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*Outside the Box:
A Multi-Lingual Forum*

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The OTB Forum: A Multi-Lingual Forum

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Call for abstracts: The next issue of the *OTB Forum* is planned for the winter of 2019. The review process is ongoing, so authors are encouraged to submit a short abstract (about 200 words). Please send abstracts to editor@otbforum.net

Share your experiences, thoughts and opinions on language, teaching, and learning! Where? A good place is right here at *Outside the Box: A Multi-Lingual Forum*. We welcome contributions from both students and teachers, young and old, inside and outside the university community, and—as the title suggests—in the language of your choice. The *Outside the Box Forum* is a publication which pertains to all aspects of language learning, other linguistic topics, your research, your experiences as a language learner or teacher, reviews, tips, procedures, and interesting places in cyberspace or the real world. Given the eclectic nature of our contributions, we strive to preserve the unique voices of the individual authors. Thus, certain contributions may represent versions of English. Ideas, questions, techniques, creative writing—let your imagination and your creativity be your guide to creating a dynamic and polyphonic space about language.

From the Editor

Welcome to another issue of *Outside the Box: A Multi-Lingual Forum*, or, in short, the *OTB Forum*. We are pleased to again offer a variety of articles on various topics and from various perspective. The *OTB Forum* focuses on language learning, teaching, and practical applications thereof, but the breadth of the journal is much wider. If you are considering sharing something with us, please check the “Call for abstracts” above; you will also find the publication’s goals in the column immediately to the left.

The first section of this issue, **Articles**, features three works. In the first, **Faishal Zakaria** provides an in-depth look at the nature and implications of deficit thinking in pre-K education case study. The second article features the work of Sherlock Holmes expert **Jeroen Bode** on ‘traces’ of the writing of Arthur Conan Doyle which exist in the work of Edogawa Ranpō. **Christian W. Spang** again graces our pages with a pair of articles. The first examines the treatment of German Haushofer in a new book, finding that recent scholarship is lacking. The second article ventures into cyberspace with a detailed look at how Wikipedia entries on Haushofer vary by language. In the final piece in this section, **Ron Crosby** examines factors that influence the success of international marriages.

In the **Language Learning and Teaching** section, we are pleased to offer three manuscripts. In the first, **Jackie Talken** provides an overview of literature on iPad use in the classroom. **Norm Cook** then addresses the nature of *Eiken* picture description, which he likens to a series of tasks. Finally, **Sho Kubota** offers an interesting perspective on one American interpretation of Shakespeare.

As always, we invite you to join us online at

<http://otbforum.net>

As the heat of summer slowly wanes, we would like to wish our readers the very best as autumn awaits.

編集者より

Outside the Box: 多言語フォーラム、略してOTBフォーラムへようこそ。今号も、多種多様なトピック、そして様々な視点からの論文を發表することができ、嬉しく思います。OTBフォーラムは言語学習、教育、そして実践応用などに焦点を当てていますが、この雑誌の扱う分野はさらに広範

です。もしご寄稿をお考えであれば、上記の“Call for abstracts”をご覧ください。その左の欄に、この出版物の目的についての記載もございます。

今号の最初のセクションは論説で、三本の論文を掲載しております。最初の論文はFaishal Zakaria氏によるケーススタディで、幼稚園年少（Pre-K）における「deficit thinking」（マイノリティや移民が劣っていると考えること）についてその本質について深い考察を發表しています。二本目の論文は、シャーロックホームズの専門家であるJeroen Bode氏による、江戸川乱歩の作品に出てくるアーサー・コナン・ドイルの著述についての「足跡」について紹介します。その後の作品はChristian W. Spang氏の素晴らしい二本の論文です。一本目はGerman Haushoferの新しい本における扱いについて考察する論文で、近年の学術的検討が不足していると論述しています。二本目の論

文は、サイバー空間を使った研究で、WikipediaにおけるHaushoferに関する記述の異言語間での相違について深い考察を試みました。そしてこのセクションの最後の論文では、Ron Crosby氏における国際結婚の成功に係する要因について検討しています。

言語学習と教育のセクションでは、三本の著作を掲載しています。一つ目の論文は、Jackie Talken氏がiPadを授業で使用することに関する文献研究を發表しています。次の論文では、Norm Cook氏が英検における絵の説明課題の本質について解説します。最後に、Sho Kubota氏の興味深い視点、一人のアメリカ人の観点からのシェイクスピア解釈を發表しています。

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Articles

Deficit Thinking in Pre-K Education

A Case of a Federally-Sponsored Pre-K Teacher

Faishal Zakaria
Indiana University Bloomington

Abstract: *To meet the needs of marginalized students within US schools, many educational programs have been devised and implemented, but such programs are sometimes grounded within the notion of deficit thinking, which basically blames the failures or inferior performance of those marginalized students (e.g. colored or poor students) on the defects or deficits they were born with. Studies (e.g. Simone, 2012; Pitzer, 2014, 2015) have highlighted the complexity of deficit thinking discourse and simply trying to “fix” the deficit students will never be a satisfactory solution because the acts of “fixing” can further perpetuate the notion of deficit thinking. This study aims to investigate how a federally-funded classroom teacher perceives the students and parents’ participation in relation to the notion of deficit thinking/perspective. The findings suggest that deficit thinking is very likely to arise in educational institutions where marginalized students are present. We should not take the seemingly neutral practices for granted but begin to critically question such practices, so we might not continue perpetuating practices that would marginalize minority groups. Educators need to be aware of the such deficit thinking and actively find ways to dismantle it in their everyday practices. Also, student-teachers who come from minority groups should be aware of deficit thinking in education for dismantling the model of thinking that have discriminated against them in the first place.*

There are of course many challenges faced by teachers and administrators in America’s schools. One of the challenges is that the teachers and administrators are working hard to meet the needs of marginalized students. Existing laws such as the No Child Left Behind Act has have ensured the right of every child to education. Authorities or school/education boards throughout the US has have implemented many programs to make sure that no child is left behind. For instance, bilingual/multilingual students who are believed to be struggling with English in US mainstream schools are often times provided with additional English lessons because they need “help”, and children from low socio-economic backgrounds can still get their pre-K education through the federally-funded Head Start Program. Such programs or policies look very promising, but sometimes they are grounded within the notion of deficit thinking which basically blames the failures or inferior performance of mar-

ginalized students (e.g., colored or poor students) on the defects or deficits they were born with.

Many deficit thinkers have suggested that they work hard to help those marginalized students perform better so that they can catch up with better-performing students coming from dominant communities despite the fact that they are actually perpetuating the negative stereotypes/deficit discourse against the students they said they are trying to assist. Ruby Payne’s (2013) *A Framework for Understanding Poverty: A Cognitive Approach*, for example, seemingly offers a beneficial framework for those working with poor students, but her framework has been under fire for years because Payne’s works seem to focus on individuals rather than larger education system, overgeneralize people living in poverty, and/or focus on perceived weaknesses of poor people (van der Valk, 2016).

It may not be possible to precisely trace when the term deficit thinking was actually devised, but it seems to have been coined by a number of scholars who in the 1960s attacked orthodoxy, under which viewed poor and colored people were viewed as the actual causes to their very own problems (Valencia, 1997). In the United States, the notion of deficit

Zakaria, F. (2019). Deficit thinking in pre-K education: A case of a federally-sponsored pre-K teacher. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 7-17.

thinking might possibly go back as far as early European settlements and slavery. The then racialized beliefs viewed non-whites and other minority individuals as less superior than the inferior to whites (Menchaca, 1997). In the 1800s, there were even groups of people (polygenists) who believed that “God had created the non-whites in the same manners that He created the rest of the animal kingdom” (Menchaca, 1997). Thus, it was not an immoral act to enslave non-whites because they were not much different from animals. Such early entranced racist views might explain why racialized views or deficit thinking still exist up until today.

Some recent studies (e.g., Pitzer, 2014, 2015; Simone, 2012) have highlighted the complexity of deficit thinking discourse and simply trying to “fix” the deficit students will never be a satisfactory solution. Here, the literature has also suggested that the acts of “fixing” further perpetuate the notion of deficit thinking and alienate students from their own schools. Weiner (2006) asserted that school bureaucracies usually try to “fix” students who do not behave or perform well “because the problem inheres in the students or their families, not in the social ecology of the school, grade, or classroom” (p. 42). Schools and practitioners should go beyond such a blaming game because marginalized students’ low and poor academic achievements will further be perpetuated. In this sense, Simone (2012) said,

“[D]eficit thinking cannot be fixed; it must be addressed, eliminated and replaced with an equitable education that equally and effectively prepares every student for his or her future” (p. 6).

Although there have been many studies on problems of deficit thinking in American classrooms, as far as I am concerned, there is little research has been done on Head Start teachers’ perspectives of the poor students and parents that they serve. The Head Start Program, which was officially launched by President Lyndon B. Johnson some fifty-one years ago, is a federally-funded public preschool program for children living in poverty (Mongeau, 2016). The Head Start program usually serves marginalized students (e.g., colored, bilingual, or immigrant students).

This study, therefore, aims to investigate how the teachers perceive the students and parents’ participation in relation to the notion of deficit thinking/ perspective. In particular, this study focuses on a

lead teacher, Ms. Anna, of a Head Start site of a mid-size college town in a Midwestern state.

This study seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. How does the teacher perceive the student and parent participation in a Head Start Program?
2. How does the teacher construct her teaching and interact with students and others involved in her class?
3. What kind of discursive deficit thinking, if any, is being constructed by the teacher?

Literature Review

Defining the Notion of Deficit Thinking

Richard Valencia is one of the scholars who has spent much of his professional life critiquing and challenging the construct of deficit thinking (e.g., Valencia, 1997; 2010). Valencia (2010) connected school failures of low-SES students of colors to the development of deficit thinking. He explained that such school failures were somehow planned to happen because there were many schooling conditions that forced these low-SES students to fail. For example, segregated schooling of students of color usually “led, and still leads, to inferior schooling, hence school failure” (p. 2). This makes sense because students who receive lower quality instructions would definitely fail to compete with students who receive high-quality instructions. Here, Valencia concludes that “racialized opportunity structures lead to racialized academic achievement patterns” (p. 3).

One of the theories that scholars and other education stakeholders have linked to low-SES students’ school failures is the deficit thinking. For Valencia (2010), deficit thinking is an endogenous theory – “positing that the student who fails in school does so because of his/her internal deficits or deficiencies” (p. 6), and these deficiencies allegedly result in the student’s limited or lack of intellectual ability, linguistics proficiency, or motivation. Such a theory is dangerous because “it ignores the role of systemic factors in creating school failure, lacks empirical verification, relies more on ideology than science, grounds itself in classism, sexism, and racism, and offers counter-productive educational prescriptions for school success” (Valencia, 2010, pp. 6-7). Here, the actual problems that cause the students to fail may never be solved. The impact of deficit para-

digm can last much longer. For instance, children who are taught under such a paradigm may grow up believing that their backgrounds have many defective elements that would eventually contribute to their low performance. If the same students later enroll in a teacher preparation program that does not challenge the deficit paradigm, they would likely perpetuate the notion of deficit thinking in their own class (Sarmiento-Arribalzaga & Murillo, 2009).

Likewise, Walker (2011) contends that deficit theory “blames school failure for these students on the students’ lack of readiness to learn in the classroom, the parents’ lack of interest in their education, and the family’s overall lifestyle” (p. 577). Also, students’ cultures are often associated with their low performance at school. Walker (2011) further argues that students whose cultures are different from the dominant cultures are alleged to “innately have less competence, less intelligence, less capability, and less self-motivation (p. 477). Such a blaming game has apparently been based on unproven stereotypes and unempirical (if not baseless) assumptions. Valencia (1997, 2010) has, therefore, contended that deficit theory as a pseudoscience because the theory is lacking “empirical verification.”

Anderson (2013) discusses the current school accountability system which links school performance with evaluations and accreditations. The better performing schools will be rewarded and the non-performing will be penalized. The penalty can be in the form of less funding. Such a high-stake condition may have further perpetuated the deficit model practices because the students, teachers, and school administrators would be in fear in that policies which can fix the issues will be devised. Again, this fixing effort will usually try to focus on internal matters of why students do not perform well.

Characteristics of Deficit Thinking

Valencia (1997, 2010) proposes six characteristics of deficit thinking: (a) blaming the victim, (b) oppression, (c) pseudoscience, (d) temporal changes, (e) educability, and (f) heterodoxy. These are explained in the following sections.

Blaming the Victim

Here, deficit thinkers would not address the external factors as to why the low-SES students are

failing in school, but they would consider internal individual factors. They are eager to “fix” those internal factors as they see this as a simple act of problem-solving. Thus, the real issues of inequality will never be addressed.

Oppression

The abovementioned blaming game would translate into a form of oppression—“the cruel and unjust use of authority and power to keep a group of people in their place” (Valencia, 2010, p. 9). Classroom teacher practices or school board policies can potentially oppress the marginalized students, especially when the policies further blame the students and do not address the real causes to their low performance, for instance. School segregation is another example of oppressive education policy that is grounded in deficit thinking.

Pseudoscience

As has been said, deficit thinking is considered a pseudoscience because it lacks empirical verification. Deficit thinkers usually base their study on “unsound assumptions, use psychometrically weak instrument and/or collect data in flawed manners, do not control important independent variables, and do not consider rival hypotheses for the observed findings” (Valencia p. 12).

Temporal Changes

According to Valencia (1997), deficit thinking is “greatly influenced by the temporal and Zeitgeist (spirit of the time) in which it finds itself” (p. 7). Two points would make this clearer. First, deficit thinking is shaped more by the ideological and research climates of the time—rather than shaping the climates. Second, the fluid aspect of deficit thinking is not seen in the basic framework of the model, but rather in the transmitter of the alleged deficits.

Educability

Valencia (2010) argues that the social and behavioral sciences have four goals: describe, explain, predict, and modify behavior. Deficit thinkers would use these goals to put forward their deficit perspectives. For example, Stanford University Professor, Terman (1916), as cited by Valencia (2010), describes the IQ of Portuguese, American Indians, Mexican Americans, and African American as being at the bottom, he explains the cause to their low IQ (which was allegedly genetically-based), he then

predicts huge racial differences will emerge, and finally he proposes modification which was segregation of these low IQ people. Here, Valencia argues that “deficit thinkers would have us believe that educability largely depends on individual intellectual ability and that social, political, and economic conditions within the schools and society do not appreciably relate to why variability exists in student learning and academic performance” (pp. 15-16).

Heterodoxy

Valencia (1997) argues that the notion of heterodoxy, which can be simply referred to as alternative or differing views, can help us grasp the debates between deficit and non-deficit thinkers. “Historically, the deficit thinking model has rested on orthodoxy—reflecting the dominant, conventional scholarly and ideological climates of the time. Through an evolving discourse, heterodoxy has come to play a major role in the scholarly and ideological spheres in which deficit thinking has been situated” (Valencia, 2010, p.18). Although such heterodoxy had little impact on challenging the status quo in the past, it was always a part of the deficit thinking evolution.

Deconstructing Deficit Thinking: Practical Solutions

Pearl (1997) proposes “strong democracy” as an alternative to deconstruct deficit thinking. In order to deconstruct deficit model policies and practices within the school, democratic education should be in place. Pearl says that at least four requirements should be met in order for the democratic education to take place. The requirements are (a) provision of knowledge that would allow every student to equally engage in “an informed debate on every generally recognized important social and personal issues,” (pp. 215-216), (b) assurance that everyone has equal right of freedom of expressions, specified rights of privacy, due process (e.g., presumption of innocence), and freedom of movement, (c) provision of opportunities and skills to everyone so he or she can participate with equal power and (d) provision of equal encouragement to everyone so he or she could participate in various societal activities.

Further, Garcia and Guerra (2004) proposes a socio-cultural framework for the deconstruction of deficit discourse through professional development.

In their study, Garcia and Guerra report how some 69 teachers managed to challenge their deficit model teaching beliefs and practices after participated in Organizing for Diversity Project (ODP) at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory (SEDL) in Austin, TX. During the projects, these educators were able to discuss ways to create more equitable learning environments for their students. This makes a lot of sense. In-service teachers can significantly benefit from discussions with others or consultations with experts as they can, perhaps, be aware of their taken-for-granted teaching beliefs and practices so they can make calculated changes next time they teach.

Valencia (2010) also summarizes a number of anti-deficit thinking suggestions put forward by other scholars. Scholars have suggested anti-deficit thinking strategies can potentially improve the educational experiences of all students. Those strategies are discussed within the issues of preservice teacher education, parental engagement in education, educational leadership, social justice, ethnography of school.

Alber (2013) suggests that teachers need to build on students’ strengths and interests to avoid deficit model teaching practices. Specifically, Alber (2013, para. 8-12) suggests the following tips to build students’ strengths and interests:

1. Goal Setting. Ask students to list what they are good at, what they'd like to be better at, and what they can teach others to do. Include a writing activity where students set personal and academic goals, highlighting how the skills and talents they already possess will help them grow and accomplish these goals.
2. What I Know Well. Invite students to teach or share something they are good at with the class. Here are some examples of things I've seen students share: origami, dance steps, a self-defense move, basic guitar chords, cartooning, Photoshop.
3. My Learning Inventory. Ask students to list all the ways they learn best: by doing, by reading, by drawing, by seeing, by creating... Also, have them list the things that have made their learning memorable (possible answers: "a good book," "a nice teacher," "a fun assignment"). Ask them to also include things that may interfere with their learning (possible example, "if something is too hard").

4. Artifact from My Life. Students choose something precious to them, an item that has value (personal, not monetary). Create an assignment where the students bring the item to class (a photo, an award, baby shoes). They can write about it and then share in small groups why the item is so special.

5. Takeaways. Remember that critical to the learning process is self-reflection. Provide students with an opportunity to name and celebrate their own “takeaways”—all that they have gained from a specific learning experience.

Theoretical Framework

For the present study, I consider deficit thinking theory which blames the students’ failures on their backgrounds (e.g., Anderson, 2013; Garcia & Guerra, 2004; Pearl, 1997; Valencia, 1997; Valencia, 2010; Walker, 2011;) and I was also inspired by Bourdieusian perspective of democratic education (issues of access) and socials (Grenfell, 2012). These informed my analyses of my interview data with Ms. Anna, a local Head Start lead teacher, to learn how to define her students and their parents’ participation and to learn if she develops and maintains deficit perspectives when talking about her students and their parents, particularly when discussing students’ achievements.

Methodology

This is simply a case study but tries to utilize Gee’s (2014) discourse analysis tool called “the context is a reflexive tool” which brings my focus on the context, not just on what was said, as the lead teacher talks about her students and their parents. As we use language to construct, deconstruct things, or to get things done, the contexts may help us in this sense. The “property of context -namely that it is both there (and gives meaning to what we do) – is called the “reflexive” property of context. Speaking reflects context and context reflects (is shaped) by speaking (what was said)” (p. 91). Here, Gee’s tool was used as an additional tool to analyze interview data. Here, I adopt the following Gee’s questions to analyze the data:

How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to create or shape (possibly even manipulate) what listeners will

take as the relevant context?

How is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it helping to reproduce contexts like this one (e.g., a class session in a daycare), that is, helping them to continue to exist through time and space?

Is the speaker reproducing contexts like this one unaware of aspects of the context that if he or she thought about the matter consciously, he or she would not want to reproduce?

Is what the speaker is saying and how he or she is saying it just, more or less, replicating contexts like this one or, in any respect, transforming or changing them?

Gee argues that “no act of speaking in context is ever totally identical in every aspect to another (e.g., every lecture is different somehow), but sometimes the differences are small and not very significant and other times they are larger and more significant” (p. 91).

Research Context

I chose to observe a local federally-funded pre-K classroom (best known as Head Start classroom) and interview its two teachers. The Head Start classroom that I observed is situated within a church building on the east side of a mid-sized college town in the Midwest. Altogether, there are four pre-K Head Start classrooms at this church location. The classroom that I observed is was team-taught by Ms. Anna and Ms. Sharon (not real names). During my research, 13 students were enrolled in this classroom (maximum number).

Observation

To better help me understand the research contexts and everyone involved in it, I observed Ms. Anna’s class twice (approximately four hours in total). I decided to observe the class from 9:00 am (starting time) to 11:00 am (right before the children went to the playground to play) because I wanted to witness the kinds of teaching practices that Ms. Anna and Ms. Sharon, the assistant teacher, engaged in inside the class. In fact, the children would not spend so much time studying after lunch as they would take an hour-long nap and have some snacks before they go home. In addition, Ms. Anna also

suggested that I observe her class before lunchtime.

During my first observation, I paid attention to the physical condition of the class and the kinds of activities that the students and the teachers were doing from the beginning. From this observation, I learned that the class is following some types of routines. In fact, Ms. Anna printed and attached a list of daily activities that the students and the teachers will be doing every day from the very first minute to the last minute.

Because I witnessed the same activities were performed on my second observation, I diverted my attention to unfamiliar things that the teachers or the students were doing. With careful observation, I noticed that Ms. Anna and Ms. Sharon were not reluctant to do different things (e.g., doing different math and science activities) in their class although routine has been established. In addition to observing the nature of student-teacher interactions, I also focused on how Ms. Anna and Ms. Sharon performed team-teaching and on how responsibility was shared.

Overall, I used my observation as a tool to gain preliminary knowledge or initial assumptions of my research setting. The observation was expected to provide me with an “authentic” experience of how the class is actually run. For me, such initial knowledge and experience would better assist me when I conduct the interview. For example, I can just confirm my interpretation of one particular classroom activity or interaction during the interview. Also, I was hoping to get some general impressions of Ms. Anna’s class and to see whether deficit discourse was enacted in the way she ran the class.

Interview

I initially conducted two separate semi-structured interviews with Ms. Anna and one interview with her assistant for another project that focused on teacher teaching beliefs. For this study, I decided to use the data from my two interviews with Ms. Anna (because this study focuses on Ms. Anna). I later decided to do another interview with Anna where I asked specific questions that could reveal deficit discourse was enacted as she was talking about her students and their parents. Here, I focus my analysis on my interview with Ms. Anna.

Participants

Ms. Anna was born and grew up in a Midwest

state and she has extensive experience teaching children aged 5 and under. Ms. Anna started her career teaching children after she graduated from college decades ago. Ms. Anna, she has been teaching in this federally-funded classroom for almost five years. During the interview, it was revealed that Ms. Anna had taught in many different daycares before but Ms. Anna had to adjust here and there and had to upgrade her ability when she first worked at her current Pre-K class. She had to do more paperwork and learned other computer skills which were not required in her previous works. Currently, Ms. Anna serves as a lead teacher.

Data Analysis Process

After I retyped my observation notes and transcribed all interview data. I also coded my interview transcripts and observational notes. It is important to note that I had to omit some data because both Ms. Anna and Ms. Sharon talked about things that were not directly related to the topics of my questions. [Omitted] would indicate such data omission.

As per the transcription process, I decided to provide light Jeffersonian transcription where I type what I hear but also add some Jeffersonian transcription symbols. To help me transcribe the huge amount of audiotaped data, I used Express Scribe software where I can set hotkeys (e.g., I assigned F4 key for pause and F9 key for replay) so I could continue typing without having to close my Microsoft Word file. Because the transcription process can also offer some initial interpretation of the data, I deleted the data that I did not need (i.e., I omitted data that was not related to topics discussed). Another benefit of this transcription process is that I could develop some kinds of initial analysis of the data.

To analyze the data, I first tried taking the following three steps: describing, analyzing, and interpreting. The data I collected from the interview were transcribed and were coded and analyzed thematically. I also took the same process when I analyzed observational note data. I would discuss these themes in regard to deficit thinking theory. For interview data, I tried to apply Gee’s the Context Is Reflexive Tool which could, I hoped, shed additional light on the kind of contexts deficit thinking discourse/perspective which is or is not enacted.

Here, I simply printed my transcribed data and provided my codes on the margins of the papers or

in-between the lines because I did not use any qualitative analysis software packages such as N-Vivo. This coding strategy, however, resulted in numerous codes, thus making it more difficult to come up with themes that accurately represent the data. When I revisited the data several more time, I decided to draw themes based on the themes of my interview questions. This strategy allows me to quickly arrive general interpretations of the data.

Furthermore, I was aware that it is important for me to try to “establish trustworthiness” in my analysis so I tried revisiting my initial codes several times. This allows me to move from a broad understanding of large dataset to categories/themes. I also asked one of my colleagues to read my transcripts and codes to check if the themes have accurately represented the dataset.

Findings and Discussion

I decided to discuss only a few major themes in order to delimit this paper. As I said earlier, these themes were largely based on the questions that I asked during the interviews, but the themes mostly connected to how the teacher perceives her students and parent’s participation. The themes are as follow:

1. Teaching high-SES vs. low-SES students
2. Children Education & Parent Capitals
3. Rough Family Life & Defiant Students
4. Perfect families vs. broken families

I would go through each of these themes in details where I would refer to specific quotes to support the proposed themes. As these are tentative themes, I may possibly revisit and revise themes in my future studies involving the same dataset. This makes sense because my understanding of the data would possibly evolve if it is seen at a later time.

When asked to compare her experience teaching both high- and low-SES (social economic status) students, Ms. Anna offered some significant contrasts between what the parents of high-SES students and low-SES students expect from their children’s pre-K education. In the following interview excerpt, Ms. Anna considered parents of high-SES students belong to elite groups and assumed these elite parents want their kids to learn more, not just playing, so they can be better kids.

I guess they’re focusing more on what is it I don’t know the elite group. You know since

they had jobs, more than college-educated. And I guess they think since their kids know so much more at this age that they think they’re gonna be better kids, maybe. I don’t know. It’s just status, status, symbol we call like maybe. I mean you know like I said I had parents who want good education; they are learning something, not just playing.

The context of Ms. Anna’s account here was when she was talking about how goal-oriented these parents were. The parents would oftentimes ask whether their children had met their learning goals. I think, here, Ms. Anna is trying to produce a context where the parents of high-SES students want their pre-K children to learn more, not just playing. When Ms. Anna said “[T]hey are learning something, not just playing,” she seemed to highlight the contrast between the teaching goals of the expensive daycare which she taught before and Head Start program where she is teaching now. The high-SES parents who paid expensive daycare fees demanded to know if their children had met the learning goals while the low-SES parents of Head Start program did not necessarily do so. The low-SES parents would let their children follow Head Start learning principle which learning through play.

I think the context that Ms. Anna was trying to produce here indicate some kind of deficit discourse. The elite parents who can afford expensive education fees are depicted as the ones who want to make sure that their children receive a good education from early on so they will be better kids thus the possibility of their having better and brighter future will be more likely. This kind of education scenario has seemingly been taken for granted for generations; it is supposed to be like that; critical review of such scenario is not needed. Here, I recall when Grenfell (2012) discusses Bourdieu’s critique of supposedly equal access to education. Although quality education is claimed to be available for everyone, only those with sufficient capitals can truly access such high-quality education. In the end, the marginalized low-SES students will stay in their places.

Ms. Anna went on discussing how parents’ economic, social, political, and or cultural capitals matters in children’s education. When Ms. Anna was asked to compare her experience teaching at her previous work site with her current Head Start program, she valued a different kind of social capital of the

parents of her current students. The context of her discussion was the Head Start program which is a federal-sponsored program that provides both nutrition and pre-K education to poor children at no cost. She did not talk about the parents' low economic status but praised their education. The fact that her classroom is attended by international students whose parents are working on graduate degrees at a well-known university in the Midwest makes her Head Start class uniquely-different from other Head Start classes. Other classes usually have local poor students whose parents do not necessarily have a college education. Ms. Anna is aware that her students' parents are not rich because, to be eligible for Head Start, a student has to come from a family whose household income should be at or below Federal Government poverty level but the parents' higher education provides a key difference here. In other words, the parents may not have economic capital but they have social, cultural, and education capitals that make them stand above the rest of parents of students in different Head Start locations. To me, the discursive discussion here is that the parents will care about their children's education when they care about their own education in the first place so the students will have more possibility to succeed. This kind of perspective seemingly makes perfect sense but, on a second thought, the perspective is too stereotypical, if not deficit model of thinking, because students' internal motivation to learn can just be overlooked.

FZ: Uh uh, so so if you compared your experience with the parents uhm in the previous church daycare and here. Did you see differences?

MA: A huge different!

FZ : What are they? Can you explain?

MA: Well, here's a huge difference from where I work and another Head Start site, which is on the other side of town, because like I said a lot of my parents are a Midwestern university-affiliated so they're coming to learn. To do more research, to learn.

FZ : Students?

MA: Oh yeah, right here where I am at, this site, right here. If I do another site, it was not (.) but I worked at Broadview was nothing like it.

FZ : Why?

MA: Demographic

FZ : What demographic what's demography like over there?

MA: Like I said uhm (.02) I had more parents in jail hum(h)our

FZ : More parents in jail?

MA: Incarcerated uhm like I said uhm we serve the Midwestern university population, about two miles from campus, two miles.

FZ : Why do you think do:: you think that has connection with uhm (.)

MA: That's just my opinion. I just feel like because I'm uhm I don't know I mean a lot of [people cause I have]

From the above excerpt, we can see how Ms. Anna links parents' rough conditions (e.g., being incarcerated) to the possibility of the parents' willingness to get involved in their children education. Although Ms. Anna was seemingly a bit hesitant about drawing a direct connection between family condition with children learning, we can understand the context here. She hinted that teaching students, whose parents are uncaring, is very much different from teaching those with caring parents. Simone (2012), whose study investigates the kind of strategies school principals employ to eliminate deficit thinking, argues that many teachers view their job assignments to teach lower level students as negative ones. "Common perceptions regarding the lower track students included troublesome, unmotivated, uncaring parents, unprepared for rigorous work, difficulty with discourse ... are indicative of deficit thinking" (p.1). Such perceptions are certainly troubling because they impact how a teacher teaches.

Moreover, Ms. Anna addressed her concerned about the kind of negative impacts children with rough family life would bring to the classroom. She asserted that a lot of time the students would behave violently in the classroom or say inappropriate things that no children of their age would have said. As a teacher, Ms. Anna said she indeed dreaded of coming to class and face these kinds of children. "The kids, you know, they were violent. They kicked, they hit me. They kinda choke me," says Ms. Anna at one point during the interview. I think she said this to picture how difficult her previous

teaching condition was. It was a struggle for her as a teacher to come to class as there was no comfort at all. Ms. Anna did not, however, confirm if she or her colleague at the school had tried to do something to help these violent students. To me, these kinds of students would likely be like this because not many teachers would go extra miles to learn the actual causes of their violent acts as everything, usually, is linked to their family life. Below, Ms. Anna explains why a child's behavior is somehow connected to their family life.

Well, it was hard because when they have a rough family life, they're gonna come in and some of that takes a toll on the child, whether emotionally or socially yeah.

Here, Ms. Anna argued that difficult family life would affect a child either emotionally and socially. This can then explain why a child behave violently when interacting with others. While it makes so much sense to make such a conclusion, we need not close other doors of interpretation. We also need to consider other internal and external problems to help explain why a low-SES student performs poorly at school. That way, we will not base our conclusions on assumptions and we will not be at risk of being trapped in the deficit model of thinking.

Similarly, Ms. Anna further talked about ideal families that could better encourage and support a child's learning. According to Ms. Anna, two-parent families are seemingly better supporters of their children's learning than single families because the husband and wife can take turn caring for their children. Thus, children of a two-parent family can get full familial supports.

