On Interpreting Society through Changing Texts

Tomochika OKAMOTO*

1. Sociology of Textbook Knowledge

The "sociological imagination" is a concept that can be considered from many different perspectives, depending on the context. This paper organizes methodologies for extrapolating social realities from shared texts using a literature study method as the starting point.

I have been performing the task of tracing the changes to historical descriptions found in school history textbooks. A wide range of materials and methods can be used to understand historical facts, and, from these, historical science consistently produces several truths. However, institutional methods for transforming these truths into legitimate educational knowledge are limited and the acts of transmitting an understanding of history and history education are arguably bottlenecked. The quality of information selected or dismissed to justify a particular image of history merely demonstrates a society's current characteristics (Okamoto 2001: 4-6). A prominent example of this situation is the textbook certification process practiced in Japan ([Resource 1]).

例12　千島は「固有」領土

【ニ】原著本の記述
幕末以後、日本とロシアとの間に樺太と千島とについて紛争が生じていたが、一八七五（明治八）年には千島全部を日本領とするかわりに、樺太全部をロシアに譲る千島樺太交換条約が結ばれ、沖縄県の設置とあいまって、日本の版図が、北は千島から南は沖縄におよぶことが確定した。

【ホ】修正意見（A）
これはAでお願いしたいんですけれども、千島と樺太の問題ですね。一三、一四、一五位の一六行目まで、全体の中でですね、「千島全部」という表現をですね、ここ、ということはないんですけども、ここか一二九ページか、二九九ページのことかですね。それから二八二ページの、この一こと、三箇所出てくるんですよ。それから最後に申上げたいんですけど、最後に日ソ関係を現代のところで加えていただきたい。という意見があとで申しあげさせていただきたいんですけど、どこか一箇所だけその辺をきちんと書いていただきたいと。

〈協力者〉はい、そうです。このままですと、千島全部、この千島全部と樺太全部と同じだと。

〈調査官〉いわゆる北方領土の……。

〈調査官〉その時は国後、択捉は、もちろん千島全部に入ってますし、日露和親条約においても、固有な領土であることがはっきりしておったんだということがどっかでわかるようにしていただきたい。その意味のAで、ご検討いただきたい。

〈家永〉今「固有領土」とおっしゃいましたけど、固有というのは、いつのことですか。

〈調査官〉今言われてる意味で、固有という……

〈家永〉厳密に言えば、これはアイヌの固有領土ですね。日本が侵略したんじゃないですか。

〈調査官〉そうです、はい。

〈家永〉まあ今言われている固有という意味で。あの、日本政府が主張している固有という意味で。

〈調査官〉政府の主張に従わなきゃいけないのですか、教科書は。

〈家永〉いや、私が今申しあげたのはですね、もしあえて固有という意味を使ったなら、今政府が言っているのと同じ意味で使ったと、そういう意味です。これは、あの……

〈家永〉きわめて政治的な問題ですね。これは。

〈調査官〉そうです、はい。そうですけれども、やはり非常に国民の関心のあるところでありますので、私もあの、研究者のはしくれなものですから、そのあたりは十分承知して申しあげるつもりですけども。

【へ】原案本の記述
一八七五（明治八）年にはウルップ以北の千島十八島を日本領とするかわりに、樺太島をロシアに譲る千島樺太交換条約が結ばれ、

【ト】合格本の記述

【チ】コメント
口頭告知において、調査官との間に、きわめて重要な意味を有するやりとりがおこなわれている。これについては、例40の【ヲ】で詳しく記す。「千島全部を日本領とする」という表現については、樺太千島交換条約第二条に「自今而後『クリル』全島八日本帝国ニ属シ」とあり、ロシア領のウルップ以北の千島十八島を日本領とすることにより、結果として「千島全部」が日本領とするのであるから、不適切な表現ではないはずである。なお、この表現は、一九五二年の初版本以来、一度も検定で問題とされることなく合格本に記述されてきたところであった。今回はじめて検定意見が付せられたのは、例40の意見とともに、「政府が主張している」ことを教科書に書かせようとする意図に発するものであって、かような検定が「政治的な問題」と評されるのを免れないことは、調査官自ら認めているとおりである。

【リ】の口頭告知の問答中、家永の「日本が侵略したんじゃないですか」の「侵略」は「侵奪」と表現したほうが適切であったと思う。

[Resource 1] The case example of the 1980 certification of a textbook written by Saburo Ienaga (1993: 63-66).

