

THE JAPANESE ULTRANATIONALISM EDUCATION IN THE JAPANESE BRAZILIAN THOUGHT

Abstract: Until 1945, Japanese schools were created by the nikkei community in Brazil with the purpose of preserving the language, the culture and, mainly, the Japanese morality. Textbooks of elementary School and high School, produced in Japan during the ultranationalist period (late nineteenth century to mid-twentieth century), were imported and adopted by these schools. This study aims to analyze the re-reading that the Japanese immigrants and their descendants gave to the ideological content of these textbooks and the reflexes of this education in the current generations.

Keywords: Japanese ultranationalist Education, Textbooks, Japanese Immigration in Brazil, Japanese-Brazilian thought.

Introduction

Throughout the 110 year old history of Japanese immigration, one of the most present themes in the discussions of the nikkei colonies was the issue of education. When we observe the communities it is possible to perceive a constant preoccupation of the previous generations in preserving the Japanese culture and, above all, the morals imported by the ancestors. In the run-up to World War II, it was found that this concern was almost an obsession, and the Japanese immigrants' way of maintaining the moral and cultural teachings of the country of origin was through education at home and in private Japanese schools, which were part of the Japanese-Brazilian Cultural Associations. In these schools, textbooks imported from Japan not only had the didactic function of teaching the vernacular, but also the ultranationalist ideology of the Japanese government at the time. However, much of the content in these books was incomprehensible to the children of Japanese immigrants living in a completely different sociopolitical context in Brazil. This point, crucial in our analysis, shows that the re-reading and re-signification of the content of these textbooks was unavoidable and subsequently reflected in the worldview, in the values and behavior of then nikkei.

This article, therefore, intends to analyze how this Japanese ultranationalist ideology was introduced and reinterpreted by pre-war Japanese-Brazilians, and how this education became a kind of legacy (in the positive and negative sense) to the present generations.

I would like to clarify that no quantitative analysis was done, nor was it intended to reach definitive conclusions, since the goal is to provide another reference, a point of view to be reflected around the history of Japanese-Brazilian education.

Educational Reform in Japan and The Moral Formation of The People

In the late 19th century, the Japanese government, in order to build a "rich nation and have a strong army" (*fukoku kyôken*), began a process of modernization of Japan by importing technology and reforming the educational system. At the same time, in order to compensate for Japan's relative inferiority in material terms, the authorities restored feudal ideology to reinforce the sense of pride in the Japanese race. This ideology was conveyed in one of the most important disciplines of the Japanese school curriculum of the time: moral education (*shûshin*). During the Meiji modernization (1868-1912), Japanese education was systematically used for the purpose of political indoctrination of the Japanese people, and morality and patriotism were constantly accentuated in the construction of a military education. The purpose was to create an Imperial State and a modern society imbued with nationalism and militarism. (OKANO, TSUCHIYA, 1999).

In fact, the Japanese Ministry of Education, established in 1871, set this "irrational ideology" of militarism and nationalism up in elementary schools, while "rational ideology" was implemented in technical schools and universities. This ideology (ultra-nationalistic and irrational) of cult to the Emperor, was transmitted in obligatory form to the entire population; mainly to school-age children. According to Tsurumi, *one segment of the population was provided with the education of a relatively rational ideology, whereas the majority of the population was indoctrinated in a predominantly non-rational ideology.* (TSURUMI, 1970: 99).

From the 1880s, primary education became compulsory in Japan and moral education was placed as a central discipline in elementary and high schools. The government also establishes a guide for teaching, thinking and behavior of elementary school teachers.

One of the authors of these reforms was Education Minister Akinori Mori who in 1885 pointed out a nationalist educational plan for the purpose of economic and political success against Western rivals, and of containing the civil movements through the indoctrination of ideas such as filial love and loyalty to the emperor. Mori made a clear distinction between "scholarly study" (*gakumon*) and education (*kyôiku*). State leaders would follow "academic study" at universities, while the vast majority of the population should receive only "education." In "academic studies," students explored "truth" in science and technology and in the studies of Western civilization. Already "education" would provide moral education that would make boys and girls into imperial subjects, that is, strong soldiers and good wives /wise mothers (*ryôsai kenbô*). (TSURUMI, 1970).

Mori's nationalist school system was completed with the Imperial Rescript on Education instituted in 1890. The Edict, which confirmed absolute moral power to the Emperor, was compulsory daily reading in Japanese schools until 1945¹. This gives us an idea of the norms of social conduct sanctioned by the Japanese government, in an

¹ Copies of the Rescript (which were to be memorized by the students) were distributed to all Japanese public schools. The Rescript was hung next to the portrait of the Emperor in the schoolyard, where students and teachers bowed to them.

attempt of social control and political power. Below is the Imperial Rescript on Education in its entirety.

Know ye, Our subjects:

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

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

I, the Emperor, think that my ancestors and their religion founded my nation a very long time ago. With its development a profound and steady morality was established. The fact that my subjects show their loyalty to me and show filial love to their parents in their millions of hearts all in unison, thus accumulating virtue generation after generation is indeed the pride of my nation, and is a profound idea and the basis of our education. You, my subjects form full personalities by showing filial love to your parents, by making good terms with your brothers and sisters, by being intimate with your friends, by making couples who love each other, by trusting your friends, by reflecting upon yourselves, by conveying a spirit of philanthropy to other people and by studying to acquire knowledge and wisdom.

