VALUE ORIENTATIONS FOUND IN BRITISH COLUMBIAN AND JAPANESE SCHOOLBOOKS : THE 1920's - THE 1970's

by

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ABSTRACT

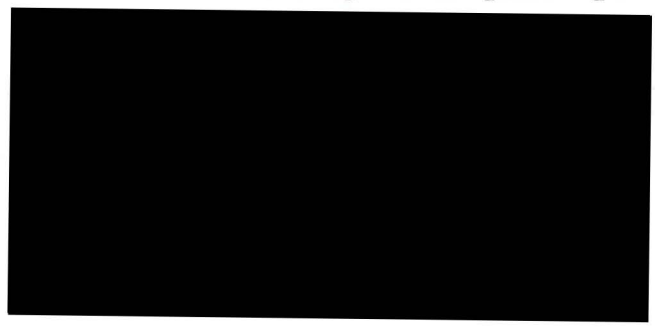
It is said that societies incorporating industrial technology will converge in all aspects, at least in the long run. This paper attempts to test the thesis of convergence by finding out empirically which facets of cultural orientations tend to change or to resist change under the contraints of industrialization. Special attention is paid to the ways of interpersonal behavior and of conducting oneself in the formative years.

For this purpose, the fourth grade readers of British Columbia and Japan, as two representatives of advanced industrial societies with distinctive cultural origins, are examined at two points in time, the 1920's and the 1970's. The reason for selection of the textbook as material is that education is conceived to be the most powerful factor in making ~~men~~ people adaptable to an industrial society.

Our findings indicate: (1) A rise in individualistic orientation need not necessarily accompany successful industrialization; (2) Male-centered orientation, achievement orientation, and an emphasis on family life remain

unchanged over time in both societies; (3) A shift from 'great men' to 'ordinary citizen' models is observed in both British Columbian and Japanese texts; (4) A convergent trend is demonstrated in the modes of interpersonal relations and the age pattern of the textbook characters; (5) Within the time span covered by this study a divergent trend is noticed in the handling of institutional contexts, although a possible increase in the recreational orientation in both textbooks is foreseen.

The findings of this case study of two societies lead us to the general proposition that the form of socialization models can change under the constraints of industrialization, while the guiding principles of interpersonal behavior (the substance of socialization models) tend to resist changes and retain the indigenous quality.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

It is said that advanced industralized societies despite numerous diversities, have a great deal in common. Some believe that societies, in the long run, may converge in all aspects in the course of industrialization, even though they begin to industrialize from different structural starting points, and follow different strategies of industrialization. Feldman and Moore (1965:261) criticized the unilineal development theory of convergence as implicitly or explicitly identifying some salient structural features of industrial societies as the terminus of development. They then suggested that convergence may only be limited to the "core" element of an industrial system, such as the factory system of production, and stratification based on a complex division of labour and hierarchy of skills, commercialization of goods and services, etc. Dunning and Hopper (1966:170) interpret 'Kerr's thesis of pluralistic individualism' (1962)

as follows:

> Convergent tendencies, they (Kerr and his associates) suggest, will be mainly apparent with respect to economic and political structures, and in those segments of social structures which are most closely linked with technology. The further removed a segment of society from involvement with technology, however, the greater the possibility for divergent development. (Parentheses mine)

So far empirical and theoretical work in this sphere has been mainly concerned with convergence in structural aspects, such as the appearance of a similar occupational structure, the change from an extended to a nuclear family and common modes of the labour force (Weinberg, 1969).

However, the term "social change" usually has three connotations - changes in structural aspects, changes in cultural orientations, and changes in people's behavior. deCharms and Moeller (1962) proposed that cultural orient ations be conceived as an intervening variable standing between antecedent environmental factors associated with economic and political changes and consequent behavior resulting in cultural changes such as technological growth. In this study we are concerned not with changing behavior, but with the changing cultural orientations to which children are presumably socialized. According to Weinberg (1969) few studies have dealt with the possible convergence of cultural orientations of two or more societies, especially

among advanced industrial nations with distinctive cultural backgrounds. The present research attempts to fill this gap through an analysis of a socialization agent, namely schoolbooks.

Gillespie and Allport (1955), after content analysis of an autobiography written by university students, concluded that the students of many countries have very similar values, so much so that they appeared more like each other than any one of them is like his own father or mother. Lerner (1964) is also impressed with the apparent fact that young educated and semi-educated Egyptian, Iranians, Syrians, Jordanians, and, even to some extent, Lebanese and Turks, are very much alike. His conclusion is that similar educational influences have now been let loose over wide areas, although anthropologists have reported very great differences in culture and character structure. These two studies suggest that education, as an element in the industrialization process, has worked on the coming generation to induce similar patterns of response, despite the countervailing effects of persisting traditional patterns of culture. As Floud and Halsey (1961:1) have already stated, education is a crucial type of investment for the exploitation of modern technology. An educational system which produces types

of persons who are capable of filling the various niches in the occupational and stratification system is fundamental to the full development of an industrial society. Modern education began as a result of the constraints of industrialization, and its development has coincided with pressures of technological and economic change. The institution of public education is partly responsible for the formation of common features among industrial nations. Therefore, in this research, we wish to concentrate on changing value orientations embodied in public education, especially the contents of school textbooks. In order to avoid being confounded by other factors, we shall limit our study to advanced countries and to those with a capitalist economy, namely Canada and Japan.

According to Getzels (1972), there are two kinds of values; sacred and secular ones. Sacred values such as democracy, freedom, etc., are ones which are codified in the national creed and are taught children as the ideals worth defending. Secular values are ones which are uncelebrated conceptions that support our day-to-day activities. This study is mainly concerned with the shift in secular values embodied in the behavior of textbook

characters conceived as socialization models. The mediating link between the individual and the social structure into which induction occurs is the social role conceived as an expected pattern of behavior determined by social norms and values (Thornton, 1973). The presentation of an expected pattern of behavior is one of two major functions of formal education, as discussed in the next chapter. This is the reason why we wish to concentrate especially on textbook characters as social role models. Schoolbooks offer information about standards of behavior and beliefs that the adult would expect the child to make his own. Schoolbooks are the authorized showcase of desirable or undesirable behaviors in societies with formal schooling systems.

The focus of attention is upon: (1) whether or not there are any convergent trends in socialization models in the textbooks with progression of industrialization; and (2) the effects of different cultural backgrounds on the role-taking behavior of story characters. More specifically, the following questions are raised:

1. Have there been discernible shifts in the adult's expectations during the past few decades?

2. Does aspiration for technological development work on the coming generation to produce similar behavior norms across culture?
3. To what extent do unique cultural themes persist despite the fact of industrialization?

We do not know how or in which direction change has actually taken place. The rate of social change in the two societies may be different. In addition, all facets within one society may not change at the same rate. Some may change quickly in accord with technological development, while others very slowly. Therefore, this study is exploratory by nature with the intention being to generate plausible hypotheses about the convergence of cultural elements under the impact of industralization.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL EDUCATION AS THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION

After the turn of the century the recognition of the value of technological change has permeated the entire education system. The effects of school education are two-fold: one, differentiating people on a basis of maximum competence and serving a socio-economic sorting purpose to channel the young into appropriate jobs in society; the other, homogenizing people on the basis of minimum competence by reducing individual diversity (Parsons, 1959; Anderson, 1972). Before the growth of mass education, school was an exclusive service to a privileged class. Now, school education has become compulsory for children from all socio-economic strata. Regarding the notion of "public" education, Kaspar D.Naegele (1961:355) noted:

> (Public education), in turn, as a compound of privilege and obligation, comes to express, alike a collective commitment to an equality or uniformity of "minimum competence" and to the establishment of a division of labour concerning the education of children resident within a nation. (emphasis mine)

In order to create uniformity of minimum competence among people within a nation, school, especially public school,

functions as an important socializing agent in training for both skill and character.

For the members of a society, growing up successfully involves at least acquisition of minimum competence required by a society to which he/she belongs. School plays two functions to give this competence; one, instrumental or cognitive, that is, to disseminate many basic skills such as reading, arithemetic, etc.; and the other, expressive or affective, that is, to inculcate common values and common understandings which govern people's behavior. The latter might be regarded as training for character by societally controlled socialization through education. Naegale (1961:354) summarizes these two functions as follows:

> I take education to be an enterprise that enhances a person's state of competence... It may enhance his knowledge, his judgment, his ability to read or write or practice engineering. As such, education is continuous with a whole variety of less explicit and less institutionalized undertakings... I shall assume, however, that "what goes on" in educational institutions includes some of the same process that in different combination would underlie a program of political indoctrination.

In prewar Japan, education was made subservient to the state's own needs, as outlined in Chapter IV. In pre-independence Kenya, the colonial educational policy was to socialize the natives as docile servants to the ruling white class (Hopkins, 1973). In the U.S.S.R. and East Germany education is explicitly the process of induction into the existing political system (Gerth and Mills, 1954). Throughout the school history of British Columbia, a major purpose of public school has been to give every child in the Province such knowledge as will fit him to become a useful and intelligent citizen in after years. This was asserted by A.B.Jossop, the first Superintendent of Education after the passage of the 1872 Public School Act and reasserted by C.D.Levirs, the last Superintendent of Education before that post was abolished by the amendment of the Act in 1971 (B.C.Department of Education, 1972:18). These instances from various countries support Naegale's statement. A similar view of education is stated by Gerth and Mills (1954:251):

> Education is a deliberate attempt to transmit skills and loyalties, as well as forms of inner cultivation and conventional deportment required by status group membership.

Each society has its own way of making "a responsible citizen". The image of a responsible citizen seems to vary depending upon the political and economical system as well as the cultural tradition of a society. Thus, public education, as a socializing agent, serves an important, though sometimes implicit, political function.

Widespread recognition of the value of technological change, however, tends to emphasize the instrumental role of education for social improvement, leaving its expressive role relatively unquestioned. However, no matter how hidden this role is, as Eisenstadt (1966:17) noted clearly, a second major product of education is identification with various cultural socio-political symbols and values. This study is directed to the historical transition of this second part in the context of technological development.

The basic question then is: To which cultural socio-political symbols and values has education subscribed, when there is no fundamental agreement about "shared" norms? It should be made clear that education reflects the desires of specific agencies of socialization, which stand between the coming generation and the adult representing the governing class. Various elite groups

in a society attempt to influence the educational process either as means of political influence and social control or for the assurance of economic power. The pattern of demands for and the supply of educational services is greatly influenced by the attempts of various groups to attain their goals in various fields of social life. As to this process, Heyman and others (1972:11) have developed the following thesis based on the studies of early twentieth century Ontario, pre- and post-independence Africa, and postwar Germany.

> The demand for, or the introduction of, educational reform by any group in society can best be explained in terms of economic and/or political pressure, agreement and/or benefits which that group perceives as accruing it as a result of such reform.

Education is changing in response to new functional needs. However, it is a change which must be seen as a change in the power structure of society and not so much as a change in the power of education.

Heyman and others (1972) also pointed out that this became especially urgent in the later part of the twentieth century, as education became progressively more institutionalized. The groups which extract benefits from

ongoing social processes always have an intense interest in education in order to prevent discontinuities in value systems and often attempt to sanction agents of socialization whenever discontinuities of transmission may occur. Therefore, we can assume that the groups in power put more pressures upon those mediators, who are exerting substantial influences over the coming generation, than those who are not. No procedure for selecting textbooks, for teaching or for doing anything else in the schools should serve to weaken values deemed to be desirable to the governing class. A case study on textbook policy of Japan, which is outlined later, supports this contention. The schoolbooks become effective means to convey cultural socio-political symbols and values which are favoured by groups in power. Here, we can see that Marx's famous formulation "the ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas" (Marx, 1939:39) is probably most apropos in the sphere of education. In capitalist societies the bourgeosie has had the means of material production at their disposal since the industrial revolution, and has advanced technological development. If Marx's formulation holds true therefore, we can suspect

that value orientations, which are considered to facilitate the process of industrialization, tend to be adopted in the textbook. Thus we assume that the convergence of value orientations may occur in the framework of education, although industrialization is engineered by different elites, whose value orientations may vary from society to society.

The question then becomes: Which value orientations are considered to be favourable to the advancement of technology? Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:29-30) state the following hypothesis in this respect:

> Dominant value orientations of "Individualism," "the Future," "Mastery-over-Nature," "Doing," and "an Evil-but-Perfectible Human Nature" are associated with giving priority to the economic-technological sphere.

McClelland (1961) reports a strong positive relationship between achievement imagery in children's stories and subsequent economic development. The concept of 'doing' orientation defined by F.Kluckhohn is closely linked with achievement-oriented behavior. There is also an implicit criteria of convergence in many discussions of modernization, involving the increasing importance of the individual with the growth of industrial and urban society,

at least in the West (Matsumoto, 1960; Weinberg, 1969). It is reasonable to hypothesize that individualism and the achievement orientation are important cultural elements supporting industrial culture. However, there are some doubts about how applicable these propositions derived from the western contexts are to the non-western contexts. The examination of the textbooks in western and non-western societies at two points in time will clarify whether or not 'convergent' trends are discernible in these value orientations presumably supporting industrial culture.

CHAPTER III

LITERATURE REVIEW OF CONTENT ANALYSIS RELEVANT TO THE PRESENT STUDY

Our literature review revealed that there are two streams in the content analysis of textbooks. One stream is to help teachers and curriculum developers decide which textbook is preferable. The textual content of school books is evaluated for its accuracy, importance, and acceptability. Educational organs such as UNESCO, Department of Education, etc. are mainly interested in the appropriateness of materials for textbooks. For example, Sloan (1966) did a careful study of the treatment of the negro in the leading junior and senior high school history textbooks and noted improvement in recent years. Takagi examined the treatment of Japan and the Japanese in American senior high school history textbooks published from 1896 to 1950, in terms of the standard set up by UNESCO.

Another stream is sociological analysis, in which textbooks are regarded as material which contains meaningful information to infer aspects of culture and cultural changes. The present study belongs to the latter, hence

the literature is reviewed in this respect.

McClelland (1961) developed a well-specified content analysis procedure for measuring "need-achievement" imagery in a culture by utilizing literary products of a society. He used children's readers in his cross-cultural study and found a high incidence of achievement motivation reflected inthem,in the period prior to increased economic development. He noted that the stories had provided children with clear "instructive" messages about normative behavior.

deCharms and Moeller (1962) adopted the technique McClelland developed in order to investigate the hypothesis that a change in cultural motivation would be associated with the social changes observed in the United States over the 150-year period. They used fourth grade readers as sources of data on motivation and studied the relationship between the incidences of achievement imagery as a basic component of the inner-directed character type and the development of new techniques, as measured by the number of patents granted. They found that both measures rose sharply to a high point shortly before the turn of the century and have declined since. There was a twenty-year lag between the amount of achievement imagery in the

textbooks and the number of patents granted. They also found that themes involving moral teaching have declined during the period, while themes involving affiliation imagery, as a basic component of the other-directed personality, have risen slowly.

There are two extensive studies on civic education, one of which involved examination of textbooks. Litt (1963) studied secondary school civic education courses, including interviews with teachers and with community leaders. He found differences among political themes in civic education texts, attitudes of community leaders, and effects of courses on student political attitudes. In the upper middle-class community students were oriented toward a "realistic" and active view of the political process, stressing political conflict; in the working class community students were oriented toward a more "idealistic" and passive view, stressing political harmony. This study indicates that the educational system indoctrinates the coming generation with the values appropriate to their position in the existing political order.