＊Graduate School of Comprehensive Human Sciences, University of Tsukuba

On the other hand, justified historical images are not necessarily static. When the educational content is observed by setting a time axis, a text that explains a single incident goes through changes, which leads to the awareness that the evidence used to justify something as knowledge is in flux. From that perspective, the mutually reflective relationship between overall society and school education can be explored; the school education stipulated by society socializes individuals, and those who are socially integrated in this way logically sustain the society.

To this point, I have presented the social phenomenon that underlies the way that concepts and information become known, selected, and discarded, using texts and their evolution as supportive evidence (Okamoto 2013: 35-80). The information restriction originating from the narrative known as "national history" has been the focus ([Resources 2 & 3]).

Therefore, the topic of this paper becomes "Interpreting Society through Changing Texts." However, it is certain that analyzing texts will, by itself, not be able to extract social realities sufficiently. Sociology is an academic discipline devoted to describing and interpreting phenomena using numerous analytical tools. As such, the continuous combination of varied tasks in order to tackle research topics lies within its premise (Mori, 1995: 220-268). In this sense, there is no intention behind this paper to defend any specific, specialized analytical methods in particular.

2. The Method of Textual Criticism

The reason I came to focus on the changes to texts in order to analyze history textbooks is because I had to distinguish whether texts change or remain unchanged (real cause; *Realgrund*) from whether the significance of such evidence is being interpreted from the values and norms of the observers (cognitive cause; *Erkenntnisgrund*). As is well known, intense arguments frequently occur over the contents of historical textbooks, with various pundits expressing their approval or disapproval. However, many of these arguments are influenced by the participants' observations. The portion of the text that might or might not be at issue and the reason for that choice are stipulated by the values and norms of the observers. Therefore, the directions and results of the arguments are pre-determined, and a discussion on "issues" and "descriptions that should be included" cannot be agreed upon by parties that do not share premises. To make progress, the changes to the analytical subjects should be grasped by focusing on the changes that do or do not occur when updated editions of textbooks are published.

Methods for investigating the evidence for extracting points of argument from the changes to texts are often adopted in literature studies as well when impressionistic criticism is not daringly conducted. With these methods, even the values and norms that support pundits' impressions and opinions would be included as topics of analysis. The main topics of literature studies are broadly categorized as review/criticism or proofreading/editing, with European literature studies emphasizing the latter as the foundation of the former.

One of these methods is termed textual criticism, which analyzes the

　日本軍は，中学生・女学生をふくむ沖縄島民多数を動員して，上陸したアメリカ軍に激しく抵抗した。アメリカ軍は，海と空から大規模な砲撃・爆撃をおこない，火焔放射器による徹底した掃討作戦を展開したので，一般島民にも甚大な被害が生じた。日本軍将兵と島民は本島の南端に追いつめられ，看護要員の女学生たち（「ひめゆり隊」など）の悲劇や，日本軍の島民に対する残虐行為・集団自決の強要などが生じた。沖縄戦の日本側死者は，軍人9万人余りに対して，非戦闘員約10万人。地元出身の軍人をふくめると，約60万人の沖縄県民のうち，5分の1に当る12万人ほどが犠牲になったとみられる。

沖縄戦　■沖縄本島の中部に上陸したアメリカ軍は，付近の二つの飛行場を制圧し，島を南北に分断した。この間，日本軍は特攻機を投入した航空総攻撃をおこなったが，アメリカ艦隊を沖縄海域から撃退することはできなかった。沖縄を守備していた日本軍は，アメリカ軍を内陸に引き込んで反撃をする持久戦態勢をとったため，島民を巻き込んでの激しい地上戦となり，おびただしい数の犠牲者を出し，6月23日，組織的な戦闘は終了した。沖縄県援護課の資料によれば，死者は軍民あわせて18万人余りにのぼった。

[Resource 2] The Battle of Okinawa depicted in *Detailed Japanese History* by Yamakawa Shuppansha (Top: 2003 edition, page 343. Below: 2013 edition, page 366).