Thus, please obey always the constitution and other laws of my nation in your profession in order to spread the common good in my nation. If an emergency may happen, please do your best for Our nation in order to support the eternal fate and future of my nation. In this way, you are my good and faithful subjects, and you come to appreciate good social customs inherited from your ancestors. The way of doing this is a good lesson inherited from my ancestors and religion which you subjects should observe well together with your offspring.

These ideas hold true for both the present and the past, and may be propagated in this nation as well as in the other countries. I would like to understand all of this with you, Our subjects, and hope sincerely that all the mentioned virtues will be carried out in harmony by all of you subjects.

Source: <http://www.tuttogiappone.eu/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/THE-IMPERIAL-RESCRIPT-ON-EDUCATION.pdf>

According to Pike (2007), moral values within Japanese education were strongly influenced by Confucianism and were characterized by love for the motherland, respect for the elderly, filial love, courage, benevolence and, above all, reverence and loyalty to the figure of the Emperor. Other elements present in the Imperial Rescript are the centralization of power and the imposition of the statism and family model, with its implications for irresponsible individualism, restrictions on gender and ethnicity, and individual and community freedom in the spirit of its subjects. Sovereignty and strictly national identity (*kokutai*) were also constant concerns of this new Japanese educational guideline.

Confucian ethics defined the basis of state-sponsored Japanese moral and civic education (*shûshin*), which led to the reform of primary school textbooks. According to Mark Lincicome (1977), these traditional ideas of Confucianism certainly contributed to the growth of ultranationalism and militarism in the 1930s and 1940s. The deliberate manipulation of 'culture' through 'education' for 'ultranationalist' purposes on behalf of the Japanese nation was one of the greatest legacies left by the Meiji educational reform, which had as its central objective to protect Japan from the foreign threat. The idea was to create strong, loyal, courageous and obedient citizens (soldiers) to the Emperor to defend the nation of a possible foreign invasion; hence the importance, in the view of the Japanese government at the time, of instilling Confucian morality from childhood through school.

Education for girls also deserves mention, since textbooks exclusively to female moral education had been created. The obligation of Japanese women was to serve their men and family and maintain the continuity of the patriarchal family system. The concept of "good wife and wise mother" (*ryôsai kenbo*) arose in reality after the Sino-Japanese War (1884-1885), when the Japanese Emperor realized that to have good subjects and brave and loyal men, they needed a "good wife and wise mother" to take care not only of household chores, but also of raising educated, strong and healthy children. In this way, we can affirm that the feminine education from a nationalist perspective was directed to the performance of the women in the domestic questions.

A year after the publication of the Imperial Rescript, the Minister of Education declared that all textbooks in Elementary and High Schools as well as teacher training would be remodeled. In order to carry out "educational indoctrination" based on the cult of the Emperor, the Ministry of Education creates a training program for primary school teachers based on the military model, thus guiding teachers to be agents of social control.

Those who did not follow the ideology of textbooks, and consequently the Imperial Rescript, were hard-chastised, which, in turn, often caused a tremendous psychological impact on children, who, for fear of reproach, established a keen sense of limits to what they should or should not rationally think. (TSURUMI, 1970)

Japanese Textbooks and Irrational Indoctrination

It is worth observing the interesting configuration that the Japanese textbooks of Elementary School² presented, which, in a single volume, covered the following subjects in this order: Moral and Civic Education; followed by Vernacular, Geography and History (single block); Sciences; Drawing, Hand Skills, Physical Education and Music (another block), and finally Mathematics along with Physics.

From the sequence and selection of the disciplines it can already be noticed that there is a scale of importance attributed by the government to the subjects considered fundamental to be passed to the children. Thus, not by chance, the discipline of Moral and Civic Education was the first to be presented in the books, due to its relevance in the process of "non-rational indoctrination". Subsequently, the disciplines of Vernacular, History and Geography complemented the content of Moral Education, with texts on princess' legends and stories from ancient Japan narrated grandiosically in comparison to other nations. Finally, among the priority disciplines of the Japanese school curriculum we find the discipline of Sciences, an important subject for the interests of the government, since the technological and scientific future of Japan would be in the hands of the scientists. Then, in a single block and well synthesized, came the subjects of Drawing, Manual Skills, Physical Education and Music, which also were not selected by chance. In Physical Education, for example, physical exercises were presented to strengthen the muscles of the children, after all the government wanted a "strong army"; even in the matter of Drawing, the intention was not to give children artistic freedom of expression, but to channel them to all themes that were "useful" to their development, as in the exercise proposed by the textbook *Shinkenkyû niyoru daizenka yongakunen* (Monbusch, 1938, p. 06) in which the proposal was to design the family environment inspired by the theme "Studies". The utilitarian intention of these disciplines is also clear in the Hand Skills discipline, in which students learned to construct their own *origami* pencil holder, their wooden case and a wooden airplane. In music class, the songs were also carefully selected. The songs that used to compose these textbooks were the "Anthem of the flag" and songs that returned to the hometown. Both carried the message of pride and nostalgia for the homeland. Last but not least, the Mathematics and Physics subjects that occupied almost 1/3 of the book. These materials were also presented "to the benefit of" the government's goals, as in the case of some seemingly "harmless" exercises designed to indoctrinate children into being future savers.

