

PRIMARY SCHOOL SYSTEM IN JAVA BEFORE AND UNDER JAPANESE OCCUPATION (1940-1944)

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ABSTRACT

Primary School before and during the Japanese occupation of Indonesia has not been studied comprehensively due to the paucity of authentic data. The Japanese military document called 'Jawa ni okeru bunkyō no gaikyō' has served as an important source in this field. This study analyzes the alteration of primary school and its re-establishment process following the example of the educational system employed in imperial Japan. The number of primary schools has been reported to decline dramatically - either the number of schools or that of the students. However, we[who?] found that the number of primary schools did not significantly decrease, and, even more, the number of students increased in Java. One teacher two classes system and the one room two classes were introduced in response to the teacher shortage. The curriculum had been Japanized through introducing new subjects such as Japanese language, spirit/mental education, physical education and vocational activities. Japanese primary school emphasizes practical education unlike the Dutch system which merely fosters and nurtures the academic side.

Key words : *Primary school, educational system, Japanese occupation*

Introduction

Japanese occupation of Indonesia lasted for only three years and a half, but it brought in some important educational policies which persist and still can be found today. We can mention here, for example, the 6-year primary, 3-year middle secondary school, and 3-year upper secondary school known as 6-3-3 *single track* system. The physical education or physical exercise (called *taisō*) routinely practiced in the morning at the same time in the whole country during the Japanese period is argued to be the origin of *Senam Pagi* (morning physical exercise) which became a mass physical activities compulsory in all schools and government institutions during the Soeharto era.

R. Thomas Murray has revealed some policies pursued by Japanese military in Indonesia, i.e. 1) Removing Dutch language at schools, 2) Forbidding using and teaching English and French in secondary school on the grounds that

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it was 'the language of enemy' (Nasution (1995) ², 3) Teaching Japanese language at primary and secondary schools, 4) Accrediting Malay/Indonesian language as the national language used in schools and in administrative matters. 5) Forcing physical activity, and intensifying the military exercise at high school, 6) Introducing a handwork or project work which would be required for upholding and sponsoring the war, could contribute to a self sufficiency of daily needs as well. For example, growing vegetables, fish or husbandry, 7) Reorganizing some of the Dutch public high schools into vocational schools³. 8) Abolishing the teaching of Dutch and European history and substituted them with the history of Asia, Japan and Indonesia (Thomas 1966).

Those statements were approved by some authors, but there has been no effort to clarify and analyze them due to the lack of authentic data. Most studies on education under Japanese militarism in Indonesia extend only to policy matters, which mostly highlighted the benefit and eminence of single track (6-3-3), the introduction of Indonesian language as a formal subject at school and common language in administration too. Those policies are noticeable easily because it was contrasting the Dutch school system, which was run discriminatively based on social class and ethnicity. Japanese system offered more opportunities to access the education for all.

The paucity of authentic data on education in the era of Japanese occupation (1942-1945) in Indonesia has been an obstacle to undertake intricate analysis and down reaching study in. There is also an impediment regarding the language. Most of Japanese military documents are written using old Japanese grammar and characters. Of course it is understandable and apprehend only by Japanese scholars. There are many Japanese historians focusing on the Japanese occupation in Southern Asia, but only a few scholars interested in education. Aiko Kurasawa can be mentioned as the most productive writer, focusing on social change and farmer society in Java, including the culture and educational policies, pertaining some issues on education in her famous books, *Nihon senryō moto no jawa nōson no henyō* (which had been translated into Bahasa Indonesia as "Mobilisasi dan kontrol: Studi tentang perubahan sosial di pedesaan Jawa, 1942-1945").

She was lucky to get the secret document about the educational policy of Japanese military in Java in 1943 from Dr. Leonard Blusse, a Dutch historian who got it from a Dutch man fought during 1945-1959. This document titled "*Java ni okeru bunkyō no gaikyō*" (Japanese Educational Policy in Java, hereinafter called *bukyō no gaikyō*) and as a part of "*Nanbō gunsei kankei shiryō*" (The documents related to Southern Military Rule). The document describes the educational

²French, German, and English were compulsory subjects both in secondary and primary level as well, particularly the elite schools for European and elite society. But, it taught mostly in ELS, the primary school for European, and shorter period in HCS and HIS.

³High school under Dutch colonialism purposed to educate civil servant who will be assigned in government office. Japanese military thought they did not need more officers, but demanding more labors or soldiers as well for war aim.

administration, educational policies, school system, school curriculum, text books, both general school and the vocational school in Java in academic year 1943/1944 or Japanese calendar, *Showa* 18/19. It contains remarkably important data which can be said as lightening the road to deeply analyze the educational practices in the given time.

Based on this document, this study will analyze and discuss further what many scholars discourse about the introduction of single track system in Indonesia during 1940-1943. However, in this paper, I do not go further on discussing schooling system entirely, but I will concentrate on the analyzing the process of reopening, reconstructing the curriculum, and the statistics of primary schools. Primary school has been chosen due to the fact that under the Dutch period it was established as the most discriminated institution, separated ones for elites and for commoners. The term of primary school in this study refer to what is recently known in Indonesia's educational system as *Sekolah Dasar*.

