

Chapter 3

The Process of Universalization in Primary Education: A Historical Comparison of England, Japan and Mexico

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Summary

This chapter covers the experiences of England, Japan and Mexico. The stage framework put forward in Chapter 2 is employed but in a modified manner. In England, the role of the social class struggle, as Marx and Engels' *the Manifest of the Communist Party* (Marx and Engels, 1959) noted, was important in the development of primary education as well. In the meantime, in Japan, the government was pushing forward with the tasks of modernization and basically took the initiative, but people's reactions were also essential. Despite this difference, the cases of these countries had common historical and social backgrounds and showed commonness in the processes of setting and achieving tasks. The motives for the completion of universalization were derived, on the one hand, from the demands of the society which asked for the welfare of children and, on the other, the interests of statism which were related to imperialism and militarism.

In Mexico, the federal government has been a promoter in the enterprise of primary education development. In the 1950s the expansion period began. The government actively constructed schools. In the 1970's, the expansion was accelerated with construction of new types of schools in the remote and isolated areas as well as the indigenous areas and the huge volume of schools in poor urban areas. In the 1990s, Mexico entered the completion stage of the universalization process, but quality problems remained in the form of a massive number of repeaters and were illustrated by the low ranks achieved by Mexican students in the international achievement tests. The developmental task model, founded upon the basis of Japan's experiences, can be named the "task-solution process articulated model". In contrast to this model, the author summarizes Mexico's experiences as the "task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered model".

Key words

primary education, historical comparison, England, Japan, Mexico

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Introduction

This chapter aims to analyze and compare the universalization processes of primary education in England, Japan and Mexico. The processes are divided into three periods: the initial system introduction period, the intermediate expansion period, and the final completion period. The intermediate expansion period begins with the establishment of a national standard primary education system and ends with the arrival to the limit of its expansion through ordinary educational policy measures based on the standard system. This chapter, considering the processes as task-performing ones, discusses the tasks to be accomplished and the agents who struggle to achieve the tasks in each period.

Section I deals with England's case. England was the first in the world to realize an industrial revolution. However, it continued employing a *laissez-faire* policy. Thus, construction of the public primary education system was delayed. However, its birth and expansion mean the necessity of a public primary education system in the development process of a modern society or a capitalist society. The primary education diffusion was characterized by a locomotive role of the laborers' movements in it.

In Section II Japan's case is discussed. Japan began its process of modernization later than European countries. The primary education system was given importance as one of the pillars in modernization policies. The government's policies were well planned, in comparison to England's, and they worked actually as an important factor in attaining the rapid growth of primary education. However, this does not mean everything went as the government planned. By demanding for education and responding to the government's measures, the families and society took an important role in the universalization process.

In Section III, common characteristics of the development in England and Japan are described. Mexico's primary education diffusion process is then analyzed referring to the common characteristics found in England and Japan.

Section 1 The Case of England

1. Before the Construction of the Public Elementary Education System

In England, demand for education for the low class had increased since the industrial revolution that began in the last half of the 18th century. Basic instruction in the 3R's (reading, writing and arithmetic) and service providing a kind of a nursery school where a working mother could leave her children were demanded by the people of the lower class. One of the facilities which responded to such demands was dame schools. A dame school was managed by a dame who acted as a teacher for children between the ages of four to fifteen years in her own house or at her workplace. It required a little fee but was popular among the lower class families. It offered at best a minimum of literacy instruction but usually served rather as a nursery school than a knowledge giving school.

Weekday schools and Sunday schools run by religious sects also worked voluntarily for children of the lower class. They were mainly financed through donations by the middle and upper classes. These classes had the objective of educating children of the lower class basically by the Christian catechism, to obey the public order, not sink into crime, violence or drink, and not cause social problems. They believed that such problems derived from the lack of cultivation of morals in the children of the lower class. The weekday schools reflected more practical demands from the lower class families than the Sunday schools because the latter also collected fees from them. The weekday schools spent more time in 3R instruction than the Sunday schools where religious and moral education occupied a more important place.

2. The Establishment of the Public Elementary Education System – Approval of the Elementary Education Act

Education offered by these schools run by religious sects and small schools by private organizations was very different from the three principles of modern education: namely that they be “compulsory”, “fee-free”, and “secular”. A big leap was needed for a modern school system to be born. It required a strong motivation and an ideology that were expressed in a long-term vision regarding the economy and politics in the

international environment. In England, the government, representatives of the ruling classes (the government and parliament members) on the one hand and labor class movements and socialists on the other were those who expressed such motivation. The Elementary Education Act of 1870, which marked the first step of the construction of the popular public elementary education system, resulted from the struggle and compromise of these political forces.

Around 1879, the necessity of new policies for education was strongly felt by the ruling classes. Capitalist development after the industrial revolution and the social changes caused by it created further demands for popular education. The religious sects and the small private organizations could not meet them quantitatively. Insufficiency of schools, especially in urban areas, was clear. In addition to the concentration of the population, the number of children wasting time without anything to do would increase if there were not schools enough to absorb them, because the demand for child labor had been reduced by this period due to the introduction and spread of power loom machines (Saeki 1974, p.177).

The contents of instruction also needed to be changed. Competition among capitalist countries made politicians aware of the necessity of educated workers with basic scientific knowledge.

However, it was the labor movements and their leaders that exerted actual pressure upon the government to construct and expand the public education system by having a showdown with the religious forces which had established power in educational matters. They demanded in various opportunities for fee-free, compulsory and secular education. Such radical movements as typically shown in the formation of the International in 1864 were changing British politics. The Reform (Universal Suffrage) Act in 1867 would clearly represent this change. It forced the ruling classes to understand the necessity to alternate measures to retain political power for ruling: raising compliance in the low class by obtaining consensus rather than coercing obedience. The long time enemy to public education did a complete turnaround once the Reform Act was approved. They expected systematic education could achieve an effective role in political and social control¹.

¹ Robert Lowe's, the Vice President of the Education Board of Privy Council, address: "We must educate our masters" is often cited as in Horio (1971, p.72).

The Elementary Education Act in 1870 was born from that big change in the ruling classes' attitudes in response to the rising demands of labor movements. It stipulated creation of school boards in the districts where schools were lacking, selection of board members through election by inhabitants, collection of local tax by the board, and creation and management of board schools. It also prescribed secularization of the curricula, the possibility of fee collection, exemption, the foundation of fee free schools, and the possibility of compulsory enrolment. There had been subsidies for the schools run by religious sects since 1833. However, it was a big leap that public subjects such as local entities (school boards) appeared as the subjects to offer educational opportunities. The board schools basically depended upon tax and the school boards had authority to collect the tax. It meant a radical change from charity education given by the religious sects and their related groups. It materialized the demand and argument for the right to education that was argued by the labor movements. The existence of and wide spread of the board schools were necessary and indispensable for them.

The proclamation of the law, i.e. the consensus at the national level did not mean a disappearance of the elements resisting it. First, the middle class disliked the local tax increase for the new system of education for the low class. Second, the religious groups and private organizations did not want competition and objected to the establishment of public schools near them. They were also afraid of a reduction in the donations received from the middle class inhabitants in the parish. They continued to request subsidies from the state.

The Act was said to be a product of compromise because it formulated a new public school system on the one hand but permitted the religious groups to continue to run the existing schools on the other. New public schools were founded only where schools were in short. Religious groups could get subsidies on the condition that they gave religious classes according to the specified timetable. Thus, an important regulation was put upon the private schools in their curricula.

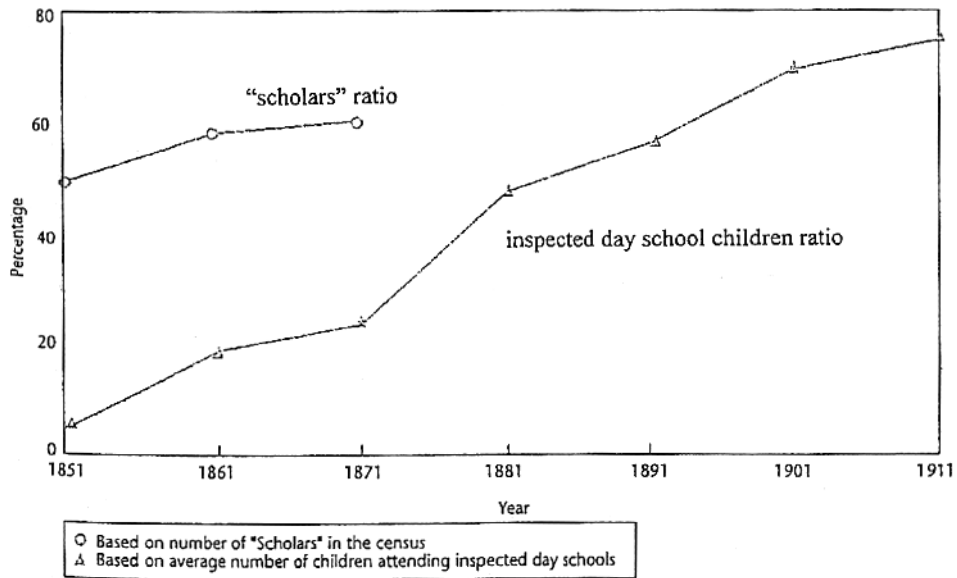
Sandon's Education Act in 1876 stipulated compulsory enrolment and Mundella's Education Act in 1880 further strengthened the compulsion. Local authorities made

serious endeavors to increase enrolment (Simon 1965, p.113). Increasing number of the school boards were set up supported by the movements and thus the new system created by the 1870 law rapidly grew. The basic direction for the elementary education system was thus confirmed. During the few years after 1870 the number of school boards formed was limited, and the number of children enrolled in school was less than 10,000. However, it arrived at the level of one million by 1883 and continued to expand afterwards, although the compromise made in the 1870 Act maintained the prevalence of religious sect schools. The latter was the majority even in 1896.

