Democracy in America and Industrialization in Japan: A Comparative, Historical Content Analysis of Japanese and American Textbooks

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DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA
AND
INDUSTRIALIZATION IN JAPAN

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of
Japanese and American Textbooks

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SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA
AND
INDUSTRIALIZATION IN JAPAN

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Keiko Yokota-Carter
I. INTRODUCTION

The economic and political relations between the United States and Japan have changed dramatically since World War II, especially during the last decade. It is therefore very likely that textbooks descriptions of each other would have also changed to reflect the changes in the economic and political relations. In this monograph I will investigate these changes in reciprocal descriptions in the textbooks of both the United States and Japan to see what images high school students are being presented of the other country as the relationship between these two societies change.

The use of the term "image" in this case study follows that of John Merrill (1962: 203) who defined "images" as follows;

This term, images, although a semantically difficult one, has gained a rather solid meaning and is basically synonymous with "stereotype," "composotype," "generalized picture," etc. It is a composite of impressions, themes, opinions, and attitudes that form an overall or dominant "representation." It is a descriptive "short cut" or "a consolidated characterization of the people" and the "government" of a country.

Since textbooks are the basic element of education in both countries, I will examine textbooks to find the images of both countries in the eyes of the other. Textbooks provide essential facts and guidelines for a subject and the foundation for future learning. Wesley and Wronski (1964: 224) state that the "textbook has probably exerted a more direct and extensive influence upon the social studies curriculum and upon teaching methods than any other single factor." Because Japan has a centralized educational system, and all entrance examinations, for both high school and higher education, are based upon material presented in these textbooks, textbooks are considered almost "holy books". * Japanese

* One of the first things I was taught in the first grade was how to treat this valuable book. I was told not to throw textbooks, nor to place them on the floor. I was quite shocked to see Americans students put their textbooks on the ground and sit on them. Paper was more precious in Japan than in the United States, but this view of textbooks as "holy books" indicates a different value was attached to textbooks that went far beyond the price of paper alone.
students spend huge amounts of time in memorizing the contents of their textbooks in order to pass entrance examinations. For this reason textbooks have a great influence on fixing legitimate ideology in the minds of Japanese students.

In any society, textbook writing is an attempt to organize legitimate knowledge under the current social milieu. Because social studies deals with history, politics, social values, and social attitudes, social studies textbooks clearly reflect the polity of a nation. (Altback 1987: 94)
II. STUDY METHODS AND MATERIALS

A. Source Materials.

I have examined social studies, history, and geography textbooks, used in secondary education both in the United States and in Japan at two periods of time.

(1) Eleven Japanese textbooks from the 1950's and six American textbooks used in the state of California during 1960's.

(2) Eight Japanese textbooks from the 1980's and four American textbooks used in the state of California during the 1980's.

I chose to use the textbooks used in the California school system. Furthermore, because the California State Board of Education has curriculum guidelines (History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve) for the California public school system, and textbook publishers follow these guidelines. As a result, the content of the textbooks in the state of California are likely to be consistent among publishers. Also because California has a large Japanese-American community, a profitable and important trade relationship with Japan, and is geographically closer to Japan than most other American states, textbooks used in California are more likely to have a more in depth treatment of Japan than other states such as Road Island or Kansas.

In Japan, since all textbooks are censored and must conform to the standard curriculum outlined by the Ministry of Education, all Japanese textbooks are essentially the same.

B. Method Employed in the Study.

I. Thematic Content Analysis.

The method used in this case study is thematic content analysis. The definitions of content analysis has varied over time "with developments in techniques and with the
application of the tool itself to new problems and types of materials". (Holsti 1968: 597)
A broad definition of content analysis stated by Holsti is that "content analysis is any
technique for making inferences by systematically and objectively identifying specified
characteristics of messages." (ibid.: 601.)

There are various content analysis techniques depending on the research subject. One
of them, the one used in this study is thematic content analysis. Thematic content
analysis is often used in a study of propaganda, values, and attitudes. (ibid.: 647.) The
description of different cultures that I examined in this study included values and attitudes
of one country towards the other. Thus, thematic content analysis was suitable for
studying images each country presented to students in its textbooks.

2. Design of the Study.

A single assertion about some subject in a text is the most useful unit of thematic content
analysis. In order to extract a single assertion, the sentences, the photographs, and the
explanations attached to the photographs used to illustrate lessons about Japan in American
textbooks and about the United States in Japanese textbooks were copied whenever the
coding units appeared Japan, Japanese, the United States, and America are examples of
some of the coding units used. The passages which included coding units were broken
down into a single statement. For example, consider the following statement:

"To be Japanese is to be many things. It is to be industrious and ambitious and to
strive for excellence." (Hanna 1964: 271)

This passage is broken down into a single assertion and coded as:

1. Japanese are industrious.
2. Japanese are ambitious.
3. Japanese are striving for excellence.
After passages were broken down into single assertion codes, each code was recorded into a time period, and separated into clusters of assertions. These clusters became the themes examined in this study.

The time periods for images of Japan used in American textbooks in this study were based upon those used in the textbooks. They are (1) the ancient period: prehistory until 794; (2) the pre-modern period: 794 - Perry’s visit in 1853; (3) the modernization period: Perry’s visit to the end of World War I in 1918; (4) the rise of Japan period: 1918 to the end of World War II in 1945; and (5) the contemporary period: after World War II to present.

In the year of 794, Japan transferred its capital from Nara to Kyoto, and attempted to established its own culture with less influence from China by the abolition of trade with China. After 794 Japan gradually had became a feudalistic society. The period from 794 to Perry’s visit, 1953, has various historical stages and it is too long to be considered as one period.

However, the American textbooks which I examined say little about ancient and feudal Japanese society, and focus mostly on events after Meiji modernization up through contemporary Japan. The time periods for images of the United States used in Japanese textbooks are (1) the colonial period: from the arrival of the Pilgrim fathers in 1620 to the Declaration of Independence in 1776; (2) Formation of a nation state and expansion period: Independence in 1776 - the end of World War I in 1914; and (3) World power period: World War I - present. The time from the formation of the nation state through its expansion period is quite long, however very little is mentioned about this in the United States history in Japanese textbooks. The primary focus of Japanese textbooks is on the “present situation” at the time the textbook was written. Very little is written about the history of the United States in the Japanese textbooks unless it is related to the origin of democracy in the United States, or pertinent to the history or the present state of Japan.

In this chapter I will outline the major themes of the American textbooks in the 1960's, summarized from single assertion codes about the images of America and the Americans. I will then discuss the content of these images in their historical and socioeconomic context. The major themes identified in the textbooks are not necessarily appropriate or accurate historical accounts, but rather, these are the prevailing accounts presented to high school students.

MAJOR THEMES
1960 - 1970

Ancient period: until 794,

1. Japan's rulers made Japan a copy of China.
2. Japan's leaders turned her into a little China,
3. Japan developed by borrowing but also adapting its own way.

Pre-modern period: 794 - 1883

1. Feudal lords, Samurai.
2. Japan had little to do with foreigners.
3. Japanese ordered all foreigners to leave the islands.
4. Japan was almost completely shut off from the rest of the world.
5. Japanese people lived in much the same way that Europeans had lived in the Middle Ages.
6. Japan had very little progress for more than two hundred years.

Modernization period - 1883 to 1918

Interaction with the West:
1. Japan was forced to open by Commodore Perry.
2. Japan realized that it was backward.
3. Japan realized that it had to industrialize.
4. Japan is the only Asian nation to copy Western ways.
6. Japan used the Western nations as its model.
7. Japanese learned from the Western world.
8. Japanese were still excellent imitators.
9. Japan was opened by the decision of a wise emperor.

Political Characteristics:
1. Japan became one of the world powers in fifty years.
2. Japan became a powerful military nation.
3. Japan changed from a backward little nation to a military power.
5. Japan's ruling class wanted to expand to prosper.
6. To the surprise of many, Japan won victory over Russia.
7. Japan helped themselves to parts of China.
8. Japan invaded China.

Economic Characteristics:
1. Japan became a strong commercial and industrial nation in fifty years.
Social Characteristics:
1. Japanese are quick to learn.
2. Japanese people learned quickly.

The United States/Japan relationship:
1. Japan and the United States had friendly ties.

Rise of Japan period - from 1919 to 1945

Political Characteristics:
1. Japanese were a world power.
2. Japanese were controlled by the military.
3. The reasons for war were that Japan lacked food and raw material.
4. Japanese army marched into China without warning.
5. Japan wanted to conquer other countries.

The United States/Japan relationship:
1. The U.S./Japan relationship deteriorated.
2. Japan attacked Pearl Harbor without warning.
3. Japan would not have surrendered had Americans not dropped the atomic bombs.
4. Japan could not match the overwhelming resources and productivity of America.

Contemporary Japan - after 1945 to present

The United States/Japan relationship:
1. The U.S.'s victory over Japan.
2. The U.S. was generous in victory.
3. The U.S. had no desire to take permanent possession of Japan.
4. The U.S. helped Japan to rebuild its society.
5. The U.S. came to dictate peace to Japan.
6. The U.S. helped Japan to set up a truly democratic government.
7. The U.S. and Japan became friends again.
8. Japan did not listen to communism.
10. Japan is economically tied to the U.S.
11. Japan is protected by a security treaty with the U.S.
12. Japan has no expensive military budget.

