

# Post-war Modern History Education, Politics, and Teachers' Lesson Plans in Japan

Focusing on reports about teaching war in the journal *Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku*

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## Abstract:

This article examines modern Japanese history education, with a particular focus on the history of the wars involving Japan from the 1930's until the end of World War Two. The field of Social Studies was introduced to Japan in 1947 and was heavily influenced by the politics of the Cold War era. How Japanese people have interpreted the war has come to have a special meaning to people in East Asia, and history classes in schools are an important tool in cultivating Japanese people's historical consciousness, however the content of these classes has not been well received by the international community. This article examines how Social Studies was initially established and then transformed after the Second World War, and introduces the *Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai* (History Educationalist Conference of Japan, hereafter *Rekkyōkyō*) and its work to counter conservative politicians' influence over history education, including an examination of how the association's members teach about the war.

Key words: History education, history textbooks, *Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai*.

## 1. Conflict over Japanese History Education Regarding War in East Asia

Since the Meiji Restoration, history education has been considered an important subject for unifying Japan as a nation and promoting the Japanese national identity, two concepts that were central to the rapid social changes deemed necessary for Japan to catch up with Western modernity in the late 19th century (Shin, 2011, p7). During the seven years Japan was occupied by the United States after the end of the Asia Pacific War, one of the immediate priorities of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (the occupation authorities led by General Douglas McArthur, hereafter SCAP) outside of Japan's demilitarisation and democratization was the re-construction of Japanese education, an institution which was considered to have contributed to the rise in ultra-nationalistic ideology in the Japanese people before the war. Ienaga (2001), a leading left-wing historian and author of history textbooks in post-war era Japan stated that, 'The tragedy of Japan that led to the Pacific War is that... the majority of the people were educated from youth into a frame of mind in which they could not criticize state policies independently but had to follow along in those policies...' (Ienaga, 2001, p.9).

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The recent territorial dispute over the Senkaku islands (Diaoyu islands in Chinese) has been a source of serious political tension between Japan and China, especially after the governor of Tokyo, Ishihara Shintarō, revealed that the Tokyo Metropolis planned to purchase the disputed islands in April 2012, followed by cabinet approval for the nationalisation of the islands. In August 2012- a month before the 40th anniversary of the normalisation of diplomatic relations between Japan and China- the Asahi newspaper (2012) conducted public opinion polls in Japan and China, and it found that 83% of Chinese respondents believed that the relationship with Japan was not amicable and that the biggest issue hindering their relationship was the difference in historical understanding, followed by the issue of the territorial disputes between the two countries.

A survey conducted by NHK (2000) on public opinion about World War Two found that for people in Japan born after 1959, the four most influential sources affecting their perception of the war were, “school lessons”, “television”, “school textbooks”, and “people close to you” (multiple-response questionnaire), and research conducted by Murakami (2007, p.36) which targeted over one thousand junior high school students revealed that 77 percent of students heard about the war from school teachers. As the 2012 poll suggests, Japanese peoples’ historical consciousness and how they interpret the war is deeply significant for people in East Asia, and taking into account the results of the 2000 survey and the 2007 research, it suggests that school education plays an important role in creating Japanese peoples’ historical consciousness. Despite the importance of history education in schools, studies into Japanese history teaching regarding the war in English have been largely confined to Japanese history textbooks and curricula; thus Japanese history textbooks have been described as “an empiricist historiography” (Dierkes, 2005 p.108), and history education as emphasizing knowledge and an understanding of historical events which conforms to the history curriculum (Cave 2005 p.310). However, there is no existing research in English that introduces and discusses the Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai (History Educationalist Conference of Japan, hereafter Rekkyōkyō) and their journal, *Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku*. To fill in this gap then, this article will trace the development of Rekkyōkyō’s interpretation of history education as a case study- including the influence of domestic and international politics- and will examine recent teaching practices published in their journal.

## **2. Introduction of Social Studies after World War Two**

History education was identified by the SCAP as one of three subjects which underlay the basis of Japanese imperialism (the others being geography and ethics). Despite the efforts to continue them, history classes were suspended at the end of December 1945 and eventually the new subject of Social Studies was introduced in 1947.

