



저작자표시-비영리-변경금지 2.0 대한민국

이용자는 아래의 조건을 따르는 경우에 한하여 자유롭게

- 이 저작물을 복제, 배포, 전송, 전시, 공연 및 방송할 수 있습니다.

다음과 같은 조건을 따라야 합니다:



저작자표시. 귀하는 원저작자를 표시하여야 합니다.



비영리. 귀하는 이 저작물을 영리 목적으로 이용할 수 없습니다.



변경금지. 귀하는 이 저작물을 개작, 변형 또는 가공할 수 없습니다.

- 귀하는, 이 저작물의 재이용이나 배포의 경우, 이 저작물에 적용된 이용허락조건을 명확하게 나타내어야 합니다.
- 저작권자로부터 별도의 허가를 받으면 이러한 조건들은 적용되지 않습니다.

저작권법에 따른 이용자의 권리는 위의 내용에 의하여 영향을 받지 않습니다.

이것은 [이용허락규약\(Legal Code\)](#)을 이해하기 쉽게 요약한 것입니다.

[Disclaimer](#)

國際學碩士學位論文

# Education policy in Japan and neoliberalism

: focusing on the case of School Choice

일본 교육정책과 신자유주의

: 학교 선택제를 중심으로

2012년 8월

서울대학교 國際大學院  
國際學科 國際地役學專攻

鄭惠元

# **Education policy in Japan and neoliberalism**

**: focusing on the case of School Choice**

**A thesis presented**

**By**

**Hyewon, Jung**

**To**

**Graduate Program**

**In International Studies (International Area Studies)**

**In partial fulfillment of the requirements**

**For the degree of Master**

**In the subject of International Studies**

**Graduate School of International Studies**

**Seoul National University**

**Seoul, Republic of Korea**

**August, 2012**

# Education policy in Japan and neoliberalism

: focusing on the case of School Choice

日本 教育政策과 新自由主義  
: 學校 選擇制를 中心으로

指導教授 韓榮惠

이 논문을 國際學碩士 學位論文으로 提出함

2012年 8月

서울대학교 國際大學院  
國際學科 國際地役學專攻

鄭惠元

鄭惠元의 國際學碩士學位論文을 認准함

2012년 8월

委員長 \_\_\_\_\_ (印)

副委員長 \_\_\_\_\_ (印)

委員 \_\_\_\_\_ (印)

Graduate School of International Studies  
Seoul National University

## **Thesis Acceptance Certificate**

The undersigned, appointed by

Graduate School of International Studies,  
Seoul National University

Have examined thesis entitled

**Education policy in Japan and neoliberalism**  
**:focusing on the case of School Choice**

Presented by **Jung, Hyewon**

Candidate for the degree of Master of International Studies  
and hereby certificate that it is worth of acceptance

Signature

Committee Chair

.....  
Park, Cheol Hee

Signature

Committee Member

.....  
Lee, Geun

Signature

Committee Member

.....  
Han, Young Hae

**© Copyright By Jung, Hyewon 2012**

**All Rights Reserved**

## **Abstract**

### **Education policy in Japan and neoliberalism:**

Focusing on the case of school choice

**Jung, Hyewon**

The Graduate School of International Area Studies  
Seoul National University

Since the establishment of the temporary Board of Education in 1984, the neoliberal education policy implemented over the past thirty years has included policies which introduced market competition, single-track school system, and broader options for choosing schools. The opposers of such neoliberal reform have argued that such reform led to side-effects such as the marketization of education, over-competition, and the systemization of social inequality by converting education from its original position as a basic social right into a consumer right.

Of the policies introduced through neoliberal reform, the expansion of school choice system can be considered a globally common, and thus representative, neoliberal education policy. The school choice system gives a broader option for parents with children in choosing schools with the aim to provide more education opportunities and to relieve some of the negative attributes of existing public

education.

In Japan, where free and compulsive education was implemented for all nationals during the Meiji Reform, regional administrations have been given the freedom to implement the school choice system since 1997. The purpose of giving such decision-making rights to the prefecture has been to bring competition amongst public schools, with the view that this will lead to higher quality education in each school. However, with its implementation happening alongside the reform of middle- and high-school single track system, this change has led to a greater socioeconomic gap between the students who aim to go to renown national and public single track schools and those who are unable to do so.

This widening gap evidences how the education system of Japan which guaranteed high-quality education with equal opportunities has evolved systematically to become an elite-centered system with unequal education opportunities.

Keyword: neo-liberalism, education policy, equal educational opportunities, Japanese educational system, school choice

Student No.: 2010-23941

# Table of Contents

Abstract (English)

Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <b>1. INTRODUCTION .....</b>  | <b>1</b>   |
| 1.1 Purpose of the research.....  | 1          |
| 1.2 Literature Review .....   | 2          |
| <b>2. EDUCATION POLICY IN JAPAN .....</b>   | <b>1 1</b> |
| 2.1 Education policy before World War II.....   | 1 1        |
| 2.2 Education policy after World War II .....   | 1 4        |
| 2.3 The development of neoliberal education policy since the establishment of the<br>temporary Board of Education in 1984 ..... | 1 7        |
| 2.3.1 Background of the adoption of neoliberal education policy. ....   | 1 7        |
| 2.3.2 Current Japanese education system.....  | 2 1        |
| 2.3.3 The neoliberal education policies in Japan.....   | 2 4        |
| <b>3. SCHOOL CHOICE .....</b>   | <b>2 7</b> |
| 3.1 The introduction of school choice .....   | 2 7        |
| 3.1.1 How school choice came into place .....   | 2 8        |
| 3.1.2 Suggestions for school choice .....   | 3 0        |
| 3.1.3 Actions by the Ministry of Education.....   | 3 1        |

|           |  |            |
|-----------|--|------------|
| 3.2       | The spread of school choice.....   | 3 8        |
| <b>4.</b> | <b>SCHOOL CHOICE AND INSTITUTIONALIZED INEQUALITY OF<br/>EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY .....</b> | <b>4 0</b> |
| 4.1       | Increased competition, increased private education.....                                  | 4 0        |
| 4.2       | Increased public privileged schools (single-track schools) .....                         | 4 7        |
| <b>5.</b> | <b>CONCLUSION .....</b>  | <b>5 3</b> |
|           | <b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>  | <b>5 6</b> |
|           | 한글초록 .....   | 6 3        |

## **LIST OF FIGURES and TABLES**

### **I. Figures**

Figure 1. The Japanese school system in 1937

Figure 2. Current Japanese school system

Figure 3. The school choice procedure of the municipal government board of education

Figure 4. The procedure of the allocation of the school out of school strict

Figure 5. The number of schools implementing school choice

Figure 6. Number of schools implementing school choice from 1997 to 2006

Figure 7. Academic gap between students who attend juku and those who do not

Figure 8. Number of single-track schools (2003 – 2010)

### **II. Tables**

Table 1. The realities of bullying in 1995

Table 2. Types of school choice

Table 3. Juku boom (1960s – 1990s)

Table 4. Average monthly tuition fee of juku

Table 5. Enrollment ratio of juku (2003)

Table 6. Expenses for student's private education up to the family income

Table 7. Priority of application for the single-track schools (2003 – 2010)

## **1. Introduction**

### 1.1 Purpose of the research

This paper proposes to investigate the process through which Japan's education system, once boasting one of the leading systems in the world in terms of the provision of equal educational opportunities, has systemized inequality due to the implementation of neoliberal education policies that pursue double track system, diversification, selection, differentiation. Thus, the focus of this research is not on inequality perceived from an individual personal perspective, but on the systematic inequality born from the policies which spring out from neoliberal and market-centered ideology.

Some scholars have expressed their concern over deepening educational inequality among students since the implementation of neoliberal policies by temporary Board of Education causing the fierce competition and providing unfavorable educational environment to the poor students. Regardless of that concern, neoliberal education policies were introduced with the expectation of new education and the influence from the outside of Japan. In particular, school choice system symbolizes the return of the right to choose schools from the state to the students and their parents. However, this system has also brought the most controversy and debates among the various education reforms over the past few decades in major OECD countries. Especially in Japan, where the provision of equal education opportunities has been at the forefront of education policies unlike the USA and the UK, the implementation of school choice system cannot but have greater meaning compared to other countries.

School choice has proven its problems for the several decades, some have been predicated before implementation and some haven't. A few local governments who adopted school choice announced their withdrawals from that with various reasons in recent years. However, still not enough research has been done on how the school choice has undermining the equality over education.

This paper will review the history of evolution in Japan's education system from the Meiji Reform period in 1867 when modern education was first implemented in Japan to the 1945 democracy education under the occupation by G.H.Q (General Headquarter), institutionalization of the basic education law in 1947 and the introduction and implementation of neoliberal education policies in the 1980s. With this process, careful consideration will be given to the generation and development of the concept of equality on education in the Japanese history.

The paper will also provide an overview of the discourse in education inequality surrounding the implementation of the school choice system as part of the neoliberal education policy, including the details of the implemented policy and the process of implementation.

## 1.2 Literature Review

Bardhan(2006) explains the major characteristics of neoliberalism as, 1) the reduction of the role of the state; 2) strengthened market determination; 3) deepened competition, while Guttal(2000) characterizes neoliberalism that it 1) weakens state influence; 2) brings regionalization; and 3) privatizes the public sphere.

Stromquist(2002)'s take on neoliberalism also runs along the similar line as Bradhan and Guttal's conceptions: that neoliberalism 1) eases state control and state policy restrictions, 2) expands the private sector, and 3) results in a liberal economy. To summarize these analyses, the major factor which influences the globalization of neoliberalism is the market, and the state is placed below the market to execute a supporting role. <sup>1</sup>

In neoliberal reform, the role of education is to establish free competition, guarantee equal opportunities, and extend social mobility through education. Equality in education is not seen as a major role of the state but instead, neoliberalism places more importance on the provision of choices for individuals in terms of education, the establishment of a competitive environment which can maximize individual abilities and talents, and the development of educational environment which will increase the national competitiveness (Stromquist, 2002: 7-10). Such neoliberal approach is closely related to the liberal market competition paradigm where the state and the market form a mutually assisting relationship. Education is the foundation of economic development since it is vital in raising professional, highly productive human resources and increases the potential for social development. The role of the state here is to manage the environment to maintain fair competition by making sure that the principle of the market is not distorted. <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> 이제봉 (2007). "신자유주의 교육개혁과 학교선택제 - 미국의 학교선택제 실시과정에서 나타난 이데올로기 갈등과 시사점." 教育行政學研究 25(1): 75-92.

<sup>2</sup> Ross, E. W. and R. Gibson (2006). Neoliberalism and education reform. Cresskill, NJ, Hampton Press.

Neoliberal education aims to satisfy the diverse wants of the members of society in the changing world. Neoliberalists believe that problems with public schools – such as the lack of competition in public schools, education that eludes evaluation of its effects and the deepening of inequality as a result – can be improved by introducing market principles of free competition and the extension of the right to choose schools. This belief comes from the understanding that the reason public schools are failing is because they have a monopoly. The lack of competition as well as little compensation for teachers who make exceptional effort, the school evaluation system which fails to give a clear presentation of the effect and efficiency of the education given by the school, the nonexistent right to choose schools, and the complete control of the school in receiving students. Such monopolistic positions of the public schools are considered by the neoliberalists as the major reasons why public schools are failing.<sup>3</sup>

Thus, neoliberalists see the introduction of some competition amongst the public schools as a necessary step. In addition, strategic management methods used in companies, strengthened student evaluations and graduation requirements are also included as a necessary step to improve the quality of education provided by schools (Jennings, 2003).<sup>4</sup>

The mutual reliance between the state and the market is highly criticized by some who see neoliberal globalization as a movement which will institutionalize inequality

---

<sup>3</sup> Olssen \*, M. and M. A. Peters (2005). "Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism." *Journal of Education Policy* 20(3): 313-345.

<sup>4</sup> Olssen \*, M. and M. A. Peters (2005). "Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism." *Journal of Education Policy* 20(3): 313-345.

in education (Apple 2005, 2006; Carl, 1994; Dale, 2004; Stromquist, 2002). The argument is that neoliberal reform will numb the individual to accept marketization and the principle of competition as a natural social phenomenon, with education playing the role of justification. The spread of market principles in the field of education will taint education itself to become a medium to justify the principle of the market and competition. This position focuses on the negative effects of neoliberal reform where market principle leads to extreme competition which results in the monopoly of the strong and inerasable social inequality. The criticism goes further that neoliberal education reform will see education from a cost vs. revenue perspective as efficiency and market principle become emphasized, and that the individual will be degraded into an entity which aims to maximize personal profit. In addition, neoliberal education reform is criticized to have changed education into a consumer sovereignty right as opposed to a basic social right, as the reform aims to guarantee the maximization of consumer choice according to market democracy. Thus, it is pointed out that the implementation of school choice system is nothing out of the ordinary in terms of neoliberal education reform (Apple 2005, 2006).<sup>5</sup>

To recapitulate, reform supporters argue that the neoliberal approach to education reform is not the foregoing of the principle of equal education but a transformation of the principle into a new concept. Market principles such as competition are brought in to provide better quality and environment, in order to relieve some of the educational

---

<sup>5</sup> 이제봉 (2007). "신자유주의 교육개혁과 학교선택제 - 미국의 학교선택제 실시과정에서 나타난 이데올로기 갈등과 시사점." 教育行政學研究 25(1): 75-92

inequalities. The supporters also expect that school choice system will provide more educational opportunities to students to prevent them from falling out of school. To the supporters, education and the principle of democracy means that the responsibility of the state to provide public education should be transferred to the parents, students, and the schools.