The growth of the new system would principally take on the form of school type change. Those children who had been attending simple schools that held class only weekends or that had only meager instruction were now going to weekday schools that offered systematic and long-term courses. The substitution processes can be explained in the following manner. Figure 1 shows the enrolment ratios of the children from 5 to 14 years of age registered in the weekday schools (inclusive of those of religious sects). The “Scholars” rates, calculated from census data, are supposed to include enrolment in all type schools. Therefore, the difference between the “Scholars” ratio and the “inspected day school children” ratio would correspond to those children in simple and not systematic type schools. The growth of the first index in 1860s was slow and less than the second index. These facts show that the enrolment increase in this decade was caused by the increase of “inspected day school children”. When we assume the same trend of a slow growth for “Scholars” rate in the next decade, and combine this assumption with the fact of the rapid growth of “inspected day school children” ratio shown in the figure, we can conclude that many children in simple and not systematic schools changed to the inspected day school in 1970s. The rapid growth of the new formal school system could be attributed to the successful canalization of the existing demands towards it².

² The changes were caused by interaction of the supply side and the demand side: foundation of new schools in which not only board schools but also religious sect schools participated in a competitive manner and increase of schools with lower fees as well as a change of values among people who recognized the necessity of a new type of education.

Figure 1 Children in school in England and Wales as a percentage of all Children ages 5-14, 1851-1911



Note: Average attendance was calculated by dividing the total number of attendances recorded by the number of times the school was in session.

Source: Cunningham 1996, Figure 2, p.45.

Original source: Calculated from the 1871 Census of England and Wales, and from Mitchell and Jones, 1971, pp.212-13

3. Expansion of the Public Elementary Education System

(1) Abolishment of the Collection of Fees

When it became compulsory and required only a payable amount of costs to send children to school, it would not have been very difficult for those families who were already able to afford some educational opportunities for their children to accept it and send them to weekday schools. Actually, the growth of the day school children ratios (perhaps the expression of the school type substitution discussed above) still continued in the 1880s as shown in the figure. However, the speed decreased in this decade compared to the previous decade. In addition, the weekday school enrolment ratio in 1891 did not exceed the “Scholars” ratio in 1871. These would mean that the reservoir for further development of the new system was becoming exhausted, and, at the same time, there was no emerging new sector that could support it.

It was the abolishment of fee collection that broke this stagnation, bringing new herds of students to the elementary schools. The labor movements insisted on free education from the beginning because they knew it would be impossible for every child to attend school if there was fee collection. A socialist in that period argued, “at least 26% of the children on the school register are always absent from school,” and it is “mainly attributable to the imposition of fees” (Simon 1965, p.127). Labor unions and socialists made the abolishment of fee collection a priority in the political agenda. In the London School Board election, the Central Democratic Committee, which was constituted by Fabian Society, Social Democratic Federation, and others, was present with the flag of fee-free education. General meetings of the labor unions demanded the enactment of a law for free education.

The Free Education Act in 1891 was approved under these movements. It gave authority to the school boards to accept children without charge in their schools. It also stipulated that the government could ask local authorities to offer a sufficient supply of free schools. The religious sect schools and private schools objected to the fee abolishment in the board schools because it would bring them disadvantages in the competition. The government prepared a subsidy of 3 pence per child, including children in these religious and private schools.

The approval of the law did not immediately create free education. The movements for free education continued at the local level. Even three years later, fees were recorded to have been collected from 800, 000 children.

The measures of fee abolishment and the subsidy from the National Treasury were of importance in contributing to homogenization and maintenance of the public school quality. The 1870 law had regulated only the maximum amount of the fees. Thus, the public schools had collected various fees, reflecting variety among the localities' socio-economic levels. Families of skilled labors tended to send their children to schools with higher fees. This led to the development of schools with varying quality even among board schools, reflecting a variety of socio-economic situations within the low class (Hara 1982). Therefore, the abolishment of fees not only made it possible for children from low income families to go to school but also functioned to even out the difference in quality generated by the disparity among fees. The subsidy also contributed, even if the direct motive was political so as to acquire consensus at the local level and from religious and private school related people, to the maintenance of quality.

(2)Abolishment of the “Payment by Results” System

Another moment which gave impetus to the expansion in this period was the abolishment of the “payment by results” system, although it seemed indirect and not an economic factor. This system, deciding the amount of the subsidy to schools by the performances of the pupils in the national examinations, had been founded in order to suppress the expanding educational budget (Saeki 1974, p.252). However, it had not worked well in that purpose but rather strongly controlled the school activities in irrelevant manners, sometimes causing pedagogical problems by promoting only higher grades in the examinations and better salaries for teachers. They had sometimes even encouraged children to resort to cheating in the examination. Classes of rote memorization had been prevalent.

Not only in Britain but also generally in Europe, it is known that, rigid and suppressive methods had been predominant in class rooms when the mass public education system was founded but that they had gradually changed to methods which were developed through pedagogical ideas. In dealing with a mass of children in the system or in the

class rooms, rigid control of children by teachers, using authoritarian methods, had appeared necessary and logical. However, it was learned through experience that autonomy of educational activities based upon pedagogical values was necessary for efficient and satisfactory functioning of the compulsory system which targeted all children. The “payment by results” system appeared to promote rigid and suppressive instructive methods. Its abolishment was in the streams of modifying such authoritarian teachers’ attitudes in class. It could be considered that the new measure was not only good news for teachers but also a necessary step for the compulsory system to absorb children from wider social strata.

(3) Approval of Balfour Law – Development of the Public System and the Limitation Placed by Ruling Classes

The Balfour Law was approved in 1902 at the end of the expansion period. The development of the board schools did not stop with quantitative growth but also began to show a tendency towards the foundation of higher elementary schools and their development within the popular public educational system. This situation was threatening the subsidized and fee-collecting grammar schools and the commercial schools managed by religious organizations (Simon 1965, p.180). For the middle class, it was also threatening its monopoly on enjoyment of secondary education. It would provide this privilege to the low class, meaning they would have to pay more in taxes. Thus, the motion began to harness the development of popular education. There had existed a prelude: a law suite had taken place against the school boards that had created higher elementary courses. The offenders had argued that financing higher elementary course activities from the public school budget was illegal because the budget was to be attributed only to the basic level educational activities. They had won.

The Balfour Law in 1902, reflecting the intention of the ruling classes (with the middle class’ will in the center), put rigid conditions on founding educational institutions at the secondary level. It removed most of the higher elementary schools, which had been developing, from the secondary education category. The popular education system for the low class was left with a limited conjuncture to secondary education only through a certain amount of scholarships. The problem would not be solved until 1944.

In the meantime the Act prescribed subsidizing the existing secondary educational

system for the middle class. The law passed and strong objection by the labor movements. It represented a reaction by the middle class against the development of the popular public education system that had rapidly grown.

However, the Act may be also evaluated as establishing and improving the popular elementary education system by formally institutionalizing higher elementary schools within it. Although this meant a development of the elementary education system differentiated by social classes and ran the risk of quality problems, it can be considered that this arrangement promoted its later quantitative development. First, it made cheaper the per pupil cost in the higher elementary schools than that in the secondary schools. Second, no conjunction to the secondary education allowed flexibility in the treatment of the criteria for children's promotion to/within the higher elementary schools. That is, it contributed to allow the public system to absorb more children from the low class and prepared for the prolongation of the duration of the compulsory education in the future.

4. Completion of Universalization – Social and State Interests in the Poor

In the final stage of the universalization of primary education, there were children from poor families who could not be absorbed through educational policies such as the abolishment of fee collection, the adoption of more children-oriented methods in class or the flexible treatment of promotion to the next grade. In Britain awareness of the problem and its solution were put in the historical context that was characterized by the economic recession since the end of the 19th century, imperialistic invasion, the Boer War, and support of imperialism by some socialists.

Since the mid 1880s there had been movements which practiced lunch service for poor children and asked, with humanitarian or socialistic motives, for institutionalization of subsidies for it from the National Treasury. The Social Democratic Federation, among many others, had conducted lunch service activities. It had been pointed out that some hundred thousands of children in 1894 and 500,000 in 1899 had come to school hungry (Simon 1965, p.134). Public opinion called for attention to the state of school children in hunger in the poor districts. In the meantime, the ruling classes came to give meanings to elementary education from statism and strengthened their intention to educate children as subjects for the Empire. The situation of the poor children was

also deplorable for them³. The Education (Provision of Meals) Act in 1914 was approved in such circumstances. It did not stipulate a subsidy but allowed local authorities to provide poor children with school meals. Thus, movements at the local level were necessary for its realization. In the next year medical examinations were added to the meal program. These were results from the humanitarian movements and statist motives as well. The health conditions of children and youth were so deteriorated that a third of new soldiers were in inadequate health for military service, and the conscription inspectors had to remove 60% of the examinees from the military service (Simon 1965, p.278)⁴.

The degree to which such measures as school lunch and school health examinations helped to sustain and improve school enrolment is not known. Probably the direct contribution of such measures was little if the seriousness of the problem is considered. However, it should be noted that children's welfare was focused upon by the society. In the center of this interest there were children of the poor sector who had been the victims of social problems. The movement and formation of institutional settings served to form a wider social consensus that schools were places to give welfare to all children. Such consensus also served to promote the universalization of elementary education.

According to Figure 1, the enrolment ratio of the population from 5 to 14 years of age in 1911 was a little more than 70%. This does not give us specific information on the enrolment ratios and the completion ratios at the basic school level. However, the data on labor participation rates indicate that 5% of males and 3% of females in the population of 12 years of age were working in 1911 (Cunningham 1996, pp.43-44). If not being enrolled was mainly due to child labor during this period, it can be estimated, based upon these figures, that about 95% of 12-year olds were in schools.

In 1918 the Fisher Act was approved. It stipulated extension of the duration of compulsory education to 14 years of age, abolishment of fee collection including at

³ Lord Rosebery, leader of the Liberal Imperialists, said, "In the rookeries and slums which still survive, an imperial race cannot be reared (Simon 1965, p.169)". Emphasizing that imperialism was derived from the necessity for mitigation of the class conflict, C. Rhodes, a typical British imperialist, said in 1895, "If you do not want a civil war, you must become an imperialist (Horio 1971, p.76)."