The introduction of Social Studies to Japan was revolutionary and there was a great deal of interest in what subjects should be delivered to students in these classes, with many Japanese historians, educators, and parents keen to re-construct history education with a historiography they saw as legitimate. After the initial release of Social Studies textbooks in 1947 by the Ministry of Education, further textbooks were allowed to be compiled by commercial publishers (not only the Ministry of Education as previously) and in 1948 the Ministry developed a new textbook screening system whose main purpose was to censor imperialistic historiographies

in commercial textbooks. As the U.S. strategy for Japan shifted in the early 1950s as a result of rising tensions between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, the aim of textbook screening shifted to eliminating communist ideology instead.

### **3. Impact of International and Domestic Politics on Japanese Modern History Education**

As the Cold War intensified in the early 1950's and with the victory of the Chinese Communist Party in the Chinese civil war and the outbreak of the Korean War, the SCAP's strategies gradually shifted from the suppression of Japanese imperialistic ideology to the suppression of communist ideology, and the Ikeda-Robertson talks held in October 1953 provided the spark for a change in direction in Japanese history education. Walters Robertson, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State at the time, urged for the re-militarisation of Japan and saw Japanese education as the primary obstacle hindering this goal (Nozaki, 2008, p.17). Although Japanese representatives argued that there were restrictions hindering re-militarisation at that time in Japan, they agreed that it was crucial to raise a sense of responsibility towards self-defence in society, and that it was the Japanese government's responsibility to educate people in a way that allowed them to develop a sense of patriotism and self-defence (Hosoya et al., 1999, pp.234-238). What this then resulted in was a situation in Japanese politics where ideologically conservative politicians whose interests were more in line with those of the U.S. were able to remain in Japanese politics and bureaucracy, which resulted in their conservative views of Japanese war history persisting in Japanese politics until the present day.

The change in political strategy was immediately reflected in educational policies and debates at the time, as evidenced in the Yoshida cabinet successfully enacting a bill allowing the Ministry of Education authority over the textbook screening system in 1953, and although the course of study for Social Studies was designed to be a provisional one, in 1958 the revised course of study was given legally binding force. In addition, moral education was reintroduced in elementary and junior high schools. By the early 1960's, the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan (hereafter LDP) extended their control over the textbook system: they brought more right-wing members onto the textbook screening council, had the Ministry stop revealing reasons for the rejection of textbooks, and shifted the control of textbook adoption from teachers and local schools to local Boards of Education (Nozaki, 2005, p280).

In 1982, the first international textbook controversy was triggered when Japanese newspapers reported that Japanese atrocities during the Sino-Japanese War had been played down, and that the word 'Invasion' [by the Japanese army] had been replaced with 'Advance' in high school history textbooks during the Ministry's textbook screening process. This was followed by the second international textbook controversy in 1986 which was sparked by the national textbook screening council approving a nationalistic history textbook "*Shinpen Nihonshi*" which contained insensitive descriptions about people who suffered due to the actions of the Japanese military in Asia. The third textbook controversy occurred when the Atarashii Kyōkasho wo Tsukuru Kai (Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform), a nationalist organisation which was supported by members of the LDP as well as some members of the financial community, had their nationalistic history textbook approved for use in Japanese junior-high schools in 2001.

## 4. Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai Counter Narratives and Their Development

### 4.1 The Establishment of Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai

After the war, numerous organisations arose dedicated to researching and/or contributing to the development of the new subject of Social Studies, one of which was Rekkyōkyō. Established in 1949, the Rekkyōkyō founders were mostly historians, some of whom were involved in establishing theories and educational materials for Social Studies classes, and they focused their efforts on organising seminars on history for teachers, developing a new history curriculum, and recruiting affiliates to establish local branches of their organisation.

Their monthly journal, *Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku* (History & Geography Education), began publication in August 1954 and still continues to this day, with the number of issues published currently standing at 839 as of September 2015. The journals contain information such as teachers' reports on lessons delivered current debates on education-related topics by academics and teachers, and summaries of annual conferences. Rekkyōkyō journals have disseminated teaching practices performed by their member teachers over many years, and a great number of them deal with controversial matters regarding the war.

Rekkyōkyō members have long held that history education should be built from academic historiography and educational theory derived from critiques and introspection on pre-war education (Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, 1997, p.46), and exploring the principles and development of Rekkyōkyō shows us a different facet of history education in Japan.