表2−1　山川出版社『世界史』教科書における「台湾出兵と琉球領有」②

タイトル	発行年	頁	台湾出兵と琉球領有
『詳説世界史』再訂版	1970	275-276	明治政府は列強の侵略に対抗するため富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・教育のあらゆる分野にわたって急速な近代化をおこない，とくに工業の発展に重点をおいた。　対外的には日本は，それまで日本と中国との双方に帰属する形をとっていた琉球の領有を確保し，さらに琉球人が台湾で土民に殺された事件の責任を清国が回避したのを理由として台湾に出兵したりした。また清を宗主国とあおぐ朝鮮は，日本に対し近隣の龍をもって交わってはきたが，清にならって容易に国を開国要求をこころみようとしなかった。
『詳説世界史』再訂版	1972	275-276	（1970年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』新版	1973	272-273	明治政府は列強の侵略に対抗するために富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育のあらゆる分野にわたって急速な改革をおこない，工業の発展に力を注いだ。　対外的には，それまで日本・中国双方に帰属する形をとっていた琉球の領有を確保し，また琉球人が台湾で土民に殺された事件の責任を清国が回避したのを理由として台湾に出兵した。　また清を宗主国とする朝鮮は，江戸時代に日本と交わりをもちながら，維新政府に対しては容易に国をひらかなかったが，1875年の江華島事件を機に日本はその開国に成功し，条約をむすんだ。
『詳説世界史』新版	1975	272-273	（1973年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』改訂版	1976	272-273	（1973年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』改訂版	1977	272-273	（1973年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』再訂版	1980	272-273	明治政府は列強の侵略に対抗するために富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育のあらゆる分野にわたって急速な改革をおこない，工業の発展に力を注いだ。　対外的には，それまで日本・中国双方に帰属する形をとっていた琉球の領有を確保し，また台湾で琉球人が殺されるという事件に対し清国が責任を回避したのを理由に台湾に出兵した。　一方清を宗主国とする朝鮮は，江戸時代に日本と交わりをもちながら，維新政府に対しては容易に国をひらかなかったが，1875年の江華島事件を機に日本は翌76年条約をむすび開国を承認させた。
『詳説世界史』新版	1983	270	明治政府は，欧米にならって富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育などあらゆる分野の改革をすすめ，工業の発展をはかった。対外的には台湾出兵（1874年）や琉球領有（1879年）のほか，やがて大陸にも進出するようになった。
『詳説世界史』新版	1984	270	（1983年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』改訂版	1985	270	明治政府は，欧米にならって富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育などあらゆる分野の改革をすすめ，工業の発展に力をいれた。対外的には台湾出兵（1874年）や琉球領有（1879年）のほか，やがて大陸侵略をはかるようになった。
『詳説世界史』改訂版	1987	270	（1985年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』再訂版	1988	266	明治政府は，欧米にならって富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育などあらゆる分野の改革をすすめ，工業の発展に力をいれた。また対外的には台湾出兵［1874］や琉球領有［1879］をおこない，やがて大陸侵略をもはかるようになった。
『詳説世界史』再訂版	1989	266	（1988年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史』三訂版	1992	266	（1988年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	1994	259-260	明治政府は，欧米にならって富国強兵をはかり，政治・経済・軍事・教育などあらゆる分野の改革を進め，工業の発展に力をいれた。……また台湾出兵［1874］，琉球領有［1879］もおこない，さらに大陸侵略をもはかるようになった。
『詳説世界史B』	1995	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）

