UrbanScope

How did a Former Teacher of a Part-time High School form 'Unexclusive Practices'?:
Through an Interview with a Former Teacher of a Part-time High School

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Keywords: part-time high school, narrative, unexclusive practices, reality, logical structure

Explanatory Note:

The purpose of this paper is to clarify how a former teacher of a part-time high school formed 'unexclusive practices'.

Prior studies have pointed out that part-time high schools have reduced their role of giving education for working youth, and they have accepted students with a variety of problems. However, the studies have paid little attention to the question of how these students were able to settle into their part-time high schools. So, this paper examines how the teachers were able to retain their students. In particular, we picked up a teacher, Mr. S., who worked at a part-time high school with deviant students for a case study and examine how his "unexclusive practices" were made possible. The clue is that he described his practices as "outlaw-like" but regarded it legitimate. This paper will take notice of this point and answer the above question by focusing on the logical structure of how he justified his practices.

The paper argues that the teacher justified 'unexclusive practices' by using three types of logic. First, certain types of students were at risk of being excluded due to dominant 'normal' practices in the school. Second, teachers were required to have their own non-elite experiences so that they can be on the same side as students. Third, the part-time high school requested teachers to prevent students from joining antisocial groups in the future.

Mr. S. emphasized that "outlaw-like" practices are really needed in the part-time high school where he worked. However, those practices are needed to be checked for whether they are allowed from a teacher. Therefore, we can regard that 'unexclusive practices' are able to be conducted in certain limits also.

I. Introduction

This paper examines data from interviews with a former teacher who experienced work at a part-time high school with students with deviant tendencies from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, and analyzes how 'unexclusive practices' were conducted to retain these students in school and prevent them from being dropouts. In particular, we will focus on the logical structure of his practices.

As Emi Kataoka points out, part-time high schools have been repositioning themselves as educational institutions for working youth since the mid-1960s, accepting students with low achievement, students dropping out of full-time high schools, and those who have been out of school [Kataoka 1983, 1994]. This trend has been consistently noted in recent studies. For example, Masayoshi Koga points out that since the 2000s, part-time high schools have been taking a role in compensating the education for "school avoiders" which includes those who have dropped out of school or have never attended school. Those students have been kicked out from tracking based on the rank-

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ings of test scores [Koga 2017]. Furthermore, according to Hideki Ito, the part-time high schools, along with correspondence high schools and upper secondary specialized training schools, have become a "safety net" in upper secondary education, accepting students who have difficulty entering or transferring to full-time high schools, and providing them with a high school diploma and school experience [Ito 2017].

However, according to Koga [2017], a group of schools that compensate education for "school avoiders" became a "second track" that has the risk of further exclusion [Koga 2017]. Although such aspects should be noted, considering previous studies, it can be said for the moment that schools such as part-time high schools have widely accepted students with various difficulties, including students with low academic achievement and dropouts.

While previous studies have examined the function of the part-time high schools, pointing out that the schools have accepted students with various difficulties, there have been few studies that focus on the practices of teachers in retaining students who have enrolled in schools. To begin with, the topic of school retention of students enrolled in part-time high schools is rarely discussed, and only Sagawa [2020], who analyzed students' school-day essays from the 1970s to the 1990s, can be cited. Nevertheless, this too does not focus on the practices of frontline teachers. On the other hand, while some studies [Nishimura 2002] report the efforts of teachers to reduce their control over students to retain students, these reports are limited to the description of the practices of the teachers. In other words, the previous studies by Sagawa and Nishimura have clarified what kinds of practices exist for retention in part-time high schools, but they have not focused on how these practices can be implemented to ensure retention.

However, it is only the practices of individual teachers that make accepting students with difficulties possible in a part-time high school and then retaining them in the school. Moreover, as will be discussed later, teachers do not always work together in practice. Therefore, it is necessary to focus on individual teachers' practices for school retention and examine how they are achieved. This study will help us to understand the practices required of teachers in part-time high schools, which accepts students with a variety of difficulties in the high school education system. This study will also provide insight into the difficulties of teachers who encountered them in accepting these students in part-time high schools.