I think it makes a difference. This is just my opinion. You could ask somebody else, maybe someone say no because I am not saying all people of single families. I am not saying that at all. I'm saying that a two-parent family who are working together as uhm family, man, and wife, and a family encouraging the child that's better than just the single parent whose significant other is in jail, deceased, or out of your life. And it's harder on a single mom.

From the excerpt, we learn that Ms. Anna claims that a single mom would find it harder to support a

child's learning. Though we can see that there are a lot of examples of struggling single-mothers, we cannot simply conclude that a struggling mother is uncaring about her child's education. We have seen so many stories of single mothers successfully raising and educating their children. I think it makes sense to consider single-family hardship and struggle but this should not make us engender deficit thinking. I understand the context that Ms. Anna was referring to when she talked about. She was referring to vulnerable mothers who had to stay in a woman shelter because they could not afford housing on their own or those young mothers whose partners had abused them.

Perhaps, Ms. Anna here considers that students coming from troubled or broken families are at risk of not being able to learn like other children who have a "perfect" family. Valencia (2010) contends that "at-risk" are usually referred to minority students. In this sense, he writes "given that at-risk students are concentrated among pupils of color, from poverty households, single-parent families, and immigrant populations, the at-risk inventory approach has the strong tendency to stereotype" (p. 112). Judging from Ms. Anna's class population, we can see that the students are somehow connected with one of the characteristics of "at-risk students" mentioned by Valencia above. Thus, simply labeling Ms. Anna's students as "at-risk" students might just be a form of stereotyping.

Ms. Anna's definition of an ideal family consisting of a man and wife might not fit everyone's definition of a family. For instance, a child who did not know his or her mother and father and was raised in a foster home would never have a family if he or she goes by such a definition. Adopted children raised by same-sex couples might also be troubled by the definition. I think educators need to avoid using a single broad brush to treat every issue in their classrooms.

Conclusion

The tentative findings that I present in this paper indicate that deficit thinking is very likely to arise in educational institutions where marginalized groups of students are present. We should not take the seemingly neutral practices for granted but begin to critically question such practices so we might not continue perpetuating practices that would marginalize minority groups. Educators need to be aware of

the deficit thinking and actively find ways to dismantle it in their everyday practices. Also, student-teachers who come from minority groups should be aware of deficit thinking in education for dismantling the model of thinking that have discriminated them in the first place.

This research project and its findings have not only enabled me to learn more about deficit thinking and Head Start Program in general but also allowed me to practice what I learn in qualitative class and experience what it really means to actually conduct a qualitative study. The themes that I draw from the dataset might not represent the “reality” in its entirety but the readers, especially those interested in the issues of deficit thinking in the field of education, would gain a deeper understanding that deficit model of thinking can be engendered or perpetuated unconsciously.

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Every Contact Leaves a Trace: A Literary Reality of Locard's Exchange Principle

Jeroen Bode

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In an earlier OTB forum article (Bode, 2017) I mentioned the possible literary traces in the works of Washington Irving and Arthur Conan Doyle. This year (2018) while reading Edogawa Ranpo's short story *The Psychological Test* (心理試験, 1925; English translation by Harris, 2012) for some reason it reminded me of something I had read in 2015 or 2016. A trace¹ was still lingering in my mind. The case details (fictional) in Edogawa's story resembled one of Conan Doyle's writings; not a Sherlock Holmes story but something of his other less familiar works. Conan Doyle also wrote on real criminal cases that happened in the UK. The piece in question is *The Debatable Case of Mrs. Emsley* (published in the *Strand* in May, 1901). These products have been collected by Jack Tracy (editor) in his 1988 edition. Important to mention here is that Edogawa's story cannot be regarded as a case of plagiarism because it has an original quality in its further development. In the foreword by Patricia Welch to Harris' translation of Edogawa's stories it becomes clear that Edogawa was an avid reader of, among others, Edgar Allen Poe and Arthur Conan Doyle in his university days (p. 15). This might have led him to include, as homage to Conan Doyle, in his story line of *The Psychological Test* details of the Emsley case.

Authors' Motive

Peter Ruber (Conan Doyle, 1988) writes in his introduction to the Conan Doyle collection of real

cases that he started these as a series of studies into criminal psychology (p. xvii). He actually intended to write and submit to the *Strand* magazine twelve stories, but due to an illness in 1901 he could not finish them. During his recuperation, his friend B. Fletcher Robinson gave him through his stories ideas for writing another Sherlock Holmes story known now as *The Hound of Baskervilles*.

For Edogawa Ranpo reasons are not discussed fully in the Harris (2012) translation of a selected number of his stories. However, in the preface (pp. 8-9) we can see the statement that Edogawa started his writing career as an exponent of the mystery stories in 1923, the year that in the Tōkyō-Yokohama



The Debatable Case of Mrs. Emsley (before entering the crime scene). *Strand Magazine* illustration (May 1901) by Sidney Paget.

Bode, J. (2019). Every contact leaves a trace: A literary reality of Locard's Principle. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 18-22.

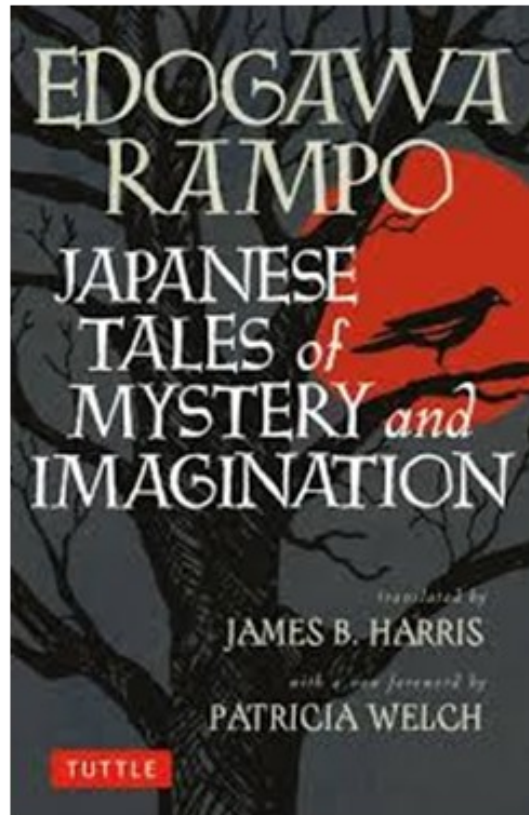
¹ Most of these Locard's exchange principle is an important principle within the field of forensic science; through which crimes are investigated. In all crimes the perpetrator leaves "particulars" of him/herself behind as evidence of involvement in the crime. Dr. Edmond Locard stated it accordingly:

"Il est impossible au malfaiteur d'agir avec l'intensité que suppose l'action criminelle sans laisser des traces de son passage." [It is impossible for a criminal to act, especially considering the intensity of a crime, without leaving traces of this presence.] (Baxter, 2015, p. 23)

area a great devastating earthquake occurred. Already, in his youth he had become familiar with the crime fiction read to him by his mother (p. 16) and he continued reading detective stories (by Poe, Chesterton, Conan Doyle) during his university time. Those stories appealed to him due to the careful plotting, logic and reasoning (p. 15). With these experiences it is perhaps not a surprise that Edogawa became an author in his own right.

The Debatable Case of Mrs. Emsley (published in the Strand, May 1901)

This is an actual case that happened in London in 1860 (August 16th). The most striking details are that the widow Mrs. Mary Emsley was found murdered in her house. One of the discoverers, named John Emms (cobbler), became a suspect in the case. While in fact it turned out that Emms had a “most convincing alibi” (p. 40; but no details of what that was.) and that the person, George Mullins (plasterer) who tried to implicate Emms in the case was convicted and hanged on November 19th. Although he left a statement of his innocence the most important evidence seems to have been the planting of the evidence (Mrs. Emsley’s possessions) in Emms’ shed.



Edogawa, R. (1988). *Japanese tales of mystery and imagination*. North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle.

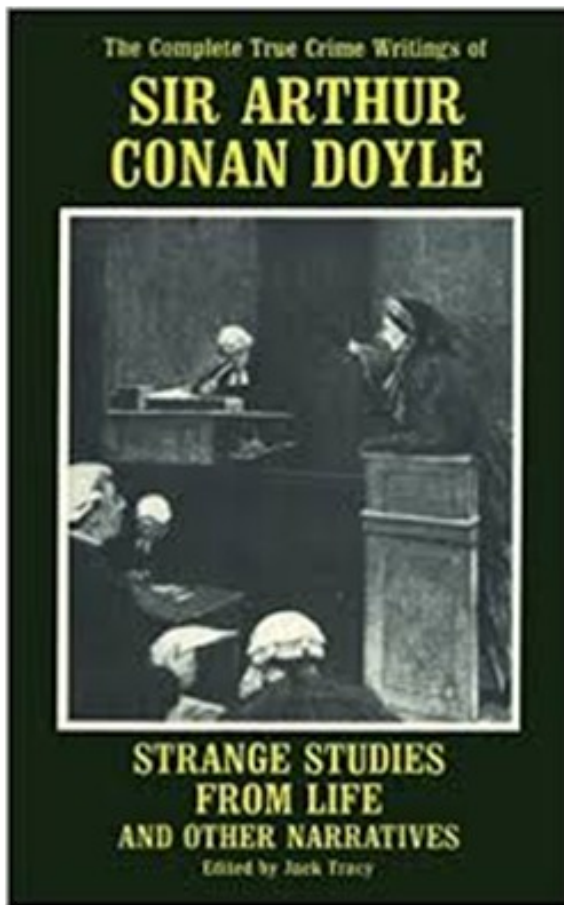
It is unavoidable for the judge at the time to convict Mullins with such a small margin of error. The judge at the time recognized that although the margin of error was very small, to convict Mullins in this manner was unavoidable. These are the essential details of the case as presented by Conan Doyle and in the section on comparison of the writings of both authors I will describe what first arrested my attention to the similar details in Edogawa’s story to Conan Doyle’s writing.

The Psychological Test (心理試験, 1925; English translation by Harris, 2012)

This is a fictional case to begin with and written as such by Edogawa Ranpo in 1925. The fictional case details relates a story wherein Fukiya Seiichirō (the murderer) murders the widow who, like Mrs. Emsley in Conan Doyle’s story, is a landlady with a similar unpleasant disposition to others. Fukiya is a Waseda student and his friend Saitō Isamu, also a Waseda student, is regarded as the prime suspect in the case by the police. The preliminary judge (not as “the district attorney” in the translation) Kasamori is not convinced but cannot find a way to proof that it is in fact Fukiya. Even with his familiarity with psychology, Kasamori could not find a result marking Fukiya as the true criminal. An old friend of Kasamori, Akechi Kogorō helps and reassesses the word association test showing that Fukiya overdid his mental training and spoke too fast in response time with a trick question on what was in the room at the time of crime, which Fukiya could not have seen two days before (his alibi) the crime. Because the screen-painting was brought in just a day before he did his crime, Fukiya sealed his guilt. The timeline issue of the screen-painting proved that he had been there.

A Comparison of the Sources

The first trace was the similar description of the widows in both writings: their unpleasant character to others and in dealing with their tenants. Is this a coincidence, perhaps? Not according to the Special Agent Gibbs’s rule #39 (NCIS series). These points are the common features of both writings. However, the time of the crime are in each different. In Conan Doyle’s writing the time is set on Monday evening, some time after 19:00 (p. 37). While Edogawa’s story has the crime occurring in the morning without a definite time (p. 56). The main persons involved are in Conan Doyle’s a cobbler and a plasterer. The



Conan Doyle, A. (1988). *The complete true crime writings of Sir Arthur Conan Doyle: The Debatable Case of Mrs. Emsley*.

two suspects in Edogawa's are Waseda students. The widow Mrs. Emsley (in Conan Doyle's) is murdered by repeated blows to her head (p. 37). The nameless widow (Edogawa's) has first been strangled by Fukiya wearing gloves and stabbed her in the heart with a jackknife so as to make it impossible for others to revive her. Fukiya steals half the money she keeps in the house and brings it to the police in a wallet he prepared for that purpose. Instead of stealing money, the murderer of Mrs. Emsley took small items of hers (p. 39: "3 small spoons, 1 big one, a cheque"; p. 40: "a gold pencil case, a similar spoon"). Emms was initially arrested for the crime (p. 39) because the police found some of the stolen goods in his shed (planted by someone, possibly Mullins, to implicate Emms). The police arrested also charged Mullins in connection with the crime. Although in Conan Doyle's report of the case what made the police suspect Mullins as well is not fully addressed. Fukiya finished the job with a jackknife while Mullins probably committed and con-

cluded the crime with a hammer. In the report of Conan Doyle the case is build up through witnesses (who have either seen him near Mrs. Emsley's place, or saw that his pockets were bulging with things) and the physical evidence stolen from Mrs. Emsley. That Mullins planted the evidence in Emms' shed was considered a major factor in his guilt. The cumulative force of the evidence resulted in a verdict of Mullins being hanged on November 19th. The judge in this case had reservations on the case but it nonetheless resulted in a guilty verdict by the jury. In the story of Edogawa, there are different theories why Fukiya did the crime. For financial gain or instead to commit the perfect crime. In a similar way, also Mullin's motive is not addressed or did not emerge from the testimonies during the court proceedings. It seems to be an overly intricate way to implicate Emms in the crime to receive a reward by initially murdering the Mrs. Emsley.

Conclusion

In both the translation and the Japanese edition of Edogawa's *The Psychological Test* (心理試験, 1925; English translation by Harris, 2012) is not stated whether Conan Doyle's report was known by Edogawa while writing his story. Since he seems to be well acquainted with Conan Doyle's work, Edogawa might have read other writings of Conan Doyle too. In that case, The Debatable Case of Mrs. Emsley (published in the Strand May 1901) would be a possible source for Edogawa's story discussed in the present report on mental literary traces.

A point for further study is whether trace-evidence is just restricted to the individual reader only. Is it just a memory-trace or is it an intentional trace placed by the author for the reader to find? One important result from this report is that Edogawa is not guilty of plagiarism if it turns out in future discoveries that he found Conan Doyle's crime report a good starting point for his own story borrowing case details from Conan Doyle. Applying Locard's principle beyond its original field of forensic investigation and – that every contact leaves a trace – has also a bearing on the source of literary creativity and appreciation.

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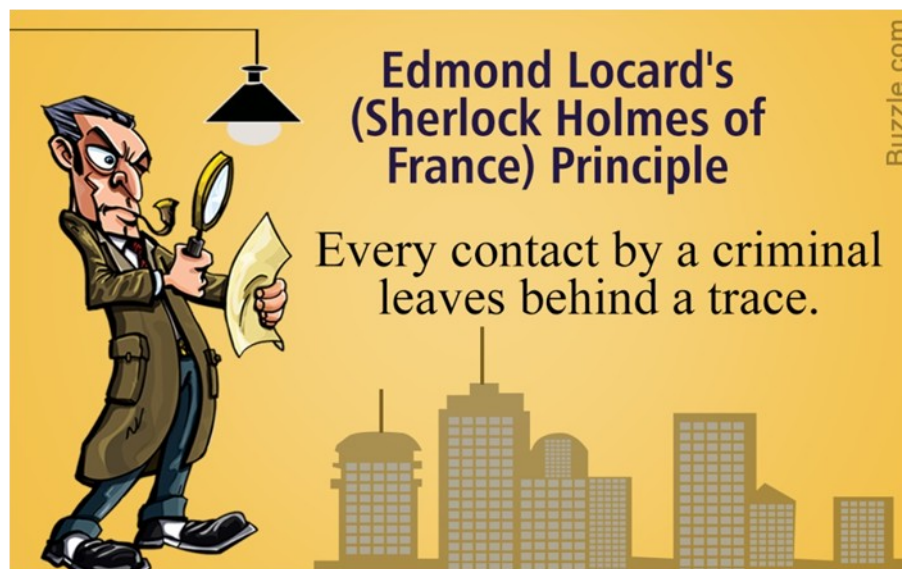
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Appendix. Timeline of World Literary and Historical Events, 1809-1929

Year	World literature	World history
1809	Edgar Allan Poe *	
1812	Charles Dickens *	
1815		Defeat of Napoleon
1818	Mary Shelley, <i>Frankenstein</i>	
1824	Wilkie Collins *	
1837		Queen Victoria (- 1901)
1847	Bram Stoker *	Marx and Engels: <i>Communist Manifesto</i>
1854		Sigmund Freud *
1857		The Sepoy Rebellion (cf: <i>Sign of Four</i>)
1859	Arthur Conan Doyle *	Charles Darwin: <i>On the Origin of Species</i>
1861 – 1865		American Civil War
1866	Fyodor Dostoyevsky, <i>Crime and Punishment</i>	
1867		Meiji emperor Karl Marx: <i>Das Kapital</i>
1868		Shogunate ends in Japan
1870		The telephone
1878/9		The light bulb
1885		First automobiles
1894	Edogawa Ranpo *	
1894 – 1895		Sino-Japanese War
1895		Tower Bridge (London)
1900		First underground (Paris)
1901	Conan Doyle: <i>The Debatable Case of Mrs Emsley, The Hound of the Baskervilles</i>	
1904 – 1905		Russo-Japanese War
1914 – 1918		World War I
1923		Yokohama-Tokyo earthquake
1925	Edogawa Ranpo, <i>The Psychological Test</i>	Adolf Hitler, <i>Mein Kampf</i>
1929		Wall Street Crash

Revisiting Karl Haushofer at 150: A Critical Look at the Most Recent Biography

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Abstract: *This (review) article deals with Holger H. Herwig's recent book, The Demon of Geopolitics. How Karl Haushofer "educated" Hitler and Hess. Despite the fact that research on Haushofer and his views goes back about 100 years, the book by Herwig is a retrograde step because it overlooks everything that has been published about Karl Haushofer and German geopolitics since the mid-1990s. Herwig's book often mixes true and false aspects and it is this type of writing that makes it particularly difficult to decipher the mistakes for those who do not already fully know the Haushofer story.*

Keywords: *geopolitics, Haushofer, Herwig, propaganda, demon, Japan, mistakes, essay, out-of-date*

About 150 years prior to the publication of this article, Karl Haushofer was born in Munich on August 27, 1869. Roughly 77 years later, on March 10, 1946, he committed a dramatic double suicide with his wife Martha. A look at various Wikipedia entries on the "father of German Geopolitics" shows that they are far from being reliable, with the English entry's superficially academic structure not being backed up by its content, which is still based on wartime and cold war literature (Spang, this issue, pp. 35-47). Claims for information being up-to-date, reliable and verifiable—not met in most Wikipedia entries (on Haushofer)—are far more legitimate if looking at academic books, even more so if they are written by established scholars and distributed by well-known publishers. How far a

recent monograph about Karl Haushofer meets these requirements will be discussed below.

Karl Haushofer as an Object of Propaganda and Historical Research

Many wartime publications saw Haushofer as a prompter of Nazi Germany's aggressive foreign policy. This exaggerated interpretation of Haushofer's influence was the basis for eulogies in the Axis countries and severe Haushofer-bashing by Anglo-Saxon authors such as Andreas Dorpalen (1942), Johannes Mattern (1942), Siegmund Neumann (1942/43), Frederic Sondern (1941), Robert Strausz-Hupé (1941/42), Edmund A. Walsh (1942, 1944, 1949), and Hans W. Weigert (1941/42, 1944), who frequently published in journals like *Current History*, *Foreign Affairs*, *Fortune*, *Harper's Magazine*, *Life*, or *Readers' Digest*.¹ Their critical view was taken up in the 1950s by some authors in the new Eastern Bloc, who saw many parallels between Haushofer's theories and Western geopolitics during and after World War II.² Authors like Günter Heyden (GDR) and Juri N. Semjonow (USSR) criti-

Spang, C. W. (2019). Revisiting Karl Haushofer: A critical look at the most recent biography. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 23-34.

¹ Most of these authors either came from Germany or Austria or had family roots there. Different from other US authors, H. W. Weigert had realized the importance of Haushofer's Asian experience in 1908-10 and argued more cautiously. Murphy, 2014, p. 14, summarizes these views and their long-term influence as follows: "As has been noted, Haushofer's alleged dominance over Hitler's thought was sometimes cast in the most categorical terms, during the war, in its immediate aftermath, and for decades later."

² During the occupation period after WWII, the Allies created lists of works to be taken out of German libraries. The high number of Haushofer's works on the Soviet index-list reflects the above-mentioned critical view in the communist Eastern bloc. See <http://www.polunbi.de/bibliothek/1946-nslit-h.html> (Dec. 18, 2018) for details.

cized post-war “American Imperialism” as Haushoferism.³ After this wartime and post-war hype died down, the impact of *Geopolitik* and thus Haushofer’s influence has been interpreted as rather weak (if there was any discussion of geopolitics at all). In the late 1970s, Rainer Matern’s 1978 dissertation examined Haushofer rather uncritically, trying to explain but not evaluate his activities and theories. One year later, Hans-Adolf Jacobsen published the most comprehensive (two-volume) description of Haushofer’s life and work, but the whole endeavor was more of an annotated anthology and collection of documents than a critical biography. Jacobsen saw Haushofer’s influence mostly in the field of “volkisch” politics dealing with Germans abroad. In the mid-1990s, two hotly debated German works about Haushofer by Frank Ebeling (1994⁴) and Bruno Hipler (1996⁵) refueled the debate. Ebeling and Hipler interpreted things differently from earlier works and from each other. Ebeling strictly differentiated between Haushofer’s thinking and Nazi ideology and then used this claim to apologetically clear Haushofer from his (too-) close Nazi connections. Hipler argued that Haushofer intensely influenced Rudolf Hess and claimed (without offering enough evidence to prove his hypothesis) on this basis that Haushofer must have had an equally strong influence on Hitler. While the first part of the arguments made by Ebeling as well as Hipler can, to some extent, be backed up by primary sources, their conclusions contradict earlier and later research. Other publications of the same period, like those by Rainer Sprengel (1996), David T. Murphy (1997), Rudolf Gottschlich (1998), Heike Wolter (2003), to name just the related monographs, argued that Haushofer had some influence on Hess, Hitler, and Joachim von Ribbentrop but mostly from the 1920s to the early 1930s—much less so during the immediate

pre-war and wartime years. Most recently, works by Christian W. Spang (2013, 2018) and Nicola Bassoni (2018, 2020) are based on the earlier research when it comes to the overall judgment of Haushofer’s personality and work but focus on his connections with the two other Axis powers, i.e., Japan and Italy.

With such an array of related publications, anyone attempting to present a balanced view of Karl Haushofer’s life, work and impact should be able to do so, even without unearthing new documents. To find out how far Holger H. Herwig was able to fulfill this task in an up-to-date, reliable and verifiable way will be the topic of the following scrutiny of his book *The Demon of Geopolitics* published in 2016 with Rowman & Littlefield.

***The Demon of Geopolitics* and the Question of Sources**

Somehow, already the propagandistic title of Herwig’s book hints at what can be expected from its contents. Most likely, using the term “demon” in connection with Karl Haushofer goes back to the sonnet “Vater [father]”, posthumously published as sonnet no. 38 in Albrecht Haushofer’s *Moabiter Sonette*: “But my father broke away the seal. He did not see the breath of evil. He let the demon soar into the world.”⁶

Overall, Herwig’s title looks like a mixture of 1940s wartime propaganda titles such as Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer: Geopolitics in Action* (1942), widely used in the reference section of the English Wikipedia-entry on Haushofer (Spang, this issue, pp. 35-47), the title of an MA thesis supervised by Herwig around 2001/02, *Setting the Demon Free: Karl Haushofer, Rudolf Hess, the Thule Society and Hitler in Munich, 1918-1920*, by Richard Lee McGaha⁷ and the title of Bruno Hipler’s book *Hitlers Lehrmeister*:

³ See the reference section below for bibliographical details of their works.

⁴ See Heske’s 1995 well-balanced but very critical review of Ebeling’s work. Heske describes Ebeling’s Ph.D. thesis as apologetic and a step backward.

⁵ For some criticism of Hipler, see Murphy, 2014, p. 15, who writes that Hipler’s view “echo wartime accusations that Haushofer, not Hitler, really authored the programmatic passages of *Mein Kampf*” and continues that “there is just sufficient truth in this narrative to keep it on the safe side of parody”.

⁶ The German reads: „Mein Vater hat das Siegel aufgebrochen. Den Hauch des Bösen hat er nicht gesehn. Den Dämon liess er in die Welt entwehn.“ A complete reprint of all 80 sonnets can be found in Haiger, Ihering, Weizsäcker, 2002, pp. 127-150.

⁷ It is noteworthy that the introduction of McGaha’s thesis starts on p. 1 with Albrecht Haushofer’s sonnet. See <https://search.proquest.com/docview/304798549/fulltextPDF> (Dec. 16, 2018).

Karl Haushofer als Vater der NS-Ideologie [Hitler's Teacher: Karl Haushofer as the Father of National-Socialist Ideology] (1996). The chapter titles of Herwig's book repeat this catchy style with phrases like "Key to the Mystery" (chapter 2), "The Demon Fledges" (6), "The Demon Soars" (7), "The Demon Crashes" (8) and "Prophet Risen?"

Knowing that Herwig had already published an article about Haushofer in 1999⁸, one would expect that the German-born Canadian author has full command of all late twentieth and early 21st-century German publications in the field.⁹ However, Herwig straightforwardly ignores most of the recent research in the field. Publishing about "the Father of German Geopolitics" without referring to the latest publications about Karl Haushofer, his wife and son as well as about German geopolitics in general, is incompatible with accepted academic standards. The fact that Herwig follows in the footsteps of Bruno Hipler, maintaining that Haushofer exerted a strong influence on Hitler since the 1920s, a claim that is out of tune with most of the more recent research in the field, shows that Herwig did use some German publications, in fact.

In a November 2016 review of Herwig's book, published in the conservative quality paper *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (FAZ), Roman Töppel concludes that Herwig's failure to take into account the writings of various other early 20th century authors caused his exaggerated emphasis on Karl Haushofer as "educator" of Hitler:

Herwig is so focused on Haushofer and his writings that he completely overlooks numerous publications of other contemporary authors, which were then read in Hitler's environment. This leads to partially absurd conclusions. Thus, Herwig traces back to Haushofer all of Hitler's utterances about Lebensraum and population development in *Mein Kampf* and later on. Haushofer's

thoughts on imperialism, the 'war as a school of the nation' and the struggle for space, however, had already been written by writers like Heinrich Claß or Friedrich von Bernhardi years before.¹⁰

Disregard of sources is among the reasons why Herwig's as well as Hipler's work are at best vague or ungrounded with many missing references to prove their hypotheses. Due to this lack of evidence, many arguments presented by both authors are at least questionable.¹¹ Their common argument that Haushofer had worked for more than two decades "undercover" for Hitler (Herwig, p. xv) is based on a single 1938 letter by Haushofer. The question why Haushofer would have needed to work for Hitler secretly before and during the Nazi era is neither asked nor answered. Besides Hipler, the only other more recent work used by Herwig is the harshly criticized monograph by Ebeling. The selection of Herwig's sources must therefore be called ambiguous and erratic.

Looking at Herwig's introduction, a footnote at the bottom of its first page (xi) catches the eye of the attentive reader because of its weird claim.¹² Herwig explains here that he uses "Hess" instead of the German "Heß" based on the "third version of German orthography" (*Rechtsschreibung*¹³) of 2006. To start with the obvious, there is no need to explain the usage of "Hess" because it is the accepted English spelling of the surname of the Nazi Party's deputy leader. Furthermore, Herwig's claim that this spelling (Hess) has anything to do with *Neue Rechtsschreibung* is untenable, because changing German orthography does not interfere with proper nouns, of course. Otherwise, one of Germany's most famous authors should nowadays be spelled either as Göte or Göhte (the "h" after the "ö" indicating the long vowel) because "oe" as well as "th" are nearly extinct in modern German¹⁴, while in fact, we are, of

⁸ For some criticism of this article, see Spang, 2013, p. 51 (note 139) and p. 450 (note 113).

⁹ In this sense, his monograph resembles the English Wikipedia-entry on Karl Haushofer (Spang, this issue, pp. 34-46). and is thus—at least in large part—a step behind what others have already written.

¹⁰ Töppel, FAZ, November 7, 2016. Retrieved February 17, 2018, from <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/politik/politische-buecher/haushofer-und-hitler-landsberger-erzaehlungen-14506547.html>

¹¹ Töppel, 2016, argues along similar lines.

¹² Why the book features nearly 90 unnumbered footnotes along with its roughly 500 endnotes remains unclear. Mixing these two systems is confusing.

¹³ Herwig's spelling (*Rechtsschreibung*) is wrong. There should not be a double "ss" in the middle of the word.

¹⁴ See the title of the successful German movie trilogy *Fack ju Göhte 1-3* (intentionally wrong spelling for "Fuck you,

course, still talking about Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (with “oe” and “th”).

For various reasons, Herwig’s book must be called an extended essay rather than a thoroughly academic monograph. While such a judgment might sound harsh at first sight, Herwig himself admits in his introduction (p. xvi) that his “the approach [is] speculative at times.” He goes on explaining this by claiming a lack of primary sources, which surprises anyone who ever worked with the Haushofer files at the Federal Archive (*Bundesarchiv*) in Koblenz, which holds seemingly endless boxes with diaries, official documents, galley proofs, letters, newspaper clippings to be found either in the Haushofer papers (*Nachlass* N 1122) or those of his biographer Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (N 1413), let alone further material in the University Archive of the Ludwig-Maximilians-University, the Bavarian State Archive (*Hauptstaatsarchiv, Abteilung IV Kriegsarchiv*) or the Institute of Contemporary History (IfZ), all in Munich. Moreover, there is the private archive of the Haushofer family. How anyone who claims to have visited most of these places (preface pp. ix-x) can honestly argue that there is a lack of sources, remains inconceivable. Herwig, however, even adds to this by spreading the “fake news” that “the personal diaries of both Karl and Albrecht Haushofer were destroyed or lost.” While most—but not all—of Albrecht Haushofer’s diaries disappeared, nearly all of Karl Haushofer’s (very sketchy) diaries are accessible at the *Bundesarchiv* (N 1122, Vol. 127);

only those covering 1926-30 are missing. Additionally, many of the far more elaborate diaries by Martha Haushofer are available in the same folder.¹⁵ Finally, a very elaborate 150-page travel diary, written by Albrecht Haushofer during his trip to East Asia in 1937, has been saved by the family and is currently under preparation to be published with introductions, annotations and various appendices.¹⁶

Herwig retells Haushofer’s life from “modest stock” (p. 1) to World War II, a story that has already often been told. One might, by the way, ask whether “modest” is an appropriate description for a family that included various professors, a member of the Bavarian parliament and a university president, ennobled by the Bavarian Wittelsbach dynasty. Even though the book features around 500 endnotes, many of the points made lack proper referencing, adding to the overall essayistic style of the book; rather many minor mistakes are present in these notes as well.¹⁷ Adding to this, an examination of all endnotes reveals that Herwig mentions a total of 28 works by Karl Haushofer. While this looks like a solid sample, knowing that Haushofer published around 600 or 700 works (including around three dozen books), makes one wonder if Herwig took Haushofer’s publications seriously enough.¹⁸

Furthermore, there is no regular reference list at the end. Instead, the book features a six-page section called “A Note on Sources”, in which Herwig describes his sources in prose, yet another reason to call the book an extended essay.¹⁹ Among the works

Goethe”) released between 2013 and 2017. Until the late 19th century, “th” was frequently used in terms like *Mittheilung* (message) but has virtually disappeared other than in a few exceptions like *Thal* (valley) or *Thron* (throne). The use of a diphthong (ae, oe, ue) instead an *Umlaut* (ä, ö, ü) is frequent in Switzerland, but is unusual in standard German, except for some (old) proper nouns.