The presentation of these textbooks was also interesting. On the cover were printed designs that refer to progress, technology, urbanization, and industrialization. The cover page was also a space used to show the pioneering, adventurous and civilizing spirit. The idea was to pass on the message of "higher races" leading civilization to exotic countries. Following, in red, highlight the Japanese national flag with explanations about its meaning and appearance. Finally, before the preface,

² In our study we used the following Japanese textbooks: MONBUSHÔ. Kô tô shôgaku shôshin sho. Maki ichi. Jyoseiyô.Tôkyô: Nihonsho kabushikigaisha, 1928. MONBUSHÔ. Shinkenkyû niyoru daizenka kô tô nigakunen. Tôkyo: Yûgawa, 1938. MONBUSHÔ. Shinkenkyû niyoru daizenka yongakunen. Tôkyo: Yûgawa, 1938.

pictures of military training, guns, tanks and bombings were solemnly presented, thus giving soldiers a heroic appearance. It was in this way that the Japanese government tried to impose ultra-nationalist ideology on children's imagination.

Already in the preface, what is evident is the discourse of the "good Japanese citizen", the "good student" who has as qualities, the commitment, the effort, and the sacrifice in the achievement of the goals. For the authors, "there is no other way of learning than using their own strength" (MOMBUSHÔ, 1938, p. 02), thus instigating children to be studious, hardworking, and self-taught.

Still in this line, impactful phrases such as "Establish a goal in life!" (*Kokorozashi wo tateyô*), "Keep your thoughts solid!" (*Jibun no kangae wo kataku kimete okinasai*), "Excellent grades!" (*Seiseki wa yûtô*), "Striving with body and soul" (*isshin*) were present in all the textbooks of the Japanese Elementary School of the time. Directly, the discipline of Moral Education presented whole chapters on these themes, always through "inspiring stories of respected figures in Japanese society". The idea of filial love and perseverance were topics also frequently addressed in these narratives as conduits necessary to achieve economic success.

In the chapter entitled "Good Japanese," from the discipline of Moral Education, all these ideas were passed on in the form of topics to be fully assimilated by children. We see, clearly, that the intention was to form strong and brave soldiers, wise mothers, renowned academics, and political leaders; but for that, according to the authors, it was necessary that as a child, everyone should follow the rules, study hard, take care of their health, be calm and controlled, love the homeland, be modest and humble, respect the Emperor, be good children, and, lastly, have aspiration and purpose. (MOMBUSHÔ, 1938: p 34-35).

For Kazuko Tsurumi (1970), Elementary School education in Japan was the basis for training young people in the socialization process for the death of the Japanese army. This process involved the "dehumanization and nullification of individuals," as a steamroller that leveled the feelings, thoughts, and actions of the soldiers. Military indoctrination maintained, to a intense degree, what had been instilled in primary education such as to obey rules and order, discipline, be hard-working, endure mental and physical suffering, glorify death, and remain loyal to the Emperor .

According to Tsurumi, loyalty to the Emperor, [...] was justified on the basis of traditional familism, as in the Imperial Rescript on Education [...] the Emperor-soldier relationship was, according to the Precepts, "intimate" than the Emperor-civilian relationship (1970: p.124). In other words, the soldiers were the "favorite children of the Emperor." This distinction between military and civilians was also emphasized in the language of soldiers using military jargon giving recruits a sense of compensatory superiority over the rest of the population. On the basis of letters and diaries of Japanese soldiers of the time, we concluded that it is no coincidence that these fighters apparently believed with some naiveté that they were heroes in Japan's defense and were proud to have participated in Japanese military service, such as we can verify in the testimony below:

Usually people say that army life is hard to bear. But I think it did me good. In civilian life, we often failed to be punctual, and we were often morally

loose. In the army we were beaten and we suffered from the discipline. But looking back I can see that the army made a man out of me. In the army I experienced the inside story of human life. Industry alone is not enough, neither is shrewdness. You should combine both in order to succeed in life. That is what I have learned from the army experience. (Idem, p. 129).

In short, all past teaching in the Japanese textbooks of Elementary School was functional for the military elite as a method of indoctrination of future soldiers who would worship the ideology of dying in the name of the Emperor. In this way, we can conclude that the textbooks were produced by the Japanese government in order to propagate the patriotism and to create subjects (soldiers) worthy, brave, proud of the Japanese race, and loyal to the Emperor. On the other hand, this ultra-nationalist ideology, when introduced in the Brazilian context, was re-signified as essential for the expansion and development of the Japanese people abroad.

The Japanese educational ideology in Brazil

Many studies emphasize the role of the Japanese family and schools in the education of nikkei (CARDOSO, 1959, HANDA, 1972, SHIBATA, 1997, DEMARTINI, 2012; CAPELO, 2012) others report that Japanese cultural values of the pre-war period influenced the positive school performance of Japanese-Brazilians; or that the role of Japanese schools, based on national criteria of Japan at the time, were decisive in the construction of the nikkei identity (HIBATA, 1997, CAMACHO, 2012; OCADA, 2012), however, none of the studies analyze the rereading and re-signification given by the nikkei to those cultural values imported from ultranationalist Japan at the time, which were present in Japanese-Brazilian Associations and Families, as well as in textbooks used in Japanese community schools.

