Prolegomenon to Educational Thought of Protestantism in Modern Japan:
A Genealogy of Liberalism in Education

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Abstract

In Japan, Protestantism remained and remains a minority. However, it has promoted the modernization of a wide range of social systems since the Meiji Era, and a ridgeline can be found that shows how it contributed to the establishment of liberal democracy in Japan. This article examines the educational thoughts of Protestantism in modern Japan. Firstly, it shows the basic types of acceptance of Christianity, which according to Kiyoko Takeda, were five types. Secondly, three leading Christians who belonged to the Sapporo Band are discussed—Nitobe Inazo, Uchimura Kanzo, and Yanaibara Tadao. Inazo, a professor at Tokyo University and the Vice Secretary General of the League of Nations, wrote Bushido, the Soul of Japan, which was published in English in 1899. He found a Japanese spiritual backbone in Bushido, and it can be interpreted as his educational philosophy. Kanzo, a founder of the non-church movement, started a bible circle that many younger people attended. He often mentioned the “2 Js,” Jesus and Japan, and how both were deeply rooted in Japanese traditional culture. Tadao, who studied international economics under Inazo and learned Christianity under Uchimura, acted as if he were a prophet in the Old Testament and criticized the Japanese government during World War II. After the war, he went back to Tokyo University and wrote several articles on education. He thought that people required character education as a basic part of education. These three people shared a connection, as they believed in the same ideals of liberal education, but their ways of thought as well as their educational thought did not become mainstream. However, when the history or the process of democratization after World War II is contemplated, it can be said that they had a strong influence on educational thought in modern Japan.

Keywords: Protestantism, Modern Japan, Nitobe Inazo, Uchimura Kanzo, Yanaibara Tadao

1. Introduction

When the relationship between tradition and modernity is considered, it is important to review how a person, who was educated in a traditional atmosphere, accepts a new value. There
usually are some conflicts within a person in order to understand, to accept, and to practice a new type of thought in their daily life. Moreover, there is definitely an intense conflict when a person encounters a strange or unfamiliar Western thought or values. Through this analysis of conflict, several acceptance patterns are found when heterogeneous thoughts or values are encountered. At the same time, reflection on traditions regarding one’s culture and identity is initiated.

In this decade, people live in a world strongly influenced by an unfamiliar idea, which is called globalization. Globalization has a face of Janus; one side is neo-liberalism, and another side is multiculturalism. The basic idea of neo-liberalism is if all kinds of regulations are abolished as well as old systems and a free market system is accepted, then one can enjoy the maximum economic benefit and profit. Nevertheless, there is a downside; it requires radical changes in the living world, not only in business or in the market, but also in social welfare, in medical service, and even in education. From the standpoint of an egalitarian, its side effects are serious. It could destroy traditional way of life.

Multiculturalism also has two sides. In order to develop a culture, it is essential to learn from other cultures, and this might bring various kinds of innovations—some of which can lead to the progress of human beings. However, it can change the framework that has been formed in Japan’s long history. If the process of multiculturalism is very rapid, it can be accompanied with a wide range of anxieties about the future.

Thus, now the Japanese people stand at a turning point in history, and it is crucial to give careful consideration to tradition, as it has formed the basis of education. This paper will focus on several acceptance patterns of Protestantism in modern Japan, and the way that a few leading figures accepted it as well as the types of relationships these people had between the traditional mind and Western thought is explored.

Before the beginning of this discussion, it is important to draw attention to the method used. First of all, a philosophical analysis is not adopted, especially that of existentialism. Of course, many branches of this philosophical school exist, yet they tend to think that the most important thing is to hear the “inner voice” and follow it (Heidegger, 1960). Also, in detail, they analyze the inner or mental structure of human beings. This method is useful and effective when analyzing a mindset or the thought of one person; however, if tradition and education are addressed, it is important to have a wider focus because these concepts contain not only a philosophical dimension but also a social dimension.

Tu Wei Ming, a professor at Harvard University and a leading researcher of Neo-Confucianism, tried to reconstruct the Eastern Asian values (Tu, 2007). He is not an existentialist, but it seems that his way of thinking is very similar with that of existentialism, as he believes it
is critical to recognize heaven (天), the central doctrine of Confucianism, and practice it in daily life. He has a wide field of vision about Confucianism in Eastern Asian countries, and he knows there are many schools of Confucianism and of the controversies that surround them. When good tradition is being considered, it is not easy to find a common understanding with others.