In order to address the above issues, this paper examines the narrative of Mr. S, a former teacher who has worked at a part-time high school where students with deviant tendencies were enrolled. As will be discussed in more detail in the following section, at the school where Mr. S worked from the late 1980s to the early 2000s, students tended to miss more than the maximum number of absences or hang around outside of the classroom instead of attending classes. He said that when students' promotions to a higher grade were in jeopardy, he negotiated with other teachers about the absence or encouraged students who were not participating in class to come in. The point is that he described his own educational practices as "outlaw-like"[1]. The paper will consider the above practices as 'unexclusive practices' and explore his logical structure to see what kind of logic supported these practices.

II. The point of analysis

Some studies have pointed out that a characteristic of the part-time high school is that it is a place where students are more likely to come to school [Watanabe 1992, Nishimura 2002]. These studies found that a part-time high school that had fewer rules and less control over students than full-time high schools made it easier for students to attend school. For example, there were cases that students who dropped out of full-time high school or highly sensitive students who had a hard time attending school could adapt to a part-time high school [Watanabe 1992]. In addition, it has been pointed out that part-time high school teachers lessened their control over students as much as possible so that students who experienced rejection or disengagement from school and educational values and suffered from obsessive internalization of the values could stay in the school [Nishimura 2002].

The paper considers the characteristic educational practices in part-time high schools for the retention of students as 'unexclusive' practices. The concept of 'unexclusive' is used here because students are not necessarily 'included' by the above-mentioned practices; however, it can be thought of as creating a state in which students who would otherwise be at risk of exclusion from school [e.g., not attending school, dropping out] are not excluded.

The reason why the above practices are described as characteristic of the part-time high school is that part-time

high schools had already accepted diverse students in the 1990s. According to Kataoka [1994], who surveyed part-time high schools in the early 1990s, some of the students enrolled in these schools had hoped to attend full-time high school but were not successful, some had dropped out of full-time high school, and some had experienced truancy.

Sagawa [2019] suggests that teachers' practices changed as the student's backgrounds changed. Sagawa analyzed the journal of a study group of part-time high school teachers in Tokyo. Particularly suggestive in Sagawa's paper is a roundtable discussion in the late 1980s that shared the assumption that working youth were no longer enrolled and students were enrolling in the part-time high school "as a supplement to the full-time high school," and that "the need for educational practices that take into account those who are not even prepared to receive upper secondary education was noted" [Sagawa 2019: 11]. In other words, this suggests that part-time high schools, which occupied a position as schools that accepted diverse students, were inevitably required to adopt inclusive practices. It is appropriate to assume that unexclusive practices in part-time high schools came to be observed under the conditions described above.

Considering the above, this paper will confirm the specific courses for analyzing unexclusive practices of teachers in the following section. Teachers have the option of taking an exclusionary or unexclusive stance toward students with deviant tendencies. The fact that some teachers exclude students from school was also mentioned by Mr. S.[2]. However, Mr. S. had implemented various practices to prevent students from leaving. What this shows is that teachers have a certain amount of discretion and that teachers do not always share the same direction of practice, even if they work in the same school. This is because teachers are "front-line employees" [Hatakeyama 1989: 55] of government agencies, involved in decisions about public services and public sanctions. Therefore, when trying to understand how unexclusive practices were made possible, it is important to consider how individual teachers could have chosen their practices.

Therefore, the analysis will focus on the logic behind Mr. S's unexclusive practices. Specifically, the paper will focus on the fact that Mr. S described his practices as "outlaw-like" and look at the logic that justifies his practices. Of particular importance is that the logic of justification involves references to the reality peculiar to the school where Mr. S works. Sato [2013] points out that teachers' practices are developed within the school-specific reality constructed through the definition of the situation. From this point of view, it is appropriate to focus on Mr. S's reality.