⁴ In the words of B.A.N. Lowndes: "The Boer War was probably the turning point...(Simon 1965, p.137)." Also see Gunderson (No date).

higher elementary schools. It also abolished the long lived half-timer system, a legal child labor system, which had allowed children to work and study for a half a day each. Labor movements had had higher targets than they achieved this time. It was too little and too late for their targets. However, the popular education advanced a step further. The previous year (1917) had witnessed the Soviet Revolution, which led to a formation of the socialist government in Russia.

With the approval of the Fisher Act, it can be considered that universalization of the basic level elementary education was almost complete, although the task of connecting the popular primary education system to the secondary education system remained unsolved, an important task from the viewpoint of authentic modern nation-state building.

Section 2 The Case of Japan

1. Before the Introduction of the Public Education System

In Japan, the Meiji Restoration in 1868 created a powerful government under the Emperor Regime. Before it, there were demands for instruction of 3R's among leaders and common people in urban and rural areas. They were met in simple and small-scale educational organizations such as Terako-ya (temple schools), Kajuku and Shijuku (private short course schools). They collected fees but were spread widely throughout the country, sustained by peoples' recognition of utility and interest in education⁵. There were no head religious groups that organized them in order to retain educational authority. There had not been strong traditional groups that claimed their dominance over the mental and spiritual world of all people as there were in Britain. Therefore, education given there was not based on charity or done for the purpose of pushing moral-instruction but rather was pragmatic or cultural value oriented. It was directly connected to the recognition of utility by the education demanders or conveyed cultural values, knowledge and skills the society shared. 3R education was useful for children

⁵ Dore argued that 40% of males were learning in such educational institutions. Nakamura (1992) pointed out the figure was too high (pp.6-7).

of merchants and community leaders in succeeding in the parent's occupation. It also met the demands, necessity and interests of people for cultural knowledge and communication skills such as writing and reading letters in daily life.

2. Establishment of the Primary Educational System

(1) Promulgation of *Gakusei* (The Education Ordinance) and People's Reactions

In 1872, five years after the Meiji Restoration, the government promulgated *Gakusei* (The Education Ordinance). It was a declaration of a plan for a modern educational system where primary level education was included. As for this level, it took for granted the enrolment of all children, modern curriculum and conjunction to secondary level education. The power and authority of the government that headed for modernization of the country were absolute. According to the government's order, schools began to be constructed in communities under the charge of inhabitants.

The difference in the cost between the existing educational practices and the new education system was large. The new education system also required much of the children's time and meant a heavy burden for the children and their families. People also considered the contents instructed in the new system as lacking practicability. Furthermore, the new state system, which also established a conscription system and intended direct and overall control over the entire nation, stimulated local people's anxiety. In this situation, massive attacks by local people against schools and teachers began in some prefectures. However, the government immediately suppressed them. Sudden and violent as they were, the riots did not have political or organized backgrounds (Mori 1993).

In terms of finance, school cost was basically covered by local taxes and fees from students' families, and the amount of subsidies from the government was very small until 1918. Current cost in the conventional educational practices had basically been paid by fees collected from children's families. In the modern school system, however, the expenditures from local entities became the principal element. Educational expenditures occupied for a long time about 30 to 40% of the total budgets for towns and villages and about 20% for cities (Hirahara 1970, p.103). As modern education made a jump in cost over the conventional one, it was, as a matter of fact, economically

unfeasible without local cooperation. It was not easy even for the strong government to spread primary education when both families and localities did not necessarily have enough resources to support it. The government, when forcing people to accept primary education, looked for the best combination of school fees and local taxes which would cause the least resistance on the part of local people, depending upon political and economic conditions in each time⁶.

The basic direction towards modernization, which was shown in *Gakusei* was unchanged, but the government groped for a concrete form of public educational system to absorb more children into. A modification was attempted in 1879 to give flexibility to the system, with permitting the conventional type of education to revive. However, as it caused a setback for the public schools, the government decided to go back to the previous rigid system. These processes show, on the one hand, the existence of strong demands for conventional education from the people and the existing small educational organizations and, on the other, trials and errors by the government to push forward a modern type of education.

(2) Elementary School Order – Establishment of *Jinjo* (Ordinary) Primary School

The Elementary School Order was promulgated in 1886 in the course of the rapid modern state construction of the country after the Restoration. This law rigidly stipulated the compulsion of primary education, which had been so far mentioned as expected but not as a legal obligation. The law constituted, along with the laws of secondary education, higher and normal education, which were issued in the same year, the institutional base of the modern educational system. By this time people had come to accept the modern education system instead of the conventional one. For example, the Chichibu Poor Peasant Party Incident, which happened in 1884 in objection to the heavy tax levied by the government, did not reject to modern education itself but only requested to put it off by one year. By 1886 the enrolment ratio was about 50% (Table 1) and almost all the enrolled students were found in the *Jinjo* primary schools. The government succeeded in canalizing the existing educational demands into the new public educational system.

⁶ For example, the Elementary School Order in 1886, which I will discuss later, counted, more than before, upon school fees because an emergent measure was needed to reduce the drastically increasing financial burden of towns and villages.

Table1 Enrolment Ratios, Wastage Ratios and Main Incidences (Japan)

(%)

School Year	Enrolment Ratios	Wastage Ratios *	Main Incidences
Primary Education System Establishing Period			
1872			"The Education Ordinance"
1873	28.1		
1874	32.3		
1875	35.4		
1876	38.3		
1877	39.9		
1878	41.3		
1879	41.2		
1880	41.1		
1881	43.0		
1882	48.5		
1883	51.0		
1884	50.8		
1885	49.6		
1886	46.3		"Elementary School Order"
Primary Education System Expansion Period			
1887	45.0		
1888	47.4		
1889	48.2		
1890	48.9		
1891	50.3		
1892	55.1		
1893	58.7		
1894	61.7		The Sino-Japanese War
1895	61.2		
1896	64.2		
1897	66.7		
1898	68.9	39.1	
1899	72.8	36.3	
1900	81.5	24.2	Amendment of "Elementary School Order": abolishment of fee, autopromot
1901	88.0	15.6	
1902	91.6	20.1	
1903	93.2	20.9	
1904	94.4	22.9	The Russo-Japanese War
1905	95.6	19.2	
1906	96.6	13.7	
1907	97.4	13.8 * *	Extension of compulsory education from 4 to 6
1908	97.8		
1909	98.1		

School Year	Enrolment Ratios	Wastage Ratios *	Main Incidences
Primary Education System Completion Period			
1910	98.1	31.4	
1911	98.2	28.1	
1912	98.4	25.5	
1913	98.2	25.8	
1914	98.3	23.3	World War I
1915	98.5	21.4	
1916	98.6	21.1	
1917	98.7	19.6	
1918	98.9	19.7	
1919	98.9	18.2	
1920	99.0	16.8	
1921	99.2	15.0	
1922	99.3	14.2	
1923	99.4	13.5	"Factory Worker's Minimum Age Law"
1924	99.4	11.9	Stimuli for Enrolment from the Emperor Prince Fund
1925	99.4	10.3	
1926	99.4	9.8	
1927	99.5	8.5	
1928	99.4	8.1	
1929	99.5	7.5	
1930	99.5	7.0	
1931	99.5	6.2	
1932	99.6	5.8	
1933	99.6	5.4	"Temporary Facilities for School Lunch Law"
1934	99.6	5.1	
1935	99.6	5.0	
1936	99.6	5.0	
1937	99.6	4.7	
1938	99.6	4.7	
1939	99.6	4.2	
1940	99.6	4.0	

* Graduates/Intakes × 100%, corresponding to the graduating year.

* * The duration was 4 years till 1907 graduates and 6 years after 1910 graduates.

Sources: Ministry of Education (1972), pp214–215, Amano (1997), pp49,59,73,89.

The Elementary School Order also stipulated about *Kan'i* (simple) primary schools that were for the poor, although the *Jinjo* schools were considered as main stream ones. The latter collected school fees but the former did not. The stipulation on the two types of schools indicates the government did not have a clear intention to make the *Jinjo* primary schools as the only standard for the whole nation, at least in the beginning. However, almost all of those newly founded were *Jinjo* schools. For local entities foundation of *Kan'i* schools required them to finance them completely by themselves because they were not allowed to collect fees from children in this type of school. They also did not want to lose in the competition with neighbor communities to have the higher ranked type of school. Further, the majority of families preferred *Jinjo* schools to *Kan'i* schools. The main demanders of educational services in this period were not the poor. They were oriented to “regular” education rather than the “simple” kind, even if the former was not free. Therefore, the choice of *Jinjo* schools by the local entities was rational from the viewpoint of demander preference.

Thus, the fact that *Jinjo* primary schools occupied an overwhelmingly large place in the public primary schools was a decisive factor for them to become a national and homogeneous standard institution substantially. Thereafter, they would further diffuse into the nation, regardless of social classes or whether the areas were urban or rural.

3. Expansion of the Primary Education System

(1) Wide Diffusion of *Jinjo* Primary Schools

The primary educational system in the country-modernizing project was consolidated with foundations of *Jinjo* primary schools throughout the country. The curricula were constituted with basically scientific modern knowledge although nationalism and Emperor worship in school was strengthened in the 1880's, and the nationalistic "Words of the Emperor" was promulgated in 1891 as the most important ethical pillar to be taught in schools. In the meantime, the primary educational system had a conjuncture to secondary level educational system. This served to make people feel that they were potentially connected to the whole country giving them wider educational opportunities. Therefore, the function of the primary education to form people as the modernized nation would reach perfection when all children of the country were going to *Jinjo* schools.

During the decade after the promulgation of the Elementary School Order, a rapid increase in the enrolment ratio was shown, though there were not special measures taken by the government. It reached about 80% at the end of the century. This was because first, the Elementary School Order in 1886 prepared for the later development of the system and second, the capitalist development, which pushed the educational development, began to show its quickening in this period.

The permeation of the consciousness of the obligation, which was stipulated by the Act, into society became easier by the actual recognition, by society, of *Jinjo* schools as the national standard. The situation in which half of the country's children of school age were going to school promoted the consciousness of their obligation for the remaining families and helped the government to press them to send children to school. At the same time, the victory in the Sino-Japanese War in 1894 marked the first step of the imperialist development of the Japanese economy. People's income increased. Interests in education in the society and the state were newly aroused by the rise of nationalism.