In the perspective of studies of cultural transfers, individuals, ideas, books, values as they move and cross borders are inevitably transformed. The term "cultural transfers", formulated by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner in the mid-1980s, should not be understood as "cultural exchange", according to the two historians; but as "hybridity" and "metamorphosis". For Espagne (2013), every cultural object, passing from one context to another, undergoes a transformation in its meaning, and, when appropriate, it gains as much legitimacy as the original. This contact and transfer, according to Espagne (idem), are carried out by social groups called by the author of "transfer vectors", which can be immigrants, teachers, editors, translators, etc. Objects, such as books, works of art, etc., are also considered by Espagne as transfer vectors.

Another author who defends the idea of transformation of content in the international context is Pierre Bourdieu (2002). For this French sociologist, all cultural material, when transposed from one space (intellectual and linguistic) to another, without its due context of historical and temporal production, produces what it calls *décontextualisation*. For Bourdieu, these ideas, when circulating in an international space, without its field of production, end up being resignified according to the structure of the field of reception, that is, the cultural material will be read and interpreted in a different way from its country of origin, not only because of the lack of its context of

production, but also because of the fact that abroad (as in posterity) it is possible to have a freedom, a distance and a greater autonomy regarding the social obligations. Finally, Bourdieu also mentions the interference of a series of social operations that limit the control of the material coming from abroad. The main one is the translation (who translates, who publishes, who makes the selection and what interests these selectors?), which is linked to the field of Reception Aesthetics. In this process of selection, appropriation, translation, selection of cover and, in some cases the production of a preface of foreign cultural material, often the most important is not what the author meant, according to Bourdieu, but what can be said through this author using his symbolic capital in the host country.

Thus, in our study, the transfer vectors were the Japanese schools in Brazil that played a role of cultural mediator between the two countries, as well as the Japanese-language press published in São Paulo at the beginning of the 20th century. The cultural transfers between Brazil and Japan in this period provided us with data to understand the dynamics and hybridism that occurred with the re-reading of cultural objects: newspapers and textbooks.

We note that the Japanese-Brazilian newspapers, especially the *Burajiru Jihô* (1916-1941), tried to transmit the Japanese ultranationalist ideology to the immigrants and their descendants in Brazil; but this ideological content imported from Japan was decontextualized and re-signified by the vectors of transference (newspaper editors) and by the Japanese-Brazilians themselves, who at the time did not live directly with Japanese ultranationalist politics, in other words, they were far from the context of production. The textbooks, imported from Japan and used in Japanese schools in Brazil, also suffered a re-reading of their ideological content since the reality of the children of the immigrants was very distant from the reality of the Japanese children.

Therefore, there is no way to affirm that Japanese cultural values, from the ultranationalist period of pre-war Japan, were transmitted to the Japanese-Brazilians without changes and re-significances to the historical and temporal context of the *nikkei*. Some examples in this way are two issues very much considered by the *nikkei* community of the past and the current times that have been disseminated in Japan and Brazil with different intentions and interpretations.

The first is the feudal ideology of *bushidô*³ which is highlighted today by many *nikkei* as a philosophy of life and a model of conduct to be followed for the moral and ethical formation of "good Brazilian citizens." (MOROKAWA, 2015:15). On the other hand in Japan, this feudal ideology was restored at the end of the 19th century as a means of strengthening Japan's relative material inferiority to the modern and industrialized western powers. (TSURUMI, 1970: 98). It seems that the Japanese elite, in restoring this feudal ideology, aimed at strengthening their own self-esteem shaken by the technological superiority of the West. In a sense, Japanese immigrants also emphasized the "pride of the Japanese race" ideology as a way of increasing self-esteem in the face of the racial and social discriminations that they have experienced and, in a way, still remains in Brazil.

³ Literally it means *way of the warrior*, and it is a code of moral and ethical conduct of the samurais of the feudal period.

The second issue is the Japanese morality that between the late nineteenth and mid twentieth centuries worked as a form of social and political control of totalitarian government and was disseminated as principal discipline in all Japanese schools. This "morality" was produced to create subjects ready to give their lives in the name of the Emperor. (TSURUMI, 1970). Whereas in Brazil "Japanese morality" was seen until the middle of the twentieth century, as indispensable to reinforce the character of the nisseis, transforming them into "good Brazilians citizens", "since they would teach" universal "values such as courage, respect and fidelity. Another argument used by the nikkei communities in favor of traditional Japanese education was that this education would protect the children of Japanese immigrants from not becoming *caboclos* (a "uncivilized" person of mixed Indigenous Brazilian and European).⁴

In current times on the other hand, the same "Japanese morality" continues to be overvalued by many Japanese-Brazilians such as Yuho Morokawa, who in his book *The Japanese and Their Legacies* states that his goal is to show from the perspective of a Japanese-Brazilian, the main characteristics of the Japanese, their legacies and thoughts cultivated over thousands of years, which in the author's view, "can not be forgotten." (2014: 07). Morokawa also claims to be convinced that Japanese culture "will be one of the precious sources for the formation of Brazilian culture" and that:

[...] we, nisseis, sanseis and yonseis, we have deep admiration and gratitude for the pioneer issei, and we are convinced that the wise teachings of the Land of the Rising Sun will be transmitted and perpetuated in the formation of Brazilian society. (MOROKAWA, 2014:11).

Thus, as we have seen, the ultranationalist ideology of Japan disseminated through compulsory schooling was intended to indoctrinate the population and create a "rich nation and a strong army," as well as faithful subjects ready to die for the Emperor; while in Brazil this ideology was interpreted as a way of building a *daini no kokumin* (a second Japanese people outside Japan) in favor of the formation of "good Japanese-Brazilian citizens." Today it is interpreted as a legacy brought by the ancestors and *cannot be forgotten* by the younger generations.