On the other hand, the opposing position is that neoliberal education will only deepen inequality in education. Converting right to education from a basic social right to consumer sovereignty right is a neglect of duty by the state and will only expose education to the market principle which provides according to the economic status of the consumers. These opponents see neoliberal education as the resurrection of instrumental education which values efficiency, and that it is a regression of the ideal of equal education and democracy.<sup>6</sup>

In this regards school choice is one of the neoliberal policies. School choice is a term used to describe a wide array of programs aimed at giving families the opportunity to choose the school their children will attend. As a matter of form, school choice does not give preference to one form of schooling or another, rather manifests itself whenever a student attends school outside of the one they would have been assigned to by geographic default. The most common options offered by school choice programs are open enrollment laws that allow students to attend other public schools, private schools, charter schools, tax credit and deductions for expenses related to

---

<sup>6</sup> 이제봉 (2007). "신자유주의 교육개혁과 학교선택제 - 미국의 학교선택제 실시과정에서 나타난 이데올로기 갈등과 시사점." 教育行政學研究 25(1): 75-92

schooling, vouchers, and homeschooling. The scholars who support the school choice (Brighthouse 2000; Chubb & Moe 1990; Cox & Witko 2008; Soble & King 2008) argue that the system can bring change to schools, increase participation of the parents in school activities, expands the variety of educational service provided by the schools, and results in a higher satisfaction of the students and their parents from the education the students receive. However, those who oppose the school choice (Carnoy 1993; Fuller 1996; Plank et al 1993; West 2006; Whitty 1998) present arguments and research outcomes which show that school choice disrupts equal education, deepens the disparity in education amongst social classes, and thus, works against the realization of social fairness and justice. <sup>7</sup>

According to the research done by Lee Jaebong, the conflicts rising from the implementation of school choice can be roughly summarized into (1) the conflict between freedom and equality, (2) the conflict from different interpretations of democracy, and (3) the conflict between efficiency and public service. The conflict between freedom and equality rises from contrasting opinions about the role of public education. Public education aims to achieve equality in education, foster the idea of community, and protect the socially weak (Reid; 2005). These aims usually result with a relative restriction on individual freedom and a suppression of diversity. For instance, if the school district allots the students to schools, the students cannot choose the school they wish to attend. This means that schools are allotted without consideration for individual ability, preference, and personality, and the content of education is

---

<sup>7</sup> Ross, E. W. and R. Gibson (2006). Neoliberalism and education reform. Cresskill, NJ, Hampton Press.

formed around the school's decisions rather than the individual students who receive the education. Limitation on choice can be seen as an intrusion of individual freedom.

Furthermore, for parents and students who can only afford public schools, the school's district's rules for students to attend the school in the neighborhood result in a very limited right in choosing schools. The limitation on the right to choose is also related to the interpretation of democracy. To explain further, depending on the interpretation of democracy, a conflict arises between whether education is a basic social right according to the democratic principle and whether individual choice must be considered more important. Since the birth of the state, education has been considered a basic social right. Especially in the welfare state model, education policy has been consistently tied with welfare policy. However, the expansion of school choice raised criticism that the introduction of such system brought education down to the level of the private sphere and right to receive education down to the level of consumer sovereignty. The opposers of neoliberalism argue that the principle of consumer sovereignty will bring further downgrade of public schools in impoverished urban neighborhoods (Apple, 2006). Lastly, the school choice is related to the conflict between efficiency and public service. Opposing positions exist on the quality of public education – whether the inefficiency found in public schools should be solved through bringing in competition or whether education as a public service need not consider efficiency since efficiency is an economical principle and is merely an instrument. <sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> 이재 봉 (2010). "Globalization and State's Role in Education: Meaning of

As mentioned above, the supporters of the school choice believe that the system can achieve largely two roles (Jennings, 2003). First, school choice can deliver better educational opportunity for the students as well as the parents, and second, it will induce competition amongst the schools to result in better quality education. In fact, the introduction of the school choice in the US was executed in order to provide better educational opportunities to children of low income families, as well as to give the public schools a chance for school reform. This approach considers both the expansion of educational opportunities and the efficiency in education. On the other hand, the opponents argue that school choice will lead to the spread of market principles and competition amongst schools, resulting in the dilapidation of the public education system and the deepening of inequality in education (Apple, 2005; 2006; Kenway, 1993)

As mentioned above, equality of opportunity for the students is a major concern for the neoliberal educational policy opponents such as school choice. A number of definitions of equality of opportunity have been evolved by educationists, politicians and other thinkers. One of the most important participants in this debate, is the Swedish scholar Torsten Husen, who improved the sophistication of concept and research methods regarding equality of opportunity. According to his view, equality of opportunity could be divided into two different meaning. The first one is ‘the egalitarian concept of equality of educational opportunity.’ Since James Coleman’s study of equal opportunity, a new interpretation has gained currency. According to this

view, opportunities are equal only when results are equal. While the meritocratic concept of equal opportunity focuses on the possibility of the same access to schooling, the egalitarian focuses on that of the same educational achievement in school. The egalitarian view assumes from the start that elimination of early selection of those judged to have academic ability will not be sufficient to ensure equality of educational opportunity, because a person's intelligence is product not only of genetic make-up but also of social background, and therefore the child from a socio-economically disadvantaged background will fail to the egalitarian interpretation tends to place a greater emphasis on a unified educational system, such as the comprehensive school. However, equal opportunity is defined not as being content of schooling, teaching method, and curricular, but as optimal opportunity to develop fully children's personal ability, by providing if necessary special treatment such as compensatory educational programmes. Thus in the egalitarian position, the principle of individuality is much more important than a consideration of national efficiency or the needs of the economy. It differs significantly from the meritocratic position in its view of the relationship between education and the wider social and economic structures.

In this sense, Japan's first nine years of education are some of the most egalitarian among advanced countries in terms of expenditures. The provision of such egalitarian compulsory education successfully provides a strong basis for a social consciousness that the starting line is set equally for every child until the end of the middle school years, even though many would consider this a myth or an illusion of mass education

society.<sup>9</sup>

And the second concept of equality of education opportunity is ‘the meritocracy concept of equality of education opportunity.’ The meritocratic concept advocates that all pupils should be given the same opportunity to start their life career, but not necessarily that it should ultimately bring about greater equality in terms of social and or economic status. In this view, as well as the legal or formal meaning of equal access to education, there is a practical meaning; that is to say, active steps should be taken to eliminate economic or regional handicaps which prevent talented but socio-economically disadvantaged children from developing their innate ability by means of a good education. Yet the meritocratic view holds that once external barriers are removed, success or failure in school primarily depends upon each individual pupil; thus this concept supports educational selection, by which allocation of children into diversified tracks is assumed to be desirable. This perspective received its justification both from a presumed relation to national efficiency and from a desire to ensure distributive justice according to the criterion of deserts.<sup>10</sup>

## **2. Education policy in Japan**

### **2.1 Education policy before World War II**

After 1967, new leadership set Japan on a rapid course of modernization. Realizing

---

<sup>9</sup> Gordon, J. A. (2010). Challenges to Japanese education : economics, reform, and human rights. New York ; London, Teachers College Press.

<sup>10</sup> Secondary education reform and the concept of equality of opportunity in Japan. P175

from the outset that education was fundamental to nation building and modernization, the Meiji leaders established a public education system to help Japan catch up with the West. The ambitious master plan for modern schooling was created by the 1872 Education Law. Schooling was to form an important part of the state policies of rich nation and strong army and increase in production and founding of industries along with land reform and the new conscript system. The government believed that a rich nation required Western civilization and educated citizens. It set out four principles for the new education system: (1) to eliminate feudalistic barriers and open educational opportunities to all citizens; (2) to consider the individual's success in life and enlightenment as the goals of study and education; (3) to emphasize the three Rs and other practical studies (e.g. medicine and engineering); (4) to leave the cost of education to individuals. With these aims, Meiji schooling was to be open to every child in the country, regardless of their place of residence and class background. It thereby aimed to create a national identity, or a shared sense of nationhood, among people who had until then associated with themselves with their respective feudal lords, and to train people for the building of a modern nation-state. The country was to be divided into eight university zones, each having one university, 32 middle schools and 6720 primary schools, totaling 256 middle schools and 53,760 primary schools. Children were to receive eight years of compulsory education. Besides the institutional system, Western pedagogical principles and teaching methods (e.g. student-centered developmental education) were also introduced to normal schools, to

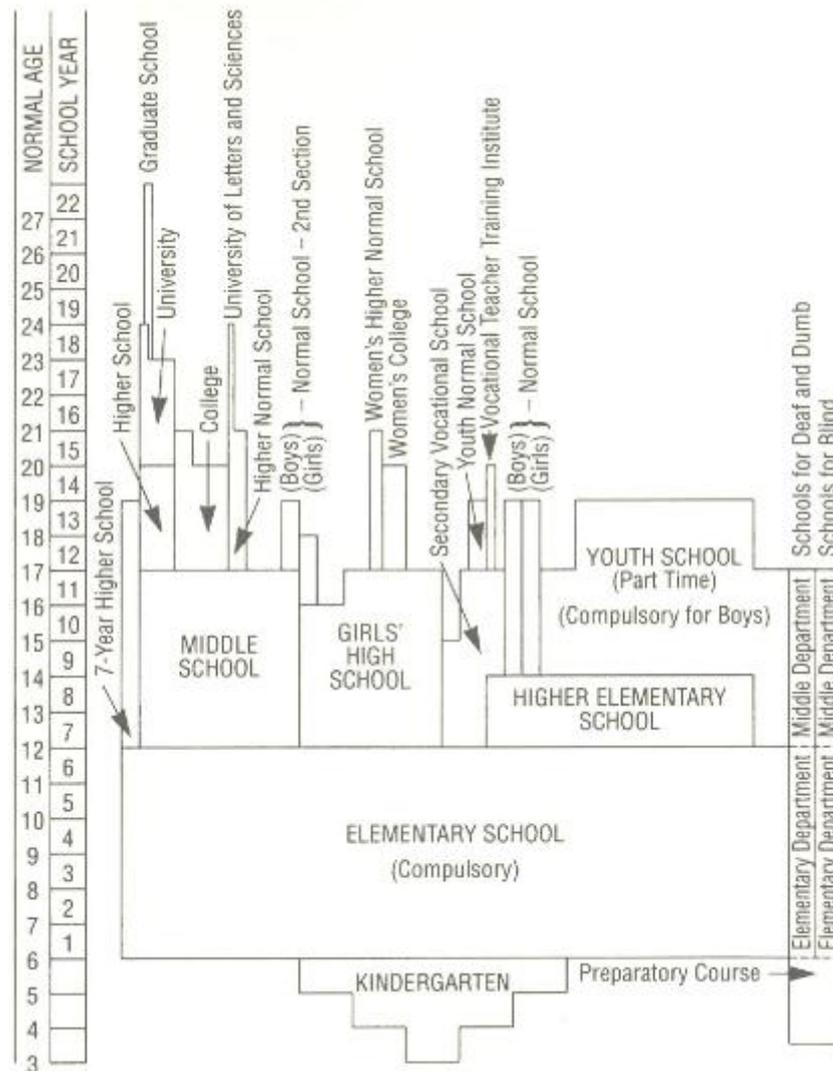
be transmitted to schools across the nation. <sup>11</sup>Elementary school enrollments climbed from about 40 or 50 percent of the school-age population in the 1870s to more the 90 percent by 1900. The Decree for Encouragement of Learning (1872) says that “from this time onward, everyone irrespective of class origins such as nobility, military, farmer, artisan or merchant, and irrespective of one’s sex, ought to learn, so that there should be no family without learning throughout the village and no person without learning in the family. Although higher learning is up to one’s talent, parents should be blamed if a child, irrespective of one’s sex, does not engage in rudimentary learning.” Equality of educational opportunity meant equal access to elementary schooling but not to secondary and tertiary schooling. In fact this period witnessed the realization of equal educational opportunity in terms of compulsory and free elementary schooling, while secondary and tertiary schooling was accessible only for those who had talent and could afford it. These egalitarian ideas, embodied in the 1890 imperial Rescript on Education, along with highly centralized government control over education, largely guided Japanese education until the end of World War II. <sup>12</sup>

---

<sup>11</sup> Okano, K. and M. Tsuchiya (1999). Education in contemporary Japan: Inequality and diversity, Cambridge Univ Pr.c

<sup>12</sup> Dolan, R. E. and R. L. Worden (1992). Japan: a country study, United States Govt Printing Office.

**Figure 1. The Japanese school system in 1937**



Source: Passin (1982)<sup>13</sup>

## 2.2 Education policy after World War II

A drastic change took place after World War 2 through the educational reform under the occupation policies of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. This reform replaced the old education system, which was rather similar to those of

<sup>13</sup> Okano, K. and M. Tsuchiya (1999). Education in contemporary Japan: Inequality and diversity, Cambridge Univ Pr.

