POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND MORAL EDUCATION
IN
JAPANESE AND TAIWANESE PRIMARY SCHOOLS

by

Charles P. Beaupre

Department of Educational Psychology and Counselling
McGill University, Montreal
August, 1991

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.

© Charles P. Beaupre, 1991
Moral education in Japanese and Taiwanese primary schools is an important source of political socialization. An analysis of these two countries' moral education curricula reveals traditions which reinforce national solidarity and central governmental authority. Moreover, political ideology is merged with supporting academic, economic, and cultural values. This study examines the political ideology of the moral education curricula in Japanese and Taiwanese primary schools, the values and behavior promoted by these ideologies, as well as the similarities and differences between the Japanese and Taiwanese systems. It is shown that a distinctive feature of both systems is the emphasis placed on political conformism, high academic achievement, professional diligence and economic success.
IDÉOLOGIE POLITIQUE ET ÉDUCATION MORALE
DANS LES ÉCOLES PRIMAIRES DU JAPON ET DE TAÏWAN
par
Charles P. Beaupré

RÉSUMÉ

L'éducation morale dans les écoles primaires du Japon et de Taïwan est une importante source de socialisation politique. Une analyse des programmes d'études de ces deux pays révèle des traditions qui renforcent la solidarité nationale et l'autorité du gouvernement central. De plus, l'idéologie politique est amalgamée avec des valeurs subsidiaires académiques, économiques et culturelles. Cette étude examine l'idéologie politique des programmes d'études dans les écoles primaires du Japon et de Taïwan, les valeurs et comportements promus par cette idéologie, de même que les similarités et différences entre le système Japonais et celui Taiwanais. L'étude démontre qu'une caractéristique distinctive des deux systèmes est l'accentuation sur le conformisme politique, l'accomplissement académique supérieur, l'assiduité professionnelle et le succès économique.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to acknowledge the contributions of Dr. Thomas Eisemon, director of the Laboratory for Cognitive and Ethnographic Studies, Department of Educational Psychology, McGill University, who served as advisor to this thesis. My appreciation to him for his excellent critique of the study and his constant support.

Special thanks to Shirley Packer, M.Ed., Centre for Medical Education, McGill University, for proofreading and editing final drafts.
CONTENTS

Introduction .......................................................... 1

Moral Education in Japan ........................................ 3

Moral Education in Taiwan ........................................ 27

Conclusion ............................................................. 46

References ............................................................ 49

Appendix
Introduction

Primary school education has a central and vital role in political socialization (Easton and Dennis, 1969). School-children pass through important formative stages of cognitive and moral development at this level, a process which is crucial for instilling lasting social and political values (Cummings, 1980). Moral education as an educative program within a defined value system is an active agent for political socialization (Karabel & Halsey, 1977).

Japan and Taiwan have distinctive national traditions which place great stress on reinforcing national solidarity and the authority of the central government. The moral education curricula of Taiwan and Japan represent a relatively unencumbered agenda for the transmission of political ideology. In Japan, instruction in morality is the subject most closely related to the political socialization process (Massey, 1976). In Taiwan, the nature of moral and political socialization of education is inseparable (Wilson, 1970).

Moral education is taught as a core subject in the primary schools of both Taiwan and Japan. However, this subject as part of each country's
national curriculum constitutes only one aspect of a child’s political education (Martin, 1975). It is impossible to know what "messages" the child receives from other socializing agents, particularly teachers and peers. School factors such as pedagogical approaches, teacher attitudes, and peer norms contribute substantially to the students' overall politico-ethical learning.

This study examines the moral education curricula within a defined political ideology in Japan and Taiwan. The values and behaviors directly or indirectly promoted by these ideologies form the basis of moral education programs. It will be shown that moral education in these two countries is designed to emphasize the acquisition of values and behavior which are conducive to political conformism, high academic achievement, professional diligence, and economic success.

Japanese and Taiwanese student attainment of high academic standards in subjects such as science and arithmetic is well documented (Stigler, Lee, Lucker, & Stevenson, 1982; Stigler & Baranes, 1988; Lapointe, Mead, & Phillips, 1989). Research evidence also suggests that moral education and development at the primary level is essential for fostering desirable learning traits in students (Befu, 1986; Hatano & Inagaki, 1986; White, 1987). Because of the importance of moral education on curricula at the primary level, the history, goals, and effects of moral education will be analyzed in each country's schools.
Moral Education in Japan

Historical Overview

Social values found in native doctrines (e.g., Shintoism, Bushido) or foreign ideologies (e.g., Buddhism, Confucianism, Western science and technology) have been conveniently used by the imperial state to strengthen its influence or the power of the state for many generations (Hu, 1970). Although such a situation is not unique to Japan, "except for totalitarian states, no modern nation has used the schools so systematically for the purposes of political indoctrination as Japan" (Passin, 1965, p. 149).

Prior to the Second World War, the most conspicuous feature of political socialization was blind loyalty to the Emperor and the militaristic and ultranationalistic goals of the ruling military elite. Education and educational programs in the schools were identified as the most powerful agents to politicize the youth of Japan. The primary vehicle to carry out this indoctrination was the Imperial Rescript on Education of 1890 (Appendix I). In the schools, indoctrination was effected through a moral education course called shushin. Shushin is a Confucian word that literally means "control of
oneself" (Shimbori, 1960). This indoctrination process was not just limited to the teaching of shushin: moral education was an important part of history, geography, and national language instruction as well as serving to model student behavior.

Perhaps the greatest detrimental effect shushin had on students' moral development was the implantation of abstract and ideological values which "bore no relation to their real lives, and, as a result, prevented them from developing powers of rational moral judgment" (Hashisako, 1990, p. 168).

Although education under the imperial system appeared monolithic, in reality there existed a deeply polarized view of moral instruction. By 1867 a struggle arose between the adherents of two contradictory political philosophies regarding the purpose of education (Horio, 1988). One group considered the general Japanese citizenry as essentially ignorant and argued that enlightenment had to be imposed from above. "Enlightenment from above" justified state intervention in schooling because education was viewed not as an individual's right but as a duty, which ultimately had to benefit the state.

The position of the liberal intellectuals, most notably Fukuzawa Yukichi, was diametrically opposed to the conservative ideologues' "enlightenment from above". They propounded the philosophy of bunmei-kaika, or "civilization and enlightenment". Drawing inspiration from the social
and political ideas of Western thinkers such as Rousseau, Mill, and Quizot, they viewed the ideological suppositions of a managed state as incompatible with true enlightenment. To them, all men had natural rights, among which was the paramount right to receive an education. They felt that the people had to be the real agents of any genuine form of enlightenment, and that this could only develop by "awakening the reason and understanding of each and every member of the national community" (Horio, 1988, p. 31). The "liberals" further argued that:

Education should not be allowed to degenerate into a form of mass propaganda designed to secure allegiance to, or uncritical support for, any policy formulated by the national assembly; it should function rather as the locus for cultivation of a citizenry who would make the members of that assembly responsive to their demands. (Horio, 1988, p. 33).

The protracted ideological struggle between the proponents of "enlightenment from above" and "enlightenment from within" resulted in an impasse over curricular reforms. A modus vivendi was reached in 1872 by creating a school curriculum mainly oriented to practical learning. Education came to be regarded as the strict pursuit of modern scientific knowledge, devoid of abstractions of any kind, whether liberal (i.e., Western individualism) or traditional (i.e., Confucian humanism).

By the late 19th century, the conservative social philosophy gained greater influence in government circles and effectively became Japan's official ideology. Social unrest, created by earlier Meiji reforms, provided
conservative government officials the opportunity to assert their influence in educational matters. Among them was Motoda Eifu, a prominent Confucian traditionalist, who called for a return to the original teachings of Confucius as the sole model for learning in Japan (Smith, 1973). According to Motoda, Western learning was nothing more than "empty abstractness" and needed to be countered with Confucianism, which he considered to be the true science of morality. Only Confucianism could generate "exemplary moral teachings about the proper organization of everyday life" (Horio, 1988, p. 46).