All these re-readings, however, were, largely, manipulated by one of the most widely read Japanese-Brazilian newspaper of the time: the *Burajiru Jihô*. Funded and maintained by the Japanese government itself, the *Jihô* for two decades, selected, translated, reinterpreted the news and ultranationalist ideology that came from Japan to the Brazilian context according to the conveniences of the Japanese authorities. Turning Japanese ultranationalist education into an apparent "innocent and beneficial ideology" of Brazil's future was a continuous challenge for *Jihô*, especially during the Getúlio Vargas government.

Ultrationalism and Education on the Japanese-Brazilian Presses *Burajiru Jihô* and *Nippaku Shimbun*

⁴ These ideas often appear in the editorials of the Japanese-Brazilian presses of that time: *The Education of Children in the Colonial Nucleus*, article of the Japanese-Brazilian newspaper *Burajiru Jihô* (News of Brazil), of November 22, 1918 and *Burajiru Jihô. How Do I See The Issue of Children's Education* published on April 8, 1927.

Educational debates involving the Japanese-Brazilian media also played a major role in re-reading the Japanese ultranationalist ideology. In fact, *Burajiru Jihô* (1917-1941) and *Nippak Shimbun* (1916-1941), the two most popular newspapers in Brazil at the time, created a diversity of opinions within the nikkei community.

Seisaku Kuroishi, editor of *Jihô*, produced a right-wing newspaper articulated to interests of the Japanese Consulate and the *KKKK*⁵, while *Nippak*, commanded by Saku Miura, was the counterpoint to the *Jihô* and worked as an opposition; a leftist voice between the Japanese and Brazilian elite. It is notorious that these two newspapers had to show a lot of ability to expose their ideas. *Burajiru Jihô* certainly felt more pressure in the face of the demand of its sponsors for a more diplomatic and strategic editorial line in front of the Brazilian government. At the beginning, the two newspapers sought to adopt a more neutral position on issues related to the integration of Japanese immigrants into Brazilian society, however, some themes have more explicitly revealed the ideological posture of these presses, as was the case with educational debates. The problem of education of Japanese immigrant's children was a constant preoccupation in the editorials of this two newspapers.

This concern with education, as we have previously seen, was influenced by the Japanese government which, since the educational reform of the 1880s, believed that the formation of "good subjects" for national defense would only be possible through schools. In this sense, the first articles of *Jihô* emphasized the importance of teaching traditional Japanese moral education in the Japanese schools of Brazil, as we can see in the *Burajiru Jihô* article entitled *The Education of Children in the Colonial Nucleus* (November 22, 1918). The *Jihô* editors affirm that the best educational guideline for the children of Japanese immigrants would be the unified one, that is, one in which the teaching of the Portuguese language are parallel to that of the Japanese language and the paper warns about the importance of the Japanese school for the "mental and family health" of children. For this newspaper, the teaching of the Japanese language, and especially of moral education according to Japanese standards, would be indispensable for the constitution of the spirit and character of the children.

In the conception of the *Burajiru Jihô* editor, moral education in the traditional Japanese pattern would reinforce the character of the *nisseis* (children of Japanese immigrants born outside Japan), transforming them into "good Brazilian citizens," since "universal values" would teach courage, respect and fidelity. On the other hand, the *Jihô* discourse was full of ambiguities, for it also discreetly defended the idea of "Japanese pride" and "Yamato spirit."⁶

It is interesting to note in this article that in order not to create conflict with Brazilian government, the ultranationalist discourse of Japanese education to create "good subjects loyal to the Emperor" is replaced by the creation of "good Brazilian citizens," and that the teaching of Japanese language and morals would be important for the "maintenance of children and family mental health".

⁵ Kaigai Kogyo Kabushiki Kaisha or KKKK (Ultramarine Development Company S / A).

⁶ The Japanese usually use the expression Yamato Damashii (Yamato spirit or spirit of Japan) as a set of moral and spiritual values characteristic of the Japanese people, which include courage, loyalty and perseverance, among other values.

In another editorial, March 11, 1927, under the title *The Educational Problem Was Achieved*, *Burajiru Jihô* newspaper once again emphasizes unified education, insisting on the importance of Japanese language teaching, even if it were an complementary education. The editors of *Jihô* suggest that the committee of the advisory council of the Japanese community that would meet on March 14 and 15, 1927 would debate and better define the educational guideline and methodology. It is important to emphasize that for the *Jihô*, the definition of these educational guidelines was linked to the idea of making the children of the Japanese immigrants, that is, the young people of the second generation, into "worthy citizens" within Brazilian society. Thus, members of the committee of the nikkei community's advisory council, still according to the newspaper, should make this pattern their main goal.

As previously stated, *Jihô* was a press sponsored by the KKKK and the Japanese Consulate, so it conveyed the ideas that favored the Japanese government. *Jihô* mission was not easy, because the journalistic team had to defend the interests of the Japanese government, without displeasing the Brazilian government. Japan had an interest in maintaining the flow of immigrants to Brazil and making immigrants permanently settled in foreign lands, but at the same time also wanted them to remain attached and faithful to the Emperor.