### 4.2 Rekkyōkyō's Development of History Education

An important development in the history of Rekkyōkyō came in the 1960's when various branches of the organisation began to explore the pedagogical idea of history education being built around students' local communities (*Chiiki ni nezasu rekishi kyōiku*, hereafter referred to as community-based history education). Conference members found that a history education completely out of touch with children's reality does not help them develop the initiative to lead their country, and they believed that exploring local realities and issues would eventually root out contradictions in government policies that needed challenging, which they considered to be a key contribution to building democracy in Japan. The method of teaching children about ordinary people's history, (e.g. farmer uprisings and labour campaigns) and its influence on nurturing healthy patriotism and national pride by which people could overcome a sense of defeat from their national history was also explored by Rekkyōkyō. (Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, 1996, p.160).

Up until the 1970's Japanese educational policies put greater focus on the requirement for students to learn large amounts of advanced knowledge, basing these policies on the idea that such knowledge was indispensable for the scientific and financial advancement of Japan. A successful academic background was vital for securing coveted employment in high-paying jobs with major companies, and this intensified the severe competition in entrance examinations for places at good high schools and universities.

Intensive knowledge-focused education led to a situation in classes where many students were unable to follow the content of classes as often the pace was too fast, which resulted in problems of juvenile delinquency

and loss of students' interest in studying. In order to deliver classes which would interest students (as well as furthering their understanding) Rekkyōkyō teachers employed a teaching practice where students could engage themselves in investigating historical information (sometimes outside of the classroom), exchange their findings and opinions with classmates, and hand in their feedback at the end of the class (Rekishī Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, 1997, p.192). This pedagogical approach of enjoyable and understandable Social Studies - as well as the theory of activity-based Social Studies- was gradually incorporated into the community-based history education method which had been in development since the 1960's.

### **4.3 Awareness of Teaching the War as a Perpetrator and Contributions to Peace**

From the 1960's to the early 1970's, the Vietnam War brought out many counter-narratives of the Asia Pacific War (such as the Japanese military's brutal conduct towards Asian people), and both Japanese victim and victimiser narratives of the war began to be recognised in Japan. Oral histories regarding Japanese people's experiences during the war were brought to light by grass-roots organisations, and such new findings inspired school textbook authors to expand war-related descriptions- including descriptions of Japanese wrongdoings in Asia (Nozaki, 2005, pp.281-282).

Despite the increased awareness of Japanese conduct in Asia, even Rekkyōkyō teaching plans which dealt with the war generally focused on Japanese suffering (such as the bombing of Tōkyō), and the majority of teachers at the time were unaware of the importance of developing teaching plans that would make students think about Japan as a perpetrator. This eventually came to a head with the textbook controversy that occurred in the international community in 1982, which led ultimately to more teaching plans about Japanese militarism and Japan's wrongdoings being introduced by Rekkyōkyō member teachers (Rekishī Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, 1997, p.175). According to Nishio (2011, pp.96-97), the number of lesson plans published in their journal (including those which portrayed Japan as a perpetrator) increased significantly in the 1980's in comparison with previous decades<sup>i</sup>. The so called "Neighbouring Countries Clause"<sup>ii</sup> (*Kinrin Shokoku Jōkō*) in 1982, the death of the Showa emperor in 1989, and a statement released in 1993 by Kōno Yōhei, Chief Cabinet Secretary, acknowledging the involvement of the Japanese imperial army in managing comfort women facilities, contributed to the inclusion of materials about Japan's war-time conduct in history textbooks, all of which were of serious concern for Japanese conservatives and nationalists. Although some descriptions regarding such issues as comfort women began to be reduced in junior-high school textbooks from 2001, Rekkyōkyō teachers continued to teach Japanese wrong-doings, and in the next section such lesson plans will be analysed.

### **4.4 Lesson Plans Published in the 5 Years from 2010 to 2014**

This section will examine lesson plans dealing with war from the 1930's until the end of World War Two that were published in the *Rekishī Chiri Kyōiku* journal. There are fifteen journals published per year, including monthly editions plus special editions every March, July and November. The actual total number of teachers' reports for primary and junior-high schools about war published in the period between 2010 and 2014 reached 52; however the majority of the reports contain more than one topic, and so if each topic is counted as one plan then the number of lesson plans published during these five years increases to 83<sup>iii</sup>. The topics included

are categorised in the table below. Lesson plans which do not have any mention of war since the 1930's were excluded from the list, along with lesson plans dealing with nuclear power and nuclear weapons (apart from atomic bombs). When a lesson plan contains too little about a topic, that topic was not counted (e.g. if the report presents overall plans about the period between the Great Depression and the end of the Second World War, but the main focus was on the battle of Okinawa, it was counted as one for the battle of Okinawa, but not for the Great Depression and other topics.).