Motoda's ideas struck a respondent political chord, because the fundamental principles of Confucianism fit closely with the Emperor-State ideology then being espoused by conservative ruling elements. It is important to realize how critical this particular development was for its subsequent influence on moral education in Japan:

It is no exaggeration to say that those Confucian scholars' readiness to abandon the quest for systematic purity, combined with their willingness to rededicate their efforts to concrete regulation of everyday life, played a major role in the ideological transformation of Japan from a loosely organized collection of feudal domains into a highly unified and culturally homogenized modern nation-state. (Horio, 1988, p. 47)

Confucian morality became firmly entrenched at every level of formal instruction. Moral education programs increasingly served the political concerns of the government and finally took the form of the nationalistic and militaristic shushin course in the Taisho and early Showa periods (1912-1931).
As conservative educational ideology gained ascendance during the period leading up to the Pacific War (1931-1940), "liberal" educators were thwarted in their efforts and largely marginalized. Despite these setbacks, there still were a number of influential social philosophers who forcibly argued against the government's monopolization of moral education. Even in the most nationalistic prewar days some teachers practised progressive pedagogy such as: The Free Composition Movement *seikatsu tsuzurikata*; the Free School *jiyu gakuen*; and the Children's Village *jido no mura* (Passin, 1965; Kitagawa & Kitagawa, 1987). Such liberal educational movements were of much importance in influencing educational policy in the postwar period.

**The Postwar Era**

The 1945 Potsdam Declaration called for a re-education of the entire Japanese nation in the spirit of democracy. Accordingly, Japan's new Constitution (1947) included Article 26, whose aims were to assure: (1) full development of students' personalities; (2) equal opportunity in education; (3) compulsory education (nine years of schooling); and (4) co-education (Kodansha, 1983). The *shushin* course was struck from the curriculum. Geography and history classes were also suspended until new textbooks could be written. Rationale for these curricular decisions reflected the progressive mindset of the authors, who were American educators:

They saw this move as fundamental in emphasizing the importance of human dignity and as protection of the individual against the omnipotence of the state and
nation. As a substitute for explicit instruction in moral education a new social studies curriculum was created to provide an opportunity for students to examine the changing Japanese society, review their ethical heritage, and develop workable value judgments. The school's role in moral education, as interpreted by the American advisers, appeared to be one of developing in youth the ability to evaluate moral alternatives and possibly even that of allowing youth to share in creating new ethical directions. In final analysis morals, as in the common American tradition, primarily were to be "caught" through the total school atmosphere and not taught through specific formal instruction. (Adams 1960, p. 61).

Further legal support for educational reform was found in the Fundamental Law of Education passed in 1947 (Appendix II). That same year, the Japanese Ministry of Education published a Course of Study, defining how liberal educational ideals were to be met. It heavily emphasized the free development of the individual (Kobayashi, 1976). To further promote the process of educational liberalization, the National Diet in 1949 nullified the Imperial Rescript on Education, the framework for prewar moral education programs.

The Diet also passed legislation to diminish the Ministry of Education's functions. Henceforth, the formulation of national educational policies, including moral education, was delegated to the Central Council for Education, an advisory body to the Minister of Education. In addition to the Central Council, a number of other councils were mandated to study specific topics related to the teaching of moral education in schools. These were: The Curriculum Council; the Council on Youth Problems; the Textbook
Authorization Research Council; and the Educational Personnel Training Council (Ishizaka, 1989).

Initial Response to the Postwar Reforms

In the immediate postwar era, the ideology embodied in the American-sponsored educational reforms were met with great enthusiasm by many Japanese educators. In this liberalized and democratized atmosphere, educational ideology came to embrace pacifism, popular sovereignty, human rights, freedom of expression and beliefs, and emancipation from state control. Now that the Fundamental Law of Education prohibited state intervention in the teaching of morality, schools were emboldened to put progressive ideals into practice. The state's new role in education was limited to administrative functions in supporting the new educational system and not to interfere with the inner workings of the educational process (Okihara, 1986).

In the late 1940's teachers consolidated their position vis-a-vis the central government by forming their own unions. Most teachers held deep convictions against interference of the central authority on educational matters. These founding teachers' organizations grew in power and stature and eventually became a nation-wide union known as Nikkyoso (Duke, 1973).

Initially, the mandate for Nikkyoso was to create a new image of the Japanese teacher: that is, from the austere moral disciplinarian of the prewar shushin days to one who nurtures the young as they develop into
citizens of a democratic Japan (Tomoda, 1989). Nikkyoso's in-service training programs kenshu encouraged teachers to become truly significant mediators between teaching materials and students. One of the paramount concerns of kenshu was to instill in teachers a deep sense of moral duty towards developing their students' democratic rights:

Teachers must work assiduously on the problem of morality as it impinges on educational praxis. Thus teachers must struggle against their own egoism and, without buckling under to the power of state authority, fight against those who show contempt for human nature. This is how they can discharge their primary duty to the people they serve and defend the rights of the younger generation. (Horio, 1988, p.276).

The Conservative Backlash

Many educational officials and some teachers felt that "the postwar curriculum...failed to provide for the transmission of a cultural heritage and failed to foster moral education" (Kida, et al., 1983, p. 70). The Social Studies course, designed to teach morals, was criticized for being too Americanized; it had little or no moral influence and therefore contributed to an "institutional and ideological vacuum" in moral education (Shimbori, 1960). Conservative politicians further pointed out that American-sponsored educational reforms were serious encroachments on the Japanese sense of identity (Tomoda, 1989).

International events at the time helped to advance the conservative cause in Japan. American involvement in the Korean conflict had many
ideological repercussions in Japan, and Washington was exerting pressure on the Japanese government to promote national consciousness as a countermeasure to Communist expansionism (Duke, 1964).

These factors encouraged rightist elements within the Japanese government to reassert prewar controls on mass education. Mounting dissatisfaction led to a comprehensive revision of the moral education curriculum in 1958. Effectively blocked by Nikkyoso on several earlier occasions, the Ministry of Education issued new teaching guidelines, which were incorporated into the Course of Study and were designed to provide the nation with a common ethical base (Hiratsuka, 1980). The revised curricula "clearly indicated a shift in the aim of national education from universalism to particularism or nationalism" (Kobayashi, 1976, p. 61). This shift in educational policy occurred at about the time that the conservative Liberal Democratic Party consolidated its power and became Japan's perpetual ruling party.

The Moral Curriculum

The new Course of Study specified that moral education was to form the core of school instruction (50 minutes of class time each week) at the primary level. No textbooks were to be used nor were tests or grades to be assigned (Luhmer, 1990). Moral education was to be based on "the basic spirit of education as stated in the Fundamental Law of Education" (Ministry of Education, 1983). The program's objectives were to:
Cultivate in children a morality which serves as a basis for developing a person who will never lose the consistent spirit of respect for his fellow man, who will realize this spirit in the home, the school and other spheres of life in the society of which he is a member, who will strive for the creation of a culture rich in individuality and for the development of a democratic nation and society, and, who will be able to make a voluntary contribution to a peaceful international society. (Institute for Educational Research, 1981, p. 61).

These goals were to be implemented through the teaching of 28 specific topics (Appendix III), which revolved around several central themes, e.g., to hold life in high regard, to promote good health, to be prudent, to take care of public property, and to protect public morality with a full awareness of being a member of society (Ishizaka, 1989). Only one theme, "love of the nation", had overt conservative overtones.