(2) The Amended Elementary School Order and Its Three Important Measures

A new initiative by the government for the universalization of primary education was shown by the amendment of the Elementary School Order in 1900. It involved three notable reforms which showed the government's keen intention to enroll all children in *Jinjo* schools: First, prohibition in principle for *Jinjo* schools, which were founded and run by local entities, to collect fees; Second, the actual adoption of an auto-promotion system. In achievement of the task of universalizing primary education, it was necessary to remove also the "educational" wall in addition to the economic one. The formal system of the promotion examination in that period was impeding the lower social classes' children from keeping their motivation to continue to learn in school; Third, strengthening the compulsive measures.

a. The Abolishment of the Collection of Fees

This was an indispensable measure in the universalization of the *Jinjo* primary schools. The existence of fees was discouraging a number of families from sending their children

to school and keeping them there. There were many families which had more than three or four children in this period. They felt the compulsory enrolment was too heavy a burden or simply could not accept it for economic reasons. Without abolishment of fees, the *Jinjo* schools for the moment would not have been able to absorb children from the economically disadvantaged classes, and the speed of the diffusion of *Jinjo* schools as truly national schools for all children would have been much slower.

Actually, in Tokyo, the country's capital, an apprehension that *Jinjo* schools became an institution characterized by preference for the middle class was emerging. The economic barrier of *Jinjo* schools there had been so high that the schools had been occupied mainly by families of the rich and those which were educationally highly motivated and willing to pay for their children. The political forces constituted by these economically advantageous sectors resisted the government's policy of abolishing fees.

Immediately after the Restoration, in urban areas, small-scale educational organizations had continued working as private schools, with little change in their activities. Many people had gone on to such schools. In the meantime, the public schools newly founded had had European curricula and instruction styles and had materialized the image of the modern education the government envisioned. The public schools had absorbed children from the relatively rich or local leaders' families and former warrior class families which had retained special interests in education. In Japan, "modernization" had become an absolute mandate, but the upper classes did not have traditional educational institutions adequate to adapt for that purpose. This had led the newly founded public schools to being preserved as educational institutions for children from the upper classes and educating them for roles as future leaders. This kind of phenomenon is produced when the modernization is carried out by introducing such systems from outside, not as products of the country's spontaneous development.

A similar tendency had also been shown in other urban areas, but private schools had disappeared in earlier periods there. However, in Tokyo, private schools had survived and had been newly created. This is because the economic development there had generated increases in the lower class population and their demands for cheaper education: this condition along with the large population and high population density in

Tokyo had given room for cheaper private schools to grow. Meanwhile, the economic growth had established the rich public schools for families of former warriors, local leaders and rich people who had been augmenting their demands for education quality: the schools had been able to count on the relatively plentiful income from the fees, the level of which had been much higher than that of private schools, in addition to high financial potential from the high level local tax revenue their localities had. Some of them had come to have even school properties such as real estates or an enterprise which generated profits (Hijikata 2002, pp.72-86). The reasons for the higher fees would have been as follows: the better quality public schools actually had needed more financial support for their foundations and managements than the badly equipped private schools; there had been needs for measures to reduce dissatisfaction in private schools that had been threatened by competition with the public schools; and those families which had wanted to enroll their children in the public schools had high payment ability. At any rate, it had resulted in many *Jinjo* schools shutting out ordinary people.

In Tokyo, the prohibition of fees by the Act in 1900 meant deterrence of the tendency toward school differentiation according to social class: the public schools for the middle and the private schools for the lower class. Those economically advantaged, who could pay the higher fee, thought it was rather convenient to stop children from ordinary families from enrolling in “their” schools, considering that it could cause deterioration of the quality of education there. They strongly resisted the government’s measures. The Tokyo government was also unwilling to obey the national government’s policy because it would lead to loss of income from fees. However, the national government carried through the order, although it permitted schools to collect a lower fee temporarily⁷ (Hijikata 2002, pp.112-137).

Thus, *Jinjo* (ordinary) primary schools changed into more popular ones as their name implies. Students transferred massively from private schools to the public schools. The number of the former decreased rapidly. At the primary education level, the public schools came to absorb almost all children in the same school districts irrespective of family origins, although differences, among districts, of quality and

⁷ Obviously, the financial burden increase was large not only for Tokyo but also for all other local entities. To alleviate it, in the same year, the subsidy for teacher salaries began, although the amount was rather nominal.

distinctive characteristics of students, teachers, and school environments remained. There survived a small number of private schools but generally they were not elitist ones.

The popularization of *Jinjo* primary schools through abolishment of the fee system in Tokyo had important meanings. It enabled a majority of people to enroll their children in those schools. However, the poor often lacked access to schools, even still. The schools continued to collect the fees, though in reduced amount, and generally other costs were still required to study there. Furthermore, those district authorities which had a large number of poor residents in their administrative zones often did not have the financial ability to found schools. In 1901, these circumstances led Tokyo City to directly found and manage “special *Jinjo* primary schools” in some such poor districts. They were no fees collected, and textbook and school supplies were given or lent out in these schools. Some of them employed a two-shift system. Others worked out plans in order to adapt to the actual conditions of children of working or poor families children in their corresponding districts. Eleven schools were founded during the next 25 years, with an annual total of seven to nine thousand students (Ishii 1992, pp.89-92). These figures represented about 5% of the students enrolled in Tokyo.

b. Employment of the Auto-promotion System

The second important reform by the Act in 1900 was adoption of the auto-promotion system. In the period when *Jinjo* primary schools were founded, the wastage ratios (sum of the dropout ratios and the repetition ratios) were, it can be estimated, situated around 50%⁸. To improve this, the government had been making promotion criteria flexible. The measures in 1900 were the last to complete such endeavors.

The adoption of the auto-promotion system requires changes in the educational values and educational practices of teachers and schools. Furthermore, it also causes a reduction of their direct power in controlling children and their parents. Therefore, it was difficult for them to let go the power derived from the promotion examination system, especially when authority, which was needed for them in the educational process, was not substantially guaranteed institutionally or by any other manner. In

⁸ The estimation can be done by connecting the two lines, which are separated by the lack of data (Amano 1997, p.12, the graph 1).

this sense, the establishment of the educational system in 1886 through the previously mentioned educational acts, including Normal School Order, had important meanings. It not only made teachers loyal to the government's policies as subjects of the Emperor, but it also guaranteed teachers authority in respect to children and parents as agents of the Emperor Regime.

c. Strengthening of Compulsion

The third noticeable change was reinforcement of compulsory enrolment. Stricter requirements for exemption were applied. To be exempted reasons had to be clearly filled in: the physically or psychologically handicapped, mentally retarded and those with permanent injury, sickness or disability were given grace for less than one year; protectors in penury were also given grace through *mutatis mutandis* application of the provision; and the prohibition of hindrance against enrolment because of employment was stipulated (Ishii 1992, p.88). The compulsion measure would have efficiently functioned along with the two arrangements for enrolment promotion previously mentioned.

The impact of those measures -the prohibition of the fee collection, although it did not wipe out the fee collection and other form collection of school cost perfectly, the auto-promotion and the strengthening of compulsion- was large. The enrolment ratio continued to rise from the 80% level to over 95% in less than ten years⁹.

In 1907, the duration of compulsory education was extended from four to six years. However, the enrolment ratio did not decrease. It may appear that the diffusion of primary education proceeded monotonously or smoothly. However, a close look at the wastage rates shows more complicated conditions. Table 1 indicates the wastage ratio decreased by almost 10 percentage points perhaps by the 1900 auto-promotion measure. Meanwhile, another measure, in the same year, prohibiting collection of fees opened the enrolment opportunity to a wider sector of the society but at the same time it meant plausible absorption of those in social strata that were insufficiently motivated in their children's promotion in and graduation from school. This is perhaps reflected in the

⁹ Based upon the Ministry of Education's data. There are criticisms on its exactitude. However, the drastic growth of the enrolment ratio and the high level of its achievement are unarguable.

increase of the wastage ratio in 1902 and its later stagnation. After that, the ratio decreased to about 10% in 1907 but jumped again to around 30% in 1910 because of the move to the six year compulsory education system. Therefore, this large increase in the wastage ratio should be understood as an expression of the increased burden both for families and the government by the move to the six year system. It steadily decreased but remained at a substantial level: 10% until 1925 and 5% until 1936, in spite of the fact that the auto-promotion system was adopted.

(3) Maintenance of Quality of Education

Generally speaking, a policy of quantitative enlargement of educational opportunities may cause a deterioration of education quality and performance because of, first, financial problems, and, second, social class factors. The first financial aspect may be explained in the following manner. The abolishment of fees facilitates the enrolment of families that barely can afford to pay for school. However, the educational budget per student will decrease drastically if there are not adequate financial preparations to counter this situation. In Japan, however, the amount of the real education cost per student in the public primary education did not decrease during the expansion period. Taking as the base year 1890 or 1895, it improved one and half times or double, respectively, through the period. This real value calculation resulted from deflating teacher salaries by general price indexes. When teacher salaries are deflated by general salary indexes, on purpose to approach the quality of educational services, the fluctuation remains within about a ten percent level during the period between 1890 to 1925 (Ichikawa 1972, p.27-28). This was the result of the government's policies of teacher training, maintenance and improvement of their qualifications and salaries¹⁰.

¹⁰ Regarding the quality of education, the improvement of efficiency, brought about by the administrative area widening through abolition and integration of small localities in rural areas, was important. The Amendment of Local System Act in 1884 had created new villages as administrative basic units instead of existing small villages as daily life units through integration of the latter. This caused abolition and integration of small schools founded by former small villages, made it possible to maintain and manage schools with efficiency and, in turn, brought quality improvement. Cooperative foundation of schools among localities was also allowed. The Normal School Order in 1886 arranged the teacher training system and stipulated that the requisite for having the qualification for primary school teachers should be graduation from normal schools. Subsidies for teacher salaries, though small, began in 1900.

