

parallel with Canada in the confusion as to where children should be educated and the quality of education they were getting in terms of parental and student goals. The decisions arising out of the confusion led to an increase in the number of students attending private schools in Canada, and changes in the composition of private school attendance in Japan.

In both countries there was significant change in 'educational policy'. In both countries the intention was to improve the quality of education and to make quality education more accessible to the disadvantaged. The reformers were able to mobilize the support of teachers, politicians and the public as a whole. Once the planned course of action was put in motion, the expression of concern by parents, teachers and other interested parties, such as universities in the Canadian case, found only limited acceptance by those committed to the new structure. At the present time, both countries find themselves in the midst of an educational crisis whose roots go back to the 1960's at least, and both are grappling with the problems of reform. Our focus here is not to look at these problems in general but to look at the implications of the 1960's reforms for private schools and private school education.

Cultural Assumptions, Educational Philosophy and Practices in the Two countries

Patterns of private school education in each of these countries reflect the cultural assumptions of child and adolescent development, the overall theories of education and the societies' aims for the character and roles of adults. These, in turn, influence the definitions of concerns and the trends in each country. Enrolments in private schools and the proportion of all students enrolled in private secondary schools continues to rise in both Canada and Japan. However, we argue that while some of the reasons are the same, there are many which are different and reflect the difference in cultural assumptions, values and educational theories and goals. Since Japanese readers are much less familiar with Canadian culture and private schools than they are with those in Japan, we discuss the situation in Canada in greater detail.

There is a wide range in the size, quality, philosophy and resources of private schools in Canada (some are 'home schools' in which parents educate their children themselves). In our discussion of Canadian private schools, we focus on the member schools of the Canadian Association of Independent Schools (CAIS), the elite schools in English Canada on which we have done research (Maxwell and Maxwell 1971, 1975, 1979, 1984, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, and Maxwell, 1998).¹

Rohlen and Letendre (1996 : 369-76) outline succinctly the key themes in the Japanese culture of learning and the contrast to Western educational assumptions and philosophy. They emphasize, among other things : collective learning in elementary school ; 'mastery', which is a process of adapting oneself to the material ; the centrality of a set form (*katachi*) ; the repetition of basics ; the notions of 'effort' (in contrast to the emphasis in the West on innate ability and motivation of students to achieve by making learning 'interesting') ; 'struggle' and 'perfectibility', and the authority of teachers (rarely questioned in Japan).

Takeuchi (1991) and others have emphasized that the ideology of success is very different in the two countries. The North American success myth is based on the assumption that North America is immeasurably rich in land resources and that anyone can share in the abundance if he or she so wishes (MacLeod, 1980). In sharp contrast, at the core of the Japanese success myth lies the conviction that Japan is low in natural resources and so the competition between people is like a zero-sum game (Takeuchi, 1988). Thus as Takeuchi points out, the Japanese desire to rise in the world is often motivated not by the prospect of great success, but by fear of great failure (Kinmonth, 1981).

There is another distinct difference in the cultural beliefs, identified by Takeuchi (1991), between the two countries which affects the philosophy of education profoundly. He argues that most Japanese conceive of *effort* as the crucial factor in educational achievement (Takeuchi, 1989). Thus, intelligence tests have never been popular in Japan and people are reluctant to admit innate ability in determining academic achievement (Dore, 1967). By contrast, in Canada, *innate ability* is considered to play a major role in the success level of a student. This means that a 'self fulfilling prophesy' can and does develop in Canada. That is, 'labelling' is quite common – a student identified as not very bright is treated differently from one labelled very intelligent. Less