The Ministry of Education compiled manuals to assist teachers in planning each grade. These included A Guide for Teaching Moral Education and Moral Education in School (Institute for Educational Research, 1981). The manuals gave examples of instructional plans together with examples of suitable teaching materials. From the catalog of prescribed topics, teachers were to prepare moral education classes for an entire school-year, with one principal moral value assigned to each class period. For example, patriotism (kokudōai) was meant to be taught so as to foster love of country, heighten one's spirit of public morality, and contribute positively
to the development of Japan through one's respect for cultural traditions (Duke, 1964).

**Thematic Analysis of the Moral Education Teacher's Manuals**

The teacher's manuals in moral education at the primary level (Ministry of Education, 1990) provide insight into the way moral themes are selected. As in the *Course of Study*, most of the themes discussed can be seen as fairly innocuous in terms of political ideology. There are some, however, that accentuate values particularly useful for the propagation of a conservative political agenda. The themes proposed in the manuals include: diligent study; the family; the school; the nation; and the group ethic.

**Diligent study.**

Teachers are urged to infuse students with a sense of hard work. The guide books stress that students should come to intuitively feel the connection between personal endeavor and success. Moreover, in the pursuit of personal excellence students need to be alert, courageous, and cooperative.

This moral theme has its roots in the foundations of Japanese society. It is so deeply ingrained in Japan's social structure that the Ministry of Education does not need to underline its importance in the teacher's manuals. It is commonly known as *gambare*—"Persevere!" "Endure!" "Don't give up!" (Duke, 1986). In the school context, *gambare* means intense studiousness and is seen as a mark of virtue (White, 1987).
The seriousness of purpose as the basis of gambare ensures that students are willing to spend many hours of sheer drudgery to succeed in school. The role of gambare is also crucial in developing a strong sense of group competition:

The ordinary Japanese assumes a deep sense of consciousness in carrying out his duties in the form of his responsibility to his group. He is forever encouraged by his leader, or in the case of students, his teacher, as well as by his fellow workers or students, to gambare. This serves as a constant reminder that every member of the group rides in the same narrow ship perpetually sailing alongside a precipice. All must gambare together to avoid catastrophe, to avoid going over the edge. (Duke, 1986, p. 123).

The family.

The family is referred to as a collective body, whose head must be given due respect. This theme is intended to teach students to love and revere their parents. Students must develop a deep love for family life and promote family harmony. Children must actively help their parents to ensure family prosperity. The respect and level of appreciation accorded parents must be extended to all elders in the community.

The school.

The message given is that students must love and respect their teachers, be friendly to all school personnel, and contribute to classroom harmony. Many references are made to the collective spirit of school life. Teachers are reminded, particularly in the first grade-years, that they should
aim to build a loving personal rapport with their students. Teachers are instructed that their kindness encourages students to develop a healthy attitude toward education.

The nation.

The manuals strongly suggest that students learn to identify with local geography and history. Children need to appreciate their cultural roots and to value their surroundings. Positive sentiments, fostered toward local institutions, are extended to the national culture and traditions. This is part of the program in the upper elementary grades. Much importance is placed on cultivating the love of country, and the preservation of the Japanese heritage. Students learn to empathize with their ancestors, and appreciate their contribution to what Japan is today. As well, every student is obliged to work hard to contribute to the country’s cultural development for the sake of future generations.

The group.

This theme discusses the need for students to understand and accept the concept of group harmony. Like gambare and cultural pride, the moral values associated with group harmony are so deeply embedded in the Japanese psyche that the manuals need not provide much elaboration. As Duke (1986) explains, socialization favoring a group mentality begins in school with the very first day of grade one when every child enters his kumi (group):
The elementary teacher in Japan, the tannin no sensei or kumi teacher, plays a very special role in the life of every Japanese child. In many schools, the kumi teacher remains with the same class for two years, that is, first and second grades, third and fourth grades, and finally the same teacher for both the fifth and sixth grades. It is often this last teacher that the Japanese remember so well. During these very impressionable ages the kumi teacher, for a two-year period broken only by a 40-day summer vacation, builds a strong sense of group loyalty and affection. (Duke, 1986, p. 122).

Implications of the Moral Curriculum

On the surface, the Ministry of Education’s Course of Study and the accompanying teaching manuals do not espouse flagrantly conservative political ideas. The controversy that exists lies more in the argument that the moral education program is taught as an independent subject. To quote Shimahara (1979):

The introduction of moral education, and its continuance through the present time, has a symbolic, more than substantive, significance. It is symbolic in the sense that it represents the power of the state over antistate forces...It means a victory for the Ministry, since it constitutes an extension of state power. (p. 70).

Kao (1964) suggests that the Ministry cleverly links the liberal features of the postwar moral education curriculum to more traditionally valued virtues such as discipline, filial piety, and patriotism. He demonstrates how the moral education curriculum came to value discipline at the expense of children’s self-fulfilment. By accentuating the importance of orderliness in the classroom, the curriculum defines the imitations of students’ moral
behavior based on societal norms. Kao continues and describes how filial piety, a traditional Confucian virtue, was reintroduced in the curriculum as a cardinal value for Japanese children to learn. Students must be taught to develop an understanding of parental difficulties and to convey sympathy by being obedient, filial children. The value of patriotism has also been reintroduced into the curriculum that now focuses on things Japanese, past and present.

Patriotism is the most worrisome aspect of the newer moral education course (Duke, 1964). This theme of "love of country" has been "exploited by those in authority to spread their vitiating influence throughout the youth of Japan" (Duke, 1964, p. 190). Some researchers believe that over the past thirty years patriotism has become the central most important theme in moral education:

Although patriotism itself is only one of the values enumerated in the Course of Study, it is the guiding idea behind the whole moral education course [italics added]. This is evident from the way in which the fostering of patriotism has been constantly and intentionally emphasized both within and outside the Ministry of Education. (Hashisako, 1990, p. 172).

The government has devised different ways to reintegrate a "Japanese spirit" (fudo) into the patriotic theme. The "Image of the Desired Japanese", a document issued by the Ministry of Education's Central Council in 1966, not only valorizes traditional concepts of family and social hierarchy, but also emphasizes the "spiritual reorientation" of Japanese students in order
to promote their sense of cultural uniqueness (Kobayashi, 1976). So influential was this "Image" at the time, that it served as the guiding document for the Council on Curriculum’s revision of the moral education syllabus in 1971. Detractors have accused its authors of attempting to "create feelings of warmth and nostalgia for the Imperial system and the educational apparatus legitimated by the Imperial Rescript on Education" (Horio, 1988, p. 158).

The School as a Total Moral Experience

Extracurricular activities have long been an important part of moral education in Japan. Primary schoolteachers have to take courses in moral education and in special activities before they qualify for certification. An entire section of the Course of Study has been devoted to special activities (Appendix IV). According to the basic guidelines set in the Course of Study’s special activities section, each school can decide how to organize its extracurricular activities in order to best promote student morality (Okihara, 1986). The Ministry of Education published an accompanying teacher’s manual which suggests ways to develop the students’ national spirit (Institute for Educational Research, 1981). For example, teachers are advised to hoist the national flag and have students sing the national anthem whenever extra activities are organized on national holidays. It also suggests ways teachers can use daily chores, such as, serving lunch or cleaning the classroom to encourage moral awakening. It is suggested that cleaning can get rid of "the
dust and grime in one's mind" and allow students to develop "enlightening" attitudes toward social service.

Student self-government is another arena for extra-curricular morals education. Student council activities were originally conceived as an opportunity for students to develop democratic practices by encouraging them to assume responsibilities and authority (Adams, 1960). Unfortunately, as Hashisako (1990) explains, the Ministry of Education has come to interpret student government as just one more way to submit students to administrative control. Today's student councils have been turned into "subordinate branches of the school's administrative hierarchy and that, as a result, students who are interested in genuine self-government find little in their activities to attract them" (Hashisako, 1990, p. 177).