For that purpose, the following points are examined:

1. It is an intricate policy to unify various primary schools during Dutch colonial era. Some papers describe that Japanese authority abolished all primary schools and established a 6-year primary school. But, abolishment and renewal of the school buildings, then directly in a short time introduced the new system which was definitely contradicted with the old one was impossible in such unstable political situation in 1942. Then, how did Japanese military reorganized the multi-track educational system into the single-track?
2. Scholars generally delineate that the number of schools under Japanese authority had dramatically declined, either in elementary or in secondary level (Mestoko 1985:139). However, on the positive side, it was also mentioned that Japanese military employed the mass and a non discriminative education system which permitted all people to access the schools without any preferences. How could Japanese military manage both issues aptly?
3. The study of Western culture and language was abolished, Japanization had been introduced, and Indonesian language was taught in all schools. However, in the period of independence, Ki Hajar Dewantara as the first Ministry of Teaching and Education decided to adopt Dutch curriculum instead of Japanese military's for primary schools for independent Indonesia. Thus, there should be some considerations. Therefore, we have to scrutinize the curriculum structure introduced by Japanese military and compare it with the Dutch's. For placidly actualizing the new system, how Japanese military quickly prepared teachers and provided the Japanese and Indonesian textbooks in the short period?

Organizing Single Primary School

School organization during the Japanese occupation was applied accordingly to the one in Imperial Japan, although slightly differing in the school type. Education in Dutch East Indies under Japanese militarism had completely

divided into three levels, namely *shotōkyōiku* (primary education), *chūtōkyōiku* (secondary education), and *kōtōkyōiku* (higher education) (Fig.1).

However, as reported in *bunkyō no gaikyō*, the schooling was not conducted as co-education. Assuming that the boys and girls have differences in biological aspects, interests, and the vocation that should be learned, the military authority decided to separate the education for boys and girls. This policy differs from the Dutch system, where in certain level, Dutch school was conducted as co-education, but there was also single-sex school, such as the *Vervolgschool*⁴.

Most of literature referred the *Kokumingakkō* (*People School*, translated in Indonesian as *Sekolah Rakyat*) as the only type of primary school during the Japanese occupation. But according to *bunkyō no gaikyō*, chapter two, *gakkōkyōiku* (formal education), part two, *kankōritsushokyōiku* (Public and Private Schools), there were some models of *Kokumingakkō*. First, the *Kokumingakkō* which provided both elementary course (*shotōka*) and comprehensive course (*futsūka*), each conducted in three years. Second, there was *Shotōkokumingakkō* (translated as *Sekolah Pertama*), which only provided three years elementary course. Third, there was *Kokumingakkō* which only offered comprehensive course, namely *Futsūka kokumingakkō*. While, *Shotōkokumingakkō* had another types, i.e. 4-year school, and the *Kokumingakkō* also varied, i.e. 5-year, and 7-year schools. In academic year *Showa 19* (equal to 1944) all *Shotōkokumingakkō* was harmonised into a three-year school, and all *Kokumingakkō* was unified as a six-year school (*bunkyō no gaikyō* : pp.34-35).

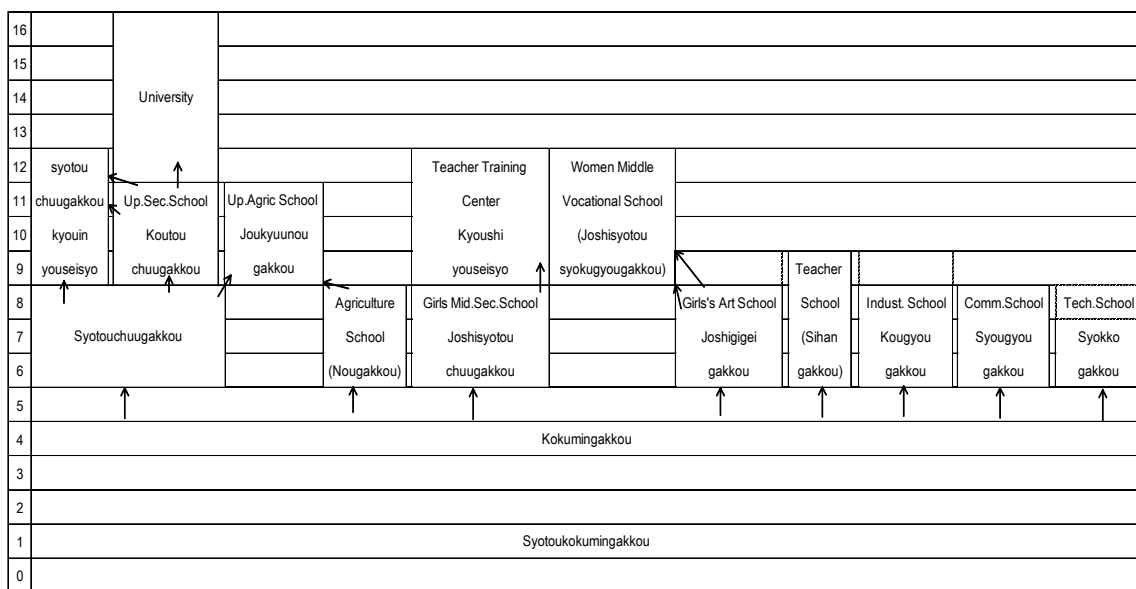


Figure 1. The Educational System under Japanese Occupation? (1942-1945)
Source : *Bunkyō no gaikyō*:12

⁴There was *Meiserjersvervolgschool* (*Vervolgschool* for girls) as mentioned in *bunkyō no gaikyō*.