¹⁵ Herwig even mentions Martha Haushofer’s diaries but he only used the copies made by Jacobsen, available in BA Koblenz, N 1413, vol. 2, without ever actually looking at the original diaries available in the same archive, N 1122, vol. 127.

¹⁶ This book is currently under preparation by Christian W. Spang and Ernst Haiger.

¹⁷ Throughout the book, there are many quotes that either lack any reference or feature a mistaken reference like chapter III, note 33 (29, not 21 January 1918), chapter V, note 40 (the reference does by no means prove what Herwig says), chapter V, note 50, refers to Ian Kershaw’s Hitler biography, only that the book was published in 1998, not 1988, as Herwig states here, chapter VI, note 6 (Herwig says what Jacobsen referred to but not where Jacobsen does so), chapter VI, note 16 (Herwig refers to Jacobsen 1979/I: 1-2, while he means vol. II. There are no numbered pages 1-2 in vol. I of that book), chapter VII, note 59 (pages indicated by Herwig are wrong: not 367-368 but 368-369), conclusion, note 34 (Herwig refers to pp. 94-95, correct is 394-395). See reference 28 below for a short discussion of the confusing fact, that the book features around 90 footnotes besides its roughly 500 endnotes.

¹⁸ A comprehensive list of Haushofer’s publication is provided in Fochler-Hauke, n.d., pp. 276-285. Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 160 (note 5) mentions a list of 525 works. Spang, 2013, offers an *Auswahlbibliographie* (selected bibliography, pp. 758-785) and a list of Japanese translations of Haushofer’s works (pp. 786-789) of more than 500 titles in total.

¹⁹ It is tempting to add here that this approach resembles what Haushofer had done in 1913 in *Dai Nihon*, where many

Herwig mentions, there are only three publications that appeared since 2000.²⁰ This seems to indicate that Herwig wrote (most parts of) his work in the 1990s, an assumption strengthened by the fact that he refers to Hipler's 1996 monograph as "recent" (p. xv) or "most recent" (p. xii) in his introduction.²¹ Furthermore, Herwig seems strongly influenced by this book because his general argument, i.e., that Haushofer somehow educated Hitler, strongly resembles Hipler's main hypothesis.²²

Without referring to them in his "Note on Sources", in the endnotes of each chapter, Herwig mentions an average of four to five works released since 2000. Applying academic standards, the printing date of the newest work mentioned, indicates the general cut-off line, which means that every relevant publication issued before should have been included. The fact that Herwig mentions one little-known (Hillmann, 2005²³) and one new but flawed Haushofer-related article (Murphy, 2014²⁴) strengthens the impression that excluding all other recent works on Haushofer (listed with an asterisk in the reference section below) was made on purpose, what purpose remains unclear, however.

Herwig offers a glossary on page 249, which would be helpful for those readers of the book who do not understand German if not several of the translations were at least unusual.²⁵ Herwig's usage of *Blutverwandschaft* (instead of *Blutsverwandschaft* with an "s" in the middle) is as disturbing as his constant translation of the suffix *-denken* as "orientation", while it would usually be translated as "thinking". The term *rassembildende*, which Herwig lists in his glossary, does not exist.²⁶ The translation offered for *Volksboden*, namely "regions

where Germans were still living" is far too ambiguous. Multiple additions are necessary to clarify the term's actual contemporary meaning: "regions [beyond German borders] where [ethnic] Germans were still living [after WWI]". Any shorter version would be unclear.

This kind of ambiguity continues in the notes. Without any explanation of his system, Herwig abbreviates some book titles even at their first appearance. A look at the first endnote of the book (p. xii/221) is a case in point. How any reader who is not already an expert on Haushofer should be able to decipher the following note remains an enigma: "1. Cited in Karl Haushofer, 2: 568-69." This cryptic reference denotes Hans-Adolf Jacobsen's already mentioned book *Karl Haushofer – Leben und Werk*. 1979, Vol. 2, pp. 568-569.

Debatable Interpretations

In Herwig's book, even some simple facts, like family relations, are wrong. While the real Karl Haushofer had one sister (Marie Amalie, 1871-1940) and one brother (Alfred, 1872-1943), Herwig (p. 2) invents a third brother named Albert. Herwig's claim that Martha Haushofer had agreed to stay behind in Bavaria with her father also demanding this, while Karl Haushofer would go to Japan alone, contradicts long established facts: Martha was the driving force to leave Bavaria temporarily. Not only did she actively support Karl's last-minute application for the post of military observer in Japan, but she also convinced her father to partly finance their sojourn in Asia.²⁷ On page 20, Herwig suggests that both Haushofers employed eight people in Japan, while in fact, they hired and paid just half as

books are mentioned without indicating place and year of publication and in case of articles, exact dates or page numbers are often missing.

²⁰ These recent titles either deal with the *Ludwig-Maximilians-University* in Munich or with the obscure *Thule Gesellschaft* (society), but not with Haushofer himself.

²¹ Another hint in this direction is that Herwig refers to the *Nachlass* Jacobsen at the Federal Archive Koblenz as "N 413" while it is listed nowadays as "N 1413". Haushofer's *Nachlass* is correctly labeled by Herwig as "N 1122".

²² Töppel, 2016, argues along similar lines.

²³ In this case, Herwig knew the article because he published a chapter in the same volume.

²⁴ For a criticism of Murphy's article, see Spang, this issue, notes 23 and 43.

²⁵ For authoritative translations of historical terms refer to Winfried Baumgart's trilingual (German-English-French) dictionary of historical and political terms of the 19th and 20th century, published in 2010.

²⁶ The term is the present participle of the predicate *Rasse bilden*, which means "to form a race". The final "e" is a grammatical ending. The most authoritative dictionary of the German language, the *Duden* (est. 1880, <https://www.duden.de/>), does not have any such entry.

²⁷ See Jacobsen, 1979/I, pp. 95-97.

many: a cook (1) and his wife (2), a house boy (3) and a stable boy (4). The fact that the cook paid for a kitchen helper (5) out of his own pocket and the Japanese Imperial Army provided a soldier (6) to help Haushofer does not make Herwig's claim of eight servants any more accurate. Again, Herwig states these "fake news" without any reference.

To what kind of wrong assertion the over interpretation of one older source (Heske, 1987, p. 39) in connection with completely ignoring a newer source (Spang 2013, pp. 321-325) can lead, may be shown by referring to Herwig's claim that Haushofer "throughout the 1920s had supplied the [German] army with secret foreign policy reports" (p. 147). While Heske said that Haushofer provided these reports for "several years" (not the whole decade of the 1920s), recent research (by Spang)—published two years before Herwig's book—has shown that Haushofer wrote these reports most likely for less than 12 months starting around the turn of the year 1921/22 before nascent hyperinflation made the necessary Asian newspapers and journals too expensive for the *Reichswehr* to buy.

Another example of a mistake that could have been avoided easily can be found in a footnote on page 122,²⁸ where Herwig mentions "Haushofer's insistence" that only "previously published articles" were reprinted in the anthology *Bausteine der [recte: zur] Geopolitik*.²⁹ Not only does Herwig fail to offer any proof for Haushofer's alleged resolve, but it is just wrong. The fact that this false claim somehow contradicts Herwig's call that *Bausteine* where Haushofer's "most ambitious effort" to define Geopolitik shall be mentioned here in passing. A look at the last page of *Bausteine zur Geopolitik* (p. 349) is enough to clarify that Herwig's argument is wrong because the editors of the volume explain there that the book contains new as well as extensively revised articles.

In the section of his book in which Herwig discusses Haushofer's anti-democratic leanings, he

mentions (on p. 138) Haushofer's severe criticism of "a *Reichstag* consisting of thirty-seven self-serving parties." As in other cases, the overall direction of Herwig's criticism of Haushofer is correct, but the details are problematic. Here, it remains entirely unclear what Herwig had in mind when talking about 37 political parties in the *Reichstag*. A look at the election results of the Weimar years (i. e., between June 1920 and March 1933) shows that on average little more than a dozen parties were represented in the *Reichstag*.³⁰

At various times, Herwig also contradicts himself. Haushofer got 250 RM per semester for his lectures and seminars at Munich's Ludwig-Maximilians-University from 1919 to 1939. He lived on his military pension (around 9.500 RM per year) as a retired major general. According to Herwig (p. 139), Haushofer got these "250 RM per semester for books" only after gaining the title of full professor in 1933, which is wrong. Herwig finally confuses his readers on page 165, where he refers to "forty semesters [obviously 1919-39] of unpaid teaching at the university". While this is close to the truth, because Haushofer made his small remuneration available to the department to buy books (for it would have been deducted from his state pension³¹) obviously, Herwig's argument on page 139 somehow contradicts his statement on page 165.

Even concerning Hitler's anti-Semitism, Herwig's narrative is misleading. On page 154, Herwig states that Hitler began "to drop his guard" only after the Berlin Olympics in 1936. That sounds apologetic considering the sacking of most Jewish state officials as early as mid-1933 and the proclamation of the Nuremberg Race Laws in September 1935.

Another example of Herwig's statements being close but not close enough to the truth can be found in chapter seven, where Herwig refers to the last direct encounter between Haushofer and Hitler in Rudolf Hess' Munich home in November 1938. According to Herwig, Haushofer "referred to that day

²⁸ Why the book features nearly 90 unnumbered footnotes along with its roughly 500 endnotes remains unclear. Mixing these two systems is confusing. One potential explanation would be that Herwig added the footnotes when he revised his nearly finished late twentieth century draft of the book.

²⁹ While Herwig mixes up "der" and "zur" on page 122, on page 235 (note 25), he uses the correct title.

³⁰ A closer look at the last free elections during the Weimar Republic, in November 1932, shows that the five biggest parties gained 538 (92%) of the 584 parliamentary seats. The next three parties got 36 seats, leaving a mere eight seats for the smallest six parties. That means that 14 out of over 50 parties that entered the election were represented in the *Reichstag*, with the most significant five parties exercising political power.

³¹ See Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 167.

as the final and irreparable break with Hitler”, which is not wrong, but Herwig’s statement that Haushofer did so “for the rest of his life” seems to indicate the years 1938 to 1946.³² Thought through, this would mean a well-known person married to a “half-Jewish” wife would walk around in Nazi-Germany talking about his own “final and irreparable break with Hitler.” Obviously, that was not what Haushofer did. To the contrary, he never mentioned this episode until it became clear that Nazi-Germany would lose the war. That means that Haushofer kept silent as long as a “final and irreparable break with Hitler” would have hurt him and his family but started to mention it at a time when such a relationship with the Nazi leadership seemed to offer a way off the hook.³³

Haushofer, Russia and East Asia

When Herwig analyzes Haushofer’s view of other nations, he does not take into account the contemporary political situation of Germany after World War I. How could Haushofer have continued to praise the USSR (p. 156) with the Nazi government declaring Communism the No. 1 (or No. 2 – after the Jews) enemy of the Third Reich? This lack of consideration of the circumstances is one of the general flaws of Herwig’s book. It is also unclear what Herwig means when he referred to the “Russian-Japanese treaty of friendship” of 1929 that according to him was “at least momentarily ending the tripartite dispute over the Manchurian Chinese Eastern Railway” (p. 156). In 1925, Japanese-Soviet diplomatic relations were (re-)established, and in 1928 a fisheries agreement was concluded. In 1929, a brief armed conflict between China and the USSR ended with a peace treaty that more or less restored the status quo. Judging from the contents of what Herwig says about the “treaty of friendship”, this

treaty comes closest, meaning that Herwig might have mixed up China and Japan here.

Some mistakes indicates that the World War I expert Herwig moves on thin ice when analyzing events of the interwar era and even more so when it comes to East Asian affairs in general and Haushofer’s relation with Japan in particular. This even applies to his introduction of some of the most famous leaders of Japan during the Meiji Era (1868-1912). Different from what Herwig claims, Yamagata Aritomo was no “member of the powerful Chōshū daimyo house.”³⁴ Unlike Yamagata, Itō Hirobumi, another famous leader of Meiji Japan, did not have any military background although Herwig describes him as “general” on page 170.

Deciphering Japanese codenames used within the Haushofer family for various Nazi leaders such as Adolf Hitler (*O-Daijin*) or Ribbentrop (*Taish[i]kan*) is, of course, difficult without knowing Japanese, but this only explains—not excuses—the mistakes Herwig makes on page 157. The usual translation of *daijin* is “government minister”. The prefix *O* can either have a purely honorific meaning or it could stand for “big” or “great”.³⁵ According to Herwig, *daijin* means “a rich man who uses money generously”. If that were correct, one might ask why Haushofer would use this term for Hitler.

Taishi means ambassador and would have been an appropriate codename for Ribbentrop, who was Ambassador-Plenipotentiary at Large since June 1935. Nevertheless, the Haushofer family used the less appropriate term *Taish[i]kan* [embassy].³⁶ Herwig mistranslates the term as “court official”, which might look appropriate at first glance because of the “von” in Ribbentrop’s surname. However, Ribbentrop’s nobility was not hereditary.³⁷

On page 157-158, Herwig’s description of Haushofer’s “pro-Japanese” activities is exaggerated.³⁸ In June 1935, Haushofer co-organized a visit

³² Herwig, 2016, pp. 162-163.

³³ Spang, 2013, describes and analyzes the whole episode in some detail on pp. 444-446, and also mentions it on p. 372.

³⁴ Herwig, 2016, p. xv. In fact, Yamagata came from the Chōshū feudal domain (located at the southwestern tip of the Japanese main island of Honshū) but was—like most Meiji-leaders—initially a lower-ranked samurai without any direct connection with the Mori clan, the local dynasty.

³⁵ Without knowing which kanji (written character) the Haushofer family had in mind, it is impossible to decide either way.

³⁶ Generally, the suffix “kan” stands either for “building” or any bureaucrat or official. See, for example, “shidōkyō-kan” [academic advisor].

³⁷ Ribbentrop “earned” his “von” when his aunt, Gertrud von Ribbentrop, adopted him. The actual adoption contract of May 15, 1925, is available at the BA Koblenz, Nachlass N 1163, Vol. 13.

by Ambassador Mushakōji Kintomo and other Japanese diplomats to Munich (including a trip to the German Alps) but not “a tour of Germany” as Herwig claims. While Haushofer most likely did play some behind-the-scenes role regarding the early stages of the Anti-Comintern Pact negotiations, he did not “set up secret talks between Ribbentrop and Military Attaché Ōshima Hiroshi.” Haushofer knew Ōshima and Ribbentrop, but the only known secret meeting that happened at Haushofer’s home (on 7 April 1934) brought together Rudolf Hess (not Ribbentrop) and the Japanese Navy (not Army) Attaché, Yendō Yoshikazu.³⁹

Without any reference, it also remains doubtful if one can say that Haushofer “orchestrated formal government meetings at Tokyo’s embassy in Berlin” (p. 158) three times in 1935. Concerning Japan as well as the *Sudetenland* (Western Czechoslovakia), Herwig twice used the same term, calling Haushofer’s involvement “more than simply the role of ‘honest broker’” (p. 158). Regardless of the level of Haushofer’s involvement, the term is misleading because an “honest broker” is someone who has no personal interest in the outcome of negotiations. Haushofer conversely had been calling for close German-Japanese relations since 1913 and engaged himself heavily in favor of Germans living abroad. If Haushofer’s role was as crucial as Herwig indicates, one wonders why Herwig does not elaborate on this topic in more detail.

Conclusion

Even though Herwig’s book appeared only after David T. Murphy’s recent article about the myth of Karl Haushofer, Murphy’s description of the long-lasting influence of allied propaganda hits the nail on the head concerning *The Demon of Geopolitics*. Murphy concluded that “hysterical wartime popularizers [...] presented Haushofer as the eminence grise behind Hitler’s foreign-policy maneuvers [...]. And this wartime narrative inspired the interpretational paradigm which endures, in admittedly less sensational hues, to the present” (2014, p. 14).⁴⁰

In terms of basic academic requirements, *The Demon of Geopolitics* fails to provide a systematically structured reference section, which makes it at times difficult to understand the notes as well. To make matters more confusing, Herwig uses foot- and end-notes, without any explanation of this very unusual approach. The book contains various avoidable simple mistakes such as claiming that Karl Haushofer had two brothers, while in fact he had only one, or saying that Haushofer cooperated with the *Reichswehr* for years, while the (hyper-) inflation in Germany ended this cooperation after about 12 months. Some of Herwig’s hypotheses lack the necessary historical basis and often contradict the latest findings of other scholars in the field, which is not surprising given the fact that Herwig not only ignored most recent Haushofer-related research but also overlooked some important sources (such as the Haushofer diaries) as well as early 20th century writings. The glossary of German words and the translation of the Japanese cover terms reveal some language problems as well.

The type of mistakes in Herwig’s book makes them difficult to decipher for those who do not already fully know the Haushofer story. An otherwise balanced review of Herwig’s book written by Professor Dr. Catherine A. Epstein of Amherst College is an excellent case in point because Epstein concludes her review as follows: “Although Herwig occasionally refers to works published in the 1960s and 1970s as ‘recent’, this is a solid biography, carefully researched and free of major errors or omissions.” While the implicit criticism of the first part of this quote seems appropriate, the judgment of Herwig’s work as “solid”, “carefully researched” and most of all “free of major errors or omissions” looks out of tune with the findings of the detailed scrutiny of *The Demon of Geopolitics* above. This kind of review makes Herwig’s book so distressing. If even history professors do not see the problems, how can “normal” readers be expected to find them?

Herwig’s book is in many ways a retrograde step compared with the latest Haushofer-related research, which Herwig has chosen to ignore. In

³⁸ Herwig, 2016, p. 157, claims the following: “Beginning with [...] April 1934, a steady stream of Japanese ambassadors, attachés, admirals and generals arrived in Munich.” While Japanese representatives sporadically visited Haushofer, their number and frequency does by no means warrant the description “a steady stream”. By using this far exaggerated description, Herwig is misleading his readers.

³⁹ See Jacobsen, 1979/I, pp. 341, 364, 474. In German, Endō usually wrote his surname as “Yendo”.

⁴⁰ Murphy, 2014, p. 14.

fact, Herwig's narration gets more trustworthy and conclusive the further the story gets away from Haushofer (and Japan). For a book that claims to inform the reader "how Karl Haushofer 'educated' Hitler and Hess", this is an indictment.

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⁴¹ An asterisk after the author's surname indicates those works of recent scholarship (published before the release of *The Demon of Geopolitics*) that are not mentioned by Herwig. For a comprehensive reference list of works until 2012/13 see Spang, 2013, pp. 752-937.

⁴² Although the manuscript was ready for publication, it was never printed. A Xerox copy of the galley proofs is available at the library of Hokkaidō University, Sapporo. The author is indebted to Dr. Wolfgang Bauer (then of Sapporo), who provided a complete copy of the book.

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How Reliable is Wikipedia 18 Years after its Establishment?

A Comparative Look at Various Language Entries on Karl Haushofer

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Abstract: *This article discusses the level of accuracy of different language Wikipedia entries on Karl Haushofer, a highly controversial German geopoliticians of the first half of the 20th century. Entries are compared in terms of length, the number notes and Haushofer's own publications. Also the structure of the texts, and the quality of the reference section is discussed. The content of the longest entries is scrutinized and the most common along with the most serious mistakes of these entries are shown and corrected. The English entry on Karl Haushofer differs from most others by referring mostly to US publications of the 1940s, which reversely means that most of the more recent research on Karl Haushofer is ignored.*

Keywords: *Haushofer, geopolitics, case study, reliability, mistakes, Nazi Party, Hess, Hitler, Ribbentrop, Asia, Japan*

The Internet as a Source of Knowledge

In the 21st century, we are used to having up-to-date information available at our fingertips. Ideally, we further expect that this information is reliable and—preferably—even verifiable. While most people would claim that the first assertion (up-to-date) is the least of problems with Wikipedia entries, the other two (reliable and verifiable) are more likely to be questioned when discussing the merits and demerits of Wikipedia, which has long been a bone of contention within the academic world. However, with the multilingual web-based encyclopedia's having turned 18 in January 2019¹, the discussion has somehow cooled down and (nearly) everyone is using Wikipedia. Many believe that most of the apparent shortcomings of any “wiki”-style text (i.e., many, usually unknown, sometimes obscure authors) can be overcome by checking different language Wikipedia entries on the same topic. While they often look similar (because they frequently use identical illustrations), authors and sources and therefore contents often differ exten-

sively. However, even looking at a wide array of different languages does not necessarily mean that one ends up getting solid information because different language entries feature common as well as uncommon mistakes, often framed in ways that only people that already have extensive knowledge about the subject in question can decipher.

Karl Haushofer as a Case Study

Karl Haushofer was born in Munich in 1869 as the eldest son of Professor Max H. Haushofer. In 1887, Karl joined the Bavarian army, where he studied at various army schools culminating in the Bavarian War Academy. Later, he taught there, joined the general staff, and was sent to East Asia as the first Bavarian military observer to Japan, where he stayed from February 1909 to June 1910. Upon his return, a lung disease meant that he was put on the reserve list. This allowed Haushofer to recover, write his first book and get a Ph.D. in Political Geography. *Dai Nihon* (1913), as well as his Ph.D. thesis (1914), dealt with Japan. During World War I, he rose to the rank of colonel and was promoted to major general upon his retirement in 1919—a kind of golden handshake, not unusual in the military. In that year, he met Rudolf Hess, who would later become Hitler's deputy in the Nazi Party (NSDAP). When Hitler and Hess were imprisoned in Lands-

Spang, C. W. (2019). How reliable is Wikipedia 18 years after its establishment? A comparative look at various language entries on Karl Haushofer. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 35-47.

¹ In January 2019, Wikipedia turned 18. See <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia> (February 24, 2019).

berg, Haushofer visited them numerous times, and we can assume that his ideas of *Lebensraum* (living space) must have struck a chord with Hitler, who was at that time looking for a new vision for Germany. From the 1920s to the early 40s, Haushofer published many books, and his son, Albrecht (1903-45), a political geographer in his own right, was sometimes sent on semi-diplomatic missions by Hess and Joachim von Ribbentrop, Hitler's foreign policy advisor and later foreign minister (1938-45).

Karl Haushofer, like the Nazis, aimed at overcoming the restrictions of the Versailles Treaty; he aimed at doing so without risking another World War. His most influential geopolitical idea was that of cooperation between Germany, Russia (later the USSR), and Japan, the so-called *Kontinentalblock*, directed at Anglo-Saxon world domination. Haushofer's direct influence on Hitler was never profound and disappeared when Hitler gradually moved from Munich to Berlin. Hitler's hubris meant that he became increasingly self-assured so that the opinion of others did not count much anymore. Nevertheless, Haushofer's indirect influence on some Nazi leaders continued for some time via his well-known publications, the connections of his Berlin-based son Albrecht as well as via his friend Rudolf Hess. In the 1930s and early 40s, Haushofer was involved with various academic intuitions like the German Academy in Munich and folkish-nationalistic Nazi organizations dealing with Germans abroad, but he never joined the Nazi party, mostly due to his wife's half-Jewish background. He was no (racist) anti-Semite. Albrecht Haushofer was involved with the resistance and was killed by the Nazis in April 1945. After being interrogated by the allied representatives, Karl Haushofer committed suicide together with his wife, Martha, in March 1946.

Due to his closeness to Hess and some other Nazis, his half-Jewish wife, and the allied (mis-) understanding of *Geopolitik* as one of the pillars of the Nazi conquest of Europe, Karl Haushofer has always been an ardently contested figure, both during his lifetime and posthumously. If we assume that controversial topics tend to reveal more differences between different language entries in Wikipedia, comparing the depictions of Karl Haushofer, therefore, might be an ideal choice for such a case study.²

On the Internet, the information available has multiplied manifold over the last one or two decades. Entering the four terms “Karl, Haushofer, *Geopolitik*, Japan” in that fashion produced a mere 300 results in August 2005. This number increased to 4,700 in September 2011 and 5,600 in May 2012 and stands now (February 2019) at 19,700.³ Among the many books published about Karl Haushofer since the late 1970s, some make him look innocent (e.g., Ebeling, 1994; Matern, 1978), some argue critically but in a balanced way (Jacobsen, 1979; Sprengel, 1996), and some overestimate his influence (Herwig, 2016; Hippler, 1996).⁴ If we add specialized studies such as Gottschlich (1998), Spang (2013, 2018) and Bassoni (2018, 2019) to the picture, one might think that everything has been said and that on such a broad basis a balanced representation of Haushofer's personality, work and impact should be possible.

Karl Haushofer in Wikipedia

1. Statistical Analysis

If we now look up “Karl Haushofer” in Wikipedia, we find that there are entries in 37 mostly European and some Asian languages.⁵ Among his contemporary rivals as geopolitical thinkers, Sir Halford

² For more information about Haushofer in general, consult the two most comprehensive books about Haushofer by H.-A. Jacobsen (1979) and C. W. Spang (2013). A brief discussion of the literature can be found in Spang, this issue, pp. 23-24.

³ The older figures are taken from Spang, 2013, p. 62 (note 169). A search in February 2019 was conducted via google.com. The use of the German term *Geopolitik* was intentional; changing it to “geopolitics” increased the number of hits to 34,900.

⁴ See Spang (this issue, pp. 23-34), for a critical analysis of Herwig's work.

⁵ See <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q76746#sitelinks-wikipedia> (Feb. 24, 2019) for details. Entries are available in the following languages: Belarusian, Bulgarian, Catalan, Chinese, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Esperanto, Estonian, Finnish, French, Georgian, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Javanese, Korean, Latin, Lithuanian, Norwegian, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish, and Ukrainian.

Table 1. *Statistical Analysis of Wikipedia Entries on Karl Haushofer*

Language	Word count (characters)	References (notes)	Haushofer's works	Secondary literature	External + Library links
German	4,858 (35,936)	23	32	17	4+5
English	3,724 (25,208)	47	18	13	8+11
Polish	2,994 (23,106)	42	17	9	4+12
French	2,901 (18,673)	19 (7+12)	18	22	2+12
Italian	2,539 (17,623)	7	45	3	1+5
Norwegian	1,683 (11,568)	2	19	17	3+11
Russian	1,344 (9,939)	7	6	0	3+10
Rumanian	1,203 (8,501)	5	0	0	0+8
Spanish	1,045 (6,849)	0	3	0	3+13
Catalan	1,033 (6,447)	0	6	0	0+10
Japanese	2,957 (4,397)	2	1	4	5+11
Chinese	710 (1,058)	0	0	0	2+12

Note. These data were retrieved on December 14, 2018.

Mackinder (33 languages⁶) and Alfred T. Mahan (28⁷), or allies Rudolf Kjellén (24⁸), Friedrich Ratzel (42⁹), only Ratzel is covered in more languages.

2. From Norwegian to Spanish

Beyond the five most comprehensive texts, which will be discussed hereafter in more detail, that the Norwegian entry is the sixth longest comes as a surprise. In some parts, it resembles the Italian text, at least when it comes to devoting a lengthy section to Haushofer's experience in East Asia, including similar mistakes.¹⁰ The fact that the Russian text is among the most substantial, reflects, on the one hand, the overall size of the Russian Wikipedia, which is currently the fourth biggest when it comes to the number of entries;¹¹ on the other hand, it echoes Russian interest in geopolitical questions and

the fact that Russia/the USSR played an important role in Haushofer's concept of an anti-Anglo-Saxon alliance of Germany, Russia/the USSR and Japan, the so-called *Kontinentalblock*. It has to be added here that the Russian introduction of Haushofer seems to avoid many of the common mistakes and presents him in a comparatively balanced way.¹² Why precisely the Rumanian entry makes it into the top ten in terms of length remains unclear, however. A cursory look at the Rumanian text shows that it mixes up some dates, claiming for example that Haushofer entered the Bavarian army in 1889, while he actually did already two years earlier. Also, Haushofer got his Ph.D. in 1913, not in 1912. The entry also mentions the legendary but fictional Institute of Geopolitics in Munich (which will be discussed later) and claims that Haushofer became the dean of his faculty at Munich's Ludwig-

⁶ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q299938#sitelinks-wikipedia> (Feb. 24, 2019).

⁷ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q142988> (Feb. 24, 2019).

⁸ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q455088> (Feb. 24, 2019).

⁹ <https://www.wikidata.org/wiki/Q76762> (Feb. 24, 2019).

¹⁰ Both entries, i.e., the Italian and the Norwegian, share—among others—the following mistakes in this section. First, Haushofer, in fact, never acted as an artillery instructor in Japan; second, he did not travel in Asia for four years and never visited Tibet; third, Haushofer did not speak Korean, Chinese, or Russian; finally, Haushofer did not understand Hindi. Both entries also repeat the long-standing claims that Haushofer was connected to some occult societies.

¹¹ The number of entries in each language can be checked at <https://www.wikipedia.org/> (Feb. 24, 2019). English (1): 5,8 Mio. entries, German (2): 2,27 Mio., French (3): 2,08 Mio., Russian (4): 1,53 Mio., Spanish (5): 1,5 Mio., Italian (6): 1,5 Mio., Polish (7): 1,32, Japanese (8): 1,14 Mio., Chinese (9): 1,04 Mio., Portuguese (10): 1,02 million.

¹² In the case of the Russian entry, Google Translator was used to examine its contents. Along with translating the text into English, one gets an alphabetic rendering of the Russian text, making it easier to deal with proper nouns and many other aspects.

Maximilians-University (LMU), a position that he never held.

The Spanish along with the Catalan entries are ninth and tenth regarding length. As Spanish is spoken in many countries and by many US citizens, this entry shall be scrutinized here a little more closely. The Spanish entry says that Haushofer started to teach at Munich University (LMU) in 1913, while, in fact, he took up teaching there only in 1919. A common mistake can be found here as well, namely, the idea that Haushofer had been major-general during WWI, while in reality, the highest rank he held as an active officer was that of colonel. The entry mixes up Karl and his son Albrecht Haushofer at times, wrongly claiming that Karl was engaged in diplomatic activities in London. The idea promoted here, namely, that Albrecht Haushofer was the no. 2 of Nazi diplomacy and the man behind the Hitler-Stalin Pact has no basis at all. It was Karl rather than Albrecht, who was in favor of cooperation with the USSR.¹³ The suggestion that the British Secret Intelligence Service (MI6) had anything to do with the death of Karl and Martha Haushofer also lacks any solid basis.

One grave mistake of the Spanish, as well as the Catalan entry, has to be singled out here because it turns history upside down. While Haushofer surely cooperated with many Nazis (especially Rudolf Hess and Joachim von Ribbentrop), there is no doubt that he never joined the NSDAP. Nonetheless, both the Spanish and the Catalan entry wrongly declare that Haushofer and Hess founded the NSDAP in 1919.¹⁴ In reality, the party was founded as *Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* by Karl Harrer and Anton Drexler on January 5, 1919, at a time

when Haushofer and Hess had not even met. It was renamed as *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (NSDAP) only in February 1920.

The Catalan text resembles the Spanish one in some parts (both refer to Haushofer's encounter with Lord Kitchener in India and mention the same, rather unlikely people among those who influenced Karl Haushofer (Thomas Macaulay and Edward Gibbon), but it does not mix up Albrecht and Karl Haushofer and does not repeat the strange MI6 claim and is, therefore, a little more balanced.