The newspaper *Nippak Shimbun*, on the other hand, was more open to the integration and the assimilation of the immigrants in the Brazilian society; as we can see in its edition of July 31, 1925 entitled *Elementary School of Japanese and The Teaching of the Japanese Language*, in which *Nippak* defends Brazilian education as a priority and the teaching of Japanese language as a foreign language. The editor of *Nippak* states that *there is no need to impose the spirit of reverence on the Emperor and love the Japanese homeland. It will be perfect if we form citizens aware of their duties, courageous and honest* For Miura, the teaching of Japanese moral and civic education was not appropriate to the reality of the immigrant's children in Brazil and the teaching of the Japanese language, so it should be treated as teaching of a foreign language. In other editorials, Miura points out some more issues in the educational area and speaks of the inefficacy of Japanese textbooks for teaching Japanese language in Brazil. For Miura, the books of the Japanese language discipline used in Japan were created in order for students to follow the values, the ethics, the moral and the Japanese nationalistic feeling; therefore, these books would be inadequate for teaching the Japanese language in Brazil. Since each country has its set of moral and ethical values, the most appropriate, in *Nippak* view, would be to follow Brazil national values.

The *Jihô* press, however, does not seem to have the same opinion, as we see in the article *How I See the Issue of the Children's Education* published on April 8, 1927. The newspaper, as always ambiguous in its position, in the education of the *nissei* children there is a primary duty to form a "*daini no kokumin*" (a second Japanese people) in favor of the development of Brazil, however, in the opinion of the editors, the great problem of Brazilian education was in the lack of the discipline of moral and civic education in Japanese standards; and that more important than being able to read or write in Portuguese was to form "decent citizens". Soon after, the editorial diplomatically attempts to soften its criticism by stating that, on the other hand, it understood that it was necessary to obey the laws of education in Brazil. The newspaper

concludes by launching a questioning, leaving its dubious position in the air: *to educate according to the Brazilian model lead the descendants to lose their Japanese spirit? Would be good? I think it will take many years to get a response.* (See SHIBATA 1997: 32).

On the other hand, the newspaper *Burajiru Jihô*, in its article of May 15, 1930, also highlights criticism regarding the didactic material used by private Japanese schools in Brazil; however for other reasons. The editors of the *Jihô* agree with the new educational guideline, in which the Japanese language would enter the list of complementary teaching and, in the newspaper's view, being only complementary, it would be interesting to teach a Japanese "simpler and easier", but to maintain the "content" (the Japanese morality). For this reason, in *Jihô*'s view, the textbook until then used was inadequate for this purpose. It is interesting to note how the two newspapers work on the problem of teaching materials ideologically and not educationally. For *Nippak*, the textbooks (imported from Japan) used were inadequate due to differences in moral values in each country; whereas for the *Burajiru Jihô* they were too complex for the complementary education of the Japanese immigrants' children, therefore they would need to be simplified, but the moral content would have to be maintained.

In the editorial of the *Burajiru Jihô* newspaper of November 11, 1933 entitled *Let's Plan Measures Focusing on the Nisseis*, the editors raise some suggestions for healing the second-generation educational problems. In the newspaper's view, [...] *the nisseis will be part of Brazilian society as legitimate Brazilian citizens, so it is necessary to think about their future.* The paper suggests that a commission be set up with representatives of Japanese associations from each region to meet and discuss the issue. In the editorial of the following week of November 15, 1933, the paper continues this discussion by criticizing the low funding for the education of *nisseis* by the community and that the textbooks imported from Japan and used in Japanese schools were not adequate for Brazilian reality.

As we can see, the main concern of the newspaper was focused on the future of the next generations, which the editorial itself presupposes that they would settle in Brazil. The concern was not with the school integration of the Japanese immigrant's children into Brazilian schools, but with the appropriateness of Japanese private schools and their textbooks to the reality and demands of Brazilian society. Undoubtedly, the newspaper is in favor of teaching the Japanese language to the descendants with the intention of maintaining family communication, preserving the language of origin of parents and grandparents and the feeling of "pride" of the Japanese race; but it shows against the methodology and didactic resources used for this. Thus, the editors of *Burajiru Jihô* demand that new measures be adopted to solve this problem.

In our view, the *Burajiru Jihô* in taking this position of defending appropriate didactic material adapted to the Brazilian reality had as its goal: to build a "bridge" between the Brazilian society and the nikkei community, since the second generation would be better prepared to assimilate Brazilian culture; but at the same time, contradictorily, instill the sense of pride and pride of the Japanese race.

From 1934, the attention of *Jihô* and *Nippak* turn again to the educational issues. The idea of strengthening Brazilian education to the detriment of Japanese education

undergoes some changes. *Burajiru Jihô*, for example, in its October 3, 1934 editorial entitled *Assuming the Children's Education* defends the idea that the Japanese immigrant's children who born in Brazil were Brazilian, so they needed to receive Brazilian education, however, the editorial makes a caveat and affirms that if *nisseis* education is restricted to the teaching of the Brazilian language and culture, children without exception would be doomed to become "*caboclas* (uncivilized people)" and that to avoid this the teaching of a foreign language, in this case the Japanese, was indispensable. The teaching of the Japanese language, according to the editorial, is not intended to build Japanese citizens, but "worthy Brazilian citizens".