It should take considerable time to completely reorganize the different Dutch's primary schools, then simplify as 6-year primary school. But, Japanese military had strong intention, worked quickly and systematically as can be noticed from the number of ordinances and policies set up during the two years of occupation. If we agree with Puspongoro and Notosusanto (1995:3-14), we can say that Japanese militarism started in 8th March 1942, the day when they landed in Tarakan, Kalimantan. Then, the first ordinance on reopening the school was enacted on April 29th, 1942, or less than two months after the arrival, the military authority in Java acted quickly to disseminate the new system. According to *bunckyō no gaikyō*, there were eight ordinances enacted in 1942 and about 30 decrees in 1943 issued the matters of schooling system (*bunykō no gaikyō*, pp.112-114). On the contrary, the Dutch just started to be seriously built the schools for Indonesian people at the end of the 19th century, decades after her arriving, and completely constructed the school system in 1920, when high school for the commoners, called AMS, was finally established. Hence, thinking that it was no more than two years, what Japanese military did in the field of educational policies should be considered as remarkable.

The 3-year *Villageschool*, 2-year *Vervolgschool*, 5-year *Tweede Klassen School*, 5-year *Schakel School*, and 7-year *Europeesch Lagere School(ELS)*, *Hollandsch Inladsche School(HIS)*, or *Hollandsch Chinese School(HCS)* were various primary schools remained till the end of Dutch colonialism in 1941. Those various primary schools had been grouped into two kinds of school as mentioned above. According to the Act number 3 enacted in 29th April 1942 about re-opening the school's, the *Shotōkokumingakkō* was a restructuring of *Desa Sekolah (Villageschool)*, *Samboengan Sekolah (Vervolgschool)*, *Kelas doasekolah(Tweede Klassen School)*, and *Meisjesvervolgschool(Vervolgschool for girls)*. It means that the rest, i.e. Schakelschool, HIS, HCS, and probably ELS was reopened as *Kokumingakkō*.

This classification most probably did not divide the schools into those for elites and those for commoners, but it merely applied based on the school term and class instructional language. Most of the schools in Java which categorized as *Shotōkokumingakkō* used local languages, such as Malay, Jawa, Sunda, and Madura as class instructional language.

We can also notice that vocational schools or technical training provided in the Dutch period as the continuation of *Volkschool* or *Twedee klassen school* had been abolished too. Primary schools provided general education only, and equipped with some technical or vocational subjects were separated for boys and girls.

The students who had finished *Shotōkokumingakkō* and the students who had completed the 5-year *Kokumingakkō* did not receive the graduation certificate (*sotsugyōshōmeisho*), but they obtained the completion diploma or certificate (*shūgyōshōsho* or *shōmeisho*). However, those who had graduated from 6-year or 7-year *Kokumingakkō* were entitled the graduation certificate

(*sotsugyōshōmeisho*). It means that before unifying various primary schools into six-year school system, Japanese military government first approved and admitted students who were studying in various Dutch schools. If they finished the education sooner than in 6-year school, they got the completion diploma, but not the graduation certificate. Then, what was the difference between these certificates? It can be presumed that the completion diploma only approved as for entering workforce and on the contrary, the graduation certificate was a requirement for enrollment into higher grade or school. Thus, students accomplished the *Shotōkokumingakkō* had to study one year more in *Kokumingakkō* in order to get the graduation certificate as a “green card” for enrolling the secondary schools.

This dual primary school system, i.e. *Kokumingakkō* and *Shotōkokumingakkō* was adopted by the *Badan Pekerja Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat* (BP-KNIP) in its proposal on 1946 as cited by Tilaar (1995:72). However, the *Panitia Penyelidik Pengajaran* in 1947 prompted the single 6-year Sekolah Rakyat and abolished other types. Here, we can surmise that the primary school system in the early period of Indonesia’s independence and the next period was originally adopted from the system introduced by Japanese military.

Analyzing the Decline of Schools and Student Number

Some historical literatures mentioned that the number of schools during the Japanese occupation declined dramatically. For example Mestoko has written as follows:

... primary school decreased from 21,500 units to 13,500, and secondary schools decreased from 850 to 20 units. Similarly, primary school students also decreased 30%, while secondary school students dropped off 90%. Number of primary school teachers dropped off 35% and secondary school teachers decreased 95%, thus, only 5% actively worked ... (Mestoko 1985:139, see also Djoyonegoro,1996,p38))

Unfortunately, Mestoko and other scholars did not provide the source of the data and unfortunately they do not enclose also the accurate period of the data. Thus, it is uncertain whether the decline took place at the end of Japanese occupation (1945) or in the middle of it (1943 or 1944). To analyze the growth and the decline of primary schools under Japanese occupation, we have to focus on situation both right before the Japanese occupation (1940-1941) and the time after (1945). However, it is effortful work due to inadequate data describing the situation of the whole country statistically. Statistics of Dutch East Indies education in 1940 might be an estimation of 1930’s data, because the census planned to handle in 1940 was cancelled due to Germany’s attack of the Netherlands before the WWII.

Here we use the most commonly cited data figuring education in Dutch East Indies in 1940 compiled by Van der Wal (1963). According to this data, the number of primary schools in 1940 was 21,255 units. This number of schools was

an accumulation of the European Primary School (ELS), the Special School, the Dutch Chinese School (HCS), the Bumiputera-Dutch School (HIS), the *Tweedee School*, the *Volkschool*, the *Vervolgschool*, and the *Schakelschool* (Table 1).