3. Haushofer in Asia: Comparing Two Asian Wikipedia Entries

The Japanese entry also contains various mistakes; many of them seem to be based on the English Wikipedia entry. The inaccurate statement that Haushofer studied and taught at "German" (*doitsu*) military schools, while, in fact, they were more specifically "Bavarian",¹⁵ is a particular misinterpretation of the Japanese entry. Also, the incorrect idea that Haushofer had been German military attaché in Japan and arrived there in 1908 are two mistakes in the Japanese entry that are not reflected in its English counterpart. Both entries mix up Haushofer's *Dai Nihon* (1913) and his Ph.D. thesis (1914).¹⁶ The claim that Haushofer spoke Japanese, Korean and Chinese, while in fact, even his Japanese was mediocre, is common but not shared by the English entry. The *shisō to eikyō* (thought and influence) section again reflects the English Wikipedia entry because it is organized similarly by singling out Ratzel and *Lebensraum* (living space), Kjellén and the concept of autarky, Mackinder's heartland theory, pan regions and potential world dominance via German

¹³ An example of Albrecht Haushofer's skepticism vis-à-vis the USSR can be found in a letter, dated July 30, 1930, which he sent from Moscow to his parents. In it, he explained that "judging from my impressions, there is no way to think about a joint game with Moscow." The letter is quoted by Laack-Michel, 1974, pp. 294-295 (Doc. 22).

¹⁴ In Spanish, the relevant sentence reads as follows: "Desde 1919, Haushofer y otros dirigentes (entre ellos Rudolf Hess) fundaron el Partido Nacionalsocialista de los Trabajadores Alemanes [...]." In Catalan, the parallel sentence is as follows: "Des de 1919, Haushofer i altres dirigents (entre ells Rudolf Hess) van fundar el Partit Nacional Socialista dels Treballadors Alemanys [...]." Both sentences quoted above, translate into English as: "From 1919, Haushofer and other leaders (among them Rudolf Hess) founded the National Socialist German Workers' Party." The usage of "desde" (or "des de") = since or from, might reflect the fact that the party was not yet called "NSDAP" in 1919.

¹⁵ Based on its rank as a kingdom and its size as the second biggest state of the German Empire (1871-1918), Bavaria enjoyed various special rights, the so-called *Reservatsrechte*. Among them was the (near) independence of its army in peacetime. On this basis, Haushofer had been sent to Japan in 1909/10.

¹⁶ K. Haushofer's Ph.D. thesis, *Der deutsche Anteil an der geographischen Erschließung Japans ...* (1914), and *Dai Nihon* (1913) are both listed in the reference section below.

cooperation with the Soviet Union as its main points.¹⁷ While these aspects are part of German geopolitical thinking, Haushofer's most essential theories were arguably his call for German-Russian/Soviet-Japanese cooperation (*Kontinentalblock*) and his idea of a unity of the monsoon region (*Einheit der Monsoonländer*) from India in the South-West to Japan in the North-East, a concept that was positively received by 1930s/40s geopoliticians in Japan.¹⁸ One unique point of the Japanese entry is a picture of Haushofer's tomb close to the family estate, Hartschimmelhof (40 km south-west of central Munich).

The much shorter Chinese entry equally misses out on the difference between the German Imperial army and the Royal Bavarian army. It also wrongly claims Haushofer had mastered various languages, adding Russian to the list. The Chinese text furthermore incorrectly says that Haushofer was promoted to major-general during WWI. Mackinder, Ratzel, and Kjellén are mentioned as sources of Haushofer's geopolitics while the Chinese text talks of his "great influence" (影響很大, Yǐngxiǎng hěn dà) on Nazi foreign policy, which is an overstatement.¹⁹

4. How Good are the Most Substantial Entries Beyond English?

Comparing the five most comprehensive Wikipedia entries on Karl Haushofer shows what the statistical analysis also hints at, namely that the English (no. 2 in terms of length) and the Polish entry (no. 3) are very similar, which in real terms means that the Polish version is a slightly edited translation of the English text. A mere look at the

parallel table of contents and the fact that 40 out of 42 endnotes of the Polish entry are directly taken over from the English original, suggests that the Polish text does not warrant any further scrutiny. Furthermore, the list of Haushofer's works almost perfectly mirrors the English entry's list, and the four external links offered are identical with the first four provided in the English text.

The *Bibliographie* of the French entry (no. 4) is the most comprehensive catalog of secondary literature among all the entries on Haushofer. It mentions no fewer than twelve works in German, eight in French and two in English. Nevertheless, the notes (*Références*) are almost entirely based on French works. The structure of the entry also differs evidently from the English (and the Polish) one with the addition of various subheadings hinting at some of the important aspects of Haushofer's life and work, such as *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* (Journal of Geopolitics), *Influence sur ses contemporains* (influence on his contemporaries),²⁰ and Haushofer et l'Asie (Haushofer and Asia).²¹

One mistake that warrants correction here is the erroneous statement that the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* ceased publishing in 1941 after the outbreak of war between Nazi Germany and the USSR ("la guerre à l'Est, ce qui entraîne l'arrêt de la publication de son journal en 1941"). The journal continued to be published until Volume 21, Number 5/6 (September/December) 1944 with Haushofer as sole *Herausgeber* [editor].

The biggest mistake in the French entry is the old but unsubstantiated and incorrect claim that Haushofer headed the *Institut de Géopolitique de Munich*, with its supposedly 1000 people working

¹⁷ The Japanese, like the English Wikipedia entry, constructs a connection between Karl Haushofer and the left wing of the NSDAP around Georg Strasser and others on the mistaken assumption that Haushofer wanted to cooperate with the USSR because of its communist regime while in fact, Haushofer wanted to do so despite the Soviet leadership of the country. Besides these similarities, five out of eight external links listed at the end of the English Wikipedia entry reappear here, among them a questionable History Channel documentary.

¹⁸ For a concise introduction of Haushofer's view of monsoon Asia as one geopolitical unit, see Spang, 2013, pp. 354-357. Haushofer's influence on the development of geopolitics in Japan is discussed in Spang, 2013, pp. 480-546.

¹⁹ Regarding the areas of his influence on Nazi foreign policy, the one difference between the Japanese and the Chinese entry is the latter mentioning the "state-as-organism" idea, not to be found in the Japanese text.

²⁰ This section is mostly based on the comments Stefan Zweig made about Karl Haushofer in his book *Die Welt von Gestern* [The World of Yesterday]. Zweig met Karl and Martha Haushofer in 1909 on an ocean liner on their way to East Asia. Zweig and the Haushofers remained in contact until the late 1930s.

²¹ In this part of the text as well as in the preceding one on Occultisme, claims of Haushofer's alleged membership in secret societies and spiritual influence on the Nazis are correctly rejected, based on the findings of Jacobsen (1979) and others.

for the Nazis.²² Such an institute never existed, a point that David T. Murphy (2014) has recently taken pains to explain. Had he taken account of an important hint published one year before his article appeared (Spang, 2013, p. 469), he could have avoided much speculation, though.²³ The list of Haushofer's works provided by the French Wikipedia is almost identical with the one included in the English entry.²⁴ Overall, the French text is well structured but still needs some serious revisions.

The Italian entry (no. 5) is based on the Italian version of a rather old text by Robert Steuckers, a Belgian ultra-nationalist, who has been involved with German and Russian right-wing activists since the 1990s. Six of seven notes refer to Steuckers, and two of three works mentioned in the bibliography (*Fonti*) are by him.²⁵ The Italian Wikipedia entry is strictly chronologically organized and features a detailed table of contents. The *Biografia* section talks at some length about Haushofer's sojourn in

Japan and the Orient (*Il Giappone e l'Oriente*), and is the only Wikipedia entry on Haushofer with a separate subheading on Albrecht Haushofer.²⁶ Concerning Karl Haushofer's Asian experience, the following mistakes have to be pointed out: Haushofer never was an artillery instructor (*istruttore dell'artiglieria*), and his level of Japanese was never good enough to read on his own. He did not speak Korean, Chinese or Russian, as is claimed in the Italian Wikipedia entry.²⁷ Similarly, the assertion that Haushofer translated Hindi texts is far beyond the realm of possibility.²⁸ The only foreign languages that Haushofer spoke reasonably well were English and French. Noteworthy is the exceptionally long list of Haushofer's works presented by the Italian entry. Finally, it should be mentioned that the French and the Italian text utilize completely different sources from each other as well as from those used in the English entry.

²² The relevant sentence in the French text is as follows: "En 1938, Karl Haushofer dirige l'Institut de Géopolitique de Munich qui emploie un millier de collaborateurs." https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karl_Haushofer (Feb. 24, 2019).

²³ Murphy (2014, pp. 8-10) presents his lengthy argument how an October 1940 article by Charles Kruszewski (which does not even mention the proper noun "Geopolitical Institute") might have spurred Frederic Sondern's claim for such an institute with "1.000 Nazi Scientists", while, in fact, reading Spang, 2013, p. 469, would have provided the link Murphy was looking for, namely a *New York Times* article of February 17, 1940, which reported about a lecture in the US capital as follows: "The German war aims were outlined tonight as a re-establishment of the Holy Roman Empire by Dr. Edmund A. Walsh, regent of the Foreign Service School of Georgetown University, before a capacity audience in Memorial Continental Hall in the first lecture of his annual series. 'There exists in Munich,' he said, 'where it has been functioning for many years, a so-called Geopolitical Institute. It is the headquarters of that composite branch of science which the Germans call geo-politik, to describe the double element of geography and political science contained therein. [...] Hundreds of very competent, if very fanatical, experts are working under the leadership and direction of a certain General Karl Haushofer, who is the master mind and chief advisor of Hitler and at the same time the controlling power over the Reich diplomacy and foreign relations. There is the true Nazi brain trust.'" That all of this was "fake news" is shown by a straightforward comment by Karl Haushofer in his "Apologie der deutschen Geopolitik", where he flatly denied the existence of such an institute by saying: "Ein Institut für Geopolitik in München hat nie existiert." See Jacobsen (1979/I, p. 640).

²⁴ Astonishingly, the French entry's list does not include a French translation of various texts by Karl Haushofer, called *De la géopolitique*, published in 1986.

²⁵ One of these internet-based texts is listed with "1912" as the year of publication, while in fact, the text has been online since 2002, even if the year 2012 appears in the URL: <http://robertsteuckers.blogspot.com/2012/10/i-temi-della-geopolitica-e-dello-spazio.html> (Feb. 24, 2019). Steuckers' original French text "Karl Haushofer" (1992) is no longer online, but a revised version (2000) can be found at <http://www.evrazia.org/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=255> (Feb. 24, 2019). The mistaken claim that Haushofer was sent to Japan to (re-)organize the Japanese army remained unchanged: "il est envoyé au Japon pour y organiser l'armée impériale."

organize the Japanese army remained unchanged: "il est envoyé au Japon pour y organiser l'armée impériale."

²⁶ Albrecht Haushofer is portrayed as geopolitician and playwright. His involvement with the failed July 20, 1944 plot against Adolf Hitler and some of his plays are correctly mentioned.

²⁷ The relevant sentence of the entry reads as follows: "Durante i quattro anni successivi viaggiò per l'Estremo Oriente, aggiungendo il coreano, il giapponese e il cinese al suo repertorio di lingue: russo, francese e inglese."

²⁸ This claim is presented here with the following phrase: "[...] tradurre parecchi testi indù e buddisti [...]."

The German entry on Haushofer lists 17 secondary works, 14 in German three in English, many of them reasonably up-to-date.²⁹ Most of the 23 notes (*Einzelnachweise*) either refer to publications by Haushofer and other contemporary authors or recent publications on Haushofer, mostly published in the 21st century, with a few exceptions like a reference to the early standard work on Haushofer by Hans-Adolf Jacobsen (1979). The current version of the German entry is reasonably balanced, even though there are still numerous simple mistakes, such as arguing that Haushofer's planned stationing at the German embassy in Tokyo did not materialize because his low military rank would have meant subordination under the military attaché. In fact, the opposite was the case: After his arrival in Japan, Haushofer was promoted to the rank of major while military attaché von Bernewitz was just a captain. Due to this development, Haushofer could not be subordinated to the attaché.³⁰ The statement that Haushofer was introduced to Japanese dignitaries in spring 1909 is also wrong. By coincidence, Haushofer briefly met the former Foreign Minister Aoki Shūzō, but the German embassy did nothing to call his presence to the attention of the Japanese before his official stationing with the 16th division of the Imperial Japanese Army in Kyoto in the late summer of 1909. Only then was he introduced to the Japanese authorities.

Karl Haushofer in the English Wikipedia: Appearances are Deceptive

Directing our attention now to the English entry on Karl Haushofer, the first thing to notice is its academic structure, featuring a list of 18 of Haushofer's works, a total of 47 references, a bibliography with five books, and a further reading section with another eight works. Eight external links round off this entry, which is frequently edited. What is striking, though, is that not a single work referred to in the 23 notes of the German entry is

mentioned in the references of the English text.³¹ The bibliography and further reading sections list just two German works but ignore all other languages. Instead, the notes are dominated by Andreas Dorpalen, *The World of General Haushofer* (1942), Johannes Mattern, *Geopolitik: Doctrine of National Self-Sufficiency and Empire* (1942), and Edmund A. Walsh, *Total Power: A Footnote to History* (1949).

Dorpalen's work appears 15 times directly and once indirectly in a reference to the introduction to the book by Herman Beukema. Mattern's monograph is cited in seven notes, and Walsh's work appears 14 times, with the same author's September 16, 1946, *Life* article mentioned once. Adding note no. 32 to "Mackinder, p. 78"³² and a reference to an anonymous *Time* article of March 25, 1946, this amounts to 40 allusions to American wartime or early cold war sources, barely ever cited in any other language entry on Karl Haushofer (other than—for already explained reasons—the Polish one). Out of 51 works mentioned in 47 references a mere three have been published since 2000. None of these three recent publications has any direct relation with Haushofer, and even the most recent work is already more than a dozen years old. In short, the English entry ignores nearly everything that has been published about Karl Haushofer over the last 70 (!) years.

While the English Wikipedia entry presents most of the basic facts about Haushofer's life without serious blunders, many of the interpretations reflect the age of the reference works. Probably due to this basis, Haushofer is introduced here as a politician, a term not used in any other (major) language mentioned in Table 1, other than Spanish (and Catalan). Phrases like "His son, Albrecht, was issued a German Blood Certificate through the help of Hess" are not wrong but unnecessarily ambiguous because one wonders what happened to the other son, Heinz, and Haushofer's wife Martha, who, in fact, got the same kind of certificate. Also, Haushofer was not sent to

²⁹ Seven of these 17 works have been published since 2000, two each in the 1990s, 80s, 70s, and 60s. The two remaining works listed in this section (*Literatur*) were both published in 1939: one is a *Festschrift* for Karl Haushofer's 70th birthday, and the other one is a short history of the Haushofer family by Haushofer's second son, Heinz.

³⁰ This is explained on p. 242 of Martha Haushofer's travel diary (*Reise-Tagebuch*), available in the Haushofer family's private archive.

³¹ Reference no. 47 provides the link to Haushofer's book *Weltpolitik von heute*, which can be read online: <https://archive.org/details/Haushofer-Karl-Weltpolitik-von-heute> (February 24, 2019).

³² Without any further information, one can only guess that H. J. Mackinder's book *Democratic Ideals and Reality* (1919) is meant here.

Japan “as an artillery instructor”. To the contrary, he was sent there to learn from the Japanese army, which had beaten Russia in 1904-05. Furthermore, it is not true that Haushofer “had attained the rank of General”, as it is claimed here, “by World War I”. Correct is what we find two lines further down in the text: “[H]e retired with the rank of major general in 1919.”

Like some other language entries, the English one confuses Haushofer’s *Dai Nihon* and his Ph.D. thesis. Similarly to the comment about Albrecht Haushofer’s “Blood Certificate”, the following sentence is not wrong but at least awkward, because it judges developments with hindsight and requires too much prior knowledge of Haushofer’s further curriculum vitae: “Haushofer entered academia with the aim of restoring and regenerating Germany.” Usually, anyone who wants to “restore” or “regenerate” a country “enters” politics and not academia. The reference to Louis Pauwels’ book and the claims to occultism remain equivocal enough not to criticize them too harshly here. Finally, the statement that Haushofer was working for a German-Japanese alliance is correct but to link this to his book *Geopolitik des Pazifischen Ozean* (1924) ignores that Haushofer had argued for German-Russian-Japanese cooperation already in *Dai Nihon* in 1913.³³

The geopolitics section of the entry starts with indicating Haushofer’s main sources. Once more, what we find here is not wrong, but just mentioning six names without further evaluating the kind and amount of influence exerted by each of these men is not sufficient. While especially German political geographer Friedrich Ratzel and pro-German Swedish political scientist and parliamentarian Rudolf Kjellén³⁴ strongly influenced Haushofer, the input by Oswald Spengler, Alexander von Humboldt, and

Karl Ritter was far more indirect while the influence of Halford J. Mackinder on Karl Haushofer was probably not as strong as it is claimed further down in the English entry.³⁵

Describing the fields in which geopolitics influenced German foreign policy thinking in the Nazi era, the entry goes as far as saying that *Geopolitik* presented “itself as a panacea.” It should be recalled, though, that Haushofer frequently repeated that geopolitics could explain about 25% of politics,³⁶ which contradicts claims of *Geopolitik* formulating “normative doctrines for action” or the one mentioned above: a 25% panacea does not make much sense. Here, the wartime and cold war base of the English Wikipedia entry shines through.

This is also the case when the text repeats the mistaken idea that Haushofer founded “the Institute of Geopolitics in Munich” and a “Munich School”, which both never existed as has been stated above already.³⁷ Many aspects that are described here as essentially German are, in fact, part of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century imperialist *zeitgeist*, strongly influenced by Social-Darwinism. An example of this is the fact that buffer states in Eastern and Southeastern Europe (created in Versailles in 1919 without even allowing German delegates to participate in the discussions), are presented here as an idea taken from German geopolitics.³⁸ According to the English entry, Haushofer was calling for German control of Eastern Europe and Russian territory. Whether Haushofer was thinking in terms of occupation and direct control or calling for cooperation is an open question because his approach differed at times and it is difficult to know which of the two approaches was his own and which was an adaptation to the ever radicalizing Nazi *zeitgeist*. Influenced by wartime and cold war authors, the overall tendency of the English Wikipedia entry is to stress

³³ Haushofer, 1913, p. 262. In fact, before the end of WWI, Haushofer hoped for a monarchical alliance of four empires: the German, the Russian and the Japanese empire along with the Hapsburg empire (Austria-Hungary)

³⁴ The claim that Kjellén was Ratzel’s “student” (apparently taken from the English entry on Kjellén, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolf_Kjell%C3%A9n, Feb. 24, 2019) also has to be questioned. This term seems to establish a teacher-student relationship between both men, which was not the case. Staying within the realm of Wikipedia, it is noteworthy that neither the Swedish nor the German entry on Kjellén even mention Ratzel’s name.

³⁵ The reference given here leads to a short description of German geopolitics in a book by Saul B. Cohen (2003), which can be found there on pp. 20-22 (and not on pp. 21-23 as reference no. 5 states).

³⁶ Haushofer mentions his 25% idea many times. See Haushofer’s *Einführung* [Introduction] to Fairgrieve, 1925, p. 6, or Haushofer, 1928, pp. 47-48. Sprengel, 2000, p. 162, calls this a *Pseudodeterminismus*.

³⁷ See Murphy, 2014, and Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 640.

³⁸ Not surprisingly, the related note refers to Dorpalen, 1942, pp. 205-206.

“control”, while Haushofer’s support for the Anticomintern (1936), the Hitler-Stalin (1939), and the Tripartite Pact (1940) seems to indicate a stronger focus on “cooperation”. While in his wartime publications Haushofer praised the successes of the *Wehrmacht* and Hitler (probably to some extent to protect his half-Jewish wife and their quarter-Jewish sons), entries in the diary of his wife, Martha, show that the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 depressed him and that the attack on the USSR on June 22, 1941, was interpreted as a black day (*schwarzer Tag*) in the Haushofer family.³⁹ Japan’s role within Haushofer’s theory seems to be underestimated in the Wikipedia entry. The country was an essential part of Haushofer’s *Kontinentalblock* mentioned twice already.

The last section of the text is called “Contacts with the Nazi leadership.” While the Nazis as well as proponents of *Geopolitik* (like the majority of contemporary Germans) opposed the Versailles Treaty of 1919 and dreamt (at least) of returning to the pre-WWI borders, to claim that “their practical goals were nearly indistinguishable” without further explaining what is meant by “practical goals” is misleading. The Holocaust and the anti-communist, radically racist aspects of the war on the eastern front were core aspects of the Nazi regime’s policy, but have nothing to do with Haushofer’s geopolitical thinking. Already in 1987, the growing distance between the Nazis and *Geopolitik* in the 1930s and 40s has been described and analyzed in an excellent article by Mark Bassin with the telling title “Race contra Space: The Conflict between German Geopolitik and National Socialism”. Although this pioneering text was published at a time when Ronald

Reagan was the US president and Mikhail Gorbachev led the Soviet Union, its results have still not been taken into account by the English Wikipedia entry on Karl Haushofer.

Returning to the beginnings of Haushofer’s contacts with the Nazis, we are still unsure how often the professor met Hitler while the latter and Hess were imprisoned after the Beer Hall Putsch of November 1923. Whereas US-wartime propaganda claimed that Haushofer was at the Landsberg prison every week, some post-war authors go as far as suggesting daily meetings between Haushofer and both prisoners.⁴⁰ Without any further explanation or reference, the English Wikipedia entry states that “Haushofer spent six hours visiting the two [i.e., Hess and Hitler]” in prison.

Based on the visitors’ lists, one of the post-war directors of the prison informed Hans-Adolf Jacobsen in 1971 that Haushofer was in Landsberg eight times, namely on June 24, July 1, 8, 15 and 22, August 5, October 9, as well as November 12.⁴¹ According to the details provided to Jacobsen, Haushofer spent around 22 hours at Landsberg in 1924.⁴² Haushofer’s diary mentions either “Landsberg” or “Hess” on all of these dates except July 15 and August 5, but also on October 2, which means that we can thus verify six visits with two or three more being rather likely. Officially, Haushofer was listed as visiting Hess, not Hitler. However, nobody can indisputably say how many of his visiting hours Haushofer spent with Hitler (and Hess), rather than with Hess alone, Murphy’s (2014) skepticism whether Haushofer had met Hitler in Landsberg at all⁴³ is most likely erroneous. There are two reasons why we can be quite sure that Hitler attended at

³⁹ See the October 15, 1939 entry of Martha Haushofer’s diary (BA Koblenz, N 1122, Vol. 127): “Karl, who has now also given up hope of containing the conflict, [is] in deepest depression.” Potentially, the sinking of the British battleship *Royal Oak* at Scapa Flow by a German submarine on the previous day had made it clear to Haushofer that at this stage no negotiated peace settlement was possible anymore. The June 22, 1941 entry reads, “Today [is] another black day: War broke out with Russia.” Karl Haushofer’s diaries contain little more than his appointments.

⁴⁰ Neumann, 1942, p. 292, and 1943, p. 283, claims weekly visits, Pauwels and Bargier, 1967, pp. 372-373, go as far as saying that Haushofer was there (almost) daily.

⁴¹ The list indicates precisely when Haushofer came and when he left. Each time, Haushofer was there between half an hour and two hours in the morning and between 75 and 120 minutes in the afternoon. Landsberg is only a little over 30 km away from Haushofer’s already mentioned estate (*Hartschimmelhof*).

⁴² Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 239 (note 37). There is no reason to distrust the director of the Landsberg prison.

⁴³ Murphy, 2014, p. 16-17, writes that “Haushofer’s visits with Hitler in Landsberg are complete inventions.” Interestingly, in his Ph.D. thesis (1992, p. 161), the same author had explicitly claimed that Haushofer visited both men in Landsberg. Obviously, Murphy did not read Spang, 2013, before publishing his text. This has already been established above in note 23.

least some of these encounters between Haushofer and Hess. First, Hess wrote to Haushofer in 1924 how the latter had impressed Hitler.⁴⁴ Second, much later, on November 20, 1933, Haushofer wrote to Hess what he would tell Hitler directly if he still had direct access to the chancellor like he had at Landsberg or at social gatherings in the 1920s at the home of Munich publisher Hugo Bruckmann and his wife, Elsa.⁴⁵ These two letters seem to be proof that Haushofer did see and talk to Hitler at the Landsberg prison, even though we cannot be sure how extensive these encounters actually were.⁴⁶

In his post-war “*Apologie der deutschen Geopolitik*”, Haushofer’s wrote that only Hess and Foreign Minister (1932-38) Constantin von Neurath understood geopolitics. Rather than taking this statement at face value, it needs to be put into historical perspective, however. When Haushofer wrote down his apology, he had been interrogated many times and just about escaped being put on trial along with the main war criminals at Nuremberg. Under these circumstances, it would obviously not have been wise to elaborate on his and his son’s working relationship with some Nazi leaders during most of the prewar and the (early) wartime period. Until 1941, there is ample proof that Karl and Albrecht closely cooperated with Hess and Ribbentrop.⁴⁷ In July 1935, Karl Haushofer and Ribbentrop missed each other in Munich. As a result, Haushofer went to Berlin to catch up with Ribbentrop. After the latter had been appointed Nazi am-

bassador to the UK, he sent a telegram to Karl Haushofer to congratulate him on his 67th birthday, personally signed with the closing phrase “comradely greetings” instead of “*Heil Hitler*”.⁴⁸ Albrecht Haushofer, who worked free-lance for Ribbentrop’s office, the so-called *Dienststelle*, and was sent to Japan on a semi-diplomatic mission in 1937,⁴⁹ called Ribbentrop in a letter to his father, dated March 16, 1937, “our friend in London”,⁵⁰ indicating that Haushofer’s “*Apologie*” needs to be read with care.

The final misinterpretation that has to be corrected here is a mistaken attempt to link Haushofer with the socialist wing of the NSDAP around Gregor Strasser, who was one of the most prominent casualties of the notorious “Röhm purge (night of long knives) of 1934, during which Hitler consolidated his grip on power by having Strasser, the SA commander Ernst Röhm, and the former *Reichswehr* leader and chancellor Kurt von Schleicher assassinated. Among Haushofer’s alleged collaborators on the left wing, even Ernst Niekisch, one of the representatives of National Bolshevism, imprisoned by the Nazis from 1937 to 1945, is mentioned.⁵¹ While calls for cooperation with the USSR made *Geopolitik* look suspicious at times,⁵² Haushofer did so for purely geopolitical reasons, despite being a staunch anti-communist. Based on the political status quo, Haushofer had simply accepted the fact that the government in Moscow was communist. He, therefore, suggested coopera-

⁴⁴ The letter was dated June 11, 1924, and is reprinted in Hess, 1987, p. 334. In it, Rudolf Hess wrote that Haushofer’s quiet and thoughtful way of speaking had impressed Hitler. How the date fits with Haushofer’s above-mentioned visits remains unclear, however.

⁴⁵ See Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 376. In November 1933, Haushofer wrote: “[I]f I still had the opportunity to speak to your boss, Fuehrer, Chancellor, and tribune, as I did in Landsberg or at Bruckmanns’ place”.

⁴⁶ Another seldom mentioned proof is a comment in Ernst Hanfstaengl’s autobiography (1970, p. 168). After his release from Landsberg, Hitler talked with Hanfstaengl and told him that Germany should closely cooperate with Japan. Hanfstaengl saw this as an indication that Hitler must have been indoctrinated in this direction by Haushofer at Landsberg.

⁴⁷ These events can be traced in Karl and Martha Haushofer’s diaries, available in BA Koblenz, N 1122, Vol. 127. Excerpts are quoted in Spang, 2013, p. 427.

⁴⁸ BA Koblenz, N 1122, Vol. 54. The telegram is dated August 27, 1936.

⁴⁹ See the forthcoming edition of Albrecht Haushofer’s travel diary 1937, edited by C. W. Spang and Ernst Haiger.

⁵⁰ The original German is “*unserem Londonder Freund*”. On March 2, 1938, Albrecht Haushofer presented his views of the leading German diplomats to Ribbentrop. See Jacobsen, 1979/II, pp. 342-344.

⁵¹ Jacobsen, 1979/I, p. 202, rejects any claims like this.

⁵² In a long letter, dated November 26, 1937, Kurt Vowinkel (publisher of the *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik* and many of Haushofer’s books) explains why geopolitics was viewed critically by many within the Nazi leadership. According to Vowinkel, pro-Russian leanings among geopoliticians were one reason for growing official skepticism.

tion with the USSR despite—not because—of the communist leadership of that country.⁵³

Conclusion

Besides various factual mistakes and many misinterpretations, large parts of the English Wikipedia entry are open to various readings. This ambiguousness is partly due to the out-of-date literature on which most of the text is based. Taking into account the latest research would allow a more precise argumentation.

A comparison of the most comprehensive Wikipedia entries on Karl Haushofer reveals that only the German, and—to a lesser extent (and somehow surprisingly)—the Russian one, are reasonably close to the results of recent research and thus to historical reality. While earlier versions of the German entry had dealt with far-fetched ideas of Haushofer's alleged "occultism", trips to Tibet that never took place, even mentioning the counterfactual *Institut für Geopolitik*, the current version seems to be much improved. Apart from the obstinate ungrounded mirage of that Munich Institute, the Spanish/Catalan claim that Haushofer founded the NSDAP is the most recent addition to a long list of wrong assertions regarding "the father of German geopolitics." Other inaccuracies that have earlier been rampant (e. g., the idea that Hess had been Haushofer's aide-de-camp during World War I) have mostly disappeared in the meantime, indicating that there is hope that revisiting Wikipedia's Haushofer entries in the future might be less disappointing. For the time being, looking at the entries on Karl Haushofer in various language editions of Wikipedia strongly suggests that, even after 18 years of its existence, Wikipedia should still be used very cautiously.

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⁵³ Thinking of the foreign policy of the Federal Republic of Germany's (FRG, West-Germany) from the late 1960s to the late 1980s, one might compare Haushofer's approach vis-à-vis the USSR with the FRG's dealing with the German Democratic Republic (GDR, East-Germany). While the FRG remained a close ally of its NATO partners, it still concluded treaties with many of the Warsaw Pact states, including the USSR.