Economic Characteristics:
1. Japan accepted the idea of free enterprise.
2. Japanese people worked very hard to recover from the damage of war.
3. Japanese are rapidly becoming their own best customers.
4. Japan builds more ships than any other country.
5. Japan must depend on foreign trade to keep going.
6. Japan's economy depends on the natural resources of other countries.
7. Japan's problem is how to provide food for all the people.
8. Japan imports a large amount of food.
9. Japanese workers are skillful especially in the electronics, optical, and steel industry.
10. Japanese are among the world's best fishermen.
11. Japanese farmers are among the most efficient in the world.
12. Japanese farmers still do most their planting and harvesting by hands.
13. Japan has excellent rail road system.
14. Japan is highly industrialized.
15. Japan is a workshop of the Far East.
16. Japan is the strongest nation in Asia.
17. Japan had arrived and had to be considered important competitors among the nations of the world.
18. Japan became the moving force behind the Asian productivity.

B. Social Characteristics:

1. Japanese houses are made from wood, bamboo, and cement.
2. Japanese houses are made from bamboo and cardboard.
3. Japanese apartments are generally small and contain few furnishing by Western appearance.
4. Japanese cities have a cluttered and unfinished look.
5. Japanese use western clothes outside homes.
6. Japanese have western style office life.
8. Japanese have simple ways of their ancient past at home.
9. Japanese are probably the world's most literate and widely-read people.
10. Japanese education system is excellent.
11. Japanese value education even more highly than personal freedom.
12. Young Japanese people want to get married without arrangement.
14. Young Japanese want to have modern kitchen equipment and cars.
15. Japanese are proud of having freedom of speech.
16. Japanese often have both Buddhism and Shintoism.
17. Japanese have the strength of freedom.

C. General view of Japan and Japanese people:
1. Japan's environment is beautiful.
2. Japan is a land of volcanoes and earthquakes.
3. Japanese have been great borrowers of ideas and ways of living.
4. Japanese have given their borrowing a distinctly Japanese character.
5. Japanese keep their own traditions and adopt them to modern needs.
6. Japan is mixture of old and new.
8. Japanese are industrious.
9. Japanese are ambitious.
10. Japanese are intelligent.
11. Japanese are hardworking.
12. Japanese are striving for excellence.
13. Japanese are obedient - blindly obedient and capable of sheep-like devotion to a master.
14. Japanese have highly developed sense of the beautiful in nature, art, worship, and commonplace activities of daily life.
A. Ancient Japan until 794:

There is little written about ancient Japan in the textbooks I examined. Only two of the six textbooks that I examined discussed ancient Japanese history, and that was in relationship to China, presenting Japan as "a copy of China." Potentially negative words such as "to imitate" were not used. Instead more neutral words were used in these textbooks.

"Chinese culture began to replace the simple Japanese ways of living, working, and thinking. This change was encouraged by the rulers, who, as far as possible, made Japan a copy of China." (Hanna 1964: 275)

At the same time, Japan is given credit for its efforts in "developing its own culture."

"The Buddhist religion came to Japan, along with the other borrowings of Chinese culture, in the sixth century A.D. From Buddhism the Japanese got many of their ideas about art and their standards of politeness and good behavior. They developed these ideas and standards in their own way." (ibid.: 276)

The image of the Japanese as borrowers, however, is established already in this period, since later in the period of Modernization in the same textbook, this image is reinforced by the word "still" in the following sentence that "they were still an imitator." (ibid.: 276)

In the chapter of this period, two textbooks introduce Ainu as "the first people to live on the islands." (ibid.: 274) Their physiognomic features and simple life style is briefly described. It is interesting that American textbooks cover this topic, while the Japanese textbooks I examined never mentioned the Ainu. The invisibility of the Ainu in Japanese textbooks may reflect the attitudes of the Japanese government toward the Ainu. The military expansion of the ethnic Japanese into northern Japan in a search for
Lebensraum was at the expense of the indigenous Ainu. (Yenaga and Kuroha 1967: 81)
As a result of this governmental indifference to the Ainu's existence, they are not well
known inside or outside Japan.

B. Pre-modern period 794 - 1953.

The major events of the pre-modern period were described as follows. The ancient
capital was moved from Nara to Kyoto. Trade between Japan and China was abolished in
894. Later in 1633 Japan closed its boarders and ports to the rest of the world with the
exception of China and the Netherlands which where strictly limited in their ability to
associate with the Japanese people. During this period, Japan developed its own social
system and culture.

The images of Japanese in this period are represented by samurai, and feudal Lords.
Samurai are described as "warriors similar to European knights." (Hunnicut 1967: 120)
The photograph of samurai on the same page is actually a photograph of aristocrats who are
not armed.

The image presented of Japan focused upon the closure of the country and its isolation
from the rest of the world during the Tokugawa period from 1603 to 1867. Another
image of Japan is that very little progress occurred during their self imposed isolation.

"the Japanese ordered all foreigners to leave the islands. ...... For more than two
hundred years, very little progress was made in Japan." (ibid.: 120)

Japan's "backwardness" is also emphasized when comparing Japan to Europe in the
Middle Ages.

"Before Perry's visit, the Japanese people lived in much the same way that
Europeans had lived in the Middle Ages." (Wilder 1968: 595)
In this passage the author of this textbook was not accurate in historical facts both in Europe and in Japan. He used the concept of "the Middle Ages" to connote backwardness. In the context of the textbook this analogy gives students the image that the Western nations were advanced, and Japan was backwards and the follower.

C. Modernization period 1863 - 1910.

The Meiji restoration which occurred in 1868 is considered by scholars of Japanese history as the beginning of Japan's modernization. In this study, however, the modern period began with Perry's visit in 1863, since most of the textbooks in this study begin the story of Japan with the visit of Commodore Perry. There are two reasons for this. First, Perry's visit is the first official encounter of the United States with Japan. Second, this is the historical moment in which Japan opened up her country to interaction with the rest of the world, especially with the Western world, more intensively than ever before.

The image presented of Japan in this period is as a copier of the Western world. In the ancient period, Japan's model was China. Now that they realized their backwardness after the long isolation, they decided to modernize Japan by learning from the Western world. The negative word, "to imitate" is used in one textbook.

"They were still excellent imitators." (Hanna 1964: 276)

One textbook, the Great Adventures, gives a clearly wrong account of the modernization period and the role of the Meiji Emperor. (Hunnicut 1967: 374)*

* The Great Adventure has many mistakes, such as wrong depictions of well-known facts and mislabeled photographs and drawings.
"Fortunately, the Japanese had a wise emperor. His name was Meiji. This emperor knew very well that Japan must learn fast about the ways of the West. If it didn’t, Japan would soon be under foreign control. The first thing that Emperor Meiji did was to put an end to the feudal system that had governed Japan for centuries."

This passage gives students the impression that Japan had been governed by the emperor. It was not the Meiji Emperor who ended the feudal system, but a Shogun, or military dictator, Tokugawa Yoshinobu, under great pressure from the feudal lords who wanted to modernize Japan.

Once the Japanese people made a decision that they needed to adopt Western models, they were quick to learn, and in fifty years became a strong industrial and military power. Every textbook mentions this quickness and progress in a short period of time. This westernization is considered a positive achievement and the reason for Japan growing into a world power.

"Unlike China, Japan made rapid progress in adopting some European and American ways. In less than fifty years she became one of the world’s great powers and a strong commercial and industrial nation." (Wilder 1968: 595)

D. Rise of Japan period 1919 - 1945.

The image presented of Japan in this period is that of a strong military power. The victory by Japan in the war against Russia was proof of Japan’s power.

"War broke out in 1904 between Japan and Russia. To the astonishment of the whole world, the Japanese soundly defeated the Russians on land and sea. The little nation that had been so backward less than fifty years earlier had suddenly become a world power." (ibid.: 375)

According to the textbooks, the victory over Russian was a proof of Japan’s new power to the Western world. After the victory in the Russo-Japanese war and in World War I,
Japan's fledgling democracy collapsed under the pressure of growing militarization. The relationship between the United States and Japan worsened. Students are told that without warning Japan invaded China and later carried out a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor. This gives students the image of Japan as being militaristic. The war is presented as a simple case of Japanese aggression. The description of the militarization is balanced, however, by telling students that not all Japanese people were militaristic. In all the textbooks examined it was argued that the leaders pushed Japan into war.

"A group of military and naval leaders obtained control of the Japanese government and got rid of leaders who favored peaceful relations with other countries." (Wilder 1968: 621)

E. Contemporary Japan 1945 - present.

In the contemporary period, there are four images presented of Japan. (1) Japan as a defeated nation; (2) Japan's recovery after the defeat; (3) Japan as an economic world power; (4) and Japan as an Asian nation with a mixture of Japanese traditions and western culture and technology.

The use of the atomic bomb against Japan was justified in two textbooks.

"The decision President Truman had to make would cost many lives either way. He could order the Air Force to use the atom bomb on Japan and kill many innocent people. Or he could let the armies storm the beaches of Japan. Then thousands of American and Japanese soldiers would die. President Truman chose to make a quick end of the war." (Hunnicot: 202)

The Allied occupation was sometimes described as propagation of American democracy. The victory of the United States in W.W. II is described as "a victory for democracy." (Hunnicot 1968: 376)
"Less than a hundred years after Commodore Perry sailed into Tokyo Bay, another American fleet dropped anchor in almost the same spot. This time the Americans did not come to make a treaty. They came to dictate peace to Japan. ...... It was very lucky for the Japanese people that the United States did not want to make Japan a subject nation. [Americans] knew that people everywhere must have freedom from fear and want. .... The American people helped Japan to set up a true democratic government." (ibid.: 376)

"On September 2, 1945, Japanese authorities signed surrender papers ending the war. Freedom was saved!" (ibid.: 202)

American aid for Japan is also shown in favorable terms implying that the U.S. built a base for the later economic progress of Japan in contrast to what occurred in China.