Revisions of the Course of Study

There have been five major revisions of the Course of Study since its inception in the postwar period. Last revised in 1989, these revisions will come into effect in 1992 in all primary schools (Ishizaka, 1989). This version of the Course of Study attaches much more importance to individuality and international understanding. Such a shift in emphasis is seen as a positive measure to redress the previous lack of openness (Ishizaka 1989). Critics, on the other hand, view the new Course of Study as a mere reorganization of the educational structure to cope with the new pressures on school curricula
resulting from the extensive overseas development of the Japanese economy (Hashisako, 1990).

Hashisako (1990) further charges that the government's attempts at educational reform are simply ploys to strengthen traditions of state control. Members of the Council on Curriculum are appointed by the Ministry of Education; parents and teachers are never represented nor are they consulted during deliberations. While other groups (e.g., educational administrators and businessmen) are consulted about curricular reforms, those who are most involved in the educational process, that is, parents and teachers, are excluded.

**Moral Education in the Classroom**

Cummings (1980, 1982) visited various urban and rural primary schools throughout Japan and observed moral education classes. Classes normally take the form of a discussion either between the teacher and students or among students themselves. He found the classes to be unencumbered with pedantic truisms or sanctimonious catechization. Students often watched short dramas on television which were then discussed with the teacher in order to identify a moral theme, e.g., the foolishness of fighting, the importance of friendship, respect for the dignity of others, etc. Significantly, at no time did Cummings observe lessons with political themes. Nor did the teachers teach classes that considered prewar themes such as filial piety or loyalty to one's superiors.
Departing from conventional teaching methods, teachers incorporated egalitarian principles into their lessons. They rarely openly deprecated ideas expressed by students. The teachers also relied extensively on group discussion to foster cooperation. Student groups were carefully selected to balance individual talents and avoid stratification. Egalitarianism was an important motivational factor; even the weakest students came to feel that they were able to perform at class level. Cummings (1980) interpreted the teachers' messages as evidence that they were fostering harmony among their students by encouraging participation, cooperation, friendship, cordiality, self-actualization, etc.

It would appear that Japanese teachers are creating a classroom environment where liberal moral attitudes which include egalitarianism and individualism are being effectively transmitted to students (Cummings, 1980, 1982). Liberal ideology has, in fact, made much headway in establishing enduring democratic values in students. A great deal of credit for this change is attributed to Nikkyoso and its support of teachers:

Japan's ruling class has vigorously opposed the teachers' union by depriving the union of its legal right to collective bargaining, imprisoning numerous union leaders, attacking the union in the mass media, and providing career incentives to those teachers who resist union membership. Significantly, these ploys have failed. The union has persisted throughout the postwar period, and its influence on the actual events in classrooms has steadily increased. This flaw in the corporate class' efforts to reproduce prevailing social order has been fatal. (Cummings, 1980, p.273).
Japanese schoolteachers continue to promote moral education in ways that come ideologically close to Fukuzawa’s original concepts of "enlightenment from within". Because of ideological, pedagogical and/or political convictions, many primary schoolteachers resist teaching ideologically sensitive topics such as patriotism, nationalism and filial piety, except in a perfunctory manner (S. Ochiai, personal communication, Tokyo, April 26, 1991). Numerous teachers feel they are on safer ground if doctrinaire elements in the moral education curriculum are taught in a cursory fashion or discretely passed over. When some teachers consider a lesson such as the "Love of the Homeland", they focus on benign topics that their students can relate to (e.g., home experiences of a national holiday) rather than upon aggressive nationalistic implications of the topic.

Despite the teachers’ effort to cultivate egalitarian values in the classroom, student moral development is all too often offset by more pervasive socializing school experiences (Shields, 1989). Japanese students are exposed to a widespread "hidden" moral curriculum that shapes their moral attitudes much more so than structured moral education class (White, 1987). The most pernicious aspects of this hidden curriculum can be found in extreme competition and textbook censorship.
Extreme competitiveness.

The most pervasive aspect of the Japanese educational reality is the attitude toward competition. Extreme competitiveness negatively influences the moral development of virtually all students:

The Japanese school is a highly competitive institution nurturing a keen sense of challenge. Academically it can be merciless. The constant posting of examination results lays bare the standing of every student in the class. The ranking, the order of performance, is thrown open for everyone to see. The individual challenge is to work harder to move up or to remain diligent to stay at the top.

Group competition is also of great importance in the Japanese school. Every opportunity is utilized to create a competitive situation. Teachers use study situations in which the hans [small groups] compete among themselves within the kumi [class]. The various kumi compete with each other within the same grade level. And even the entire school population, students, teachers, administrators, and parents as well, become involved in the great annual challenge, the undokai, the sports day, held on every school playground. (Duke, 1986, p. 195).

Some could argue that competition is beneficial for social and academic development. In Japan, unfortunately, competition has been so obsessively valorized that it has given rise to "degree-ocracy". "Degree-ocracy" refers to the phenomenon where an individual's worth is measured solely on the basis of the school he/she graduates from (Horio, 1988). As a result, extremely competitive entrance examinations ensure that a only a select number of students will succeed in gaining acceptance to the nation’s most prestigious public universities and therefore have access to the most finan-
cially secure jobs in government or big business (Dore, 1976). Within the schools, "degree-o-cracy" has engendered an "ability-first" mindset where from an early age students view each other as rivals: "They are very often overwhelmed by extreme competition for good marks, as if academic success were the only end of learning" (Hashisako, 1990, p. 164).

This attitude toward education is actively encouraged: "the emergence of today's ruling ideology of ability on the center stage of social and educational life is closely connected to government and industry policies designed to encourage rapid economic growth" (Horio, 1988, p. 332). The development of this ideology, in the early 1960s, resulted when the Ministry of Education actively intervened on behalf of Japanese industry to reformulate official educational policy (Kobayashi, 1976; Tomoda, 1989). Leading Japanese industrialists felt that the moral ideals prescribed in the Fundamental Law of Education were crippling Japan's educational system and needed to be replaced by a more realistic emphasis on individual competition. Since then, academic competition has become the outstanding feature of the Japanese educational system:

It [competition] has now become such a dominant feature, common to all schools of every age, that it constitutes a general school ethos and hidden curriculum with a powerful influence on students....Thus contemporary Japanese schools, overwhelmed by the extreme competition for academic success, are exerting a seriously harmful influence on the personal development of children. (Hashisako, 1990, p. 165).
Textbook censorship.

Censorship of textbooks that do not faithfully represent official views of Japan's imperial past goes against the democratic spirit of the Fundamental Law of Education (Yamazumi, 1981). This has caused the moral praxis in Japanese schools to become increasingly similar to prewar moral education:

The view of textbooks dominant among those who certify them in Japan is not one which places value upon their capacity to stimulate the intellectual powers of students; this educational philosophy measures the values of a textbook solely in terms of how faithfully it reproduces knowledge which has already been officially certified as "truthful". This points to one of the biggest problems running through education in Japan today: an educational philosophy which, rather than exposing children to the play of different constructions of knowledge and allowing them to work out the conflicts and disparities on the basis of their own comprehension of the world, seeks to instill in them an allegiance to a single, systematized body of knowledge about the world. Underlying this philosophy we can detect an updated version of the ideology at the heart of the prewar system of nationalized textbooks which attempted to control from above the people's access to and assimilation of knowledge in order both to deepen their intellectual reliance upon the state's superior wisdom and to intensify their emotional commitment to the goals set for the nation by the state's bureaucracy". (Horio, 1988, p. 177).

Discussion

Liberal educators see moral education as a vehicle to introduce students to the democratic values of egalitarianism and personal growth. Conservative educators, on the other hand, use moral education to stress
meritocracy, conformism, and utilitarianism. Conservative policies remain: Textbook censorship prejudices ideologically sensitive courses; group loyalty is exploited to accentuate duty to the family and the state; and cultural pride is turned into nationalism. Moral education programs of this genre are still used to promote the conservative values of high academic achievement, hard work and economic success.