Secondly, in this paper, Protestantism and Christianity are discussed, but this study does not belong to church history. Many missionaries have visited Japan since the 1860s, and they have provided many social activities: social welfare, kindergarten, girls’ schools, and some higher education institutes. Since this paper focuses on the development of the educational system, careful attention needs to be paid to the missionaries, and in some cases, it is necessary to mention theological backgrounds; however, the main purpose of this study is not to examine Protestantism or Christianity itself.

Thirdly, in relation to the second point, although several influential people, who played leading roles in education and in religious history, are studied, their faiths themselves will not be examined. The focus is to show how these people accepted Western thought and values on the basis of their traditional way of thinking. From this point of view, it is considered that these people are good examples for this case study because they were educated in traditional ways during their childhood, and then during their youth, they encountered Western thought.

Fourthly, the term education is used in a relatively wide context. This word tends to be used in regard to school education. While it is true that school education plays the most important role, school education is not a main theme in this study. In analyzing these leading people in modern Japan, it is described how Western thought and values were accepted and how the Japanese people tried to adjust their identity between the Western and the Eastern.

2. Five Forms of Acceptance Regarding Protestantism

Regarding Western thought and values, there were generally five different ways that people accepted Protestantism. Kiyoko Takeda, a professor of philosophy of education at the International Christian University, studied how the Japanese accepted Christianity in modern Japan (Takeda, 1967). One of her research goals was to describe the ridgeline of liberalism in Japan. Until the 1960s, even during World War II, many leaders contributed to the democratization of Japan, and some of them were deeply influenced by Western thought or values, especially by Protestantism. When she discussed these prominent people, she used the following five types of acceptance as a premise. Her proposition seems to be subjective, yet it is useful when considering how the Japanese accepted Western ideas on the basis of their tradition and how they sought their identity.
(1) Type 1: The Burying Type

The first type is termed the burying type, and it was found in the majority of the group. People who were classified as the burying type accepted a new religious faith, and they gave in to authority voluntarily. During World War II, all things, including political and religious freedom, were under strict control of the government. This conformism required Christians to choose their religious faith or the national religion, which was termed the State Shinto or Shintoism. Under this political pressure, leaders of the burying type explained that their religious faith was not inconsistent with the State Shinto. Gradually, they denied the Old Testament, and instead accepted a traditional and old mythology in Japan that worked as a backbone of imperialism. This movement is a copy of the Deutschen Christen movement in Germany, which was established at the beginning of 1930s. The Deutschen Christen movement denied the Old Testament and, instead, it introduced a political mythology that was almost correspondent with Nazi's ideology (Meier, 1964; Heinonen, 1973). The burying group formed a mainstream branch of Protestantism in Japan. They upheld the idea that to be a good Japanese subject (臣民) was not contradictory to being a good Christian, and when the government required more conformity, it always came before their religious faith.

(2) Type 2: The Isolated Type

People of the isolated type tried to keep their pure religious beliefs. They tended to deny their cultural background, including national mythology and social relationships, and exclusively devoted themselves to their religious faith. As a result, they remained both a minority and isolated in Japan. People outside of this group, even the mainstream branch of the church, saw these people as closed and looked down on them as “low levels,” theologically speaking. In fact, it was a charismatic movement.

However, several resisters to the government and militarism could be found. As mentioned above, all people were under the control of the government during World War II. Some people in this group rejected military service as conscientious objectors, and the reason was quite simple; it was strictly prohibited in the Bible for them to go to war and kill innocent people. Asian people. Junzo Akashi, a leader of this group, was arrested and was put into prison (Wada et. al, 1978). Thus, for this group, traditional value, national mythology, and State Shintoism were meaningless, and this enabled people of the isolated type to purely keep their religious beliefs.

(3) Type 3: The Confrontation Type

People in this group, the confrontation type, provoked government confrontation. Before 1945, the basic structure of the law was organized by an imperial ordinance, and one of the most
important educational ordinances, the Imperial Rescript on Education, was signed in 1890 by the Meiji Emperor (1867-1911). This Rescript was a mosaic of Confucian thoughts, and it worked as a pseudo-religion until 1945.

In 1891, Kanzo Uchimura, who was a teacher at the First High School, rejected to worship to this Rescript because of his religious beliefs. He was fired from the school and was never employed again (Suzuki, 1986; Inoue, 1893).