"China accepted a form of communism, and Japan accepted the idea of free enterprise." (Crain 1969: 122)

"Japan did not listen to communist propaganda. They learned about democracy. The Japanese people worked together with the Americans to rebuild their nation." (Hunnicut 1967: 376)

Although the authors were writing about Japan, the underlying message sent to students is the superiority of the American ideologies of democracy and free enterprise.

According to the textbooks, Japan recovered from the damage of war quickly. The major image presented of Japan is as "the workshop of the Far East", and "the strongest industrial nation in Asia" (ibid.: 371). All textbooks show the close tie between the United States and Japan. Japan's rapid economic growth is explained by its relationship with the United States, and its industrious skilled workers.

"One reason for this is that Japan has no expensive military budget. The Japanese Constitution forbids Japan to maintain land, sea, or air forces. Some day
this may change, but at present, Japan is protected by a security treaty with the United States.

Another reason for Japan's rapid economic growth has been the skill of Japanese workers, especially in the electronics, optical, and steel industries. Each worker is acutely aware of his place on the producing "team." As a result, he works very hard at whatever he may be doing. And finally, Japanese businessmen have been careful to improve the quality of their exports, lower production costs wherever possible, and employ good salesmen." (Crain 1969: 132)

Not every textbook mentions this much detail about the quality control at Japanese factories, but all textbooks give credits to the Japanese people for their diligent and strenuous efforts.

The Japanese are described not only as a skilled labor force, but also as a well educated one. The importance of education to the social ladder is explained. For, one's attainment of education fixes one's position in a traditional, hierarchical, social system for one's entire life. This gives American students the impression that Japan has a very different social system from the United States.

"Japanese value education even more highly than personal freedom.
......Makoto values his education highly. From the time he entered elementary school, he has been preparing himself for work at Tokyo University. It is Japan's oldest and most important school of higher education and is supported by the government. As a student there, he must study hard. Only honor graduates will be accepted for important positions." (Hanna 1964: 270)

"He knows he cannot be hopeful about attaining a better position in the government. Soto is not an honor graduate from an important university and his family has neither wealth nor influence." (ibid.: 269)

Japan now is presented as a mixture of two characteristics; traditional and westernized; traditional life in the countryside and modern life in the city. City life is not yet
completely modern, but is also a mixture of traditional and westernized, and that American life style is described as what the new Japan wants for her future.

Japan is shown as having big modern cities, but in the countryside, farmers, who are very efficient, "still do most their planting and harvesting by hand." (Hanna: 260) In the cities Japanese houses are small, and made from wood, bamboo, cardboard, and cement. Their interior is Japanese in style with very little furniture. (Crain: 130, Hanna: 270) People in western clothing work in western style buildings, but they return to tradition at home.

"Good evening!" he says as he kneels on a large flat cushion and looks around at his family. Shofu's father has changed from his business suit to a comfortable kimono to read the newspaper. His young sister sits quietly in a corner painting the picture-like symbols of the Japanese language. His brother is busily doing sums on an abacus. In the center of the room, Shofu's mother kneels before a low table, scooping rice into blue and white bowls.

Here, away from the hurrying traffic of the city, night falls quietly. At the end of the day, the Japanese change as quietly from modern life into the simple ways of their ancient past." (Hanna: 270)

Japanese traditional arts such as flower arrangement and the tea ceremony are always introduced as a face of Japan, but at the same time their traditional values are challenged by democratic ideas brought by the United States. Japanese are also described as being in pursuit of a materialistic modern life style like Americans. For example, a nineteen-year-old woman wants to have greater independence and a better, easier life than she had with her parents on their small farm.

"Recently she met a young man whom she likes very much. ..... She knows that her parents intend to find a husband for her when they decide it is the proper time. They did just that for her older sister. Although Kazumi's sister hardly knew her husband when they married, she writes Kazumi that she is happy. ..... The husband's mother lives with the young couple, and her authority must not be
questioned. Kazumi's uneasiness about marrying a man of her own choice may be justified. Someday she hopes to live with her husband in one of Tokyo's new apartment houses. She hopes to have a modern kitchen equipped with electric appliances, including an automatic rice cooker. She even hopes for an automobile." (ibid.: 265)

In conclusion, the image of the contemporary Japanese is that they are educated, skilled, hard workers, and living in a mixture of traditional and modern life styles, with a sense of appreciation of nature.
IV. IMAGES OF JAPAN AND THE JAPANESE PEOPLE IN AMERICAN TEXTBOOKS IN THE 1980'S

In this chapter I will outline the major themes the images of Japan and the Japanese people I found in American textbooks from the 1980's and then discuss them in the context of the socioeconomic milieu in the era.

MAJOR THEMES
1980-present

Ancient period: until 794
1. Japan gained its written language and its Buddhist religion through the visitors from China and Korea.
2. Japanese imitated the Chinese in many ways.
3. Japanese were taught to obey their emperor.

Pre-modern period: 794 - 1653
1. Japan was divided among powerful landowners called feudal lords.
2. Japanese leaders decided that they would not trade with Europeans.
3. Japanese leaders feared that the Europeans would try to make Japan a colony.
4. Japan closed off their country until 1853.
5. Japan had been cut off from the world until Perry's visit.
6. Japan is very little known in Europe.
7. The Japanese were free to develop their own culture and sense of unity.
Modernization period - 1983 to 1918

Interaction with the West.
1. Perry asked Japanese to open their ports.
2. Japanese were forced to trade with Europe and the United States.
3. Japanese aware that the strength of the Western countries was based on industries.
4. Japan decided to copy Western ways in order to grow strong and remain free.
5. The Japanese and Europeans exchanged many ideas.
7. Japanese bought machines from the West and built factories.

Political Characteristics:
1. Japanese rulers realized that they could no longer keep their country shut off from other nations.
2. Japanese government decided that the people must change their ways of living.
3. Japan built up a strong army and navy within a short time.
4. By 1900 Japan had become one of the strong nations of the world.
5. Japan escaped rule by Western powers.

Economic Characteristics:
2. Japanese industries did not have a large home market until the past thirty years.
3. Japan depended on selling its goods abroad.
4. Japanese farmers were taxed to get money to start new industries.
5. Japanese workers received very low wages.
Social Characteristics:
1. Japanese handicrafts were welcomed abroad because of their perfection and beauty.
2. Japanese people were too poor.

Rise of Japan period – from 1919 to 1945

Political Characteristics:
1. Japan built an empire in order to become economically more independent.
2. Japan wanted colonies for their raw materials.
4. Japan wanted to extend their control over the entire Far East.
5. Japan became the strongest nation in the Far East.
6. Japan was becoming warlike.

The United States/Japan relationship:
1. The United States protested the conquests of Japan.
2. Japan made a surprise attack on Pearl Harbor.
3. The United States used a new weapon the atomic bomb on Japan.

Contemporary Japan – after 1945 to present

Economic Characteristics:
1. Japan rapidly recovered from the war.
2. Japanese farming is very intensive.
3. Japanese farmers began working more efficiently.
4. Japan experienced growing industrialization.
5. Japan is the third largest industrial power in the world.
6. Japan is highly industrialized nation.
7. Japan is first in building ships.
8. Japan is second in automobile manufacturing.
9. Japan is third in making steel.
10. Japan is a leader in electronics.
11. Japanese factories are highly automated.
12. Japanese workers use their education and skills to produce cameras for export.
13. Japanese workers are well paid and live comfortably.
14. Japan now concentrates on more profitable high-technology products.
15. Made-in-Japan label appears on television sets, cameras, and automobiles.
16. Japan made a copying machine similar to Xerox at half the price.
17. Japan's home market is booming.
18. Japan is a small nation that imports many resources.
20. Japan must import 25 percent of its food.
21. Japanese products are sold in almost every country in the world.
22. Japan's problem is the growing competition from other newly industrial countries.
23. Japan fears that industrialized countries will try to protect their own industries.
24. Japan had a surplus of almost $50 billion.
25. Japan was the world's largest creditor.
26. Japan has many indirect barriers to trade.
Political Characteristics:

1. Japan was defeated by the Allies and lost all its colonies.
2. Japanese rulers brought only hardship and suffering to their people.
3. Japan was not allowed to rebuild its military forces.
4. Japan could devote their energies to rebuilding their industries.
5. Japan is the peace maker for Asia.
6. Japan is admired for its prosperity by other Asian countries.
7. Japan is a model for other Asian countries.
8. Japanese are trying to build democracy within their homeland.

Social Characteristics:

1. Japan is crowded.
2. Japan has the third largest clusters of population.
3. Tokyo is the largest city in the world.
4. Japan has a fine network of railroads.
5. Japan has a high literacy rate.
6. Japanese students study much the same things American students, too.
7. Japanese enjoy many of the same sports Americans do.
8. Japanese enjoy both traditional and American life style.
9. Japanese has preserved many ancient crafts, yet they are fading.
10. Most Japanese are both Buddhists and Shintoists.
11. Japanese villages have radios, TV, electric lights, sewing machines, newspapers and schools.
12. Japan is the first Far Eastern nation to build factories to supply its jobs and food.
13. Japan can be compared with Great Britain.
14. Japanese cities face the same problems that Western cities face; pollution, housing shortage, and traffic jams.