表2−1　山川出版社『世界史』教科書における「台湾出兵と琉球領有」③

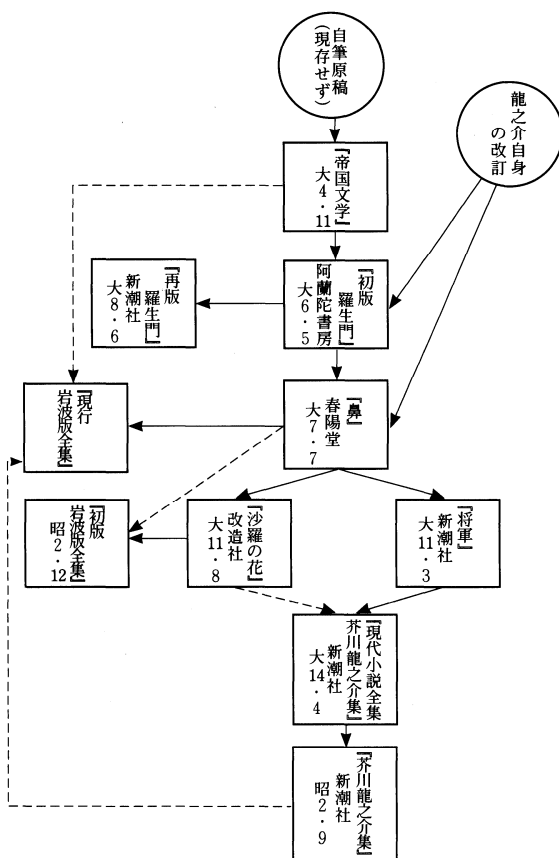| タイトル	発行年	頁	台湾出兵と琉球領有
『詳説世界史B』	1996	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	1997	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	1998	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	1999	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2000	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2001	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2002	259-260	（1994年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	2003	257	明治政府は富国強兵をめざし，工業や軍事の近代化のほか，ドイツ憲法にならった大日本帝国憲法の発布（1889年），二院制の議会の開設（1890年）など，社会制度の面でも中国より一足はやい近代的改革をおしすすめた。日本は，ロシアと樺太・千島交換条約［1875］①を結んで北方の国境を定めるとともに，当初より積極的な海外進出の姿勢を示し，台湾出兵［1874］②や琉球領有［1879］③のほか，朝鮮にも勢力をのばす宗主国の立場をとる清と対立した。　【脚注】　①全樺太をロシア領，全千島を日本領と定めた。　②台湾に漂着した琉球島民が，台湾の先住民に殺害されたことを理由に，日本軍が台湾に出兵した事件。琉球島民は日本人か，台湾先住民は清朝政府の支配下にあるのか，という点が日清間で問題となった。　③明治政府は琉球に清への朝貢をやめさせ，1879年に琉球藩を廃して沖縄県をおいた。
『詳説世界史B』	2004	257	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	2005	257	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	2006	257	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2007	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2008	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2009	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2010	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2011	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』改訂版	2012	274	（2003年版と同じ）
『詳説世界史B』	2013	299-300	明治政府は富国強兵をめざし，工業や軍事の近代化のほか，ドイツ憲法にならった大日本帝国憲法の発布（89（明治22）年），二院制の議会の開設（90（明治23）年）など，社会制度の面でも中国より一足はやい近代的改革をおしすすめた。日本は，ロシアと樺太・千島交換条約［1875］①を結んで北方の国境を定めるとともに，当初より積極的な海外進出の姿勢を示し，台湾出兵［1874］②や琉球領有［1879］③のほか，朝鮮にも勢力をのばして，宗主国の立場をとる清と対立した。　【脚注】　①全樺太をロシア領，全千島を日本領と定めた。　②台湾に漂着した琉球島民が，台湾の先住民に殺害されたことを理由に，日本軍が台湾に出兵した事件。琉球島民は日本人か，台湾先住民は清朝政府の支配下にあるのか，という点が日清間で問題となった。　③明治政府は琉球に清への朝貢をやめさせ，1879年に琉球藩を廃して沖縄県をおいた。

注：下線は引用者による強調

[Resource 3] The transition of accounts in a world history textbook by Yamakawa Shuppansha (Okamoto 2013: 39-40).

differences between texts that emerge because of changes from one edition to the next (Yamashita 1993: 22-33; [Resources 4 & 5]). This task involves identifying the changes in the main text and clarifying the systematic differences between the texts. These literature studies are similar to sociological activities because they reference micro social relationships (i.e., the involvement of writers, editors, and proofreaders) to explain macro social changes and cultural conflicts that would influence the structure of even Shakespeare's work. In this case, it is important to adopt logic that carefully distinguishes between the focal point of the analysis and the arbitrariness of the observer.

This distinction also is found in research on the sociology of education, in which an analysis of ideologies is present in the educational contents and methods. The sociology of curricula understands educational content from a position other than an educational methodological perspective. In other words, it perceives content as a social construction derived from interaction among social forces and an act that relativizes social context (Tanaka 1992: 109-113).

自筆原稿（現存せず）

龍之介自身の改訂

『帝国文学』大4・11

初版『羅生門』阿蘭陀書房 大6・5

再版『羅生門』新潮社 大8・6

現行『岩波版全集』

『鼻』春陽堂 大7・7

『沙羅の花』改造社 大11・8

『将軍』新潮社 大11・3

初版『岩波版全集』昭2・12

『現代小説全集』新潮社 大14・4

『芥川龍之介集』新潮社 昭2・9

[Resource 4] The flow chart of each edition of *Rashômon* (Yamashita 1993: 118).

