an outstandingly high rate. The problem student is the most common subject for teachers to talk about with each other. Items from -1 to -7...
FIGURE 4. **SUBJECTS OF CONVERSATION WITH FELLOW TEACHERS IN YOUR SCHOOL**  [Data from town A]
(Please select the most relevant three.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects of conversation</th>
<th>21</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>20</th>
<th>30</th>
<th>40</th>
<th>50</th>
<th>60</th>
<th>70% Primary:Junior-high</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. problem students</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>71.1%&lt;69.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. classroom management</td>
<td>22.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.4&lt;26.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. school management</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.1&lt;16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. school activities</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.1&lt;17.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. syllabus &amp; method of teaching</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>34.8&lt;27.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. students’ prospects</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.4&lt;18.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. students’ parents &amp; families</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>17.8&lt;13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. salary &amp; working conditions</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.6&lt;4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. season &amp; weather</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>7.5&lt;4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. health &amp; welfare</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13.3&lt;14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. rumours concerning fellow members</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10.9&lt;10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. one’s own family</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19.9&gt;10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. hobbies &amp; recreation</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>15.8&lt;21.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. sports</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.8&lt;8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. TV &amp; radio programs</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8&lt;3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. show business world</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1&lt;1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. social conditions</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.2&lt;9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. politics</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>0.9&lt;0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. educational system &amp; policy</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.9&lt;4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. teachers’ union</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.5&lt;0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. others</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.4&lt;7.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(problem students, classroom management, school management, school activities, syllabus & method of teaching, students’ prospects, students parents & families) are those directly related to educational practices. And these items have a relatively higher rate than the other items.

Figure 5 is the data from town B about the same question. (No. of items are 19, two less than Figure 4). The distribution of response is very similar to that of Figure 4. Item-1 (problem students) is outstandingly high, and items from -1 to -6 which are directly related to educational practices are relatively higher than the other items.

In Japan there is a rumour that subjects of teachers’ daily conversation in school are only about sports and gambling. But this rumour is not the fact at all. In Japan school teachers may be earnest. Then their earnestness must be related to the limitation of their field.

When we compare primary school with junior-high school, two figures show some common tendencies. Primary school has higher rate than junior-high school on two items (school activities, one’s own family). In Japan school activities are high on the list in primary school. And in primary school there is a relatively high rate of female teachers, then one’s own family may be traditionally a suitable subject of female conversation.
Junior-high school has a higher rate than primary school in five items (students' prospects, hobbies, sports, social conditions, educational system & policy) commonly in two figures. The problems of students' prospects is one of the most important issues for junior-high school, its students and its teachers. Because 15 years old, the age of leaving junior-high school, is the time of social selection for each child in Japan. And in junior-high school there is a high rate of male teachers, then sports and politics are more suitable subjects of conversation for male than for female according to the old traditions in Japan.

(4) Teachers' reactions to official regulations

Figure 6 shows the degree of teachers' satisfaction with some official regulations. These six items are thought to be that through such routes (items) official regulations reach each teacher.

- by principal and vice-principal
- staff meeting
- school year grading and subject grouping of teachers' discussions
- from P.T.A.
The degree of satisfaction about item-a, -b, and -c is obviously higher than about -d, -e and -f. The first three items are the routes which are inside of the school. Whereas the last three items are the routes from outside of the school. So the degree of teachers' satisfaction is higher about the inner official regulations than about those from outside. Outside of the school also means outside of teachers' field. This indicates that teachers' field is organized toward the inner side strongly, and is opened narrowly toward the outside.

Among the first three items item-c has a higher rate than -b and -b has a higher rate than -a. The nearer to each teacher the item is, the higher the degree of satisfaction with it is. This points out that the direction of organizing teachers' field is not extrovert but introvert.

Through the last three the answer 5 'no official regulation' is rather highly selected. The existence itself is not realized by many teachers about the outside official regulations.

Figure 7 is the data from town B with regard to the same question. The distribution of response is almost the same as Figure 6. The first three are higher than the last three, among the first three the nearer the higher, and 5, 'no official regulation' is rather high through the last three. These three tendencies are all shared by primary and junior-high school in Figures 6 and 7.

Figure 8 shows the degree of teachers' consideration about the same 6 items of official regulations...
Figure 7. The Degree of Satisfaction with Official Regulations [Data from town B]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&lt;6 items about official regulations&gt;</th>
<th>satisfied</th>
<th>dissatisfied</th>
<th>5. no official regulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. very</td>
<td>2. semi</td>
<td>3. semi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the guidance and advice by principal and viceincipal</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>52.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the decisions of staff meeting</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>58.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) the agreement of school year grading and subject grouping of teachers' discussions</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>67.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) the requests from P.T.A.</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) the requests from neighborhood associations</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) the guidance and directions by the Board of Education</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
regulations. As to the answer 1, 'much consideration' the first three items are higher than the last three and among the first three the nearer to each teacher the higher the degree of consideration is. In the case of data shown in Figure 9 from town B there are the same

**Figure 8. The Degree of Consideration about Official Regulations**

[Data from town A]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consideration</th>
<th>1. much</th>
<th>2. semi</th>
<th>3. little</th>
<th>4. no official regulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;6 items about official regulations&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the guidance and advice by principal and vice-principal</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the decisions of staff meeting</td>
<td>40.2</td>
<td>84.8</td>
<td>42.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) the agreement of school year grading and subject grouping of teachers' discussions</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>86.2</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>40.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) the requests from P.T.A.</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>72.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) the requests from neighborhood associations</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>51.6</td>
<td>(total % up to 2)</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) the guidance and directions by the Board of Education</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>66.6</td>
<td>25.3</td>
<td>18.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 9. The Degree of Consideration about Official Regulations**