15. Japanese roads, schools, sewage, and housing are often not adequate.

16. Japanese rural areas are losing population.

17. Japanese houses are made of unpainted wood inside and out.

18. Japanese rooms contain very little furniture.

19. Homes now have electricity, radios, televisions sets, and all kinds of appliances, including washing machines, sewing machines, and dishwashers.

20. Western clothing has largely replaced the traditional kimonos.


General views of Japan and Japanese:

1. Japanese workers are skilled.

2. Japanese are working very hard.

3. Japanese are efficient.

4. Japanese are prosperous.

5. Japanese are “yellow” or Mongoloid.

5. Mt. Fuji is the symbol of Japan.

United States/Japan relationship:

1. Japan was defeated by the United States in World War II.

2. Japan’s recovery from the war was helped by the United States.


4. The United States is Japan’s chief trade partner.

5. Japan and the United States have enjoyed a close economic relationship ever since Perry visited Japan in 1854.
6. The United States has promised to defend Japan against attack.

7. Japan's security is also important for Americans.
A. Ancient period until 794.

There is very little interest in the history and culture of Japan during the Ancient period. The image of Japan in this period is as an imitator of China.

"Japan imitated the Chinese in many ways." (Schwartz 1980: 473)

Though the image of ancient Japan in the textbooks of the 1980's is the same one as in the 1960's, less space is given to this period in the textbooks of the 80's than in the textbooks of the 60's.

B. Pre-modern period 794 - 1633.

The image of Japan in the pre-modern period concentrates on its feudalistic society and its relationship with the Western world, that is the closure of the country and its isolation from the rest of the world.

"Japanese leaders decided that they would not trade with Europeans. They feared that the Europeans would try to make Japan into a colony. They closed off their country until 1853." (Drummond 1983: 435)

Japan's isolation from the world is also evaluated in a positive way. One textbook explains that during the isolation the "Japanese are free to develop their own culture and sense of unity." (ibid.: 435) The textbooks in the 1960's evaluated Japan's isolation in only negative terms and as the cause of her backwardness in comparison to the Western world. According to the textbooks, Japan appeared "backward" since Japan did not develop a society and culture similar to the Western society and culture. The textbooks of the 1980's have a less western, ethnocentric attitude.
C. Modernization period 1853 - 1918.

A new age in Japan began with Commodore Perry's visit. This is mentioned in every textbook of the 1980's, as it was in the 1960's. The image of Japan as a copy of the Western world is emphasized, but negative words such as "to imitate" have disappeared from the textbooks of the 80's.

"After seeing the inventions of the Western world, Japan decided it had to copy Western ways in order to grow strong and remain free." (Schwartz :509)

Textbooks of the 1980's also say that Japanese did not blindly follow the Western world, but they made a decision to industrialize, choosing what it needed to learn from Western society.

" Aware that the strength of the Western countries was based on industries, Japanese leaders encouraged industrialization." (ibid.: 435)

There is more a bilateral explanation about the relationship between Japan and the Western world, not found in the textbooks of the 60's. Japan did not industrialize just because the Western society was far more advanced than Japan, but also because Japan wanted to escape from being conquered by the Western world.

"They decided that Japan had to adopt Western ways if it was to compete with the colonial empires of Western Europe." (Israel 1980: 293)

Japan did not only take in Western technology but also offered the valuable commodities to the West.
"Once the trade agreements were established, the Japanese and Europeans exchanged many ideas. Japanese students studied in Europe and the United States. Japanese handicrafts were welcomed abroad because of their perfection and beauty." (Drummond: 435)

The image of educated skilled workers appeared in the process of modernization.

"The country's large population provided plenty of workers for the factories. They were sent to schools and trained for their new jobs."
(Schwartz: 500)

The image of Japanese people in this period is that they changed rapidly, but that the Japanese workers were low paid and remained poor.

D. Rise of Japan period 1918 - 1945.

The main image presented of Japan in this period is that of the strongest military power in the Far East. None of the textbooks of the 1980's that I examined in this study refers to Japan's victory over Russia. They do say that Japan expanded its empire (colonies) in the Far East. Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor is mentioned in every textbook. In the 60's the textbooks described Japan as a country which colonized China and other countries of the Far East. In the 1980's the textbooks give students a broader perspective on Japan, acknowledging the point of view that Japan "escaped rule by Western powers."
(Izrael:258)

E. Contemporary period 1945 - present.

A great deal is written about a contemporary Japan compared with the Japan of other eras.
The image presented of Japan just after World War II is as a country defeated by the use of atomic weapons by the United States. The use of the atomic bomb is no longer justified in the textbooks of the 80's.

Textbooks of the 1980's now show that Japan has rapidly recovered with the help of American aid, and hard work on the part of the Japanese.

The strongest image of Japan presented in the textbooks of the 1980's is Japan as a modern economic world power. Japan is used as an example of a successful, wealthy nation and compared with other developing nations. Japan's high literacy rate and good educational system are given as the reasons for her productive labor force. Japanese workers are no longer poor but well paid. This is one of the differences between the textbooks of the 60's and the 80's. In the textbooks of the 1960's workers were presented as low paid, but in the 1980's workers are depicted as well paid.

"Sharp contrast exist between the 'have' and 'have-not' countries. A worker in highly industrialized Japan uses her education and skills to help produce cameras for export. She is well paid and lives comfortably." (Drummond:156)

Shipyard and fishing are presented as leading industries. Yet, Japan's exports changed from the electrical instruments, toys, and textiles described in the textbooks of the 60's to the high technology products, cameras, and automobiles described in the textbooks of the 80's. Japan is presented as a model for other Asian nations in the textbooks of the 1980's.

"[Japan] is the pacesetter for Asia. Other Asian countries admire its prosperity. They want to be like Japan." (ibid.: 435)

Natural beauty and traditional arts such as the tea ceremony that were mentioned in the 60's are no longer mentioned in the 80's. Photographs convey strong impressions beyond those of written words. The textbooks of the 60's have photos with Mt. Fuji in
the background; a boat filled with children in kimonos on a pond (Hunnicut: 370); a woman in a kimono arranging flowers (Hanna: 271); a boy and his grandfather in kimonos sitting on the floor in a Japanese style room (Crain: 130); and farmers planting rice by hand in a rice paddy (Hunnicut: 371). One textbook mistakenly presented a photograph of a classroom in China as a classroom in Japan. (Crain: 124)

On the other hand the textbooks in the 80’s have fewer photos of nature and traditional arts. A typical photo of the 80’s is one which shows a temple, factories spewing smoke from their chimney, tall office buildings, and a bullet train, all in one picture. The caption says,

"Industry and transportation, shown here in the city of Kyoto, Japan, place great demands on natural resources. Pollution now clogs the air over most of the world's cities." (Drummond: 107)

In the 60’s textbooks Japan's problem was how to feed people, and the urgent need for development and change. (Hanna: 263) Now that "the Japanese are the best-fed people in the Orient, in the textbooks of the 80's Japan's problem is pollution, and the growing competition from other industrial countries and newly industrialized nations in East Asia.

Let us look at images presented of the ordinary life of Japanese people: they have a fine rail road system; cities are very crowded; a photo of a crowded train is often used in the textbooks of the 80’s; people wear western clothes, and eat more western food; they live in houses made from wood, unpainted inside and out, with sliding wooden screens. They now have what the textbooks of the 60's said the young Japanese wanted to have in the 60's textbooks, such as "radios, television sets, and all kinds of appliances, including washing machines, sewing machines, and dishwashers." (Israel: 296)
The image of the Japanese in the 60's textbooks was a mixture of westernization outside home and traditions inside. That image has changed with more westernization or Americanization. Japanese are described as more like Americans.

"Japanese students study much the same things American students do. English is also taught. The Japanese people even enjoy many of the same sports Americans do, such as baseball, tennis and swimming." (Schwartz: 510)

Yet, Japan is still different. Most Japanese are both Buddhists and Shintoists, which is very difficult for Americans to comprehend. Japan has tried to preserve many ancient crafts, yet they are fading. (Heath 1988: 44) Finally, Japan has not been totally westernized or Americanized, but is a mixture of western culture and Japanese traditional cultures. One textbook shows a photo of McDonald's in Tokyo. The caption reads,

"kimono-clad women visiting a Shinto Shrine stop afterward at 'Makudonarudo' for a Big Mac and a shake." (Heath: 285)
V. IMAGES OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN JAPANESE TEXTBOOKS IN THE 1950's

In this chapter I will outline the major themes of the images of the United States and the American people in Japanese textbooks from the 1950's and then discuss them in the context of the socioeconomic milieu in the era.

MAJOR THEMES
1950 - 1960

Colonial period 1620 - 1776.

1. Before the colonial period, only Indians lived in the United States.
2. Puritans were the foundation of the U.S.
3. The foundation of democracy is Christianity.
4. The U.S. was built by people who wanted to have freedom.
5. America became independent as a democratic country.
6. The Declaration of Independence is an example of democracy for the world.

Formation of a nation state and its expansion period 1776 - 1914

Political Characteristics.

1. Americans frontier people fought with Indians and Mexicans, not with wealth from their original families, but with their guns, axes, and plows.
2. Lincoln is a symbol of democracy of the U.S.; "government of the people, by the people, for the people."
3. American blacks did not gain true equality after the emancipation.
Economic Characteristics.
1. American industrialization started after Europe.
2. The U.S. soon passed other advanced capitalist countries.
3. America invested in education and industry in the 19th century.