Child-centered democratic pedagogical ideology "grafted" on to Japanese culture has created a moral educational curriculum "flawed by inconsistent goal setting and inconsistent implementation" (Takahashi, 1988, p. 15). The result is that only 1/2 to 3/4 of all Japanese schools actually teach moral education (Takahashi, 1988; Tomoda, 1989). Moral education is consistently treated as dispensable. Time allocated to them is, more often than not, used for examination preparation and drilling in academic subjects (Shimahara, 1979). Teachers present their moral education classes in such a formalized and stereotyped way that it has created an "apathy syndrome" in students (Naito, 1990). In a 1987 national questionnaire given to undergraduate students asking what they remembered most of moral education classes in their primary and early high school days, the vast majority reported negative memories about moral education classes and boredom was the major complaint (Naito, 1990).
Moral Education in Taiwan

Historical Overview

The Nationalist regime of the Republic of China has always regarded itself as the sole legitimate governing body of all China and "keeper of the flame" for the preservation of traditional Chinese culture. Since their withdrawal from mainland China over four decades ago, the Nationalists on Taiwan have pursued political policies conducive to economic growth and social stability. Education has always been considered a key factor in the government's vision of national growth, and moral education was chosen as the primary means to propagate Nationalist political ideology within the school system. This political ideology aims at countering Chinese Communist ideology that discredits both the Nationalist regime and the traditional value system (Price, 1975). Historically, the Nationalist government had consistently promoted moral and political values based on Confucianism.

Confucianism and Morality

Confucianism is a moral system that fosters a universal "inner-worldly morality" (Hall & Ames, 1987). It teaches that learning, which invariably means moral learning, is an enjoyable end in itself (Tan, 1990). At
the heart of the Confucian system is the notion of ren, or "humanity", which can also be translated as "love", "human kindness", and "virtue". The practice of ren is considered a supreme moral achievement. Ren is in accord with hsiao "filial piety", li "ritual norms", chung "loyalty to one's nature", shu "reciprocity", yi "righteousness", ai "benevolent love", hsin "trustworthiness", ho "harmony", and ping "peace" (Smith & Smith, 1989). Of all these virtues, filial piety has been traditionally regarded as the most outstanding manifestation of ren (Ao, 1985). According to the Ta Hsueh (The Great Learning, a Confucian classic), filial piety serves as the fundamental ethical principle guiding the five traditional relationships between father and son; elder and younger siblings; husband and wife; friend and friend; and ruler and subject (Meyer, 1989).

The primary concern of Confucian morality is to establish an intricate social order through the expansion of an individual's social duty that begins with the family, expanded to the community, and finally applied to the state. Confucian virtues govern all social interactions with the family acting as the principal social unit (Jiang, 1985). Filial piety governs daily life and helps the family maintain harmonious relations with the world: "If one can cultivate his person, then he can manage his household, if he can manage his household, then he can bring order to the entire country, then there will be peace in the whole world" (Meyer, 1988b, p. 275).
Modern Political Thought and Confucianism

Although Confucian thought profoundly influenced Chinese political ideology into modern times, the founder of modern China, Dr. Sun Yat-sen, also personally affected the way the Nationalist (Kuomintang) regime came to view moral education. Sun's ideology was framed within the Three Principles of the People, principally nationalism, democracy, and respect for human rights (Sun, 1959). Chiang K'ai-shek, who succeeded Sun as the ruling head of the Kuomintang, elaborated on his mentor's principles and adapted them to fit his political needs.

Chiang felt that moral education could not be confined to the supplementary reading of Confucian classics or the Three Principles of the People, but should be promoted throughout the school curriculum and serve to arouse all students' patriotic fervor and national pride: Students must realize the fundamental significance of the basic virtues of loyalty, filial piety, and righteousness in order to become citizens "who love their country more than their own lives" (Chiang, 1959, p.276). Throughout his political career, Chiang heightened the importance of moral education and equated it with the survival of the nation and the state.

Establishing Nationalist Education on Taiwan

The Kuomintang lost mainland China to the Communists in 1949 and re-established a political entity on the island province of Taiwan. Two critical factors greatly influenced the Nationalist government's outlook on
moral education: First, Taiwan had just ended fifty years of Japanese colonial rule. As a result, Taiwanese schoolchildren had been subjected to a shushin-type morals course promoting unquestioning subservience to authority as in prewar Japan (Wilson, 1970). Nationalist educational authorities were quick to incorporate the autocratic aspect of Japanese moral training into their own moral curriculum.

A second critical influence resulted from the fact that millions of Nationalist mainlanders followed Chiang K'ai-shek to Taiwan. These mainlanders, from the northeastern part of China, did not share the same cultural background as most of the Taiwanese population, who had emigrated from southern Chinese provinces in the 18th and 19th centuries. The Kuomintang government adopted an imperious attitude of cultural superiority, setting out to "civilize" the uncouth Taiwanese locals (Tsurumi, 1977). Consequently, a primary political objective of the moral curriculum was to create an image of the government as the enlightened conservator of Chinese culture.

The Nationalist government began to invest in building the island's economic infrastructure as a way of consolidating its power. Raising the educational standards became a priority vitally linked to Taiwan's overall development; this policy met with a great deal of success (Lucas, 1982; Taylor, 1988). In its effort to create a highly educated work force, the government was careful to conserve the essence of traditional Chinese culture. The
resulting educational ideology converged Confucian humanism, Nationalist republicanism, and Western secular scientific thought into one curriculum. The Chinese Constitution states that: "Education and culture shall aim at the development among the citizens of the national spirit, the spirit of self-government, national morality, good physique, scientific knowledge, and the ability to earn a living" (Lin, 1983, p.112).

To carry out this educational mandate, the Central Ministry of Education established a system that adopted the American 6-3-3-4 grade-year pattern, with the first nine years being compulsory. Course content and teaching guidelines follow the national curricula set by the Ministry. At the primary level, courses are presented in Civics and Ethics, Chinese (Mandarin), Mathematics, Social Studies, Natural Science, Music, Crafts, and Group Activities. Much attention is given to the dual goals of cultivating morality and the teaching of secular knowledge (China Yearbook, 1977).

The Moral Curriculum

The ultimate political goal behind Taiwan's primary moral education program is to ensure that schoolchildren embrace the values embodied in the Three Principles of the People. An additional goal is to strengthen the nation and support the recovery of the Mainland.

As in Japan, moral education in Taiwan is not restricted to just one course; rather, it pervades the school experience and is interwoven with instruction into regular academic subjects and extra-curricular activities (Chu,
1973; Anderton, 1983). The Office of Counselling and Guidance has the responsibility for monitoring moral education. Instruction is carried out by guidance teachers, daoshih, who teach academic subjects as well as moral education, and evaluate all student conduct:

At the end of each semester, a grade for moral conduct accompanied by general remarks or suggestions is given to each student in the progress report. In general, the guidance teacher keeps close contact with the students and their parents, thereby playing a crucial role in their moral life. (Lee, 1990, p. 3).

Teachers are provided with manuals that feature the ethical component of nearly every subject, and particularly those courses that foster character building, such as, Health Education, National Language, and Social Studies (Office of Compilation and Translation, 1979). Along with other courses, including Gong-min yu Dao-deh Citizenship and Morality, She-hui Hsueh Social Studies, Wen Hsueh Literature, Di-li Hsueh Geography, Chung-guo Li-shih Chinese History, and Guo Yu Chinese Language, patriotism is the most persistently stressed virtue, with filial piety being a close second: "Political indoctrination is thorough and unremitting, beginning already in the first grade textbooks" (Meyer, 1988b, p. 278).