**Table 1: Lesson plans for primary and junior-high schools published from 2010 to 2014**

	Primary	Junior-high	TOTAL
① Atomic bombs	3	3	6
② Second Sino-Japanese War including the Manchuria incident	3	6	9
③ Japan as a perpetrator	3	6	9
④ People in Japan in wartime	14	9	23
⑤ Japan's Annexation of Korea	3	0	3
⑥ War and the local community	9	3	12
⑦ Battle of Okinawa	1	5	6
⑧ General Asia Pacific war	3	1	4
⑨ Resistance	4	0	4
⑩ Special Attack Unit	1	0	1
⑪ Manchuria pioneering delegation	0	1	1
⑫ Tokyo Trials, Yasukuni shrine, War crimes	0	1	1
⑬ First Sino-Japanese War, WWI and the Great Powers	0	4	4
TOTAL	44	39	83

**Table 2: The list of articles used for the analysis (All articles were published in *Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku*, and are listed in chronological order in the table below. The numbers on the right indicate corresponding categories in table 1)**

1	Iijima, Harumitsu. (2010) 'Chūgoku Kikoku Seito wo Hagemasu Rekishigakushū', <i>Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku</i> , 755, pp.50-53.	⑥⑪
2	Hayashi, Aya. (2010) "'Hiroshima no Piano" kara Hajimeru Hiroshima Shūgaku Ryokō no Torikumi', <i>Rekishi</i> , 758, pp.38-41.	①
3	Hirai, Mitsuko. (2010) 'Wakamono ga Kataritsugu Okinawasen Jyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 758, pp.50-53.	⑦
4	Matsuda, Kōji. (2010) 'Wakamono ga Kataritsugu Okinawasen Chū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 759, pp.74-79.	⑦ <sup>iv</sup>
5	Shiratori, Kōji. (2010) "'Barraku" "Kaidashi" "Kishapoppo no Uta"', <i>Rekishi</i> , 762, pp.16-20.	④
6	Kobori, Toshio. (2010) 'Kodomo no Namae to Sengo no Shuppatsu', <i>Rekishi</i> , 762, pp.26-31.	④
7	Tominaga, Shinya. (2010) 'Tōkyōsaiban', <i>Rekishi</i> , 762, pp.32-36.	⑫
8	Sasaki, Takao. (2010) 'Chūgokujin Sensō Higaisha to Sengo Hoshō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 762, pp.118-122.	②③
9	Kusawake, Kyōko. (2010) 'Nankin karano Tegami', <i>Rekishi</i> , 767, pp.112-119.	②③④
10	Tadokoro, Kyōsuke. (2011) 'Kodomo to Manabu Sensō to Heiwa', <i>Rekishi</i> , 769, pp.40-45.	④
11	Yamamoto, Etsuo. (2011) 'Kyōshitsu de Manabu Imi wo Toinaosu Rekishi Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 770, pp.72-77.	②
12	Kōjiya, Yōko. (2011) 'Inochi wo Taisetsuni suru Kyōiku wo', <i>Rekishi</i> , 771, pp. 24-29.	①④
13	Ohno, Kazuo. (2011) 'Kenkyū Jyugyō wa Fudan no Jyugyō no Tsumikasane', <i>Rekishi</i> , 772, pp.124-133.	④⑥