Social Characteristics.
1. Cowboy movies represents the adoration that Americans have for the frontier spirits.
2. Americans had sewing machines in the middle of the 19th century.

Interaction with Japan
1. Commodore Perry forced Japan to open the door to the U.S.
2. The U.S. forced Japan to sign an unequal treaty.

World Power Period 1914 - present.

Geography.
1. The U.S. is rich in natural resource.

Political Characteristics.
1. The U.S. is the most powerful country.
2. The U.S. and Soviet are the two big powers.
3. The U.S. represents capitalistic countries.
4. The U.S. respects democracy based upon a congressional system.
5. The U.S. respects political freedom.
6. American women gained the right to vote, which showed a more advanced democracy.
7. America has a policy to promote full employment.

Economic Characteristics.

1. The U.S. is the most developed industrial country.
2. The U.S. is the number one oil export country.
3. The U.S. is number one in textile manufacturing.
4. The U.S. is number one in heavy industry.
5. The U.S. and Western Europe are the two big industrial regions.
6. The U.S. has automated factories.
7. Ford system and Taylor system are typical examples of innovation.
8. The U.S. became the center of world finance.
10. New Deal Policy and labor union made American a world leader.
11. American agriculture consists of managers and labor.
12. Americans use machines in agriculture.
13. American agriculture is extensive.
14. America is the child of its rail road system.

Social Characteristics.

1. The Statue of liberty is a symbol of America.
2. America is a free society.
3. The U.S. is a country of immigrants.
4. The U.S. is a melting pot for a variety of ethnic groups.
5. Americans are materialistic.
6. Manhattan has many skyscrapers.
7. One out of four Americans has a car, while one out of 560 Japanese has a car.
8. America has the most advanced airline system.
9. Everything is big in America.
10. American culture is dynamic.
11. American culture is popular culture.
12. American does not have traditions.
13. Americans have strong interests in mechanics.
14. Americans are ashamed of being dependent on society.
15. Americans value the independent frontier spirit.
16. Americans value the responsibility of individuals toward a society.

Family life:
1. Everybody in a family is treated equally.
2. Parents are not authoritarian to children.
3. Husbands are not arrogant with their wives.
4. American children are independent.
5. The American family is based upon individualism.
6. American education at home is centered around religion as a base for raising
democratic citizens.
7. Farmer families are nuclear families with a small number of children.
8. Americans have electric kitchen appliances.

Education and young people:
1. Most American schools have co-education.
2. American boys and girls date with the permission of their parents.
3. Americans believe that to receive an education is a human right.
4. American students pledge allegiance to their national flag before classes.
5. American schools' facilities are excellent.
6. American young farmers organize 4H club to promote production and technological improvement.
7. American young people are energetic.
8. American young people are healthy.

City life:
1. American cities are affluent and convenient.
2. American cities are divided into office area, slums, and residential neighborhoods for the second and the third generation of immigrants.
3. American suburb is for middle class white collar workers.
4. American cities have good public facilities.
5. American cities have a lot of entertainment.
6. Americans have a social welfare system that they can not even imagine in Japan.
7. American problems are car accidents, nervous breakdown, and crimes.
8. Rural areas are losing population, and cities are getting over populated.

The United States and Japan relationship.
1. The U.S.'s victory was one of democracy over totalitarianism.
2. The U.S. and Japan has Japan-The U.S. Security Treaty.
3. America and Japan had close relationship on agriculture trade.
4. The U.S. is the biggest partner in silk trade.
5. The American labor union became the model for Japanese to organize labor unions.
6. American culture is imitated by Japanese without criticism.
7. Efficiency and rationality in American culture helped the Japanese modernize their life.
8. American Parents and Teachers Association (P.T.A.) was introduced to Japan.
After World War II, new principles of Japanese education were set up by the education reform committee under the advice of the Education Division of the U.S. Occupation Army. A social studies course was created to teach students concepts of democracy and equality. Thus, it is inevitable that Japanese textbooks of the 1950's were very influenced by this political environment.

The descriptions about the United States appear in the Japanese textbooks, as in American textbooks, beginning with Japan's first encounters with the United States through the historical development of the economic and political relationship. A distinguishing characteristic of the Japanese textbooks in the 1950's is that, reflecting the realities of the era, that is the loss of World War II and the U.S. occupation, coverage on the United States is extensive. This is especially true in social science textbooks. Social Studies was a new subject which was created under the advice of the Education Division of the U.S. occupation Army. In these textbooks many aspects of the life in the United States are presented as models for Japan's future.

The main goal that the Japanese government attempted to achieve through these social studies textbooks was to construct a modern nation based on democracy. Even when the early history of the United States is described, it is not merely a narrative, but it is also aimed at teaching Japanese students lessons about democracy, and show the new, modern life style that the Japanese should follow. Life in other European countries is described, but a greater number of pages are dominated by descriptions of the American life style.

The image presented of the United States in the textbooks of the 1950's is America as a model for Japan. It is, however, important to note that the textbooks present some stereotype images toward the American society.

The three major periods of American history presented in the Japanese textbooks of the 1950's are the colonial period, the formation and expansion of the nation state period, and the world power period.
A. Colonial period 1620 - 1776.

The geography of the United States is briefly described, and American Indians are introduced as the aboriginal population. The history from the Mayflower and the Pilgrim Fathers to the Independence of the United States is described in five pages in one textbook (Atarashii Shakai Ka 1951), and in seven pages in another textbook (Mikami and Onabe 1951). It is given in order to "understand how the United States developed as the strongest nation in the contemporary world." (Mikami and Onabe 1951:19)

Philosophies of democracy originated in Europe, but the immigrants from Europe created "the most advanced democratic country on the new continent." (Ibid.: 24.)

One textbook wrote a brief history of the Reformation in order to explain why Pilgrim Fathers arrival at Cape Cod, and to show that the Christianity of these puritans became the foundation for a new democracy in the United States.

"Many adventurers and merchants had arrived in America before the Pilgrim Fathers. But these people who landed with the Mayflower and survived the bitter coldness and hunger built houses and a town, and the foundation for a new democracy. The Pilgrim Fathers strived to build a new ideal society not bounded by the customs and rules of their old country. Principles of freedom developed on the new Continent are found in the spirit of the Pilgrim Fathers. The contract that 102 pilgrims made on the board the Mayflower is the representation of their spirit. They made a contract that a new political system is to be made by individuals of free will, trusting in God. ..... They worked for the glory of God and Jesus Christ." (Atarashii Shakai Ka 1951:34-35)

This strong statement about Christianity as the foundation for democracy in America presented in this textbook reflects what General MacArthur of the United States Occupation

* All translations of Japanese texts are by this monograph's author.
Army had attempted to give to the Japanese people as the foundation of democracy in Japan. He claimed that all Occupation policies must be based upon Christianity. He believed it as his mission, as a soldier of God, that the emptiness of the intellectual, moral, and spiritual life of the Japanese people created by the destruction of the war must be filled with Christianity and the principles of democracy. (Moore 1982: 18-28)

B. Formation of a nation state and its expansion period 1776 - 1914.

The United States expanded to the west coast during this period. The image presented of the Americans in this period is symbolized in the concept of independence and "the frontier spirit". The word, "frontier spirit", which is used very often as a representative of the American mentality, means a spirit of bravery and the urge to challenge the unknown. It is emphasized that independent minded individuals, relying on only themselves, traveled westward to seek more freedom for their lives.

"People who attempt to cultivate the west, fighting with Indians and Mexicans, depend not on their family origins and their wealth, but on their axes and plows, their courage and judgement." (Atarashii Shakai Ka: 57.)

This statement is meant to teach Japanese students a lesson about democracy and is in contrast to Japan where family origins were still an influential factor in an individual's opportunities for employment and marriage.

Another image of the Americans is that they continue to improve democracy in their society. Abraham Lincoln is a symbolic figure in the Japanese textbooks because of his emancipation of Black Americans. The portrait of Lincoln and a part of his speech at
Gettysburg is cited in every history textbook. However, it is mentioned that even after the emancipation of the slaves, the social status of Blacks is still low.

The United States started as a colony of European countries, but "with rich natural resources this country soon passed other advanced capitalist countries." (Ibid.: 59.)

In this era, the United States came to Tokugawa Japan. Commodore Perry forced Japan to open her door to the U.S., and arrange an unequal trade treaty in which Japan did not have the right to set tariffs on American commodities.

C. World Power period 1914 - present (1950)

After World War II the United States became the most powerful nation in the world. The United States is described as number one in almost all fields, such as education, social system, natural resources, agriculture, oil export, textile, automobile, and heavy industries.

The picture of the Statue of Liberty is used as a symbol of America's freedom. The picture of the skyscraper in Manhattan is used as a symbol of America's wealth, modernity, and power.

"The United States has the most advanced civilization in the world, a large nation, rich in natural resources and immigrants that work enthusiastically." (Okada, Shugo, and Miyahara 1953: 127)

Ford's automated production line and the Taylor management system are introduced as "typical examples of innovation." (Okada and Katsuda 1953: 120) The Tennessee Valley Authority projects are admired as fine examples of government development projects. (Beisuzane, Hidaka, Nagasu, and Omura 1951:133-134)

* "government of the people, by the people, for the people..." This part of Lincoln's speech is probably the most well known and most frequently quoted among the Japanese.
Agriculture in the U.S. is done by modernized management. American farmers use machines (tractors and combines) in extensive agriculture, while Japanese farmers still work by hands and using cattle. All of these are presented as models that Japan should follow.