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国際結婚の成功例に見られる共通要因

Common Factors Found in Successful International Marriages

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Abstract: *Studies show that cross-cultural marriages have been increasing through the years. Structural theories hold that this phenomenon may be explained by shifting demographics partly driven by migration, while racial motivation theories state that there are some people who find others belonging to a different culture, highly appealing in the romantic context. However, studies show that cross-cultural marriages can be potentially beset with marital stability and quality issues. Therefore, culturally-influenced disagreements between the couple may frequently erupt. This study sought to determine the relationship between tolerance for disagreements and success in cross-cultural marriage wherein one spouse is Japanese. This study was motivated by the researcher's observation that many Japanese tend to romanticize the notion of cross-cultural marriage. To address this research objective, this study used the quantitative method with survey questionnaire as instrument.*

異文化間結婚は、近年増加の傾向にあるが、その理由として、構造的理論は、国家間の人口の移動により各国の人口構成が多様化したためであると説明し、一方では、さまざまな理由から異民族や異人種を好むという心理的要因に基づく動機で説明する理論もある。その一つに、人によっては異文化に属する人に魅力を感じ、場合によってはロマンチックな憧れを持つ場合もあると言われている。しかし、現実には、異文化間結婚にはその内容、すなわち質的な面が不安定になる可能性が十二分にある。その結果、同一文化間の結婚には生じない文化の違いによる夫婦の不一致の問題が生じることがある。この研究では、異文化間結婚が成功するにはどのような要因があるかを明らかにするために異文化間結婚は、近年増加の傾向にあるが、その理由として、構造的理論は、国家間の人口の移動により各国の人口構成が多様化したためであると説明し、一方では、さまざまな理由から異民族や異人種を好むという心理的要因に基づく動機で説明する理論もある。その一つに、人によっては異文化に属する人に魅力を感じ、場合によってはロマンチックな憧れを持つ場合もあると言われている。しかし、現実には、異文化間結婚にはその内容、すなわち質的な面が不安定になる可能性が十二分にある。その結果、同一文化間の結婚には生じない文化の違いによる夫婦の不一致の問題が生じることがある。この研究では、異文化間結婚が成功するにはどのような要因があるかを明らかにするために、5年以上結婚生活が続いている異文化間結婚のカップルに対してアンケート調査を行い、同時に「意見の不一致に対する寛容度」テストも行っており、性格面における要因も確かめた。配偶者の一方が日本人であるカップルを調査したところ、一つのケースを除いてすべてが妻が日本人、夫が外国人でしかも英語圏出身者という結果になった。

アメリカでの異文化間結婚の数は図1に見るように年々増加の傾向にある。これは、人口の国際的移動による異文化間の関係の向上を反映するものである (Qian & Lichter, 2011; Wang, 2012)。

アメリカ合衆国では、1970年には異文化間結婚はわずか0.4%であったのに対し、2013年にはそれまでに例のない13%の新婚カップルが異文化間結婚であった (Wang, 2015)。

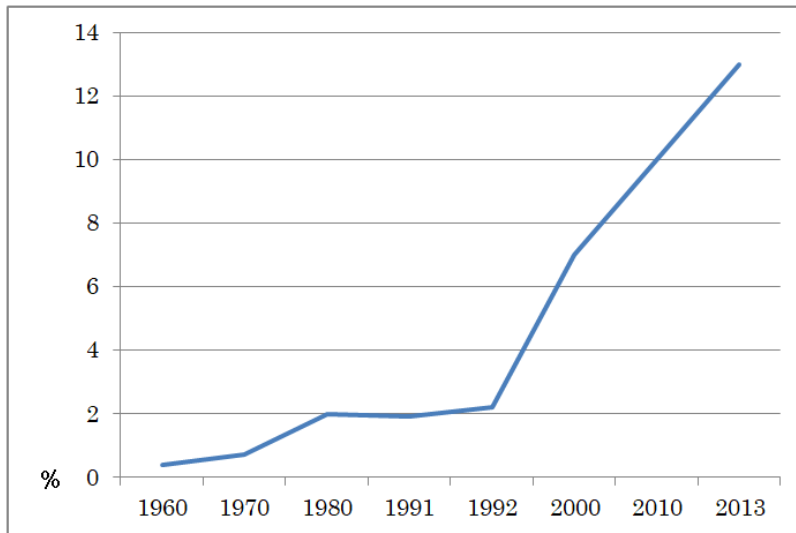
このような傾向は、図2のとおり、カナダでも同様に

見ることができる (“Mixed unions in Canada”, 2015)。

一方日本では、2013年に出された婚姻届660,603件の内、21,488件が異文化間結婚で、これは3.3%、すなわち30組に1組が異文化間結婚をしていることになる (“A look at international marriage,

Crosby, R. (2019). 国際結婚の成功例に見られる共通要因 [Common factors found in successful international marriages]. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 48-64.

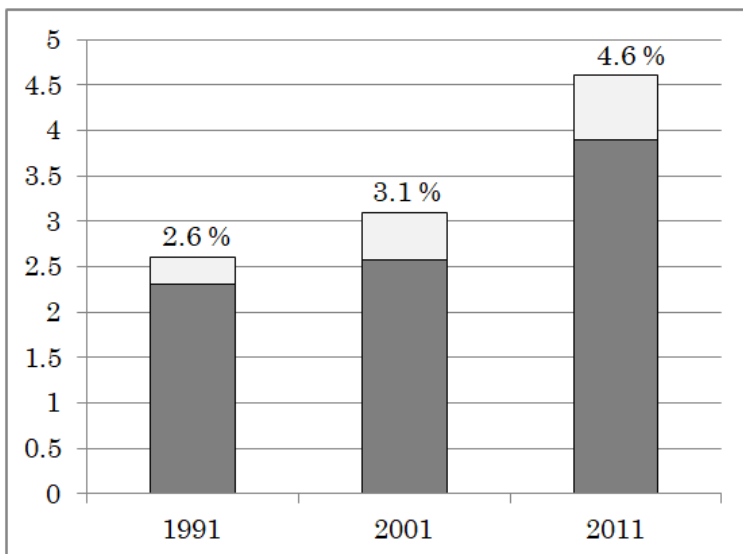
図1：アメリカにおける異文化間・異人種間結婚の推移



出典：US Bureau of Census, Population Reports

2015)。日本においては、図3で見ることができるように、1970年の異文化間結婚は5,456件（全体の0.5%）であったのが、1980年代後半には2万件を超え、1990年代後半には3万件に達している。その後2006年まで件数は増加したが、2006年の44,701件（6.1%＝16組に1組）をピークにその後は著しい減少を見る。これは、社会一般に結婚率が低下したことと、在留外国人の数が頭打ちになったことと関係すると思われる（“A look at international marriage”, 2015）。しかし、異文化間結婚の内訳をみる

図2：カナダにおける異文化間結婚の変化(1991～2011)



■ 非白人どうしの結婚
■ 配偶者の片方だけが非白人の結婚

出典：Statistics Canada, census of population, 1991 and 2001; National Household Survey, 2011.

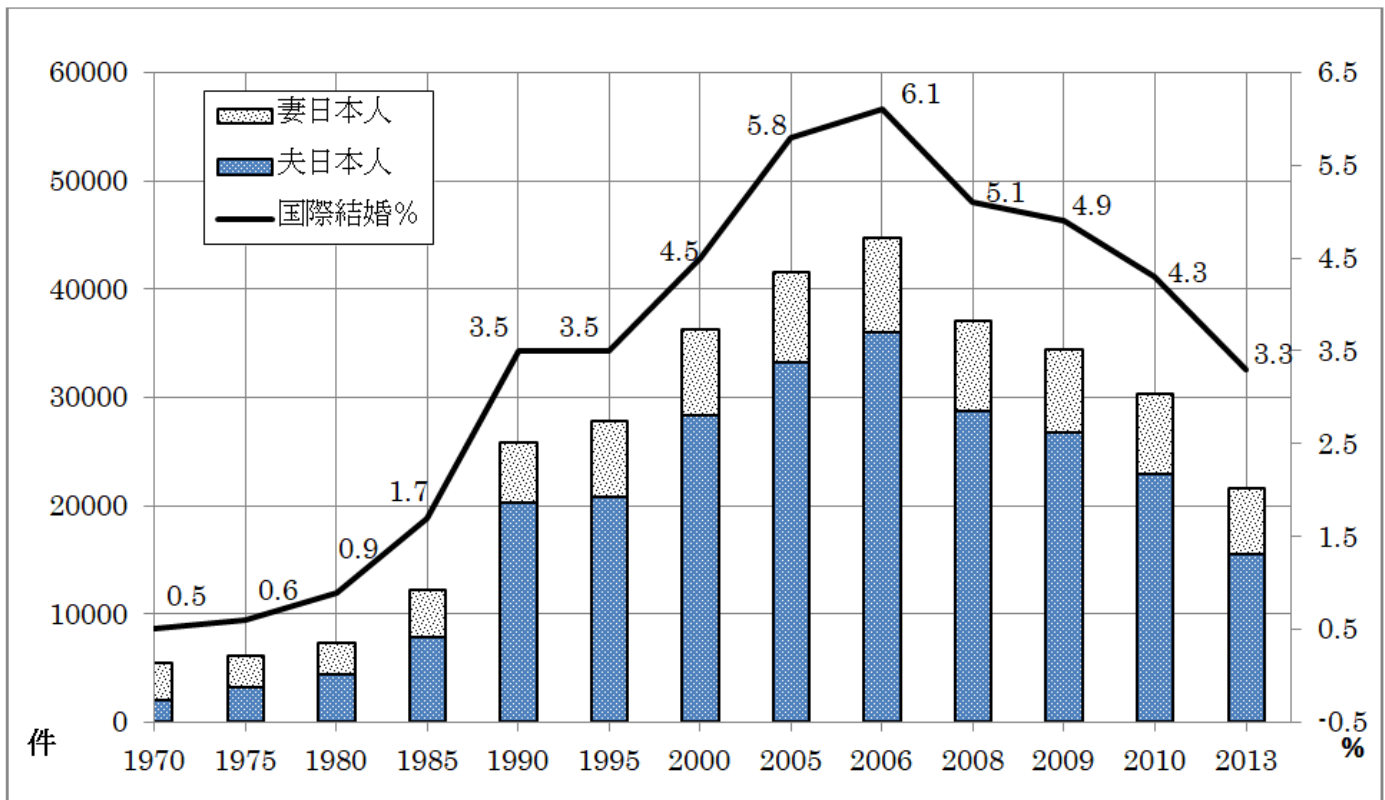
と、大きく変化しているのは夫が日本人で妻が外国人の場合であることが分かる。この場合、ピークの2006年の35,993組から2013年の15,442組まで57.1%の減少を見ている。一方、妻が日本人の異文化間結婚の数は、ピークの2006年に8,708組であったのが2013年の6,046組に減少しただけで、減少率は30.5%に過ぎない。夫が日本人で妻が外国人の異文化間結婚は一種のブームであったのに対し、妻が日本人で夫が外国人の異文化間結婚は、常に安定した数字を示している。

なぜ人は異文化間の結婚を選ぶかということに関しては、二つの説明が提案されている。一つは構造理論で、もう一つは人種に基づく動機で説明する理論である (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993)。構造理論は、男女間の魅力に加えて、社会のおよび経済的な地位、教育、職業、居住地など人口学的な理由により異文化間結婚を希望し、実際に結婚し継続するという理論である。これは、社会が流動的になり人間の行動範囲が広くなれば自然に起きる現象で、グローバル化された世界では珍しいことではない。一方、人種的動機理論は、結婚するカップルの少なくとも一方が異文化あるいは異民族・異人種を魅力的であると感じるという理論である (Kouri & Lasswell, 1993)。

異文化間結婚に関しては、結婚の安定性と質の問題が常に伴う (Afful, Wohlford & Stoelting, 2015; Bratter & King, 2008; Dainton, 2015; Forry, Leslie & Letiecq, 2007; O'Leary & Vidair, 2005)。異文化間結婚には、同一文化間の結婚にはない文化的な問題と文化間のギャップによる問題が起きる可能性が常に存在する。これは、夫婦間の文化的あるいは人種的な違いが、精神的、肉体的、経済的な面にマイナスの影響を及ぼし、個人あるいは家族としてのあるべき姿を大きく支配するからである (Bratter & King, 2008)。このようなマイナスの影響が作用するとき、夫婦の関係に混乱が生じることがある。

異文化間結婚と同一文化間結婚の成功率あるいは離婚率を比較する研究は、過去に数多く行われているが、正確な公的な統計がないために、限られた範囲や時代において入手可能な数値をもとにしていて、同一カップルの追跡調査ではないので、調査によって異なった結果が出ている。これらの調査では、異文化間結婚の方が同一文化間結婚よりわずかながら離婚率が低いという報告も若干はあるが、概して異文化間結婚の離婚率の方が同一文化間結婚の離婚率より高いという結果になっている比較的古い研究を集めたものであるが、表1の調査一覧では、異文化間結婚の方が

図3：夫婦の一方が日本人の場合の国際結婚の推移



出典：厚生労働省、人口動態統計年報、婚姻第2表（平成22年）

離婚率が高いという徴候が見られる。その他にも Qian and Lichter (2011)やZhang & Van Hook (2009)でも同様な報告がなされており、最近では、事実、離婚や別居の率は、異文化間結婚の方が同一文化間結婚よりも高いと報告されている。“Interracial marriage” (2016) の報告でも、同一人種間結婚の離婚率31%に対して異人種間結婚の離婚率41% (2002)となっている。

また別の研究によれば、異文化間結婚が破滅に至る原因の一つに、そもそも結婚した理由が肉体的な魅力だけであったことであることが指摘されている(Harris & Kalbfleisch, 2000)。その他の決別の原因には、それぞれの文化の影響を受けた信条、価値観、伝統などの理由から夫婦間の意見に対立が生じることがある (Bratter & King, 2008; Rosenblatt & Stewart, 2004; Zhang & Van Hook, 2009)。すなわち、人間関係における相手への期待、結婚や家族の在り方に対する考え方など異なった文化的背景の二人が一緒になった場合、二人を結びつける力より不安定要素が勝る場合や結婚生活の質を維持できない場合には、最終的に結婚に終止符を打つことになる可能性は大きい。

しかし、Teven, McCroskey and Richmond (1998)によれば、意見の相違はよくあることだが、その結果は必ずしもマイナスで破滅的ではない。むしろ、意見の相

違は、各自の高いコミュニケーション能力および二人の間の信頼性が強固な場合には建設的なものとなる。さらにTeven et al. (1998)によれば、人は許容範囲内であれば意見の相違による論争はするし、そのような論争はむしろ好んでする傾向にある。意見の相違を個人的なものとして捕えると、論争が生じる。意見の相違に対する寛容度が高い人は、すぐに論争を始めることは少なく、寛容度が低い人は何につけても論争が多くなる (Teven et al., 1998)。このようにしてみると、意見の相違に対する寛容度は、「人間関係において対立があると感じる前に許容できる意見の相違レベル」によって計ることができる (Teven et al., 1998, p. 211)。

異文化間結婚をしたカップルは、文化的背景の違いは二人の関係には問題ではないとよく言うが、現実には、同一文化間の結婚では起きない問題が、時間が経つにつれて異文化間結婚の二人を襲ってくる (Rosenblatt & Stewart, 2004)。異文化間結婚は社会的に受け入れられつつあるとは言うものの、異文化間結婚に対する否定的な考えもいまだに存在し、それが、外部的圧力として夫婦間の結婚生活の質や安定に対する問題を増幅する (Bratter & King, 2008; Forry et al., 2007; O'Leary & Vidair, 2005)。こうしたあかの他人からの異文化間結婚に対する否定的な反応や、家族や友人からの支持のレベルが低いことなどが多くの場合の異文化

表 1 : アメリカ合衆国における同一人種間結婚と異人種間結婚における離婚率の研究結果の比較

同一人種間結婚の方が破たんする確率が高いという報告			
研究報告者、年	調査事例	調査結果	調査時期・期間・場所
Schmitt, 1969	離婚率	22.5%同一人種間 22.1%異人種間離婚率	1964-66 の離婚 1961-1963 の結婚 ハワイ州
Ho and Johnson, 1990	離婚率	54.0%同一人種間 37.2%夫白人・妻異人種 38.7%妻白人・夫異人種	1985-87 州民結婚・離婚 ハワイ州
異人種間結婚の方が破たんする確率が高いという報告			
研究報告者、年	調査事例	調査結果	調査時期・期間・場所
Cheng and Yamamura, 1957	離婚率	20.4%同一人種間 29.8%異人種間	1952-54 離婚 1945-54 結婚、ハワイ州
Monahan, 1966	離婚率	18.8%同一人種間 20.2%異人種間	1958-62 離婚 1956-62 結婚、ハワイ州
Monahan, 1970	離婚率	19.4%白人間 39.1%黒人間 35.1%夫白人・妻黒人 16.8%夫黒人・妻白人	1955-67 離婚 1948-54 結婚、アイオワ州
Monahan, 1971b	離婚率	27%同一人種間 45%異人種間	1952-69 離婚 1949-66 結婚、カンザス州
Heer, 1974	1950-60 婚姻数と 1970 国勢調査の比較	22.2%黒人間 10.2%白人間 53.3%夫白人・妻黒人 36.6%夫黒人・妻白人	1960 年 1970 年国勢調査と人口統計データ、アメリカ
Schwertfeger, 1982	結婚数と一定年後の 離婚数の比較	13.8 同一人種間 19.2 異人種間	1968 年の結婚数 1976 年の追跡データ、ハワイ州
Rankin and Maneker, 1988	離婚者の結婚継続年数	5.4 年 = 白人間 5.1 年 = 黒人間 6.5 年 = その他の人種間 2.9 年白人/黒人 4.7 年白人/その他 5.0 年黒人/その他	1977 年の離婚経験者、 カリフォルニア州
Ho and Johnson, 1990	離婚率	24.6%同一人種間 33.0%夫白人・妻その他 356.1%妻白人・夫その他	1985-87 年の離婚数と結婚数、 ハワイ州

出典 : Rose M. Kreider, "Interracial Marriage and Marital Instability," Population Association of America (Los Angeles), March 24, 2000, p.6.

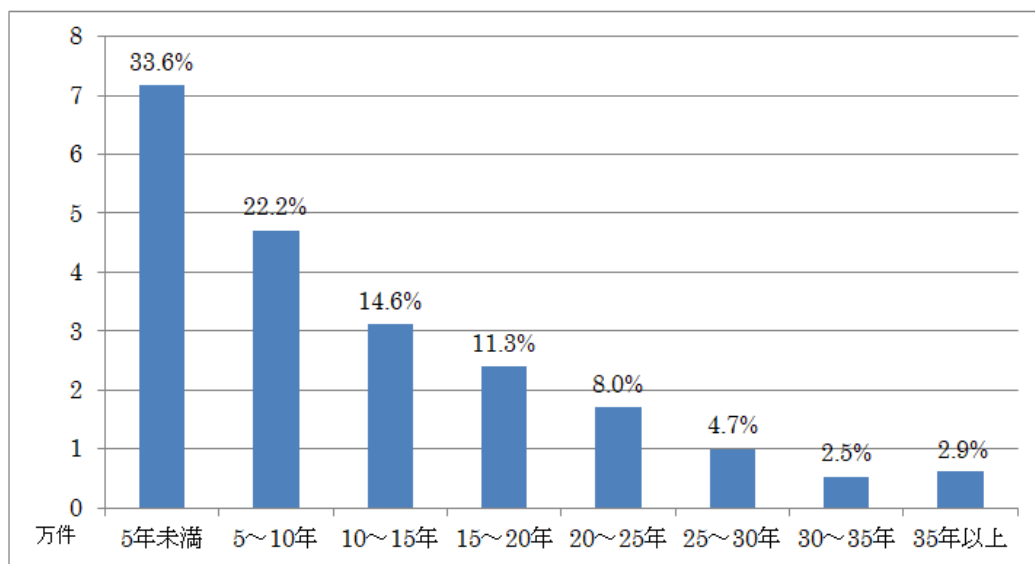
間結婚を形作るものとなる (Bratter & King, 2008; Harris & Kalbfleisch, 2000)。

異文化間結婚に関する研究はこれまでに数多く行われてきたが、それらの多くはアメリカやイギリスなどの西洋社会で行われたものであった。従って、日本人が関係する異文化間結婚に関しては、文化の相違がどのように結婚生活に影響しているかの客観的研究は数少ない。こうした現状の中で、本研究はこれまでの研究を補うことを目的とし、日本人が関係する異文化間結婚で成功した例に関してその実態を調査し、意見の相違に対する寛容度と異文化間結婚の成功との関連性を調査する。

このような調査においてアンケート調査は不可欠であるが、結婚が破たんしている場合、前夫婦の両方を見付けて調査を行うことは極めて難しく、たとえそれが可能であったとしても、双方から客観的な解答を得ることはさらに困難であると思われる。従って、この調査では、結婚が成功しているカップルを対象として行うこととした。結婚が成功しているカップルというものを統計的に見ると、次のようなことが分かり、これによって、調査対象の範囲を限定することができる。

まず、結婚年数が何年で結婚が成功しているかを見てみると、これは日本人のみの統計であるが、離婚の約3分の1 (33.6%: 2015年) が、結婚後5年以内に発生して

図 4：日本における夫婦の離婚までの同居期間と離婚数（2015 年）



出典：厚生労働省、人口動態統計年報、離婚第 4 表（平成 27 年）

いるという調査結果がある(図4)。また、離婚全体の半数以上(55.8%)が結婚後10年以内に離婚していることが分かる。

次に、日本人とどの国籍の相手との結婚の絶対数を見ることによって、どの組み合わせのカップルが統計学的に有効な数値を示し、どの組み合わせが少数派であるかを知ることができる。国際結婚の総数は、2015年では、夫が外国人で妻が日本人の場合は14,809組(70.6%)、夫が日本人で妻が外国人の場合は6,167組(29.4%)となっており、図5が国籍別の数を表すが、男性と女性では大きな違いがあることに注目される。この中で、韓国・朝鮮は、特殊な事情から、国籍は異なるが必ずしも異文化間結婚であるかどうかは推し量り難い。こうしてみると、日本人女性が結婚している男性の国籍は、アメリカと中国が圧倒的に多く、次にブラジル、イギリス、フィリピンと続く。また、日本人男性が結婚している女性の国籍は、中国とフィリピンが圧倒的に多く、タイ、ブラジル、アメリカと続くことが分かる。しかし、これは、あくまでも結婚数の統計であって、結婚の成功を表すものではない。

そこで、次に、さまざまな離婚率を比較してみると、次のようなことが分かる。まず、日本人同士の結婚と異国籍間の結婚の離婚率を同じ2015年で見てみると、日本人同士の場合は34%、異国籍間の場合は61%と、国際結婚の離婚率はかなり高くなっている。さらに、全体の男女別で見てみると、日本人男性と外国籍女性との離婚総数は9,782組で、66%で

あるのに対し、日本人女性と外国籍男性の離婚総数は3,163組で、51%となっている。男女の国籍別で離婚率を見ると、表2に見られるとおり、どちらのケースもフィリピンと中国が異常に高いことが分かるが、この場合、統計的に証明することは困難であるが、本来の伝統的な結婚ではない形の結婚が多くあることが予想され、典型的な結婚の調査をする対象には適していないのではないと思われる。そのような状況の下で、比較的数字も多く成功率も高いのが、アメリカとブラジルで、数は少ないが成功率が高いの

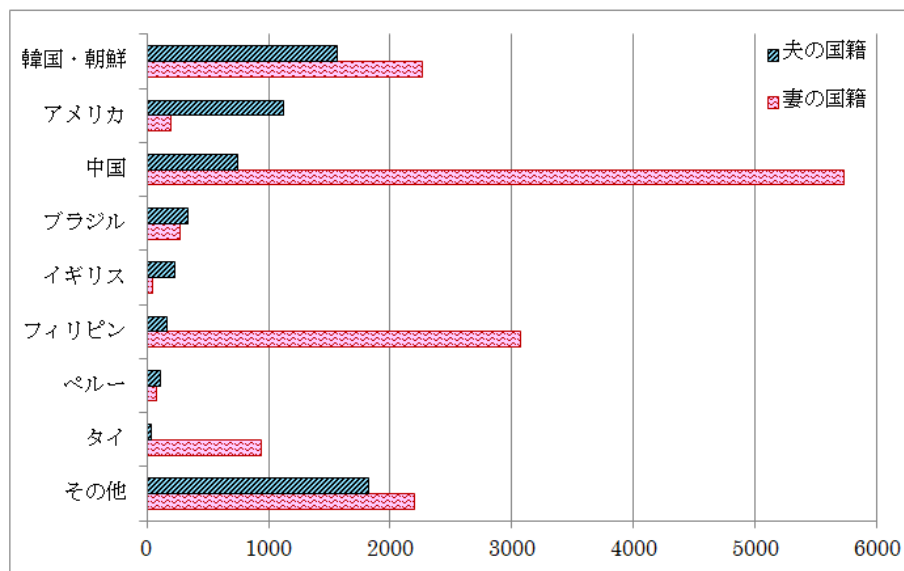
がイギリスであることが分かる。

結婚生活の実態を調査するために生活調査のアンケートを行い、家事の分担、親戚付き合い、育児、地域社会との関係、家計などについて、夫婦の間の協力関係や生活環境における快適さ、居心地などを聞いた。意見の相違に対する寛容度の調査には、Tolerance for Disagreement Scale(意見の相違に対する寛容度スケール; Teven et al., 1998)を用いたアンケート調査を行った。

サンプリング

本研究の目的は、異文化間結婚の成功につながる要因を見出すことなので、最初から調査対象を絞り込ん

図 5：男女別に見た日本人と日本以外の国籍の相手との結婚数（2015 年）



出典：厚生労働省 平成 28 年度 人口動態統計特殊報告「婚姻に関する統計」の概況、p.12。

表2： 国籍別国際結婚の離婚率（2015年）

ランク	夫の国籍（妻は日本人）	離婚率	妻の国籍（夫は日本人）	離婚率
1	フィリピン	89%	フィリピン	95%
2	中国	65%	中国	60%
3	韓国・朝鮮	65%	韓国・朝鮮	46%
4	タイ	54%	ペルー	45%
5	ペルー	49%	タイ	40%
6	ブラジル	41%	アメリカ	36%
7	アメリカ	24%	ブラジル	34%
8	イギリス	21%	イギリス	32%

る国は、アメリカ、ブラジル、イギリスの3か国に絞られてくる。

岐阜という地域性を考えると、上のような条件に合ったカップルを探し出すのは容易なことではなかったが、今回調査のでは、配偶者のどちらか一人が日本人で5年以上結婚生活が続いている25カップル50人から回答を得ることができた。これらの

で実施した。これまでに見た統計などを考慮すると、次のような条件を設定することが妥当であると考えられた。(1)異文化間結婚をしているカップルでそのどちらかが日本人であること、(2)その中で結婚生活が5年以上続いていること。統計では離婚総数の3分の1が5年未満で離婚し、半数強が10年未満で離婚していることを考慮すると、10年経たないと成功と見なさないと言ってもよいが、そうすると、調査対象の数が半減してしまうので、ここでは5年で成功と考えることとした。(3)国籍別の離婚率に異常な数値が現れていないこと。このような数値が現れている場合は、そもそもの結婚の動機が、長期に渡って結婚生活を送るという前提がない場合が多く含まれていることが予想され、本調査の目的にはそぐわない。この範疇にはフィリピンや中国が含まれる。タイに関しても、男女比を見るとタイ人の妻の場合が異常に多いので、同じようなことが疑わ

れる。また、韓国・朝鮮の場合は、日本国内で生まれて日本文化になじんだ人口がかなり含まれると思われる。(4)日本人と結婚しているパートナーの数が比較的多い国であること。世界には196の国と地域があるが、日本人とカップルになる相手の国籍はそれほど多くなく、統計的に数百組以上ある国は、図5で見るとおり、上の(3)の条件の国を除くと、アメリカ、ブラジル、イギリス、ペルーしか残らない。(5)比較的結婚の成功率が高い国であること。このように条件を設定すると、調査対象となり得

のカップルの中で妻が日本人のカップルが24組、夫が日本人のケースは1組であった。男女比に関しては、意図的にこうなったのではなく、研究者の知人を通して探した結果このようになった。しかし、日本における国際結婚の場合70%強が女性日本人男性外国人のパターンなので、岐阜という地域性を考慮した場合、それほど極端な数値ではないと思われる。対象者の内訳は、図6に示すとおり、結婚生活の継続年数5～9年が12組、10～14年が8組、15～24年が5組であった。また、外国人の配偶者の出身国は、図7のとおりアメリカ合衆国12名、カナダ6名、イギリス4名、オーストラリア2名、中国1名と、1人を除いてはすべて英語圏の出身であった。カナダとオーストラリアは上の条件には当てはまらないが、全体の数が少ない岐阜地域でこれだけの数を見いだすことができたのは、それなりの意義があるのではないかと考えら

図6：調査対象者の結婚継続年数

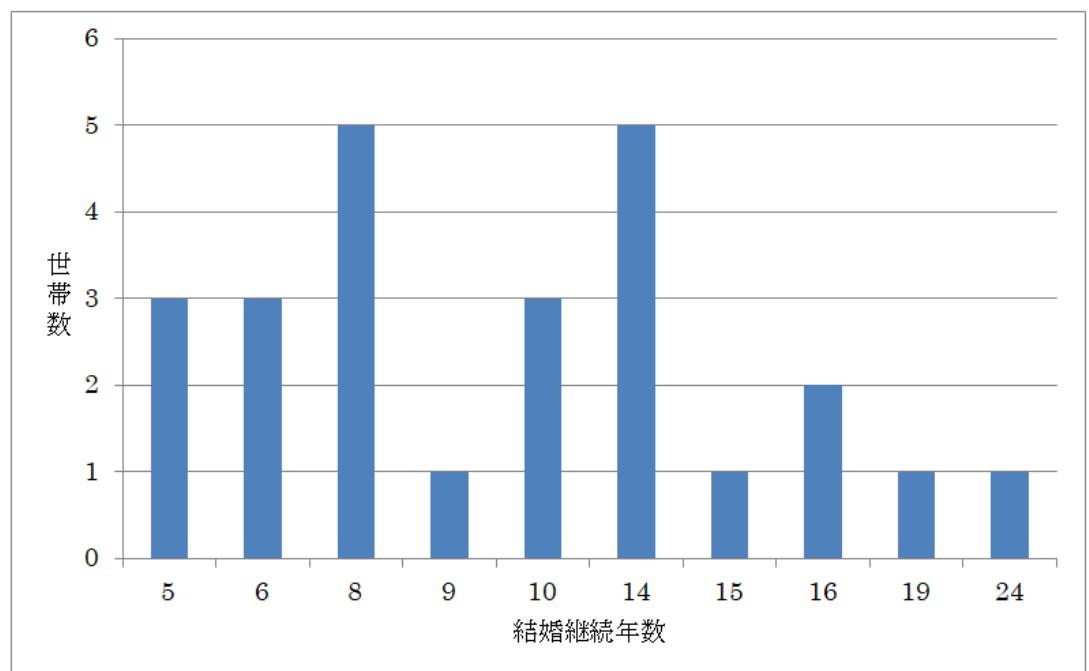
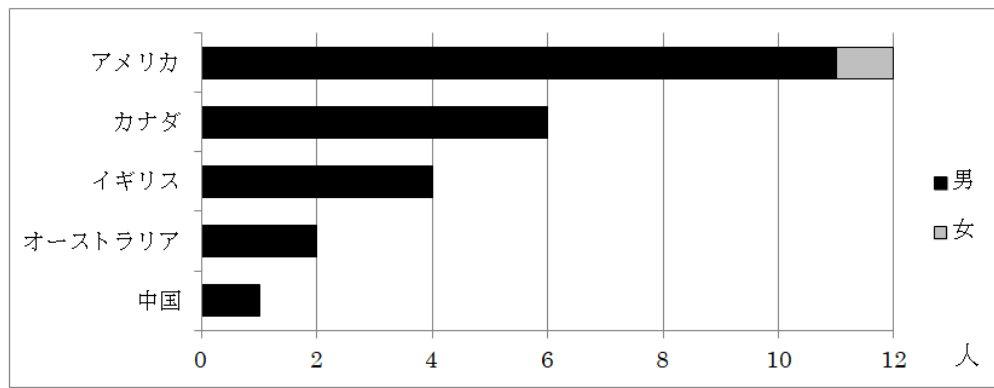