Hodgett's report (1968) is based on a two-year fact-finding investigation into the teaching of Canadian

history, social studies and civics in the elementary and secondary schools of all ten provinces. His study examined the influence of formal instruction in developing the feelings and attitudes of young Canadians toward their country and its problems, and the knowledge on which these attitudes are based.

Baba (1963) applied semantical content analysis to the study of the textbooks on the history of Japan, published over the past ninety years. Three facets of nationalism, that is national tradition, national interest and national mission, are adopted as the theoretical frame of reference for the category construction. The results revealed that forms of nationalism in the prewar textbooks have more or less similar characteristics, while the post-war textbooks emphasize national interest and de-emphasize national tradition.

The McGuffey readers were the most widely used in the United States during the period of 1840 to 1920. It has been recognized that the lesson in the readers did much to set the standards of morality and of social life in the pioneering West. Estensen (1946) compared McGuffey readers with a sample of school readers in 1930, and

found that there was relatively little difference in the extent to which economic, nationalistic, militaristic, or internationalistic motivations were employed between the two, but that there was a considerable difference in the relative use of religious motivations.

Elson (1964) did an overall review of American schoolbooks of the nineteenth century, paying particular attention to their social and cultural content and their impact on the child in the domains such as "god and man," "races of man," "nations and nationality," "the individual: heroes, great men, and citizens," "economic concepts," "social values," "political concepts," and "social reform movements". She concluded that they were much more concerned with the child's moral development than with the development of his/her mind. However, this descriptive study did not report on the methodology employed and appeared to rely on the subjective interpretations of the author.

Sociological analysis of schoolbooks is rather limited, but if we extend our review to other kinds of written documents, there is a considerable body of literature in which content analysis was used to infer

value orientations.

Berelson and Salter (1946) did a content analysis of popular fictions appearing in mass magazines, in order to investigate the unintentional but consistent discrimination against minority groups of Americans. They used a character in the story as the first unit of analysis and coded eight characteristics such as sex, status position, social origin, personality traits, goals or values, etc. for each of 889 characters and groups which are identifiable by racial, religious, or national origins. As the category of goals or values they set up two classes: one, "heart" goals dealing with the emotional and affective goals of the story characters; the other, "head" goals dealing with the rational and ca culating facets. Clear-cut evidence was provided for the existence of differential treatment accorded to various ethnic groups.

Weitzman and others (1973) examined prize-winning picture books for preschool children. Their findings were that: (1) women are greatly underrepresented in the titles, central roles and illustrations and, (2) their characterization reinforced traditional sex-role stereotypes wherever they appeared. The effects of these rigid sex-

role stereotypes on the self images and aspirations of young children were discussed.

Zube (1972) applied the value orientation scheme for different cultures developed by F.Kluckhohn's and others to a content analysis of the Ladies Home Journal for detection of changes in value orientations among American middle-class housewives. From the results, she inferred that changes in "future" to "present" time orientation and changes in "doing" to "being-in becoming" activity orientation had occurred among American women over the period of 1948 to 1969.

Gecas (1972) content-analyzed randomly selected short stories for the period of 1925 to 1965 and found that: (1) women were found to be more frequently portrayed as expressing verbal aggression and in utilizing affective and ethical motives for it, while men were more likely to aggress physically and to do it for utilitarian or normatively required reasons; (2) lower-class characters were more frequently portrayed as aggressing physically and in using affective motives, while middle- and upper-class characters were presented as aggressing verbally and using utilitarian and ethical motives; (3) this

general pattern of stereotyping did not change over the 40-year period, but what did change noticeably was the magnitude of the difference between the stereotypes of male and female aggressive behavior.

Cross cultural differences in communication content can be disclosed by systematic analysis. McGranahan and Wayne (1970) showed that there are real and persistent German-American psychological differences, by analyzing 45 most popular plays in each country in 1927. American plays are primarily concerned with love and personal morals, whereas the German plays are more preoccupied with idealism, power and the problems of the abnormal or outcast. In American plays the "level of action" was almost exclusively personal; in German plays it was evenly divided between ideological and personal affairs.

Sebald (1962) attempted to outline differences in national character by contrasting a German school songbook with an American one, both issued in 1940. The findings suggested that the German songs placed the needs and goals of the society highly above the individual, while American songs placed individual achievement, self-development and personal happiness in the foreground.

However, what were definite value expressions before World War II may have undergone drastic changes by today. To the best of my knowledge, there is no study which dealt with the possible convergence of German and American value orientations before and after the War.

Wayne (1956) contrasted American with Soviet values by comparing the pictures presented in two major family magazines issued in 1948. The human action portrayed in each picture was classified into an adapted version of Spranger's value categories. The rank-order correlation co-efficients for nine categories of "type of man" between the two samples indicated that the overall pattern is quite similar. The most striking qualitative difference was the fact that indulgence in alcohol and sex was conspicuously absent in the Russian sample, while liquor and/or sex were in the foreground in many of the American photos. He concluded that the Russian periodical presents the posed ideal of the "New Socialist Man," whereas American ones tried to show "real" behavior patterns.

Gillespie and Allport (1955) studied in 1948 students from three American colleges, from four South

African groups, from New Zealand, and from Egypt, Mexico, France, Italy, Germany, Japan, and Israel. The subjects prepared an autobiography of the future - "From now to 2000 A.D." - and answered a relatively structured questionnaire. Content analysis of autobiographies revealed that national character influenced the structuring of goals, values, and expectations for the future. Striking similarities were: most of the responses were anchored within the basic family frame of reference; honesty, reliability, decency and integrity are described as values they will impart to their children. American subjects seemed to put value on variety more than any other samples, and were little concerned with social problems such as poverty, delinquency, race relations, while the new nationalist groups mentioned them frequently.

Dahlberg and Stone (1966) applied formal content analysis by computor coding to a portion of the Egyptian and United States female data collected by Gillespie and Allport. Cultural contrasts were evident in interpersonal structuring, a concept of which is operationally defined in terms of categories of Harvard Third Psycho-sociological Dictionary (a set of computer content analysis

programs). The Egyptian essays were much higher in references to the stratified structuring of interpersonal relationships, a high sense of responsibility, and ideal-value, while the United States female students focus on a personal life within the companionship of the family. As to institutional specificity, categories 'Legal,' 'Medical,' 'Political,' and 'Religious,' are significantly higher for the Egyptian essays, in contrast to American emphasis upon 'Recreational' sphere. Formal content analysis by computer coding also led to the same conclusion of 'privatism' Gillespie and Allport reached in characterizing the U.S. female essays.

In summary, the literature review showed that content analysis of printed materials could yield data to infer changes in cultural orientations of a society over time if the categories were well thought out on a solid theoretical basis. The studies done by McClelland and deCharms demonstrated the suitability of textbooks as material in order to examine changing cultural orientations with the progression of industrialization. As a conceptual scheme for coding the contents of textbooks in terms of cultural orientations, Zube's study indicated that the

value orientation scheme developed by F.Kluckhohn and other was applicable even to written documents. Comparative content analysis between the United States materials and those from other countries suggested that we could regard individualism as a dominant North American value orientation. Besides these, to avoid the problem of reliability always attending content analysis by manual coding, 'objective' content analysis by computer, which does not allow any subjective interpretation, is found to be possible, still without losing qualitative findings comparable to those obtained by semantical content analysis.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY OF STUDY

(I) Selection of the Sample Books for Content Analysis

Many thousands of books are used in Canada and in Japan since public education was instituted. From the methodological point of view, however, the researcher has to decide which books are the most relevant to the problems under investigation, since the time available is too short to permit the consecutive analysis of changes throughout the 100 years, for all grade levels within all subject areas. In specification of a valid sample for this study the research takes the following steps.

Unit for Comparative Analysis

The first methodological problem to be solved is what the unit of comparison is, from which a sample of textbooks is drawn. Comparative studies of educational administration reveal that there is a sharp contrast between the great responsibilities of local school districts in the United States and the limited power of those in other

countries (Grieder, 1969). Centralized control of education at either the national or provincial level of government is the general rule. Canada adopts the federal system in which all decisions concerning educational matters are made on the provincial level but Japan does not. Specification of the comparable unit for this research should be based on the most influential decision making body over the textbook selection, rather than on the national polity. Japan and the Province of British Columbia are chosen as examples which share such common factors as technosociety, capitalist economy, and centralized control of education. British Columbia and Japan instituted the public school system in the same year (Johnson, 1964; Japan Monbusho, 1964), and consequently have the same length of history of public education although their development is not identical (as outlined later).

Years of Focus

Since the researcher regards the textbook as an agent of socialization, the years to be stressed are specified on the basis that the majority of children have been exposed to these specific texts. Around 1920 attendance was a little over 80 per cent in British

Columbia (B.C.Department of Education, 1972) while it was 97 per cent in Japan (Beasley, 1973; Japan Monbusho, 1964). The choice of the 1920's is partly arbitrary since the researcher is restricted by availability of old textbooks. The textbooks in the 1970's becomes material to be analyzed because both British Columbia and Japan celebrated their hundredth anniversary of public education in the beginning of the 1970's.

Subject of Focus

Social studies are the most relevant to the shaping values and norms related to a useful citizen, and consequently the most ameanable to political pressures and social change, but after the recent innovations of teaching methods, they no longer use so called 'textbooks' for social studies in British Columbia, at least at Grade IV. This leads the researcher to select the basic reader for the Language Arts as the materials to be analyzed. Of all subjects the largest amount of time is allotted to language Arts in Grade IV - 36 per cent of total class hours in British Columbia (B.C.Department of Education, Administrative Guide for Elementary Schools, 1971:21) and 22 per cent in Japan (estimated from a timetable for a

Grade IV class).

Although the curriculum guide (B.C.Department of Education, 1968:3) explicitly emphasizes the cognitive aspects such as skills of effective communication, contents of textbooks are to be selected not randomly, but carefully in order to transmit the values and norms of a society. The content of the textbook for Language Arts, thus, implicitly instills value orientations of society in children.

Grade Level of Focus

This study centered around the personality type which is presented to the child as a good or bad model. The child is expected to incorporate character and/or behavior of a good example into his/her self-concept. Therefore, the best grade level to focus on for this study should be a significant normative period in the course of formation of self-concept. That is the age nine to ten, the fourth grade, as clarified in the following.

No social action is immune to normative constraints. Shared character among people within a society is shaped by these socio-cultural constraints through the socialization process. From the very beginning of life

all human beings are exposed to normative constraints from the society, which, in the early years of life, are usually expressed in the form of expectations of significant others. Through interaction with parents or some other family members the child gradually learns basic notions of their own personal adequacy within a social context.

When the child reaches the school age, the pattern of socialization changes drastically, though some of basic functions of socialization are still carried by the home. However, it is through schooling that uniform competence in skill and character, which enables the child to cope with the demands of industrial society, is enhanced. In school the child experiences new types of interpersonal relationships and realizes that others can have different ways of looking at the world. Around the age nine to ten, acquisition of concrete thinking makes it possible for the child more objectively to compare and evaluate himself vis-à-vis others and then to form a new self-concept. Thus, the previous idiosyncratic self concept is reorganized into a more complex and consistent one.

According to social learning theorists (Bandura and Walters, 1963), modeling is one of important

mechanisms underlying the process of identification whereby an individual incorporates into his repertoire the complex of behaviors, attitudes, and beliefs appropriate for him/her. They argue that the child actively imitates available models. We can assume that in this process fictitious models offered through mass media, be they in television stories, movies or books, as well as by living persons, affects one's ideal-self, which may have an important bearing on the performance of one's adult roles. The tales and stories provide models for behavior not to be found completely in any given face-to-face group. It is conceivable that personalities which appear in schoolbooks have a tremendous impact upon molding attitudes and value orientations of all children of the same age, by telling what he/she is expected or not expected to learn, since "public" education is a collective commitment to a certain type of socialization.

According to Piaget's scheme of cognitive development (1950), the child reaches intellectual maturity, which enables him/her to do abstract thinking, after the age of twelve. This implies that one becomes able to comprehend values ingrained in social roles and

institutions. With this newly acquired capacity, the child, for the first time, comes into direct contact with environments without the mediating process of significant adults such as parents, school teachers, etc. Hyman (1959:124-127), in a review of the literature on the relationship between social change in the wide environment and attenuation of parental influences, suggests that the young child tends to be insulated from certain aspects of change in the larger society and this insulation ends between the ages of twelve to fourteen. As mediation by significant adults is attenuated, the child forms his/her own social ties. It appears that the eighth grade is the time of transition when the shift of the frame of reference for one's behavior occurs. Up to this point, the school class may be regarded as focal socializing agency informing the coming generation about the standards of behavior and belief that the adult would expect them to make their own. Therefore, we can conclude that the age nine to ten is a crucial stage in the formation of social self upon which the adults most effectively

exert their influence as a mediator.

Another reason for the choice of the fourth grade level lies in the clear-cut presentation of personality figures at this level. In the grade four reader the easy description of personality types which are considered desirable or acceptable, rather than the difficult and complicated elaboration of an individual personality, is the custom. This manner of presentation will allow the researcher to classify its content with relative ease, maintaining a high inter-coder reliability.

Specification of the Samples in the Historical Transition of Textbooks

The last step of selection of samples is to find out which basic readers for Grade IV have been most extensively used in British Columbia and in Japan for the 1920's and the 1970's. To this end, the shift of readers both in the titles and contents

is investigated along with the changes in the selection and adoption procedures.

The contents of the schoolbooks are highly selective, since the schoolbook is a device for helping the child fit into his culture by imparting knowledge and skills, as well as transmitting and instilling the cultural norms of a society. Which, or whose, norms do the textbooks subscribe to when there is an abundance of both consensus and dissensus about "cultural or social norms"? In order to understand characteristics of the sample texts in comparison with their predecessors and successors, the researcher also reviews briefly what kind of social norms are superimposed as 'shared' in the history of the textbooks. It is hoped that this would help to interpret properly the result of the research based on this particular sample.

1) Overview of Textbook Policy in British Columbia

In 1871 British Columbia became the sixth province of the Dominion of Canada. Following Confederation, the Public Schools Act of 1872 established the basic structure of the provincial system of education - free public non-sectarian schools - which, despite modification by frequent amendment, remains in principle to this day (Johnson, 1964:44). A new school district was to be set up wherever there were fifteen children aged five to fifteen. In 1873 attendance was 56 per cent (B.C.Department of Education, 1972). The Appendix of the First Annual Report (B.C.Department of Education, 1872) contains the list of authorized textbooks, though the number of the listed books is less than a dozen, compared to 665 in the catalog of authorized textbooks for 1971/72. The First Annual Report anticipated that supplying textbooks and stationery to schools free-of-charge would be met by objections because of competition with booksellers. Consequently, a textbook repository, which had been established in 1873, was closed a few years later. After the

repository closed textbooks were no longer free, but they still required authorization from the Department of Education.

The Free Textbook Branch was reinstated on July 1, 1908, with an initial budget of $25,000. In that year attendance was 66 per cent of school-age children. Rapid increase of attendance was hindered by difficulties in providing a scattered population with basic education, but it exceeded 80 per cent in 1917 (B.C.Department of Education, 1972). The 39th Annual Report states:

> As far as known, all the public schools in operation during 1909-10 took advantage of the offer of free textbooks made by the Department of Education.

The free textbook system is still in operation under the jurisdiction of the Curriculum Resources Branch; their budget in 1971 amounted to $5,700,000. Books from Grade I to VI are issued free of charge and those from Grade VII to XII are provided on a rental basis.