"In the United States, both farmers and factory workers drive cars, while in Japan farmers still use hands, factory workers in cities put glue with their fingers." (Okada and Katsuda 1953:93)

In some textbooks it is explained that Americans invested in education to increase productivity.

"When the law on the Pacific Rail Road was enacted in 1862, the law on professional education in agriculture and engineering was also enacted." (ibid.: 98.)

One textbook states that "one condition for promoting industry is a democratic society." (Fujibayashi 1952: 87) These conditions were also written as lessons for Japan. America’s wealth and modern life style show up not only in industries but also in other aspects of social life. The common household in America overwhelmed the Japanese authors of these textbooks. They admired the modern life style, and state that the Japanese standard of living lagged far behind.

"As for automobiles, one person out of four owns a car in the United States, while one out of 560 owns a car in Japan." (Betsuzane et. al. 1951:95)

"There is no difference in goods used both in the city and countryside in the U.S., while there is in Japan." (ibid.: 96)

"In the United States there is social welfare system and cultural life that we can not even imagine in Japan." (Okada and Katsuda: 92)
"There are not enough hospitals in Japan. On average there are only beds for 3.9 people out of 1000. Our average percentage is below the worst conditions in the United States, that of in Mississippi which has 4.98 for every 1000." (Ishida and Kanze 1951:165)

The image presented of American cities is that as being well planned, very convenient, affluent, and efficient, using electricity, gas, and a variety of automated machines. Cities have good facilities and provide entertainment. On the other hand, cities have a lot of problems such as traffic accidents, crime, and people with nervous breakdowns.

(Betsuzane et. al.: 90)

American family life is described as involving equality in relationships in a democratic society. The members of an American family are treated as equal individuals living in a modern house with electric appliances. Even farmers' families are nuclear families, while in Japan very traditional forms, ie, that is patriarchal and extended family, remains the norm in the countryside. The pictures of a White American family in which every member is talking and playing a game together in the living room and having picnics outside are compared with those of the Japanese family in which male members are served meals by women.

"...family consist of a couple and a few children. ..... Every member of a family is treated equally, weather wife, husband, or children. Parents and husband are not arrogant toward their children and his wife. Instead children have to be responsible for themselves. Children live with their parents until they go to college. They live in a dormitory or live with their friends. ..... After they graduate from colleges, they live separately from their parents. This shows their strong independence. ..... The eldest son does not have to inherit his father's business, but somebody who wants to do the same business takes over the father's business. If nobody wants it, nobody has to do it. Everybody can choose one's own way, according to one's ability." (Atarashii Shakai ka: 65-66)
Most of the household chores are done by electric appliances such as washing machines and sewing machines in "a scientific kitchen." The pictures of washing machine and a kitchen are shown. (Ibid.: 68 and 78.) American women gained the right to vote between the wars* and more women work outside the home. (Murakami, Egami, and Hayashi 1954: 293)

These description are compared with the traditional Japanese family life involving unequal human relationship among family members. Family-oriented relationships, patriarchal values, and discrimination against women in the Japanese family are described in contrast to the American nuclear family.

"Discipline and education at home centered around religion is the very base for raising democratic citizens." (Ishida and Kanze: 169)

From the Meiji era till the end of World War II the Emperor was considered to be divine. The Japanese people were required to worship and bow to the photograph (called the "sacred shadow") of the Emperor and the Empress, but were not allowed to look at them directly. In one junior high school social studies textbook, a photograph of the Emperor's family looking at a younger brother and a sister playing together is shown. After Japan's defeat the Emperor renounced his divinity, he became a husband and father. The prototype of this royal family photo comes from a picture of white middle class American family playing games together. The royal family has been changed from the divine and invisible to a model of the new Japanese nuclear family.*

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*The author of the textbook did not give the specific date of the women's suffrage in the United States, which was in 1920.
* The idea of a family photograph of the Emperor was suggested to Prince Takamatsu, the Emperor's brother, by Oita Cary, an American officer of the U.S. Occupation Army. (1976, Yokoito no Nai Nihon. Japan. Vertical Democracy, pp. 138 - 141.) Royal family looking at a family photo album together appears in the newspapers every New Year's Day and on the Emperor's birthday.
American education became a model for Japanese post-war education. The social studies textbooks describe in detail, the American education system and its school life. The image of American schools lies in the co-education system, and the independence and individualism of American students. Every social studies textbook shows pictures of girls and boys studying together. Co-education and equality between sexes was a new concept for the Japanese to learn at that time. Some textbook authors show bewilderment toward this new system.

"Civilized countries respect education for women, and provide equal opportunity for both boys and girls. It does not, however, necessarily mean co-education. Co-education is practiced in less civilized new lands, such as the western part of the United States, the Soviet Union, and Scandinavian countries. Since there is not a large population and financial difficulties in those areas, they have no other choice but to educate boys and girls together in the same classroom with the same teacher. There has been a progressive movement to promote co-education in the United States. Most of the American schools except Catholic schools are co-education.

......The purpose of middle schools is to learn to live right. So, boys and girls have to study together to learn to understand, respect, and help each other." (Okada and Katsuda: 21-23)

American education is used as a justification here as well as as a model. The dating by young Americans is also a new thing for young Japanese who used to be taught not to see or talk to the opposite sex after the age of seven until they have an arranged marriage. Textbooks explain how Americans date and emphasize that young people are responsible for themselves and are independent, and that their parents respect them as individuals.

"Boys and girls are free to date, but they are trained to keep socially righteous and strict rules. They ask their parents' permission before they go out on a date. They ask their parents' opinions in choosing their girl friends and boy friends. ...... Respect for individuals' responsibility toward society come from the independent frontier spirit. Americans are ashamed of being dependent on others. Even if
their parents are rich, young people work to earn their expenses for a summer trip." (Ibid.: 30-31)

The Parents Teachers Association (P.T.A.) is introduced in the textbooks as a model for Japanese women to participate in their children’s education. (Ibid.: 50-51) The 4H club is introduced to educate young farmers to be leaders and to democratize and improve life in the countryside. (Betsuzane et al.: 357) American labor unions are described as a model for Japanese workers to follow to learn democracy. (Ibid.: 171)

Overall in the textbooks the Japanese see America as "a country with a long tradition of democracy" (Ishida and Kanze: 49), at the same time they see America as "a young country without [cultural] tradition." (Okada and Katsuda: 28) Despite this fact America is not seen as a country lacking in cultural tradition. What is stressed is that America has a modern culture life far advanced than that of Japan in the 1950’s.

In conclusion, these images of Americans and of American society in the Japanese textbooks are a reflection of the self-images that Japanese people sought to create; a new type of individual and human relationship based upon equality. Everything American was a model for the Japanese to follow in building a new society after the destruction of the old by the war. The United States in the Japanese textbooks of the 1950’s was the brightest star in the world, since Japan was "defeated by democracy." (Murakami and others: 312)
In this chapter I will outline the major themes of the images of the United States and the American people in Japanese textbooks of the 1980's, and discuss them in the context of the socioeconomic milieu of that era.

MAJOR THEMES
1980 - Present

Colonial period 1620 - 1776

1. The United States became independent from Britain in the revolutionary war.

Formation of a nation state and its expansion period 1776 - 1914

Political Characteristics.

1. Westward expansion of white people meant that Native Americans were pushed west.
2. White people took away the lands from Indians.
3. Lincoln is a symbol of democracy in the U.S.; "government of the people, by the people, for the people.
4. Civil war and abolition of slavery were the landmarks in the history of democracy in the United States.

Relationship between Japan and the United States.
1. Commodore Perry forced Tokugawa Bakufu (government) to open up Japan.
2. The U.S. and Tokugawa Bakufu agreed on an unequal treaty.

World Power Period 1914 - 1945

Political Characteristics.
1. The U.S. established as the world leader.
2. American women gained rights to vote, which showed advanced democracy.
3. New Deal Policy is a good example of public investment.

Economic Characteristics.
1. Depression in 1929 was world wide, and Japan also suffered from it.

Contemporary America 1945 - present (1980's)

Political Characteristics.
1. The U.S. is the leader of capitalistic nations.
2. The U.S. helped western Europe and Japan recover from the disaster of war.
3. New York is a center of world politics.
4. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. are against each other. (Cold war)
5. The U.S. and the U.S.S.R. have competed with nuclear weapons.
6. There were anti-American and anti-Vietnam war movements in the U.S.

Economic Characteristics.
1. New York is a center of world finance.
2. America is the biggest industrial country.
3. Free trade has made the American economy strong.
4. The U.S. consumes more oil than she produces.
5. The U.S. uses 30% of all energy consumption in the world.
6. The U.S. imports a lot of oil.
7. The U.S. is superior in air planes, nuclear plants, and electronics industry.
8. The U.S. monopolizes 70% of the production of electronics.
9. The U.S. has the most advanced scientific technology.
10. American domestic industries are less competitive to Western Europe, Japan, and new industrialized nations.
11. The U.S. steel, automotive and electronic industries are behind those West Germany, Japan, and Italy.
12. American economy has begun to be threatened by cheap products from West Germany and Japan.
13. The U.S. has a large deficit.
14. American economy began to decline because of huge defense budget during the Vietnam war.

Agriculture:
1. America is the biggest agriculture country.
2. America is a warehouse of food for the world.
3. Many countries rely on the U.S. for food.
4. American agriculture is capital intensive.
5. American agriculture is very productive.
6. American agriculture has strong international competition.
8. American government used agriculture export to negotiate
international politics.