図7：調査対象の外国人配偶者の出身国



れる。さらに、同じ英語圏であり文化面でもアメリカやイギリスとかなりの部分において共有しているので、調査対象とした。

アンケート項目の中には世帯の回答者の職業、収入、学歴といったように結婚の成功を左右する重要な項目は含まれていなかった。さらに、アンケートの結果に偏りが出る要因ではないかという非難を受ける可能性も大いにあるが、調査を行ったのが大学の専任の英語教師であり、その周辺の知人を通して調査の対象者を探したため、同じような社会的背景を持つ回答者が多かったことも考えられ、結果的には民主主義の思想が浸透し、女性の社会的進出が進んだ国の出身であり、高学歴で収入が安定したホワイトカラーという集団になった可能性が高い。これらの要素も今回の調査の結婚の成功要因に加えて考えるのが妥当であると思われる。

調査方法

アンケートの内容に関して言語的な理由から誤解が生じないように、アンケートは英語と日本語の同じ内容のものを準備した。日本語のアンケートを補遺Aに記す。また、意見の相違に対する寛容度の調査には、Teven, McCroskey & Richmond (1998) が開発した Tolerance for Disagreement Scaleを使用した。

分析

結婚の実態に関するアンケートについては、実態を明らかにするという目的を第一とし、単純に回答数を集計した。また、妻と夫では、同じ生活をしていても、その受け止め方が違うことがあるかないかにも注目した。

意見の相違に関する寛容度の調査に関しては、Tolerance for Disagreement (TFD) Scaleの採点方法に従った。すなわち、合計15の質問のそれぞれに対して「5＝強くそう思う」から「1＝全くそう思わない」というリッカート尺度での回答を求め、Step 1として寛容度の高さを問う質問1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 14, 15 (7問＝最大スコア35)の得点を集計し、Step 2として寛容度の低さを問う質問3, 4, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 (8問＝最大スコア40)の

得点を集計した。その後、Step 3として

$TFD = 48 + (\text{Total of Step 1}) - (\text{Total of Step 2})$
の式に従って最終スコアを出した。判定基準として最終スコアを次のように判定した。

46以上＝高い寛容度(TFD)

32以下＝低い寛容度

32と46の間＝並みの寛容度

結果

日常生活

ここでは、すでに異文化間結婚がうまくいっているという前提に基づき、どのような要因が結婚生活の成功につながるのかという視点から調査結果を見てゆきたい。まず、日常生活に関するアンケート結果を集計すると表3のようになる。

1. 家の掃除の分担

家の掃除の分担に関しては、表3に示すように、「両方平等」「両方：むしろ夫」「両方：むしろ妻」の両方が行っている例の合計は84%に達し、概して共同作業であることがうかがえる。ただし、妻は妻の方が負担が大きくなっていると感じているのに対して、夫の方はそれに気づいていない場合が若干あるが、これは許容範囲に入るのはないかと考えられる。

2. 洗濯の分担

洗濯の分担に関しては、52%の夫が「妻のみ」と答え、72%の妻が「妻のみ」または「両方だが妻の方が多い」と答え、妻の負担が大きくなっていることがうかがえる。しかし、別の見方をすると、夫の48%が「両方平等」と答え、妻の68%が「両方平等」または「両方だが妻の方が多い」と答え、かなりのレベルまで作業が分担されていることもうかがえる。

3. 料理

料理の分担に関しては、表4に示すとおり他の作業と比べると「両方平等」という回答が夫も妻も12%と低く、「妻のみ」「両方：むしろ妻」という回答は夫は72%、妻は76%と妻の負担が大きいうかがえる。それでも結婚生活が成立しているということは、この数字はバランスのとれた許容範囲であると考えられる。その理由は、表5・表6に見られるように、夫の味覚の許容範囲が妻の国の料理にも及んでいることと、妻が料理をする場合には自分の国の料理を料理する頻度が多く、これらのことが妻の負担が大きいことを補っているように見える。

表3：日常生活に関するアンケート結果

問1. 普段は誰が主に家の掃除をしているか (%)					
回答者	夫のみ	妻のみ	両方平等	両方：むしろ夫	両方：むしろ妻
夫	4	12	24	24	36
妻	0	12	24	12	52
問2. 普段は誰が主に洗濯をしているか (%)					
夫	0	52	48	0	0
妻	0	32	28	0	40
問3. 普段は誰が主に料理をしているか (%)					
夫	16	36	12	0	36
妻	12	40	12	0	36
問4. 普段はどの国の料理を食べているか (%)					
回答者	自分の国の料理のみ	配偶者の国の料理のみ	両国同じくらい	両国：自分の国の料理が多い	両方：配偶者の国の料理が多い
夫	12	12	48	16	12
妻	12	0	28	60	0
問5. どちらの国の料理が好きか (%)					
回答者	自分の国の料理	配偶者の国の料理	両国同じくらい	両国：むしろ自分の国の料理	両方：むしろ配偶者の国の料理
夫	32	12	56	0	0
妻	32	0	56	12	0

4. 家庭で食べる料理

家庭で普段食べている料理はどの国の料理かという質問に対する回答は、表5で見るとおり、夫と妻の間で認識が異なっている。まず、「両国同じくらい」という回答は、夫が48%あるにもかかわらず、妻は28%しかそう思っていない。また、妻だけの回答を見ると、「配偶者の国の料理のみ」あるいは「両方だが配偶者の国の料理が多い」と認識しているのはそれぞれ0%なのだが、夫の方は「自分の国の料理のみ」という回答が12%、「両方：自分の国の料理が多い」が16%と、認識にずれがある。これは、現代の日本の家庭料理がエスニック料理を含む和洋中が織り交ざったバラエティーに富んだものであることから、どこまでが日本料理でどこからが日本料理でないという区分が人によって異なるせいではないかと思われる。その反面、妻の72%が「自分の国の料理」または「両方：自分の国の料理が多い」と答えており、料理の負担が大きい妻が自分の得意とする料理をすることによって満足を得、ここに微妙なバランスがとられているのではないかと考えられる。

5. 好きな国の料理

どちらの国の料理を好んで食べるかという質問に対し

ては、表6のとおり、「自分の国の料理」とはっきり答えたのが夫も妻も32%ある一方、「両方同じくらい」という回答が夫・妻とも56%あり、味覚が二分される。味覚の形成は、幼児期にどれだけ多彩なものを食べることができたかによって決定づけられることは周知の事実であり、そのためにはある程度裕福な家庭に育ち、子供の食生活に配慮する賢明な親を持たなければならない。こうして偏食がない育ち方をした人間は、大人になっても新しい食べ物を口にすることができ、場合によってはそれを好んで食するようになる。こうした食べ物に対する寛容度の高さは異文化間結婚には必須条件であると考えられるが、32%と56%がその許容範囲の限界であるかも知れない。毎日の食事に不満があったり耐えられないようなものを食べなければならない結婚生活は5年も続かないであろう。

親戚付き合い

親戚付き合いに関するアンケート結果は、表4のとおりである。

1. 海外の親戚を訪れる頻度

海外の親戚の訪問に関しては、表4のとおり、家計に負担が大きくなるように程よい間隔で行われている

ことが分かる。頻度が増して家計の負担が大きくなると、いろいろ問題が生じると考えられるので、バランスが取れていると思われる。特にアメリカの場合、子供がいったん独立して家庭を持つと、国内でも訪れる頻度は少なくなるので、この回答は普通の頻度を表していると考えられる。また、親族を海外に持つ配偶者の一人が、必要以上に親族に未練を持たないということも、結婚生活の継続の鍵となる要素ではなかろうか。

2. 国内の親戚を訪れる頻度

表8で分かるように、大半の夫婦が二人で国内の親戚を頻繁に訪れていることがうかがえる。これは、異文化間結婚に限らずどのような結婚にも当てはまる常識で、これができない場合は同一文化間結婚でも破綻に至ることが多い。従って、このように上手に親戚づきあいが出来ているということは、結婚の成功におおいに貢献しているということができる。

3. 配偶者側の親戚の行事への参加

回答したカップル25組のうち24組の夫が外国人で日本に在住していることを考慮すると、表9に示すように「時々参加する」と答えた夫が100%あったということは、評価に値する。現代の日本の家庭生活において、冠婚葬祭などの伝統的な「家族の行事」が次第に軽視される中で、このように異文化結婚の配偶者から支持を受けることは、日本文化の再認識と言う点でも大いに励まされることである。

4. 配偶者の親戚の中での自分の立場

配偶者の家族との親しみの度合いについては、男女差がある。夫の76%が家族の一員のように感じているのに対して、妻は76%が居心地はよいがお客様のように感じている。この違いの要因の一つには、外国人の夫の大半が日本国内に住んでいて、妻の親戚を訪れる回数が圧倒的に多いことにあり、さらに夫の順応力の高さもあると思われる。この点を考慮すると、数年に一度しか訪れない夫の親戚で妻が「居心地良い」と感じるのは評価できるのではないかな。

育児

育児に関しては、子供を持つ22組のカップルだけから回答を得た。その結果は、表5のとおりである。

1. 子供が赤ちゃんのときの食事(授乳を含む)

乳幼児に食事を与える役割は、表5のとおり圧倒的に妻である場合が多い。これは、母乳であれば当然のことで、同一文化間の結婚でも同じことが言える。従って、妻が子供の食事の世話をするからといって、それが直接異文化間結婚の関係に影響を及ぼすとは考えにくい。興味深いのは、若干数の夫が自分も貢献したと認識しているのに、妻の方はほとんどそのように思っていないことである。

2. 子供と話すときに使用する言語

子供と話すときに使用する言語は、夫も妻も自分の母

表4：親戚付き合いに関するアンケート結果

問1. 海外の親戚をどの頻度で訪れるか (%)				
回答者	毎年・年数回	2～3年に一度	4～5年に一度	6年以上訪れない
夫	0	44	40	24
妻	0	20	10	40
問2. 国内の親戚をどの頻度で訪れるか (%)				
夫	88	0	0	12
妻	92	4	4	0
問3. 配偶者側の親戚の行事に参加するか (%)				
回答者	毎回あるごとに参加	時々参加する	配偶者だけ参加する	参加することはない
夫	0	100	0	0
妻	32	28	0	40
問4. 配偶者の親戚を訪れたときどのように感じるか (%)				
回答者	家族の一員のように	居心地良いがお客様	居心地悪くお客様	のけ者にされる
夫	72	28	0	0
妻	20	76	4	0

表5：育児に関するアンケート結果

問 1. 夫婦のどちらが赤ちゃんに食事を与えたか（授乳を含む）（%）					
回答者	夫	妻	両方同じくらい	両方：どちらか と言えば父親	両方：どちらか と言えば母親
夫	0	68	5	0	27
妻	0	91	0	0	9
問 2. 子どもと話すときどの言語を使用するか（%）					
回答者	英語	日本語	その他の言語		
夫	95	5	0		
妻	0	100	0		
問 3. 自分の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるか（%）					
回答者	はい	いいえ			
夫	68	32			
妻	50	50			
問 4. 配偶者の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるか（%）					
回答者	はい	いいえ			
夫	45	55			
妻	41	59			
問 5. 子どもとどの言語でコミュニケーションを図っているか（%）					
回答者	自分の母語	配偶者の母語	両言語のミックス	両言語を流暢に使う	
夫	90	5	5	0	
妻	14	0	85	0	
問 6. 誰が子どもの学校の勉強や宿題を手伝っているか（%）					
回答者	夫	妻	両方同じくらい	両方：主に夫	両方：主に妻
夫	27	14	32	0	27
妻	0	50	9	0	41
問 7. 誰が子どもの学校行事や課外活動に参加するか（%）					
回答者	夫	妻	両方同じくらい	両方：主に夫	両方：主に妻
夫	0	77	0	0	23
妻	0	77	0	0	23

語を使用している。このようなことは、子供の学校や社会での生活言語が日本語の場合、英語が重要視される社会ではメリットであると考えられる。英語が生活言語になっている英米社会では、異なった考え方があり調査結果も異なるのではないかと想像される。従って、日本社会という限定された環境で英語という限定された言語が家庭で使われるということは、異文化間結婚においてはマイナス要因にはなっていないようである。

3. 自分の母語を話すことを子供に勧めること

自分の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるかという意質問

に対しては、夫が「はい」68%、「いいえ」32%、妻の場合は「はい」と「いいえ」が50%ずつと、必ずしも意見が一致していない。しかし、これを別の角度で捉えたと、子どもにどうしてもこの言語を使わなければならないということを強制しない自由な環境があるのではなかろうか。

4. 配偶者の母語を話すことを子供に勧めること

配偶者の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるということに関しても、夫の場合「はい」が45%、「いいえ」が55%、妻の場合「はい」が41%、「いいえ」が59%と意見が分かれている。ここで一つ想像できることは、子供に対する言語

教育の方針は家庭によってさまざまであるということと、どのような言語教育がよいかということが問題なのではなくて、言語教育の方針が何であれ、その方針に関して夫婦間の合意があるということではないかということである。そのように仮定することによって、この数字を説明することができるのではないか。あるいは、前の質問と同じく、家庭内で使う言語を特定することなく、子どもに自由に選択させるという自然な形をとっている可能性も高い。

5. 子供とのコミュニケーションに使用する言語

子供とのコミュニケーションを図る場合どの言語を使用するかという質問に対しては、夫の90%が「自分の母語」と答えているのに対し、妻はわずか14%しか「自分の母語」と答えていない。学校や社会で使う言語が日本語の場合、日本人の母親はもっと日本語を使うのではないかと塑像されたが、「両言語のミックス」が85%と最も頻度が高くなっている。これも、日本社会における英語の重要視という風潮が大きく影響しているのではないかと思われると同時に、「自由で自然な」形が尊重されているように思われる。

6. 子どもの勉強の手伝い

誰が子どもの勉強や宿題を手伝っているかという質問に対しては、夫と妻の認識にずれが見られる。夫の59%が「夫」または「両方同じくらい」と考えているのに対して、妻は91%が「妻」または「主に妻」と答えている。これは、夫は全く貢献していないわけではないが、夫が気付かないところで妻によるかなりの努力が行われていることがうかがえる。しかし、現実としてこのようなことが存在するのであるから、これが異文化間結婚の障害となっているとは考えにくい。

7. 子どもの学校行事や課外活動への参加

誰が子どもの学校行事や課外活動に参加しているかという質問に対しては、夫も妻も「妻のみ」「主に妻」と100%が答えており、これは、一つの社会現象とも言える。何か特別な機会に父親が参加するのが最も一般的である。父親が子どもの都合の良い時間に職場から離れて子供に付き合うことができるようになるまでには、日本経済の大幅な構造改革が必要であるように思われる。従って、この件に関しては、現実を受け入れざるを得ないので、異文化間結婚のマイナス要因にはなっていないようである。

地域社会との付き合い

地域社会との付き合いに関するアンケートの結果は表6のとおりである。

1. 地域社会の活動への参加

地域社会の活動への参加に関しては、平均的な日本の世帯でも、よほど特別な場合でない限り、一種の義務であると感じて参加する場合が多く、世帯が異文化間結婚であるからと言って事情が変わるわけではない。そのことは表6にもよく表れている。ただ、妻の方が夫より進んで、しかも精神的な負担があまりない状態で参加しているのは、日常の隣人との関わり合いが多いためだということ、平均的な日本の家庭でも同じである。

2. 地域社会では誰が世帯を代表しているか

地域社会では誰が世帯を代表しているかという問いに対しては、夫と妻の認識の差が著しい。夫の91%が両方が代表していると感じ、妻が代表していると感じているのは9%に過ぎないが、妻は83%の場合自分が代表してい

表6：地域社会との付き合いに関するアンケート結果

問 1. 地域社会の活動に参加しているか (%)			
回答者	はい	いいえ	はい（ただし義務だから）
夫	12	8	80
妻	48	8	44
問 2. 誰が世帯を代表しているか (%)			
回答者	夫	妻	両方
夫	0	9	91
妻	0	83	17
問 3. 地域の諸行事についてどのように感じているか (%)			
回答者	地域交流の絶好の機会	気にならないが、できれば参加したくない	好きになれないし、参加しないことを願っている
夫	0	48	52
妻	0	52	48

表7：家計に関するアンケート結果

問2. 家計費の出し方 (%)			
回答者	二人の収入を一つにして 家計費を出す	二人の収入から同額を家計 費に入れている	それぞれの収入に応じた額 を家計費に入れている
夫	36	44	20
妻	56	8	36
問3. 日常の支出の担当者 (%)			
回答者	夫	妻	両方（決まっていない）
夫	0	60	40
妻	0	72	28
問4. どのようにして貯金をしているか (%)			
回答者	一緒に一つの口座	二人別々の口座	共通の口座と別々の口座
夫	76	0	24
妻	52	12	36
問5. 家族の大きな買い物をするときどのように決めているか (%)			
回答者	事前に相談する	収入の多い方が決める	独断で決めて後で驚く
夫	100	0	0
妻	80	0	20
問6. 個人の大きな買い物をするときどのように決めているか (%)			
回答者	事前に相談する	収入の多い方が決める	独断で決めて後で驚く
夫	52	0	48
妻	80	0	20

と感じていて、両方が代表していると感じているのは17%に過ぎない。これは、夫の見えないところで妻がかなりの地域活動を行っているという現実が裏にあるのではないと思われる。しかし、91%の夫が「両方」だという認識を持っているということは、夫もいろいろな活動にある程度参加しているということが推測できる。認識の差はあるが、程よいバランスが取れているのではないかな。

3. 地域社会の諸行事についてどのように感じているか

地域社会の諸行事に参加することについてどのように感じているかという問いに対しては、夫も妻も約半数が参加することに特に抵抗はないができればしない方がよいと答え、残りの半数は参加すること自体いやなので、参加しなくてもよいことを願っていると答えている。これも、新興住宅地の平均的な世帯の考えに似ていて、このようなことがあるからと言って結婚生活に差し障りがあるほどではない。

家計

1. 収入源

今回調査した世帯の内、92%、すなわち25世帯の内

23世帯が共稼ぎの世帯であった。残りの質問の結果は表7のとおりである。

2. 家計費はどのようにし出しているか

家計費はどのように出しているかという質問に対する回答は、表7に見られるように夫婦間で微妙な認識のずれがある。まず、かなりの世帯において二人の収入を一つにしていると答えているのは、日本の慣習を取り入れている現れであると考えられるが、そうでない世帯においては、夫は妻と同額を家計費に入れているという認識があるが、妻の方はそれぞれの収入に応じた額を家計に入れているという認識が強い。これは、次の質問の回答に見られるように、妻の方側が財布の紐を握っているということから、妻の方が正確に現状を把握しているためではないかと想像される。

3. 日常の支出の担当者

日常の買い物の担当者は、日本の慣習に従って妻の役割になっているのは夫婦間の信頼の度合いを高める要因として評価できる。これは、英米出身の夫の寛容の度合いの高さも物語っている。

4. 貯金の形式

貯金の方法に関しては、共通の預金口座しか持っていない世帯が夫の認識では76%、妻の認識では52%で、かなり高い率で財産の共有が見られる。興味深いのは、夫の知らないところで妻が口座を開いているようなかえり数字が出ていることである。これは、妻の小さな満足として許容範囲に入るものではないかと考えられる。

5. 家族のための大きな買い物の決め方

家族のために大きな買い物をする場合、どのように決定しているかという問いに対しては、大半が二人で事前に相談していると答えている。こうした基本的なルールを守ることができることが結婚の成功の条件であり、健全な夫婦関係が保たれていることがうかがえる。

6. 個人の大きな買い物をする場合の決め方

個人の大きな買い物をする場合は、一般的には家族の買い物より若干の自由が認められてもよいのではないかと考えられる。今回の調査の場合、夫の52%、妻の80%が事前に相談をすると答ええるが、後にで分かって驚くと答えた夫が48%、妻が20%あった。これは、どちらが無断で買い物をしてどちらが驚くのか明らかではないので断定することはできないが、家計を破たんさせない限り、ある程度の自由は潤滑油になるのではないかと考えられる。

意見の相違に対する寛容度のテスト結果

意見の相違に関するテストの結果は、表8に見られるように、夫の場合は68%が高い寛容度、32%が中くらいの寛容度を持つという結果に、妻の場合は84%が高い寛容度、16%が中くらいの寛容度を持つという結果になり、全体的には自分と異なった意見を持つ人の意見を聞いて好んで対話をする性格の者同士が結婚をしているという実態が明らかになった。これは、同一文化間の結婚でも大いにプラスとなる要因で、異文化間結婚の場合は特に重要な個人的性格としての要因であると考えられる。

考察

この研究では、最初から調査対象を異文化間結婚において5年以上継続して成功しているケースのカップルのみに絞っているため、そこに見られるプラスの要

因は結婚の成功に貢献している要因として捕えることができ、マイナスの要因は異文化間結婚生活において許容範囲内にあると解釈できる。「成功」とか「許容範囲」という概念はかなり主観的な概念であるから、日本の平均的な世帯における実態を知ることによって、一応の尺度を見出すことができる。日本の例を引き合いにする理由は、今回調査したカップルはすべて日本に在住していること、計25世帯の内24世帯が妻が日本人で夫が英語圏の国の出身であることなどが理由である。

まず、日本における専業主婦の世帯と共働き世帯の割合の変遷を見ると、図8に見られるように、1990年代まではほぼ同数であったが、90年代後半から共働きの世帯の割合が大きくなり、2015年の段階では共働き世帯が62%、専業主婦の世帯が38%という割合になっている。一方、今回調査対象となった25世帯では、23世帯(92%)が共働き世帯であった。

また、日本における共働き夫婦の家事の負担に関する2016年のアンケート調査で理想と現実を尋ねたところ、図9のように、理想としては夫50%、妻50%がよいという回答が全体の44.2%と最も多く、夫40%、妻60%と答えたのが19.3%、夫30%、妻70%と答えたのが21.5%とほぼ同数(両方で40.8%)で、家事の分担は50/50かやや妻の方が多くてもやむを得ないという考えが多きことが分かった。ということは、実態はこれよりも妻の方が負担が大きくなっているということがうかがえる。

実際のどのような状況になっているかという問いに対しては、夫10%、妻90%という回答が最も多くて21.5%あり、20/80が15.2%、30/70が17.3%、40/60が13.1%、50/50が15.7%という分布であった。かなり協力的な夫がいるということも分かったが、実態としては約半数の主婦が家事の8割近くを負担しているという実態が明らかになった。これらの数字を念頭に今回の調査の結果を考察してみたい。

この日本の実態を念頭に今回の調査結果を見てみよう。

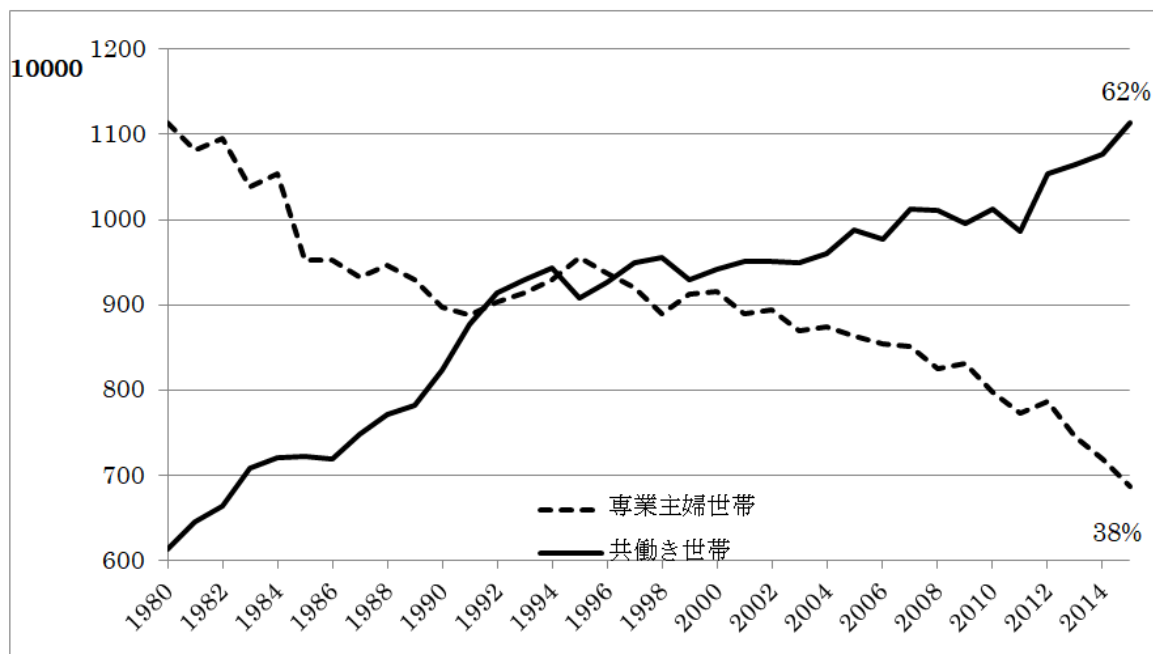
A. 結婚の成功のプラスの要因と考えられる事柄

家事の分担に関しては、作業の内容によって若干分担の割合が異なるが、概して今回の調査対象の方が日本の平均的な世帯よりも夫の負担率が大きい。最も夫の

表8：意見の相違に対する寛容度のテスト結果

問 6. 個人の大きな買い物をするときどのように決めているか (%)			
回答者	高い寛容度 (46 点以上)	中くらいの寛容度 (32 点と 46 点の間)	低い寛容度 (32 点以下)
夫	68	32	0
妻	84	16	0

図8：日本における専業主婦世帯と共働き世帯の推移



注 1：「専業主婦世帯」は、夫が非農林業雇用者で妻が非就業者（非労働力人口及び完全失業者）の世帯。

注 2：「共働き世帯」は、夫婦ともに非農林業雇用者の世帯。

出典：厚生労働省「厚生労働白書」、内閣府「男女共同参画白書」（いずれも平成 26 年版）、総務省「労働力調査（詳細集計）」（2002 年以降）

負担率が高いのは家の掃除で、「両方平等」「両方だがむしろ妻」「両方だがむしろ夫」を合わせると84%になり、夫がよく参加していることがうかがえる。それが洗濯になると、夫は48%が平等に貢献していると答えており、妻の68%が「両方平等」または「両方だがむしろ妻」と答えていて、夫の参加率が掃除の次に高い。これが料理になると「両方平等」が12%まで落ちて、「両方平等」と「妻のみ」「むしろ妻」を合わせると、夫の回答は84%、妻の回答は88%となり、妻の負担がかなり大きくなっているの、結婚の成功要因になっているとは考えられない。食べ物についても1項目注目すべきことは、味覚の幅が広い夫婦が多いということである。妻も夫も56%が両方の国の食べ物が同じくらい好きと答えている。これは、料理をする立場から見ると大きな助けになり、自分が作った食事が「おいしい」と言ってもらえる機会が多いことになる。これは間違いなくプラスの要因として働いている。

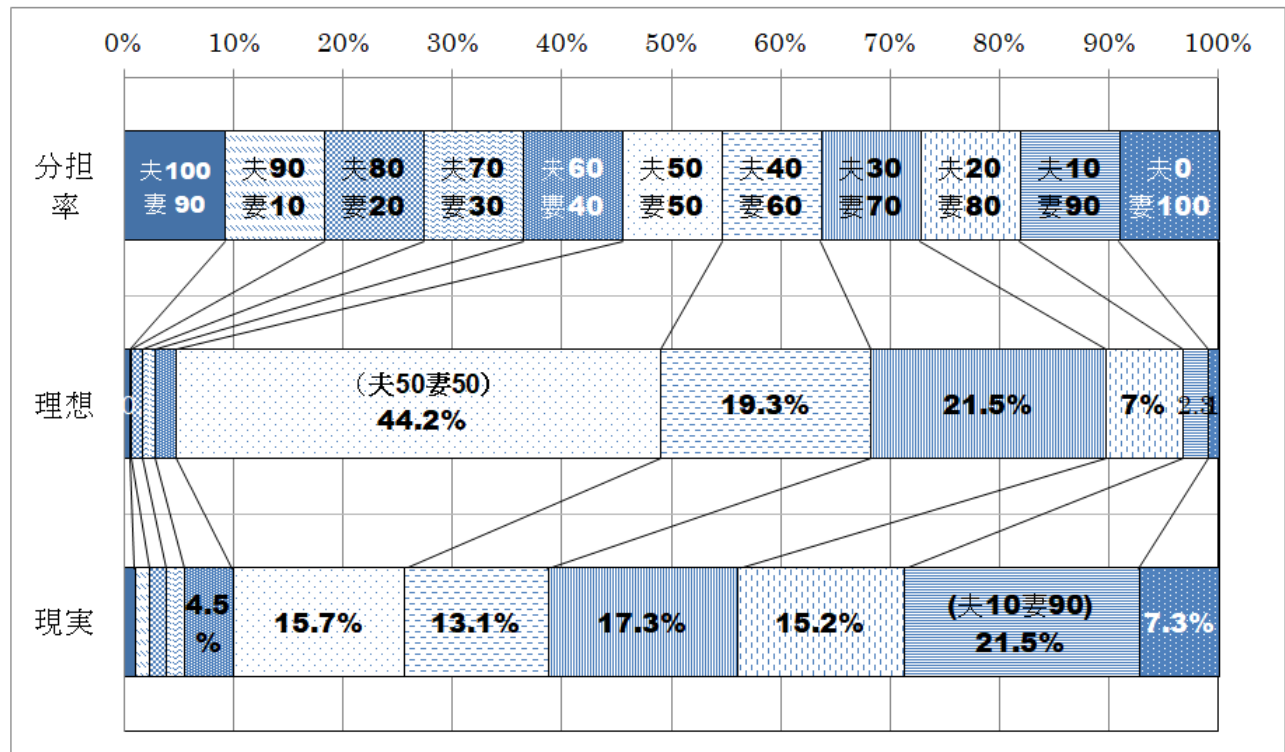
親戚付き合いに関しては、海外の親戚の訪問は2～3年に一度あるいは4～5年に一度と答えた世帯が84%で残りはそれ以上長い期間に一度と、程よい間をおいての訪問で、家計に無理がかからない範囲内での訪問回数になっている。4～5年に一度というと子供の成長速度から考えると期間が長すぎるようにも思われるが、家計の面から見ると、優先順位に従ったよいバランスと言える。国内の親戚は、基本的には日本人の妻の実家を中心であるが、訪れる回数は年に1回から数回と頻度が高く、家族の行事への参加度は100%で、訪れたとき

は家族の一員のように感じるという回答が72%、お客様だが心地はよいを入れると100%になる。このように夫が親戚との関係を良好に保つということは、妻にとっても嬉しいことで、結婚の成功の大きな要因と考えられる。

家庭内で使う言語に関しては、「無理なく、自然に」というのが成功のキーワードであるように思われる。まず、父親も母親も、子供と話すときには自分の母語を使用している。自分の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるかという質問に対して「勧める」と答えたのは、夫が68%、妻が50%と思ったより少なかった。これは、家庭内の言語も無理やり決めることなく、子供にその選択の余地を残すという自然な形をとっていると解釈することができる。同様に、配偶者の母語を話すことを子供に勧めるかという問いに対して「勧める」と答えたのは夫が45%、妻が41%で、子供に選択が任されているようである。さらに、子供とのコミュニケーションに使用する言語は、夫は90%が自分の母語と答えたが、妻は85%が「両言語のミックス」とこたえ、家庭の中では両方の言語が好きなように飛び交っているという自由な雰囲気からうかがえる。このように使用言語からだけでも推測できることが、親の考えや教育方針を子どもに「押し付けない」という自由な教育環境があるように思われる。日本の家庭でも、子どもの教育方針に関しては父親と母親の意見が対立することがよくあるが、これは、自分の考えを子どもに押し付けようとする行為の対立でもあるので、こうした対立がないことも、結婚の成功要因になり得る。