Based on the above, this paper will examine the logic that justifies unexclusive practices, focusing on how the unique reality of Mr. S's is constructed. Through the above discussion, it will become clear how Mr. S's unexclusive practices were made possible.

III. Basic information about the analysis

The author and Mr. S met through a mutual acquaintance. When the author was looking for an active or former teacher who could share his experiences of working with students with problematic behavior and eventually giving up on them or recommending them to drop out, he was introduced. However, during the first interview, Mr. S told me that it is the students who leave school. Teachers did not expel them from school. Therefore, I decided to interview him about the practice of retaining students and the logic behind those practices. I interviewed Mr. S three times: once in August 2017, once in August 2018, and once in August 2019 (about 2-4 hours) using a semi-structured interview method.

After graduating from university, Mr. S worked at a public technical high school (part-time course) in Osaka Prefecture, his first place of employment, from the end of the 1980s to around 2000. In this interview, he talked mainly about his time working at this high school.

As a premise for understanding the background of Mr. S's story, we will briefly review the situation of the part-time high schools in Osaka Prefecture during the period when he worked at the high school. As reference material, we will show the trends in the percentage of students who entered high school (and so on) and the percentage of full-time employed students who entered high school (and so on)[3] as indicators of qualitative changes in the student

population at the part-time high schools (Figure 1). According to this figure, the high-school advancement rate in Osaka Prefecture exceeded 90% in 1971 and has remained stable. On the other hand, the percentage of those who are employed has been declining. It remained at the 1% level until the mid-1980s, but it has stabilized at the 0% level since then. Therefore, from the end of the 1980s to around 2000, when Mr. S. worked at the part-time high school, there were few working youths enrolled in the school, and the school was already a place that accepted diverse students.
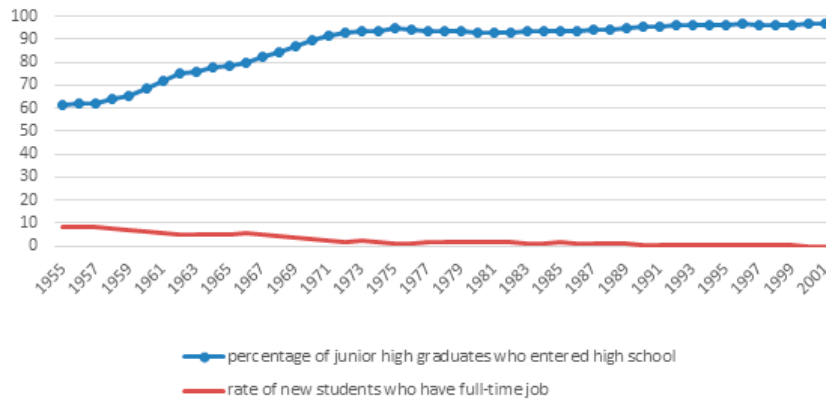

Figure1. Percentage of junior high school graduates who entered high school and the rate of new students who have full-time jobs in Osaka prefecture.

How did Mr. S understand the circumstance of his part-time high-school at that time? In the first interview, Mr. S looked back "(We talked about how the percentage of students who enter university is a little less than 40% around 1989.) 60% or half of the students […] do not have basic academic skills," or "I don't know if it is only in Osaka or not, the classroom discipline is terribly disorganized. The atmosphere of school that 'students should obey teachers' disappeared around 1989".

In particular, part-time high schools were in the circumstance of "consolidation and closure"[4], moreover, the "group employment (from rural area) at his workplace should have been reduced to zero around 1994 (He said the timing is not certain)". As a result, the "raison d'etre of the part-time high school which was to accept children who wanted to study but could not go to school during the day due to economic or other reasons ended". Then, part-time high schools started to accept the "students who could not enter the full-time high school".

Mr. S. emphasized that students at that time have a strong tendency toward delinquency.