The following statistical data show some aspects of the quality of education in that period: the number of teachers with qualifications per class was 0.603 in 1903 and increased to

About the second social class aspect, quantitative expansion usually signifies further inclusion of children from socially lower strata in school. That is, children with less educational resources and with less of an educational background come to schools. This will lead to difficult conditions for schools in achieving the same performances as when only serving children from the upper social strata. However, if the whole society comes to have high educational consciousness, the consciousness of the low strata can also change for the better. Localities' and schools' effective enlightening publicity activities for universal diffusion of primary education and teachers' earnest educational activities in school promote that change. In Japan, this change seemed to proceed relatively smoothly by the previous mentioned financial support and policies corresponding to it. In addition to that, it should not be overlooked that the popularization of the public primary schools put forward by the government did not cause an exodus of the middle class' and local leaders' children from the public schools. *Jinjo* primary schools came to have egalitarian characteristics as mixing children from all social classes in their school districts to study together in the same class rooms although differences in the socio-economic level were still visible among school districts. The social class diversity would contribute not only to sustain quality education but also, by alleviating the hard barrier between social classes, promote social and intellectually multifarious stimuli in the public schools' educational activities. This would happen based upon the following factors: the Meiji period ideology of the equality of the former four social status people (warriors, peasants, artisans and merchants); strong government regulations to create private schools; and lack of good quality private traditional schools that could have succeeded in changing themselves into modern schools. Thus, a good spiral was constituted with maintaining quality education in *Jinjo* primary schools and the middle and upper class's preference or acceptance for those schools¹¹.

0.804 in 1916. Thereafter, it went down to 0.763 in 1920. The number of pupils per teacher was fluctuating from 44.4 to 49 during this period. The officially provided salary level was high compared with other jobs. The state and the society gave them high value and esteem and teachers' moral was also high. There were voluntary teacher groups for studying teaching methods. Primary schools with two-shift systems made up 5.8% in 1909 and 1910 and decreased to 4.1% in 1920 (Amano 1997, p.69).

¹¹ As mentioned before, the act in 1886 stipulated primary school types other than the *Jinjo* primary school. In the meanwhile, since before 1900 there had been opinions that *Jinjo* primary schools should be for the poor and private and public secondary preparatory schools for the middle and high classes (Hirahara 1970, p.94).

Through the dynamic processes as described above, *Jinjo* primary schools came to take on real characteristics as a unique national standard with certain qualitative homogeneity¹². This meant that their universalization process was entering the completion stage.

4. Completion of Universalization of Primary Education

(1) Mechanism of the Completion of Primary Education Universalization

The enrolment ratio in 1910 reached 98.1% but the wastage ratio was 31.4% (Table 1). In spite of this high level of wastage, it was not until the middle of 1920's that the government took special measures to reduce it. Actually, the government had not necessarily expected that children from the poor families would go to school as children from other social strata even when strengthening the compulsion of the enrolment in 1900. In the High Level Council for Agriculture, Industry and Commerce, which was set up in 1898 to consider a factory law, the government's officials and the entrepreneurs' representatives had also stated that "it's enough for the poor children to be able to eat stably" if they were given employment opportunities, and there was no need to consider those children as objects of the normal primary education (Hijikata 2002, pp.171-174). Although the Factory Law was not submitted to the Diet because of the change of the cabinet, this line of thinking was kept in the subsequent bill. The prolongation of the compulsory duration was intended to improve the quality of education, but the government had not necessarily attempted to include all children without exception. In 1905, the Ministry of Education "recognized the educational necessity" of the academic ability examination of the all youths when they reached the age for entering military service, and encouraged prefectures to implement it (Amano 1997, p.393). Educational quality, rather than the inclusion of all children into the educational system, had also become a matter of interest from the military viewpoint.

Through the 1910 incorporation of Korea and the experiences of World War I in 1914,

¹² The special *Jinjo* primary schools, previously mentioned, were changed into *Jinjo* primary schools. This was because the operation of the special *Jinjo* primary schools came across to the people as a kind of desegregation (Ishii 1992, Hijikata 2002). The special night schools, which will be mentioned later, were also changed into the *Jinjo* night schools that conferred on graduates the same credentials as the *Jinjo* primary schools. These show that the Japanese society came to consider the *Jinjo* primary schools as an almost unique standard in a firm manner.

which strengthened the ideologies of statism and militarism, the government came to put further emphasis on ideological aspects: “Kamikaze” and “the Exemplary Mother for the Military Nation” appeared in the government-designed textbooks; officers in active service were stationed in schools; and military style exercises for pupils were also promoted (Yamazumi 1987, p.124). However, no special policies for the poor families were undertaken by the government in order to involve them in school and help them to complete their obligatory six years of learning.

Meanwhile, since 1894 the breaking out of wars every ten years brought about a business cycle. In the recession periods the poor strata expanded or their poverty was intensified. Especially from last half of the 1920’s a chronic and aggravated recession continued, and education was about to be threatened by it.

Albeit these difficulties, the improvement of the primary completion rates was brought about by permeation of consciousness of the necessity and, further, the rise of rather active demands for “primary six years course completion” on the part of people, including the poor strata. The wastage ratio reduction during the two decades between 1910 and 1930 was notable: 16.5% for male and 34.0% for female in 1910 and 6.1% for male and 7.9% for female in 1930 (Amano 1997, p.49, p.89). Thus, the gender differences also decreased.

To understand the factors that caused the high consciousness of and strong demands for education, the two measures undertaken in the past could be taken notice: First, the adoption of the auto-promotion system in 1900; and second, the prolongation of the duration of compulsory education in 1907. These measures affected the children’s and families’ behaviors immediately but also influenced people’s normative consciousness over time. The auto-promotion system had caused not only easier promotions for enrolled children but also changes in normative values regarding enrolment. It had made the enrolment obligation more acceptable: suffice it only to stay in and attend at school four (six after 1904) years. Meanwhile, the prolongation of the duration was an important incident which awoke even in the poor strata consciousness about the special weight given to the compulsory education by the state and the society. These measures had contributed to constituting universal acceptance of the obligation to complete six years of primary education.

Needless to say, this does not imply that the universalization processes were simple ones. The development of modern industries such as the silk-reeling industry in this period offered attractive employment opportunities for many peasant families. This caused an increase in the number of poor peasant children leaving school. They went to work in factories without having finished primary education. For example, a minute case study of one village in Nagano prefecture shows that the increase in female dropout ratios between about 1910 and 1917 graduation years was outstanding. This was a reflection of the fact that the large majority of dropouts went to work in silk-reeling factories (Hijikata 1994, pp.141-172). In this period, the consciousness of the obligation of six years learning was not strong yet among people living in villages. If there were chances to improve the families' income, taking them, i.e. making children work, was not a special decision for the poor families. The decision did not bring with it a strong feeling of violating the norm that was absolutely to be obeyed or shamefully enforcing children to work because of their poverty.

However, after that period, almost all children in this village came to finish primary school including those who later went out to work, which led to a drastic decrease of dropouts. This suggests that a rapid formation of the consciousness of obligation of primary education completion took place. The direct causes of this change are unknown, but it would be permissible to say that the education diffusion processes in the villages themselves, which were brought about by the implementation of the government policies and their concomitant effects in the mental dimensions as mentioned above, constituted background to create the new norm for them. In the village society where the idea of equality among community members was strong, when consciousness of the obligation began to penetrate to the poor families, the six years of schooling, whose operation was basically financed, by the village, and graduation came to be seen as necessary conditions to be a "fully qualified member" of the community. Thus, the awareness of the obligation was strengthened¹³. All families, including the poor strata and their children, came to feel that it was shameful not to have the credentials of primary school. Thus, there was a strong demand for enrolment completion.

¹³ In the modernization process, the village came to have a direct and institutional relation with the wider society. A modern career pattern of getting a job after finishing primary school began to form (Hijikata 1994).

The completion of the universalization of primary education in Japan progressed with the spread of those demands and, at the same time, the strong consciousness of obligation, which was almost an obsession. Many poor families made immoderate efforts to send children to schools and make them get credentials.

(2) Penetration of the Awareness of Obligation and Child Labor

The penetration of the awareness of the obligation of primary education and the progress in its actual completion brought about a reduction of child labor in the poor families. As for males, this can be confirmed by empirical data. The employment ratios of the 10-14 year old population in 1897, in Yamanashi prefecture where the silk-reeling industry was prosperous, were 26.9% for males and 28.4% for females: when specifying as of 11 years of age, 10.8% for males, and 10.8% for females; and as of 12 years, 22.1% for males and 21.5% for females¹⁴.

About forty years later, in 1920, the employment ratios of the 10-14 year old population in the prefecture was 19.6% for males, which was about a five percentage-point reduction in comparison to the figure of four decades ago; and 28.8% for females without a substantial change. Unfortunately there are no data by each age (Saito 1995, pp.223-224).

¹⁴ The figures in 1894 show that the ages of 11 and 12 years constituted the transition age band to enter labor force. In this period the duration of primary compulsory education was still four years. Therefore, it can be seen as basically reflecting the customs from before the introduction of modern education.

The employment ratio of 10% in the 11-year old population was a reflection of how the low age child labor was not prevalent in Japan. That custom was limited to the lower classes even in rural areas (Saito 1997, P.226-229) provided that those classified as “assisting” were not included. Most of the peasants in rural areas were basically self-employed, and it was not conceivable that they had their children work outside the home for lower salary than the family marginal productivity which was principally attained from cultivating their own land. This prevented from emergence of extremely lowly paid child workers. In their households, there were a few who worked as intensively as adults. Also in urban slum areas, labor participation before the primary school graduation ages was the case with special reasons such as parent’s disease or death or parent’s unemployment or income reduction by recession, which made the family have no choice but to have their children work. A case study conducted in 1902 in an informal sector district, located in the Hanshin area, shows the following. Out of nine families which had both father and mother and children from 5 to 11 years of age, none had children of ages 5 to 9 who were working. Out of five families which had children of 10 to 11 years of age, two of them had working children, but these were families in which the fathers had succumbed to disease (Saito 1997, pp.230-231).

The data showed the probable reduction of the 11-year old male children's ratio of employment during the four decades and the probable stagnation for female children. That is, it can be estimated that, as for males, the idea of obligation resulted in the increase in the number graduating from primary school and the decrease of the number employed before completion of school. The estimated participation rates after 1922 for 11-year old males are shown in the bottom line of Table 2. On the other hand, it seemed that, at the moment of 1920, the idea of obligation did not yet affect females. Their completion of primary school was also delayed¹⁵.