[Data from town B]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consideration</th>
<th>1. much</th>
<th>2. semi</th>
<th>3. little</th>
<th>4. no official regulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&lt;6 items about official regulations&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a) the guidance and advice by principal and vice-principal</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>26.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) the decisions of staff meeting</td>
<td>44.4</td>
<td>91.9</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>43.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) the agreement of school year grading and subject grouping of teachers' discussions</td>
<td>51.9</td>
<td>88.6</td>
<td>47.9</td>
<td>58.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d) the requests from P.T.A.</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>55.9</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>9.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e) the requests from neighborhood associations</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f) the guidance and directions by the Board of Education</td>
<td>19.4</td>
<td>62.1</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
tendencies. These tendencies are all shared by primary and junior-high school in Figures 8 and 9.

These four figures (from 6 to 9) show that about official regulations the degree of satisfaction and consideration are higher at the inside of teachers' field than from the outside. So teachers' field is organized toward the inner direction. This fact must be related not only to the narrowness of teachers' acquaintances, but also to the earnestness of teachers in Japan. Further more this fact means that the recognition, satisfaction and consideration of teachers about the outside routes of regulations are rather on a low level. I think this may be a serious weak point of teachers' culture in Japan.

VIII. The image of teaching profession

What is the self-image of teachers? Self-image is not only formed through the performance of teachers' work (job and life), but also the image supports teachers' field and their performance from the inner side.

Figure 10 shows the results when we asked respondents to select the levels of opinions about each seven items (from item-a to -g).

Item-c, -d, -e and -f has a rather high rate of positive opinions. On the contrary item-a and -b has a rather high rate of negative opinions. About item-g positive and negative opinions are roughly even. Figure 11 is data from town B about the same seven items. The distribution of response is almost the same as Figure 10. Generally speaking, Japanese teachers feel their jobs as mental anxiety and self-sacrifice, and not respected or econom-

---

**Figure 10. The Image of Teaching Profession**  [Data from town A]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>1. strong opinions</th>
<th>2. moderate opinions</th>
<th>3. few opinions</th>
<th>4. no opinions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. one of the respected jobs in society</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>44.3</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. one of the economically wealthy jobs</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. one of mental anxiety</td>
<td></td>
<td>67.6</td>
<td>97.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. a job of satisfaction in contact with children</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>93.0</td>
<td>43.8</td>
<td>33.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. a worthwhile job</td>
<td>39.2</td>
<td>89.6</td>
<td>43.7</td>
<td>32.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. a job demanding self-sacrifice</td>
<td>31.9</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>36.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. a job which one can do independently</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>62.9</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As a matter of fact teachers are very busy in Japan. A lot of surveys concerned with teachers' work in Japan have indicated the extreme business of teachers. Figure 12 shows the degree for teachers to feel busy. Of the total the answer 1, 'strong feelings' has a very high rate and creates the majority of respondents (62.4%). Up to 2, 'moderate feelings' the rate is 92.4%. These tendencies are shared by primary and junior-high schools.

This figure shows that female teachers feel busy more strongly than male. Female teachers are suffering from dual tasks, teaching and housework. The figure also shows that class teachers feel busy more strongly than the other teachers. With regard to the number of years of teaching experience, teachers from 5 to 29 year experience (the middle) feel busy more strongly than under 5 year (the young) and over 30 (the old). There are some differences in the degree between several groups, but it is clear that teachers who feel busy makes up the majority in any group.

T. Parsons presented as one of Pattern Variables

<Specificity—Diffuseness>

about the range of responsibility. Teaching profession in Japan has had the value of <Diffuseness> about the range of teachers' responsibility for pupils or students. This value has been very strong in teachers' mentality and also in social expectations towards teachers. Thus school teachers in Japan are not only mentally anxious, self-sacrificial and busy in fact, but also have to be so in their ideal images and social expectations.

Through Figures 10 to 12, teachers' response may be influenced by this value, <Diffuseness>.

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**Figure 11. The Image of Teaching Profession [Data from town B]**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Strong Opinions</th>
<th>Moderate Opinions</th>
<th>Few Opinions</th>
<th>No Opinions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a. one of the respected jobs in society</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>52.7</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>9.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b. one of the economically wealthy jobs</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>(total % up to 2)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c. one of mental anxiety</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>76.0</td>
<td>96.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d. a job of satisfaction in contact with children</td>
<td>48.3</td>
<td>92.7</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>37.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e. a worthwhile job</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>92.3</td>
<td>53.5</td>
<td>42.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. a job demanding self-sacrifice</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>30.6</td>
<td>49.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g. a job which one can do independently</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>64.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IX. Conclusion

Teachers' field is very narrow in Japan. This specific nature of being narrow spreads over many spheres, for example, marriage, acquaintances, subjects of conversation and
reactions to official regulations. That is to say teachers' field is organized toward the inner direction.

The self-image of teachers in Japan is effected by this narrowness, and then the image is self-sacrificial. And the value <Diffuseness> is introduced into the heart of Japanese teacher. Teachers' culture in Japan includes the specific nature of being narrow and the value of diffuseness as elements, and these support teachers' field and their performance from the inside.

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References