"There were many criminals […]. I mean, as I said, it was natural for them to smoke cigarettes, and they said, 'We are a motorcycle gang' (in the second interview)". Mr. S. expresses those students as a "gang in front of Lawson (convenience store)". In the first interview, Mr. S said that teachers who "don't care much about education cannot talk with the gang in front of Lawson" and recognized that being able to sit down and talk with these students was an important quality in a part-time high school teacher. Mr. S. then talked about his practices with the students.

Through the analysis of the narrative data obtained from the interview survey, this paper will clarify the logic behind Mr. S's unexclusive practices. In other words, the study considers "the experience itself as a narratively constructed phenomenon" [Tanaka 2011: 81]. Therefore, it is "a work to decode the logic which forms the activities carried out in the experience" [Sato: 2019: 130].

IV. How were unexclusive practices constructed

Before analyzing the data, it is important to note that Mr. S. recognized that the students' absence from school was directly related to their dropping out of school. According to Mr. S., dropping out was caused by dropping credits for courses as the number of absences exceeded the limit, and failing to move to the next grade.

In the first interview, Mr. S said, "When the number of absences is 24, it exceeds the borderline. It's out. Then students said, 'That's enough, I'm quitting school', and quit. This is the reason why children are disappearing. […] There is no such thing as a turning point of recognition when teachers give up retaining students to school. […] They quit on their own". Based on this reality, Mr. S was implementing practices to prevent students from repeating a year in school or to reduce the burden of coming to school.

One episode related to the former was when he negotiated with a fellow teacher about the number of absences of students (For example he said, "The student missed your class in the third period, but he joined another class in the fourth period. So he should have been in your class in the third period, too".). The latter is that Mr. S. regarded only registering for physical education class, which it is essential to take, as taking the class even though students did not attend.

4.1 An important practice required in part-time high school: 'chatting practice'

Based on the above, the following focuses on the practice of "chatting" with students outside the classroom during class (hereinafter referred to as 'chatting practice') which was described in the first interview. This practice is described as follows.

"I sit down (with students outside the classroom during class) and listen to what they say for five or ten minutes, and then I persuade them that "Well, why don't you go to class", and "You came all the way to school today, didn't you? You rode a motorcycle and missed all classes yesterday and the day before yesterday. If you are absent too manytimes, you won't get credits". According to Mr. S, this practice makes the students say, "Well, if S says so, I have to go to the class", and they go to class.

Why was the practice above necessary? Mr. S. firstly explained as follows.

"When I do something like that (the above practice), I image the hysterical '*obahan* (lady)' who graduates from the graduate school (a metaphor of the teacher who teaches in a straightforward manner, which does not exist) that was referred to earlier (in the pre-recorded chat), she says 'What are you guys doing, get in here!' […] But the students who say, 'Shut up,' […] won't get any guidance from that teacher." He recognizes that the students were never moved by those practices.

However, Mr. S also said, "My way is too easy, isn't it? I'm spoiling them, aren't I? I'm talking to the students during class. […] But we shouldn't talk to students during class." He recognized the 'chatting practice' is not allowed for teachers usually. However, he also recognized the validity of his own practice.

> But if I didn't do that, I wouldn't be able to put them in [the classroom]. […] I thought that I won because I let them in the class for 5 or 10 minutes, […] and the '*obahan*' lost. […] (Another teacher said to fellow teacher Y, who was practicing a similar method to S) that "students are not growing". But […], although the students may not grow much, I am sure that I will grow them more than the other teachers who can never make them participate in class.

As seen in this narrative, Mr. S. says that the above practice was appropriate to get students to participate in class. In other words, it was a necessary practice in order not to exclude them from the class. Mr. S. justified the "chatting practice" by using reality as a resource that students were being excluded from the "standard" educational practices which the "*obahan*" teacher did at that school. After the above narrative, Mr. S. said that such practice was necessary to educate students in the 'current situation'. Mr. S. indicated the existence of "*Kashiko* (clever)" or "Normal" student groups, and added,

"Teachers who say, 'I can teach this student here, but not that student there,' are inherently wrong. Because every student is different". He added, "Education […] is successful if we improve even one millimeter from the current situation. […] If the current situation and the ideal are far apart (then the ideal is prioritized), the current situation will be left as it is. Then can we leave […] (students) in our school as it is?"