Social Characteristics.

1. Northeast has European tradition.
2. People in Northeast have simple and honest life.
3. South is conservative.
4. People in the West has frontier spirit.
5. Pacific coast has many Chinese-Americans and Japanese-Americans.
6. Americans are pragmatic and business like.
7. Americans are affluent.
8. Americans depend on cars.
9. Americans have two days off a week.
10. Leisure is a part of their life.
11. America is a melting pot of races.
12. Many races have not integrated.

Family life:

1. Divorce has increased.

Social problems:

1. There is a big gap between the rich and the poor.
2. 10% of all population are under the poverty line.
3. Problem of poverty is deeply related to racial problem.
4. 10% of the population are the descendent of blacks brought from Africa.
5. Prejudice of white against blacks is still very strong.
6. Blacks are discriminated against in education and at jobs.
7. Poor blacks live in a worse condition area.
8. Prejudice against Jewish people has not gone yet.
9. Hispanic American, even though they are white, are very poor.
10. They have to be Anglo Saxon Protestant to belong to upper class.
11. Cities have air and noise pollution.
12. Cities have a lot of crimes.

Relationship between Japan and the United States.

1. The U.S. occupation provided Japan with new values, democracy, and individualism.
2. The U.S. tried to make Japan an independent ally of the U.S. in the Far East.
3. The U.S. occupation abolished the rights of civil servants to be unionized.
5. Japan and the U.S. have a close relationship in politics, economy, and culture.
6. Japan and the U.S. have a close ties on the base of defense treaty.
Since the Ministry of Education no longer makes an effort to teach democracy as it did in the 1950's, the textbooks in the 1980's are different from those in 1950's. This change was made in the 1960's when the goal of Japanese education changed from promotion of democracy to promotion of industrial productivity. Educational reforms are initiated by the government in accordance with industrial policy. The content of textbooks reflects the change in the political economy of Japan over time.

A. Colonial period 1620 - 1776.

The textbooks in the 1980's contain much less about American history than those of the 1950's. Today historical accounts are primarily restricted to covering the American Revolution for Independence from Britain. The textbooks in the 80's no longer gush about the Pilgrim Fathers, Christianity, and the political principles of, and the origins of the U.S. The Revolutionary War, the Declaration of Independence, and the French Revolution are cited as a part of the historical development of democracy and human rights. (Kawata, Yamaga, and Bito, Komin 1988: 13) Much more is written on the Japanese Constitution as the base of democracy in Japan. (Ibid.: 15-24)

B. Formation of a nation state and its expansion period 1776 - 1914.

Lincoln is described as the man who emancipated black slaves and is a symbol of democracy in the United States. Lincoln's picture and a part of his speech at Gettisburg is cited in every history textbook. The part of his speech, "government of the people, by the people, for the people" is among the Japanese people probably better known than the

* Among Japanese George Washington may not be known as well as Lincoln.
preamble of the constitution of the United States or quotations from the Declaration of Independence.

In the textbooks of the 80's the Westward expansion of white people is no longer admired. One textbook shows a picture of American Indians chased away from their lands by white settlers. The caption reads...

"The Westward movement of white people meant to Indians that they were chased away from their own lands. The expansion of the United States meant to them 'a trail of tears.'" (Murakami, Egami, Yamamoto, and Hayashi 1988: 243)

The textbooks in the 50's used the westward expansion to show the positive traits of white American people, such as independence, courage, and freedom. However, the textbooks in the 80's are more critical about white American people in that historical period. This may come from the self confidence that Japan has gained with respect to the United States, and from the decline of the U.S. power in the aftermath of its defeat in the Vietnam War.

Furthermore one of the achievements of the U.S. Civil rights movements of the late 1950's and 1960's was to inform the whole world of the reality of racism and the victimization of non-white Americans, and of the different perspectives of other races towards the United States history and society.

The United States became a world leader after World War I. (ibid.: 299) American women gained the right to vote, which is evaluated as showing how advanced democracy was in the U.S. (ibid.: 299) Textbooks from both the 1950's and the 1980's portray the New Deal Policy as a good model for government involvement in public investment. This may be because the New Deal Policies lend support to the Japan's government's involvement in industries.

As for the relationship between the United States and Japan during this period, the textbook authors say that Commodore Perry forced the Tokugawa Shogun to open Japan's
doors, and arranged unequal treaty with the U.S.. Both of the textbooks in the 50's and the 80's have the same negative attitude toward this historical event.

C. Contemporary America 1945 - present (1980's)

After World War II the United States and the Soviet Union competed for world power. The U.S. as the leader of the capitalist nations, helped Western Europe and Japan recover from the disaster of war. (Kawata, Yamaga, and Bito, Chiri 1988: 224)

Images used to describe contemporary America are as follows: the number one in G.N.P.; the center of world finance; and the biggest producer in industry and agriculture. The dominant type of industry has shifted from heavy industry such as steel and automobile to electronics. The U.S. succeeded in landing on the Moon and has the most advanced scientific technology.* (Sawada and others 1988: 202)

Free trade made the American economy strong, but now the same free trade policy has brought cheaper products from overseas and weakened its domestic industries against West Germany, Japan, and the newly industrialized nations of South East Asia. Since American industries are less competitive, the U.S. has a large trade deficit. (Ibid.: 203)

The United States also has the largest agriculture production in the world. The agriculture is managed by big agribusiness.

"The United States is called the warehouse of food for the world. ... Japan and many other countries rely on food imported from the U.S. The agriculture policy and the amount of agriculture products greatly influence on many countries." (Kawata and others, Chiri: 107)

Although the American economy has declined as a whole, American multi-national corporations retain both in industry and in agriculture a most powerful position in the world economy. (Sawada and others: 129 and 202)
Since the Japanese economy has grown to the second largest in the world behind the United States, the textbooks no longer describe the United States as the best model for Japan. The U.S. appears rather as a competitor of Japan with respect to the economy.

Trade and agriculture in the U.S. are explained from the global perspective of economic interdependence. As for understanding trade and agriculture, the Japanese textbooks of the 80's encourage students to think from the perspective of an interdependent world.

In textbooks of the 1950's the American life style is presented as a model for Japan. In the contrast to the adoration for the American life in the 50's, the textbooks of the 80's describe America from a more objective and critical point of view. In the 1950's the image of Americans was that of an independent minded people, filled with the frontier spirit. The tone of the writing style, however, differs in the textbooks of the 80's. The tone is one of observation not adoration.1

"America's unique national characteristics are created by independent mind and frontier spirit which is rooted in a tradition of Christianity and European culture."
(Kawata and others, Chûri: 101)

Independence of mind and the frontier spirit of America would be a threat to those values which function to maintain Japan's type of society whose principles are conformity and hierarchy. In the 1950's adoration of independence and the frontier spirit may have encouraged Japanese people to work very hard to build a new society out of the destroyed towns, but in 1980's it could shrink the affluent stability that Japan has struggled to achieved.

The images of some regions show a rather stereotyped view that Japanese have toward American society.

* The tone of writing style may not be shown in the English translation.
"Northeast has European tradition. .... South is conservative. .... Middle has pragmatic and business like mentality. ... West has a frontier spirit." (Sawada and others: 206-207)

The images of America are that it is affluent, but with many social problems, such as a large gap between rich and poor, racial discrimination, and high divorce rates. More is written about racial discrimination against blacks in textbooks of the 80's than those of the 50's. This may be a reflection of the concern for human rights worldwide and a result of the civil rights movement in the U.S.

"In general Americans live affluent consumer oriented life. They have two days off from work, and leisure is a part of their life style. The gap between rich and poor is, however, big, and 10% of all the population live under the poverty line. Some people in the rural South and in the slums of the North do not have the so-called American life style. Problems of poverty are rooted in the racial problems. .... America used be called 'a melting pot of races', but in reality races do not mix. .... Racial discrimination against non-white is still strong and a serious social problem. .... One has to be white, Anglo Saxon, and Protestant to belong to the upper class of the society." (Sawada et al.:203-204)

"Hispanic American, even if they are white, are very poor and cause a lot of social problems. .... Blacks are discriminated against in education and jobs." (Kawata et al, Chiri :102-103)

The American city was a symbol of wealth and modernity of the U.S. in the 50's, but it becomes a center of problems such as pollution and crime. (ibid.: 102)

The idealistic image of a democratic American family has disappeared in the textbooks of the 80's. Because divorce rates have increased, the American family is no longer a model for Japanese. Most Japanese families have become nuclear families with modern facilities in the 80's, and they have reached the goal they established for themselves in the 1950's.
With the respect to the relationship between the U.S. and Japan the authors of the 1980's provide students with a more objective view.

"The U.S. occupation brought Japan democracy, individualism, and new values. ..... As a strategy in Cold War with the Soviet Union the U.S. tried to make Japan an independent ally of the U.S. in the Far East. ..... The U.S. occupation abolished the right of civil servants to unionize, and oppressed Japanese labor union movements." (Ishii et. al. 1989: 342-346)

The strong image presented in the textbooks of the 50's was that of the U.S. as a nation of freedom and democracy. It has become demphasized in the textbooks of the 80's. This change reflects changes in American foreign policy since the late 50's, and changes in the political and economic environment in Japan between 1950 and 1980.