European countries such as Great Britain and Germany, with the new school system, which is rather similar to the American system.

At the GHQ's request, the US sent the 27 member US education Mission to Japan to advise on the new education system in March 1946. The mission recommended that the following directions be considered for the new education: 1) that schools respect the individuality of children, provide equal opportunity based on ability, and remove standardization of the curriculum and teaching methods; 2) that schools adopt the Japanese phonetic alphabet, as well as the roman alphabet, restricting the number of Chinese characters; 3) the MOE establish a single line 6-3-3 school system (i.e. six primary, three middle school and three high school years) with nine year compulsory education and co-education settings, accommodate all those who wish to pursue upper-secondary education, exempt tuition fees, and adopt publicly elected education boards; 4) that schools introduce new teaching methods and a new subject called social studies; and that current teachers be retained and granted the freedom to organize themselves. New teachers are to be educated at universities; 5) that the MOE encourage adult education; and 6) that universities be open to the public, and emphasizing general education. The report's democratic principles were mostly welcomed by teachers and education officials, and were to exert a profound influence.

14

On 31 March 1947 the Fundamental Education Law was issued, establishing new directions for education that would replace the pre-war Rescript on Education, and

---

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

setting out the principles of the education reform that would be based on the new Constitution. The Fundamental Education Law was developed in close conformity to the new Constitution. The Constitution, issued in November 1946, adopted three principles: sovereignty of the people, fundamental human rights and abandonment of war. Article 26 specified that everyone possessed the right to receive education as a fundamental human right. The Fundamental Education Law is like the educational constitution, ‘the post war declaration on education’, as it was aptly described by the then Education Minister on its submission to the Parliament. All repudiated the pre-war education based on the old Rescript, and set out new democratic principles of education, peace and human rights. <sup>15</sup>

In relation to the opportunity structure, two major changes were introduced by this reform. One was a change toward free and compulsory secondary education. Junior high school education (until ninth grade) became compulsory and free, while senior high school education rapidly expanded in the 1960s and 1970s and reached nearly the level of compulsory attendance or “quasi-compulsory” senior high school education. The other was a change toward an integrated, common curriculum for all students aimed at preparing interdependent citizens for a democratic society. In fact, the system was transformed from the multi-tracked to the single-tracked, and the majority of senior high schools became comprehensive and coeducational<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Ibid.

<sup>16</sup> Shields, J. J. (2004). Japanese schooling : patterns of socialization, equality, and political control. Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press.

## 2.3 The development of neoliberal education policy since the establishment of the temporary Board of Education in 1984

### 2.3.1 Background of the adoption of neoliberal education policy.

There are at least four major background factor and concerns for the adoption of neoliberal education policy in 1980s. The first factor is the upheaval of the so called “social disorder phenomena such as vandalism, violence, bullying and school-phobia since the late 1970s. It all began when the mass media took an active role in making sensational reports on several serious incidents that happened in schools and serious crimes that school children committed. Educational critics and researchers have responded by making open comments on them and elevated them into major public debates and discourses. Policymakers also soon found themselves being held up in these debates or outcries for radical reforms. Thus, in this dimension, the following strategies were adopted; framing these problems on a moral basis, and scientizing the individual and the structure within which he or she is embedded and thereby locating legitimate solution.

**Table 1. The realities of bullying in 1995**

|  | Primary school                        | Middle school                           | High school                          |
|--|---------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| <b>Percentage of schools that reported incidents of bullying</b> | 34.1                                  | 58.4                                    | 39.6                                 |
| <b>Average number of bullying incidents at any one school</b>    | 1.1                                   | 2.8                                     | 1.0                                  |
| <b>Three most widespread forms of bullying</b>                   | Teasing<br>Exclusion<br>Verbal threat | Teasing<br>Verbal threat<br>Violence    | Violence<br>Verbal threat<br>Teasing |
| <b>Main method of identifying cases of bullying</b>              | Teachers (31%)                        | Bullied students report to school (34%) |                                      |

Source: Kanekura (1996:7-8).<sup>17</sup>

The second factor is the rising concern with the needs and demands of a postmodern society. The advent of the information age, globalization and internationalization, and a rapid aging society, all have become major concerns of policy-makers, business and media people as well as educational critics. They question the effectiveness and

<sup>17</sup> Okano, K. and M. Tsuchiya (1999). Education in contemporary Japan: Inequality and diversity, Cambridge Univ Pr.

efficiency of Japanese schooling to meet the various needs of the postmodern society that must continue to enjoy economic affluence and possess the capability to compete in a new information technology and globalizing economy. These concerns have become a major incentive to promote reforms toward restructuring the system to be more flexible and diversified and revising the curricula for meeting these new needs.

The third background factor is a rising concern about the educational quality of the present system since so many pedagogical principles and styles of teaching and management have been criticized as obsolete and even distorting educational processes and children's life. The centrally regulated system of educational administration and control is criticized as inefficient to cope with a wide variety of people's demand and needs of the changing society. Traditional practices have been condemned and critics have called for their replacement by more flexible, progressive in such areas as curriculum, classroom organization, styles of teaching and school rules and disciplines.

The fourth factor is related to the recent trend of wider reform movements in the system of finance and banking and the economic structure in general. When the Japanese came to be aware of a so called bubble economy of the 1990s and its collapse, reform initiatives soon got organized and became institutionalized to survive the economic crisis and social problems. Indeed launching reform itself has become a supreme goal and purpose in the current Japan society, being fueled by growing concern with accountability. Thus, crisis and reform has become a legitimate pair for social progress. Such a phenomenon has engendered a belief in reform-supremacy.

This has been particularly distinct in the field of education. <sup>18</sup>

Not only this domestic reason, Fujita also concerns international conditions. As Fujita noted in his symposium presentation, all nations are facing a more ‘glocalized’ environment in which the political battles over education are no longer defined locally but rather on a global stage as scrutiny of social, economic, and educational policies increase. Global policy making bodies and international associations (such as the Office of Economic Cooperation and Development, OECD) will continue to exert normative pressures on Japan and other nations to bring their educational practices into line with those of other nations. Increasingly, it is clear that global concepts like “individuality” or “rights of the child” have had a profound impact on Japanese society and policy. <sup>19</sup>

The current restructuring of Japanese education reflects this global trend, driven by a similar neo-liberal and neo-conservative alliance that strived to undermine the democratic and egalitarian foundations of Japanese public schooling.

Hiromitsu Muta has another idea about the background. In 1980s, powerful economic networks in Japan began to press for a series of educational reforms. The main issue was that the educational system designed after the Second World War II was effective in helping Japan catch up with the advanced countries, but it was not suited for developing personnel with the intellectual creativity necessary to make the

---

<sup>18</sup> Fujita, H. (2000). "Education reform and education politics in Japan." the American sociologist **31**(3): 42-57.

<sup>19</sup> Fujita, H. (2000). "Japan: Crisis, Public Education and the Role of Teachers." NIRA Review. A Journal on Public Policy Worldwide **7**(3): 16-20.

country a world leader. These economic networks criticized the educational institutions asserting that they are closed, overly standardized, and lack of internationalism.

Another factor driving the reform process was the declining birthrate, a fact that was clear to everyone. The elementary school enrollment in 1998 was only 64 percent of the peak year in 1981, and the decline is projected to continue. In addition, the number of children who go to juku (cram schools) following the regular school day continues to increase every year illustrating a growing distrust in public education. <sup>20</sup>

### 2.3.2 Current Japanese education system

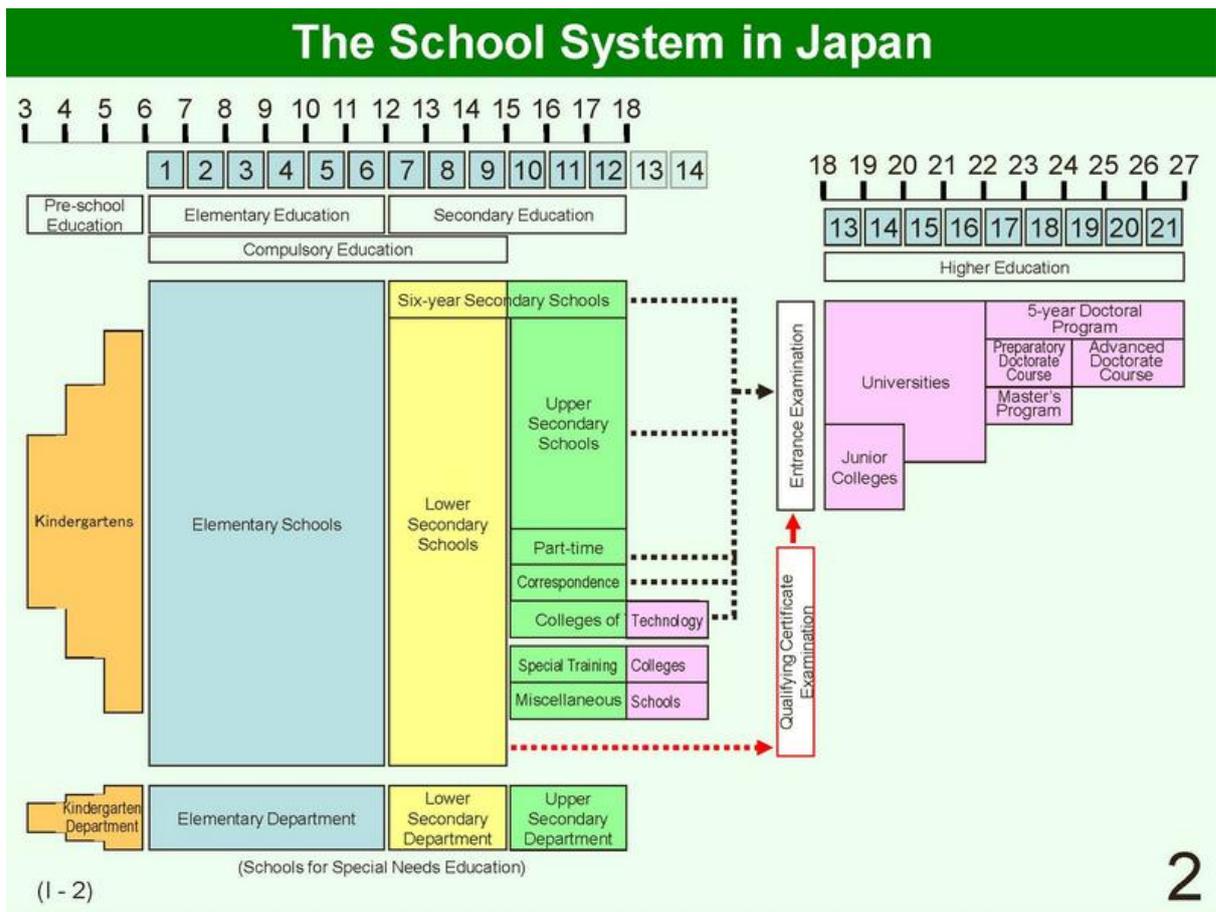
The school system in Japan was changed from a dual system to a single-track school system through educational reforms influenced by the United States after World War II. The 6-3 school system means not only extension of the period of compulsory education from 6 years to 9 (6+3) years, but also the articulation between elementary education schooling and secondary education schooling into a single-track school system.

Japanese educational system is completely established by law. Eight different types of schools are defined as primarily legitimated schools in Article 1 of the School Education Act.

### **Figure 2. Current Japanese school system**

---

<sup>20</sup> Muta, H. (2000). "Deregulation and decentralization of education in Japan." Journal of Educational Administration **38**(5): 455-467.



Source: Center for research on International Cooperation in Education Development (2012) <sup>21</sup>

This figure shows a single-track school system in Japan. Fundamentally, the Japanese single-track school system is made up of elementary schools, lower secondary schools, upper secondary schools and universities (6- 3- 3- 4 years). Attendance at elementary and middle schools and second year of high school is compulsory. This system was modified to introduce technical colleges in 1961 and

<sup>21</sup> 筑波大學教育開發國際協力研究センター。 <http://www.criced.tsukuba.ac.jp/> (Access date : 2012. 4. 12)

comprehensive secondary schools in 1998, which increased people's options and diversified the school system. However, this modification does not mean that the Japanese school system has become a dual system. Most students (75.7 percent) attend public schools, but students (24 percent) also attend private schools and a few nationally funded schools (Shimizu, Akao, Arai, Ito, Sato, & Yaosaka 1995). Although students are free to leave school after completing the ninth grade, 96 percent continue their education through the high school years. About 26 percent of the students eventually enter a nonacademic track by enrolling in vocational or technical high schools, and a small number choose to work during the day and attend night courses offered by some public high schools. Correspondence and evening courses also are available to students who fail to find a place elsewhere in the system (Monbusho 1993).

In order to advance to high school, graduates of junior high schools must take a standard high school examination that covers the five core subjects in the Monbusho curriculum: Japanese, mathematics, social studies, science, and English. This score, along with the student's junior high school grades, is used to determine the student's eligibility for the high school the student wishes to enter.