The fear of Japanese immigrants to see their children become "*caboclos*" was quite common. If we analyze the historical construction of the term "*caboclo*" in Brazil, we note that it is complex and associated with a negative stereotype. In the view of the Japanese immigrants of that time the concept was not different; the *caboclo* to them was a rustic, miserable and uncivilized individuals, hence the concern to maintain the teaching of Japanese language and culture in Brazil; they believed that a Japanese education would protect their children from the negative influence of "disqualified" subjects such as the *caboclos*. According to Tomoo Handa (1987), the *issei* (first generation) used to criticize the slow, unfocused, apathetic, accommodated, and unresponsive personality of the *nisseis* (second generation). It was only natural that the second generation should be more apathetic since they lived in rural areas far from social contacts that would encourage them to have a greater spirit of competition and dynamism, in addition to the lack of stimuli in their daily work lives, from the age of fourteen years old, also contributed to this impassibility. The only Brazilians who they had contact with were the comrades (or *caboclos*) who used to work together. The proficiency in the Portuguese language was satisfactory to establish a dialogue with the *caboclos*, but not enough to carry out readings that introduced the *nisseis* to a higher cultural world. On the other hand, the knowledge of the Japanese language of these *nisseis* was also unsatisfactory since they had not been literate in Japan, thus also had difficulties in reading Japanese works.

The reading of the Japanese-Brazilian newspapers did not interest them either, since much of the news was about Japan, a distant country with no emotional connection to the *nisseis*. The *isseis* criticized the *jun'isseis* (the children of Japanese immigrants who were born in Japan, but came babies to Brazil) and the *nisseis* did not have a spirit of initiative, no claws, no dreams. These *nisseis* without any possibility of social expansion were bound to live surrounded by their own ignorance and indolence, in a culturally poor and monotonous world. They were *caboclos* Japanese-Brazilians. To make matters worse, they lived their childhood and youth in the war period and could not attend the Brazilian school, nor Japanese. It seems that the *issei* immigrants advocated the teaching of the Japanese language as a way of teaching the *jun'isseis* and apathetic *nisseis* to be more dynamic, less "uncivilized". The intention was to ensure that the Japanese immigrants' children did not "finish" and absorb the fighting spirit of the Japanese people, their social behavior and their moral behavior.

This was, as we have seen, one of the greatest arguments used by *Jihô* in defense of traditional Japanese education in Brazil: the danger of the *nisseis* "become *caboclo*". On the other hand, *Nippak*, who had defended the Japanese textbooks adapted to the

moral values of Brazilians, in its edition of July 27, 1933 brings a new approach on the educational issue. *Nippak* editors are bothered by the restrictive measures of foreign language teaching instituted by the Brazilian government and criticize this new educational guideline. Suddenly, *Nippak*'s thinking of integration is reversed in euphoric speech about the pride of the Japanese "race." For the newspaper, if Japanese immigrants want the development of the Japanese community in Brazil, they can not neglect teaching the Japanese language, even in the face of government restrictions. According to the editors of *Nippak*, the "degeneration of *nisseis*" is a problem that usually occurs with Japanese born outside Japan, because Japanese-Brazilian schools do not transmit the "spirit" of Japan.

In this way, we notice a reversal of the educational discourse of the *Nippak* newspaper that starts to worry about the distance, of the second generation, of the values of the Japanese spirit. In another article of August 15, 1934, *Nippak* touches on this subject again by recommending that *issei* increase their children's contact with Japanese education and especially convey to them the "spirit" of the Japanese people.

Undoubtedly, the work of the Japanese-Brazilian newspapers defending traditional Japanese education was at least inappropriate in Brazil, especially after the consolidation of Getúlio Vargas era (1937-1942). On the other hand, contrary to the attempts of the Japanese-Brazilian press to instill Japanese ultranationalist education, the first Japanese-Brazilian university students began to question these traditional values and to become aware of their identity, as was the case of the incident known as "chrysanthemum fact " which took place in 1936 and led by *nisseis* students linked to the Student Movement of São Paulo. A *nissei* university student writes and publishes in the university newspaper a text in which he states that "we respect the country of the chrysanthemum (Japan), but we cannot love it." This text was considered a great disrespect by the *isseis* who did not understand the position of the *nisseis*.

This behavior, considered to be "unpatriotic" by the Japanese community at the time, only reinforced the ultranationalist sentiment of the *issei*, who went on to emphasize the importance of traditional Japanese education within the community as an antidote to the position of love for Brazil by some *nisseis*.

Ressignification of the Japanese ultranationalist ideology in Brazil post-war

In a report in the *Gazeta do Povo* newspaper on September 1, 2009, there is a clear mention of the importance that most Japanese-Brazilian parents give to their children's education, and attributes the positive performance of nikkei students to the cultural values of the Asian-Brazilian family. One of the interviewees, a 20-year-old Japanese-Brazilian, a Civil Engineering student at the University of São Paulo, proudly states that "I always studied by myself and I feel like giving back to her (mother) effort."

Without intentions to generalize the cases, we noticed that this is a very frequent thought among the old and new generations of Japanese-descendants in Brazil. In a way, the Japanese ultranationalist education of the early twentieth century, totalitarian and imperialist, seems to have been resignified by nikkei and Brazilian

society as a precious legacy left by the ancestors. This ideology, out of the historical context of wartime and disassociated with the image of the Japanese Emperor, was transformed into Brazilian lands as the "secret of success" of many Japanese-Brazilians in their studies and professional career. Virtues such as effort, discipline, self-learning, dedication to studies, filial love (especially with regard to mother) and social conquest through sacrifice were accentuated, as we have seen, in the discipline of Moral Education present in Japanese textbooks before 1945. However, as before, these aforementioned virtues were for other purposes.