14	Higa, Chihiro. (2011) 'Higashi Ajiashi no Shiya no naka de Nisshin Sensō wo Dō Oshietaka', <i>Rekishi</i> , 773, pp.52-55.	⑬
15	Tsunozu, Hiromi. (2011) 'Chūgakusei ga Torikumu Okinawasen Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 773, pp.66-71.	⑦
16	Nishimura, Michiko. (2011) 'Sonkitei no Kinmedaru', <i>Rekishi</i> , 777, pp.95-99.	⑤
17	Kuramochi, Shigeo. (2011) 'Dōsuru? Manshūjihen no Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 778, pp.32-37.	②
18	Shirao, Hiroshi. (2011) "'Chiiki no Chūkonhi to Sensō" Hibun no Omoi wo Dō Uketometaka', <i>Rekishi</i> , 778, pp.40-45.	② ④ ⑥ ⑧
19	Noguchi, Hiroyuki. (2011) 'Senchū Sengo no Taiken no Kikitori to Sono Happyō -2010nen ni Taiken wo Kikukoto no Kyōiku teki imi', <i>Rekishi</i> , 779, pp.58-61.	④
20	Andō, Katsuaki. (2011) 'Heiwa Gakushū to Gakunen zukuri', <i>Rekishi</i> , 783, pp.48-51.	①
21	Kamiyama, Tomonori. (2012) 'Sensō Taiken Sengo Taiken no Kikitori Chōsa wo Dō Shidōshitaka', <i>Rekishi</i> , 784, pp.48-51.	④
22	Saitō, Hideki. (2012) 'Kyōshi ga Oshierukoto to Seito ga Kangaetakunaru Okinawasen no Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 788, pp.50-53.	⑦
23	Imai, Osamu. (2012) 'Chiiki no Heiwa Katsudō to Rentaisuru Heiwa Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 789, pp.62-67.	④⑥
24	Gima, Kanako. (2012) 'Okinawa no Rekishi kara Mananda Heiwa no Taisetsusa -Sōgōteki na Gakushū no Jikan wo Chūshin ni', <i>Rekishi</i> , 790, pp.47-50.	⑦
25	Hashimoto, Kazuaki. (2012) "'Jibuntachi ga Saigo" -Sangakunen no Sōgōteki na Gakushū no Jikan wo Katsuyō shita Sensō Taiken Kikitori no Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 790, pp.51-54.	①④
26	Mukōyama, Miki. (2012) 'Shichirigan Chikagō wo Heiwa Kyōiku ni', <i>Rekishi</i> , 793, pp.33-32.	④⑥
27	Hayakawa, Kanji. (2012) 'Jyūgonen Sensō wo Manabu', <i>Rekishi</i> , 793, pp.42-47.	①⑥⑧
28	Matsuda, Kōji. (2012) 'Aru Nihonhei no Tsukurarekata', <i>Rekishi</i> , 793, pp.74-80.	②③
29	Shinohara, Takaaki. (2012) 'Yoriyoi Nicchū Kankei no Arikata -Nankin Jiken wo Megutte', <i>Rekishi</i> , 794, pp.48-51.	②③
30	Inagaki, Naohiro. (2012) 'Nagasawa Katsuko san to Hō Hiroaki san no Kōryū wo Jyugyō ni -"Nagaku Tsuzuita Sensō to Hitobito no Kurashi"', <i>Rekishi</i> , 794, pp.72-51.	③⑨
31	Kobori, Toshio. (2012) "'Ianfu Mondai" to Chūgakusei', <i>Rekishi</i> , 798, pp.30-37.	②③③
32	Endō, Shigeru. (2013) 'Sensōhi kara Kangaeru Chūgakunen no Sensō Gakushū -Kojin ni Yorisou Kotode Mietekuru Sensō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 799, pp.58-63.	④⑥
33	Endō, Shigeru. (2013) 'Shokuminchi Chōsen no Sugata ni Manabu', <i>Rekishi</i> , 800, pp.56-61.	⑤
34	Endō, Shigeru. (2013) 'Ajia no Hitobito wa Nihon wo Dō Miteirunoka', <i>Rekishi</i> , 801, pp.56-61.	③⑤⑧
35	Hirai, Mitsuko. (2013) 'Pīsukitto "Imon Bukuro" wo Tsukatta Sensō Gakushū no Tenkai', <i>Rekishi</i> , 803, pp.71-76.	④
36	Inagaki, Naohiro. (2013) 'Yūjō no Ningyō "Aoime no Ningyō"', <i>Rekishi</i> , 808, pp.44-47.	④⑨
37	Kawasaki, Kayoko. (2013) 'Sensō wo Tomerarenakatta Riyū wo Miseru', <i>Rekishi</i> , 809, pp.48-53.	④⑨
38	Iwata, Hikotarō. (2013) 'Chūgaku Sannensei ga Torikunda Sensō Taiken no Kikitori Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 811, pp.54-57.	④
39	Tsuji, Kenji. (2013) 'Chūgakkō "Nisshin Sensō" Gakushū no Atarashii Kokoromi', <i>Rekishi</i> , 812, pp.101-108.	⑬
40	Satō, Kōji. (2013) 'Bokurano Machi ha Nihon de Hajimete Hikōki ga Tonda Machi -"Tokorozawa Hikōjō no Rekishi" no Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 813, pp.42-45.	④⑥
41	Nakagawa, Kenji. (2013) 'Mojikō kara Senjō ni Itta Umatachi wo Meguru Jissen', <i>Rekishi</i> , 814, pp.48-53.	④⑥