家計に関しては、基本的には財産と家計費は共有と

図9：日本の夫婦における家事の分担（理想と現実）



出典：マクロミル HoNote「共働き夫婦の家事分担の実態。夫の家事参加はどこまで進んだか？」、
2016年9月6～7日インターネットによる調査より(n=618)

いうパターンを取りながらも、個人が自由にするのでできるお金もある程度あるというパターンが多く、無理のない運営が典型的である。従って、家族のための大きな買い物は事前に相談するケースが多いが、個人の買い物になると、時々事後報告で驚くことがあると回答している。

結婚の継続に成功している典型を一言で言うと、「極端に走らない中道主義」である。どうしてもこうしなければならぬという意気込みがなく、自由で自然な環境が最も心地が良いと思われる。

B. マイナス要因でも許容範囲内であると考えられる事柄

家事や育児の分担で、今回の調査対象は、平均的な日本の世帯よりもはるかに夫の参加する割合が高く、夫もそのように自負しているが、現実には、夫の見えないところで妻はもっと働いている。それについて、夫は気付いていない場合が多い。このことは、このようなアンケート調査を行って明らかになったことで、日常生活において妻はこの事実について特に不満を感じることなく平穏な生活を送っている。このような夫と妻の認識のギャップは、この程度は許容範囲であると考えられる。料理に関しては妻の負担が非常に大きいですが、妻は自分の好きな料理をすることができるということ、さらに夫に

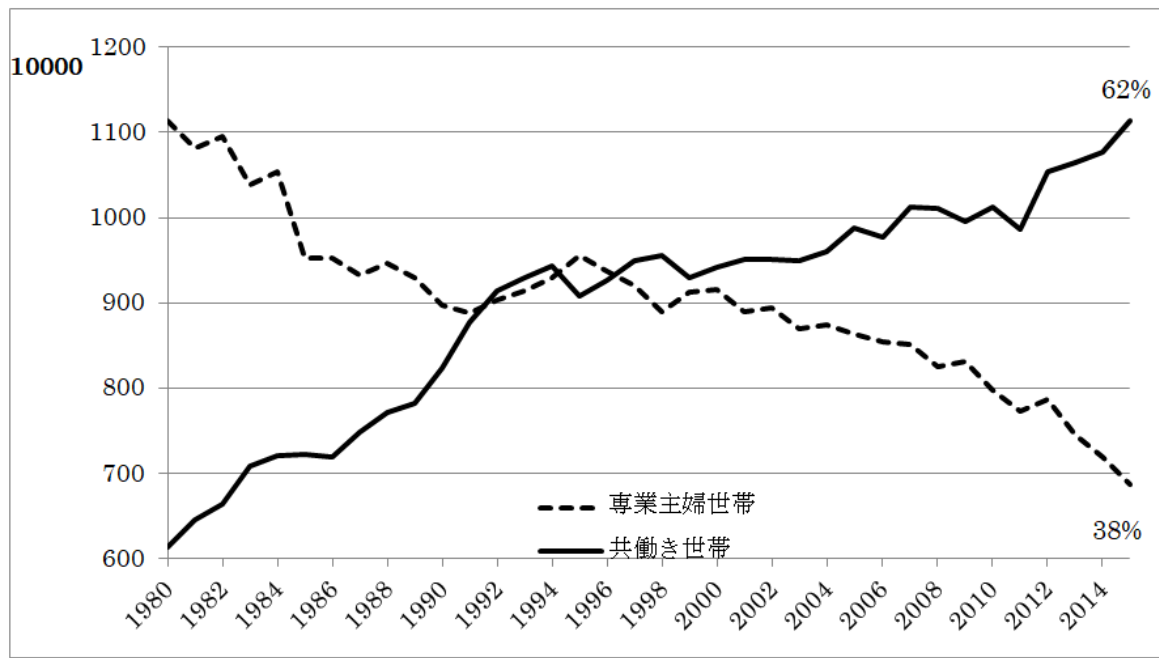
味覚の幅が広く、作ったものをおいしく食べてもらうことができるということで妻の許容範囲が広がっているようにうかがえる。

家計に関しては、日常の支出の管理は妻がしているという世帯が72%と高く、日本型の家庭の様相が強い。こうした中で、個人の買い物をするときに、「配偶者が知らない間に買って後で驚くことがある」と答えているのが、妻は20%であるのに対して夫は48%である。これは、妻の小さな楽しみを夫が認めているように見えて、実際には許容範囲内であるばかりではなく、潤滑油にもなっていると考えられる。

おわりに

今回の調査は、異文化間結婚(国際結婚)が成功するにはどのような要因が働いているのかという単純な疑問からスタートした。従って、調査の対象となったのは、結婚生活が5年以上継続している、いわゆる成功した世帯のみであった。統計的に見ると、今回調査したカップルの中で最長結婚年数は24年、25カップルの平均結婚年数は10.8年であったので、ここに至るまでにすでに半分のカップルが破たんしていて、調査したのは生き残った優等生ばかりである。総合すると、今回の調査対象となったカップルは、日本の平均的なカップルよりもはるかに夫婦間の家事の分担が進んでおり、はるかに民主的で自由な雰囲気が夫婦間でも親子間でもあり、

図8：日本における専業主婦世帯と共働き世帯の推移



注1：「専業主婦世帯」は、夫が非農林業雇用者で妻が非就業者（非労働力人口及び完全失業者）の世帯。

注2：「共働き世帯」は、夫婦ともに非農林業雇用者の世帯。

出典：厚生労働省「厚生労働白書」、内閣府「男女共同参画白書」（いずれも平成26年版）、総務省「労働力調査（詳細集計）」（2002年以降）

自由の一端としてそれぞれの寛容の度合いが高かった。分析を進めるにあたって、このような要因は、特に異文化だから成功するかしないという問題ではなく、どの種の結婚においても共通して大切だと考えるユニバーサルなものではないかということが明らかになってきた。異文化間結婚なので、同一文化間結婚では意識もしないことを、けれども非常に重要なことを、あえて意識するがゆえに成功しているのかもしれない。ここに至るまでに破たんした結婚では、こうした配慮が足りなかったのかもしれない。

今回の調査では「結婚の成功」を、単に5年以上結婚生活が続いているという数字のみでの定義づけであった、5年以上続いている不幸な結婚の例も多々ある。それでは、何をもって結婚が成功していると言えるのか。どのようなことが結婚をととしての「幸せ」につながるのか、この場合同一文化間結婚と異文化間結婚では違うのか、などさらに追究することは幾つかある。現代における結婚は、結婚の前にすべての要因を計算して最も条件の良い結婚を選ぶというような打算的な結婚の例は少ない。たいていは男と女が何も分からないまま愛し合って結婚に至り、いろいろなことは後から見えてくるものである。従って、現代の結婚は後から作り上げていくものであるが、どのような要素が相互の満足につながっていくのであろうか。人によってはお互いをよく知り合い、理解し、尊敬し、感謝するというような精神的な面における達成度が高いことを成功と考え、またある人は経済的に安定した不安のない生活を成功と考え、さ

らに、子どもが健全に成長し子孫が繁栄することが成功と考える人もいる。結婚については、今後、社会学のみではなくあらゆる学問領域から多面的に考えなければならない大きな課題である。

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Language Learning and Teaching

The iPad at 10: Literature on Its Use in the Classroom

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Abstract: *This article presents a review of the literature on iPad use in the classroom, focussing specifically on the benefits and the concerns of using iPads as well as recommended strategies for successful iPad integration. Affective benefits, such as an increase in motivation for both students and teachers, as well as improvements in learning, such as the increased retention of vocabulary, have been found (Pegrum Oakley, & Faulkner, 2013). Issues associated with iPad use include classroom management difficulties, technical problems and the challenge of maintaining a pedagogic focus.*

Professional development is the essential ingredient for successful implementation of iPads into the curriculum (e.g. Topper & Lancaster, 2013). A plan for professional development should be personalised and based on the needs of individual teachers (Fenton, 2017), progressive rather than focussed merely on the implementation stage, and designed to help educators integrate technology without compromising pedagogic goals.

While brief and limited in scope, it is hoped that the insights presented here will be useful for educational institutions looking to implement iPad use into their curricula.

The ubiquitous use of technology, by young and old alike, as well as the amount and variety of information readily available at the touch of a button has led to an increasing number of educational institutions incorporating technology into their classrooms. In 2010 we were introduced to the iPad. It is portable, easy to use, and can host a wide range of applications. Because of its functionality and diversity, the iPad is being used in more and more schools. In the eight years since its introduction, many institutions have implemented iPad use in their curricula and numerous researchers (e.g., Ferguson, 2017; Pegrum, Oakley, & Faulker, 2013) have examined the effects this has had on the learning environment.

In Japan the use of the iPad in school is not so common but is slowly gaining in popularity. As schools look to incorporate this technology into classrooms, it is prudent to make use of the learnings of other institutions and to be aware of the latest research in the field.

The purpose of this paper is to present an overview of the main themes that have been covered in

research on iPad use in schools. These themes include the advantages of iPad use, concerns associated with its use, and recommendations for institutional implementation based on the experiences of other institutions as well as supportive empirical evidence.

Benefits of iPad Use

Affect

Improvements in motivation, engagement and enthusiasm when learners use iPads are well-documented in the literature (e.g., Falloon, 2015; Pegrum et al., 2013). For instance, in a review of mobile technology practices in several different schools from kindergarten to high school, Pegrum et al. (2013) found it was a motivating factor not only for learners but educators as well. Benton's (2012) study revealed similarly positive findings. All of the eight teachers from middle to high school that she interviewed saw higher levels of engagement, more effort and increased motivation when using iPads in the classroom.

A longitudinal case study involving 5th and 6th graders revealed that particular aspects of the iPad contributed to their engagement, enjoyment, and

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motivation (Ciampa, 2014). Immediate feedback from games or other applications helped students to track their progress. Game difficulty levels were automatically adjusted based on performance which encouraged the learners to keep trying. Additionally, the learners valued the ability to control the pace of the game, to repeat if necessary, and to personalise their experience. The teacher found that adding an element of competition, against one's own previous performance in one instance, generated a meaningful learning experience as well.

In a more recent study, Maich, Hall, van Rhijn, & Henning (2017) also found that a majority of students felt iPad use was a valuable addition to the classroom, helping them with coursework as well as general technological skills. They felt they learnt more and worked harder when using iPads. The iPads used in the Maich et al. (2017) study provided customised, individualised material, which gave learners the opportunity to interact with the material and not merely receive it. This allowed for greater creativity and engagement, and therefore enjoyment.

Of particular relevance to English as a Foreign Language learning situations was a study done in the Philippines comparing learner attitudes based on iPad use during lessons (Alluad & Ishizuka, 2018). The results of questionnaires given to Grade 5 elementary students in two different schools showed a significant difference in attitude between the two groups, with iPad users rating English lessons much more positively. Interviews were not conducted to understand the role that possibly confounding variables may have played in the difference between the two schools. However, in a portion of the questionnaire delivered only to the students with iPads, an overwhelming majority said that they enjoyed learning English more with an iPad and that the iPad encouraged them to learn new words.

The studies above clearly show a positive influence on affective factors such as learner motivation, effort and engagement when iPads are utilised in classroom settings. Customisable features of the iPad additionally mean that pedagogical materials need not always be one-size-fits-all.

Collaboration

A study on the influence of the iPad on dialogic teaching revealed that learners spent a large proportion of class time working independently rather than collaboratively in pairs or groups (Engin &

Donanci, 2015). For instance, during one observed lesson, half the time was spent explaining and the other half spent on independent work. However, in a primary school in New Zealand where the curriculum was specifically designed to foster collaboration among students, this was not the case (Falloon, 2015). Students gave high ratings to the portability of the iPad because it allowed them to easily collaborate with other students or other groups, both inside and outside of the classroom. This collaboration also meant that students received immediate feedback on work from their peers, in a variety of situations from face-to-face pair work to inter-class interactions within the school, and from relatives and friends after school hours.

Likewise, Kirkpatrick Brown, Searle, Sauder, & Smiley (2017) found an increase in students communicating with each other and working together after they began using iPads in school. This study was specifically concerned with assessing the effect of iPad use on the social inclusion of learners with exceptionalities, and their findings show more collaboration among students regardless of exceptionality.

Although some research findings point to the use of iPads leading to solitary, independent work, if implemented with a view towards increasing collaborative opportunities, iPads have proven effective in fostering communication both in and out of the classroom.

Improvements in Learning

Few studies have thus far addressed the issue of whether iPad use results in learning improvements. However, Alyahya and Gall (as cited in Walsh & Farren, 2018) discussed the affordances of iPads to potentially enhance learning outcomes. For instance, iPads can be used anywhere and anytime, there are a number of available applications that can be used for various pedagogical purposes, and iPads provide the means for increasing communication among students and between students and teachers.

Anecdotal teacher and student perceptions of increased learning due to some iPad features have also been reported. A case study done by Ciampa (2014), for example, detailed the improvements made by a Grade 6 student named Lisa who became inspired through the making of a video using the iPad, which led to her increased interest in the iPad and its features. One of the features she discovered was the iPad's ability to read for her. She disliked reading

and was not very good at it but after finding this feature she was reading more and teaching others about the various features of the iPad. This qualitative study provides compelling evidence that learning experiences and knowledge can be enhanced due to use of the iPad.

An extensive survey of nearly 700 middle schoolers revealed similar learner perceptions as those described in the case study above. When questioned, a majority of students using iPads felt they learned better if using an iPad instead of traditional pedagogical tools (Ferguson, 2017). Interestingly, Ferguson analysed this finding even further, breaking it down by native language. A significantly higher percentage of English as a Second Language (ESL) students answered this question more positively than did their native English peers. A second significant finding was that ESL students likewise reported being less distracted with other applications when using their iPads than did native speakers.

Small-scale examples of research which went beyond possibilities or perceptions were two empirical studies conducted in Australian schools, one concerning French vocabulary and the other mental mathematics (Pegrum et al., 2013). The study on mental maths skills consisted of a pre-test, use of relevant applications on the iPad for one academic term, and a post-test in which improvement was found. Another school tested three different groups, one of them a control group, on their retention level of French vocabulary and found that students in the two iPad groups outperformed those in the control group, remembering between 20 and 26 words compared to the control group's 12. While admittedly limited in their generalizability, these studies do point to the learning gains which can be realised through the effective use of iPads.

Skills for the Future

Even in 2008, before the release of the iPad, Abell recognised that integrating technology into the classroom would be of benefit to learners in preparing them for life in the 21st century. Being able to use various technological tools is required for many careers and those who are able to demonstrate these capabilities are at an advantage. In 2014, not long after the introduction of the iPad to the market, Male and Burden stressed the importance of integrating technology into learning environments.

Student perceptions of technology, most especially the easy availability of information, have affected the way that they use technology and affected their perception of traditional classroom subjects. Hoffman (2013) found that the introduction of iPads into the classroom highlighted for students the importance of knowing where to find information. Memorisation and rote learning of facts carried even less weight because they had this information, if allowed to use it, at their fingertips. Students felt that knowing where to find information, of whatever type, was of more practical use than memorising. This led Hoffman to question whether the long-held definition of a good student as one who can recite facts and pass tests without outside help should perhaps instead take into consideration the fact that learners are growing up in a world surrounded by information that is always available.

More recently, Prensky (2017) echoed a similar need for change, not only for technological integration but also with regard to the fundamental goals of education. He spoke of a shifting educational paradigm in which the focus is not on a sequence of academic courses, but real-world projects that learners complete as a team, the aim of which is to improve the world around them. In the process of completing these tasks, they acquire valuable skills related to thinking, acting and accomplishing a goal. Rather than trying to prepare students to one day be able to possibly effect change in their world, they engage in it while they are still students (Prensky, 2017). The adoption and regular integrated use of iPads in the classroom is one way in which students have an opportunity to start taking control of their learning. It is a small step towards a transformation of our education system which can help to ensure that learners truly benefit and are prepared for the future that awaits (Prensky, 2017).

The principled integration of iPads in the classroom has proven beneficial in many respects, from learner engagement to 21st century skillsets. The use of technology in the classroom affords opportunities for bridging the classroom with the outside world, through collaboration, research and real-world projects. Empirical evidence has also demonstrated improvements in learning for both language and mathematics. Moreover, iPads have been effective in motivating learners to become active, enthusiastic participants who find more enjoyment in learning.

Concerns about iPad Use

Distraction and Classroom Management

One of the most oft-cited concerns about iPad use in educational settings is the ease with which learners become distracted. Students participating in Hoffman's (2013) action research study, for instance, were frequently distracted from classroom tasks by the various social applications or games on their iPads. She therefore recommended that the purpose of the devices be made clear to students, along with the possible removal of any applications not appropriate for an educational setting.

Educators from 10 different school districts who had been using iPads in their classes for at least nine months commented on a noticeable increase in students being distracted by games or other applications or websites (Fenton, 2017). This frustration led the teachers to request more training and information on how to deal with these types of situations. The shift in classroom dynamics due to the introduction of technology calls for different classroom management strategies than those used in teacher-centred paper-and-pencil lessons.

However, not all research reveals this tendency for students to become distracted. Ferguson (2017), for example, found that 72% of middle school students did not easily become distracted, but this could have been influenced by the even higher proportion of students who felt their teachers had made effective use of the iPad during lessons. Using an iPad because it was available as opposed to the efficient, strategic and well-planned use of it as a means of accomplishing pedagogic goals appears to have been the crucial difference in the level of distraction that learners experienced.

Haptics and Paperless Curricula

We gather many types of information through our sense of touch. It is one of the fundamental ways that infants learn about the world around them. In a study on finger-painting, very young children using a tablet rather than paint, paper, and fingers showed a wider variety of touch types, both longer and faster touches as well as more complex sequences of touches (Crescenzi, Jewitt & Price, 2014). However, in spite of these clear benefits, the children using tablets also used fewer fingers, showed less variety in the pressure they applied and missed out on the textural quality of the paint.

While this study was conducted with very small children who had not yet fully developed their sense of touch, similar tactile preferences have been expressed by older students as well, as illustrated below.

A paperless curriculum, while ecologically friendly, does have its drawbacks. When questioned about differences they perceived in the use of technological versus paper pedagogical materials, a majority of students commented that they missed reading paper books and writing things down (Ferguson, 2017; Hoffman, 2013). Technological problems were part of the reason for this bias, but students also felt they learnt more when taking notes with a pen as opposed to a keyboard (Hoffman, 2013). Additionally, students in Ferguson's (2017) study were very negative about their paperless curriculum, especially with regard to specific subjects like Mathematics. Clearly the touch and feel of pen on paper is still important, even to young learners who are so familiar and adept at using technology.

Pedagogical Challenges

Integrating the use of an iPad into lessons requires extensive time and consideration in order to ensure that technology is being used in the best way possible and that pedagogical goals are not being compromised. Primary school teachers who participated in a case study commented on this challenge (Maich et al., 2017), pointing out the added necessity of training students how to use an application or tool. Their concern was with regard to the time that these instructions took away from the actual task students were to do.

In planning lessons as well, there are important and often time-consuming decisions to be made as to which application best fits with the aims of the lesson (Hutchison, Beschorner, & Schmidt-Crawford, 2012; Maich et al., 2017). The results of this painstaking work can be immensely positive, with students actively engaged in tasks and producing quality work, but the time and energy investment involved in planning can be quite substantial.

Moving beyond the first introductory lessons in which technology is used, the pedagogical challenges continue. As teachers and students alike become familiar with the technology and its various applications, it is no longer necessary to allot significant class time for instructions on how to use the technology. At that point, strategies are needed for truly incorporating the technology into the curricu-

lum and sustaining its use for the long term (Fenton, 2017). Student-centred lessons in which learners are using technology on a 1:1 basis require a considerable shift from traditional teaching methodologies, and this shift can be quite a challenge. Somewhat surprising was the finding that older teachers were more adept at this type of integration than their younger peers, despite the ease and familiarity with which younger generations are able to use technology (Crichton, Pegler, & White, 2012). Years of teaching experience proved more valuable than technical skills.

Technical Issues

While the vast majority of middle-schoolers responded positively to using iPads in school, the main complaints were about technical issues such as crashing (Ferguson, 2017) which consumed class time and caused difficulties in submitting work. Engin and Donanci (2015) also found that technical problems were a frequent occurrence during lessons, with a considerable amount of class time spent in troubleshooting. Difficulties downloading applications, insufficiently charged iPads, and Internet connectivity were the most commonly cited issues by teachers, who complained of the class time lost in dealing with these issues rather than working to accomplish the pedagogical goals of their lesson.

Recommendation for Implementation: Professional Development

It has been noted by several researchers that the most critical component in ensuring the successful integration of technology into the curriculum of an educational institution is the preparation, support and engagement of the teacher (Keane, Lang, & Pilgrin, 2012; Topper & Lancaster, 2013). The professional development of educators using technology has also been analysed by various researchers, with common recurring themes that are discussed below.

Based on a Well-Structured Plan

A detailed, progressive plan for professional development is necessary as the support needs of a teacher are considerably different at the time of implementation than in the years that follow (Fenton, 2017). Data from Fenton's study revealed that during the first year of integration, teachers wanted training on iPad features, applications and learning management systems. Time needs to be set aside for attending formal training, working informally with

colleagues to share ideas, researching applications and exploring their possible pedagogical uses (Pegrum et al., 2013). Setting up communities of practice to enable the sharing of ideas between colleagues was also recommended by Walsh and Farren (2018), based on journals that primary school teachers kept over the course of one school year as well as follow-up interviews.

Issues that teachers requested for professional development sessions later in the implementation process included topics such as course design and assessment (Fenton, 2017). In the beginning, teachers are more focussed on the day-to-day use of technology in the classroom and the integration of it into their lessons. As this becomes less of a pressing need, the focus broadens to consider aspects of the curriculum as a whole. The teachers in Fenton's (2017) study emphasised the importance of ensuring that training and development concerns are not limited to the initial implementation but extend to the years that follow.

Personalised and Based on Need

While it is sometimes necessary and most certainly easier to deliver a one-size-fits-all training session for everyone, a more effective professional development session addresses individual concerns and needs in small groups (Fenton, 2017). Teachers typically have little time and this more focussed method provides teachers with what they need in an efficient manner. In addition, individualised attention given, for instance, during a lesson in which a particular type of activity is planned, is particularly effective as well (Pegrum et al., 2013). Providing teachers with adequate support and resources helps to ensure they will be able to effectively integrate iPad use into their classrooms.

Pedagogically-based

Initial concerns at the thought of a classroom full of students, each one using their own iPad, will likely centre around the technical and logistical aspects of the integration. However, this would most certainly be replaced quickly by pedagogical concerns (Pegrum et al., 2013). The teachers in Pegrum et al.'s study remarked upon the need for help in integrating the iPads into their lessons without compromising the intended goals. Several of the schools had already implemented a framework in which the teaching pedagogy was the driving force in choosing which applications to use and how to use them.

Other schools were in the process of moving in this new direction based on their experiences.

Conclusion

Integrating the use of iPads into learning environments is still a somewhat new endeavour, but in the past eight years, quite a wealth of information has been gathered regarding advantages, disadvantages and best practices.

Research has shown that, to ensure the successful integration of technology such as iPads into the curriculum, proper training and subsequent support of educators are the most effective steps that can be taken (e.g., Topper & Lancaster, 2013). Practical experience in an integration process has revealed this need for training as well. One of the most significant and recurrent topics that emerges from interviews and journal entries of teachers is the need for pedagogically sound, well-planned, need-based and ongoing professional development (e.g., Pegrum et al., 2013). This training needs to be tailored to the teaching context, the phase of integration and the varying technical ability of the educators involved. Professional development, ongoing support and relevant resources help to ensure that teachers are well-prepared and confident in their use of the iPad within the curriculum, which helps to ensure that students truly benefit from this integration.

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Eiken Picture Description Practice: A Sequence of Tasks

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Abstract: *Using the Eiken test as an example, this article demonstrates how tasks can be sequenced within two 50-minute lessons. The tasks feed into one another so that learners can see the purpose of having completed each one. The tasks also progress in complexity, better allowing learners to achieve greater complexity as well. Additionally, the benefits of task-based learning over traditional focus on forms approaches are discussed. These benefits include authentic communication and using language to accomplish goals other than mere language use.*

Keywords: *sequences, task-based learning, Eiken*

Task-based approaches to language learning provide considerable benefits over more traditional approaches such as focus on forms (FoFs). Task-based approaches are meaning-focused and goal-oriented. Learners use language to accomplish objectives. Thus communication is authentic and there is an emphasis on output and collaboration. Language is therefore more salient because learners learn by doing. This is compatible with the constructivist idea of situated learning (Brown, Collins, & Duguid, 1989). Learning by doing, as a type of embodied learning, also forms stronger neural connections according to cognitive linguistic theory (Holme, 2009). Furthermore, task-based approaches are more learner-centered than FoFs approaches. Whereas FoFs courses tend to move through rigidly preset structural syllabuses regardless of student development, task-based syllabuses tend to reflect student progress as well as recycle previously learnt material.

Such goal-oriented communicative use of language reflects Long's (1985) interaction hypothesis which states that language development takes place through interaction. Learners must attend to both input and output. Learners can receive negative evidence when their output is not understood and negotiation for meaning can then take place (Long, 1985).

Ideally, form-focused instruction (FFI) should be included in post-task stages of task-based lessons. This FFI should be reactive, based on language use

which arises during the task. Without such explicit language focus, learners often fail to notice structures they can use again in the future. This can also result in a lack of feeling of having learnt anything during lessons. Swain (1991) found that if FFI is not included in learning, then even students in meaning-focused immersion courses fail to make linguistic gains. Furthermore, Norris' and Ortega's (2000) meta-analysis showed the advantages of using FFI in language courses.

Task-based lessons typically consist of a series of increasingly complex pedagogical tasks which prepare the learner for a target task that resembles real-world language use scenarios. This paper presents an example of a task-based lesson plan which can occur over 1.5 to two hours of class time.

Method

Participants and Context

These lessons are designed for Japanese students in their final year of public high school. Students are typically of mixed proficiency and studying English as a required course. A needs analysis shows that most of these students will take English proficiency tests with speaking components for the purposes of entering university. The *Eiken* (specifically, the *Jitsuyo Eigo Gino Shiken* [Test of Practical English Proficiency]; Eiken Foundation of Japan, 2019) the most widely-used of these tests in Japan, requires students to verbally describe a series of illustrations. With this in mind, these task-based lesson materials are aimed at developing the learners' abilities to describe events they see in pictures.

Cook, N. (2019). *Eiken* picture description: A sequence of tasks. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 73-80.

Instrumentation: Tasks

The objective of these two hours of instruction is for learners to be able to engage in the illustration narrative description task on the *Eiken* test. The target task, therefore, is an authentic recreation of that task (see Appendix A for examples of *Eiken* illustration tasks). All of the tasks chosen for these lessons fall into the task type of picture descriptions.

Procedure

A series of four unique tasks will be implemented over two 50-minute class sessions. Each task will increase in complexity until the final, target task.

Task 1: input-based narrative. The first task is the least cognitively complex. The goal of this task is to prime the learners to meaningfully engage with illustrations in preparation for the more complex picture tasks which follow. The learners are presented with several illustrations, listen to an audio description, and must decide which of the illustrations corresponds with the description.

In the pre-task phase, the instructor explains the task directions and demonstrates the activity. A worksheet with four to ten illustrations is distributed to each of the students. During the task phase, the audio description is presented to the entire class and learners determine the appropriate illustration.

During the task phase, the students will engage with the task in the same fashion as in the example. They will listen to descriptions and select the corresponding illustrations. Complexity can be manipulated to suit the proficiency level of the learners. Complexity can be increased by selecting illustrations which are similar to each other. For example, for a description including “The boy with the red hat is about to catch the baseball,” provide multiple illustrations containing the boy with the red hat playing baseball, however in one instance he is throwing the ball, in another he is holding a bat, and so on. Contrarily, complexity can be decreased by providing illustrations which are considerably different. For example, only the correct illustration might depict a boy interacting with a baseball.

During the post-task phase of this task the instructor elicits the correct responses for each audio description. The instructor can ask students to explain why each corresponding answer is correct. Following this answer check, FFI can begin. The instructor can elicit from students different ways to

express specific activities depicted in the illustrations.

Task 2: single illustration description. The second task builds in complexity from the previous input-based task by having the students produce their own descriptions of illustrations. This task resembles the task before it, but differs considerably because now the learner must produce linguistic descriptions rather than listen to them (see Appendix B for examples of illustrations which can be used).

During the pre-task phase, the instructor primes the learners by presenting the class with an illustration and eliciting as many descriptive sentences about actions occurring in the scene as they can construct. In this way, students activate their schemata for relevant vocabulary.

During the task phase, learners can work together in pairs to construct their own descriptions of subsequent illustrations. The first learner selects an illustration from a series of illustrations and describes it. This second learner must then select the appropriate illustration from a group of pictures similar to the procedure of Task 1. Complexity can be increased by changing the descriptions from here-and-now, present tense descriptions to there-and-then descriptions set in the past tense.

Then in the post-task phase, pairs can demonstrate the task again in front of the entire class. FFI can take place and other students provide alternative descriptions.

Task 3: spot the differences. Depending on how class time is allotted, this may be the first task of the second session of instruction. Students are put in pairs and each student receives a picture card they cannot share with their partner. The pictures strongly resemble each other but include 10 subtle differences. The students work together to identify the 10 differences through discussion. This task builds in complexity from the previous picture description activity because it requires similar descriptions but there is now a clearer goal to achieve through collaboration.

During the pre-task phase the previous picture description task is reviewed and the instructor demonstrates the current task. During the task phase, students work in pairs and perform the task as previously described. During the post-task phase the teacher elicits the differences from students before finally showing the two pictures to the entire class.

Task 4: target task: In this task, students describe what is happening across a sequence of pic-

tures. This task is intended to replicate a component of the *Eiken* test where the learner is provided a sequence of illustrations and describes the narrative displayed (again, see Appendix A for examples of illustrations appropriate for this task).

In the pre-task phase, the learners are informed that this is an authentic task similar or identical to what they will encounter on the *Eiken*. This will increase the authenticity and validity of the activity for the students. The task should be demonstrated to the students by a proficient student.

During the task, the learners can practice by working together to describe what happens in a provided sequence of illustrations. To challenge the students, they should subsequently perform the task individually by describing another set of illustrations to a partner or small group.

During the post-task phase, the task can be demonstrated again in front of the entire class. Corrective feedback and alternative descriptions should be provided. The learners should be pushed to provide as much detail in their descriptions as possible. The instructor can also reiterate how performance of this task connects to the *Eiken*. Finally, other advice for the *Eiken* can be given.