It is interesting to note that Uchimura did not reject the traditional way of thought, even though he resisted the Rescript. Until 1930, he published journals and many books, in which he wrote his creed several times. His creed was considered the 2 Js, standing for Jesus and Japan. In this way, he was different from the people in the isolated type, as he was always conscious of his cultural background and of his responsibility to Japan. Nonetheless, this does not mean that he was a nationalist nor was he intolerant.

(4) Type 4: The Grafting Type

This group is a more moderate and milder type in comparison to the confrontation type. In horticulture, a technique called grafting is used to join two plants together. Using this agricultural analogy, people in this group grafted Protestantism into standing Japanese tradition.

Inazo Nitobe, who was a principal at the First High School, a professor of colonial policy at Tokyo University, and the Secretary General in the League of Nations, stated that the background, the cultural stock, was Bushido, which refers to the concept of chivalry. He said that Christianity was accepted on the basis of this Japanese mentality. That being said, those in this group tried to find the most important thoughts and values from their culture, and this was done is a positive way. There were not any inconsistencies between Protestantism and traditional thought, and it never became intolerant in the way that the burying type did.

(5) Type 5: The Apostasy Type

The last type is the apostasy type, and people in this group abandoned their religious faith completely. Evidence cannot be found linking them to the Christians; more accurately, the only connection to Christianity was the consciousness of a mission. However, it was not a mission for Christianity but for imperial Japan. Kanji Kato, who was an officer of the army, studied in China and made efforts to establish Manchuria, acted as an agent for imperial Japan.

It may seem that this group of people, the apostasy type, was willful, so this description calls for further elaboration. Imagine one man. It is not easy to categorize him into any one of these five types. He may be categorized as part of the confrontation group when he is a student but moves into the grafting type when he finds a good job. According to one's life stage, one person
may be classified in more than one category. Furthermore, the boundary between the types can be subtle and ambiguous. For example, the burying type and the grafting type are quite similar to each other, as are the isolated and confrontation types. A more detailed examination needs to be looked at regarding these boundaries, yet when referring to tradition and innovation, as this study does, these categories work as a foundational premise.

3. Case Study

In modern Japan, Protestantism has been accepted from the Western countries, especially from the United States during the 1860s and onward. It is said that there were four main groups that became centers for missions: Sapporo, Yokohama, Kobe, and Kumamoto. Each group developed different types of activities. Here, the Sapporo group is discussed. The Sapporo group was successful in getting elite students, especially students at Tokyo University who became leaders in various fields in modern Japan. They did not network with one another nor did they work as one collaborative group, but as a whole they contributed to establish liberalism in modern Japan. Their influence continued to work until the 1970s.

Sapporo Agriculture Institute, the predecessor of Hokkaido University, was established in 1875. This institute invited Dr. William Smith Clerk, the President of Massachusetts Agriculture College. Although he stayed in Sapporo only eight months, students were deeply influenced by him. He taught natural sciences, and at the same time, moral education as an extracurricular activity. As a tool of moral education, he recommended that his students read the Bible. He thought the most important thing in education was how to develop character. That was his philosophy of education.

In the Sapporo group, Inazo Nitobe and Kanzo Uchimura are found. They were the second students to study at this institute. They were not directly instructed by Clerk, but they learned on the same line as the first students—natural sciences and moral education—which was the ethos of Clerk.

(1) Inazo Nitobe: Bushido and Christianity

Inazo Nitobe (1862-1933) was born as a son of the lower class of warriors, or samurai, the ruling class before Meiji Restoration. He studied at Sapporo Agriculture Institute for four years and after his graduation, he went to study at Johns Hopkins University in the United States and at the University in Berlin in Germany. After returning to Japan, he taught agricultural economics at Kyoto University in 1891. In 1906, he became principal at the First High School, that later became Tokyo University in 1948; in 1909, he became a professor at Tokyo University and taught colonial policy (now termed international economics); and in 1920, he inaugurated the Vice
Director of the League of Nations, where he worked for seven years. He went to Canada in 1933, in order to avoid the Pacific War, and he died during this trip.

Basically, he was a professor of economics, but he also published many kinds of books, ranging from international politics to criticism on civilization. He can be considered a philosopher. In this paper, his thought is examined, based on one of his main works *Bushido, the Soul of Japan*, which was published in the English language in 1899 (Nitobe, 1900).