42	Takahashi, Masaomi. (2014) 'Fūshiga wo Tegakarini Rekishi wo Kōseisuru Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 815, pp.44-47	⑬
43	Nakagawa, Kenji. (2014) 'Shin Heiwa to Yūjō no Ningyō no Erikachan wo Mukaete Manandakoto', <i>Rekishi</i> , 815, pp.52-57.	④⑨
44	Nakagawa, Kenji. (2014) 'Sensōchū ni Yūbinbutsu no Shiwake wo Tetsudatta Kodomotachi', <i>Rekishi</i> , 816, pp.58-63.	②④⑥
45	Irikura, Mitsuharu. (2014) 'Kokumingattsukō Nisshi wo Yonde Sensō wo Kangaeru Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 819, pp.42-47.	④⑥
46	Nakajō, Katsutoshi. (2014) 'Anata wa Nihongun "Ianfu" wo Shitteimasuka?', <i>Rekishi</i> , 819, pp.62-67.	③
47	Hirai, Atsuko. (2014) 'Seito ga Mananda Daiichiji Sekaitaisen', <i>Rekishi</i> , 821, pp.38-43.	⑬
48	Yano, Yasuo. (2014) "'Tottsukō" no Rekishi kara Manabukoto', <i>Rekishi</i> , 822, pp.102-109.	⑩
49	Tanaka, Tatsuhiko. (2014) 'Jyūgonen Sensō wo Seito to Tomoni Kangaeta Tōron Jyugyō', <i>Rekishi</i> , 823, pp.48-53.	⑧
50	Haruki, Yūko. (2014) 'Chiiki no Sensō to Heiwa Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 824, pp.44-49.	④⑥
51	Watanabe, Kōji. (2014) 'Shakaika Heiwa Gakushū -Okinawa kara Kitafuji e Jibun tono Suriawase', <i>Rekishi</i> , 825, pp.44-49.	⑦
52	Nakakubo, Toshiya. (2014) 'Sekai he Todokeyō Kodomotachi no Inori -Jidōkai de Torikunda Hiroshima Gakushū', <i>Rekishi</i> , 825, pp.66-71.	①

The most popular theme observed in primary school lesson plans was "People in Japan in wartime". This is partially because this category can include broader subjects such as the evacuation of children, war-time education, the way people thought about war, the poor state of living because of food shortages, and so on. The topic tends not to be controversial and is generally straight-forward to teach as well. The other reason for the category's popularity is that it is easier to include an activity such as listening to the war experiences of elderly people (including students' grandparents or elderly local volunteers); however, as the majority of elderly people nowadays who experienced the war were most likely children at the time, their experiences of war concentrate exclusively on the suffering of Japanese people.

The second most popular theme observed in primary school plans is, "War and the local community". Many teachers in primary schools used local objects which students can easily see in their daily life as teaching materials; these included war memorials or monuments, items that survived air bombings, etc. In many reports, teachers mentioned that real local objects play an important role in helping students realise the relationship between their lives and the lives of people during the war (which teachers find does an excellent job of grabbing students' attention and interest), which explains why this theme was ranked the second most popular in the table. "People in Japan in wartime" and "War and the local community" are often combined as topics due to the access to people and real objects in students' local community. The table also indicated that a higher number of lesson plans about the resistance of people against the war were found in primary schools, the reason being that Rekkyōkyō members find it important for students to learn about such people, as otherwise students may come to believe that ordinary people could do nothing to resist the war (Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, 1997, p.361). In order to teach about such resistance, using the story of the Western Blue-eyed Dolls<sup>v</sup> is considered effective as students can easily find connections between themselves and the students to whom the dolls were given.