The contemporary curriculum presents "patriotism" as the cardinal Confucian virtue replacing "filial piety". This change reflects a deliberate attempt by the government to use family loyalty as the means to ensure loyalty to the state (Wilson, 1970). Unlike Communist China, the Nationalist
government has never abandoned its view that strong familial ties are supportive of national consciousness (Martin, 1975). Traditional views on the family, however, have been transformed and the family is no longer treated as an autonomous social unit, but is perceived as the crucial mediator between the individual and the state. By subordinating filial piety to patriotism, the government has successfully channelled traditional Confucian "familyism" into a focal concept used to galvanize students' fidelity to the state.

Confucian virtues expounded in these courses, even those that traditionally aim at cultivating the self (e.g., integrity, wisdom, trustworthiness) have been manipulated in such a way as to promote values of social cohesion advantageous to the state. The political implications of group solidarity are fairly obvious: "The supreme goal of achievement in its group context is to work for society itself" (Wilson, 1970, p. 43). Moral Education Textbooks

Moral education in Taiwan's primary schools is taught as Sheng-huo yu Lun-li, "Life and Moral Principles". As in Japan, instructional manuals are made available to teachers (Office of Compilation and Translation, 1979) and these manuals outline the moral themes to be treated in each primary grade. These include: love of the national flag; love of the country; respect for great historical figures; protection of the country's honor; and reconstruction of the country. Teachers are encouraged to promote behavior that conforms to
these values and to monitor students at play. Teachers urge students to actively participate in discussions on how newly-learned values may be put into daily practice.

Most of the moral education textbooks focus on the same themes: diligence; etiquette; patriotism; forgiveness; public-mindedness; trustworthiness; cooperation; respect for law; and righteousness. Others present themes such as: fraternal love; bravery; filial piety; neighborliness; frugality; dishonor; responsibility; perseverance; and peace. The continued repetition of these themes provides coherence to the moral instruction program.

Thematic Analysis of the Moral Education Textbooks

Most of the lessons in the texts present stories about children's everyday moral obligations (e.g., keeping promises, defending smaller children from bullies, helping elderly people, etc.). That is, there is an attempt to foster moral development by focusing on children's interests. Some lessons, however, are more politically explicit in content, featuring military events, martyrdom, or heroism.

Four socializing processes are identified in the didactic material and act as the fundamental means through which government ideology is perpetuated. These are: politicization; personalization; institutionalization; and idealization (Easton & Dennis, 1969). By ascribing these processes to the primary level moral education texts, several interesting socialization patterns develop.
The Sheng-huo yu Lun-li textbooks invariably dwell on one political theme; that is, citizens must do their best to strengthen the nation. This theme is buttressed by Confucian precepts concerning personal responsibilities within the social order. The process for socializing primary schoolchildren into accepting governmental authority over that of the family involves accentuating hierarchal loyalty, where the family is clearly situated one rank below central authority, and the family’s well-being is made contingent to that of the state’s.

Personalization of political authority occurs by imputing benevolent familial traits to important political figures, such as, Chiang K’ai-shek and Sun Yat-sen. Sun, very rarely referred to by his given name, is called guo-fu "father of the country". The respectful suffix, gung, often attached to Chiang’s name, means "grandfather".

Idealization of political authority can occur in several forms. However, it is primarily achieved through the deification of Chiang K’ai-shek and reinforced by the glorification of teachers. Throughout the texts, traditional teacher-student relationships are featured to create feelings of warmth and admiration for figures of authority. In this way the government establishes affective ties between itself and schoolchildren. Teachers provide the student with a role model most "like the palpable personal beings already familiar to him in the nuclear family" (Easton & Dennis, 1969, p. 392).
Teachers in the Chinese cultural tradition have always been viewed as moral authorities and role models. The lofty position that teachers enjoy in society and in the classroom contributes a great deal to the internalization of moral values in learners. To a schoolboy or a schoolgirl, teachers symbolize higher, if not the highest, principles. (Lee, 1990, p. 10).

Institutionalization involves a shift from the personalization of political authority to the attachment to depersonalized practical symbols and ideals. In the Taiwanese context, this is achieved by teaching Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles of the People. Throughout the moral education texts, students are reminded that these principles are the basis of personal fulfilment, national salvation, and world peace.

There are several themes in the Sheng-huo yu Lun-li texts that clearly exemplify these four socialization processes. By examining how the different processes are developed within certain lessons we can delineate in great detail the socialization pattern that binds the students' moral obligation to the state. Militarism, national pride, diligence, and loyalty form the core political agenda. The themes most indicative of this ideology include: patriotism; filial piety; cooperation; respect for law; and diligence.

Patriotism.

At first, the texts appeal to students' emotions by linking happy childhood experiences to patriotic altruism. Further on, the courageous acts
of military figures are retold, suggesting that personal greatness is synonymous with patriotic selflessness. Moral heroism abounds throughout the texts. The moral qualities of great men are ascribed to everyday people; stories are told about soldiers going on suicidal missions who are held up as models of patriotism. The heroic exploits of young children are also recounted, presumably because even they too are capable of making great sacrifices for their country. Jingoistic slogans abound, e.g., "one should sacrifice the little self hsiao-wo to fulfill the needs of the larger self da-wo"; "loyalty and courage are the roots of patriotism"; "serve the public and forget the self"; etc.

Filial piety.

Great importance is placed on the family as a social institution. Many references are made to the Confucian classics concerning the significance of the family within society, e.g., family members are compared to the arms and legs of one body—harmonious relations among them are indispensable to ensure the well-being of each member, as well as of the whole. Each family member must be ready to admonish (chung-shan gweigu, "to exhort to reformation and urge to virtue") other members who commit transgressions.

Children are told that family love is supposed to be applied to others within the community. Familial ties are extended to political figures such as Sun Yat-sen and his brother. Students are exhorted to emulate Sun's spirit of unselfishness and fraternal love.
The father-son relationship of Chiang K'ai-shek and Chiang Ching-guo (who succeeded his father as president of the Republic of China until his death in 1988) is used to epitomize filial piety. The two men are photographed together; a caption reads "Ching-guo waiting upon the first president, Chiang-gung". From this idealized relationship we learn a famous maxim in the Confucian Canon of Filial Piety, stating that "loyal statesmen emanate from the gate of filial piety".

The lessons on filial piety also link school and military life. Quoting freely from the Canon of Filial Piety and the Book of Rites, a principal admonishes his students to repay their parents' kindness through exemplary behavior and diligent study. The principal draws parallels between filial piety and militaristic virtues such as loyalty, patriotism, dutifulness, and bravery.

The analogy between filial, scholastic, and military duty is reinforced by illustrations depicting students walking in file, uniforms neat and clean, school bags tucked under their arms. During morning assemblies students are always shown standing at attention. Children are rarely shown engaging in spontaneous, unregimented activity.

Cooperation.

The cooperative theme advances the state's economic interests. Peer approval is accentuated to valorize collective behavior. Economic prowess is stressed by focusing on Taiwan's modern infrastructure. Under the
slogan "solidarity and progress", every major development in Taiwan, from transportation to energy, is lauded as the manifestation of the people's cooperative spirit (mai-jin yi-bu-"to forge ahead dauntlessly"). Taiwan's economic success story is attributed to following the Three Principles of the People under the direction of Chiang K'ai-shek.

**Respect for law.**

This theme aims to socialize students into political submission. They are emphatically reminded that the most important reason to observe rules and regulations is for national stability and security. Democracy, one lesson tells us, must be built on obedience; seeking democracy and freedom without abiding by national laws leads to social chaos and endangers the nation's very existence.

Lucas (1982) describes the tendency of the Taiwanese government to valorize obedience as a central feature of democratic behavior. It is a form of political thought that consciously mitigates individual rights in favor of collective rights. Meyer (1989) explains that educational authorities in Taiwan believe traditional Chinese morality is under attack from both, subversive Communist ideology and such "dangerous" Western attitudes as materialism, hedonism, and unrestrained individualism. There is official resistance to liberal political philosophy because the government perceives a threat from the excessive Westernization of youth. Therefore, the democratic and egalitarian ideals of the Three Principles of the People are always qualified
with cautionary statements about the limits of freedom. True freedom, the texts emphasize, involves putting the group’s welfare before that of the individual.