By examining the Annual Reports and the Catalog of the prescribed textbooks issued by the Department of Education, the historical transition of the basic readers for Grades IV was found to be as follows:

The Transition of Grade IV Readers[1]

1871 The Canadian Reader,[2] Book IV (Gage & Nelson)

↓

1900 The Canadian Reader, the twentieth century edition.

↓

1915 The revised edition of the Canadian Reader.

↓

1934 The Highroads to Reading Series, Book IV (Gage & Nelson).

↓

1948 Canadian Parade Readers, Dickie; Young Explorers (Dent).

↓

1965 Canadian Heritage Readers, Johnson and others; Happy Highways (Dent).

↓

to the present

Since they almost always authorize one basic reader with several supplementary books for each grade, the following two books become our 1920's and 1970's British Columbia sample respectively:

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1 Textbooks where listed:
1871-1891 Annual Reports usually in Appendices (University of Victoria Library)
1892-1930 Manual of the School Law (Provincial Library)
1931-1974 Catalog of the Prescribed Books (Mrs.Armstrong, Librarian, B.C.Department of Education).

2 The date and frequency of revision are unknown.

The Canadian Readers,[3] Book IV, copyrighted in 1922 by the Educational Book Company of Toronto and Thomas Nelson & Sons, Limited. Happy Highways, IV, copyrighted in 1962 by J.M.Dent & Sons (Canada) Ltd. and prescribed by the B.C.Department of Education in 1965.

Unlike some states in the U.S., the local school board does not have the final authority as far as textbook selection is concerned. In the Province of British Columbia, the final power to determine what books are used in the schools is retained by the Department of Education. The Curriculum Development Branch under the jurisdiction of Instructional Services ostensibly evaluates and selects textbooks for authorization with the assistance of two provincial advisory committees; one on the elementary curriculum, and the other on the secondary school curriculum. A Provincial Advisory Committee consists of three departmental officials, two consultants to the

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3 The back cover of The Canadian Readers, Book IV read as follows:

'Authorized for use in the Public Schools of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island.'

Branch, two representatives from B.C.School Trustees Association, one representative from each public university, one representative from community colleges and four representatives from B.C.Teachers Federation (B.C.T.F. 1973). However, it is the Departmental Revision Committee, set up for each subject area, that reviews, compares and recommends textbooks to be used as well as makes substantial decisions about curriculum. These committees provide progress reports to the advisory committee concerned and their expertise is usually accepted by decision making bodies at higher levels. A Departmental Revision Committee usually includes seven or eight teachers normally nominated by the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, a Faculty of Education and one or two Departmental officials.

As exemplified in British Columbia, it is fairly common in North America that a textbook selection committee, which consists of the teaching profession, has substantial power and consequently their opinions are solicited. However, there have been a few exceptions. In Georgia the established role of selection committee has been undermined by a small right-wing pressure group

(Hepburn, 1974). Similar incidences are reported with California, Tennessee and Arizona (Gubser, 1973). Fortunately, this has never happened to British Columbia. The Department of Education and B.C.Teachers' Federation have had good cooperative relations.[4]

ii) Overview of Japanese Textbook Policy in the past hundred years

Modern education in Japan began in 1872 when the government's plan was announced that all children over the age of six were to receive sixteen months of compulsory education. At the initiation of public education in the 1870's, translated textbooks were used. Assimilation of western culture through education was considered to be high priority in the overall plan to modernize Japan. They essentially copied the content of western education. Thus, curricula such as spelling, conversation, grammer and reading were transplanted without taking language differences into account. The word "TOKUHON" - a literal translation of "Reader" - was assigned to a textbook which was used in reading courses.

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[4] Personal talk with the B.C.T.F.staff on January 13, 1975.

Translated textbooks, however, were soon taken over by books heavily flavoured with Confucian ideology, which advocated obligation KŌ (Filial Piety) to one's superior as a central virtue.

Textbook adoption practice changed in 1886 when the Elementary School Act prescribed that all school textbooks should be licensed by the Ministry of Education. At this time a model textbook for elementary school use was made public by the Ministry of Education. This series of a model text had a tremendous impact upon the content and style of subsequent textbook editing in the private sector. The national ideology of loyalty to country and the emperor was expressed for the first time in textbook form. School textbooks became able to function as a means to transmit that which the Meiji government expected of residents of Japan. In 1886 attendance was 46 per cent and it continued to rise rapidly in the following ten years to 60 per cent by 1895. Big publishing companies became involved in the textbook market. It is said that government control over school texts through ministerial license coincided with the fact that Japan had attained a certain level of internal integration as a modern state;

along with progressive diffusion of capitalist economy based on textile industry and upgrading of living standards.

In 1900 the compulsory period was increased to four years from three and attendance was at 90 per cent of the children of school age. Government control over curricula was reinforced by revision of Shogakko Rei (the Elementary School Act) and reading, composition, and calligraphy were incorporated into one subject, namely KOKUGO-KA (Language Art).

In 1903 the School Act was revised and KOKUTEI KYOKASHO (which means "textbook prescribed by the nation") was instituted. Only the textbooks published directly by the Ministry of Education were now allowed to be taught in schools throughout Japan. The Ministry of Education first copyrighted the textbooks for the courses in Ethics, History, Geography, and then for Language Art in 1904. The textbooks for the period of 1904 to 1909 are referred to as the First Kokutei textbook. Elementary schools enrollment reached 97 per cent of school age children in 1907, when the length of the compulsory course was raised from four to six years.

The rise of nationalism following Japan's victory over Russia and the increase of length in compulsory education facilitated extensive revision of previous textbook contents in a direction to bring about national unification. This Second Kokutei textbook, which came out in 1910, was used until 1918. Beasley, W.G. (1973:140) summarized this process;

> (The education) was made subservient to the state's own needs, providing on the one hand a practical training, through a curriculum on Western lines, on the other a moral education based on Confucian ethics and an emperor-centered nationalism. Together the two elements were to produce good citizens: good in that they were loyal to the regime; and good in that they had acquired the basic skills which modern life demanded.

Industrial progress brou ht by the economic stimulus of the "Great War" made Japan an industrial state in the full sense. Social changes following World War I, as well as the influence of child-centered education which originated in Europe, gave rise to the need for new textbooks. The Third Kokutei Textbook could not, however, adequately incorporate these new trends into textbook's content, because of strict government prescription in this area. In this period the Ministry of Education published

two kinds of Readers: one to meet the needs of children in rural areas, which was basically a revised edition of the previous textbook; another newly written textbook for those in urban areas. By 1928, the latter, which was used from 1918 to 1932, took over the revised edition completely. Therefore, the latter JINJYO SHOGAKU KOKUGO TOKUHON was chosen for the 1920's sample of this study. Characteristics of this Reader were the increased use of literary work to cultivate aesthetic sentiments in children's minds; and the increased adoption of subject matters which met children's interests and understanding.

The Fourth Kokutei Textbook appeared in 1933, following Japan's invasion of Manchuria, under the influence of a strong reaction to the Liberal movement of the '20's. All textbooks were rewritten in nationalistic terms. Many foreign books used in school were proscribed by the police. In 1937 the Ministry of Education issued a new book, Kokutai no Hongi (Principles of the National Polity), as the main text for the course in 'ethics'. Soon its doctrines became the basis of an intensive propaganda directed at the young.

In 1941 Kokumingakko Rei (the National School Act)

brought about the reorganization of the school system suited to the military regime. Curriculum for elementary schools was reorganized into four areas: civic education, science, training and art. Language Art was taught as a part of civic education which aimed at increasing national spirit and awareness of Japan's mission. Thus, the Fifth Kokutei Textbook of ultra-nationalism and militarism was published and utilized throughout World War II.

In 1945 the occupation authorities initiated education reforms, because it was well known that the central government utilized education, especially at the elementary level, as an effective tool to instill ultra-nationalism. Before 1945 the decision making power of all political spheres was centralized with virtually no local authority. During the occupation the Home Ministry was abolished and most of its functions were entrusted to prefectural and municipal administration headed by elected governors and mayors. Education became largely a local matter and was put under elected boards at the local level. Compulsory education was extended to a full nine years. Co-education at the post-elementary level, and a system of six years for primary, three years for

lower secondary, three years for higher secondary and four years for university was introduced, based on recommendations by the United States Educational Mission. This group implemented policies of progressive education in Japan.

It was two years before new textbooks were written and available. Students were obliged to use textbooks which were published before the occupation, corrected with black ink. After much confusion, new textbooks aimed at fostering 'grass-roots democracy' were written. No license or prescription by the Ministry of Education was required. The power to select books was given to local school boards and teachers. For the first time teachers had the initiative in material arrangement and teaching methods.

However, after the American interlude, the central government began strenuous attempts to recover the lost control over education which had been sharply curtailed as a result of occupation policy. There were intense confrontations between the Ministry of Education and NIKKYOSO (a national federation of prefectural unions of teachers), who advocated "the decentralized democractic

educational system". The elected board of Education was replaced by an appointed board despite strenuous objections. Previously liberal selection procedures for textbooks were frozen by the textbook authorization policies of the Ministry of Education. Duke (1973:132) describes the involvement of the ruling party toward the revision of textbook policies as follows:

> A bill to revise textbook policies was also under consideration along the lines of the ruling party's pamphlet entitled "Deplorable Textbook Problem", which charged that Nikkyoso teachers were bringing pressure on textbook publishers to approve leftist-oriented books before teachers would recommend purchase for their schools. The textbook bill proposed the following: to reduce sharply the number of textbooks requiring approval by the Ministry's Textbook Authorization Committee ...; to have the prefectural school board establish selection committees to make the final selections from the approved list; to have one textbook used throughout the prefecture for a given subject for each grade level.

The massive protest from all strata against this controversial textbook bill turned out to be partially successful in that the law was not changed. Nonetheless, the Ministry of Education has continued to exert bureaucratic pressure on the textbook authorization system.

At present all schoolbooks have to be licensed by

the Ministry of Education. From Kentei kyokasho (licensed textbooks) the local board of education selects textbooks for its jurisdiction. Since all textbooks, regardless of publishers, are to be written based on the Gakushu Shido Yoko (curriculum guide) issued by the Ministry of Education, there is no substantial variation in content. Our sampled textbooks for the 1970's were written on the basis of the recent curriculum guide for Language Art of 1968. It consists of the following two textbooks:

> Atarashii Kokugo published by Tokyo Shoseki Ltd. and licensed on April 10, 1970 by the Ministry of Education.
>
> Shinpan Hyojun Kokugo published by Kyoiku Shuppan Ltd. and licensed on April 10, 1970 by the Ministry of Education.

In Japan each student has to buy new textbooks every year. This is one of the big differences between Canadian and Japanese textbook policies. Textbooks are not expensive as compared to other books. However, the fact that they tend to be used only once guarantees text-book-makers a relatively stable market. These factors

make textbook-makers very sensitive to implicit directions from the Ministry of Education in order to receive license.

The 1970's textbooks for Language Art broaden their scope of teaching matters. These includ: how to use the library; how to consult a dictionary; how to make observation notes; how to carry on discussions, etc. This results in a sharp curtailment of reading material. In one book the researcher is not able to find sufficient number of chapters which contain story characters. Thus two books are utilized for the 1970's sample.

(II) Methods of Content Analysis

As Berelson (1954:490-498) states, the use of content analysis is usually divided into three areas: the characteristics of communication content; the causes of content; and the consequences of content. In this study the researcher is basically interested in the "characteristics of content". There are two facets of these characteristics - substance and form. When the researcher deals with the substance of content it is called semantical content analysis. This type of

analysis consists of two techniques: one is a descriptive analysis which involves frequency counts of certain categories specified on the basis of the theoretical concerns of the researcher; the other is a direction analysis in which a coder has to make judgment as to whether a stated content is favourable, neutral, or unfavourable on an issue specified by a researcher. When the researcher deals with form, he focuses upon the frequency of specific references or a measurement of linear space devoted to the specific topic. Content analysis of "form" has been used mainly to measure "readability" of printed materials, to discover stylistic features of literary works, and to expose propaganda techniques.

In this study two types of content analysis are employed to analyze the same materials: a descriptive analysis by manual coding; and formal analysis by computer coding. Most researchers analyze only one piece of material by one technique. However, this researcher is ready to acknowledge the possibility of shortcoming with respect to the reliability of content analysis. It is hoped that the possibility of erroneous conclusions would

be reduced if two types of analysis are applied to a given sample. If the results of these analyses point in a similar direction, validity and reliability would be increased.

There are two kinds of the computer programs for content analysis: one developed by Dr.Stone and his associates at Harvard University (1966); and the other by Dr.Maranda and his associates at University of British Columbia (1974). The Harvard Third Psycho-sociological Dictionary, the ready-made analytical scheme, which is applicable only to the documents written in English, is under revision and not currently available. The University of British Columbia program, which is applicable to any language, is available, but each researcher is to develop his own program for analysis suitable to his data after the first step of frequency analysis by the word-count program. In this study an attempt is made to combine ideas of two techniques in order to supplement the manual content analysis. However, this was unsuccessful because of technical difficulties. Therefore, the method and results obtained from this technique aided by the computer are reported in the form of a research note in Appendix D.

Since we are interested in the behavior patterns of textbook characters conceived as socialization models, only the chapters in which a human figure plays a key role are selected from the sampled books. Criteria for selection of a central character are found in the coding rules in Appendix B. The number of chapters selected as sample are shown by the number of story characters and by time and place (Table 1).

Coders for the 1920 British Columbian and for the 1920 Japanese texts are asked to specify the individual playing the central role in the stories. There is one chapter for the 1920 British Columbian text which does not present clearly a "central" role character. After discussion we agree to take two for "central". With this exception, the extent of agreement on selection of central characters is 100 per cent.

By the coding sheet and the coding rules which reflect the researcher's theoretical postulations, raw sample data are systematically transformed and aggregated into units which permit precise description of relevant content characteristics. As a basis for counting relevant aspects of the content, certain standard

TABLE 1

The Base Number of Four Samples

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Chapter with one central character	29	25	29	21
Chapter with two central characters	6	4	1	6
Chapter with group central character	2	0	3	5
Number of chapters examined	37	29	33	32
Number of individual characters examined	41	33	31	33

subdivisions of it must be used. In the semantic content analysis by manual coding, the character of the chapter as a whole is employed as the unit of analysis. In the 'formal' content analysis employing the computer, the word is the unit of analysis.

Reliability of the procedures is tested by the inter-coder agreement. From each of four groups, approximately one half of the sampled chapters is randomly selected and assigned to four different coders, one for each group, along with the coding rules. The researcher's coding is cross-checked with those done by the other coders. When there is a disagreement between coders, the researcher re-reads that specific chapter and codes it again. For each of the "closed" categories inter-coder agreement is calculated. Since the degree of agreement varies from item to item, this will be dealt with in a relevant section in Chapter V. For the "open" categories, codes are inductively constructed after coding has been completed.

Problems Explored

The discussion of Chapter II leads us to the following tentative hypotheses:

i) An individualistic orientation of the textbooks increases with the progression of industrialization regardless of distinctive cultural origin.

ii) The textbook tries to diffuse an achievement orientation among children to advance industrialization regardless of time and place.

Industrialization is a total process which may bring changes in all facets of culture. In this study, however, special attention is paid to the interpersonal sphere, that is, the ways of orienting oneself towards others and of conducting oneself. It is thought that this facet of value orientations is least affected by the political upheavals, but could have an important bearing on the performance of one's roles in an industrial society. What follows is a brief discussion on indigenous Japanese characteristics in this sphere in contrast with North American ones.