It was about 1890 that when Nitobe visited a Belgian jurist, and they talked about education in Japan. The Belgian jurist asked, “Do you mean that you have no religious instruction in your schools?” Nitobe replied saying no, to which the Belgian man retorted, “How do you impart moral education?” This conversation was the origin of this book. Looking back at his childhood, Nitobe found that the schools never imparted moral education on him. At the same time, he realized that moral education meant Bushido for him.

In the first chapter of this book, he discussed Bushido as an ethical system, and he explained several virtues: justice (義), courage, benevolence (仁), politeness (礼), sincerity (誠), honor, loyalty (忠), and self-control. These virtues parallel those of Confucianism. He could not write filial piety (孝) because he ignored the Western sentiment in regard to this virtue. He regretted that he could not add this because filial piety and loyalty were the two wheels of the chariot in Japanese ethics.

He published this book in English. When he wrote it, he imagined that his readers were not Japanese, and in fact, this book was translated in several languages soon after publication. The writing of his book meant he had to employ a strategy that laid great emphasis on virtues native to Japan. Sometimes it may sound as if he expressed nationalist-like characteristics, yet he was just trying to highlight the essence of Bushido. Additionally, two points should be noted. First, to Nitobe, there were not any inconsistencies between Bushido and the Christianity:

As far as the doctrine of service — the serving of a cause higher than one’s own self, even at the sacrifice of one’s individuality; I say the doctrine of the service, which is the greatest than Christ preached and was the sacred key-note of His mission — so far as that is concerned, Bushido was based on eternal truth. (Nitobe 1969, p.113)

Second, he found the spirit of treason in Bushido.

A man who sacrificed his own conscience to the capricious will or freak or fancy of a sovereign was accorded a low place in the estimate of the Precepts. Such an one was despised as nei-shin (佞臣), a cringeling, who makes court by unscrupulous fawning, or cho-shin (螭臣), a favourite who steals his master’s affections by means of servile compliance. ···

When a subject differed from his master, the loyal path for him to pursue was to use every
available means to persuade him of his errors. · · · Failing in this, let the master deal with him as he wills. (Nitobe 1969, p.80)

The core concept of heaven is in Confucianism that states any authority or ruling power on earth is not absolute or eternal. If a master is wrong, a subject has to oppose him using all possible means. Nitobe died prior to World War II; if he had been alive, what kind of action would he have taken?

Regarding his acceptance of Protestantism, Niobe can be categorized as the grafting type, as the spirit of treason is recognized and the logic of denial—he would reject any types of fetishism. With this point, he is different from the burying type.

(2) Kanzo Uchimura: Between Jesus and Japan

Kanzo Uchimura (1861-1930) was also born a son of the lower class of samurai. He entered Sapporo Agriculture Institute in 1877 and graduated head of his class in 1881. In 1884, he went to Massachusetts and worked at a social welfare institution. After receiving his diploma from Amherst College, he found a teaching job at the First High School in Japan in 1890. In next year, he was fired from the High School because of an affair of less-majesty. As mentioned previously, the Imperial Rescript on Education in 1890 was the most important Rescript until 1945. It was read aloud at all important events, and in January of 1891, the first ceremony in reading the Rescript took place. At this ceremony, it was suspected that Uchimura did not make a very respectful salutation to the Rescript. The argument became heated, and he left the school. After this scandal, he worked as an independent preacher throughout his life. In contrast with his former classmate, Nitobe, he was an outsider. Regardless, many students from the First High School and Tokyo University visited him to hear his sermons and lectures on Christianity.

Important to the traditional type of church, which was directly introduced by missionaries, Uchimura was a founder of the non-church movement, as he sought to establish an original church specifically suited to cultural traditions and climate in Japan. He published many articles, in which he discussed not only the Bible, but also national policies. Basically, he was against the war and considered a pacifist. Additionally, he wrote several articles on education.

In 1914, he published a short article on education; entitled Faith as a Basis of Education, here he argued the purpose of education. He rejected money, knowledge, and standards because these kinds of things never bring true joy:

We are connect with the infinite God by faith. The God is the only origin of moral, knowledge and power. Therefore we are connected the origin when we are in God. · · · Even if we do not have any money, any knowledge and any moral influence, you do not have to feel sad.
We can cover these shortages if we have our faith. We shall overcome this world. People in this world tries to do with money, knowledge and moral, but we try it with our faith. And experiences based on the Bible and history show that our hope is not an empty dream. (Uchimura, 1990, p.49)

When he discussed education, he always mentioned personality and morals. Of course, he did not ignore knowledge, as it is important and essential to one's life. Though, knowledge without faith, or knowledge without love will destroy lives. In this meaning, he sought to educate about personality with an eternal basis.