Table2 Males not Enrolled in Primary School and Dropouts: Distribution by Reasons: Labor Participation Ratios among Them (Japan)

	1922	1923	1924	1925	1926	1927	1928	1929	1930
(Year of reaching school age)	(1917)	(1918)	(1919)	(1920)	(1921)	(1922)	(1923)	(1924)	(1925)
Sum of Not-enrolled Ratio and Dropout Ratio [a]	5.5	4.8	4.2	3.6	3.3	2.8	2.5	2.3	2.1
Not-enrolled Ratio	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4
Dropout Ratio	4.8	4.2	3.6	3.1	2.8	2.4	2.1	1.9	1.7
Not-enrolled and Dropouts: Distribution by Reasons									
Total of Not-enrolled and Dropouts Number (Person)	34,389	30,895	27,307	23,927	21,016	18,149	15,851	13,828	12,545
Total of Not-enrolled Ratio and Dropout Ratio	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Subtotal of Disease Ratios	11.6	12.3	12.8	15.1	15.5	17.1	18.7	20.7	22.9
Epilepsy·Anoia	3.1	3.4	3.5	4.4	4.7	5.7	6.4	7.2	7.7
Disabled	3.3	3.7	4.1	5.4	5.5	5.7	6.3	6.8	8.2
Invalidism·Atelia	5.2	5.2	5.2	5.3	5.3	5.7	6.0	6.7	7.0
Subtotal of Labor Participation Ratios [b]	78.7	78.1	77.8	75.6	75.8	74.8	72.6	69.2	67.0
Maladjustment to school due to low achievement or dis	4.2	4.0	3.8	4.0	3.6	3.4	4.5	4.8	4.9
Help of family business	45.3	36.9	36.6	35.2	34.3	34.4	31.8	31.4	30.6
Employed·Apprentice	26.7	34.2	34.2	33.2	33.2	33.2	33.2	30.4	29.7
Migrant worker·Worker on a ship	6.7	7.0	7.0	7.2	8.3	7.2	7.6	7.4	6.7
Others	5.6	5.6	5.5	5.3	5.1	4.7	5.2	5.3	5.3
11-Year Old Male Labor Participation Ratios ([a] × [b])	4.3	3.7	3.3	2.7	2.5	2.1	1.8	1.6	1.4

Source: Adapted from Amano 1997 p.76 table 4.

Thus, the number of working children decreased but there still remained those who did not have other options than working by economic necessity. The majority of such children emigrated from rural areas to urban areas and became factory workers or shop apprentices, living in factory dormitories or in the corners of shopkeepers' house rooms. However, there also existed strong demands for enrolment and completion of primary education. If they did not go to school, they had to deal with being stared at by others who looked down on them because they had not finished even primary education. They had to endure the inconvenience and the shame of not being able to read or write. It was not only in that period of time but also in the future occasion of the academic

¹⁵ In the middle of the 1920s, the female enrolment and completion ratios arrived at the same levels as the males. In the previously mentioned Nagano village case, the improvement of the female completion ratios was seen in the middle of the 1910s. It depended on the prefecture (Kiyokawa 1992).

examination, which all youths had to take before entering military service, that the shameful feelings of their illiteracy would shatter them. It was natural that they have a strong desire for going to school and finishing primary education even if it was in such a difficult environment as in the night schools.

In Tokyo, Special Night Schools were founded in 1906 for such children. These schools were changed into *Jinjo* Night Schools in 1916 when the Factory Law came into effect. They could confer on their graduates the same credentials as *Jinjo* primary school graduates. Those registered in 1915 were 4,866 students; five years later, it rose to 7,433 students. This would indicate their eagerness for having the credentials of a *Jinjo* primary school graduate¹⁶. After the Kanto Great Earthquake in 1923, the number enrolled drastically decreased to about 4,000 students, but the recession increased it again so that in 1937 it was at the level of 6,000 students. Under the strong social pressure and with keen demands for completion of primary education, the recession created in urban areas the phenomenon of immigrant working-studying children. It was rather the local entities as opposed to the national government that directly came in contact with their demands and was pressed for taking administrative measures to meet them.

Social concerns for those poor children who had difficulty in entering and staying in school had arisen from a viewpoint of children's welfare. Gennosuke Yokoyama, a journalist, had published *Low Class Society in Japan* in 1899. *Conditions of Workmen* had been published in 1903 by the Direction of the Commerce and Industry, Ministry of Agricultural and Commercial Affairs, based upon the survey that was conducted by the Direction in order to prepare a factory bill (Ishii 1992, p.69)¹⁷. The foundation of the Special *Jinjo* primary schools mentioned above also reflected this trend. Later in 1925, *A Sad History of Factory Girls* was published. These literary works spared a lot of pages on the educational problems of boys and girls in the poor sector. They described vividly children's problematic conditions on the job, in studies and in life. They raised the alarm to society that children's welfare and future were fatally decided by their

¹⁶ However, strong as their demands, the actual conditions around them were very severe. For example, the number enrolled in these schools in 1927 was 4,043 students; the number of dropouts in 1928 was 2,997 persons (Ishii 1992, p.165).

¹⁷ As early as in 1887, a factory bill was created to protect the youths and females, learning from the experiences of advanced countries (Ishii 1992, p.78, Saito 1995, p.216). However, it remained as a bill without submitting to the Congress. It would be too "progressive" to be accepted by the government in that time.

parents.

However, as stated previously, the government did not begin to take measures for the children of poor families until the mid 1920s. The Factory Law in 1911, mentioned above, was all form and no substance: it was to apply only to those factories with more than 14 employees and, further, had provisions to exclude light work by children ten years of age and above. It was to come into effect five years after its promulgation but effects on the prohibition of actual child labor could not be expected (Ishii 1992, pp.78-83, Amano 1997, pp.77-78, Hijikata 2002, pp.175-176).

(3) Recession and the Government's Policies

It was international pressure and the chronic recession that began in 1920s which forced the government to finally take measures. The Factory Worker's Minimum Age Law in 1923, which was enacted to ratify the ILO's international labor treaty, prohibited for the first time any labor by children 12 years of age and under (Hijikata, p.179). Meanwhile, the chronic recession deteriorated the national economic life so seriously that it increased the number of children not-enrolled or who were undernourished. In this situation, stimuli for enrolment began in 1924 from the fund donated by the Prince¹⁸. The stimuli expanded each year and the beneficiaries made up about ten percent of those enrolled in 1933. It was constituted mainly by the distribution of textbooks, but not only educational materials but also subsidies for clothes, foods and living cost were included in it (Amano 1997, pp.85-86). Furthermore, by promulgation of the Temporal Facilities for School Lunch Law in 1933, assistance to undernourished children began. The stimuli and school lunch would have effects upon those children, who were eager to attend school but were about to leave because of the economic difficulties. Thus, the enrolment ratios were maintained at a level of almost 100%, and the wastage ratios continued to decline, falling to less than 5% in 1937. The universalization of primary education was almost complete¹⁹.

¹⁸ According to Ichikawa (1972, p.114), the Research Association for Relief Work, a consultative body for the Ministry of the Interior Affairs, mentioned the necessity of the subsidy for the children who could not go to school by their families' poverty. Ichikawa (1972, p.114) also describes that the government, surprised by the 1928 enrolment ratio decrease, prepared for the Rules of the Stimulation for School Age Children and implemented the subsidies. This may be the same subsidy as that which began in 1924.

¹⁹ About 2% of an age cohort was to die before the primary school graduation age. This means the real wastage rate was about 3% or less (Amano 1997, p.88).

(4) Changes in Educational Finance

In the completion stage of the universalization of primary education in Japan, the financial question was urgent. In Japan, the construction of the modern educational system began as a governmental plan. Almost all of its costs were covered by the local entities. The government issued such orders as to increase teacher salaries but contributed very little to the cost of education. As the development of the primary school system brought with it increases in the number of pupils and the cost per pupil, a severe financial burden was placed on the counties and villages. As mentioned previously, in these entities the share of the educational expenditure in the total annual expenditure had continued to be about 40% since 1900 (Ichikawa 1972, pp.58-59, pp.100-101). The disparities among villages had also been very large. The weaker the village's financial abilities, the more they had expended for education in terms of the share of the total budget. Each prefecture had villages expending for education at a level of more than 80%. The recession intensified this situation to the extreme. Many entities paid teachers salaries lower than prescribed by the government, forcing them to "donate" a certain portion of their salaries back. Other entities paid them the prescribed amounts but payment was delayed.

This situation caused a strong movement by the county and village people, who suffered from the burden, for government subsidy. It was clear also for the government that the increase of state subsidies was necessary in order to maintain the primary education system and normalize the local budget conditions (Ichikawa 1972, pp.109-115). Thus, state subsidies began on a certain scale in 1918 and inevitably showed a rapid expansion: the subsidies came to cover more than 20% of the education cost in 1930 and then maintained that level (Ichikawa 1972, p.61). Disparity of the per student education cost between the highest and the lowest was so big that even in 1928, 10 years after the beginning of the state subsidies, the former expended four times that of the latter (Ichikawa 1972, p.117). This extreme gap threatened the *Jinjo* primary schools' status as a national institution.

Section 3 The Case of Mexico – In Contrast with England and Japan

This section will attempt to confirm characteristics common in the development processes of primary education in England and Japan. The case of Mexico is then analyzed in contrast to them. It will clarify the comparative location in which the tasks that Mexico presently faces to achieve the universalization of primary education stand.

1. Establishment of the Primary Educational System

The modern popular primary education system is a gigantic social institution. It is a big leap from traditional educational organizations, institutions and customs. Strong political motives were necessary in its creation and consolidation. In England, with the background of capitalist development and intensifying international competition after the Industrial Revolution, the labor movements' demands and the responses to them by the ruling classes resulted in the emergence and development of the national primary education system. In Japan, the Meiji Restoration government, which propelled the country's modernization breaking with the about three centuries retained policy of isolationism, planned and pushed forward the national education system as one of the important pillars of the country's modernization policies: the motto was "To create an economically rich and militarily strong country".