The relations between industrialization and individualism have been persistent in the West. This individualistic orientation appeared to be related with the inner-motivated individual and the work-success ethic, the so called 'protestant ethic' (Weber, trans.Gerth and Mills, 1946). In the nineteenth century American school-

books, the inner-directed self-made men exemplified by Benjamin Franklin were advocated as the models (Elson, 1964). However, while Riesman contended, on the basis of his observations of American society, that the rising stage of capitalism produced the inner-directed type, he also argued that American character has changed from the inner-directed to the other-directed. The other-directed type, characterized by orientation to human relationships rather than to goals, was seen as emerging with the progression of monopolistic capitalism (Riesman, 1950). This suggests that the North American becomes less achievement oriented.

However, no matter which type characterized Americans, as stated already in Chapter III, compared to other societies, a dominant American value was individualism based on notions of equality.

In contrast, the traditional Japanese orientation was the collective ethic, setting duty to the group above the rights of the individual. Benedict (1946), who studied prewar Japanese society, was impressed by its hierarchical structuring of interpersonal relations, and the role of the family over that of the individual. It

was said that the ruling class of the Meiji period utilized collectivity orientations to maintain social cohesion in the face of massive imports of ideas and habits from the West (Beasley, 1973). The ethical content of education before 1945 consisted, more or less, of upholding the collectivity orientation under the impact of Westernization and industrialization (Karasawa, 1956).

Collectivities with hierarchical ordering such as those that stress the descent from parent to child in kinship system, or those that emphasize superior and subordinate position are the basic unit of Japanese society. In this type of society, not the individual, but social roles based on such criteria as occupation, status, and age serve as indicators of position and tend to defi e interpersonal behavior. People tend to search for security within the group and consequently to be more sensitive to others. Thus, an other-directed personality develops as the Japanese social character. However, in the Japanese case, the other-directed type of social character appears to be related to achievement oriented behavior, since this type of personality becomes sensitive to his/her relative position vis-à-vis other individuals or collectivities. Befu (1971:183) states:

> The feeling of inferiority and the desire to rid herself of the inferior position, psychologically underpinned by the motivation to achieve, were largely responsible for Japan's eagerness to take over the industrial technology. ... Without this feeling of inferiority, Japan might have resisted the encroachment of Western technology and ideology.

After World War II there was a widespread reaction in Japan against 'traditional values'. Moreover, the ostensible purpose of postwar education was to transplant the ideology of equality as a basis of democratic society. In addition to that, increasing contact with the West had quite probably reduced the incidence and intensity of a collectivity orientation among the Japanese.

The result of a National Opinion Survey taken in 1958 (Gendai no Esupuri, 1973:113-114) indicated that concern with familial lineage had been gradually weakened especially after around 1955, when structural change in the Japanese economy occurred. However, an observer of this society recognized that there was a clear ranking system that placed people into vertical pigeon holes (Okimoto, 1971). He pointed out that Japanese language, characterized by elaborate usage of honorific words which indicate the relative positions of speakers, suggests the importance of vertical relationships. In conversation,

one was faced with the problem of selecting levels of politeness appropriate for the position of a person to whom he/she was talking. This constantly forced the Japanese to think of interpersonal relations in vertical terms. Okimoto (1971:113) concluded that a century after the end of the Edo period Japan was still to a large extent structured vertically in a 'modernized' hierarchy. We did not know to what extent the postwar Japanese society was still vertical, in comparison with the Western societies as well as the prewar Japanese society. Therefore, in addition to the hypotheses already stated in the beginning of this section, the incidence of vertical relationship in the textbook also was explored.

Matsumoto (1960) conducted the inquiry as to whether there has been any rise of individualism in the postwar Japan and found that despite the rapid industrialization and sweeping social changes, collectivity orientations are operative in a number of spheres, including the family, occupational groups, community life, and politics. Caudill and Scarr (1962), who did the survey using the theory and method coming from the work of F.Kluckhohn (1961), reported also a dominant orientation toward laterally extended groups, i.e. working together,

and cooperating with others more or less on an egalitarian basis. The results of a National Opinion Survey on preferred ways of life among young Japanese adults indicated a sharp decline of collective-oriented life style (Figure 1, Appendix C).

In summary, the general picture of change is still unclear, but there does seem to be agreement that Japan is not moving evenly in all spheres of behavior toward individualism.

We do not know how this whole process of social change affects the educational process. How do the text-books of non-western societies differ from those in western societies in this respect? Can we find more individualistic characters in the 1920's British Columbian text than in the 1920's Japanese one? Does the ratio of individualistic characters to the total become similar in the two places over half a century? These questions will be explored in our analysis.

Construction of Coding Categories

Berelson (1954) states that the categories have to be clearly formulated and well adapted to the problems and to the content of a document, since content analysis

stands or falls by its categories. The problems stated in the previous section are concerned with a philosophy of everyday life which governs mainly interpersonal relationships. There is a philosophy behind the way of life of every relatively homogeneous group at any given point in their histories. Florence Kluckhohn and Fred Strodtbeck (1961) have developed the conceptual framework of value orientations to examine this philosophy systematically in the famous Rimrock study. Their conceptual framework provides the basis for categories used in this descriptive content analysis which deals with value orientations of two culturally distinctive societies at two time periods.

F.Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961:4) conceive value orientations as complex, but definitely patterned, resulting from the transactional interplay of cognitive, affective and directive elements in the evaluative process. This transactional process gives order and direction to human acts and thoughts in relation to what are termed "common human problems," for which all people at all times must find some solution. They tentatively single out five common human problems and value orientation areas.

A crucial part of the theory holds that the answers to the problems are not random or limitless, but fall into definite, rank-ordered patterns with three possible alternatives. While this finite number of universal principles may vary from culture to culture or from time to time, they vary only in the ranking patterns of their components. In other words, all alternatives are present in all societies at all times, but are differentially preferred - one dominant, the others secondary.

Only two of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck's five major categories of orientation are used. They are: (1) relational orientation which centers upon the modality of man's relations to other men and is divided into 'lineality,' 'collaterality,' and 'individualism' alternatives; and (2) the activity orientation which is concerned with the modality of human behavior and is divided into 'doing,' 'being-in-becoming,' and 'being' alternatives. In the relational area, lineality stresses the primacy of the group goals continuous through time, as in hereditary and kinship structures. Collaterality emphasizes the primacy of the goals of the laterally extended immediate group. Individualism centers on the process of individual goal-setting with little reference to lineal or collateral

groups. Since our interest lies in the detection of proportionate change of collective vs. individualistic orientation over half a century in the content of the fourth grade readers, Kluckhohn's scheme is modified greatly and rewritten in such a way that coders could classify the contents into categories with relative ease. The resultant form appears in Part IV of the coding schedule in Appendix B. Each of eight alternatives is carefully delineated by the coding rules which also appear in Appendix B.

Parts V and VI of the coding schedule contain the modification of Kluckhohn's activity orientation. In the activity area, 'doing' stresses some form of product-oriented accomplishment capable of being measured by the individual or by society. The "Promethean" component of personality, which is said to be the spirit of our present industrial civilization based on technology (Psychology Today, 1975), is emphasized. 'Being-in-becoming' is concerned with what the individual is rather than what he can achieve; the stress is on continuing self-development and creativity. 'Being' emphasizes preference for spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given"

in the human personality. There is less concern for social or individual self-control and less emphasis on personal development or accomplishment. Two open-ended questions are added to detect the incidence of inner-directed achievement orientation among story characters.

Part II of the coding schedule is for detection of changes in modes of social intercourse embodied in the central characters, centering upon vertical vs.horizontal relations. Part III, which is constructed by referring to the Harvard Third Psycho-Sociological Dictionary in the General Inquirer System, is concerned with institutional contexts in which socialization takes place. This item, in combination with Part VII, may help us to detect ideal values which have been instilled into children.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

Data collected through manual coding enabled us to do qualitative as well as quantitative analysis. Emphasis was on qualitative analysis; however quantitative analysis based on the contingency tables of frequency was used to hold a rein on the run-away tendencies of the more subjective interpretation of qualitative data. An individual character was the basic unit of analysis, unless otherwise specified.

Characteristics of Central Charac ers

This section deals mainly with demographic features of the story characters who played a key role. Stories, in which a group of people played key roles, were excluded from this part of analysis.

1) The Sex of Central Characters

The incidences of female central characters had increased over half a century both in British Columbia

and in Japan, but in neither case was the change in male/female ratio statistically significant by a chi square test (Table 2). The relationship between sex and "central" character status was statistically significant at the .01 level with both of the 1920 texts and at the .05 level with both of the 1970 texts by the difference-of-proportion test. From this we could conclude that school textbooks were male-centered regardless of time and place (within British Columbia and Japan). A textbook study researched by the "Women in Teaching" group, B.C.T.F. in order to uncover sex discrimination in the prescribed text of British Columbia from grades one to seven, also found the male-centered orientation throughout grades. Weitzman and others (1972), who examined prize-winning picture books for preschool children, also found a total male/female ratio of 11:1.

Male characters were described predominantly as "doing" orientation, while females were, more or less, evenly divided between doing and other activity orientations (Table 3). Picture books for preschool children were found to have a similar trend in that boys were presented in more exciting and adventuresome roles,

TABLE 2

The Number of Male and Female Central Characters, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Male	33 (80%)	24 (73%)	26 (84%)	24 (73%)
Female	8 (20%)	9 (27%)	4 (13%)	8 (25%)
Unidentifiable			1	1
	41	33	31	33

TABLE 3

Activity Orientation by Sex of Story Character and Four Groups of Sample

		Doing	Being & being-becoming	z Score	Level of significance
B.C. 1920	Male	24 (72.7%)	9 (27.3%)	.571	Not significant
	Female	5 (62.5%)	3 (37.5%)		
B.C. 1970	Male	20 (83.3%)	4 (16.7%)	2.234	$p < .05$
	Female	4 (44.4%)	5 (55.6%)		
JAPAN 1920	Male	24 (92.3%)	2 (7.7%)	2.317	$p < .05$
	Female	2 (50.0%)	2 (50.0%)		
JAPAN 1970	Male	18 (75.0%)	6 (25.0%)	1.321	Not significant
	Female	4 (50.0%)	4 (50.0%)		

engaging in more varied pursuits and demanding more independence (Weitzman, 1972). The difference-of-proportion test (Blalock, 1972:228) was performed to find out whether or not male central characters were significantly more "doing" oriented, although N was not large enough. Differences of activity orientation between male and female were found significant at .05 level for '70 British Columbia and for '20 Japanese texts, but no significant differences showed up in '20 British Columbia and '70 Japan.

Since the number of female figures were so few, characteristics of these heroines were individually examined. The researcher found, after careful reading of these chapters, females in 1920 British Columbia texts were more active and heroic than the counterparts of any other groups. For example, Marcelle was proud to die for France and devotedly aided the fellow soldiers to get away from enemy Germans. Grace Darling was brave enough to go into stormy seas to save the shipwrecked. Japanese female characters in 1920 were also patriotic, but in a different sense. Ichitaro's mother gave her son words which encouraged him to devote himself to the emperor. In 1970 none of female characters were affected by patriotism. They were the persons, more or less, typically observed in daily life.

ii) Age and Occupation of Central Characters

A chi square test was performed to detect significant differences in age distribution among the four groups of the sample (Table 4). Regarding the age of central characters, no significant change occurred over time in British Columbia, while there was a significant shift from adult to children models in Japan (x^2 = test: $p < .05$). In 1920 there was a significant difference between British Columbia and Japan, but in 1970 no difference. This means that the age pattern of central characters in the Japanese textbook became similar to that in British Columbia. By presenting grade four pupils with exemplar adults, the 1920 Japanese textbook conveyed what would be expected of children when they grew older. In 1970, both British Columbia and Japanese textbooks did not offer the coming generation future images of themselves to the extent they did previously. They seemed to become present-oriented, by providing behavior models similar in age to the readers. It might be suspected that the socialization agent could not provide the coming generation with suitable adult models any longer because of rapid social change. Or it might be interpreted as a mere reflection of a pre-

TABLE 4

Age Distribution of Central Characters, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Before School Age	0 (0.0%)	1 (3.0%)	2 (6.4%)	2 (6.1%)
School Age	12 (29.3%)	16 (48.5%)	6 (19.4%)	20 (60.6%)
Youth	17 (41.5%)	8 (24.2%)	4 (12.9%)	3 (9.1%)
Adult	9 (21.9%)	6 (18.2%)	19 (61.3%)	8 (24.2%)
The Old	3 (7.3%)	2 (6.1%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
	41 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

B.C. '20 vs. B.C. '70 $x^2 = 4.8$ NS
Japan '20 vs. Japan '70 $x^2 = 12.11$ $p < .05$
B.C. '20 vs. Japan '20 $x^2 = 17.57$ $p < .005$
B.C. '70 vs. Japan '70 $x^2 = 5.34$ NS

vailing philosophy of child-centered education.

A list of occupations and their frequency (see Table 1 in Appendix A) indicated the pre-industrial nature of the occupational structure reflected in both British Columbia and Japanese texts. The biggest change between 1920 and 1970 was in the disappearance of occupations related to war. The only two exception were a knight in a Greek myth, and Robin Hood, a leader of an outlaw band, both in 1970 British Columbia. They were fictitious in nature and not a soldier or a knight on a real battle-field.

Since the incidence of each category of occupation was sparse and scattered, it was summarized in the way shown in Table 5. An interesting, but unanticipated finding was the "invisible occupation" in the 1970 Japanese text. This might be related to the frequent use of children models in school or peer group settings, as clarified later in our analysis of institutional contexts. Nonetheless, this fact served to put children in a social vacuum. With Table 5, significant differences between '70 Japan and '70 British Columbia ($x^2 = 18.69$, $p < .002$), and between '70 Japan and '20 Japan ($x^2 = 16.67$, $p < .003$) were brought about most probably by the high ratio of the

TABLE 5

Type of Occupation, by Time and Place

		British Columbia		Japan	
		1920	1970	1920	1970
I	Person who makes decision and gives instruction	9 (22.0%)	4 (12.1%)	13 (42.0%)	4 (12.9%)
II	Occupation receiving instruction in the hierarchy	6 (14.6%)	4 (12.1%)	1 (3.2%)	0 (0.0%)
III	Profession	6 (14.6%)	3 (9.1%)	1 (3.2%)	3 (9.7%)
IV	Occupation not in a structured hierarchy	12 (29.3%)	16 (48.5%)	10 (32.3%)	4 (12.9%)
V	Unknown & Fictitious Occupation	8 (19.5%)	6 (18.2%)	6 (19.3%)	20 (64.5%)
		41	33	31	31+

'20 B.C. vs. '70 B.C. $x^2 = 3.35$ NS

'20 B.C. vs. '20 Japan $x^2 = 7.09$ NS

'20 Japan vs. '70 Japan $x^2 = 16.87$ $p < .003$

'70 B.C. vs. '70 Japan $x^2 = 18.69$ $p < .002$

TABLE 5 (continued)

I : King, Lord, Prince, Chief of Tribe, General, Admiral, Politician, Sea-Captain.
II : Knight, Soldier, Samurai, Sailor.
III : The Learned, Artist, Doctor, Scientist, Teacher, Inventor, Nurse.
IV : Labourer, Farmer, Fisherman, Woodmen, Trapper, Blacksmith, Shoemaker, Stonecutter, Weaver, Storekeeper, Salesman, Showman, The Unemployed such as wife, grown-up daughter and old people.

\+ When a child not in labour force is a central character, the occupation of a parent or a guardian is taken into account, only if father or mother is not one of two central characters. The number of central characters for '70 Japan is 33, but parents of two child central characters are already counted in this Table.

"unknown" category of the '70 Japanese sample. The occupational distributions presented in '20 British Columbia and '20 Japan were not significantly different, even though the ratio of high status occupations was much higher in the 1920 Japanese text. Two distinctive types of central characters appeared in the 1920 Japanese textbook: one in high status was the personification of the desirable norms; and the other, the common people who displayed concrete examples of norms by their behavior in a given niche.