As previously noted, Uchimura often mentioned the 2Js. He did not explain the relationship between Jesus and Japan, so there are no details on the structure. Many critics have discussed this problem, and some of them show his thinking using two centers in an oval. Others show it as an axis of coordinates—Jesus as the vertical axis and Japan as the horizontal axis. Regardless of this lack of elicit description, Uchimura always kept the 2 Js in mind, which leads to the following two points.

First, Uchimura had a transcendental viewpoint. One might say Japan means all of the things in this world: history, culture, policy, economy, education, and so on. According to Uchimura, these things get their meaning, if they are evaluated from another center of an oval or another vertical axis. In other words, he always kept a transcendental point of view. Philosophically speaking, he had a sense of *Ding an sich* (Kant). Secondly, in the first point of view, people are free from giving something—it may be a long history, traditional value, or original and indigenous culture—absolute priority. For example, traditional values may be denied by this point of view and should be modified according to the transcendental.

In 1891, when Uchimura was 30 years old, he was kicked out completely from an official position. He then acted as a prophet in the wild and was an uncompromising person. He did not avoid fights or any type of battle. Therefore, Uchimura is categorized as the confrontation type. He kept a transcendental point of view and criticized the government from the outside, but he did not deny Japanese tradition, history, or culture. He never became a nationalist like the burying type. It can be noted, just like Nitobe, that he also died before the beginning of World War II.

(3) Tadao Yanaibara: Religious Beliefs and Social Sciences

Tadao Yanaibara (1893-1961) was a professor of economics at Tokyo University and was inaugurated President of Tokyo University in 1951. He can also be categorized as one of the confrontation type.
He studied at the First High School and then at Tokyo University. He was classified as being part of the Sapporo group because he was deeply influenced by the people of this group. When he entered the First High School, the principal was Nitobe, and he met Nitobe again at Tokyo University. He later was appointed as Nitobe’s successor. At the same time, he regularly attended Uchimura’s bible circle. After the death of Uchimura, he became one of the most prominent leaders of the non-church movement (Yanaibara, I., 1998). Yanaibara was a proud member of the Sapporo group, as it was one of the origins of liberalism in Japan. This is an excerpt from a speech he gave in 1952:

At the beginning of the Meiji era, there were two big groups in the higher education institutes; one was Tokyo University and another was Sapporo Agriculture Institute. These two institutes made two ideological origins of education in Japan. ・ ・ ・ liberal education, which was born in Sapporo, aimed to educate a personality, but it could not become a mainstream of education. A leading idea of education in Japan, started from Tokyo University, is expressed as nationalism, traditional national policy (kokutai) and Imperialism. And it had controlled education in Japan. As a result, we brought on war. Now, after the war, we have to reconstruct education (Yanaibara 1964, pp.277-278).

It can be said that Yanaibara took social science from Nitobe and religious beliefs from Uchimura. He continued to discuss both these topics, and these elements were deeply connected to each other.

Yanaibara took a position in colonial policies on the faculty of economics at Tokyo University in 1920. As a professor at the Imperial University, he was expected to support the imperialism of Japan, but he would never conduct such research and continued to criticize colonial policies of Japan. He insisted that if a level of life in colonial areas was not enhanced to the same level in domestic areas, it should be considered unjust.

As a background to his discussion, two factors should be noted. One was Yanaibara’s religious beliefs. Uchimura talked about colonial policies several times, and he believed that all human beings were equal before God, and all people had a right to enjoy their lives regardless of their situation. Yanaibara repeated the words of his idol. Another point is his method of scientific research. When he was a high school student, he visited Korea and China for the first time, and before coming back to Tokyo University, he worked in a mining company in China. Through these experiences, he visited the actual place and got information on the spot. This was his research method.