High school students wishing to attend a college or university are required to take the Center Examination, an examination similar in format to the high school entrance examination and the entrance examination for the university they want to attend. In the past, Japanese universities admitted students solely on the basis of the scores they received on the Center Examination. However, recently it has been possible for

students to be accepted by universities on the basis of recommendations by their schools because of outstanding merit or extraordinary skills. <sup>22</sup>

### 2.3.3 The neoliberal education policies in Japan

1990s saw a series of reports that have been moving the educational system into an era of new liberalization. An illustration of one of these reports was produced in 1998 by the Central Council for Education and was entitled, Policies on the Educational Administration of Local Governments. The report, which was developed as a response to an inquiry made by the Minister of Education in 1997, consists of the four chapters which redefine the educational roles of the government and boards of education, the enhancement of autonomy and initiative by schools, and the strengthening of community participation in educational activities (Central Council for Education, 1998). This report clarifies the role of the national government and recommends that the Monbusho limit its practice of giving detailed advice to lower levels as well as minimize the participation by the national and prefectural governments in the activities of municipalities and schools.

The Central Council for Education analyzed the problem of Japanese education that it needs to be diversified if it is to respond to the needs of the coming century; it needs to pay more attention to the individual and to individual difference and that means modifying its history emphasis on equality. The reforms proposed by the Central Council for Education can be divided into two clusters which broadly correspond to

---

<sup>22</sup> Stevenson, H. W. and R. Nerison-Low (2002). "To Sum It Up: Case Studies of Education in Germany, Japan, and the United States."

the distinction between 'flexibilisation' (Junanka) and 'diversification' (Jiyuka) in the original Ad Hoc Council proposals. Junanka includes proposals to reduce the school week, to free up curricular and assessment methods, to introduce more individualized modes of teaching, as well as various other measures which would give more autonomy to local Boards of Education and individualized schools. Jiyuka involves diversifying the range of schools and introducing more school choice. It has also in the past meant a greater role for the private sector in education.

The Central Council for Education also argues that a greater diversity of school types may help to break down the current institutional hierarchies whereby all schools and universities tend to be ranked by the public according to unidirectional criteria of exam success. The idea is that if schools are allowed to develop their own individual characters and specialisms, parents will begin to select them for a variety of reasons, according to the needs and aptitudes of their children and not simply because they are good at getting students through exams. Relatively little emphasis is currently placed on school choice as a mechanism for increasing competition between schools and for increasing efficiency.<sup>23</sup>

Proposals for allowing more diversity and freedom in the curriculum have so far been modest but suggest significant trends towards allowing students choice in their studies and more space for personal development. Up to 20 percent of the curriculum time in primary and lower secondary school is now available for elective subjects and

---

<sup>23</sup> Green, A. (2000). "Converging paths or ships passing in the night? An English critique of Japanese school reform." *Comparative Education* **36**(4): 417-435.

more in the high schools. The so-called integrated high schools, in particular, have considerable curriculum autonomy and have proved popular in many districts. The school week is gradually being reduced from 6 to 5 days, which has significantly reduce pressure on students, providing other measures can be taken to discourage further juku attendance which would otherwise simply fill the available space. There have also been proposals for implementing 2 hours a week of integrated study time for pursuing cross-curricula themes.

The Council also recommended the introduction of a system of school choice. In April 2000, the Shinagawa Board of Education introduced the school choice for elementary schools and will expand it to lower secondary schools.

Reform directions in 1990s have been consistent with the basic philosophy of the Ad-Hoc Council, addressing social changes such as globalization, the information based society, technological developments, aging and the low birth rate. What distinguished the reforms in the late 1990s from those in the 1980s is that slow economic growth and structural changes in industry have gained greater prominence in education reform deliberations than the pedagogical concerns that drove many of the reforms on the previous decade. The new policy promoted leading-age technological industries, as a result of structural changes under which many multi-national companies shifted their manufacturing sectors overseas. And of the recent opening up Japanese domestic markets, which has caused a decline in the farming and small-business sectors. These trends required a new types of human resources.

<sup>24</sup>However, what all these system changes have in common is the major trend toward deregulation and administrative reform.

The reforms referred to these days as attempts at reduced state control are not, as is claimed, an expansion of governance by residents and teachers but are in fact an expansion of market control hand in hand with the development of new bureaucratic controls. <sup>25</sup> The theme of these changes was to enhance the central government's stake in education. This was done while simultaneously devolving more responsibility and discretion to individual institutions in the name of flexibility and diversity. For example, individual schools and local education boards were granted more discretion regarding the organization of curricula, while nationalist content was emphasized.

### 3. School choice

#### 3.1 The introduction of school choice

Since the establishment of the Temporary Board of Education in 1984, the neoliberal educational reform over the past thirty years in Japan has been based on the general principles that include market competition, introduction of the single-track school system, and the expansion of school choice. Among these principles, the expansion of school choice has been an attempt to give more educational opportunities by delivering a wider choice of schools and to resolve existing problems in the public education system. Traditionally, the public school system in Japan had placed the

---

<sup>24</sup> Okano, K. and M. Tsuchiya (1999). Education in contemporary Japan: Inequality and diversity, Cambridge Univ Pr.

<sup>25</sup> Fujita, H. (2000). "Japan: Crisis, Public Education and the Role of Teachers." NIRA Review. A Journal on Public Policy Worldwide 7(3): 16-20.

students in the public school near their homes. This meant that students went to schools without regards to the students' ability or preference. Thus, the introduction of school choice was to give a chance for the students and their parents to be able to choose the school they wish to go. However, at present, the school choice in Japan has as its fundamental goal, the vitalization of the public education system by bringing in the principle of market competition which will increase competition amongst schools and induce higher quality education.

The Central Council for Education argues that a greater diversity of school types may help to break down the current institutional hierarchies whereby all schools and universities tend to be ranked by the public according to unidimensional social criteria of exam success. The idea is that if schools are allowed to develop their own individual characters and specialisms, their parents will begin to select them for a variety of reasons, according to the needs and aptitudes of their children and not simply because they are good at getting students through exams.<sup>26</sup>

### 3.1.1 How school choice came into place

Japan's public elementary and middle schools up to 1996 received their students through the allotment of students by the local board of education according to the student's residence and the school district it is in. (Article 5 of the School Education Law Enforcement Regulations: If there are multiple (more than two) elementary or

---

<sup>26</sup> Green, A. (2000). "Converging paths or ships passing in the night? An English critique of Japanese school reform." *Comparative Education* **36**(4): 417-435.

middle schools in the area, the municipal government board of education must allot and notify the student of the school he/she will be entering.) This principle is still followed at present in general. However, school choice allows for the maximum flexibility in terms of execution. More specifically, when the parent of the student expresses a preference for a particular school, the board of education is allowed to allot the student accordingly.

The two most common methods through which schools select their students are: the direct selection of students by the schools (Independent Selection Method), and the allotment of students to the schools based on school district (Comprehensive Selection Method). Independent selection method is done through entrance exams given by the school, and is mostly used by private schools. In this case, the students who live in the school district has first claim and only a set percentage is allotted for students who are outside the school district. In the past, Independent selection method has been used in national and public schools as well but it is now only used in a limited number of prefectures while most national and public schools opt for the comprehensive selection method. Comprehensive selection method is based on the school district system which ties schools in the same area as a school district. Students take the same entrance exam for the schools in the school district, after which students who passed (decided by the total capacity of the schools within the district) are allotted according to their level and distance from the school. This method is usually used for public schools and thus, for public schools, the general rule for students is to apply for the school within their school district. The application requires various records from

middle schools and the national exam results, but recently the screening process is diversifying to include interviews and recommendations. On the other hand, there is also the Joint Selection Method asks the applicant students to show their school preference by numbering them in order of preference for schools within the school district to take into consideration when selecting the students together.

### 3.1.2 Suggestions for school choice

On December 1996, the Administration Reform Committee sent in a proposal for increased flexibility in school choices through “The (2nd) Statement of Options for the Relaxation of Regulations” which contained the following suggestions:

- 1) To instruct the municipal government board of education on the intention behind increasing flexibility in school choice and the need for proper consideration of the parents’ wishes and preferences. Furthermore, to instruct the municipal government board of education to conduct various research on how to increase flexibility in school choice.
- 2) To collect and share information on actual examples of districts where the system was changed to expand choice to assist the municipal government board of education in increasing flexibility of school choices.
- 3) From the perspective of expanding school choice opportunities, the currently accepted guideline for reasons (physical disabilities, geographical distance, outcast treatment) should be flexibly applied to allow for more room to consider the parents’ wishes in the change of schools or selection of school outside of the district.

Furthermore, in the Report on the Constituent Assembly on Educational Reform in December 2002, titled “17 Suggestions to Change Education” the Administration Reform Committee suggested the “expansion of school choice including flexible school districts,” and based on such suggestions, the “21st Century Education Rebirth Plan” laid out by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology(Ministry of Education) included plans to facilitate the participation of all boards of education. In addition, from the “First Response to the Relaxation of Regulations” of the Comprehensive Regulation Reform Meeting in 2003, they argued that the implementation of school choice can be done through the discretion of each municipal government board of education in order to facilitate the increase of school choice based on the parent and student’s preference, and that after implementation, the municipal government must make the school choice made by the parent/student as well as the registration with the school clear.

In June 2005, the “2005 Basic Rules for Public Finance Management and Structural Reform” announces the decision to “facilitate the implementation of school choice according to the local situation and assist the furthering of its implementation nationally.”

### 3.1.3 Actions by the Ministry of Education

Based on the movements of the various related organizations, Monbusho disseminated its “On the Flexible Implementation of the School District System” through the prefecture government board of education to all municipal government

boards of education of its decision in January 1997 and is working to facilitate the implementation and management of the school choice while keeping an eye on its effects on the educational system. The Ministry of Education's decisions in the "On the Flexible Implementation of the School District System" is as follows:

1) Method to consider fully the students' parents preferences in accordance of the local situation should be found.

2) As a reason to decide on changing schools or attending a school outside of the school district, when the specific circumstances of the child does not meet the guideline of acceptable reasons, the parents' request can be considered as acceptable in addition to former guidelines.

3) The promotion of the reconfiguration of the school district system and the provision of substantial consultation on school choice and entrance should be attended to.

In addition, the Ministry of Education compiled and distributed a booklet on "Examples of the Implementation of School District System" in September 1997, the second version of the booklet in 2000, and the third in 2002, in order to assist each board of education to review and consider the implementation of flexible school choice based on the information.

In 2003, the Ministry of Education changed the School Education Law Enforcement Regulations partially in the following points:

1) The municipal government board of education should make possible the hearing

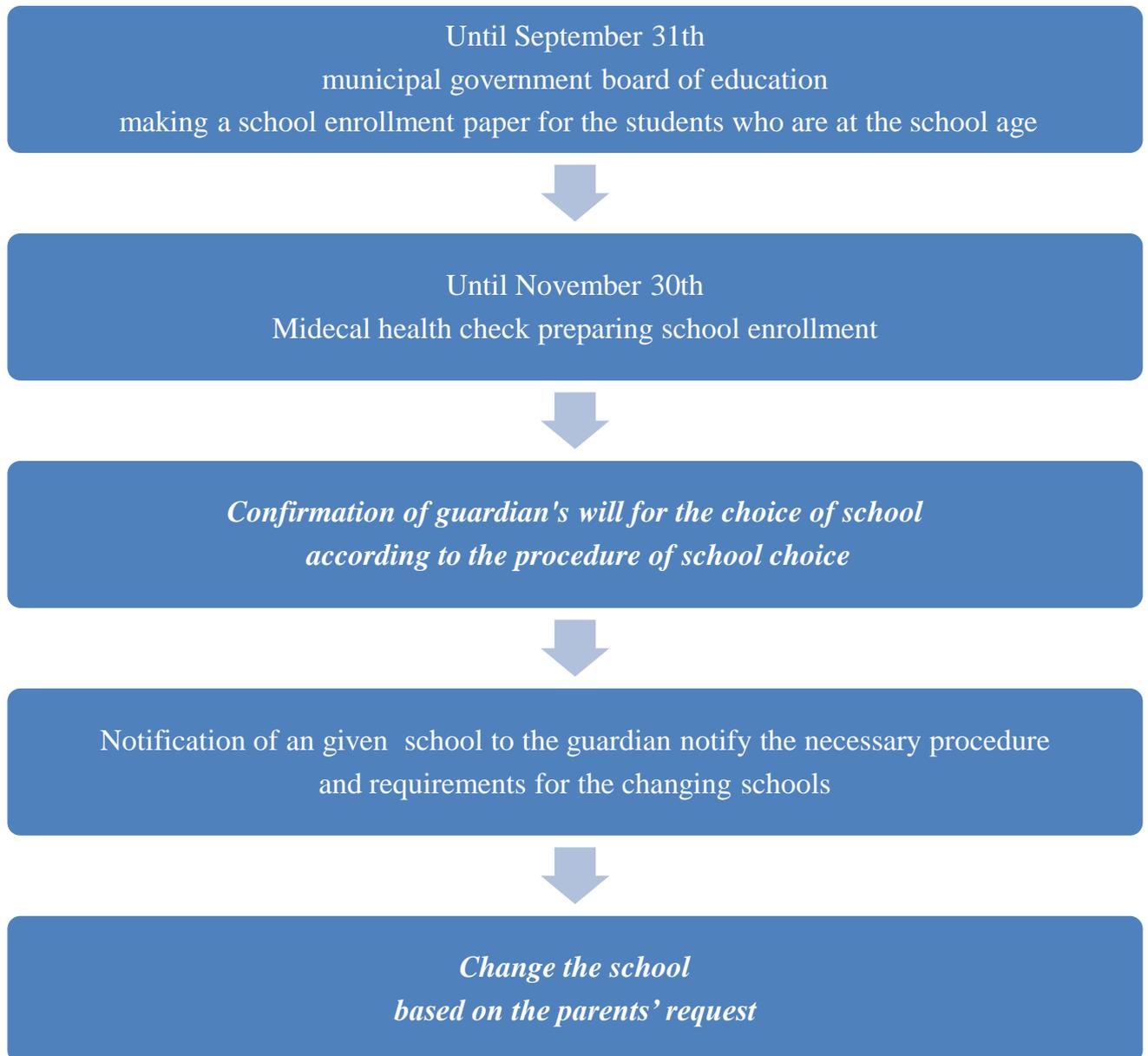
of the parents' opinions when their children makes their choice of schools to enter, and in such cases, the municipal government board of education should decide and notify the necessary procedure through which the parents can request a hearing.