After all items in the coding sheet were analyzed, all characters, except those who exerted supernatural power, were reclassified into the following five categor es: (1) ordinary children or adults whc were doing ordinary acts; (2) ordinary children or adults who were praised for exceptional acts and/or talent; (3) cultural heroes or "great men" as the personification of history; (4) individuals who were stupid or who occupied nonsense roles, (5) legendary characters (Table 6). Classification was based on the researcher's subjective judgment. No cross-check was undertaken. A chi square test was performed to find out whether the differences between the

TABLE 6

Type of Man, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Ordinary person	11 (27.5%)	18 (54.5%)	12 (38.7%)	25 (78.1%)
Ordinary, but praised for acts	9 (22.5%)	9 (27.3%)	5 (16.1%)	3 (9.4%)
Man of excellence	15 (37.5%)	3 (9.1%)	13 (41.9%)	3 (9.4%)
Residual (4 & 5)	5 (12.5%)	3 (9.1%)	1 (3.3%)	1 (3.1%)
	40 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)	31 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)

two time periods and between the two cultures across categories (1), (2) and (3) were statistically significant. Because of infrequent appearance, categories (4) and (5) were excluded from statistical analysis. Significant shifts over half a century were observed both in the British Columbia ($x^2 = 11.2$, $p < .004$) and the Japanese texts ($x^2 = 11.3$, $p < .004$) with respect to the preferred type of men as a model. The direction of the shifts were characterized by the drastic decrease of the "great men" story and by the increased employment of ordinary individuals. This finding appeared to support Riesman's contention that the progression of industrialization facilitated a social character from the inner-directed to the other-directed type, since the "great man" was considered to be an exemplary person of the inner-directed type.

Institutional Contexts for Socialization

This section deals with interpersonal relationships which might facilitate the socialization of grade school children into the institutional arrangements particular to a given society at a given point in time. The story, instead of the character, was the unit of analysis in

this section.

i) Modes of Social Intercourse

All interpersonal relationships a central character had in the story were evaluated in terms of 'Vertical' or 'Horizontal' relationship. We called a relation 'vertical' when there existed a slope in the social position between a central character and the other party, while a relation was 'horizontal' when no slope existed between them. Vertical relationships were further classified by the relative position of a central character. When he/she occupied a high position in his/her relation to the other party with whom he/she came into contact, it was called 'vertical-high' relation, whereas 'vertical-low' when a central cha acter occupied a relatively low position.

When a central character had multiple relations with various other characters, one major relationship most relevant to his/her socialization process was specified. As a rule, one major relationship per story was taken for analysis. When there was more than one equally important relationship, all of them were counted. The mode of a major relationship was conceived to have a

significant bearing upon the socialization process of grade school children more than other interpersonal relationship presented in the text. This significance might be lessened, however, when more than one type of relationship was presented simultaneously. Therefore, the weight of each relationship was calculated by dividing 1 by the number of relations counted for analysis when major relationships were more than one. The weighted score of 1 was given when a central character had only one major relationship in the story. Agreement of judgment between the researcher and another coder regarding the specification of the primary relationship was found to be almost 100% across the four sample groups. However, in the case of the secondary relationship, the extent of agreement was 66% for '20 British Columbia, 50% for '70 British Columbia, 80% for '20 Japan, and 40% for '70 Japan. Stories in which a group played the key role were eliminated from analysis.

Proportions instead of raw scores for the three modes of social intercourse were used for statistical analysis (Table 7). Differences in the proportion of each interpersonal mode were examined, first, within the same

TABLE 7

Modes of Social Intercourse, by Time and Place

	B.C. 1920	B.C. 1970	Japan 1920	Japan 1970	
Vertical-Low	20.5 (60.0%)	13.5 (46.5%)	8.5 (28.3%)	9.5 (35.2%)	'20 B.C.vs.'70 B.C.z=1.089 NS '20 Japan vs.'70 Japan z=.559 NS '20 B.C.vs.'20 Japan z=2.563 p<.02 '70 B.C.vs.'70 Japan z= .859 NS
Horizontal	8.5 (24.3%)	11.5 (39.7%)	10.0 (33.4%)	12.5 (46.3%)	'20 B.C.vs.'70 B.C. z=1.322 NS '20 Japan vs.'70 Japan z=.995 NS '20 B.C.vs.'20 Japan z = .810 NS '70 B.C.vs.'70 Japan z = .499 NS
Vertical-High	6.0 (17.2%)	4.0 (13.8%)	11.5 (38.3%)	5.0 (18.5%)	'20 B.C.vs.'70 B.C. z= .373 NS '20 Japan vs.'70 Japan z=1.646 NS '20 B.C.vs.'20 Japan z = 1.913 p<.06 '70 B.C.vs.'70 Japan z = .479 NS
	35.0 (100.0%)	29.0 (100.0%)	30.0 (100.0%)	27.0 (100.0%)	

cultural context over the fifty-year period. There were no significant differences in all three modes within either the British Columbia or the Japanese texts. Next, the possible influence of culture upon modes of interpersonal relations was investigated in comparisons between the two societies at the same points in time. Significant differences were found between the British Columbia and Japanese texts in 1920, but not in 1970. Vertical relationships in which a key character occupied the low position appeared much more frequently in the British Columbia text ($z = 2.56$, $p < .02$), while vertical relationships with the key character in the high position appeared more frequently in Japanese texts ($z = 1.91$, $p < .06$). In the Japanese 1920 text, stories tended to evolve along the vertical relation with the central character in the superior position exhibiting wisdom, bravery and concern for people in the inferior position. The high incidence of vertical-low social relations in the British Columbia texts might also be related to our finding in the previous section, that is, frequent employment of children as models. Since adults' relations to children were socializing as well as regulative in function, children

usually occupied low positions in the vertical axis. Incidences of horizontal relations seemed to be statistically equal throughout time and place. The pattern of proportions in 1970 between British Columbia and Japan was quite similar. From this statistical analysis, it appeared that a sort of convergence might have occurred with respect to the model of social relations for children.

Most of the relations which were classified as 'vertical-low' were concerned with the socialization of a central character, usually a child or youth. The content of these relations were examined in terms of the type of socializing agents (Table 8). Because of the small size of each cell number, statistical analysis was not performed. It should be noted, however, that in the Japanese texts, the mother shared an equally important role in the children's socialization. This was not the case in British Columbia textbooks. This might be interpreted as a reflection of the close affective interdependence between mother and child pointed out by many anthropologists (for example, Befu, 1971) to be characteristic of the Japanese family, rather than as a liberal approach to the relations between the sexes.

TABLE 8

Type of Major Socializing Agents in Vertical-Low Relationships, by Time and Place

Person in a High Position of Vertical-Low Relations	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Father	4	4	3	5
Mother	0	2	2	4
Grandfather	3	1	0	0
Relative	2	1	0	0
Teacher	0	0	1	3
Captain, Employer, Neighbour	6	7	1	1
King, Lord, Queen, Shougun	5	5	3	0
God	2	0	1	0
Others (personified plants or animals, fictitious characters)	0	2	0	2
	22	22	11	15

The contents of vertical-high relations were also found somewhat different in terms of characterization of a person in a high position. In the Japanese texts, especially stories of Japanese origin, a central character in a high position was usually concerned for the good of persons in a lower position, whereas, in the British Columbia texts, most of the story characters in a higher position tended to lord it over people in an inferior position, or he acts positively on his own behalf. It should be noted that the content of 'vertical' relationships in Japanese society was quite different from those of the West, although Japan had been regarded as a 'vertical' society. The persons highly placed did not necessarily wield dictatorial authority over inferiors. Rather, he was expected to look after persons under him. The Vancouver Sun (February 26, 1975), quoted the result of the 1969 survey conducted by the Japan Statistics Research Center:

> The Japanese respondents were asked to choose between: (1) a boss who never asks one to do tasks above and beyond one's normal duties, but who also never takes an interest in one's personal problems; and (2) a boss who sometimes asks one to do such tasks, but who also takes an active interest in one's personal

> problems. Fully 80 percent of the respondents indicated a preference for the latter type... In the United States, when the same question was asked, a large percentage of the respondents replied that they did not even understand the meaning of the question.

This illustrates characteristics of a Japanese boss quite well. A person in a higher position is expected to play both instrumental and expressive roles, actively taking care of people under his supervision. This type of expectation is closely related to a collective orientation among the Japanese, which is illustrated later.

It was evident that this unique quality of vertical relationships was present in both 1920 and 1970 Japanese schoolbooks.

ii) Institutional Contexts

In addition to analysis of the preferred modes of human relations, the institutional contexts in which these interpersonal activities took place were examined. For this, stories with a group as a major character were included. Agreement between two coders for specification of institutional areas was 75% for '20 British Columbia, 82% for '70 British Columbia, 53% for '20 Japan and 41% for '70 Japan. We could not attain a high degree of

agreement, partly because the number of the areas to be chosen was left to a coder's discretion. Some coders tended to select two areas almost all the time, while the others selected one. In this case,the agreement dropped to 50% even if one of two areas was mutually chosen. When two areas were selected, a score of one-half was given to each of them. The scores in Table 2, Appendix A, were the cumulative weighted frequencies.

Spearman's rank-order correlation coefficients were obtained to detect whether or not the overall pattern of institutional contexts varied significantly from 1920 to 1970 within the same society and across cultures within the same time period. As indicated by Table 9, in the 1920's, the institutional contexts employed by the British Columbia text were significantly similar to those of the Japanese text. Similarity between the 1920's and the 1970's within British Columbia was not statistically significant, but we could still assume from the correlation coefficient that a fair amount of similarity was retained. With Japanese texts we failed to reject the null hypothesis of no similarity between the 1920's and the 1970's. From this statistical analysis, it appeared that, with respect

TABLE 9

Rank-Order Correlation Matrix with Preferred Institutional Contexts

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
B.C. 1920	1	.3982	.5768*	#
B.C. 1970		1	#	.2654
Japan 1920			1	.2728

* $p < .05$
# These comparisons are theoretically meaningless.

to institutional contexts as story settings, divergence might have occurred since the 1920's when both of British Columbia and Japanese texts tended to put central characters in similar environments.

In order to clarify the direction of divergence, categories with low incidence (of Table 2 in Appendix A) were combined. Table 10 indicated that family scenes were valued regardless of time and place. It was important to note that, in 1920 Japan, the extended family which usually included grandparent or a housemaid, was presented more frequently than the nuclear family (65%), while 26% for 1920 British Columbia, 25% for 1970 British Columbia and 8% for the 1970 Japanese texts dealt with the extended family. This appeared to be a reflection of what had occurred in the structure of Japanese family.

The 1920 texts were characterized by frequent employment of military and political scenes. More than half of the military scenes of the 1920 British Columbia text were related to the 'Great' War, while three military scenes of the 1970 British Columbia text came from Greek myth, the war between England and Spain in the seventeenth

TABLE 10

Institutional Areas Presented in the Four Sampled Books

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Family	11.5 (31.1%)	6.0 (20.7%)	10.0 (30.0%)	6.5 (20.4%)
Political & Military	11.0 (29.7%)	2.5 (8.6%)	11.0 (33.3%)	1.0 (3.1%)
Community	1.5 (4.0%)	4.0 (13.8%)	4.0 (12.1%)	4.5 (14.2%)
Economic	3.0 (8.1%)	5.5 (19.0%)	0.5 (1.5%)	0.0 (0.0%)
Recreational	0.5 (1.4%)	4.0 (13.8%)	1.0 (3.0%)	1.5 (4.8%)
Academic & Artistic	4.0 (10.8%)	1.0 (3.4%)	2.5 (7.6%)	10.0 (31.4%)
Peer Group	2.0 (5.4%)	2.0 (6.9%)	1.0 (3.0%)	5.0 (15.7%)
Residual	3.5 (9.5%)	4.0 (13.8%)	3.0 (9.2%)	3.5 (10.4%)
	37.0 (100.0%)	29.0 (100.0%)	33.0 (100.0%)	32.0 (100.0%)

century,and Japan's invasion of China. In these stories of the 1970 British Columbia text, the war constituted the background and was not a major part of the episodes. The score of political area for 1970 Japanese sample was due to court bureaucracy described in Andersen's fairy tales, The Emperor's New Clothes. Thus, we could conclude that military and political scenes virtually disappeared by 1970 in both British Columbia and Japan. The similarity in the 1920's between the British Columbia and Japanese texts in this respect probably was brought about by World War I, rather than through the progression of industrialization. This part seemed to be replaced by economic and recreational scenes in the British Columbia text, and, in the Japanese text, by peer group and school scenes. The 1970 Japanese texts emphasized achievement and cooperation in the school settings, while no such trend was apparent in the British Columbia text where the intent appeared to be to provide something interesting for the child to read.

This finding coincided with results of other studies. As stated in Chapter III, the autobiographies about one's future life written by American college females were found to put more emphasis upon recreational

sphere than others (Stone, 1966). The small-scale survey based on the translated questionnaire of Japanese opinion survey revealed a similar trend in Canadian population (Clarke, 1947). As Table 1, Appendix C indicated, the Canadian way of life was turning more towards work as being a basic necessity and spending as much time as possible doing recreational activities, although both the Canadians and Japanese desired time for recreaction. The Canadians can enjoy recreation as part of their daily life, but the Japanese still need some justification to have a time for recreation, and are ill-prepared to enjoy free time (Table 1, Appendix C). Recreation-oriented attitude among the Canadians appears to be fostered subtly even through readers for Language Arts.

iii) Time Settings

The background of each story, with both individual and group central characters was examined further in terms of four possible alternatives: (1) contemporary scenes (approximately 1900-1920 for the 1920's samples and World War II - 1970 for the 1970's); (2) past; (3) future; and (4) no specific time or when time settings are not identifiable.

A chi square test was performed, combining "future" with "not specific" category (Table 11). It was found that there were significant differences between British Columbia and Japan and between the 1920's and the 1970's. The Japanese texts were keen to materials connected with contemporary life, while the British Columbia texts tended to adopt historical or legendary materials throughout the period covered by this study, with the exception of episodes connected with World War I. Four out of seven contemporary stories in the 1920 British Columbia had the background of the War I. The Japanese text moved towards more contemporary orientation, but the British Columbia text towards less contemporary over five decades. This might be partly due to the basic differences in nature of textbooks for Language Arts. The British Columbia texts consisted of stories just to enhance reading skills. For example, the stories of the 1970's British Columbia text were classified under the headings of Fantasy Land, Canadian Folk Tales, Animal Stories, Brave Hearts, Tales of the Sea, Travellers' Tales, Nature's Wonders, and A Little Nonsense. None of the stories have the intention to address themselves to the reality of contemporary

TABLE 11

Time Settings, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Contemporary	7 (18.9%)	2 (6.9%)	17 (51.5%)	20 (62.5%)
Past	28 (75.7%)	16 (55.2%)	15 (45.5%)	4 (12.5%)
Future	0 (0.0%)	2 (6.9%)	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)
Not specific	2 (5.4%)	9 (31.0%)	1 (3.0%)	8 (25.0%)
	37 (100.0%)	29 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)	32 (100.0%)

'20 B.C. vs.'70 B.C. $x^2 = 14.1$ $p < .001$ '20 B.C. vs.'20 Japan $x^2 = 8.42$ $p < .02$
'20 Japan vs.'70 Japan $x^2 = 12.04$ $p < .003$ '70 B.C. vs.'70 Japan $x^2 = 22.3$ $p < .0002$

Canadian scenes. Romanticism frilled with adventurous and courageous deeds was characteristic of the 1970 British Columbia text. In addition to romanticism, the 1920 British Columbia text carried some stories of moral teaching. Whereas the Japanese readers, especially the 1970 text, were a collection of all material to be taught in Language Arts class. They did not have many'stories' which were comparable to the British Columbia text, but many chapters which aimed at improvement of writing skill and of discussion ability. Topics for these chapters all came from children's daily life, resulting in the high incidence of 'contemporary' category.