Bunkyo no gaikyō page 12 shows the number of student attending primary school in 1941, through this we can trace that the number of student had decreased from 2,348,854 in 1940 into 1,597,170 students in 1941 in the whole country (Table 1). Unfortunately, the data does not include the number of school.

Tabel 1 School and Student Number in Indonesia (1940-1945)

Institution	School No.	Student No.	School No. +/-	Student No. +/-
Prelude Japanese Occupation (1940)				
Europeschee Lagere School (ELS)	292	47,282		
Special School (Sekolah Khusus)	15	4,589		
Holland Chinese School (HCS)	110	25,467		
Holland Inlandsche School (HIS)	285	71,976		
Schackel School	52	6,011		
sub total	754	155,325		
Tweedee Klasse School	34	9,759		
Volkschool	17,718	1,896,374		
Vervolgschool	2,749	287,126		
sub total	20,501	2,193,259		
Total (1940)	21,255	2,348,584		
1941				
Chinese Lagere School (CLS)	No	3,232		
Special School (Sekolah Khusus)	No	3,633		
Holland Chinese School (HCS)	No	19,640		
Holland Inlandsche School (HIS)	No	52,305		
Schackel School	No	4,418		
sub total		83,228		(-72,007) (46.4%⬇)
Tweedee Klasse School	No	10,048		
Vervolgschool	No	217,808		
Volkschool	No	1,286,086		
sub total		1,513,942		(-679,317) (30.9%⬇)
Total (1941)		1,597,170		(-751,414) (32.0%⬇)
Japanese Occupation (1943)				
Kōritsu kokumingakkō (Public)	2,102	467,618		
Shiritsu kokumingakkō (Private)	766	121,407		
sub total	2,868	589,025	(+2,114) (280.0%⬆)	(+495,749) (533%⬆)
Kōritsu shotōkokumingakkō (Public)	11,078	1,793,735		
Shiritsu Shotōkokumingakkō (Private)	401	49,969		
sub total	11,479	1,843,704	(-9,022) (44.0%⬇)	(+339,810) (22.6%⬆)
Total (1943)	14,347	2,432,729	(-6,908) (32.5%⬇)	(+835,559) (52.3%⬆)
After Japanese Occupation (1945)				
Elementary School (Sekolah Rakyat) (1945)	15,069	2,523,410		
Total (1945)	15,069	2,523,410	(+722) (5.0%⬆)	(+90,681) (3.7%⬆)

Source : Data in 1940 retrieved from S. L. Van der Wal (ed) *Het Onderwijsbeleid in Nederlands –Indie 1900-1940*, 1963 quoted by Djoyonegoro (1996:62-68), and rearranged by writer. Data is accumulation of public and private school. Data in 1941 retrieved from *bunkyo no gaikyō* (p.45) cited by Kurasawa (1991). Data on Japanese occupation era cited from *bunkyo no gaikyō* (p.44) cited by Kurasawa (1991). And data in 1945 retrieved from Djoyonegoro (1996:142)

In contrast, the data of schooling published by the Japanese military in 1943 lists that the number of public and private *Kokumingakkō* was 2,868 units, and *Shotōkokumingakkō* was 11,479, both public and private. It means,

in the Java Island itself, there had been 14,347 primary schools existed in the year 1943/1944. The number of students of primary schools at the given time was 2,432,729 students. Supposed that the schools in Java was almost 90% of total schools in the whole country at the time, we can nearly estimate that the number of primary schools in the entire country increased by about 270% compared to the data in 1940 or 1941 by Van der Wal (Table 1).

Here is also a need to scrutinize the data presented in *bunkyō no gaikyō* as accredited both the *Kokumingakkō* (public and private) and the *Shotokokumingakkō*. In that context, according to definition of *Kokumingakkō* as cited above, we can roughly surmise that the 14,347 units of primary school mentioned in this document, were the re-establishment of *Volkschool*, *Vervolgschool*, *Tweede Klassen School*, *Schakel School*, *ELS*, *HIS* and *HCS*.

But, if we compare these data with the one presented by Van der Wal, there is some mismatch of the schools' statistics from 1940 to 1943. According to Van der Wal, the number of schools classified by Japanese military as *Kokumingakkō* only existed 754 units in the entire country in 1940. However, according to *bunkyō no gaikyō*, the number of *Kokumingakkō* in 1943 was 2,868 units in Java alone. It means that there was an establishment of at least 2,114 units of new 6-year primary schools within three years. On the contrary, the number of what Japanese military called as *Shotōkokumingakkō* decreased from 20,501 in 1940 to 11,479 in 1943 or declined 9,022 units within three years. Supposed that 2,114 units of 6-year primary schools were re-opening of *Shotōkokumingakkō* or were a result of merger of *Volkschool* and *Vervolgschool*, and reopening the *Tweede Klassen School*, we can roughly summarize that Japanese military had abolished or closed about 6,908 units of *Volkschool* and *Vervolgschool*, or equal to 32.5% of varied primary schools.

Meanwhile, the report published by the Educational Research and Development Institution (BALITBANG) of the Ministry of Education and Culture in 1979, quoted by Djoyonegoro (1996:142) denotes that the primary schools in Indonesia in 1945 was 15,069 units, and there were 2,523,410 students enrolled. If we conjecture that the Indonesian government could not build new schools after regaining independence in August, 1945 due to unstable political and economic situation, we can ascertain that the 15,069 units of primary schools in 1945 represented the 6-year *Kokumingakkō* which was introduced by Japanese military in 1944.