2) The municipal government board of education should decide and notify the necessary procedure and requirements to change schools based on the parents' request to do so for their children. (Article 32, Clause 2, School Education Law Enforcement Regulations)

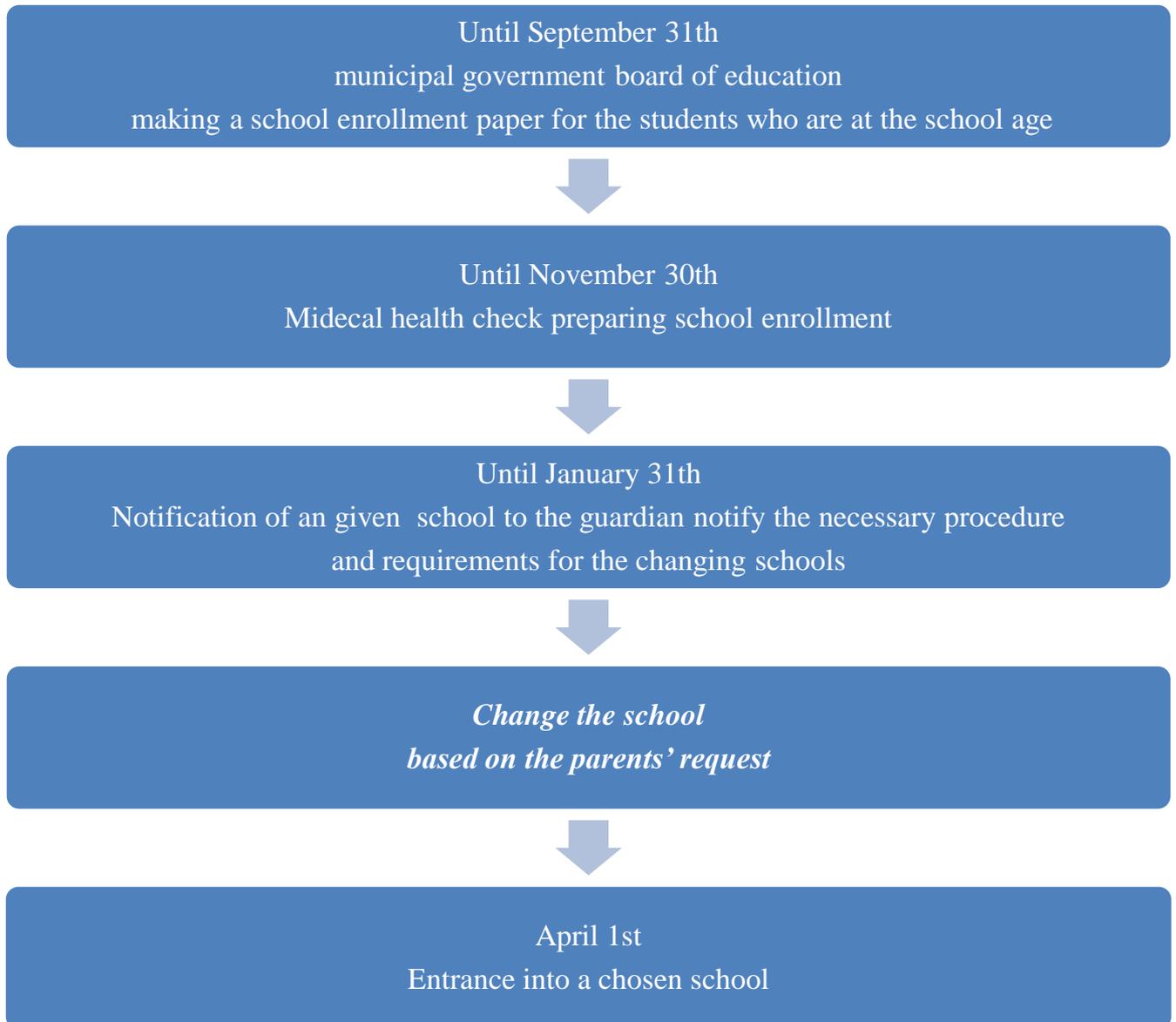
3) When an agreement amongst the relevant municipal government board of education is reached through a set procedure, the student can enter a school which is in municipal government outside of the student's school district. (Article 9, School Education Law Enforcement Regulations)

**Figure 3. The school choice procedure of the municipal government board of education**

**1) The school enrollment procedure for the prefectures adopting school choice**



**2) The school enrollment procedure for the prefectures who are not adopting school choice**



*Source:* Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan (2012)

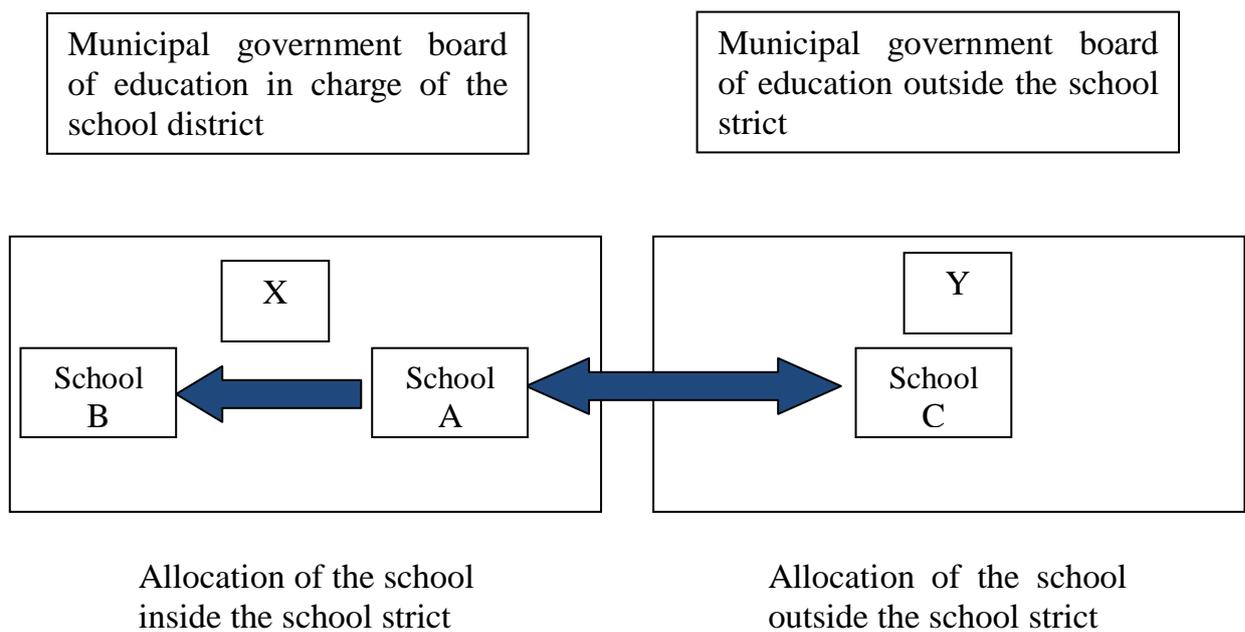
27

---

<sup>27</sup> Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan  
<http://www.mext.go.jp> (Access 2012. 5. 1)

In the case where the student enters a school “outside the school district,” the parent must acquire permission from Y municipal government board of education (in charge of the school outside of the student district) beforehand and then, must report to the X municipal government board of education (in charge of the student’s actual school district). In this case, Y municipal government board of education must discuss the request with X municipal government board of education before giving out permission to the parent.

**Figure 4. The procedure of the allocation of the school out of school strict**



Source: Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan (2012)<sup>28</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan <http://www.mext.go.jp> (Access 2012. 5. 1)

4) When the municipal government board of education allots the schools to the students, it can hold a hearing to receive feedback from the parents on the school their children will be entering beforehand. (Article 32, Clause 1, School Education Law Enforcement Regulations) The allotment of schools by the municipal government board of education based on the parents’ opinions and preferences is the basis of the school choice. The school choice implemented by the municipal government board of education can be categorized into five types:

**Table 2. Types of school choice**

|                                      |  |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <b>Free Choice System</b>            | <b>Allows the students to choose any school within the municipal government, if preferred</b>  |
| <b>Block Choice System</b>           | Divides the municipal government into blocks and allows students to choose any school within their allotted block, if preferred  |
| <b>Nearby District Choice System</b> | Maintains the existing school districts while allowing the students to choose schools in a nearby district, if preferred   |
| <b>Specific Choice System</b>        | Maintains the existing school districts while allowing the students to choose any specific school within the municipal government without regards to the school district, if preferred |
| <b>Exceptional Choice System</b>     | Maintains the existing school districts while allowing the students in a particular area to choose schools, if preferred   |

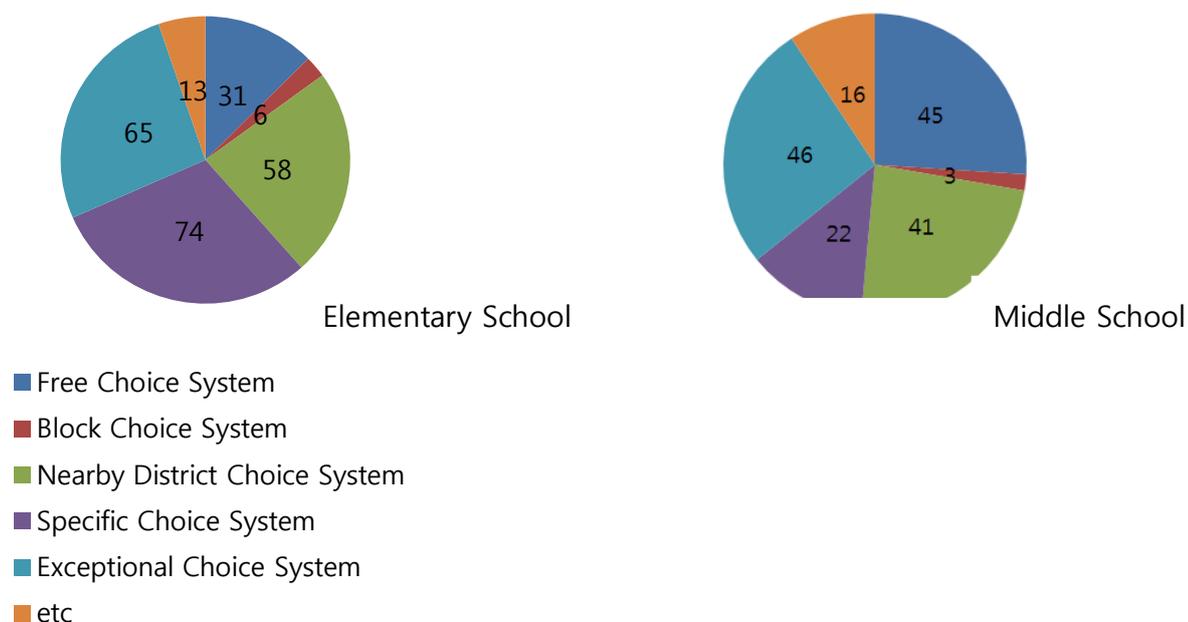
Source: Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan (2012)

29

### 3.2 The spread of school choice

According to the 2005 survey by Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 161 of local government out of 1,448 (11.1percent) adopted school choice system at middle school except the case that there's only one school in the district. 45 local government adopted In detail, 45 municipal governments adopt Free choice system, 46 adopt Specific Choice System, and 41 adopt Nearby District Choice System.