Yanaibara was fired from Tokyo University in 1937. Soon after Japan launched the war in
China, he wrote in an article called *Ideal of the State*, which said that the state should realize justice, and justice is meant to protect deprived people from pressures of the strong (Yanaibara, 1937a, 1982). Furthermore, if the state obstructs justice, people should criticize the state. Almost the same time, he mentioned the Nanjing incident in his private newspaper, in which wrote that “in order to revive the ideal of Japan, bury this country at first!” (Yanaibara, 1937b). He provoked a confrontation with the government just like his highly respected predecessor. He had been followed by the secret police even after leaving Tokyo University. After World War II, he came back to Tokyo University again and was inaugurated President in 1951.

In this paper, it was not discussed how Yanaibara considered Japanese tradition, but his basic point of view can be gathered from the short quotations above. Yanaibara saw that the traditional thought in Japan, Confucianism, was developed and changed into nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism. His circumstance was quite different from that of his two heroes, Nitobe and Uchimura. In comparison with the age of his two idols, political tensions between the traditional thought and Christianity was rapidly increasing. He had to fight with traditional thought, and he was armed with social science and religious faith.

4. Conclusion

In order to analyze the relationship between tradition and education, in this paper, three prominent people, Nitobe, Uchimura, and Yanaibara, were examined. They all belonged to the Sapporo group, which provided the foundation of liberalism in Japan (Kang, 1995; Yagyu, 1990). It may be precarious to draw a general principle because the number of samples is very limited; however, several points can be made, providing several guiding principles for education.

(1) Timing: Encountering Protestantism Young

These three people, Nitobe, Uchimura, and Yanaibara, were educated in a traditional way and encountered the Protestantism around the age of 20. They knew well the essence of traditional thought and values through their childhood. After learning it, they began to learn the Bible as a mean of self-improvement. Through this experience, they received a guiding principle for their academic research and for their lives. They continued the dialogue with Japanese tradition and religious faith. Nitobe found his traditional backbone in Bushido, Uchimura in Japan, and Yanaibara, who belonged to next generation, also took it seriously. In Yanaibara’s case, traditional thought was deteriorating rapidly. It was changed into dogmatic ideas. When each of them encountered Western thought and values, they asked themselves what kind of cultural roots they had when they were young? Thus, timing was of essence.
(2) Space: Sharing a “Learning Community”

In this paper, the learning circumstances of the three men were not previously mentioned. They each lived their lives in a dormitory, and they attended the Bible circle or church. These facilities or circles were very important for holistic education because education does not mean only to learn knowledge or skills. It should not only pertain to the cognitive level, but also to the physical and moral level. They each shared a common space that made it possible to participate in a wide range of extracurricular activities when they were students.

(3) System: Liberal Education Brings Personality

A true liberal arts education provides a coordinate axis, which is essential to one’s life. Nitobe regretted that the spirit of Bushido was lost, and that was in 1899. Without a liberal arts education, how is the aim of education accomplished? It has been experienced that when the liberal education does not work well, the younger generation becomes technocrats, without mind. As Max Weber (Weber, 1954), a German sociologist, pointed out regarding the future course of capitalism in the beginning of the 20th century that modern society in Japan had been ruled by bureaucrats and technocrats. They had professional abilities to complete their jobs according to strict regulations and rules, but they did not have minds. During World War II, the best and brightest students became bureaucrats or technocrats, yet they could not stop the war because they did not have any mind to change or to stop the regime. Does our society have a dream that liberal arts education will be revived in the near future in this highly competitive world?

(4) Logic: Of Denial or Transcendental

The common characteristic in all three people is a logic of denial or a logic of the transcendental (Ienaga, 1969). First, Nitobe mentioned heaven, and in some cases, it appears as the spirit of treason if justifiable reason is not found in the government. Second, Uchimura always kept his idea of the 2 Js. Jesus can be a transcendental idea that gives meaning to all things in this world. Third, Yanaibara stressed the importance of justice that is derived from his religious faith. Although he was a social scientist and used scientific words, he basically repeated the same message, just like his two idols. A sense of reverence for the transcendental should be at the core of educational philosophy.

As discussed in the introduction, the world is rapidly changing. The main drive of these changes is neo-liberalism and multiculturalism. These concepts might change the traditional mindset that has been formed after a long history and has provided the basis of education. Careful attention must be paid to Japanese traditions, thoughts, and values; however, if there is no logic of denial, the same mistakes might be made again. Yet if tradition is admired
unconditionally, it may lead to a new type of fetishism such as nationalism or dogmatism.

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