夫人も、清子はおろか、津田の心理の半面をしか理解しえていないのである。

風俗やモノが教えてくれるのは、明暗両面の併立交錯ばかりではない。先述した質屋の例だけのようにも思われるが、そのように年代を特定するヒントとなる事項はむしろ例外で、ここには漱石自身の二度の入院体験をはじめ、明治四十年代から大正五年にいたる世相・風俗の幅をもってあいまいに取りこまれている。継子の見合の相手は大正三年、第一次大戦勃発前後にドイツから帰国したことになっているが、それからどの位の時が経過しているのか、彼の職業が何なのかはまったく指示されていない（ついでながら、津田の会社の種類、堀や関の職業も同様）。登場人物の服装にしても大正五年の流行というよりは大正初頭から引き続いた流行と言う方が正確である。とりわけ見合の場となる「劇場」は、その名称が示されないのと呼応して、年代的にも、また和洋劇場の相違から言っても、大正五年には実在しない仮空の劇場として設定されている。その意味でこの小説の一つの特色は、空間的にも時間的にも特定されることを注意深く避けたところにあり、そこからもたらされるテクストの

性格を考えていくことが今後の課題となろう。

もう一つの問題である当て字は、『明暗』ないし漱石にかぎった話ではないのだが、とりあえずここでの当て字を大別すれば、この「無残」や「軽蔑む」「盆槍」「薩張」などの音を当てた表記、それに「我楽多」「倶楽部」のように、音と意味の双方を取った表記とに分けることができる。これらのなかで問題となるのは、一応最後の分類に入るが「煮染む」「困絡がって」のように一般化した例ではないような、誤記ともまがう一群の表記である。もし誤記でないとしたら、彼はなぜあえてそのような用字法を選んだのであろうか。

漱石は速筆だったために、思い浮かぶままの漢字を当てて置き、些細なことにはこだわらなかったのだという考えもありうる。しかし他の側面では、彼は自分の用字にきわめて細心であり、校正の杜撰さに不平を洩らしたり、送稿後に原稿訂正を申し入れたりもしている。事実、一見無造作に書き飛ばしたかのような当て字のなかには、わざわざ目馴れれぬ文字遣いをした理由を推測できる例が、いくつも見出されるのである。それらの説明が、〈注解〉には記したので繰り返さないが「煮染む」「烏鷺々々」「剣

[Resource 5] Annotation and textual critique of *Light and Darkness* (Togawa 1994:15).

Furthermore, the sociological study of textbooks has been demanding diachronic research perspectives and methods in order to analyze the educational knowledge that would receive historical and social binding (Kikui, 1987: 20). Therefore, the sociology of education has represented the sociology of knowledge and continuity through performance of this scholarship. Derived from cultural sociology, which originally was a discipline aiming to establish the uniqueness of national cultures, the sociology of knowledge could have originated with an attempt to integrate the numerous cultures (values and norms) of a society by recognizing the relativity of culture from the freely fluctuating perspective (Akimoto, 1993: 136-191). The task of discovering the changes in the educational resources between texts can be positioned as part of that activity.

3. The Potential of Sharing Resources and the Potential Understanding of Logical Composition

The practice and investigation of multicultural education in the United States continue the tendencies of the sociology of knowledge because those activities aim to comprehensively examine the roles of culture for the cohesiveness of society by grasping culture as something relative. The fact that the core of this action includes the multicultural education movement, started by the large-scale history textbook criticism campaign of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Detroit in 1962, demonstrates that a careful examination of history education existed as a mechanism to transfer culture. Frances FitzGerald's *America Revised* is an example

of an achievement along these lines (1979). She analyzed 110 history and social studies textbooks published between the 19th century and the 1970s. In particular, the changes to the texts (editions) of *An American History* by David Saville Muzzey, which has been read by the majority of American citizens, led to the discourse on the driving changes in dominant societal values.

Political sociology is working to grasp the structure of historical consciousness. For example, Eric Magnuson (1997) argued that American history textbooks at the end of the 20th century included the conflict between the "nationalist narrative" and the "leftist narrative," although these two views were derived from the "national narrative." In this type of research, textual criticism is effectively functioning with respect to setting the analytical focal points.