Diligence.

Much emphasis is placed on self-struggle as the means to success. Students are told to emulate the great scholar Wang Yun-wu, for example, who despite many early hardships, became educated to the level of a hsuch-lin tai-doh (leading scholar) and made great contributions to the nation. Texts convey to students the notion that children should excel to gain the admiration of their peers rather than for the approbation of adults.

Academic achievement is also related to hard work. Students learn of Yuan Jung-yian of the Sung Dynasty (960-1279 A.D.), a very poor farmer’s son, who lived in an abandoned, partly destroyed temple while receiving an education. Yuan Jung-yian not only became a leading imperial scholar, but also, emerged as an influential military and political leader. Individual academic achievement is principally motivated by consideration for the good of the nation rather than for one’s personal benefit.

To complete the political agenda, Chiang K’ai-shek is portrayed as China’s great sage, superseded only by Confucius and Mencius. Quotations from these three men are used to emphasize the importance of being well-educated. Students are required to answer such questions as "How can I protect the honor of my family, my school, and my country?", and "Do I
understand that national shame is also the individual's shame?". Students learn to view national disgrace as the greatest of moral offenses, and to assume personal responsibility for their behavior by being model students.

**Discussion**

The moral themes presented in Taiwanese texts, when compared with the Japanese curriculum, reveal significant similarities. The family, school, and nation are all presented as the fundamental units in a social hierarchy that places central authority at the top in both countries. Supporting moral values such as group cooperation, diligence, and personal responsibility, all work to perpetuate government. Within this framework, the Taiwanese texts seem to place greater emphasis on the military dimension and deliver an overtly nationalistic agenda in a forceful way.

There is evidence suggesting that the propaganda presented in Taiwan's moral education textbooks is being toned down and that relatively progressive ideas are being introduced into the curriculum. The most recent revisions made to the Sheng-huo yu Lun-li texts indicate that official political ideology is gradually changing in Taiwan. Treatment of other moral themes (e.g., neighborliness, frugality) is more sophisticated. Moral reasoning rather than recitation of slogans is expected. There is less rhetoric about national glory.

Of all the lessons found in the Sheng-huo yu Lun-li texts, the one on public mindedness most clearly espouses liberal political ideas. This theme
deals with environmental pollution, a pressing social problem in Taiwan today. The promotion of heavy industry is considered important to national growth and security; that the government allowed the inclusion of this sensitive topic in the moral education curriculum is significant.

An important reason why the moral education texts are slowly becoming more liberalized is because the central Taiwanese government is concerned that the incessant political indoctrination is having a counter-effect on its youth (Lee, 1990). It appears that the Nationalist government has created many of its own political difficulties by harping on the same ideological axioms.

Appeals to "recover the mainland" exercise less and less emotive influence over a postwar generation that is more affluent and better educated, and for whom China's civil strife is past history. For thousands of intelligent self-assured young people, the "homeland" is Taiwan; they know no other. Even in school, where the themes of national unity and patriotism are sounded with special force, as studies have repeatedly shown, the evocative power of Nationalist symbols is on the wane. (Lucas, 1982, p. 221).

These misgivings are widely shared by moral education teachers. Taiwanese public schoolteachers' response to a questionnaire asking "What are the reasons that students in modern society are not inclined to accept traditional Chinese culture?", and "What kind of results are today's schools getting as they try to promote traditional moral culture?" revealed their anxiety about moral indoctrination in the classroom (Meyer, 1988a). That is,
the teachers were concerned about political "overkill"--obtaining compliance from students but, in reality, breeding internal rebellion.

The domestic political scene has changed dramatically. Recently legalized opposition parties (e.g., the Democratic Progressive Party) have been quick to contest the Kuomintang's claim to political and cultural supremacy. In their attempt to wrestle political control from the old Nationalist guard, opposition leaders have resorted to "shock tactics" during parliamentary sessions, including ripping out microphones, pelting elderly statesmen with oranges, and squirting legislators with water pistols (McKillop & Hoffman, 1991). These publicized episodes have greatly diminished the respect formerly accorded the Kuomintang. As a result, educational officials have become more circumspect about indulging in partisan politics. The emergence of dissent has forced the government to act, and it has responded by diminishing the political impact of moral education textbooks (Lee, 1990).

Relations between the Chinese people on Taiwan and the Mainland have become increasingly conciliatory over the past decade. While public school students often consider that anyone who collaborates with the Communists is a traitor, it is common knowledge that Taiwanese entrepreneurs are investing billions of dollars in the Chinese economy (Lawrence, 1990). Many Taiwanese citizens are going to China (ostensibly to visit "old relatives") either for business or pleasure (J.S. Shao, personal communication, Taipei, January, 17, 1991).
The Nationalist government is sending conflicting messages to the Taiwanese populace about the Communist regime. The Taiwanese media continuously reports the latest negotiations between Taipei and Peking over such taboo issues as peaceful reunification. In fact, the lessening of tensions between the two governments has led to the demobilization of Nationalist troops in Taiwan for the first time in forty years (Shih-jieh Rih-bao, 1991). Consequently, anti-Communist rhetoric in both the media and moral education textbooks has diminished (Lee, 1990). The first three texts of the Sheng-huo yu Lun-li course now contain only one vehemently anti-Communist lesson.

Many of the revisions being made to the moral curriculum reflect the success of early Nationalist policies which placed a high priority on mass education (Wang, 1966; Appleton, 1976). As a result of these policies, the people of Taiwan have matured politically. National surveys show a definite preference for the democratic ideals of freedom of speech and popular participation in political decision-making (Lucas, 1982). It follows that Taiwan's changing value system is reflected in the moral curriculum:

The incongruence between the classical moral system, in which desire for profit and fame are rejected and achievements are defined by virtues, and the current social ethos, generated by industrialization and commercialism in which profit seeking is encouraged, has posed a considerable challenge for moral education. (Lee, 1990, p. 11).
The political culture, under pressure, has become more ideologically flexible:

Ways will have to be found to generate a new, revitalized sense of cultural identity, one fully compatible with the exigencies of scientific, industrial, and technological development. Basic norms and values to which the young traditionally have been socialized will of necessity undergo fundamental transformation. Appropriately restructured, education will continue to play a vital if indeterminate role in promoting modernity, national development, and whatever new sense of collective political identity that emerges within the social order. (Lucas, 1982, p. 223).

Although there are demonstrated signs of change, moral instruction in Taiwan remains deeply rooted in Confucianism and the Three Principles of the People and continues to stress Nationalist ideology. Overt political socialization is invariably based on Confucian values that extol family loyalty, respect for social hierarchy, devotion to figures of authority, and personal responsibility for the prosperity of the state. At the same time, Nationalist ideology is fast diminishing in the face of unprecedented domestic political liberalization and a changing relationship to Mainland China. Taiwanese are not insensitive to the growing threat to traditional Confucian values by newly-acquired affluence, and the popularity and their identification with Western cultural values.
Conclusion

There are several generalizations evidenced in the content of the moral education curricula of Japan and Taiwan. In Japan's case, the basis of moral education is on group norms and emphasizes two key concepts of behavioral conformity and cultural uniqueness. In Taiwan, moral education is based on the cultural transmission of cultural inheritance derived from a moral system founded on Confucian ethics and the teachings of the Three Principles of the People. The overriding concern in both countries and both educational systems is to inculcate in children the Confucian moral values that uphold the state's well-being.

Some of the more prominent values promoted either directly or indirectly in both the Japanese and Taiwanese moral curricula include political conservatism, academic achievement, economic success, and nationalism. Moral education is perceived as a socializing process that entwines political, economic, and cultural values, each reinforcing the other.