The number of primary school students in Java in 1943 was 607,104 students, which can be clarified as 130,857 students belonging to *Kokumingakkō*, and 476,247 students to *Shotōkokumingakkō*. From this fact, we can assume that the number of student who able to fulfill the requirement of enrolling the secondary schools was only 21.6%.

It is difficult to prove what Mestoko argued as the decline of about 30% of primary school student during the Japanese occupation. As can be noticed that the number of students in 1940 was 2,348,584 students, and in 1943 there was

2,432,729 students (in Java only). It means here, there was increasing of students enrolled the primary school within three years either in Java or in outer islands. We can also notice that the number of student was significantly increased from 1943 into 1945 (90,681 students).

However, there is an interesting fact that the number of primary student dramatically declined from 1940 into 1941. Supposing that the data is correct, there should be a mismatch regarding about 751,414 students. This fact should be questioned, on what happened in Dutch East Indies during 1940-1941? And what happened with about 32% primary school students?

The Second World War (1941-1942) which is regarded as one of the largest destructive conflicts in our history can be a reason of declining number of students in 1941. The population of Dutch East Indies in 1940 was not precisely known, since the previous census conducted by Dutch East Indies government was in 1930, and due to the attack of Germany to Netherlands, the population census which planned to be handled on 1940 had been postponed. Therefore, what presented by Dower (1986:296) in his book, "*War Without Mercy*" ,i.e. there were about 69,435,000 people in Dutch East Indies in 1939, should be not an actual population, but an estimation based on population growth founded in census 1930. Van der Eng (2002) reported a good comparative data from various resources and made detailed analysis regarding the population growth of Indonesia in 1930-1961. According to Volkstelling 1930 cited by Van den Eng, the population of Dutch East Indies in 1930 was 60.98 million. Van den Eng based on the population growth in Java and outer islands estimated that in 1930, the population of Indonesia was 60.993 million and in 1942 was 73.522 million. It seems that there was no declination of population in Indonesia during the WW II.

However, according to Dower the civilian deaths in Dutch East Indies as victims of WW II were about 3.03 million to 4.03 million (Dower 1986:296). Gruhl (2007) presented similar estimation that the civilian death due to the war and Japanese occupation was three million Indonesians and 30,000 interned Europeans. United Nations reported, three million for Java alone, and one million for the outer islands. Those victims include men killed or having died from disease, hunger and lack of medical treatment.

The decrease of primary school student population in 1941 might have been due to the war, since as we can notice from Table 1, about 43.5% primary schools actually were the schools dominated by European or elites commoners, and 31.1% were schools attended only by the commoners. We can assume that many Europeans had to go back to their countries by reason of Japan's propaganda to get rid of all western impacts in Dutch East Indies in the earlier of her occupation.

Based on discussion above, we can conclude that schooling under the Japanese military was by necessity decreased due to the merger of 3-year and 5-year schools that existed in 1940 into a unified 6-year *Kokumingakkō*. Therefore,

it might be indubitably assumed here, that scholars have different perceptions of the term “primary school” in two periods, i.e. Dutch colonial era and Japanese occupation era. In concrete speaking, we can say that scholars defined the primary schools in 1940 as the accumulation of varied 3-year, 4-year, 5-year, and 7-year schools in the Dutch colonial. And, they narrowly were determining the school in 1942 as 6-year *Kokumingakkō* without counting the *Shotōkokumingakkō*. Hence, it was noticeable that the number of primary school in the Japan occupation period was lower than under the Dutch. Instead of building the new schools, Japanese military tended to merge the existing various less than 6-year primary schools into one type of *Kokumingakkō*.

The increasing of primary school students during the Japanese occupation has also been proven. Though the number of schools declined, the number of commoners who could access the primary education increased. Implementing the non discriminative education can be regarded as a positive side of Japanese military policy.

Anticipating Teacher Shortage in Primary School

The “Japanization” was expanded either in political or social aspect extensively, and we can say that education became the important starting point to totally disseminate in society. In the field of education, employing Japanese language, Japanese history, spirit, and other related subjects came with some consequences such as, preparing as well the human resources working in.

For that purpose, training the commoner teachers to acquire the Japanese learning culture, the spirit was necessary, and in some cases sending Japanese teachers to Indonesia became an important approach. As a consequence of *Japanization*, all European teachers were expelled, and just before the Japanese army arrived, some of them had already joined the Dutch army against Japan.

To anticipate the lack of teachers in primary school in Java, the military since April, 1st 1944 applied the *Nibukyōjusei* (one teacher two classes) and the *Fukushikikyōju* (one room two grades). The implementation of this policy in Java as figured in Table 2.

Java was divided into 20 provinces (Kurasawa uses residence), which can be grouped into first, regions located in west part of the island, i.e. Banten, City of Djakarta, Djakarta Province, Bogor, Priangan, and Tjirebon. Second, the regions located in central Java, i.e. Pekalongan, Banjouemas, Semarang, Pati, Kedoe, Soerakarta, and Djokjakarta. And the third are regions located in east Java, i.e. Madioen, Bodjonegoro, Kediri, Malang, Besoeki, and Madoera.

Priangan had highest classroom of *Kokumingakkō*, and Madoera was the lowest, but central Java highest among other part of the island. The number of *Kokumingakkō*'s classroom entirely Java was 9,569 and the number of grades was 10,849. It means, there was 1,280 grades that had to use the same classroom. While the number of teacher was only 8,795 teachers, there was shortage of about

2,054 teachers. However, when one teacher for two classes system was employed in 2,237 cases, there were about 183 overlapping cases. However, when we think that those teachers might have taught only one subject, for example Japanese language or music, the overlapping was probably none.