**Figure 5. The number of schools implementing school choice**

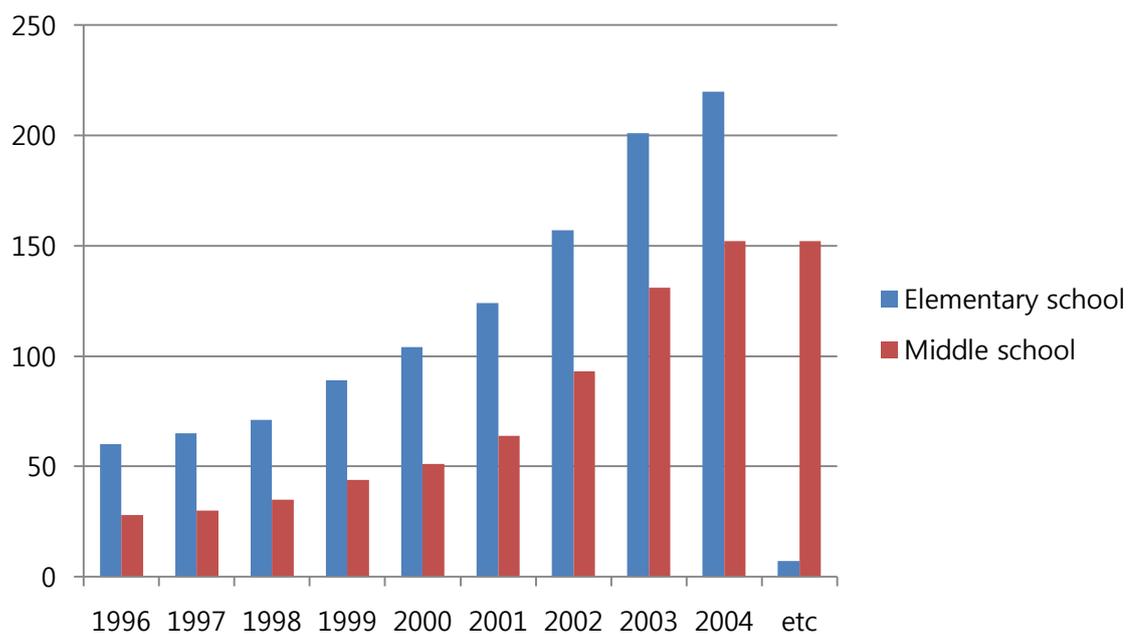


<sup>29</sup> Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan <http://www.mext.go.jp> (Access 2012. 5. 1)

Source: Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology in Japan (2005)

This picture shows the number of school implementing school choice at the introduction period of school choice from 1997 to 2006. The number of schools who adopt school choice has been increased every year both at the elementary and middle schools.

**Figure 6. Number of schools implementing school choice from 1997 to 2006**



Source: Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology.(2005)<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology. <http://www.mext.go.jp/> (Access 2012. 4. 21)

#### **4. School choice and institutionalized inequality of education opportunity**

Since the Nakasone-initiated education reforms started in the mid-1980s, there has increasingly been a move toward providing elite education and moving away from traditional egalitarian education. The controversy about education reform in 1990s has resulted from the fears that the reforms will not only increase consumer choice and diversity, but also increase educational stratification and student alienation. Four such reforms are particularly significant: high school reform and the Integrated Course, the legitimization of grade-skipping, the introduction of 6-year public secondary schools, and the relaxation of school catchment areas.<sup>31</sup> Particular criticism has been leveled at 6-year secondary schools and the relaxation of school catchment areas. To the critics, who include Fujita Hidenori and Sato Manabu of Tokyo University's Faculty of Education, these two measures threaten to increase competition and stratification within the education system, under the guise of extending consumer choice (Fujita, 1997, 1999; Sato, 1999). Fujita has argued that the relaxation of catchment areas to allow school choice will increase the disparities between schools, push academic competition down the age scale, and strengthen social stratification (Fujita, 1999).<sup>32</sup>

##### **4.1 Increased competition, increased private education**

Juku are special private schools that offer lessons conducted after regular school

---

<sup>31</sup> Cave, P. (2001). "Educational reform in Japan in the 1990s: Individuality and other uncertainties." *Comparative Education* 37(2): 173-191.

<sup>32</sup> Cave, P. (2001). "Educational reform in Japan in the 1990s: Individuality and other uncertainties." *Comparative Education* 37(2): 173-191.

hours and on the weekends. Although best known and most widely publicized for their role as "cram schools", where children can study to improve scores on upper-secondary school entrance examinations, academic juku actually perform several educational functions: They provide supplementary education that many children need just to keep up with the regular school curriculum, remedial education for the children who fall behind in their work, and preparation for students striving to improve test scores and preparing for the all-important upper-secondary and university entrance examinations. In many ways, juku compensate for the formal education system's inability or unwillingness to address particular individual problems. Juku in Japan have their origins in the expansion of secondary education during the second half of the twentieth century.

Roesgaard identifies five different types of juku which consist of ①shingaku juku (exam preparation), ②hoshu juku (remedial study), ③kyosai juku (for school refusers, drop-outs), ④doriru juku ("drill" work, e.g. Kumon), ⑤sogo juku (comprehensive type which includes elements of the other four).

There appears to be a critical point in educational expansion which relates to the growth of the private tutoring industry.

**Table 3. Juku boom (1960s – 1990s)**

---

|  |  |
|--|--|
| 1st <i>Juku</i> boom (1960s)           | Baby boom generation reaches high school age<br>Birth of mock test industry<br>Use of standard deviation to assess students<br>Economic growth   |
| 2nd <i>Juku</i> boom (1970s)           | 1968 curriculum changes make content more difficult<br><i>Ochikobore</i> phenomenon (students fall behind)<br>Increase of <i>hoshu juku</i><br>Birth of <i>sogo juku</i><br>Oil Shock and Economic Crisis<br>Spread of TV and Information availability         |
| 3rd <i>Juku</i> boom (1980s and 1990s) | Nakasone's liberalization of education<br>Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) controls <i>juku</i><br>Prominence of <i>shingaku juku</i> ; ability grouping<br>School violence in public schools<br>Private middle school exams become popular |

---

Source: MEXT. (1993)<sup>33</sup>

At the point when a significant number of applicants are failing to advance to higher levels of secondary education where over 50% of applicants were failing to gain access to upper secondary schools in 1954, the lower secondary schools and private tutoring system appear to expand to meet this increasing demand. At this point in Japan in 1954, many public middle schools began to hold supplementary classes after school for exam preparation. And due to the curriculum change in 1968, there was second *juku* boom in 1970s.

While *juku* attendance seems to have stabilized over the past 20 years since a peak in *juku* expansion in the 1980s costs have risen significantly. It is particularly

---

<sup>33</sup> Report on the situation of academic *Juku* (*Gakushu Juku ni Kansuru Jittai Chosa*). Tokyo: Monbusho Hokokusho. MEXT. (2008). Report on the situation of academic learning activities of children.

noteworthy that the average monthly cost of juku attendance for lower secondary school students has doubled between 1985 and 2007.

**Table 4. Average monthly tuition fee of juku**

| Year/level | Elementary school                     | Public middle school  |
|------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1985       | 16.5 (Gr.1-3: 6,400; Gr.4-6: 7,700)   | 44.5 (Gr.7-9: 11,000) |
| 1993       | 23.6 (Gr.1-3: 10,400; Gr.4-6: 13,000) | 59.5 (Gr.7-9: 18,100) |
| 2007       | 25.9 (Gr.1-3: 9,300; Gr.4-6: 13,300)  | 53.5 (Gr.7-9: 23,600) |

*Source:* MEXT (Ministry of Education, Culture, and Technology) (1985, 1993, 2008)

34

Private education continued to be important for those who could afford to buy competitive advantage for their children, the upper classes and old middle classes effortlessly reproduced most of their children into good social and economic position, and new and aspirant groups were eager to grasp the advantage of both excellent resources and old boy networks, with the additional legitimacy of both meritocracy.

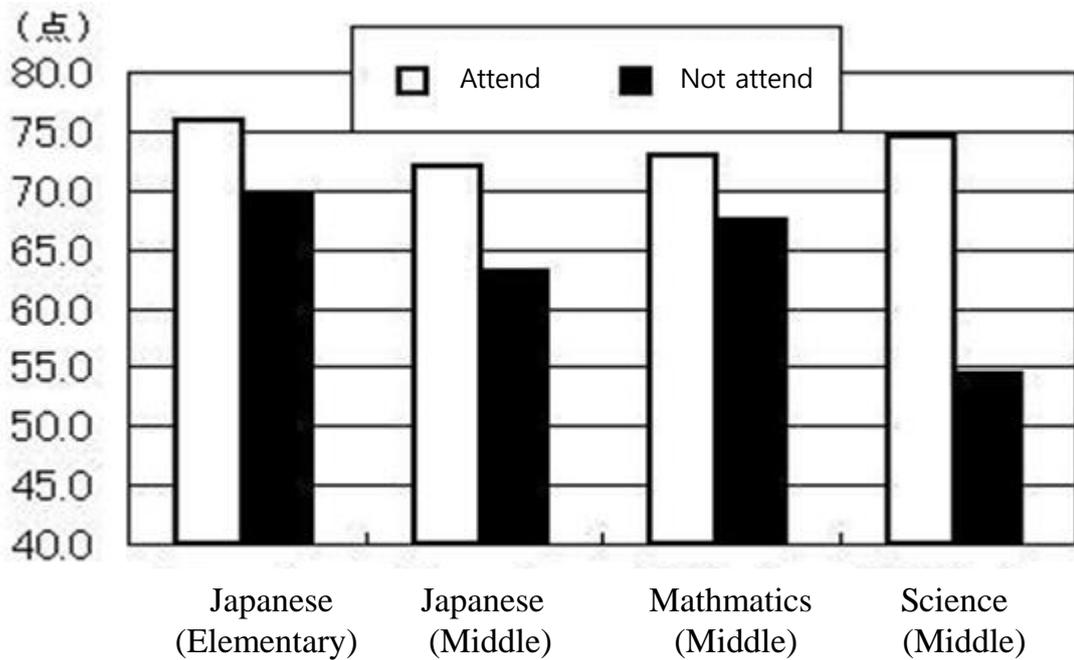
The gap between students who are attending in juku and the students who are not can be easily recognized. According to the Kansai education report, the gap between students who are enrolled in juku gain 20 points more in mathematics than who are not. It says compared with students who are not attend at juku, students attending at juku achieved less academic ability in Japanese and mathematics. Besides, for middle school students, the score gap in mathematics is around 20 points. With this analysis, it is hard to deny the academic ability gap between students in private education and

---

<sup>34</sup> MEXT. (2008). Report on the situation of academic learning activities of children. Tokyo: Monbukagakusho Hokokusho

not. <sup>35</sup>

**Figure 7. Academic gap between students who attend juku and those who do not**



Source: 荻谷剛彦 (2002)

Moreover, the juku attendance reflects more economic combination of parents rather than student's academic ability. For example, there are more than 1,000 juku in Hiroshima. The biggest juku, 'Eupore' has more than 20,000 students and more than 6,000 students attending in 'Danaka' juku, the second biggest one. Fee is different up to the level of the class. For example, S class is for 6th year elementary students and they have to pay 5,250 yen (around \$ 70) for entrance, 16,800 yen for monthly payment (around \$210), 53,130 yen (\$670) for texts, 19,950 yen for material (\$ 250) 8,400 yen(\$100), 36,330 yen(\$450), 21,000 yen (\$270) for each seasonal short courses.

<sup>35</sup> 荻谷剛彦 (2002). 調査報告「学力低下」の実態.

The average tuition fee for a student is 28,830 yen (\$ 360) for a month. However, the fee of elite course is much higher than ordinary courses, 62,700 yen (\$ 910) per month. In Japan, there are 6 and half million families whose annual income is less than 3million yen and the average annual income of a mother and child family is less than 1.3million yen. For them who are underprivileged, the enrollment for juku is economically hard, particularly for the elite course. The income gap among the social class leads to academic ability gap among students and later, it makes the difference in the privileged university entrance.

**Table 5. Enrollment ratio of juku (2003)**

|                          |                | The ratio of students attending juku | The ration of students do not attending juku |
|--------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| <b>Kindergarten</b>      | Public school  | 16.3                                 | 65   |
|                          | Private school | 19.9                                 | 101  |
| <b>Elementary School</b> | Public school  | 43.3                                 | 142  |
|                          | Private school | 68.2                                 | 287  |
| <b>Middle School</b>     | Public school  | 71.6                                 | 247  |
|                          | Private school | 53.6                                 | 221  |
| <b>High School</b>       | Public school  | 35.3                                 | 224  |
|                          | Private school | 42.9                                 | 337  |

Source: MEXT (2003) <sup>36</sup>

This table shows the average tuition fee in 2003. 16.3 percent of public kindergarten school students pays fee for juku, 43.3percent of public middle school pays, 71.6

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

percent of public middle school students, 35.3 percent of high school students pay for private education. Also, the fee is different up to the level of students, public elementary students pays 142,000 yen, 246,000 yen for public middle school students, 224,000 yen for public high school students.

**Table 6. Expenses for student's private education up to the family income**

|                                 |                    | <b>Less than 400,000 yen</b> | <b>400,000 ~599,000</b> | <b>600,000 ~799,000</b> | <b>800,000 ~999,000</b> | <b>1,000,000 ~1,199,000</b> | <b>More than 1,200,000 yen</b> |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <b>Public Elementary school</b> | Distribution ratio | 21.7                         | 30.7                    | 24.8                    | 11.9                    | 6.0                         | 5.0                            |
|                                 | Average amount     | 227                          | 259                     | 318                     | 393                     | 388                         | 598                            |
| <b>Public Middle school</b>     | Distribution ratio | 17.4                         | 24.6                    | 27.8                    | 16.9                    | 7.7                         | 5.6                            |
|                                 | Average amount     | 390                          | 409                     | 448                     | 546                     | 527                         | 675                            |
| <b>Public high school</b>       | Distribution ratio | 21.5                         | 27.3                    | 24.0                    | 15.3                    | 6.0                         | 5.8                            |
|                                 | Average amount     | 318                          | 361                     | 393                     | 446                     | 496                         | 594                            |

Source: MEXT (2012) <sup>37</sup>

This table indicates the different expenses for student's private education up to the family income. The expense gap between the family whose income is the lowest and the highest is more than twice for elementary student's family, and almost twice for the middle and high school student's family.