Themes regarding ‘People during the war’ are often used for lessons in junior-high schools for the same reason as in primary schools, i.e. easier access to war experiences from students’ families and local people. Despite the popularity of this theme however, the number of lesson plans dealing with “War and the local community” is low in junior-high schools as classes at this level often involve themes with wider perspectives such as people who lost their children or Japanese people in Manchuria, and also because students are able to think about more complex topics such as Japanese people’s thoughts towards politicians with different political strategies (e.g. different political views over the expansion into Manchuria).

An important pattern in lesson plans at the junior-high school level has been a relatively large increase in the number of plans that cover the victimiser’s side of wartime Japan, including the battle of Okinawa and the suffering of the Okinawan people. Compared to simpler themes adopted for primary school students which are considered to be more appropriate for their stage of development, the themes for junior high school students can bring about conflicted feelings in said students (such as having to accept shocking stories about Japanese soldiers committing atrocities against Asian people), and these themes require students to possess the ability to understand and imagine the feelings of other people they have never met from places they have never been to. Four lesson plans out of the six that covered Japanese atrocities chose to address the mistreatment of Chinese people by Japanese soldiers (such as brutal killings and forced labour). Of these four lesson plans, one introduced the testimony of a person who was forced to work for the Japanese army, a second plan invited to class an ex-soldier who had committed atrocities in China, a third introduced stories of ex-Japanese soldiers and how killing ordinary Chinese people including women and children gradually became normalized for them, and in the last plan students compared the descriptions of the Nanjing massacre in a Japanese textbook and a Chinese one. Two out of six lesson plans looked at comfort women, and in both of those plans stories of women who were made to become comfort women were introduced.

Matsuda (2010, p.75) cites Konno Hideo (2008) and explains that students need to see the actual names of the people involved in the stories as this helps students to build a fuller image of the situation. Without them the stories lack a connection with students which prevents them from understanding the stories from a personal perspective and leads to the whole learning experience becoming abstract and impersonal, especially with regard to specifics about cruelty and violence. All teaching plans apart from the one which compared Japanese and Chinese textbooks introduced the real names of victims and victimisers.

Aside from the lesson plans that covered the perpetrator side of Japan, there are five lesson plans that cover the battle of Okinawa at the junior high school level. Two out of the five plans were reports based on the learning activities that occurred during school trips where students visited the places such as caves where local people hid from U.S. soldiers and eventually killed themselves. One out of the five involved an activity where students listened to the experiences of female Okinawan survivors, as well as an activity of exchanging videos of students’ questions and answers about the battle of Okinawa with local university students. There was also a report which used the testimony of a survivor who had to kill his family, and another which focused on how the lives of Okinawan people were neglected during the battle and how they still suffer the burden of having U.S. military bases near their homes. In these lessons, students were required to consider why the Okinawans were running away, and why the mass suicide happened. These questions shone a light on the education Japanese

people received at that time, the agendas of the Japanese government, and the conflict between the Okinawan people and the government that still exists to this day, all of which are quite challenging for students to understand.

## 5. Conclusion

Looking at Japanese modern history education at the political level- especially with a heavy focus on descriptions of war in textbooks- may lead many people to conclude that Japanese people have a very conservative interpretation of the Second World War. Stories of gaffes made by some politicians and visits made by Japanese Prime Ministers to Yasukuni Shrine are prominent in news reporting about Japan; however, what teachers themselves teach about the war- either from official textbooks or from supplementary materials- is rarely if ever discussed.

Although Rekkyōkyō and its journal are well known to Japanese readers concerned with history education, the lesson plans discussed here do not necessarily completely represent modern history education in Japan; however, in this article the aim was to look at modern history education from the top to the bottom, i.e. from the political level where educational policy is devised and imposed upon the educational system, to the level of lesson plans devised by teachers to work within existent frameworks while still incorporating teachers' own historiographies and pedagogy. From the perspective of Japan's international relationships and the effect on them of Japanese history education, a holistic view of all relevant stake holders is valuable because teaching about the war is contentious and naturally there are different approaches to this subject, just as there are multiple war narratives and interpretations existent in Japan. Japanese history of World War Two is not completely one sided (nor is what is taught to Japanese students about this period) and when the topic of history education in Japan is discussed, it is important that multilateral aspects of history education about the war in Japan are acknowledged on all sides.