In Japan, political ideologies are not receiving the direct attention sought by central educational authorities because of the problems between the teachers' union and the government. Teachers in Taiwan, on the other hand,
are more apolitical than their Japanese counterpart. As a result, they do not mediate political ideology the same way as in Japan. Only recently has vocal criticism by Taiwanese teachers started to pressure the central government to reduce political ideology in the moral education curricula. In response, changes are gradually being introduced.

Japan’s more homogeneous society allows educational authorities to rely on overall school experience to transmit to children important political and societal values. The Nationalist government on Taiwan, though, must rely more specifically on the classroom as the vehicle for political socialization. It has used the classroom and the moral curriculum to create a political culture that is highly influenced by ideological rivalry with Communist China.

In some ways the Taiwanese moral curriculum resembles the prewar Japanese shushin course (Hall, 1949). Indeed, the patriotic rhetoric found in the Taiwanese moral education texts would very likely shock the average Japanese primary school teacher because of its clear militaristic overtones. The political pedantry of the Taiwanese textbooks is increasingly out of step with the political reality, that is, the liberalization of the Nationalist regime and the normalization of relations with Mainland China.

Perhaps the most important aspect of moral education, in Japanese and Taiwanese primary schools, is the function it has as the connector between academic achievement and individual and social prosperity. In Japan
the spirit of gambare and group norms link all the themes in the moral education curriculum. Gambare for primary schoolchildren is the moral goal of excelling in their studies under extremely competitive conditions. Group consciousness binds the students to the idea that majority interests are paramount. In Taiwan, the moral education curriculum focuses on Confucian ethics and Nationalist political ideology as the link to nationalism. The Confucian ethos translates into high respect for learning and aspiration to achieve individual greatness. Nationalist political ideology attaches patriotic duty to Confucian morality by emphasizing moral heroism. In both Japanese and Taiwanese primary schools moral education curricula highlight academic diligence and loyalty as the principal vehicles for student compliance with state-sanctioned moral precepts and values that are integral to the economic prosperity of these countries.
REFERENCE LIST


Education In Japan (pp. 262-272). New York: W.H. Freeman and Company.


55


APPENDIX I

THE IMPERIAL RESCRIPIT ON EDUCATION (1890)

Know Ye, Our Subjects:

Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue; Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein also lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and moderation, extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore advance public good and promote common interests; always respect the Constitution and observe the laws; should emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State; and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coeval with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers.

The Way here set forth in indeed the teaching bequeathed by Our Imperial Ancestors, to be observed alike by Their Descendants and the subjects,
infallible for all ages and true in all places. It is Our wish to lay it to heart in all reverence, in common with you, Our subjects, that we may all thus attain to the same virtue.

The 30th day of the 10th month of the 23rd year of Meiji (1890).
APPENDIX II

THE FUNDAMENTAL LAW OF EDUCATION (1947)

Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have shown our resolution to contribute to the peace of the world and welfare of humanity by building a democratic and cultural state. The realization of this ideal shall depend fundamentally on the power of education. We shall esteem individual dignity and endeavor to bring up people who love truth and peace, while education which aims at the creation of culture, general and rich in individuality, shall be spread far and wide. We hereby enact this Law, in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution of Japan, with a view to clarifying the aim of education and establishing the foundation of education for new Japan.

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

ARTICLE II. Educational Principle. The aim of education shall be realized on all occasions and in all places. In order to achieve the aim, we shall endeavor to contribute to the creation and development of culture by
mutual esteem and co-operation, respecting academic freedom, having a regard to actual life and cultivating a spontaneous spirit.

ARTICLE III. Equal Opportunity in Education. The people shall all be given equal opportunities of receiving education according to their ability, and they shall not be subject to educational discrimination on account of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin. The state and local public bodies shall take measures to give financial assistance to those who have, in spite of their ability, difficulty in receiving education for economic reasons.

ARTICLE IV. Compulsory Education. The people shall be obligated to have boys and girls under their protection receive nine years' general education. No tuition fee shall be charged for compulsory education in schools established by the state and local public bodies.

ARTICLE V. Coeducation. Men and women shall esteem and co-operate with each other. Coeducation, therefore, shall be recognized in education.

ARTICLE VI. School Education. The schools prescribed by law shall be of public nature and, besides the state and local public bodies, only the judicial persons prescribed by law shall be entitled to establish such schools. Teachers of the schools prescribed by law shall be servants of the whole community. They shall be conscious of their mission and endeavor to
discharge their duties. For this purpose, the status of teachers shall be respected and their fair and appropriate treatment shall be secured.

ARTICLE VII. Social Education. The state and local public bodies shall endeavor to attain the aim of education by the establishment of such institutions as libraries, museums, citizens' public halls, et cetera, by the utilization of school institutions, and by other appropriate methods.

ARTICLE VIII. Political Education. The political knowledge necessary for intelligent citizenship shall be valued in education. The schools prescribed by law shall refrain from political education or other political activities for or against any specific political party.

ARTICLE IX. Religious Education. The attitude of religious tolerance and the position of religion in social life shall be valued in education. The schools established by the state and local public bodies shall refrain from religious education or their activities for a specified religion.

ARTICLE X. School Administration. Education shall not be subject to improper control, but it shall be directly responsible to the whole people. School administration shall, on the basis of this realization, aim at the adjustment and establishment of the various conditions required for the pursuit of the aim of education.

ARTICLE XI. Supplementary Rule. In case of necessity appropriate laws shall be enacted to carry the foregoing stipulations into effect.
APPENDIX III

COURSE OF STUDY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

MORAL EDUCATION

CONTENTS

1. To hold life in high regard, to promote good health, and to maintain safety.

2. To observe good manners, and to live in an orderly manner.

3. To keep oneself neat and tidy, and to make good use of goods and money.

4. To act according to their own beliefs, and not to be moved unreasonably by others’ opinions.

5. To respect another's freedom as well as one's own, and to be responsible for one's own acts.

6. To act always cheerfully and sincerely.

7. To love justice and hate injustice, and to act righteously with courage.

8. To endure hardships and persist to the end for the accomplishment of one's right aims.

9. To reflect upon oneself by listening attentively to the advice of others, and to act with prudence and live an orderly life.
10. To love nature, and to have affection towards animals and plants with a tender heart.

11. To esteem beautiful and noble things, and to have a pure mind.

12. To know one's own characteristics, and to develop one's strong points.

13. To be always filled with aspiration, to aim toward higher goals, and to strive for their realization.

14. To think about things in a rational way, and always to have an attitude of inquiry.

15. To apply one's original ideas, and to cultivate actively new fields.

16. To be kind to everybody, and to care for the weak and the unfortunate.

17. To respect those who devote themselves to others, and to appreciate their work.

18. To trust in and to be helpful to one another.

19. To be fair and impartial to everybody without prejudice.

20. To understand others' feelings and positions, and to forgive others' faults generously.

21. To understand the rules and the significance of making rules by oneself, and to follow them willingly.

22. To assert one's rights properly, and to perform one's duties faithfully.

23. To appreciate the value of work, and to co-operate actively in the service of others.
24. To take care of public property, and to protect public morality with a full awareness of being a member of society.

25. To love and respect all members of one's family, and to strive to have a good home.

26. To love and respect people at school, and to strive to establish good school traditions.

27. To love the nation with pride as a Japanese, and to contribute to the development of the nation.

28. To have proper understanding of the love towards the people of the entire world, and to become an individual who can contribute to the welfare of mankind.
APPENDIX IV

COURSE OF STUDY FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN JAPAN

SPECIAL ACTIVITIES

CONTENTS

A. Pupils' Activities

1) Activities of Classroom Assembly
2) Activities of Pupils' Council
3) Activities of Clubs

B. School Events

1) Ceremonial Events
2) Study-related Events
3) Physical Education-related Events
4) School Excursion-related Events
5) Events Related to Health and Safety Education
6) Events Related to Work and Production

C. Classroom Guidance