In term of *Shotōkokumingakkō*, the number of grades almost doubled the number of classroom. 19,211 classrooms had to be used together by two grades. The number of teacher was only 23,668 persons, then, if one grade one teacher system applied, teacher shortage was 18,511 persons. However, there were 13,163 cases of *nibukyōjusei* introduced, means there were only 26,326 grades covered. The rest of grades (16,853 grades), each was taught by one teacher.

Since the language instructor for grade 5 and 6 was Japanese it was necessary to train the teachers to master Japanese language, or sometimes government had to send Japanese teachers as well. Even though grade 4 was instructed in Malay language and the lower grades still allowed the use of local language, subjects like *shūshin* used Japanese's textbook, hence it was still urgent to prepare teachers mastering Japanese.

Table 2 Implementation of *Nibukyōjusei* in Java (1943)

Name of province	Kokumingakkō				Shotōkokumingakkō			
	No. of classroom	No. of grade	No. of teacher	No. of nibukyōjusei	No. of classroom	No. of grade	No. of teacher	No. of nibukyōjusei
Banten	224	250	97	67	541	818	479	197
City of Djakarta	220	230	224	-	179	344	183	28
Djakarta Province	184	166	159	-	584	921	561	22
Bogor	298	328	294	66	1,039	1,610	1,009	1,212
Priangan	1,690	2,189	1,675	232	2,039	3,508	1,998	916
Tjirebon	298	328	294	138	1,215	2,220	1,449	968
Sub total	2,914	3,491	2,743	503	5,597	9,421	5,679	3,343
Pekalongan	514	514	424	230	1,617	3,165	1,606	530
Banjoemas	444	492	415	368	1,626	3,327	1,781	2,062
Semarang	400	408	346	217	1,366	3,276	1,337	669
Pati	276	508	251	85	1,264	2,579	1,282	678
Kedoe	793	971	718	239	2,122	3,696	2,097	539
Djokdjakarta	965	951	869	18	1,454	1,874	1,269	563
Soerakarta	475	332	445	36	882	1,687	862	700
Sub total	3,867	4,176	3,468	1,193	10,331	19,604	10,234	5,741
Madioen	501	520	462	20	1,586	2,000	1,580	440
Bodjonegoro	296	334	242	52	991	1,651	959	586
Kediri	832	1,164	773	372	1,969	3,968	1,940	1,652
Malang	336	365	336	18	1,026	1,981	1,025	439
Soerabaja	385	382	354	66	1,019	1,682	864	450
Besoeki	256	263	246	3	925	2,068	889	474
Madoera	182	154	171	10	524	804	498	38
Sub total	2,788	3,182	2,584	541	8,040	14,154	7,755	4,079
Total	9,569	10,849	8,795	2,237	23,968	43,179	23,668	13,163

Source : Kurasawa (1991:37). The subtotal is added by author.

For acquiring Japanese, there was also a Japanese language school opened in each province around the island. Those schools trained officers who were

assigned in government offices or worked as teachers. In 27th July 1943, the first Japanese Proficiency Test was conducted on five levels. Most participants came from Kedu, Priangan, Kediri, which are more developed than other regions. About 20,000 participants registered, and 14,200 passed the test (*bunkyō no gaikyō*, p.25).

Primary School Curriculum

a. Dutch Curriculum

Ignoring the weekly hours, Nasution (1995) roughly describes the composition of weekly subjects taught in varied Dutch primary schools (Table 4).

Table 4 Primary School Curriculum under Dutch Colonialism

ELS	HIS	HCS	Eersteeschool	Tweedeeschool	Volkschool
Compulsory Subject					1st grade
Reading	Reading	Chinese	Reading & Writing in local language	Malay	Alphabet & Malay
Writing	Writing	English			
Arithmetic	Arithmetic	French	Malay	Arithmetics	Conversation
Dutch	Dutch	Dutch		Drawing	Arithmetic (1-20)
History	Geography	Arithmetic	Arithmetic	Singing	2nd grade
Geography	Local language	Reading	Indonesian Geography	Geography	Alphabet & Arabic
	Malay	Writing	Dutch	Science	
Supplementary Subject	Jawi ^a	History	Science	Local Language	Listening
French	German	Geography	Local History	Art	3rd grade
German	English	World History	Drawing		Test
English	World History	Mathematics	Land Measurement		Arithmetic
World History	Mathematics	Art	Singing		(more than 100 and division number)
Mathematics	Art/Vocational	Physical Education			
Art/Vocational	Physical Education				
Physical Education					

Source : Nasution (1995:50-121)

Schools for commoners were principally offering the very basic education as we can see in *Volkschool*, where students learned what is assumed to be basic abilities for children recently enrolled in Indonesian kindergartens i.e. reading, writing (in Malay and Arabic) and counting numbers no further than hundred. *Tweede Klassen School* offered more advanced subjects, such as drawing, singing, geography, science, and art. Local language had been instructed replacing the Arabic.

As the extension of *Volkschool*, or parallel to *Tweedeeschool*, *Vervolgschool* provided some advanced subjects, i.e. geography, science, drawing, singing, and physical exercise. *Vervolgschool* was exclusively divided as one for ethnic Malays and another for non Malays, which differed in setting the Malay language as a foreign language or not. Introducing Dutch as a part of language education was conceded as a way to distinguish school for elites and for commoners. Dutch

was taught 8-10 hours per week in *Vervolgschool*, and it might be longer in *Eersteeschool* (later changed to HIS), HCS, ELS, and *Schackelschool*.