The formularization of research methods also is conducted in the multicultural education field (Grant and Sleeter 2009: 128-133). "Storyline analysis" and "picture analysis" in textbook studies are two of the approaches used ([Resource 6]). This approach heightens the potential of sharing resources and promotes the sharing of a logical diagram to interpret those resources. The approach functions to secure the possibility of understanding what information will develop into a discussion, the directions in which a discussion could move, and the logical composition of the output of a study. At its root, this approach suggests an intellectual climate in which a particular format is sought for academic expression, and creativity exudes beyond the sharing of the format (Watanabe, 2004: 49-69).

▶ ISSUES OF PARTICULAR CONCERN

Most groups have particular issues that are especially important to them. For example, the study of Puerto Ricans, Central Americans, and Mexican Americans must include the issue of language. The study of Jewish Americans must examine the Holocaust. Arab American studies should examine the occupation of Palestine as well as the response of Arab and non-Arab communities to the 9/11 attack on the World Trade Center. Gay and lesbian studies must examine different family structures. Women's studies must deal with the extent to which males and females differ biologically. Disability studies must unpack conceptions of ability, who creates and maintains these conceptions, and how they locate disability in people rather than in social institutions. Two lesson plans, "Wheelchair Sports" (p. 144) and "Poster Design and the Voice of People with Disabilities" (p. 150), address these issues.

▶ ACTION RESEARCH ACTIVITY 4.1

Textbook Analysis

Select one textbook and record the following information:

Title:
Author(s):
Publisher:
Copyright date:
Grade level (if known):

Following are guides for six kinds of analysis. Some may be appropriate to your text, some may not. Select all the analyses that can be done with your text. Go through the text page by page, completing each analysis you select. Take your time and do this carefully. Then compile your findings using the guidelines that follow and the charts shown in Figures 4.1–4.3.

Indicate here the types of analysis you completed:

	Yes	No
1. Picture	——	——
2. People to study	——	——
3. Anthology	——	——
4. Language	——	——
5. Storyline	——	——
6. Other	——	——

Picture Analysis

Picture analysis is used for texts that picture American people in the United States.

1. Using the chart in Figure 4.1, tally the types of people in each picture by race, sex, and disability. The pictures may depict either individuals or groups. You will need to use your judgment on some pictures, but if a picture features one or a few individuals, tally each individual separately; if the picture features a group,

		Male	Female	Both Sexes
Asian American	Individual			
	Group			
African American	Individual			
	Group			
Hispanic American	Individual			
	Group			
American Indian	Individual			
	Group			
White American	Individual			
	Group			
Race Ambiguous	Individual			
	Group			
Mixed Race Group				
Disabled American	Individual			
	Group			

Total number of individuals depicted: _____

Total number of group scenes depicted: _____

Figure 4.1 Picture Tally

tally it in the "group" row. Code each tally according to whether the individual(s) is (are) named or unnamed in a caption or in the surrounding text (N = named, U = unnamed).

2. Make note of any race stereotypes.
3. Make note of any sex stereotypes/sex roles.
4. In group scenes, does any race or sex group consistently occupy the foreground? the background? Provide examples.
5. Can you tell the social class or setting of any of the depicted people? If so, make a note of them.

"People to Study" Analysis

This type of analysis is used primarily for science and history texts. In Figure 4.2, tally the race and sex of each person mentioned in the text. Distinguish between "important famous people," whose contributions are discussed in the main part of the content, and "extra people," who are added in boxes or supplementary pages at the beginning or end of the chapter.

Anthology Analysis

This type of analysis is used for elementary readers, literature texts, music books containing works by different composers, and the like. Across the top of the chart shown

[Resource 6] The formularization of textbook research method (Grant and Sleeter 2009: 128-129).

4. On the Sociological Imagination

The potential for sharing resources and interpretive diagrams and for understanding the logical composition of research has already been considered in classical sociological methodologies. The main topic concerns ways to understand the relationships between the values and norms witnessed by an observer of the phenomena and the substance of "what is scientific."