Discussion

Task Stages

When designing this sequence of tasks, Long's stages of task-based learning design were employed. Needs analysis led to choosing the target task and then pedagogical tasks were derived to support that target task (Long, 1985, 2000). First, students' needs were considered (Long, 2005) and developing *Eiken* picture description skills was selected as the primary desired learning outcome. Next, the target task which resembles the real-world activity the learners are expected to encounter on the *Eiken* outside the classroom was chosen (Brown & Lee, 2015; Willis & Willis, 2007). After that, a series of pedagogical tasks was developed to prepare the learners for that target task. As Brown and Lee (2015) noted, pedagogical tasks build towards allowing the learners to perform the target task. Furthermore, Willis and Willis (2007) characterized pedagogical tasks as functioning to prime the learners for each subsequent task, help them focus, and access their relevant background knowledge.

Each of the tasks is divided into pre-, main, and post-task phases, as Brown and Lee (2015) sug-

gested. Willis and Willis (2007) described the pre-task phase as the priming stage. This is when learners receive input about the tasks they are to engage in. This can take the form of the teacher directly explaining the task or topic. Alternatively, it can be accomplished by demonstrating the task in front of the classroom with volunteer students or showing video or audio recordings of the task being performed (Willis & Willis, 2007).

The main task phase is characterized by a focus on meaning. At this point, learners engage with each other in performing the task. The teacher refrains from explicit language-focused instruction as much as possible.

The post-task stage is typically where focus on form can be employed. If appropriate, learners receive explicit corrective feedback and alternative linguistic expressions at this stage (Brown & Lee, 2015). Feedback and alternative expressions should be elicited from other students before being provided by the instructor.

Task Sequencing

According to Robinson's cognition hypothesis, pedagogic tasks should increase in complexity until they approximate the demands of the real-world target tasks (Robinson & Gilabert, 2007). Specifically, Robinson predicted that increasing cognitive demands of tasks would promote greater accuracy and complexity of production as well as increased interaction, negotiation, and attention to forms (Robinson, 2007a).

Robinson's triadic componential framework for task classification provides factors for determining the complexity of a given task (Robinson, 2007a). When looking at this framework's task condition participation variables, the task sequence I have provided in the methods section inherently increase in complexity by increasing interactional demands. First, consider the one-way/two-way variable of Robinson's framework. Task 1 is an input-based scenario description. Information flows one way: from the instructor or a recording to the learner. In Task 2, where the learner describes a scenario to a partner, information still flows one way at a time but the learner must now produce the information (for the second learner, Task 2 functions the same way as Task 1). In Task 3, the spot-the-differences task, information flows two ways as learners collaborate and negotiate to determine 10 differences between

two similar illustrations, while each learner is only able to look at one illustration.

Using another of Robinson's task condition participation factors, open/closed tasks, complexity can be seen to increase as well. Task 1 is a closed task because there is only one illustration that correctly corresponds to the description. Task 2 is an open task for the learner who produces the picture description. This is more complex than Task 1 because the learner must construct their description. Task 3 is ultimately a convergent closed task because there are 10 specific differences that must be discovered. Even though this is a closed task, it is more complex than Task 2 because learners must negotiate with each other to arrive at the solution.

Robinson's (2007a) resource-directing task complexity factors are not inherent in the sequencing of these tasks, but should be attended to during implementation to ensure an appropriate challenge for the students' level. Each of the tasks can easily be manipulated to increase or decrease complexity according to Robinson's factors. Factors he provides as resource-directing include: few elements, here-and-now, and no reasoning demands. First, for the few elements factor, the illustrations used in any and all of the four tasks can contain as many or as few elements for learners to describe as the instructor desires. Fewer actions taking place in an illustration will be less cognitively challenging for learners to describe. If the task is repeated, then more challenging illustrations with more elements can be used. Second, with regard to here-and-now, if a higher degree of cognitive complexity is warranted by the students' proficiency, students can be instructed to construct their descriptions in the past tense as a there-and-then task. Third, no reasoning demands can be implemented in follow-up questions about illustrations. Such questions are used during the Eiken test and should be implemented in the target task. For example, on the Eiken test, after the illustration is described, the interviewer will ask a question such as "Look at the fourth panel. If you were the woman, what would you be thinking?" To increase or decrease complexity of the target task, the instructor can choose to use or omit that question. For the pedagogical tasks, the instructor may ask similar questions about the motives of characters appearing in the illustration during the post-task phase. Alternatively, instructions for the task can include that the learner must describe each charac-

ter's apparent thoughts or motives in addition to the physical description of the scenario.

Similarly, Robinson's (2007a) resource-dispersing task complexity factors should also be attended to when customizing the cognitive complexity of these tasks. These factors include *planning* and *prior knowledge*. First, planning refers to the amount of preparation time the learner is provided with before they must produce output. During the real-world *Eiken* test, in levels 1 and pre-1, learners are given one minute to observe the illustration and think about what they will say. During the lower-proficiency levels 2 and pre-2, students are given 20 seconds to prepare (however the illustrations and the demands of their descriptions are less complex than in the higher proficiency level tests). With regard to the pedagogical tasks, the instructor can provide as much or as little preparation time as they desire in order to affect complexity. Pre-task planning has been shown to provide benefits during task performance (Willis & Willis, 2007). Such learners produce lengthier, linguistically richer, more fluent, and more complex output (Ellis, 2003).

Second, Robinson's *prior knowledge* factor can be manipulated in the selection of the illustrations. To be less cognitively complex, the illustrations can contain actions and artefacts more familiar in the real-world to the learners. Alternatively, they can be topics the learners have greater experience talking about in their L2.

Conclusion

In contrast to a task-based approach, such as the one presented here, consider a more traditional FFI approach to the same material. Such an approach might involve extensive rote practicing of linguistic patterns, decontextualized from any specific task, during a significant part of the lesson. Once pattern practice has been completed, a single target task describing a sequence of pictures might be introduced without any priming tasks feeding into it. Learners might be expected to make the sudden jump from pattern practice to being able to implement those patterns without direct preparation for that new skill. This FFI approach might improve the learners' ability to use patterns, but it will not give them sufficient context in which to develop the skill of using those patterns in practice the way a task-based approach will.

Alternatively, consider the benefits of implementing a task-based approach. Here, the focus is on developing a skill (i.e., the ability to describe a situation) rather than on acquiring isolated linguistic knowledge (i.e., specific linguistic patterns). This skill development takes place because learners learn by doing the task and by interacting with peers to accomplish a goal. From a cognitive standpoint this improves language acquisition because learners experience using the language in a meaningful way. Meanwhile including intermittent, responsive FOFs instruction based on learner performances at the end of each priming task should mitigate grammatical errors. These reasons demonstrate how a task-based approach can much better prepare learners for real-world language use.

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Appendix A

Examples of Eiken Picture Description Illustrations

(Reproduced from Eiken Levels Pre-1 and 1: Ikoma, 2018).

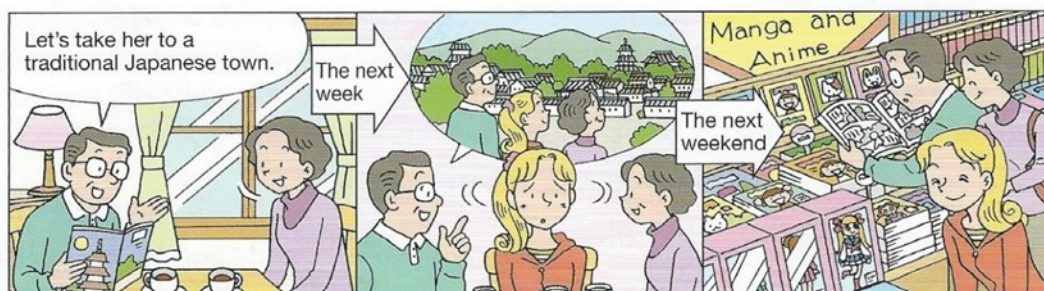


Appendix A (continued)

Examples of Eiken Picture Description Illustrations

(Reproduced from Eiken Levels Pre-2 and 2: Ikoma, 2011).

Your story should begin with this sentence: One day, Mr. and Mrs. Fujita were talking about Linda, who was coming from the United States the next week to stay with them.



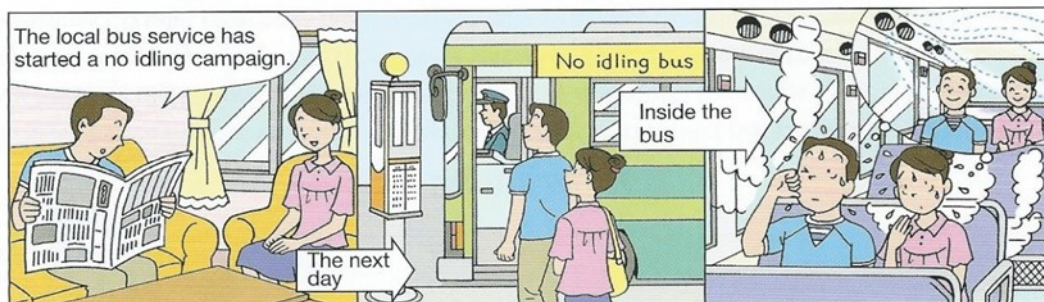
Your story should begin with this sentence: One day, two office workers and their boss were talking about having a video conference.



Your story should begin with this sentence: One day, Kenji and his father were talking about a new Shinkansen train.



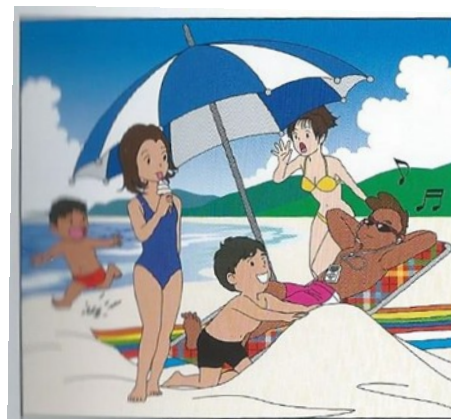
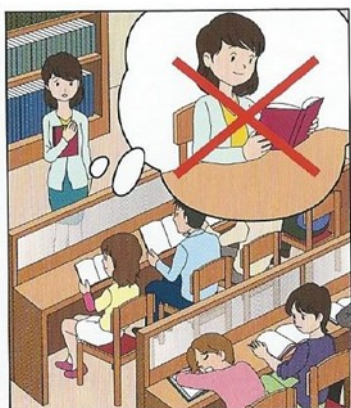
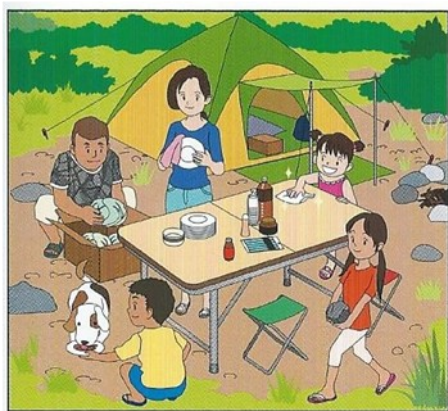
Your story should begin with this sentence: One summer day, Mr. and Mrs. Takahashi were talking about the "no idling campaign."



Appendix B

Examples of Illustrations Appropriate for Tasks 1 through 3

(Reproduced from Eiken Kawauchi, 2015)



Shakespeare in an American Movie: An American Way of Interpreting British Classics

Sho Kubota
Waseda University

I used to dread having to read Shakespeare: for most Japanese students Shakespeare is like a high wall that requires serious efforts to climb over. There is always a huge cultural barrier, to say nothing of a linguistic one, awaiting us when reading Shakespeare. His plays were, after all, written many centuries ago in a different culture in a very different language. But how is it with Americans? They speak the same language, but does it make it any easier for Americans? You just have to watch Al Pacino's *Looking for Richard* to know the answer to that question.

It never occurred to me that Americans might have difficulties understanding Shakespeare, but considering that there is a big difference between American and British culture, it may be only natural that many Americans find Shakespeare as foreign as we Japanese do.

In this paper I will try to point out some cultural patterns of Americans in adopting other cultures seen in an American movie in which Shakespeare's works play a crucial role.

Renaissance Man, The Movie

The movie, *Renaissance Man*, is an American movie made in 1994, directed by Penny Marshall and starring Danny Devito. The story begins with a middle aged man named Bill Rago losing his job as an advertising agent. Consequently he has to find a new job, but all he can find is a teaching job at an army base, for which he feels no particular enthusiasm. He has no teaching experience and dreads having to teach eight young soldiers everyone thinks hopelessly dumb.

His students are half African Americans while the other half are Caucasians. All of them are from poor families and have had very little education to

speak of. Bill has a hard time as they not only lack knowledge but also motivation to learn.

By chance, however, they start reading Hamlet and, to Bill's surprise, they somehow become interested in this colossal masterpiece they knew nothing about. Their path is rocky, but thanks to Bill's unorthodox way of teaching, they soon find themselves enjoying learning for the first time in their life. Their self-confidence grows as they keep learning. The most moving scene comes when Donnie Benidez, whom everyone thinks superficial and stupid, recites the famous Agincourt speech from Henry V in front of an Army instructor who thinks learning Shakespeare is a sheer waste of time for soldiers. The end of the movie sees all eight students more mature and self-assured.

Cultural Climate

In the 1980's the weight of discussion on American culture shifted from the traditional European/Anglo-Saxon male-oriented culture to diverse multicultural perspective. In the 1990's, the time when this movie was made, more attention was drawn to minorities and ethnocultures, but this was also a tough time for so-called underclass people. As Motohashi (2002, p. 6) points out, the poor, many of whom were African Americans and Latinos, were considered socially undesirable, and under the so-called social purification policy, were driven from public places in big cities. It may not be a coincidence that all the students in this movie are from a socially disadvantaged background.

Shakespeare a la Americana

None of the students have heard of Shakespeare before and have no idea who he is. How do the young soldiers with so little knowledge on Shakespeare and his works relate themselves to this unknown culture? How do they react to their first encounter with Shakespeare?

When Bill explains that Hamlet is a prince of Denmark,

Kubota, S. (2019). Shakespeare in an American movie: An American way of interpreting British classics. *OTB Forum*, 9(1), 81-86.

Who is Hamlet?

Montgomery dismisses Hamlet as ‘a rich kid’. It is likely he has no idea where Denmark is, nor does he care what being a prince means. When they hear Hamlet say, ‘Denmark is a prison’, Haywood insists Denmark is a much better place than the trailer park in Georgia where his family lived. It is extraordinary that they are quite unaffected by Hamlet’s woes and that none of them show any interest in Hamlet as a person. They seem unconcerned that the play takes place in a different time and in a different place from their own.

It is widely accepted that Hamlet deals with the problem of one’s identity (Who am I?) and existence (How should I live?). Hamlet philosophizes about every imaginable subject throughout the play, trying to make sense about the world and the circumstances he is in. When reading Hamlet, therefore, the center of interest usually lies with the man himself; what kind of man Hamlet is, why he is troubled so much, why he can’t decide what to do. We are drawn to his complex personality and psychology. As we read or watch the drama, we try to follow his thoughts and to understand this difficult character. Bill’s students, however, seem to take little interest in those things.

Sex, Incest, and Murder

Bill introduces Hamlet as a story about sex, incest and murder, which immediately draws the attention of the students. When Bill explains that Hamlet’s mother marries his uncle soon after his father’s death, they are intrigued. Miranda Meyers, whose mother ran off with a man, showers Hamlet’s mother with severe criticism. Mel Melvin, who was beaten by his step father, says he has a similar situation at home because his step father married his mother’s sister after leaving his mother. From their remarks the viewers are made aware of the harsh and often ugly reality to which those young Americans are subjected.

It is clear that they are more interested in the plot of the play rather than Hamlet himself. This is an interesting point as it clearly goes against how most people react to the play. Cynthia Greenwood (2008) says the following about Hamlet:

[...] the plot of Hamlet seems to pale next to Hamlet himself, the titan of all Western protagonists. (p. 227)

Unlike Shakespeare’s later tragedies, Hamlet takes us into the mind of one man [...] Hamlet is considered the world’s greatest modern literary masterwork because the central character thinks, questions and ponders his existence in a philosophical fashion. (p. 240)

If the students feel any sympathy for Hamlet, they show little of it in the movie. They are more interested in the plot and feel excited about how ‘sex, incest and murder’ appear in the story, because they are no stranger to those problems.

“Why can’t they speak like us?”

Bill sells his prized trophy at a pawnshop and with that money he takes the students to a theater to see Henry V. Afterwards Benidez says he liked everything about the play but he declares that he didn’t like their ‘stupid accent’ in which the actors spoke their lines. He then asks, “Why can’t they speak like us?” Nobody takes much notice of him, but he liked the play so much that he bought the book and starts reading it all on his own, even without being told to do so. Several days later when he is told by his commander Sergeant Cass to recite some Shakespeare during the military exercise, he surprises everyone by reciting the famous St. Crispin’s speech from Henry V. He did so, however, with his usual nasal New York accent.

Linguist Lynne Murphy (2018, p. 19) points out that many Americans suffer from so-called American Verbal Inferiority Complex. She says in spite of inflated self-esteem Americans generally have in other matters, linguistically, they think people with British accent are more intelligent. British English sounds more educated and upper class to most Americans. If so, the recitation scene carries significant weight in the movie, as it clearly tries to relay the message that some people are not susceptible to this verbal inferiority complex. They may be claiming that they can stand on their own ground when facing the seemingly superior British culture like Shakespeare. After seeing the actual play, Benidez is fully aware that Shakespeare’s plays are performed in British English; still that awareness doesn’t stop him from using his own accent. He never tries to imitate the Shakespearian accent he heard on the stage, and openly says he doesn’t like British accent. Thereby he is making it clear that he has no intention to conform to other people’s rules, includ-

ing Shakespeare, to whose works he took an enormous liking. His recitation in American English might have shocked Shakespeare, but would his speech have impressed everyone around him so much if he had done so in British English?

Let's Beat to Hamlet!

Another moving incident in the movie comes when Hamlet is made into rap music by the students. All the students sing and dance to the rap music, telling the tragic story of Hamlet. It is a significant scene in that it is a good example of what happens when two completely different cultures meet. Those young soldiers successfully adopt Shakespeare and create something new out of it. If Shakespeare represents so-called high sophisticated culture of intellectuals, rap music represents so-called popular sub-culture of socially inferior youngsters. One seems to have nothing in common with the other, but unexpectedly, the 'dumb' students try something nobody would usually dream of doing.

Some Unique Features of an American Way of Adopting a Different Culture

Certain features unique to American way of adaptation of Shakespeare can be observed from various scenes in the movie.

Plot over Protagonist

Their obvious interest in the plot of the play over the famous protagonist Hamlet shows that they are always more interested in themselves and their own affairs than others. They are only interested in Hamlet so long as they can see he has something in common with themselves. They are interested in the plot because there are some elements in the story that they can identify themselves with. They are trying to understand Hamlet through their own experience in life and not by extending their imagination over things that they have never known so far. They take little interest in what they cannot imagine or what they don't know. A man like Hamlet may not be known to them, so they don't bother to stop to think why Hamlet is full of melancholy and grief or to analyze what kind of man Hamlet truly is. As Terry Eagleton (2013) says, "[T]he United States of America is a peculiarly self-involved society" (p. 147).

Innovation over Tradition

Terry Eagleton (2013) also points out the following about Americans:

[...] innovation is what Americans are supremely good at. The British instinct is to fit into an established mould, conform to a given model, whereas the American impulse to break the mould and create a fresh model. [...] Tradition, then, relieves you some of your freedom of choice, which some Americans find objectionable. [...] Americans suspect that to hand over your choice to tradition or convention is to be inauthentic. (p. 155)

In a country where innovation is valued over tradition, there is no need for Americans to look up to the traditional ways of interpreting Shakespeare. They only have to invent new ways to interpret things on their own in any way they like. In the movie Bill tries to give Roosevelt Hobbs, whom he believes to be a promising young man, a better chance to study and eventually hopes to help him climb the social ladder. His good intention ends up sending him to prison instead. The other students get upset over the incident and blame Bill for Hobbs' misfortune. When the angry students are leaving the classroom, refusing to listen to what Bill has to say, he says to them, "Remember. To thine own self be true."

This is part of the long advice Polonius gives to his son Laertes when he is about to leave for Paris. The father is quite fussy about what his son should do and not do in a foreign land and concludes his good advice by these words:

This above all: to thine own self be true
And it must follow, as the night the day
Thou canst not then be false to any man.

Hamlet, 1.3.78-80

It is generally understood to mean that he should be self-reliant, rather than dependent on others judgment when in doubt or in trouble; and so long as he is sincere to himself, he does no wrong to others. It can be noted that this original meaning doesn't sit well with the message Bill tries to convey to his students, who are about to desert him. What Bill wants to say is, no matter what happens, one should not forget to follow one's own heart, which, in light of what happened to Hobbs, may sound like a lame

excuse. Little importance seems to be attached to such a difference in nuance and interpretation.

In the 1970s through 1990s there was a trend also in America to try to understand a literary work in its original cultural background, not in the context of one’s own culture. However, it should be noted again that hardly anyone in the movie shows interest in Shakespeare or the English culture in Shakespeare’s time.

Us Over Them

Motohashi (2002) says culture is not free from power games and awareness of one’s own culture is made by the existence of another which has been excluded by the social/cultural systems of one’s own. To be aware of one’s own culture one has to be aware of cultures different from one’s own, and vice versa. There is always ‘us’ versus ‘them’ and when two different cultures meet, there will be power games, which end up one culture having more impact over the other.

The contrasting cultures in the movie may be described as shown in Table 1. Bill and the students belong to different cultural groups as well as social classes. The students’ initial dislike and distrust of Bill comes from these differences and one theme of the movie is about how these two different cultures overcome their differences and learn to understand each other.

On the surface, it may appear that Bill exercises more influence on his students by teaching them Shakespeare, but actually the students never leave their familiar ground to learn something new. As I said before, they understand Shakespeare only in the framework of their knowledge and experience. Therefore, it is Bill who is unexpectedly influenced by the culture of his students. He gradually moves to their side and in the end fully approves their ways. At the end of the movie there is no apparent cultural gap between Bill and his students that was felt so strongly at the beginning.

Yoshimi (2000, p. 9) compares culture to a battlefield; when different cultures clash, it is more like a battle. When they are finally adapted, it is rarely done so on an equal basis or to an equal extent. And, in this case, it seems that the students have won the final battle.

To quote Eagleton’s words again, “Americans are trained to admire achievement” (2013, p. 133). Thus, they like to win and like success stories, which is perhaps why the authentic European culture represented by Shakespeare and Bill cannot prevail over the less well-known American youth culture.

Optimism over Pessimism

Eagleton (2013) also points out the affirmative spirit that prevails in the US, and says Americans have “the belief that you can change the world by positive thinking” (p. 141). There is overwhelming optimism in this movie, in contrast with the gloomy nature of Hamlet. They are not affected by the sad ending of Hamlet and Ophelia, but they are rather overcome with the sense of achievement that they studied something as difficult as Shakespeare. You can feel there is a strong affirmative feeling that anything is possible if you try.

Success over Failure

Lastly, it should be stressed that this movie is, like so many other American movies, about success. In spite of the initial reluctance Bill teaches successfully and wins the students’ trust and respect. The students also prove themselves to be capable of learning as well as overcoming difficulties.

Hirota Mitsui (2005, p. 51) lists as one of the characteristics of American culture the importance of gaining successful achievements, saying that the self-enhancement American people seek is made possible through successfully accomplishing tasks that lead to positive results. Similarly, L. Monique Pittman (2011) points out by citing Hochschild’s

Table 1. Contrasting Cultures in *Renaissance Man*

The culture Bill represents		The culture his students represent	
English culture of the 16 th century	vs.	American culture of the 20 th century	
Shakespeare	vs.	Rap	
Classical high culture	vs.	Popular sub culture	
Elite intellectualism	vs.	Anti-intellectualism	

study that in America there is little sympathy for those unable to achieve: “Because success is so central to Americans’ self-image, and they expect as well as hope to achieve, Americans are not gracious about failure” (p. 87).

It is, therefore, imperative for the characters in the movie to enjoy success to keep up their self-esteem, and the success becomes all the more glorious if the task they have to challenge is not easy. In this sense, it can be said the movie uses Shakespeare’s authority to legitimate their hard-earned success.

Conclusion: So Who’s Afraid of Shakespeare?

From the movie *Renaissance Man*, a certain American attitude toward different cultures and values becomes clear. The eight soldiers in the movie are self-oriented people and they think they are the center of the world. A close observation of how events turn in the movie makes it clear that Americans strongly approve of self-oriented people like Bill’s students. While the eight soldiers in the movie may represent just a particular class and their behavior and reaction may not be considered in any way typical of all Americans, their presence in the movie clearly suggests there is a strong undercurrent of admiration in American values for keeping one’s ground when facing a different culture. People who consider themselves the center of the world are inclined to think they are ultimate criterion to measure the world. This self-confidence produces an attitude whereby they follow their own rules when adapting other cultures to their own. To them it does not matter how the particular culture they are going to adapt originated or what other people think about it. What is important is how they can associate themselves with it and how they digest it.

Such an attitude results in a considerable lack of interest in the original culture, but at the same time it gives them freedom to adapt the culture in any way they like, which can be a great asset when adapting aspects of other cultures. However, it can be a problem when trying to understand other people and cultures, as they don’t often see things from the same viewpoint.

As the Shakespearean scholar Yasunari Takada (1998) and many others have pointed out, Shakespeare deals with fundamentally universal human problems, so that it has relevance to our problems today and allows a wide range of interpretation. I am quite sure Shakespeare would approve of any

form of interpretation or adaptation no matter how unexpected it may be, and there is no need to be afraid of Shakespeare.

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Appendix

Neither a borrower nor a lender be,
For loan oft loses both itself and friend,
And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry

This above all: to thine own self be true,
And it must follow, as the night the day,
Thou canst not then be false to any man
Hamlet, 1.3.75-80

This day is call’d the feast of Crispian.
He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
Will stand a tip-toe when this day is nam’d,
And rouse him at the name of Crispian.
He that shall live this day, and see old age,

Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbours,
And say 'To-morrow is Saint Crispian',
Then will he strip his sleeve and show his scars,
And say 'These wounds I had on Crispian's day'.
Old men forget; yet all shall be forgot,
But he'll remember, with advantages,
What feats he did that day. Then shall our names,
Familiar in his mouth as household words-
Harry, the King, Bedford and Exeter,
Warwick and Talbot, Salisbury and Gloucester-
Be in their flowing cups freshly remember'd.
This story shall the good man teach his son;
And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered-
We, few, we happy few, we band of brothers;
For he to-day that shed his blood with me
Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
This day shall gentle his condition;
And gentlemen in England now-a-bed
Shall think themselves accurs'd they were not here,
And hold their manhoods cheap while any speaks
That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

Henry V, 4.3.40-67

About the author: Sho Kubota is a graduate student at Waseda University, studying Shakespeare. His main interest in literature lies in so-called 'outsiders', and he is particularly interested in the roles foreigners play in Shakespeare and how they are represented in his plays.



Consider yourself invited to peruse the multimedia offerings of the *OTB Forum*. On our publications page (<http://www.otbforum.net/publications.html>) you'll find several audio files and one video. Enjoy!

Outside the Box: A Multi-Lingual Forum

A Couple More Things ...

Visitors to the *OTB Forum* webpages and readers of the journal might be curious about the imagery employed. Allow us to explain.

Why is forum used in the title of this journal? We envisioned this journal as a meeting place that would welcome viewpoints from various people and quarters and in various languages. In history, the word forum referred to an open square which served as the center of business and public discussion; the etymology of forum is the Latin *foris*, "outside." Of course, the Roman Forum (*Forum Romanum*) was such a center of commerce and government.

Why a column? As the reader may have noticed in the issue in your hand or on the screen, the *OTB Forum* employs this image of a column quite often. This image is of the top third of a large column located quite near the Foreign Language Center (now the Center for Global Communication) at the University of Tsukuba, where the *OTB Forum* originated.

The column is in the Corinthian style, the latest of three main Greco-Roman column styles: Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. Corinthian columns were used to support temples and other important public buildings. They were erected to celebrate victories in military campaigns and to commemorate posthumously the greatness of certain emperors such as Trajan. The scrolls found at each corner of Corinthian columns were a key symbol of civilization for the Romans. They signify respect for the written word and its facility to convey law, history, and other information. These columns were also used to separate areas of different religious importance, such as each god's alcove in the Roman Pantheon. Hence, their use in the *OTB Forum* as a border between different sections is intended as a continuation of a time-honored tradition, albeit only for literary purposes. (See http://www.ehow.com/about_6570954_symbolism-roman-columns.html for an excellent explanation of Roman columns and symbolism, and a photograph of the interior of the Pantheon with its Corinthian columns can be viewed at <http://www.trekearth.com/gallery/photo1114648.htm>.)

On some of the pages of the *OTB Forum* webpage, you will find a gray brick background. This refers to the roads built by the Roman Empire.

Finally, **the viaduct below** is located in Segovia, Spain. This, too, is a vestige of the Roman Empire (and it makes a fine divider in its current incarnation).



Outside the Box: A Multi-Lingual Forum

Submission Guidelines

These are the categories we've arrived at for the OTB Forum. We encourage submissions in any of these, and we further welcome submissions that do NOT fit these categories—this is, as the name suggests, a forum.

Articles (formerly Theory and Other Dangerous Things) is devoted to theoretical issues and academic articles of interest to language teachers and practitioners. Articles in this section undergo double blind peer review; please consult <http://www.otbforum.net> for a detailed explanation of the peer review process.

Language Learning & Teaching deals with classroom advice and tips.

Experiences focuses, as the name suggests, on experiences (!) relevant to language. These can be, of course, as a learner, teacher, or practitioner.

Around the World deals with international topics (i.e., outside Japan), including but not limited to travel, living abroad, and studying abroad. In this category, photographs would be an excellent addition (see Nagata, 2011).

Technology addresses the expanding use of technology in the classroom.

Creative Writing welcomes any type of creative writing: short stories, reflections, poetry, among many other possibilities.

Reviews may address any medium (e.g., books, music, film, theater) and should include ISBN, ISSN, and price information.



Outside the Box: A Multi-Lingual Forum

General Guidelines

In your articles, please adhere to the following general guidelines.

- Submissions should be, in principle, a maximum of about 6000 words in length for academic papers and about 2000 words for all other submissions.
- To make your article as accessible as possible, informative abstracts (containing selected results) in both English and Japanese are encouraged. If the paper is not in English, then an English abstract is strongly suggested.
- Use **Times New Roman** font for Latin-based languages, and use **MS明朝** for Chinese and Japanese.
- The text should be 12-point font.
- Use the **format/paragraph/special indentation/first line** feature to indent paragraphs (please do not use spaces or tabs).
- The *OTB Forum* uses APA style for references. Please consult the latest edition (currently the 6th edition) for details.
- For section headings, please consult past issues for general guidelines. Please note that we do not use numeration (e.g., 1.1, 1.1.1, 2.1) in section headings.
- Figures such as photographs and images are acceptable. The author should provide images and indicate approximately where images should be located in the text (see Davidson, 2010, and Rude & Rupp, 2008).
- Footnotes may be included (e.g., Bode, 2008; Kenny, 2010; Spang, 2019a, 2019b).
- Use of copyrighted material is allowed, but responsibility for obtaining copyright permission lies with the author, not with the OTB Forum.

Call for abstracts: The next issue of the *OTB Forum* is planned for later in 2019. Authors may submit a short abstract (about 200 words) for planned submissions. Please send abstracts to **editor@otbforum.net**



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