Individualism vs.Collectivity Orientation

In this section, value orientations which governed the interpersonal behavior of a central character, which were termed 'relational orientation' by F.Kluckholn (1961), were explored. A summary table directly derived from Part (IV) of the coding sheet was found in Table 3, Appendix A. Intercoder agreement about this item was found to be 66% for '20 British Columbia, 88% for '70 British Columbia, 71% for '20 Japan and 68% for '70 Japan. Since the number of cases in many categories was too small

to allow for statistical analysis, closely related categories were combined. When a central character was doing something for his/her own well-being or on behalf of mankind or God, his/her relational orientation was classified as 'Individualistic'. When activities or concerns of a central character were addressed to an identifiable group, this relation was termed as 'Collectivity'. Categories 'Local Community' and 'Country or Society' in the coding sheet constituted a new category of 'Collectivity Orientation'. 'Lateral Relation' mean face-to-face relation that a central character had with another individual on the basis of mutual interest and respect. In a broader sense, the orientation of a central character in this category was individualistic. At least his behavior was not addressed to a specific collectivity. Categories 'Others' and 'Recipient and Observer' are excluded, thereby giving five groupings in Table 12.

A chi square test was performed to find out differences in the overall patterns of relational orientations between the 1920's and the 1970's within the same society and between British Columbia and Japan within the same time period. No significant differences were found between British Columbia and Japan for either the 1920's

TABLE 12

Relational Orientation, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Individualistic	18 (46.2%)	15 (50.0%)	6 (20.0%)	14 (42.4%)
Family-oriented	3 (7.7%)	6 (20.0%)	8 (26.7%)	8 (24.2%)
Collectivity	7 (17.9%)	3 (10.0%)	7 (23.3%)	5 (15.2%)
Lateral relation with individual	5 (12.8%)	4 (13.3%)	4 (13.3%)	6 (18.2%)
Persons whom one is serving	6 (15.4%)	2 (6.7%)	5 (16.7%)	0 (0.0%)
	39 (100.0%)	30 (100.0%)	30 (100.0%)	33 (100.0%)

'20 B.C. vs. '70 B.C.	NS	'20 B.C. vs. '20 Japan	NS
'20 Japan vs. '70 Japan	NS	'70 B.C. vs. '70 Japan	NS

or the 1970's. In the case of British Columbia, the 1920's and the 1970's could be regarded as quite similar. It was likely, however, that Japan underwent a considerable change with respect to relational orientation between the 1920's and the 1970's, though it did not reach .05 level of significance ($x^2 = 8.81$, $p. < .06$).

To contrast the individualistic orientation with the collective one, categories 2, 3, 6, and 7 (Table 3, Appendix A) were combined under the heading of 'Collective' and categories 1, 5, and 8 under 'Individualistic', since they were behaviors which were not addressed to a group, but basically motivated by individualistic orientation. When treated this way, a significant difference emerged between British Columbia and Japan in 1920 ($x^2 = 4.71$, $p < .03$), but not for 1970 (Table 4, Appendix A). Still no difference was found between '20 and '70 within Japan. It was evident that the Japanese text of the 1920's had a collectivity orientation, which had been somewhat attenuated over the half century, but those of the 1970's were still not as individualistic as the Canadian counterpart. This became apparent when we took into account stories in which a group plays a central role. We could

say that the reading materials of the 1970 Japanese text were more or less evenly divided between those with individualistic and those with collective orientation (Table 5, Appendix A).

It should be also noted that in the 1920 British Columbian texts all seven collectivity-oriented characters appeared in the war settings and a primary theme was "doing his/her duty to his/her country", while, in the 1970 British Columbian text, all three were legendary characters: Robin Hood was concerned with his band and under-privileged people; Owaissa devoted herself to her Indian tribe; and Medea, witch maiden, helped Greek sailors to get water from the shore by her tricking of Talus, the guard of Crete Island. In the case of British Columbia, it was obvious that, under the immediate pressure of World War I, loyalty to the country was highly emphasized, but it disappeared quickly when emergency circumstances did not exist.

In the 1920 Japanese text, the contribution to his immediate reference group was stressed more than duty to the country. For example, Kouzo entered the horse-race for the honcur of his village since the winner's village

was to become the head of the county; the Captain gave a lecture on voyages for the benefit of students of his Alma Mater, etc. The contradictory finding to the general belief that the prewar Japanese texts put heavy emphasis upon 'devotion to the country' would be explained by the fact that, as outlined before, the Third Kokutei textbooks, from which the sample book was drawn for this study, were written in the liberal atmosphere of the '20's and least affected by the emperor-centered nationalism. The stress upon contribution and devotion to one's group, however, was carried on to the 1970's: Harada's deed of washing an arm band for her class was described in a highly praised manner; and Yasunosuke, the head of the village, devoted himself to construction of the aqueduct for the good of the villagers under his rule. A principal, who gave hair cuts to the boys in his school who wished to have them, but could not, because of no available barber in their little town, was taken up as an example article of the chapter titled "How to Read the Newspaper". We could easily recognize that indigenous group oriented behavior was still apparent in the 1970 Japanese text. The attitude of looking after the insiders of his/her

group and of expecting to be looked after by belonging to a certain group is the essence of Japanese collectivity orientation. Japanese textbooks appeared to reinforce this traditional tendency of personal identification with collectivity. In the West, one does not expect assistance from others. One must assert himself actively and display his ability to others. Historically speaking, this indigenous orientation to one's reference group was replaced by the emphasis upon the highest collectivity, the country, by the policy of the Japanese government, and consequently played a part in the formation of ultra-nationalism.

Over the half century, individualistic orientation of British Columbia textbooks was basically unchanged, if we put aside the influence of the War I. The relational orientation embodied in behavior of Japanese textbook characters was shifting towards the Canadian pattern, but still retained a group orientation. Individualism was said to be an important element of an industrial society. However, our findings suggest that successful industrial-ization need not necessarily be accompanied by an increasing individualistic orientation.

Activity Orientation

It was hypothesized that a 'doing' orientation was associated with giving priority to the economic technological sphere, while a 'being-in-becoming' orientation was related to the dominance of the intellectual-esthetic sphere (F. Kluckhohn, 1961). In order to advance industrialization, education might have aimed at diffusion of a 'doing' orientation among the residents of a nation, no matter what activity orientation was traditional. Intercoder agreement for specification of activity orientation was: 81% for '20 British Columbia, 75% for '70 British Columbia, 64% for '20 Japan, and 74% for '70 Japan.

No significant differences were found (Table 13) by a chi square test, indicating that the occurrence of the three alternatives of activity orientation had not varied between British Columbia and Japan, and between the 1920's and the 1970's. The ratio of doing orientation was significantly higher than others ($p < .01$ for '20 Japan, $p < .05$ for '20 British Columbia, '70 British Columbia and '70 Japan). We could conclude that the textbooks examined projected primarily a "doing" orientation.

The cases of 'doing' orientation were subdivided further into four alternatives in terms of how he/she accomplishes it. (1) his own action; (2) his talent; (3) the aid of supernatural power; and (4) others. The researcher found that most of the doing-oriented characters achieved their ends by their own actions, regardless of time or place. It was evident that British Columbian and Japanese texts intended to impart the spirit of self-help to children. Zube (1972) reported that changes in 'doing' to 'being-in-becoming' activity orientation had occurred among American women during the period of 1948 to 1969. However, it was unlikely that children's literature would take the same stand since the very nature of textbooks was to socialize children into such types of persons who could meet the demands of industrial society.

The conceptions of Kluckhohn's 'doing orientation' and McClelland's 'achievements need' appear to regard "inner drive" as only one source for achievement. However, further examination of highly achievement-oriented characters in Japanese texts indicated another source of drive for achievement. Takeshi, the grade four boy, did jogging alone every morning without the knowledge of his

TABLE 13

Activity Orientation, by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Doing	30 (69.8%)	23 (69.7%)	29 (85.2%)	27 (71.1%)
Being	7 (16.3%)	3 (9.1%)	2 (5.9%)	3 (7.9%)
Being-in-becoming	5 (11.6%)	5 (15.1%)	2 (5.9%)	7 (18.4%)
Observer or recipient	1 (2.3%)	2 (6.1%)	1 (3.0%)	1 (2.6%)
	43	33	34	38
Re: Doing Orientation	$z = 2.41$ $p < .05$	$z = 2.09$ $p < .05$	$z = 4.17$ $p < .01$	$z = 2.42$ $p < .05$

classmates, because he was so chagrined at being the slowest runner of his class and being nicknamed "Takeshi the Slow". The example essay in the chapter titled "How to Make a Good Composition" revolved around Emiko's hard training which was motivated by her chagrin of being unable to work on a horizontal bar at a physical education class as skilfully as most of her classmates. She wrote in her composition that she almost shed tears since she felt overcome by a sense of inferiority. It should be noted that motives to achieve came from the other-directed orientation, consciousness of her relative position in a sort of hierarchical ordering. Whereas, in the British Columbia texts, achievement oriented behaviors were depicted not in the comparative contexts of others, but in relation to the goal. One competed to attain the goal. In this sense, the characters acted individualistically. Thus, other-directed personalities in North American societies tended to be related to less achievement oriented behavior, but other directed personalities in Japanese society were linked to achievement oriented behavior. Both Canadian and Japanese texts were found to have the high incidence of 'doing orientation' . However, motives of

'doing orientation' were characterized by the indigenous quality of value orientation.

Virtues Advocated in the Textbooks

The task of extracting virtues (or deviation-value) expressed by the behavior of central characters was subject to subjective judgment by nature. One coder paid attention to one aspect of description, a second to another, and a third to still another. Therefore, all virtues listed by any coders were taken into consideration. From this list, categories were inductively constructed and then each character was coded again by the newly formulated category (Table 6, Appendix A).

The virtue advocated by all four groups was "concern for other individuals" which included friendship, willingness to help others, love, etc. Considerate behavior was highly praised, in daily life settings in the case of Japanese texts, and in somewhat special contexts other than daily life in the British Columbia texts.

The 1920 British Columbia text emphasized "responsibility" or "attending to one's duty diligently" and "patriotic feeling", both of which were not noticeable

in the 1970 British Columbian text. Whereas, the 1920 Japanese text was conspicuous by its emphasis upon "loyalty to one's lord, or one's master," an emphasis which disappeared completely by 1970.

"Courage" or "bravery" was advocated in the British Columbian texts in both 1920 and 1970, but not so much in Japanese texts. The 1970 Japanese text was characterized by categories of "persistent effort" to achieve something and of "cooperation".

The only one deviation-value which appeared fairly frequently was "self-conceit" in the 1920 British Columbian text.

Summary of the Findings by Manual Content Analysis

Convergent trends were discernible in the modes of social intercourse and the age pattern of the textbook models. The proportion of the three modes of interpersonal relations presented in British Columbian and Japanese textbooks became similar in the 1970's. The shift from the adult to children models was noticed in both British Columbia and Japan. As far as 'individualism' vs. 'collective orientation' was concerned, the contents of Japanese texts appeared to have moved toward the British

Columbia pattern. However, we must guard against concluding that the unique Japanese theme of collective orientation is being taken over by individualism with the progression of industrialization. We could still discern a unique tendency of "looking after each other" in the interpersonal behaviors of Japanese textbook characters.

A divergent trend was noticed in the handling of institutional contexts in which socialization took place. Under the impact of World War I, the British Columbian and Japanese texts appeared to converge in this respect, but after half a century the British Columbian text was centered around economic and recreational concerns, while the Japanese text revolved around school and neighbourhood scenes.

An identical change was observed with respect to the employment of the preferred type of men as socialization models. Both the Japanese and British Columbian 1970's texts tended to deal more with the affairs of 'ordinary' citizens than those of 'great men'.

What did not change appreciably over the period of half a century covered by this study was: male-centered orientation, 'doing' orientation; and an emphasis on

family life.

A high degree of "unrealism" was one shared feature between British Columbian and Japanese texts. The British Columbian texts tended to draw materials from the non-contemporary settings and the Japanese texts put models in contemporary contexts, but with little flavour of actual reality. Surprisingly there existed very few models of modern occupations associated with increased industrialization in both British Columbian and Japanese texts.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Modernization is not synonymous with Westernization, although the process of assimilating Western culture in the broadest sense has been sometimes viewed as a model course of modernization. Modernization is a synonym for all those social and political changes which accompanied industrialization, such as urbanization, development of education, as well as the development of political institutions from absolutist to representative government. Industrialization is a narrower concept than modernization, referring mainly to the changes brought about in the economy by the use of a technology based on inanimate sources of power as well as on the continuous development of applied scientific research (Bendix, 1967:28). It is said that the culture incorporating industrial technology must modify other facets of culture to bring about a new adjustment with the technology, unless the traditional culture is "ready" and "preadapted" to it. However, culture may not always respond to the industrialization as rapidly as the

organizational features of a society.

This paper aimed at finding out whether or not 'convergent' patterns of value orientations supporting industrial culture, emerged between two advanced industrial societies with distinctive cultural backgrounds. Special attention was paid to the ways of orienting oneself toward others and of conducting oneself in the formative years, which could have an important bearing on the performance of one's adult roles in an industrial society. As a representative of value orientations underlying prevailing models, the fourth-grade readers of British Columbia and Japan were examined.

It was found that the form of socialization models, such as the age, preferred type of man, and 'vertical' vs. 'horizontal' interpersonal relationships, has changed over five decades covered by this study, while the substance of socialization models, that is, the guiding principles of interpersonal behavior such as 'individualism' vs. 'collectivity' orientation, tended to resist changes and retain the indigenous quality.

As for comparison of the processes of social change occurring in two societies, Dunning and Hopper (1966:164)

offer a three dimensional theoretical framework. The first dimension is: (1) convergent; (2) divergent; and (3) parallel patterns of change. The second dimension is: (1) total; and (2) partial. The concept 'total' change refers to a pattern in which all the elements in a society are affected; the concept 'partial' change to a pattern in which only some elements are affected. Convergent and divergent patterns of change, whether total or partial, may also be classified in terms of the third dimension: (1) one-way, when a whole or a given property of society A becomes more similar to the counterpart of society B, while society B is relatively unchanged or vice versa; and (2) two-way, when two societies become more alike by both moving toward the same direction.

Our study suggests that total convergence of industrial societies was unlikely to occur at least with respect to value orientations. As far as value orientations are concerned, our findings indicate that partial convergent and divergent patterns of change have occurred simultaneously between British Columbia and Japan. A two-way convergent pattern of change is demonstrated as to the proportionate change of the three modes of interpersonal

relations presented as socialization models: the 1970 British Columbian text presents vertical-low relationships less than the 1920's and the 1970 Japanese text presents vertical-high less than the 1920's. A two-way divergent pattern of change is observed in the model institutional contexts for children's socialization: in the 1970's, the emphasis on economic and recreational spheres is characteristic of the British Columbian text, while academic and community scenes are characteristic of the Japanese texts. Since the institutional contexts of story settings are most susceptible to social changes, however, there is a good ground for believing that Japanese texts may adopt recreational spheres more in the near future, when modern technology comes to make it possible to let the work week shrink and the vacations get longer. Presently, Japan has just entered the "Leisure Age". When leisure rather than work constitutes the dominant value of men's lives (Dempsey, 1972:82), both British Columbian and Japanese schoolbooks will probably include more stories revolving around recreational spheres. Thus, we predict that a convergent trend in this aspect may emerge in the long-run as a result of the constraints of industrialization, although, within the time span of the 1920's to the 1970's,

an apparent divergent trend was observed.