In both countries, a considerable part of the populations had been receiving some kinds of education from educational organizations before the foundation of the formal education systems. The governments succeeded in channeling the existing educational activities or demands into the new formal system. The nucleus of the formal system was education board schools in England or *Jinjo* primary schools in Japan.

Meanwhile, Mexico won its independence in 1822. The motive was to maintain the traditional regime for sake of the Spanish born in Mexico (*criollos*) rather than to modernize the country. After the legislation of the liberalistic Constitution in 1857, the Public Education Organization Law in 1867 and the School Law in 1869 declared the principles of compulsion, non-fee, and secularism in primary education and stipulated obligation for the municipalities in the federal district and its directly controlled territories to found primary schools. They also referred to the importance of education

for females and indigenous peoples (Margadand 1983, pp.262-263, Kunimoto and others 1984, p.86). In 1888 the Compulsory Education Law was promulgated and the principles of compulsion, non-fee and secularity were legally applied to the entire nation.

These efforts were the processes carrying the existing educational demands over to the new popular system, which was constituted through changing and using relatively simple existing educational institutions. This seemed the same as the cases of England and Japan. Mexico even preceded these countries in timing of the formal system starting. However, this motion of the diffusion of the primary education system was limited almost within urban areas. The national enrolment ratio, including rural areas, in 1874 was 17.5%. This would imply, if considering only urban areas, a little less than half of all children went to school.

It was not until the Mexican Revolution in 1910 that the government finally began to construct a truly “national” education system, which would include inhabitants in rural areas. Sharp socio-economic differences between urban areas and rural areas have been characteristic of Latin American societies. The educational demands in Mexican rural areas at that time and the corresponding institutions to those demands are described below focusing on, as typical rural areas, indigenous people areas²⁰.

In 1911, one year after the Mexican Revolution began, rudimentary schools (escuelas rudimentarias) were founded. They were not compulsory. Speaking, reading and writing Spanish were taught to indigenous people including adults. It was conducted on ten thousand persons in two hundred places from 1912 to 1914 (Espinosa, M. E. 2002, p.5)²¹. These schools were said to become hotbeds of Zapatist peasant movements (Minagawa 1975, p.269; Larroyo 1947). These policies were suspended by the liberalist Félix A Palavicini’s assumption of office of the Secretary of Education and Arts in 1914, who was against state intervention in education.

In 1917, the new Constitution was created as a result of the Revolution. It adopted the federation system and awarded educational authority to the states. However, the states

²⁰ The mestizo population was half of the indigenous one in 1823. At the beginning of the 20th century, the former surpassed the latter (Kuroda 1994, p.48).

²¹ I adopt the recent study although Minagawa (1975) shows slightly different years.

practically engaged in urban education. Thus, rural education was left behind. The Mexican Revolution was a bourgeoisie revolution that also reflected the demands of peasants and workers. It was going towards modern nation-state building. Thus, it was a matter of course for the Revolution to create a national education system. Despite this, the reality that education did not extend to the rural areas where the majority of the national population lived reflected the power relations in the states and in the rural areas. Although the Revolution won, in the rural areas where traditional factors were retained to function, the anti-secular forces that did not want new secular education had power or people's demands for education were weak.

In 1922, Secretary of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Pública) was founded through amendment of the Constitution, showing the government's will to set about the task of education diffusion in rural areas. The provisions of the states' authority in educational matters were maintained but the federal government was also given the competence to deal with education in the states, in addition to its directly controlling territories (Latapí 2000, p.30). Thus, the realization of the Revolution's idea, popular education, came to practically rest on the shoulders of the federal government (Arnaut 1998).

Vasconcelos, the first leader of the newly created Secretary, founded "Popular House (Casa del Pueblo)" in indigenous areas. This is a rural version of the Monitorial System: Those natives who could read and write were trained by traveling missionary teachers (misiones culturales) to be rural teachers (maestros rurales)²², and then, in turn, they taught children in their localities. The system began to work in 1,000 places, perhaps many in which rudimentary schools had existed. Their official name changed to rural schools (escuelas rurales) from 1925.

The Revolution reflected progressive peasants' demands, and the government's policies inevitably had social and political orientations to promote peasants' independency from traditional and religious controls by Catholic forces and large landowners. The government's efforts to diffuse education after the Revolution took on characteristics of breaking especially the Catholic forces' controls on mental aspects. Thus, education became the arena for the fight between the government and Catholic forces (Aoki 2001a,

²² The idea of this system would come from "monitors" in the Monitorial System.

Aoki 2001b, Buenfil Burgos, Rosa Nidia y María Mercedes Ruiz Muñoz, 1997). The conflict exploded during the *cristeros*' rebellion in 1926. The government's conduct of the anti-church provisions in the Constitution brought about suspension of Mass by clergymen and, in response to this, large scale insurgences took place in the states in the middle part of the country. Then President Calles countered it with school teachers' actions of obstructing religious pursuits in village churches (Yonemura 1994, Purnell 2001). The dispatches of the cultural missionaries for the rural teacher training mentioned above were also concentrated in the states where the rebellion happened. In the 1930's the "socialist education (educación socialista)" policy during then President Cárdenas' administration aggravated the antagonism.

However, needless to say, education diffusion in indigenous areas was not always accompanied with political tensions. In 1929 communal schools of circuit (*escuelas comunales de circuito*) started in parallel to rural schools. This was a kind of satellite system; the central school received a federal teacher who gave classes in that school and made rounds to satellite communal schools. It is noteworthy that these schools were financed by communities. This meant there were agreed demands within and among communities. There were 2,491 schools registered that year. In 1930, more than 100 thousand students were in 2,438 schools (703 of them were central schools). The schools were replaced rapidly by federal primary schools and completely disappeared in the middle of the 1930's. The financial burden to sustain them had been too heavy for the communities (Espinosa 2002, p.14).

However, not only political obstacles and lack of understanding in relation to education in rural areas but also financial restrictions and the inability of sub rank administrative organizations fettered the government. The above mentioned foundation of the rudimentary schools and the rural schools was considerably different from the original initiatives of the government due to financial restrictions imposed by the congress. Federal primary schools were founded in indigenous peoples' areas but were generally limited to central villages; thus, only children in central communities within central villages could go to school. Others did not have access to school for a long time.

Federal primary schools had only one modality, but in practice urban schools and rural schools were qualitatively very different. Schools in indigenous areas spared lots of time in basic Spanish. The majority of the schools in rural areas had less grades and

less qualified teachers than urban schools. Administrative monitoring was also incomplete there.

Along with and despite these problems, the expansion of the popular primary education system slowly proceeded through the government's efforts up to the 1950's.

At the same time, the state teachers that had been organized in the teachers union wanted their schools to be federal to get stable and better employment conditions. The realization of their petition put the large majority of primary schools, not only in rural areas but also in urban areas, under federal control (Latapí 2000, p.19).

2. Expansion of the Primary Education System and Maintenance of Quality

In England, when the rapidly growing Education Board schools and religious weekday schools were about to absorb the existing educational demands, fee collection and the payment-by-results system, which severely controlled teachers' and children's behaviors in schools, were abolished. This seems to have contributed to generation of new demands and an increase in enrolment. The workers put forward the formal education system and their leaders demanded quality education from the government. Free education meant the reduction of school income. To maintain and improve the quality of education, the school district would bear more of the financial burden. It meant redistribution of the payment by the middle class, whose children did not go to board schools, to the low class. The labor movements, therefore, took an important role in the maintenance of the quality of popular education.

In Japan, the enrolment in the *Jinjo* primary schools, which were established as a standard for the majority, increased rapidly absorbing the existing and emergent education demanding social strata as economic growth took place. After that period, the measures of fee abolishment, the auto-promotion system, and the strict procedures for enrolment exemption were implemented. It furthered the rapid enrolment growth. The government controlled, through the prefectures, the towns and villages. The government had the role of teacher training and decided the teachers' salaries in order to maintain and improve the quality of schools. The towns and villages had administrative and financial responsibilities for foundation and management of the schools according to the government's prescriptions. The Japanese society had egalitarian characteristics,

and it resulted in local leaders' children usually going to the same schools which other children in the identical district went to. Thus, the *Jinjo* primary schools took on "national" characteristics in its full meaning without reducing the quality of education.

In Mexico, the expansion period could be divided into two sub periods. The first one began in about 1950. The economic growth became outstanding after the 1940s. School supply to meet the growing demands generated by it was accelerated during the 1950s. Furthermore, the primary education system was rapidly expanded with the government's "11 Years Plan". In correspondence to this, the increase of the share of education in the government's ordinary budget began from 1950: 16.94% in 1950, 24.45% ten years later, and 34.57% twenty years later (Instituto Nacional de Estadística 1985, p.88). However, the tripled enrolment during these thirty years brought about problems of deteriorating quality of education. The federal primary schools were free and, therefore, almost all costs were paid by the government. It was impossible to maintain the same amount of per-pupil budget in real term. The important part of the expansion during this period was that which took place in rural areas. However, that financial environment made it difficult to reduce differences in educational conditions between rural areas and urban areas.

In the meanwhile, federal primary schools were expected to offer quality education which passed certain criteria. The unified examination, which was conducted nationwide at the end of the school year to decide which pupils would be promoted to the next grade, was considered to guarantee the quality of the educational results. Actually, the examinations resulted in a lot of children being rejected, and forced to repeat in and desert from school, reflecting the deterioration of education quality which had taken place during this sub period.

In urban areas, there existed traditional private schools, generally with religious background, for the upper class. Along with deterioration of the quality of public schools, not only the traditional wealthier class but also the new middle class, which was emerging with the economic development, began to participate in sending their children in those private schools²³.

²³ I asked my friends in Mexico City, who were professors in their 50s or 60s, about their primary school experience. Many went to private schools but two of them, professors of Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana and Instituto Politécnico Nacional, were graduates

The second expansion sub-period included the 1970s and 1980s and showed an accelerated growth in enrolment. This was accompanied with the accelerated expansion of immigration to urban areas, which constituted the huge low income strata there. The government's efforts and urban environments increased their awareness of the necessity of education. Despite the government's vigorous construction of new schools to meet the rapidly growing demands, the numbers of schools and teachers were lacking. The employment of two-shift system was prevalent in urban areas.