<sup>37</sup> MEXT (2012)

Tsuneyoshi (2001) states that juku compensate for the egalitarianism of the public school in relation to the hierarchical reality of the nonschool world. But the reality is that the private tutoring system goes beyond shadowing the formal system and, in effect, holds a mirror up to the formal system which reflects its shortcomings. Thus, juku capitalize on those shortcomings, acting as a market which absorbs unmet demand. Also, Roesgaard warns of the potential for the development of a dual-education system whereby the public system provides basic education and the private system (with juku) provides elite education

An OECD study in seven countries concluded that a major result of choice policies globally had been to increase social class segregation in schools; Sometimes this is because more privileged groups are more active in choosing desired schools, sometimes it is because such schools are in more prosperous neighborhood whose residents continue to get more privileged access to them.

#### 4.2 Increased public privileged schools (single-track schools)

A new issue of inequality of educational opportunity has emerged between children in the different tracks in the same state secondary system; the creation of 6-year secondary schools which combined what are normally the lower secondary and high school stages of education in one school. Six year secondary schools have become more popular, as have the so-called 'escalator schools' which act as feeders to some private universities, and which, in some cases, form complete ladders from kindergarten through primary and secondary stages and up to university. Parents are

choosing these both because they are seen to give privileged access to good universities and also because they are believed to relieve children of some of the pressures associated with examination competition. It is estimated that now, in Tokyo, nearly 50% of primary school children are preparing for private school entry exams and going to cram classes.

Six-year schools were first proposed in 1971 and school choice generally was strongly supported in the 1980s by the Ad Hoc council. Proposals were not implemented in either area because of continuing public support for the 6-3-3 system and because Monbusho recognized professional misgivings about the adverse momentum in this direction. But nowadays, these have become quite popular in the private sector, and the CCE and Monbusho are keen for them to be extended into the public school system, where there is currently only one. CCE argues that these integrated schools offer advantages for children in terms of stability and continuity; the longer period in one institution may promote closer relations between teachers and students and may allow the latter more room for development, given the absence of pressures to compete for high school places-characterized by integrated courses, or specialized provision, or with a predominantly academic focus-and admission would not be subject to zonal restrictions. They are therefore seen as another way of increasing school choice. Current policy is that Prefectures should decide as to whether to implement these schools, but that they should remain only one option amongst several in a diversified public school system.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Green, A. (2000). "Converging paths or ships passing in the night?"

There are two possible types of the request for the current school choice: most requests, coming from the entire social class spectrum, would arise from the wish to avoid schools in areas of economic and social deprivation and enter schools that have fewer socio-economic problems. Moves to non-adjacent schools would involve travel over considerable distances for children from families where the parents are able to finance the transportation costs to schools in middle class areas and areas where a high proportion of parents have been through higher education. Moreover, equal opportunity for upper secondary education would also emerge as a new issue in education. The pupils in the 3 year school track must take an entrance examination in order to advance to the upper secondary school at the age of 15 years, while the pupils in the 6 year track do not have to do so. The new system would undoubtedly seriously threaten the principle of equality of opportunity to enter the upper secondary school of their choice, as the number of the 6 year school is increased.

Finally, a more powerful criticism voiced by those opposing the introduction of 6 year schools concerns the question of whether or not this proposal promotes equality of opportunity for different social strata. Indeed, they are anxious that there must inevitably emerge a definite correlation between family background and success in gaining entry to the 6 year school.

Since it is difficult for young students to make an important decision at the age of 12 years, the choice of whether they go to the 3year school or the new 6 year school is highly dependent on their parent's opinions and decision. In fact, a growing body of

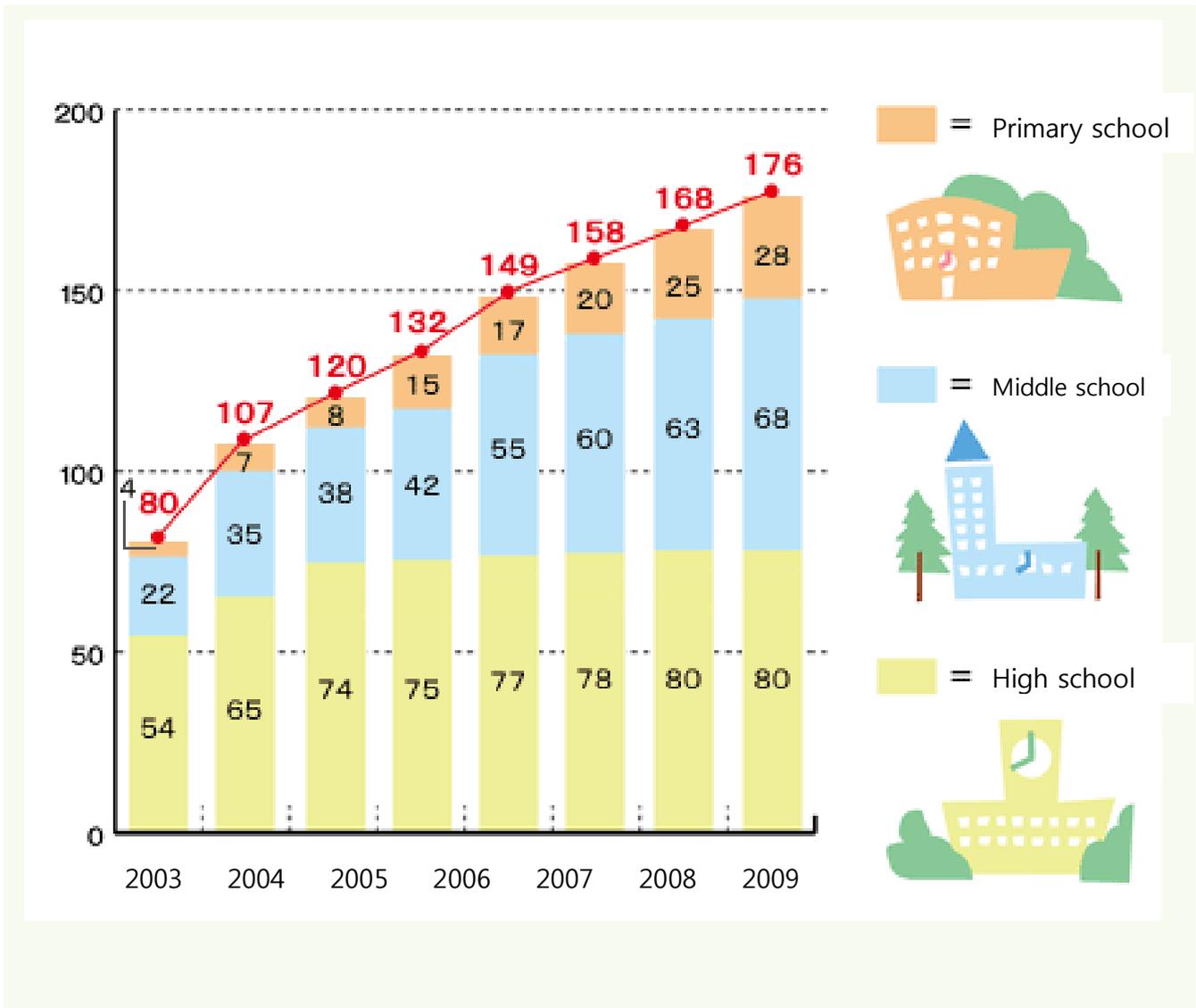
---

An'English'critique of Japanese school reform." Comparative Education **36**(4): 417-435.

sociological and pedagogical research findings reveal that differences in scholastic achievement and consequent advancement of children may be explained by differences in the degree of motivational, linguistic, and other cultural continuities/discontinuities between family and school, or institutionally teacher's biased treatment of and attitudes toward children of different social class.

Therefore, the 6 year state secondary school might promote stratification of the state secondary education system along the lines of social class, a situation which already exists in the prestigious 6 year national and private schools. Even if the level of children's academic performance is the same at the primary education level, the higher the parent's education, academic background and income, the more likely the child is to be given the opportunity to go to the newly established 6 year secondary school. It is clear that the opportunity to choose a secondary school at an early stage in life will not aid children from the lower social classes whom the provisions of the FLE are purportedly intended to help. Thus the new secondary school would challenge the principle of equality of opportunity in the present education system and family background would still remain a critical factor determining pupil's eligibility for such a school, without any remedial treatment for children who are able to but have a poor family background.

**Figure 8. Number of single-track schools (2003 – 2010)**



Source: NICHINOKEN (2012) <sup>39</sup>

This graph shows that the increasing number of single-track schools from 2003 to 2010. It became more than double in 7 years.

<sup>39</sup> <http://www.nps.jp> (Access 2012.5.1)

**Table 7. Priority of application for the single-track schools (2003 – 2010)**

| Ranking | Name of single-track schools | Ration of application |
|---------|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1       | 千葉県立千葉中学校                    | 16.85                 |
| 2       | 神奈川県立相模原中等教育学校               | 16.41                 |
| 3       | 埼玉県立伊奈学園中学校                  | 12.31                 |
| 4       | さいたま市立浦和中学校                  | 12.20                 |
| 5       | 千葉市立稲毛高等学校附属中学校              | 12.09                 |
| 6       | 東京都立武蔵高等学校附属中学校              | 11.51                 |
| 7       | 千代田区立九段中等教育学校(千代田区民以外)       | 10.71                 |
| 8       | 大阪市立咲くやこの花中学校                | 10.38                 |
| 9       | 東京都立立川国際中等教育学校(一般)           | 10.09                 |
| 10      | 東京都立両国高等学校附属中学校              | 9.05                  |
| 11      | 京都市立西京高等学校附属中学校              | 8.08                  |
| 12      | 東京都立小石川中等教育学校(一般)            | 7.95                  |
| 13      | 東京都立白鷺高等学校附属中学校(一般)          | 7.19                  |
| 14      | 兵庫県立大学附属中学校                  | 7.18                  |
| 15      | 神奈川県立平塚中等教育学校                | 6.45                  |
| 16      | 東京都立桜修館中等教育学校                | 6.40                  |
| 17      | 仙台市立仙台青陵中等教育学校               | 6.31                  |
| 18      | 和歌山県立向陽中学校                   | 6.26                  |
| 19      | 京都府立洛北高等学校附属中学校              | 6.23                  |
| 20      | 福山市立福山中学校                    | 6.10                  |

Source: 中高一貫校ナビ (2012) <sup>40</sup>

This content indicates that how many students apply for the single-track school across the country. Compared to other public school, the single-track schools attract more students than average.

<sup>40</sup> [http://chuko.kounavi.net/2009/11/post\\_258.html#more](http://chuko.kounavi.net/2009/11/post_258.html#more) (Access 2012.5.1)

## **5. Conclusion**

Japan, who has been providing compulsory education since the Meiji Reform period of 1876, had been supporting all nationals in terms of free and compulsory education according to the doctrine of equal educational opportunities. Japan's compulsory education differs from that of the US, which is passive in the sense that it only guarantees the chance to receive education, in its active stance as the equality in education includes the guarantee of education quality and its returns through government control. As problems such as non-attendance, bullying, stress over entrance exams, and uniformity arose in Japan's education, the once "model for equal education" began to be influenced by the global neoliberalization and the neoliberal movement in education policies adopted by many countries including the US and the UK.

As part of the neoliberal education reform, the school choice system was implemented in 1997, which allowed the students in Japan to possess the right to choose the school they wish to enter. These schools were categorized into five types: 1) public schools which were designated to students depending on the student's place of residence; 2) national schools; 3) private schools; 4) regular public school which can be chosen according to the school choice system; and 5) public schools which have adopted single track school system.

The school choice system is a neoliberal education policy which brought in the rule of the market to education, in the attempt to satisfy the consumers of education by

diversifying, double-track education system, selection, differentiation. Diversified choice of schools increased the rate of which a student's entering the next level of education is determined by his or her parent's socioeconomic background rather than the student's own academic ability. This led to the increase in the number of children from wealthy families entering university.

At the present, more and more local governments are choosing to implement school choice system and single-track public schools, and more and more students are showing preference towards single-track public schools annually. Japan's education before the introduction of neoliberal policies cannot exactly be described as completely equal. Even then, there were private schools which required high tuition and there also was a private education market which catered to those who wished to enter those expensive private schools. The decision to go to university as well as the choice of university was largely influenced by the student's family's economic background. However, the introduction of the school choice system has stimulated the competition amongst students to enter not only the private schools which form a minority but also the public schools with high rates and single-track public schools which give their students an easier way to enter university. Such results led to an increase in inequality in terms of educational opportunity, further deepened by the private education market expanding itself to meet the demands of the fiercer competition among students.