The one-way convergent patterns are observed in the family model and the age pattern of textbook models: the Japanese shifts from the extended to the nuclear family model, and the adult to the child model, the British Columbian pattern, brought a convergence. Befu (1971:184) points out that the relative flexibility of its kinship system is one of contributing factors to Japan's rapid modernization.

Guiding principles of interpersonal behavior have been affected little by social change accompanying industrialization: the individualistic orientation of British Columbian characters is basically the same over time and Japanese characters retain the collectivity orientation, although the 1970 texts have more individualistic characters than the 1920's. This finding gives the impression that a one-way convergent pattern of change is half-way through. Close examination of the behavior tendencies of individual characters, however, reveals rather strong interdependency among group members, suggesting that a collectivity orientation may persist as a unique cultural theme of Japanese social relationships.

This social principle appears to be highly adaptable and flexible to any structural arrangement of an industrial society. The collectivity orientation with persons in higher positions who readily look after insiders of a group, termed "institutional paternalism," gives a particular flavour to almost all Japanese organization, formal or informal, modernized or traditional (Befu, 1971: 184). Institutional paternalism contrasts drastically with the western concept of individualism, but it is very functional to modernized Japanese society. It would be incorrect to regard institutional paternalism as a legacy of pre-modernized Japan, using individualism as an indicator of modernity. The possibility of divergent development in the principles of social relationship, characterized by the indigenous value orientation, appears to be greater among the industrial countries, despite any structural contraints inhering in industrialization.

No cultural differences between British Columbia and Japan are observed among the preferred type of a person as textbook characters. Male-centered orientations and emphases on family life and achievement oriented behavior remain unchanged over time, although the preferred type of

a person has shifted from the 'great men' to the 'ordinary citizen' model without exception in both British Columbia and Japan. Still others remain unchanged over time. The discernible shift of the preferred model may be brought about under the constraints of industrialization as discussed before. The changes or absence of changes in these respects regarded as reflecting identical rather than parallel patterns of change as described by Dunning and Hopper. It is suspected that both societies initially had a great deal in common in these aspects. We can draw little conclusive interpretation from these findings for convergence of cultural elements in industrial societies. In addition to that,we do not know how stable these converged states are. At the very least we can foresee that the recent criticism against male-centered textbooks (B.C.Department of Education, 1974) may bring some changes in the female/male ratio of textbook characters.

In summary,the above discussions based on the findings from this exploratory research employing the case study method lead us to formulate the following general propositions on the possible convergence or divergence of value orientations among industrial societies.

(1) The institutional sphere emphasized as the dominant value of men's lives will converge toward more leisure orientation with the progression of industrialization, if other factors are held constant.

(2) The form of interpersonal relationship embodied in socialization models will exhibit convergent trends toward the nuclear family model and the child centered orientation.

(3) The guiding principle of interpersonal relationship, as the substance of socialization models, will persist basically, causing divergent development in related spheres.

The present study assumes that we can examine the constraints of industrialization upon cultural elements by controlling the level of industrialization and political system of the two societies under consideration. Then, we implicitly equate the stage at which British Columbia stands in its trajectory of industrialization with that of Japanese society, simply because they belong to 'advanced' industrial countries. As already pointed out by Dunning and Hopper (1966:168), however, a temporal

period of a given length in the industrialization of one society may not correspond structurally to a temporal period of identical length in the industrialization of another. Care must have been taken to examine the level of industrial technology by one or another means, though this task itself is difficult. This exploratory study has a drawback in this respect. In addition, another difficulty lies in singling out the impact of industrialization upon the textbook from those of the sweeping social changes occurring in Japan after World War II. Cultural orientations may be changed by constraints other than those inherent in industrialization. In order to determine causal relationships between the changes in cultural orientations and the industrialization, a more adequate theoretical and methodological apparatus is needed.

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CONTENTS

APPENDIX A

TABLE 1

Occupation[+] of Central Characters by Time and Place

	British Columbia				Japan			
	1920		1970		1920		1970	
Child without occupation	9		12		3		19	
King, Lord, Queen, Chief of Tribe	3		-		2		2	1
General, Admiral, Leader of Band	3		1		7		-	
Politician, mayor, official	-	1	1		2		1	
Knight, soldier, samurai	5	1	1		1		-	
Sea-captain	2		2		2		1	1
Sailor	-		3		-		-	
The learned, artist, doctor, nurse	6		2	1	1		3	
Labourer, guide	3		1		2		-	
Primary industry	2	3	4	6	3		3	
Craftsman	2		1		1		-	
Commerce	-		-		2	1	1	
Show business	-		2		-		-	
The unemployed	2		2		1		-	
Unknown	3	4	-	5	4	2	2	17
Fictitious occup. (with maiden, etc.)	1		1				1	
TOTAL	41	9‡	33	12‡	31	3‡	33	19‡

[+] The last occupation is counted when a story is longitudinal.

‡ This column is used for occupation of parent or guardian when a central character is a child with no occupation.

TABLE 2

Score and Rank of each Institutional Area by Time and Place

Institutional Areas	British Columbia 1920 score	British Columbia 1920 rank	British Columbia 1970 score	British Columbia 1970 rank	Japan 1920 score	Japan 1920 rank	Japan 1970 score	Japan 1970 rank
Family (nuclear)	8.5	1.0	4.5	2.0	3.5	5.0	6.0	2.0
Family (extended)	3.0	4.5	1.5	8.0	6.5	1.0	0.5	11.0
Artistic	2.0	7.5	0.5	12.0	0.0	14.5	0.5	11.0
Community	1.5	10.0	4.0	3.5	4.0	4.0	4.5	4.0
Economic	3.0	4.5	5.5	1.0	0.5	12.0	0.0	15.0
Military	6.5	2.0	1.5	8.0	6.0	2.0	0.0	15.0
Peer group	2.0	7.5	2.0	5.5	1.0	8.5	5.0	3.0
Academic	2.0	7.5	0.5	12.0	2.5	6.0	9.5	1.0
Technological	0.0	14.5	1.5	8.0	1.0	8.5	0.5	11.0
Recreational	0.5	12.5	4.0	3.5	1.0	8.5	1.5	5.0
Political	4.5	3.0	1.0	10.0	5.0	3.0	1.0	7.0
Religion	1.0	11.0	0.0	14.5	0.5	12.0	0.0	15.0
Medical	0.5	12.5	0.5	12.0	0.0	14.5	0.5	11.0
Legal	0.0	14.5	0.0	14.5	0.5	12.0	0.5	11.0
Fictitious	2.0	7.5	2.0	5.5	1.0	8.5	1.0	7.0
Athletic	0.0		0.0		0.0		1.0	7.0
TOTAL	37.0		29.0		33.0		32.0	

TABLE 3

Relational Orientation by Time and Place

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
1. Oneself	15	15	6	13
2. One's nuclear family	3	5	5	8
3. One's extended family	0	1	3	0
4. Person one is serving	6	2	5	0
5. One's peer	5	4	4	6
6. Local community	1	3	6	5
7. Country or society	6	0	1	0
8. Mankind or God	3	0	0	1
9. Others	1	1	1	0
10. Recipient and observer	1	2	0	0
Number of Characters	41	33	31	33

TABLE 4

Individualism vs.Collective Ethic by Time and Place
(Stories with a group as a central role are excluded)

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Individualism	23(69.7%)	19(67.9%)	10(40.0%)	20(60.6%)
Collective Ethic	10(30.3%)	9(32.1%)	15(60.0%)	13(39.4%)
	33	28	25	33

'20 B.C. vs. '70 B.C. NS '20 B.C.vs.'20 Japan $x=4.71$ $p<.03$
'20 Japan vs. '70 Japan '70 B.C.vs.'70 Japan NS

TABLE 5

Individualism vs.Collective Ethic by Time and Place
(Stories with a group as a central role are included)

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Individualism	23(65.7%)	19(67.9%)	10(35.7%)	20(52.6%)
Collective Ethic	12(34.3%)	9(32.1%)	18(64.3%)	18(47.4%)
	35	28	28	38

TABLE 6

A list of Virtues Embodied in Textbook Characters*

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Concern for others	8	5	10	8
Courage or bravery	4	9	3	3
Wisdom	2	4	3	2
Persistent effort	1	2	1	7
Cooperation	1	2	1	6
Faithfulness or honesty	1	2	2	1
Responsibility or attending to one's duty diligently	5	1	2	1
Patriotic feeling	4	0	1	0
Loyalty to one's lord or master	1	0	6	0
Others	2	1	4	1

* In this table a character is counted repeatedly as far as he/she embodies one of listed virtues. Therefore, percentages are not calculated.

APPENDIX B

Coding Schedule

Source: '20 Canada '70 Canada Coder's name_____
'20 Japan '70 Japan Date of coding_____

Title of a story

The number of the identified central character:

1, 2, 3, G.

(I) Demographic Characteristics of the Central Character

Name of a Character

Sex

M
F

Developmental Stage

longitudinal or one-shot

1. baby
2. preschool age
3. school age
4. youth
5. adult
6. the old

Occupation

Geographical Reference

1. legend or fantasy
2. nationality identified
3. no information

What is the reference?
( )

(II) Interpersonal Relationship of the Central Character

Name of central character the other party

_____ V(High / Low) H N

_____ V(High / Low) H N

_____ V(High / Low) H N

(III) Frame of reference for his activities in the institutional contexts

family based	Yes	No
beyond one's primary group	Yes	No

If any, circle the most relevant sphere from the following: academic, artistic, community, economic, legal, medical, military, political, recreational, religious, technological.

(IV) Who is most important to this person? (Doing something for whose sake?)

1. oneself
2. one's nuclear family (as a whole, father, mother, brothers and sisters)
3. one's extended family (specify·)
4. the person one is serving (one's master, king, queen, other)
5. one's peer (friends, fellow-men, associates, comrade, other)
6. one's local community
7. country or society which is beyond local community
8. other (specify)

(V) What is one's major orientation of activities? Select one of three

1. doing 2. being 3. being-becoming

In case of doing orientation
What has he accomplished or is he trying to accomplish?

It is done through (1.his own action, 2.his talent, 3.the aid of supernatural power, 4. other)

(VI) Description of the central character put emphasis more upon

1. psychological process (a series of feelings and thought)
2. behavioral process (a series of actions)
3. ambiguous or mixed

(VIII) Behavior norms

Is there any ideal-value which is clearly embodied in this character? Yes No
If yes, explain

Is there any deviation-value which is sanctioned? Yes No

If yes, explain

Coding Rules

(I) DEFINITION OF CENTRAL CHARACTER

1. The central character should be a human being.
   If God or Goddess in myths or animals are central characters, this story is not included in the sample, even if they are humanized.

2. The central character should be usually a specific individual, but when two or three characters are equally important, adopt these as central characters and code their behavior patterns on a separate sheet respectively. One coding sheet for one character is a rule.
   Indicate the number of the central characters by circling an appropriate number. If there are two major characters; one is an actor, and the other, a recipient of this action, an actor be regarded as a central character.

3. When the central characters are not a specific individual, but a group such as a family, this story will be included in the sample.
   In this case, scoring for (II) in the coding sheet will be omitted.
   The name of this person for (I) should be a group name.
   All persons appearing in this story are coded concerning sex and age, etc.
   Indicate the number of the central character as "G".

4. When no humanlike persons or animals interact with this central figure at all, this story is not adopted as a sample. Some kind of interpersonal interactions are needed to evaluate quality of his social behavior.

5. Any poem will be eliminated.

6. Central figures are usually actors, but when a central figure plays only a role of an observer or a recipient of actions by others, indicate as such.

Example: Name of character - Tom Jones (recipient)

Tom Jones (observer)

In the case of observers or recipients omit V.

SEX of the CENTRAL CHARACTER

M : male

F : female

N : no information concerning the sex of the central character

DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE of the CENTRAL CHARACTER

Circle "longitudinal" when a story evolves along growth of the central character.

Circle "one-shot" when a story is about an event in a given stage of development.

CLASSIFICATION of the DEVELOPMENTAL STAGE

1. baby..... 0 to 2 or until one can walk steadily
2. preschool..... 2 to 6
3. school ..... 6 to 16
4. youth .....16 to around 23 or before marriage
5. adult .....23 or married
6. the old .....when the central character is referred as old

Specify one of six developmental stages in which a main event took place and circle an appropriate number

When longitudinal, indicate the period which is covered in a story by drawing a line on the right hand side of the numbers and then specify the most important stage by circling a number.

Example:

longitudinal

1.
2.
(3).
4.
5.
6.

OCCUPATION

Enter his occupation appearing in the story. If he does not have his own occupation, enter parent's or guardian's occupation.

OCCUPATION (continued)

Example: stonecutter (grandfather)

When no information is available about his or parent's occupation, take a guess about social class of the central figure from data available.

GEOGRAPHICAL REFERENCE

If the central figure is a creature in a fictious land, circle a number 1.
If the central figure lives on the earth, identify the country to which he belongs.
If the country is identified, circle a number 2.
If not, circle a number 3.
Enter a name of a country in the following space.

(II) INTERPERSONAL RELATIONSHIP OF THE CENTRAL CHARACTER

1. Enter a name of the central character in the left hand margin and a name of every person with whom the central character has some sort of interpersonal relations in the right hand margin.

2. The other party can be a group of people, God or Goddess or animals.

3. Circle a major interpersonal relationship in which socialization took place, if any.

4. If two relations are circled, half score will be given for each. By any means, the sum of the scores should not exceed 1.

5. Evaluate his relation to the other party in the following items

V : Vertical -- There exists a slope in the social position between them

High -- Circle "High" when the central figure occupies relatively a high position.

Low -- Circle "Low" when central figure occupies a low position in comparison with the other party.

A parent-children relation is regarded as "Vertical".

H : Horizontal - Circle "H" when there exists no slope between them

Siblings are regarded as "Horizontal", even if age differences make a sort of social slope. When there is no words which suggest "vertical" and still exists a sort of social relation, this be interpreted as "horizontal".

N : No information available about social positions.

(III) FRAME OF REFERENCE FOR HIS ACTIVITIES IN THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS

This part will delineate the boundary of his thoughts and acts in the social institutions.

FAMILY BASED

Circle "Yes" when family members deeply affect his activities or when home or family life offers the settings of this story.

Nuclear family + grandparent(s) or housemaid or steward of trade run by his family is included in this category, but should remark as such.

Example: FAMILY BASED (Extended)

BEYOND ONE'S PRIMARY GROUP

PRIMARY GROUP is defined here as one's family, neighbourhood, peer and classmates with whom one is involved emotionally.

Circle "Yes" when a boundary of his psychological world surpass these primary groups.

Then, identify major institutional spheres he is participating and circle appropriate words, but less than two.

When two institutional spheres are marked, half score will be given for each.

(IV) RELATIONAL ORIENTATION

ONESELF

Circle a number 1 when he regards himself as an individual, mainly concerned with himself, responsible for his own destiny, in competition with his fellow-man. Individualistic-oriented person.

For him, he himself is the most important person.

When either of 2 or 4 or 5 is selected, decide a subcategory in the parentheses by circling an appropriate one.

(V) ACTIVITY ORIENTATION

The activity orientation centers solely on the problem of the nature of one's mode of self-expression in activity.

DOING ORIENTATION

He has achieved something or is interested in accomplishing or obtaining something. Promethean component of personality is emphasized.