During this sub-period, special efforts to attend to the educational demands of those children who lived in indigenous areas or isolated areas also began. Bilingual schools and community courses were created for them. These policies had characteristics in common with the next period of the completion of universalization in that special attention was given to those children to whom otherwise education could not reach. In England and Japan, the enhanced feeling of imperialism and nationalism functioned as ideological and social environments to take special measures for the poor. On the other hand, Mexico in the 1970s intensified the pursuit of its national prestige at the international level by pushing forwards the New World Order project together with the Third World countries. Internally, at the same time, the indigenous cultures were rated highly. Implementation of populist welfare policies was also outstanding: raising legal minimum salaries, expansion of the social security system, and the diffusion of education. In this context, the share of education in the budget reached a 40% of the total ordinary budget.

However, enrolment at the primary level increased more rapidly, as mentioned before, and enrolment at other levels also grew more speedily than ever before. In 1982, the

from public schools in the Federal District. The UAM professor testified that his father was a merchant but fathers of his classmates were professionals. Their mothers organized themselves to negotiate with the Secretaría de Educación Pública to get the appointment of better teachers for the school. They also opened a preparatory course for their children to succeed in entering secondary school. Later, many of the classmates moved to better residential areas, he added. The IPN professor went to the public school not where he lived but in San Angel, a famous high class residential area. Families in San Angel send their children to private schools. The public school there absorbed, in turn, the children of families keen to education quality living in various places in the city. These suggest that the 1960s were a period of change and those parents who were aware of the importance of education quality but were still sending their children to public schools pursued possibilities to get quality education there.

country faced a serious economic crisis. Although reduction and stagnation of the educational budget continued for almost one decade, enrolment growth was maintained. Therefore, the problem of the primary education's low quality, which began in the first expansion sub-period, deepened further during the second expansion sub-period.

Regarding the issue of quality, it is necessary to comment on the promotion examinations. In 1970, the unified examination was abolished and a shift was made to an auto-promotion system in order to get rid of the large amount of repeaters that had become massive in number along with the rapid growth of enrolment during the first expansion sub-period (Memeses 1991, pp.50-51). The examinations were revived in 1976 in a somewhat alternate form, i.e., examinations prepared and conducted by each school or each teacher (Memeses 1991, pp.244-247). The Secretary of Public Education explained they were different from the previously existing unified examination and directed those to be a kind of synthesis of usual teaching and evaluating activities in the same way as the Japanese government did before. However, actually these tests also resulted in many failures and, consequently, repeaters. The government, facing generally low achievement of the students in the new bilingual education schools and the remote and isolated area schools, in addition to those pupils in the ordinary public schools, had to recognize the necessity of quality control and allow the revival of the examination. Notwithstanding the revived promotion examination, the real achievement level of the passed students was not satisfactory, as discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5. Thus, the repeater-producing examination system survived, but quality control turned to be insufficient. This would suggest that taking the promotion examination as a principal measure to maintain education quality would bring about an unfavorable result when primary education is massified and about to be universalized.

3. Completion of Universalization of Primary Education

Statism and imperialism had given the governments and societies a strong drive for education diffusion since the beginning of building the modern educational systems in England and Japan. In particular, the international and internal political conditions and war experiences after the end of the 19th century aroused governments' interests in the physical and intellectual levels of their own countries' soldiers, brought about ideological control on people and emphasis of the national identity by the governments,

and drove the governments to strengthen the existing popular education system. At the same time, the reality of the poor population drew social concern, and primary schools came to occupy the center of child welfare measures. In England, school meal and medical test programs were conducted. Child labor was prohibited through the abolition of the half-timer system. At the same time the duration of the popular elementary education system was extended. In Japan, the poor population also had enthusiasm to complete primary education and get the credentials, both as a social standard and a requisite to attain “membership” in society. As the recession became severe, school lunch and scholarships began in order to help them stay in school.

In Mexico, the net enrolment ratio reached 100% by 1990 while the primary education completion ratio among the population of 15-19 years of age was 80% in that year. The difference between these figures corresponded to the existence of repeaters and dropouts. It was clear that the development of education had entered the stage that required special measures for those repeating or deserting who were mainly in the poor areas and/or from the poor families. In addition to this, such measures as opening more bilingual schools, community courses and special schools for migrant laborers’ children were also needed to extend school accessibility. Those children had less access because they lived in very small and isolated localities or their parents were migrant laborers who had to move seasonally.

At the international level, the Education For All movement, which began and was promoted officially in the 1990 Jomtien Conference and the 2000 Dakar Conference, created the consensus on universalizing primary education worldwide by 2015. Under these circumstances, the government, counting on loans from the World Bank and the American Development Bank, has been creating programs to complete the universalization of primary education (See Chapter 5).

The programs can be divided into two types. The first type includes distribution of educational material packages to pupils, construction and refurbishing of school buildings, distribution of teaching materials, school equipment and textbooks to schools, monetary incentives for teachers and supervisors working in isolated remote areas, in-service teacher training, and provisions of funds for the parent associations. These measures are aimed at improving educational activities and are an approach from the educational service supply side. The second type of program is the scholarship for

poor families which is awarded under the condition of attendance to school, also functioning to alleviate poverty. This is an effort to orient children and families towards learning and educational activities and is an approach from the side of those demanding educational services in the sense that the program intends to affect the behaviors of families towards school by its monetary incentives (scholarship).

In 2000, the completion ratio among the 15-19 year old group was 85%, a five percentage point increase from the 1990 figure. The completion ratios for those enrolled in recent years are published as over 90%. The increases of completion ratios are much smaller than those of the previous stage, but steady progress is continuing. The government has declared the target date for the completion of universalization as 2010, 5 years ahead of the international agreement.

The targets for completion of primary education have been achieved when looked at in conventional quantity terms. However, presently, the problem of the education quality is more strongly felt than before (Andere 2003). The improvement of the completion rates was to have been attained through the programs for the betterment of education quality and the consequent higher achievement by the children. However, recent international achievement tests have repeatedly given low ranks to Mexican students as well as other Latin American students, except those in Cuba. Thus, rather than a success story of the completing the universalization of primary education, which was to be realized through programs for improving the quality of education conducted by the government, the long entertained doubts about the low quality and the consequent low achievement by students became more evident. At what degree does an increase in completion rates reflect the children's achievement? Do the criteria for passing the promotion tests become less severe? Is not the present situation close to the auto-promotion system? Presently, in Mexico, the task of the universalization of primary education is conceived and pursued not only from the viewpoint of quantity such as increasing successful pupils in the promotion examinations but also of quality, i.e. raising their true academic achievement²⁴.

²⁴ This situation is fully discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5 of this book. The meanings of this situation are discussed in Introduction from the viewpoint of the processes of the universalizing primary education.

Conclusion

Kaneko (Chapter 1) describes the processes of universalization of Japanese primary education as the “task performing model”. Japan’s task performing processes had clear articulations corresponding to the four stages, showing in an intelligible manner what and how tasks were met in each stage and what conditions were necessary in doing so. In this sense, the Japanese model may be called a “task-solution process articulated model”. This model suggests policies to be undertaken by the government in each stage. On the other hand, Mexico’s experiences show clearly the geographically, ethnically, and historically difficult conditions in successfully achieving, in each stage, corresponding tasks; hence, it represents problematic situations in that some tasks were insufficiently met in one stage and prolonged to the next or another next stage. The tasks are accumulated as solutions are delayed. Therefore, this may be described as a “task-solution process prolonged and multi-layered model”. Modeling through characterization of Mexican experiences in this manner will serve, if not to give a direct policy orientation, to promote analytical understanding of the difficult situations which are common in many Latin American and, further, developing countries in general. It will contribute to systematical and analytical comprehension such phenomena as: the delay of the beginning of the popular public primary education system, which was conditioned by the big disparity between urban and rural areas; after the beginning, the delay in the education diffusion and quality improvement in rural areas; the necessity and difficulty of the special measures or school foundation for indigenous people (such measures may be conducted after the country reaches certain economic level); deterioration of the quality of education caused by the increase of students during the expansion period; the continued existence of repeaters and, closely related to this, maintaining the promotion examination even in the period very near the completion of universalization; advantages and problems in that the central government takes, from the beginning, a principal role in both the administrative and financial aspects of the diffusion of national primary education, etc.

Modeling also facilitates comparisons between different countries and makes clear the meanings of processes, which have been interpreted only within the context of the individual country, from a different viewpoint. Thus, modeling and comparative approaches deepen understanding of not only developing but also developed countries. Japan’s primary education development processes have so far been taken as a typical

successful case emphasizing its rapid achievement. However, the research by Amano, Hijikata and Kiyokawa²⁵, which employ scrutinized wastage analyses, have revealed that the Japanese system before World War II also had considerably high wastage ratios and a few decades were needed in ridding the system of this tenable phenomenon²⁶ after reaching almost one hundred percent enrolment. Their research has made Japan's "success" relative but closer to the reality²⁷. It is only through these efforts to deepen comprehension from the truly comparative viewpoint that the Japanese model can have real substance to be learned by – not merely imitated by or mechanically applied to – other countries.

²⁵ Their works have been frequently cited in this chapter.

²⁶ The "completion" of the universalization process would be in 1926 if the 10% wastage ratio is taken as the bench mark, and 1937 if the 5% ratio is taken.

²⁷ Furthermore, we could ask some questions, based upon the knowledge attained by the comparison here: the 1900 measures of auto-promotion in Japan, it is argued, were soon thoroughly obeyed by teachers, but is it true? Could all wastage after that moment be attributed to pupils' side factors? Were there no factors of teachers' still continuing evaluation on children performance? High quality and its homogeneity of Japanese education before World War II are also believed. This has been asserted on circumstantial evidences such as teachers' qualification and educational budget. However, it seems to me more rational to assume that there were not ignorable quality disparities among geographical areas. Accepting, first, the possibility that Japan had the same problems as, say, Mexico, i.e. taking a comparative viewpoint, then, discussion should be conducted on empirical data.

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