In conclusion, neoliberal education policies including the school choice system, by putting focus on elite-centered education rather than equal education, can be understood as the institutionalization of unequal education opportunity.

## Bibliography

### A. Books and Articles

Juku and businesses on the look-out for golden times-The five-day school week. (2002), Asahi Shinbun.

Apple, M. W., G. Whitty, et al. (2011). 비판적 교육학과 공교육의 미래 : 신자유주의 교육개혁을 재검토한다. 서울, 원미사.

Ball, S. J. (2003). Class strategies and the education market: The middle classes and social advantage, Routledge.

Campbell, J. L. and O. K. Pedersen (2001). The rise of neoliberalism and institutional analysis. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Cave, P. (2001). "Educational reform in Japan in the 1990s:'Individuality'and other uncertainties." Comparative Education 37(2): 173-191.

Checchi, D. (2006). The economics of education : human capital, family background and inequality. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cummings, W. K., Ed. (1980). Education and equality in Japan, Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1980.

Cummings, W. K. (1982). "The egalitarian transformation of postwar Japanese education." Comparative Education Review 26(1): 16-35.

Dale, R. (1999). "Specifying globalization effects on national policy: a focus on the mechanisms." Journal of Education Policy 14(1): 1-17.

Dawson, W. (2010). "Private tutoring and mass schooling in East Asia: Reflections of inequality in Japan, South Korea, and Cambodia." Asia Pacific Education Review 11(1): 14-24.

Dolan, R. E. and R. L. Worden (1992). Japan: a country study, United States Govt Printing Office.

Fujita, H. (2000). "Education reform and education politics in Japan." *the American sociologist* 31(3): 42-57.

Fujita, H. (2000). "Japan: Crisis, Public Education and the Role of Teachers." *NIRA Review. A Journal on Public Policy Worldwide* 7(3): 16-20.

Gardner, D. P. (1983). "A nation at risk." Washington, D. C.: The National Commission on Excellence in Education, US Department of Education.

Gardner, D. P. (1983). "A nation at risk: The imperative for educational reform." Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

Gordon, J. A. (2010). *Challenges to Japanese education : economics, reform, and human rights.* New York ; London, Teachers College Press.

Green, A. (1999). "Education and globalization in Europe and East Asia: convergent and divergent trends." *Journal of Education Policy* 14(1): 55-71.

Green, A. (2000). "Converging paths or ships passing in the night? An'English'critique of Japanese school reform." *Comparative Education* 36(4): 417-435.

Halsey, A. H. and 강순원 (2011). (우리 시대를 위한) *교육사회학 다시 읽기 : 교육복음과 신자유주의를 넘어서.* 파주, 한울.

Hojlund Roesgaard, M. (2006). "Japanese Education and the Cram School Business." *Functions, Challenges and.*

Hood, C. P. (2001). "Is Japan's Education System Meritocratic?" *LANGUAGE TEACHER-KYOTO-JALT-* 25(10): 5-10.

Hood, C. P. (2001). *Japanese education reform : Nakasone's legacy.* London ; New York, Routledge.

Horio, T., 심성보, et al. (1997). *일본의 교육.* 서울, 小花.

Hunt, J. W. (2008). "A Nation at Risk and No Child Left Behind: DÉJÀ VU FOR ADMINISTRATORS?" *Phi Delta Kappan* 89(8): 580-585.

Hursh, D. (2001). "Neoliberalism and the control of teachers, students, and learning: The rise of standards, standardization, and accountability." *Cultural Logic* 4(1): 4-1.

Hursh, D. (2004). "Undermining democratic education in the USA: The consequences of global capitalism and neo-liberal policies for education policies at the local, state and federal levels." *Policy futures in education* 2(3): 607-620.

Hursh, D. (2007). "Assessing No Child Left Behind and the rise of neoliberal education policies." *American Educational Research Journal* 44(3): 493-518.

Kariya, T. and 김미란 (2003). *학력저하의 실태*. 서울, 북코리아.

Levin, H. M. (2001). *Privatizing Education: Can the Marketplace Deliver Choice, Efficiency, Equity, and Social Cohesion?*, Westview Press, Perseus Books Group

MEXT. (1985). Report on the situation of academic Juku (Gakushu Juku ni Kansuru Jittai Chosa). Tokyo: Monbusho Hokokusho.

MEXT. (1993). Report on the situation of academic Juku (Gakushu Juku ni Kansuru Jittai Chosa). Tokyo: Monbusho Hokokusho.

MEXT. (2008). Report on the situation of academic learning activities of children (Kodomo no gakkogai de no gakushu katsudo ni kansuru jittai chosa hokoku). Tokyo: Monbukagakusho Hokokusho

Mok, K.-H. and A. R. Welch (2003). *Globalization and educational restructuring in the Asia Pacific region*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, Palgrave Macmillan.

Muta, H. (2000). "Deregulation and decentralization of education in Japan." *Journal of Educational Administration* 38(5): 455-467.

Okada, A. (2001). "Japan as a Prototype of the 'Degreeocracy' Society?" *Educational review*.

Okada, A. (2002). *Education of whom, for whom, by whom? Revising the Fundamental Law of Education in Japan*, Taylor & Francis.

Okano, K. and M. Tsuchiya (1999). Education in contemporary Japan: Inequality and diversity, Cambridge Univ Pr.

Olssen \*, M. (2004). "Neoliberalism, globalisation, democracy: challenges for education." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 2(2): 231-275.

Olssen \*, M. and M. A. Peters (2005). "Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism." *Journal of Education Policy* 20(3): 313-345.

Olssen, M. (2004). "Neoliberalism, globalisation, democracy: challenges for education." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 2(2): 231-275.

Olssen, M. and M. A. Peters (2005). "Neoliberalism, higher education and the knowledge economy: from the free market to knowledge capitalism." *Journal of Education Policy* 20(3): 313-345.

Rohlen, T. P. (1977). "Is Japanese education becoming less egalitarian? Notes on high school stratification and reform." *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3(1): 37-70.

Ross, E. W. and R. Gibson (2006). *Neoliberalism and education reform*. Cresskill, NJ, Hampton Press.

Satō, M. and 손우정 (2001). *교육개혁을 Design한다 : 교육의 공공성과 민주주의를 위하여*. 서울, 공감.

Schoppa, L. J. (1990). *Education reform in Japan : a case of immobilist politics*. London ; New York, Routledge.

Shields, J. J. (2004). *Japanese schooling : patterns of socialization, equality, and political control*. Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Spring, J. (2008). "Research on Globalization and Education." *Review of Educational Research* 78(2): 330-363.

Stevenson, H. W. and R. Nerison-Low (2002). "To Sum It Up: Case Studies of Education in Germany, Japan, and the United States."

Takayama, K. (2007). "A nation at risk crosses the Pacific: Transnational borrowing of the US crisis discourse in the debate on education reform in Japan." *Comparative Education Review* 51(4): 423-446.

Takayama, K. (2008). "Japan's Ministry of Education "becoming the Right": neoliberal restructuring and the Ministry's struggles for political legitimacy." *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 6(2): 131-146.

Tomlinson, S. (2005). *Education in a post-welfare society*  
2nd ed. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

Tsuneyoshi, R. K. (2001). *The Japanese model of schooling: Comparisons with the United States*, Routledge.

Whitty, G., S. Power, et al. (2000). *학교, 국가 그리고 시장 : 신자유주의 교육 개혁의 예정된 실패*. 서울, 내일을 여는 책.

Willis, D. B., S. Yamamura, et al. (2009). "Frontiers of Education: Japan As "Global Model" or "Nation At Risk"?" *Living Together*: 207-229.

공병호 (2011). "日本の 義務教育制度 考察." *한국일본교육학연구* 15(2): 65-85.

김달호 (2010). "학교선택제의 시행에 대한 비판적 접근." *人文社會科學研究* 26(-): 141-172.

김부태 (2007). "파울루 프레이리의 신자유주의 교육 비판론 고찰." *한국교육* 34(3).

김성원 (2006). *학교선택제의 역할 및 운영 방식에 관한 연구*, 고려대학교 석사.

문정애 (2011). "사토 마나부의 배움의 공동체와 행복교육 탐구." *한국일본교육학연구* 16(1): 31-48.

박지환 (2011). "현대 일본사회의 증, 고등학교 이행을 둘러싼 사회문화적 변화에 대한 연구." *비교문화연구* 17(2): 45-86.

오오모리, 나. and 김광식 (2011). "민주당의 교육법안 20." *한일교육연구* - (16): 114-125.

위유진 (2004). *한국 교육개혁의 신자유주의적 성격에 관한 연구*. 일반사회교육, 고려대학교. 석사.

윤종혁 (2008). *(근대 이후) 한국과 일본의 학제 변천 과정 비교 연구*. 파주, 한국학술정보.

이병환 (2002). "신자유주의 교육개혁의 성격과 평가." *한국교육* 29(2).

이제봉 (2007). "신자유주의 교육개혁과 학교선택제 - 미국의 학교선택제 실시과정에서 나타난 이데올로기 갈등과 시사점." *教育行政學研究* 25(1): 75-92.

이제봉 (2010). "Globalization and State's Role in Education: Meaning of Globalization in Korea." *比較教育研究* 20(3): 97-114.

이주호, 홍성창, et al. (2006). *평준화를 넘어 다양화로 : 실천적 한국교육정책론*. 서울, 학지사.

정성진 (1998). *신자유주의 교육정책의 문제점*, 대학교육.

정영섭 and 이공훈 (2006). *교육, 시장과 정부에서 길을 찾다*. 서울, 건국대학교 출판부.

천보선 and 김학한 (1998). *신 자유주의와 한국교육의 진로*. 서울, 한울.

최경욱 (2010). "일본의 교육입법정책과 헌법적 추이." *法學論叢* 23(-): 33-68.

하경표 (2008). "일본의 학교선택제도에 관한 일 고찰." *한국일본교육학연구* 13(1): 19-31.

학회 (2008). "일본의 공립학교선택제 운영에 관한 연구." *한국일본교육학*

연구 12(2): 95-114.

홍광식 (2008). "일본의 공립학교선택제 운영에 관한 연구." 한국일본교육학연구 12: 95-114.

홍훈 (2008). 교육은 상품이 될 수 있는가. 동향과 전망. no.74.

『完全学校週5日制の下での地域の教育力の充実に向けた実態・意識調査』  
2003年（平成15年）4月文部科学省

岩田一正 and 和田恵美子 (2003). "일본에서의 교육의 신자유주의적 구조 개혁." 教育研究 13(1): 97-113.

荻谷剛彦 (2002). 調査報告 「学力低下 の実態」.

## 2. Internet Materials

筑波大學教育開發國際協力研究センター. : <http://www.criced.tsukuba.ac.jp/>  
(Access date : 2012. 4. 12)

中高一貫校ナビ : [http://chuko.kounavi.net/2009/11/post\\_258.html#more](http://chuko.kounavi.net/2009/11/post_258.html#more) (Access 2012.5.1)

ベネッセ コーポレーション: <http://www.benesse.co.jp/> (Access 2012.4.12)

NICHINOKEN : <http://www.nps.jp> (Access 2012. 4.13)

文部科学省 : <http://www.mext.go.jp/> (Access 2012. 4. 9)

## 한글초록

1984년 임시교육위원회의 설치 이후 지난 30여 년간 일본에서 추진된 신자유주의 교육정책에는 시장의 경쟁원리 도입, 단선제 학교시스템의 도입, 학교선택제의 확대와 같은 정책들이 포함되어 있다. 신자유주의 개혁의 부정적 측면을 우려하는 입장에서는 이러한 개혁이 교육을 사회적 기본권이 아닌 소비자 주권으로 전환시켜 교육의 시장원리, 과도한 경쟁, 사회불평등의 제도화 등과 같은 부작용을 야기시켰다고 본다. 그 중 학부모에게 학교선택의 폭을 넓혀 더 많은 교육기회를 제공하고, 학생과 학부모에게 학교선택의 기회를 부여하며, 기존에 공교육에서 나타나는 문제점을 해소하여 보려는 시도로 시작된 학교선택제의 확대는 전세계적으로 나타나는 대표적인 신자유주의 교육정책이라 할 수 있다.

메이지 유신 이후 전 국민을 대상으로 무상 의무교육을 실시하며 세계에서 가장 평등한 교육기회를 제공하던 일본에서도 1997년 이후 일본의 지역구에 따라 선택적으로 학교선택제를 실시하고 있다. 이는 공립학교간의 경쟁을 촉진하여 각 학교의 질적인 향상을 꾀하는 것을 목적으로 하고 있다. 그러나 중고등학교를 연계한 단선제 개혁과 맞물려 지역 내에서 명문 국·공립 단선제 학교로 진학하려는 학생과 그렇지 못한 학생들 사이 경쟁이 치열해지고 있으며, 선호하는 학교에 진학하려는 경쟁이 늘어남에 따라 사교육 시장이 확대되어 학생들의 학업 능력의 차이보다는 사회경제적 배경 차이에 따른 격차가 더욱 커지고 있다. 이는 교육의 질까지 보장하는 적극적인 의미의 평등한 교육기회를 제공하던 일본의 교육체제가 신자유주의의 도입과 함께 엘리트 중심의 불평등한 교육의 기회를 제공하는 체제로 구조화되었다는 것을 의미한다.