School for elites also can be identified by its language education. German and English was introduced in ELS, HCS, and HIS, but French was taught only in ELS and HCS which tended to discriminate between indigenous commoners (the bumiputera) and the migrant commoners (Chinese, Middle East, Africa, etc.).

Various languages taught in primary school were practically unnecessary for daily life, since most of commoners did not pursue higher education. However, since many graduates of ELS continued to HBS, Gymnasium or Lycea in the Netherlands, it was logical that they needed to master those European languages as basic tools for acquiring the learning background. But since none or significantly few of commoners and even the elites went to higher level, it was wasteful to force them learn such various Western languages.

History also became an important subject which pinpointed the school for elites and commoners, as we can notice that history had been taught in HIS, HCS, and ELS, both Dutch and World history.

b. Japanese Curriculum

Curriculum plan and the content of schooling under Japanese military had been changed mostly by stressing the language and more vocational subjects. The revised curriculum which was based on the Policy number 39 enacted in 11 May 1943 had to be implemented fully either in public or private *Kokumingakkō* at least until July 1st in the same year. As can be noticed in Table 5, the weekly learning hours were reduced, but the subjects increased and varied. The new subjects were *kōsaku* (carpenter or woodwork), *sagyō* (handwork), *jigyō* (business), and *kasei* (housekeeping) for girls.

It is interesting to notice that the title of the subject was also altered later, i.e. *sūgaku* (mathematics) changed to *sansū* (arithmetic), *dōtoku* (moral) into *shūsin* (spirit, mental), *shukō* (handmaking) became *kōsaku* (carpenter), *kagaku* (natural science) changed to *rika* (science), and finally *eisei* (health) and *taisō* (physics exercise) integrated as one subject called *tai ren* (physical education or sports). However, due to the lack of data about subject content, we cannot prove whether the content of those subjects changed as well.

The entire revised curriculum was reduced to 34 hours, where 4 hours were cut in each grade, except grade 1 and grade 3 which shortened 6 and 10 hours respectively. School started at 8:30 am and finished at 13:20 pm, without lunch break, but each lesson was separated by 10 minutes break (Table 6), and one hour lesson conducted in 40 minutes. The system differs with what is employed in Japan modern schooling nowadays, which provides lunch break around 12:00 noon⁵, and 45 or 50 minutes per lesson. But, it is similar in the starting time and the number of lesson per day.

⁵Learning hours differ depend on schools and the policy of the Board of Education in each district or municipal

Table 5 Old and New Curriculum of *Kokumingakkō*

Subject		Weekly learning hours					
Old Curriculum (1942)	New Curriculum (1943~)	Old					
		1grd	2grd	3grd	4grd	5grd	6grd
Moral (dōtoku)	Mental (Shūsin)						
Japanese (nihongo)	Japanese language	30	30	40	40	40	40
Local language (chihōgo)	Local language						
Mathematic (sūgaku)	Arithmetic (sansū)						
Calligraphy (shūji)	Calligraphy						
Drawing (zuga)	Drawing	1grd	2grd	3grd	4grd	5grd	6grd
Music (Ongaku)	Music	24	26	30	34	36	36
Health (eisei)	Sports (tairen)						
Physic exercise (taisō)	Carpenter (kōsaku)						
Handmaking (shukō)	Geography						
Geography (chiri)	History						
History (rekishi)	Science (rika)						
Natural Science (kagaku)	Malay						
Malay (mare go)	Work (sagyō)						
	Business (jigyō)						
	Housekeeping (kasei)						

Source : bunkyō no gaikyō p.41

Table 6 *Kokumingakkō*'s school hours

Time	Lesson Period					
	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth	Sixth
Start	8:30	9:20	10:10	11:00	11:50	12:40
Finish	9:10	10:00	10:50	11:40	12:30	13:20

Source : bunkyō no gaikyō p.43

The new curriculum of *Kokumingakkō* figured in Table 7. Grade 1 and 2 learned *Shūshin*, Japanese language, local language, arithmetic, physic education, music, calligraphy, woodwork, and hand drawing, or 9 subjects in total. Grade 3 learned more subjects, such as Malay language and work exercise. We can notice here that Japanese militarism traditionally kept the local language as language instruction in grade 1 and 2, just similar with Dutch policy in primary schools for commoners. It is also noticeable that lower grade spent shorter time at school.

Another characteristic is the emphasis on language education, especially Japanese language in higher grades, which took six hours per week, Malay language (*mare go*)⁶ taught 4-5 hours per week. Interestingly, the local language was maintained in higher grades.

⁶*Bunkyō no gaikyō* sometimes used *mare go* and in some parts used *Indonesia go* to name the Indonesia language or Bahasa Indonesia. Lapien (1996) said that after April, 29th 1945, *Mare go* officially named Indonesia go.