However this demphasizing of teaching democracy does not mean that Japan has become democratized enough to require no education in democracy to train future citizens for democracy, even though Japanese society is more democratic than pre-war Japan. The reason for this change is that the goals of the Japanese educational policies are now geared toward more economic growth than the social change.

In 1956, the Japan Federation of Employers Association, one of the strongest lobbying groups, criticized a new educational reform after the war, pointing out that the new reform paid very little attention to the technical education. (Aso and Amano 1983: 79) The policy planners of the government came to recognize the importance of investment in education in relation to economic policies. In 1960, the government's "national income-doubling program" stated that education was a main aspect of economic plans. One of the five principle goals of the program was the "enhancement of human abilities and the promotion of science and technology." (ibid: 81) In 1962, the Ministry of Education published the Education White Paper with the subtitle of "Japan's Growth and Education", and in 1964, with that of "Evolution of Education and Economic Development". (ibid: 81) These
documents show that the educational policies are planned in conjunction with the economic policies, and this direction has remained through until present. (ibid: 83 - 87)

In the 1980's, the textbooks no longer described America as the best model of democracy for Japan. Rather the U.S. is rather a partner which has "a close relationship under defense treaties in politics, economy, and culture." (Kawata et al., Kōmin: 224) A picture of the Summit conference in which President Regan sits next to Prime Minister Nakasone at the same table represents what Japanese want to see in the relationship between two countries.
CONCLUSION

The changes in the images of the U.S. and Japan in the textbooks in both countries are affected by (1) changes in economy and in the life style, (2) changes in educational and economic policies, both domestically and internationally, (3) changes in the perspectives used by social science academicians, (4) changes in social consciousness and in attitudes towards oneself and others, and thus to universal human rights.

In this section I would like to summarize and discuss the changes of images toward both countries and the causes of those changes.

1. In general most of the American textbooks from both the 60's and the 80's do not seriously distort the facts about Japan, although some mistakes are found in the textbooks from the 60's. The textbooks from the 80's are more accurate. This may be because the interest of Americans in Japan is deeper than previously due to the recent history of close relationship between the two countries, and increase in the number of Asian studies programs at major universities, and the increase of Japan specialists in America. Another fact is that in Japan there is much effort made by International Education Information Center$^1$ to check the descriptions about Japan in foreign textbooks, and advise the publishers of the textbooks of other countries to correct mistakes in their textbooks.

2. Images of Japan in the U.S. textbooks have changed with respect to the pre-modern period, the rise of Japan period, and the contemporary period. The common image of Japan in the textbooks of the 1960's and of the 1980's is Japan's isolation from the rest of the world. The difference in the image between the textbooks of the two eras is that in the view of the 1960's textbooks the isolation was entirely negative, but in the 1980's,

$^1$ Guikoku Kyokusho, Hyakka Jiten Shoureiyou no Sekai- America Gassyuoku - (The Achievements of Correction in Textbooks and Encyclopedia in Foreign Countries - The United States -), International Education Information Center, Tokyo, Japan, April, 1981.
textbooks considered some positive aspects of this period of Japan's self isolation. The isolation is now portrayed as allowing Japan to develop its own culture and sense of unity. The same perspective is found in the different images presented of the rise of Japan period. The image common to textbooks of both the 1960's and 1980's is Japan as a strong military power. But the textbooks of the 1980's conclude that the military power allowed Japan to escape from rule by Western powers.

This change was made possible by the maturity of the field of Japanese Studies and of American social scientists. Social scientists now look at foreign countries from a broader perspective such as a theory of development that is not a western centered perspective.

The common image of contemporary Japan is as a mixture of western culture and Japanese culture in the textbooks of both the 1960's and of the 1980's. Yet, the textbooks of the 1960's emphasized that Japan wanted to be like America, and that American society was a model for Japan. On the other hand, those of the 1980's stressed that Japan is like America and a close partner. The economic growth and its impact on changes in life style in Japan over the years made images in the textbooks different.

3. Japanese textbooks show more dramatic changes in the images of the U.S. and of American people. The United States is a model for Japan in every respect in the textbooks of the 1950's, but the U.S. becomes a close partner of Japan in those of the 1980's. These changes are made by shifts in the political economic policies after the war, Japan's recovery from the war, and its economic growth as second largest to the United States. Another reasons for the changes in the images of the textbooks are the American Civil rights movements and the U.S.'s loss of the Vietnam War.

The strong image of the U.S. as a democratic country used in the textbooks in the 50's disappeared in the 60's due to the educational reform corresponding to the high growth economic policy. Even if this image had remained in the Japanese textbooks, the Civil Rights movements would have changed it.
There is greater discussion about racism and cruel treatment of Native Americans by white Americans in the textbooks of the 80's. The American of the 50's textbooks was a white America. The image of America in the 80's textbook is multi-ethnic America. The Civil Rights movements and the U.S. involvement and loss in the Vietnam War opened the eyes of the Japanese toward what Americans are.

It is, however, doubtful that the Japanese government officials, who censor out domestic ethnic issues from the textbooks, have chosen to discuss American racial issues in the textbooks only because of their keen awareness of human rights. This may also reflect a new sense of self-confidence of Japan in its relationship toward white America. Furthermore fixing an image of the United States as a multi-ethnic society may help fix a self-image of Japan as a homogeneous society while neglecting Japan's own ethnic groups.

4. In comparing the U.S. textbooks and the Japanese textbooks of the same eras, 1950's - 60's and 1980's, the following was found.

Both the U.S. and Japanese textbooks in 1950 - 1960 have a tendency to use the same images of themselves, militaristic for Japan, and democratic for the U.S., to justify and reinforce their own political position that they pursued at that time.

Some of the American textbooks in the 60's had a tendency to use this explanation about Japan, in particular, Japan's loss of World War II to justify the war and to bolster patriotism for the United States. Reflecting on the postwar era, some of the American textbooks attempted to justify the use of the atomic bomb and, interestingly, to protect the Japanese Emperor's status.

Protection of the Emperor's status was a part of the Occupation policy of the U.S. government. They felt that only the Emperor, as a symbol, had the power to allow the Japanese people to remain unified and build a new society, and to prevent the Japanese from becoming Communists. (Moore 1982: 31, Frost 1982: 297-298) Thus, justification for the Emperor was made to Americans who logically thought that the Emperor was a fascist leader and should be prosecuted.
In contrast, the Japanese textbooks of the 50's regretted Japan's militarism and admired democracy. They also attempted to protect the image of Emperor and his royal family by replacing his image from "divine" into a new model of the democratic family man. This coincidence happened because the Japanese education system was supervised by the United States Occupation Army.

As discussed above both the textbooks in the U.S. and in Japan are used politically, to discuss the other country apart from the discussions of the rest of the world. An American geography textbook written by Paul Hannah gave a good examples of Japanese people and their lives from nonpolitical point of views. However, the descriptions about trade, industry, and agriculture in the textbooks in the 50's and 60's are limited by a one country perspective.

On the other hand, in textbooks from both the U.S. and Japan from the 1980's Agriculture, industry, and trade in both countries are explained in relationships to other countries from the perspective of dependency in a world system. The image of Japan as a growing economic power, and that of the United States as a declining economic power in a world economic system are shared images. It is also shown to students in both countries that circumstances of other countries do change.

This international perspective in the explanations in agriculture, industry, and trade has come from the changes in an international political system and changes in the intellectual paradigms which have occurred during the last two decades. The proclamation of the new international economic order by the third world countries required social science academicians to restructure their perspectives. The oil crises in 1975 made common people in both countries aware that their lives were connected with the world economic system. Social scientists were required to explain the rise of prices at a local supermarket from the perspective of international politics and economy. This change in perspectives in social science is reflected in the writing of the textbooks of the 80's.
5. The civil rights movement and the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War had a significant impact on the images of both countries. In the case of the U.S., textbooks portrayal of the U.S. involvement in Vietnam War raised interest in and necessity to learn more about Asia. Loss of the Vietnam war, and the Civil Rights movement may have reduced prejudice against Asian people, and reduced American's pride, making it able to learn from Asia. One of the images of the Japanese in the U.S. textbooks of the 80's is still that of imitators. However, the image of Japan has become more positive, because, in addition to changes in the political environment, Japan's economic growth has impressed the authors of the American textbooks.

6. While both textbooks in the U.S. and in Japan of the 80's have an international perspective on industry and trade, they have not developed a deep cross-cultural perspective on the cultural traits of each country. Both of them still have fixed stereotype images toward each other, such as materialistic and individualistic for American culture and Americans, and adaptive, and hardworking for Japanese culture and Japanese. These images are rather superficial and not anthropologically examined in order to understand each other's cultures.

Political and economic characteristics are easy to present by giving changes in the statistics. It is also relatively easy to explain one country's economy and politics as dependent upon a system of international economy and politics. As for the textbooks authors, many of the social science textbooks are specialists in political science and economic. This is reflected in the new perspectives and in the excellent descriptions of politics and economies of each other countries.

On the other hand, the images of social and cultural characteristics in the textbooks are stereotyped, and show very little of the progress made in the field of cultural anthropology. If various cultures are examined and explained in textbooks from a perspective of a world system of cultures, textbooks can be an excellent guides, leading students to mutual understanding.
Stereotype images are often used politically, as is in the textbooks of the 50's - 60's. They are also used to convey a message indirectly about oneself through telling about others. In this respect images of social and cultural characteristics represents the polity of a nation. Thus, images of other country indicates us not only those of others, but those of ourselves, that is, a legitimate social and culture values and knowledge of ourselves.
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Textbooks

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