BEING ORIENTATION

He is interested in expressing his impulse and desire in activity. The preference is for the kind of activity which is a spontaneous expression of what is conceived to be "given" in the human personality. 'Stay and enjoy' attitude. He tends to take an easy way of life without struggle. Dionysian component is emphasized.

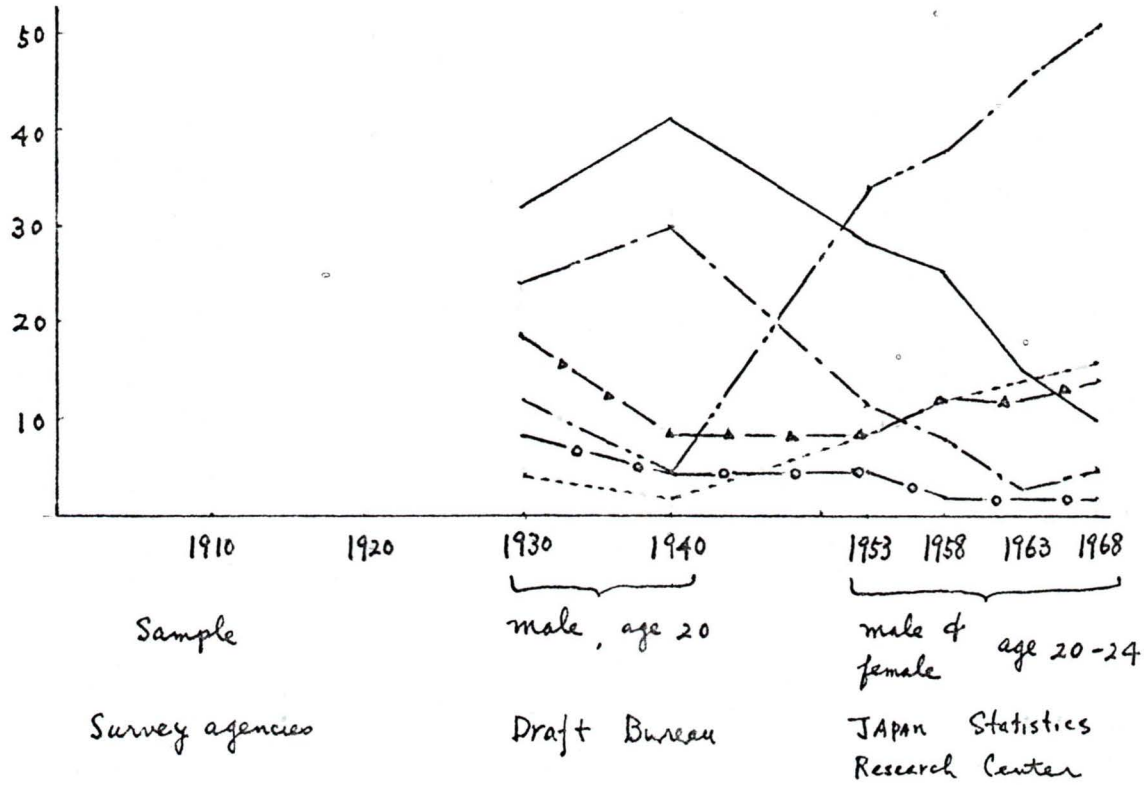
BEING-BECOMING ORIENTATION

He is trying to control desire by means of meditation and detachment. We can regard him as 'being-becoming oriented' when there is recognizable grief or resentment over what he has done. Appollonian component is emphasized.

APPENDIX C

Figure 1

The Historical Transition of Preferred Ways of Life among young Japanese adults.



Exactly same questions have been employed all through six surveys for comparison.

Which way of living do you prefer best? (Translation mine)

—▲—▲ Work very hard and become rich

—o—o Study hard and become famous

—·—·— Lead a life which is agreeable to my taste without considering money and fame

····· lead an easy life without worry about future

———— lead a clean and fair life, refusing any injustice

—·—·— devote myself to society without considering my own happiness.

APPENDIX C

TABLE 7

Canadian Ways of Life Researched by Clarke*

What do you think is worth living for in this world?

	% Canada	%Japan
My children	4	24.4
My family	26	24.1
My work (including studies)	0	17.4
For position and honour	0	.6
For money	0	3.3
For leisure	6	3.9
For the opposite sex	2	1.4
For social activities	8	1.9
To live a normal life	40	14.8
Don't know	14	8.2

* This table is taken from the research paper "Survey on Canadians" by Vicki Clarke in the course "Geography of Japan" instructed by Prof.Mitsuhashi (University of Victoria, 1973-74). The percentages of Japanese respondents are based on a Survey done by Yomiuri Shinbunsha and those of Canada on data collected by Clarke from 100 Canadians of all ages.

Table 7 (continued)

How do you feel about your job?

	% Canada	% Japan
Since work is a human duty, I must work to the limits of my time	0	12.7
Work diligently during set working hours and when released from work, forget it and play	16	24.4
Work is a form of enjoyment	14	8.1
I want time for recreation as well as for work	54	35.4
Work is a means to subsistence	4	7.2
Don't know	12	9.6
To work hard is futile	0	2.7

Why do you enjoy leisure?

For health and rest	22	29.3
For a change in atmosphere	24	41.1
To spend time with my family	18	8.2
To visit friends and relatives	2	4.9
Because everybody enjoys recreation	0	1.2
To enjoy recreation	24	3.1
For profit (gambling)	2	1.0
Advertisements on recreation tempting	0	.3
Don't know	8	9.7
Leisure	0	1.2

Table 7 (continued)

How do you spend your holidays?

	% Canada	% Japan
Watching T.V.	2	32.9
Sleeping	2	8.2
Reading	2	5.4
Working in the garden	4	15.4
Watching movies and plays	0	3.2
Visiting friends and relatives	22	5.3
Going for drives	4	3.1
Playing sports (e.g. golf)	54	2.5
Don't know	10	8.2
Others	0	15.8

APPENDIX D

A Research Note on Computer Content Analysis

Asstated before, the computer content analysis is the supplement to the semantical content analysis by manual coding. Our concern is whether or not similar conclusions can be drawn from two different techniques employing different unit of analysis. The unit of frequency count in the manual coding is 'character' or 'story as a whole'. In the computer coding 'word' is the basic unit of count. Since the computer can recognize only the pattern of each spelling, any technique of the available computer content analysis program assume that words can have meaning independently of the context. This is obviously a controversial assumption. Yet, we can reasonably infer similarity between two story-characters through examination of vocabulary which describes their behaviors, feelings and thought. Therefore, in this content analysis in which the focus is on socialization models, sentences which are closely related to a central character are extracted and cumulated. Sentences selected from four sampled texts are source

data for this analysis. Criteria for selection of sentences are as follows:

1. The sentences that a central character uttered. However, when a central character describes others' behavior, this part will be eliminated.

2. Description of central character's behavior, feelings, thought.

3. Comments and/or criticism on a central character by others.

4. As to other's responses to a central character's behavior or words, only direct responses relevant to a central character are included.

5. When a sentence has co-ordinate or subordinate clauses, we include only the part of the sentence which is directly related with a central character.

Example: He was acting as guide for one of the great companies that were becoming so very rich through the fur trade in western Canada.

The part underlined is included as sample sentence.

6. Description of scenery and other story-characters should be eliminated.

The extent of agreement on selection of sentences

is 71% between two coders. This gap between coders is one of the problems facing an ostensibly objective computer analysis. If we had processed entire documents in tact, this problem would have been avoided. However, keypunching of entire documents costs a lot.

What follows is the step-by-step procedures taken in this analysis.

1) The selected sentences are transformed into the 80 column computer cards in the format specified by UBC WCOUNT program.
2) A deck of cards of the 1920 British Columbian, the 1970 British Columbian, the 1920 Japan and 1970 Japan texts is submitted respectively to the word count program, which yielded the frequenc count and rate per thousand for each unique word in the four groups.
3) Based on a computer printout of a frequency list, categorization of the words related to the theoretical scheme of value orientation is done by hand. The tagging operation is the core part of computer content analysis. However, because of unavailability of a program, the hand tagging

is employed, which is not as accurate and objective as the computer tagging. This is partly responsible for the unsuccess of this formal content analysis.

The Harvard Socio-psychological dictionary can classify almost all words into the categories of the ready-made scheme which presumably represents the various facets of culture. Since the hand tagging has obvious limitations, only four categories of the Harvard Dictionary are employed and modified to the hand tagging. In the process of modification, an attempt is made to create categories as comparable as possible to those in the manual coding. The following is the explanation of four categories and tags under each category employed:

Category I : Roles

The tags relating to roles are given an assignment on the basis of whether they are sex specific or relate to the occupational structure of a society. Under 'male-role' tag, all words which have specific male reference are tagged (example: boy, actor, king, fisherman). Under 'female-role' tag, all words with female reference such as aunt, fairy, etc. are classified.

'Job role' tag is for all words which have clear occupational reference such as artist, author, captain, etc. The sex role tag has priority when two tags are applicable to one word (example: monk, abbess). The 'neuter-role' tag is a list of words not connoting sex or occupation (example: child, traveller, prisoner). Only the nouns are classified under these tags.

Category II : Status

The words in Category I are reclassified by hierarchical concern and assigned by one of three status tags, that is, higher-, lower-, peer-status tag. Its counterpart in manual coding is Vertical-high, Vertical-low, Horizontal relations.

Category III : Cultural Settings

This category refers to words for socially defined settings. There are four tags: (1) the words related to transportation such as ship, harbour, bridge; (2) social place such as hospital, school, home, tent; (3) building parts refers to such items as door, fence, gate, bedroom, etc.; and (4) social location refers to city, country, fairyland, etc. This category is expected to yield

supplementary findings to those of 'institutional contexts' in manual coding.

Category IV : Cultural Patterns

This category has two tags: (1) the ideal-value, which is represented by such words as beauty, confidence, brave, companionship, experience, faith; (2) the deviation-value is represented by the words such as foolish, wicked, blind, crazy, etc. This is the categorization scheme mainly for nouns and adjectives and expected to be supplementary to the 'virtues advocated' in manual coding. However, because of the particular nature of the Japanese language, verbs which mean valued activities are counted in the 1920 and 1970 texts.

Results:

From an alphabetical frequency count list given by the computer, all words which belong to one of the above-mentioned categories are picked up and then the rate per thousand for the appearance of each tag is calculated.

Male-centered orientation, the conclusion drawn

from the analysis of central character, is confirmed even when the sexes of all characters are taken into consideration (Table 8). A close examination into the words under each tag discloses: (1) the high incidence of grandfather in the 1920 British Columbian text; (2) the high incidence of high-status-male role in the 1970 Japanese text. High incidence of neuter-role in the Japanese texts is probably brought by a particular nature of the Japanese language itself. Japanese vocabulary does not have clear distinction for sexes. For example, 'KAMISAMA' means both of god and goddess.

Table 9 indicates that the words which imply lower-status decreases simultaneously both in British Columbia and Japan. The words disappearing are 'servant,' 'slave ''gypsy,' 'orphan,' in the British Columbian texts and 'KERAI' (those who serve one's master), 'deaf,' 'mute,' 'blind,' 'TEDAI' (an errand boy in a store), 'ZOKUSHIN' (betrayer), in the Japanese texts. The shared words which denote lower-status are 'boy,' 'girl,' 'son,' 'daughter,' 'child,' and 'baby'. It appears that the words connoting under-privileged conditions are avoided in the 1970's.

As for social settings, the 90% of transportation

TABLE 8

Role Reference by Time and Place (per thousand words)

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Male Role	16.2	13.9	9.7	14.4
Female Role	5.3	5.0	5.2	2.4
Job Role	8.4	5.5	12.6	6.5
Neuter Role	8.3	6.1	21.6	18.5

TABLE 9

Status Reference by Time and Place (per thousand words)

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Higher-Status	17.1	13.3	18.2	19.4
Lower-Status	10.4	5.4	12.9	8.8
Peer-Status	14.9	12.3	18.0	12.6

references in the 1970 British Columbian text is related to marine transportation such as boat, canoe, punt, vessel, port, etc. Romanticism frilled with adventures and recreational concern, which was pointed out as characteristic of the 1970 British Columbian text, appears to be closely linked with the water-front. The high reference of 'school and related places' in the Social Place Tag characterizes the 1970 Japanese text, which offers support for the finding of a'strong academic concern' in the semantical content analysis by manual coding. Concerning Social Location Tag, the words which denote or connote countryside appear in the 1920 Japanese text twice as often as the words dealing with city or town life, while in the 1970 Japanese text the words are evenly divided into countryside and city. This may be a reflection of urbanization process occurring in the past five decades in Japan under the constraints of industrialization.

Inclusion of certain words into the ideal-value or deviation-value category tends to be somewhat subjective. The structural differences between English and Japanese languages brings another difficulty.

English has enough vocabulary in adjective and noun form which reflect value orientations of a society, but Japanese language is found to have less nouns and adjectives relevant to value orientations. Usage of verbs is rather characteristic of Japanese. Because of this, comparison of tags in this category seems inappropriate. Therefore, instead of constructing a table by tags, high frequency words are simply noted here.

The virtues shared by both the 1920 and the 1970 British Columbian texts are those represented by the words such as 'beauty,' 'care,' 'able,' 'love,' and 'faithful'. The words 'noble,' 'solemn,' 'calm,' 'hardworking,' 'undismayed,' 'pride,' 'fame,' 'glory,' 'honor,' which appear to be related to serious characters are characteristic of the 1920 British Columbian text. This may be related to the great-men models at this time period. In contrast, the 1970 British Columbian text is more easy-going and relaxed. 'Fortune,' 'hope,' 'joy,' 'pleasure,' are the words that frequently appear. Ideal-values shared by both the 1920 and the 1970 Japanese texts are those represented by the words such as 'safe,'

TABLE 10

Reference to Social Settings by Time and Place
(per thousand words)

	British Columbia		Japan	
	1920	1970	1920	1970
Transportation	1.5	7.0	3.5	2.4
Social Place	10.3	5.8	7.9	19.1
Building Parts	2.4	3.0	1.0	3.2
Social Location	3.4	3.8	7.5	3.0

'pleased,' 'merry,' 'able,' 'cheerful,' and 'healthy'. In the 1970 Japanese text, the incidence of the words relating to 'making efforts' is conspicuously high, which supports the finding by semantical analysis employing a character as a unit. However, the present analysis aided by computer fails to offer findings comparable to an emphasis upon 'loyalty to one's lord or master,' which was found to be characteristic of the 1920 Japanese text.

Comparative content analysis employing a word as the basic unit of analysis is found to be influenced greatly by the particular nature of language itself. It is difficult to distinguish differences in value

orientations from differences in language structure itself. However, findings of preliminary analysis aided by computer prove to be not basically contradictory to those derived from semantical content analysis by manual coding.

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"Hando testo shoukai" (Introduction to the Hand Test), Rinshō Shinrigaku Kenkyu (Japanese Journal of Clinical Psychology), Vol.9, No.1, 1970.

"Seikatsu shi e no shakaishinrigakuteki sekkin" (A Study on the socio-psychological approach to the life history), Chōken Kiyō, No.18, 1970.

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"Kasai ni okeru hiko keisu toriatsukai no jissai to mondai ten" (How are delinquents handled in the family court? -- On some problems from the view-point of a psychologist), Jidōseishinigaku to sono kinsetsu ryōiki (Japanese Journal of Child Psychiatry), Vol.12, No.5, 1971.

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VALUE ORIENTATIONS FOUND IN BRITISH COLUMBIAN AND JAPANESE SCHOOLBOOKS . THE 1920's - THE 1970's

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July 3 1975
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