Max Weber understood the science behind sociology as something that emphasizes the evidence of procedures rather than reproducibility because the phenomena targeted by the humanities and social sciences are characterized by a lack of repetition (Weber 1922a: 115). He argued that sociology is more than the pursuit of regularity of phenomena because it is an interpretive understanding of the actual phenomena (Weber 1922a: 86-89). Therefore, logic was proposed to replace the sequence from objectives to procedures at the level of the actor with the sequence from causes to results at the level of the observer (Sumiya 1970:66). In this case, the nature of concern and its location from the perspective of the person extracting causality in the phenomena should be able to be displayed, with these factors serving as the source of interpretation (Weber 1922b: 237, 259, 278, 286). In this sense, it was observed that the manner of objectivity in sociology was to clearly distinguish

between real causes and cognitive causes while having the receiver conjecture (imagine) the selective affiliation between/among phenomena (Weber 1920: 83).

In contrast, Eduard Meyer, who also eschews regularity in history, stated that the influences of events should determine which events are considered "history." Specifically, he believed that some principles and national characteristics become the agents of history, which, in turn, become the subjects of observation. Weber had a different view of this argument, stating that "a certain trend that mixes the ethical observation method and the causal observation method of human behaviors — in other words, a trend that mixes evaluation and explanation — is actually present" (Weber 1922b: 224). In reality, there is "an unlimited diversity for an evaluative determination of attitude toward the subject," which intends to define an interpretation as "discovering a probable position and viewpoints" (Weber 1922b: 246). Weber defined causal (historical) interpretation as the activity of explaining, in a causal manner, the compositional factors of the subjects being evaluated while analyzing the values of the formative factors (Weber 1922b: 251).

Regarding perceptions of historical events, Weber made the following general observations (Weber 1922b: 252-253). First, to form a value judgment from a contemporary perspective on a specific historical event by no means subsumes the subjects into a specific genus. Rather, a value judgment refers to an observer's determination of his or her personal attitude toward the subject that exists in a particular characteristic property. The foundation used by the observer to determine his or her attitude or the basis of the perspective that is important to his or her attitude determination is not an abstract concept. It is an emotion and a desire comprising individualistic properties individually organized. Furthermore, in some events, it is an awareness of matters that need to be *sollen* (moral duty or suggestion) containing a specific concreteness. When an observer tries to express the subject as an historical individual extracted from the contemporary evaluation stage, the following occurs: the observer (along with others) becomes aware through the interpretation of the specific and unique unparalleled form that the subject takes.

Weber explained that the separation between the real cause and the cognitive cause could be understood by recognizing the factors that establish a particular interpretation of the subject. He stated, "the act of me coming into the value analysis stage to form historical individuals from the subjects means that I am exercising my viewpoint that determines the evaluative attitude within a format that has a clear outline" (Weber 1922b: 253). This statement is of great significance because, through the understanding that arises from sharing in this formation, the historical individuals would be conjured up by interpreters.

Building on such accumulation of sociological methodologies, we can understand anew that social science research, as a double hermeneutic, is derived from the accumulation of the intentions to question a phenomenon more than the outcome of that phenomenon (Giddens 1984: 284-285). Textual criticism

(a method for distancing from impressionistic criticism) evokes the imagination to interpret the backgrounds and interpreters of the texts more than the imagination that operates within the texts. This overlaps with "the sociological imagination that men now hope to grasp what is going on in the world, and to understand what is happening in themselves as minute points of the intersections of biography and history within society" (Mills 1959: 7).

This means that "the method of reading internal aspects of people's lives that writers, as 'quality observers' of time, depict from the flow of the story by using literary work itself" (Inoki 2004:10) is valid under such a premise.

Note

This paper is based on the content of a presentation given in the session, *Project Studies 3: Literary Imagination and Sociological Imagination*, at the 65th Convention of the Japan Society of Educational Sociology in 2013.

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On Interpreting Society through Changing Texts

Tomochika OKAMOTO

The purpose of this paper is to organize methodologies for extrapolating social realities from shared texts using a literature study method as its starting point. The author has been tracing the changes to historical descriptions found in school history textbooks. When the educational content is analyzed by setting a time axis, a text that explains a single incident goes through changes that lead to an understanding that the evidence justifying the knowledge is changing.

To interpret this type of knowledge transformation, the author insists that distinguishing whether texts change or remain unchanged (real cause) from whether the significance of the evidence is being interpreted through the values and norms of the observers (cognitive cause) is significant. This paper also argues that separating the real cause from the cognitive cause is necessary to describe and interpret social phenomena. This paper aims to demonstrate the logic of this way of thinking, based on an accumulation of methodological arguments in the field of literature studies, multicultural education, and interpretive sociology.