## Notes

- <sup>i</sup> Nishio also noted that the widening of anti-nuclear proliferation in the 1980's contributed to the large increase of such lesson plans in the same period.
- <sup>ii</sup> A criterion that all textbooks follow in order to take into consideration the sentiments of neighbouring countries for the purposes of international relations and friendship.
- <sup>iii</sup> The First Sino-Japanese War. World War One and the Great Powers were counted as they are a point of origin for the study regarding wars in which Japan was involved. A few lesson plans that taught about conditions in Japan right after the defeat of Japan were counted as there are elements for students to consider about Japanese people during the war in such lesson plans.
- <sup>iv</sup> This article includes descriptions about a Japanese soldier who killed ordinary Chinese people; however the same teaching practice was written about by the same author in the article 793, therefore the article 759 was excluded from the category ② and ③ .
- <sup>v</sup> The Western Blue-eyed Dolls were given by an American missionary, Sidney Lewis Gulick, to Japanese children in schools in

1927. Although these dolls were welcomed initially, many of them were burned during the Asia Pacific war, with just over 2% of them surviving after some teachers protected them. This story tells students about how people can change during the war, as even students like themselves supported the burning of the dolls, but also shows that there were people who resisted despite the pressure on them.

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Post-war Modern History Education, Politics, and Teachers' Lesson Plans in Japan. Focusing on reports about teaching war in the journal *Rekishi Chiri Kyōiku*. Yumi Dunbar. The University of Manchester. Keyword: History education, history textbooks, Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai. Abstract: This article examines modern Japanese history education, with a particular focus on the history of the wars involving Japan from the 1930's until the end of World War Two, the establishment of Social Studies, and introduces Rekishi Kyōikusha Kyōgikai, their work countering conservative influence over history education, and how their members teach

# 戦後日本における歴史教育を取り巻く政治的事象と 歴史授業との関連の考察

— 『歴史地理教育』誌の戦争を扱う実践を中心に—

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## 要約

歴史教育はグローバルな課題である。歴史教育は歴史認識を育み、集合的記憶を共有する国民を育成するツールになり得る。歴史認識は人々が現在の社会を歴史的な文脈の中で理解するのに役立ち、将来の決断にも影響を及ぼす。共通の歴史認識の構築は戦後のヨーロッパに平和的貢献をもたらしたが、東アジアでは、共通の歴史認識が欠落しているゆえに、戦後の日本の近代史教育のあり方が近隣諸国との衝突を引き起こしているのである。

1947年の社会科の設立以来、日本の社会科は冷戦という新たな国際社会の枠組みの中で発展した。敗戦直後は天皇を中心とする帝国主義的な歴史観とイデオロギーの抑圧に力を尽くしてきた連合国軍最高司令官総司令部も、冷戦による緊張感の高まりによって政策に方向転換を迫られることになる。そのような国際情勢は、戦後に再建された日本の政治体制、教育行政に、ある一定の保守的な要素を残すこととなった。

一方で、教育学者、教師などをはじめとする人々は、先の戦争の反省の上に構築された新しい科目、“社会科”に多大なる期待をよせ、その発展に寄与してきた。本稿は、その中でも歴史教育者協議会（歴教協）を保守勢力に対峙する存在として挙げ、地域に根ざす社会科、楽しく・わかる社会科、子どもが動く社会科、被害・加害・抵抗をキーとする戦争学習などの様々な授業論の発展に注目しながら、戦後の歴史教育を概観する。さらに、2010年から2014年の5年間に『歴史地理教育』に掲載された、小学校・中学校における戦争を扱う授業実践をカテゴリー別に分類し、分析する。

分析の要点は、次のようなものである。戦争を扱う授業実践は、小学校及び中学校においても、戦時下の日本人の暮らしをテーマとするものが多い。さらに小学校では、子どもたちが住む地域の歴史と、戦時下の人々の暮らしを連結させた授業が多く見られた。中学校でも戦時下の日本人を扱った授業は多いが、中学校レベルでは、日本軍によるアジアでの加害や、沖縄戦など、発達段階に適した複雑なテーマを扱う授業が比較的多く見られた。

日本では、第二次世界大戦や太平洋戦争について様々な解釈が存在していることを踏まえた上で、日本の近代史教育についても、多角的に検討することの重要性を確認して本稿の結びとした。

キーワード：歴史教育，歴史教科書，歴史教育者協議会