The Japanese government at that time did not have as its central goal the social and economic rise of its subjects. The intention was to "program" Japanese children to be faithful, obedient and loyal to the Emperor and to create "good Japanese citizens," ie, strong soldiers willing to die for their motherland and "wise mothers" who cared for the physical and mental health of their children. In contrast, the students of the Japanese elite were indoctrinated to sacrifice themselves through *gakumon* (academic education) for the construction of a modern and rich imperialist Japan.

It is very common to hear stories from families of Japanese immigrants (who received only *kyôiku*, or irrational indoctrination education) who sacrificed themselves to provide opportunities for children to study. On the other hand, we also heard the version of the young Japanese-Brazilian who committed themselves and stood out in the school environment, in order to give the parents all the sacrifice. This educational ideology that provided some social and economic rise of the younger generations, often rewarded with high grades and admission to renowned universities in Brazil, however, was set in a partial use, in which many of these nikkeis, with some exceptions, had or has difficulties of reaching high posts and reaching the ruling classes. The idea that the Japanese ultranationalist ideology, diluted and re-signified, in some way, remains present in the thinking of the Japanese-Brazilians is a certain fact; but this education in its negative re-reading, so to speak, has also left a lot of insecurity in the personality and behavior of many descendants.

Despite their intelligence, talent, and dedication to schooling, many of these youths did not attain leadership positions and preferred to remain in subordinate positions. When analyzing the social and scholastic characteristics of most families of Japanese immigrants, the lack of social, economic and cultural capital was observed. Consequently, even with some economic and social success, many of these Japanese descendants, it seems, failed to gain leadership and prominent positions and entry into the ruling classes for lack of this capital.

These Japanese-Brazilians, educated to follow the rules of traditional Japanese moral education, have assimilated some of these values such as modesty, humility, and obedience to their superiors. They study hard, are content and not selfish and usually never complain. In the face of this, one can notice an excessive humility and shyness of some Japanese-Brazilians, and a little boldness to openly expose their points of view. When they achieve some social and professional success, they sometimes do not feel worthy if it has not been through hard work, effort and deprivation.

Another point is that the university diploma seems not to have been 100% used by these *nikkei*, but for other reasons. On this question, Bourdieu:

The possession of a diploma, no matter how prestigious it maybe, is not in itself capable of securing access to the highest positions and is not enough to give access to economic power. On the contrary, [...] the access to the dominant classes and, a fortiori, to the dominant fractions of these classes is relatively independent of the opportunities of access to higher education for those individuals originating from the fractions closest to the economic-administrative power. Thus, as we move away from the school sphere, the diploma seems to lose its own effectiveness as a guarantee of a specific qualification... It does not ultimately pass from an optional bond that serves to legitimize the inheritance. (BOURDIEU, 2015: 333-334).

Simply put, for Bourdieu the lack of cultural, economic and social capital in the university student will have a great weight in his/her access to the ruling class, and the *diploma is worth outside the school market what its holder is worth economically and socially, income of school capital (transformed form of cultural capital) depends on the economic and social capital that can be used in its valuation.* (BOURDIEU, 2015: 333). Thus, students from families without social and economic capital who have obtained a university degree, no matter how prestigious it may be, will have hardly any access to the highest positions.

Indeed, many Japanese-Brazilians youths who came from the ranks of farmers and traders (who graduated, especially from the 1960s to the 1990s), despite all the efforts to excel in the academic world, found it more difficult to find leadership positions and, consequently, access into the ruling class. They achieved economic stability and improved their quality of life, but they did not reach the maximum positions within the chosen professional area, not only because of the lack of cultural, economic and social capital from their families, but also because of the moral values (inherited by their ancestors) who preached submission and humility as positive qualities of character, in contrast to daring and audacity.

Conclusion

The period before World War II saw the introduction of an educational system which aimed to nurture a sense of nationalism and serve the needs of the emerging nation-state; and textbooks played a central role in this purpose. Thus, until 1945, the textbooks for elementary and middle school were produced by the Japanese Ministry of Education, and the entire teaching staff underwent military-style training to suit new government requirements.

In fact, the primary education, which became compulsory from the end of the twentieth century, did not achieve the goal to raise children's awareness and knowledge, but to indoctrinate them according to the ideas of the ruling classes.

In considering some Japanese textbooks of Elementary School of that time, it was noticed that they also served as a diffuser of all kinds of prejudice: racial, social and gender. Africans were labeled "uncivilized" and "unintelligent"; women were valued as mothers and wives.

All this ultranationalist Japanese ideology was transposed to Brazil by the Japanese immigrants who came here in the early twentieth century. However, like all

the ideas that come from abroad, it was ressignificated by the *nikkei* community, by the press of that time and by the historical and temporal context.

It seems that many Japanese-Brazilians who continue to glorify this ideology as a precious source for the formation of "good Japanese-Brazilian citizens" have not yet realized their own "original source" re-reading; leading them mistakenly to think that Japanese moral principles are superior to those of other ethnicities. In any case, it is a fact that this ultra nationalist ideology, ressignificated, to some degree, has been transmitted across from generations and remains present in the thinking and the behavior of many young Japanese-Brazilians of the current generation.

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