Table 7 Primary School Curriculum under Japanese Occupation

Subject	Weekly lessons (hours)					
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th
Spirit Education (Shūsin)	2	2	2	2	2	2
Japanese (Nihon go)	3	4	5	6	6	6
Malay (Mare-go)	0	0	4	4	5	5
Local language (Chihō go)	6	6	4	3	3	2
History (Rekishī)	0	0	0	1	1	1
Geography (Chiri)	0	0	0	1	2	1
Arithmetic (Sansū)	4	5	5	4	4	4
Science (Rika)	0	0	0	1	1	2
Physical Education (tairen)	4	4	3	3	3	3
Music (Ongaku)			2	2	1	1
Calligraphy (Shūji)	1	1	1	1	0	0
Woodwork (Kōsaku)	2	2	2	2	2	2
Handdrawing (Zuga)	2	2	1	1	1	1
Work Exercise (Sagyō)	0	0	1	1	1	1
Business/Industry (Jigyō)	0	0	0	1	2	2
Homemaking (Kasei)	0	0	0	1	2	3
Total	24	26	30	34(35)	36(38)	36(38)

Number inside the bracket shows number of weekly learning hours of girls school. One hour equals to 40 minutes

Source : bunkyō no gaikyō, p.42

c. Comparative Analysis between Japanese and Dutch Curriculum

I have used comparable data between *Vervolgschool* and the *Kokumingakkō* to analyse subjects taught under Dutch or Japanese occupation (Table 8). The language education took about 60 hours per week (total hours of all grades) in Non-Malay *Vervolgschool*. However, Japanese was taught 30 hours per week from grade 1 to grade 6, Malay language (Indonesian language) taught 18 hours, and ethnic/local language was provided 24 hours from grade 1 to 6. In other words, *Kokumingakkō* prepared 72 hours for language education as total, which mostly was for Japanese language. This juxtaposing also shows that the weekly learning hours also persisted, except grade 4 of *Kokumingakkō* in which 2 hours had abolished. More hours were allocated for language education in *Vervolgschool*.

Moral education (*shūshin*), history, woodwork/carpenter, work exercise, business/industry and homemaking or housekeeping was added in *Kokumingakkō*'s curriculum as the implication of modern Japanese education system which mostly emphasizes practical daily life rather than theoretical matters. Instead of extending the language education, Japanese system introduced various vocational skills.

Shūsin was abolished in Japan in 1947 (Hara, 2007). The content of *shūshin* in Indonesia was unclear, but it might be similar with what had been taught in Japan before the war. The first edition of *Jinjoshōgakushūshinsho maki 1*, the ordinary *shūshin* textbook for primary school book 1) was published by the

Monbushō (the Ministry of Education) in 1923, consists of some pictures figuring the morale and attitude regarding teachers, elderly, friends, animals, etc in the first pages. Those pages only consist of pictures without explanation, whilst the first reading written in *katakana* (Japanese character) describes about *tennō* (the emperor) is in page 9. Written in details as “Tennō heika banzai” (A cowabunga for the Emperor) and the next page depicts about war and forceful to be a soldier (Anonym, 1923:9-10). Those a bit differed with what recently known as *dōtoku kyōiku* (moral education), where *dōtoku* emphasize discipline, daily norm and good behavior as a person and member of society.

Table 8 Comparison the Curriculum of Kokumingakkō and Vervolgschool

Subject	Kokumingakkou			Malay National Language			Malay Foreign Language		
	4grd	5grd	6grd	4grd	5grd	6grd	4grd	5grd	6grd
Language Education									
Japanese	6	6	6						
Malay	4	5	5	0	0	0	4	4	4
Local language	3	3	2	8	8	8	7	8	7
Dutch				8	9	10	8	8	10
Sub Total	13	14	13	16	17	18	19	20	21
General Subject									
Spirit Education	2	2	2						
History	1	1	1						
Geography	1	2	1	3	3	3	2	2	2
Arithmetic	4	4	4	7	8	8	6	7	6
Science	1	1	2	3	3	3	2	2	2
Physical Education	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2	2
Music	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Calligraphy	1	0	0	2			2		
Woodwork	2	2	2						
Handdrawing	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2
Work Exercise	1	1	1						
Business/Industry	1	2	2						
Homemaking	1	2	3						
Sub Total	21	22	23	20	19	19	17	16	15
Total	34	36	36	36	36	37	36	36	36

Finally, we can conclude that education under Japanese occupation emphasized moral, body, soul and mind, or mental and character building. It contrasted the education under Dutch occupation which merely fostered academic nurture.

Conclusion

Japanese military did not directly establish the 6-year primary school system in the early period of the occupation, but at the first step, divided varied Dutch's schools based on course time, one as the 6-year school (*Kokumingakkō*) and another was the non 6-year primary schools (*Shotōkokumingakkō*). However, it is

still unclear whether all *Shotōkokumingakkō* at the end of occupation had unified as *Kokumingakkō* or were kept in original form. Before the end of occupation (1944), the schooling situation in Java as reported in *bunkyō no gaikyō* was still dichotomized.

The school structure proposed by the BP-KNIP in 1946 still used the term *Sekolah Pertama* together with *Sekolah Dasar*. Thus we can conclude that primary school system in Indonesia in the early period of independence adopted Japanese system. Then, further study in this field should be brought into deep discourse on whether the content, the purpose and the orientation of learning or the curriculum adopted as well.

The issue on the decline of the number of primary schools was not established facts in given analyzes. However, this analysis still remains incomplete, since the real statistics of the entire Indonesia in 1942-1944 is unavailable. This study should go further on discussing the implementation of compulsory education at the given time.

The curriculum of primary school before the Japanese occupation was emphasized brain nurturing or academic achievement, where the primary school during Japanese occupation stressing the body and mind nurture, through some practicing and vocational exercise.

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