As described above, in justifying his unexclusive practices, Mr. S used reality inherent in the part-time high school (the part-time high school as the "current situation") as a resource. However, Mr. S. did not do "chatting practice" from the beginning of his career.

When the author asked him in the first interview, "Are there any students who never talk with you?" He replied, "No (Everyone talks with me). […] But it takes time. '(At the beginning, students say) what do you want?' '(and I said) what did you say?' It took me 10 years (to get skillful at 'chatting practice')".

So, in the second interview, I asked him what kind of change occurred before he acquired the skill and stopped battling against his students. Mr. S answered, "I think I had been able to stand at students' eye level". When I asked him about the trigger, he said that his own life experience had an important meaning.

4.2 Part-time high school required 'non-elite experience'

In the second interview, when I asked him about the trigger that led him to stand at the students' eye level, he replied, "It was not a trigger but experience".

He added, "when I say (for students who did not go to class) 'Hey, you have to go!' […] and I grabbed them by the collar, I just felt danger and students didn't go to the classroom. When I was thinking that was not good, there was a fellow teacher, Y, and […] he got students to go to the classroom and they entered the classroom for one second. Then I thought, 'Well, I'll try something like that,' and I did it, and they entered the class for a minute."

He also noted that as he had gotten older, he had "become a broad-minded person". However, it seems safe to assume that the above experience was a direct factor that enabled him to stand at students' eye level. Especially, we need to focus on the presence of Y. When the author asked, "Did Mr.Y. have some influence (on you)...?"

He said "Yes, he did, it (his influence) is strong". And he added "I still feel defeated by him. I couldn't spoil students as much as him". Y appeared in the episode concerning "chatting practice" as a model in the first time interview too. Mr. S said of Y, "He had always said, 'What's wrong with spoiling students?' He had said this for a long time. I can't go into that area. I said, 'It's bad to spoil them, but I have to talk to them, or they won't go to class' or something".

What is particularly important about the story about colleague Y is that Mr. S emphasized that both he and Y did not experience an 'elite course'. This was mentioned in another part of the second interview when I asked him again about his trigger to "stand at students' eye level".

First, Mr. S. said, "My trigger? I don't have one as I said." Then he described his own background. "I went to a lower level high school where only one or two students go to national universities and went to a moderate level university (a famous private university in the Kansai region) after spending 2 years to enter, and eight years to graduate from the university. Maybe, these (are the important factors).

I responded, "Oh, that's important to be able to stand at students' eye level? He answered, "That's a tremendous, tremendous asset for me. (Author: So you can stand the same level because of that?) Yes, I can stand because of it".

The significance of the above experience is illustrated by a comparison with teachers who have different backgrounds (indirectly referred to as "elite course" in their later section). Those teachers "did very well in junior high school, then went to a top high school, and went to a national university, like X university (a famous national university), and graduated from the university in 4 years, then became a teacher straight". Mr. S. said of them, "It must be difficult for them to stand (at students' eye level). That's what I call 'graduate school graduated teachers (*Obahan*)'".

In other words, Mr. S. refers to his own experiences as different from that of teachers' who went to school and became teachers smoothly. According to Mr. S, Y had same experience.

"Y went to X University, and he graduated from X University. […] (But) He was a leftist activist and couldn't get a job. […] Then he became a mechanic". This was his background. Mr. S said about Y, "though that's different from me, he also experienced another side. Ah, I mean, it's not an elite course. […] I think he (Y) and I both have those experiences". Then, the author asked Mr. S., "The person who doesn't have those kind of experiences […] is the '*Obahan*' who went to graduate school, right?" He agreed and added, "And basically, teachers are like '*Obahan*'". What is important here is that Mr. S recognized that teachers who are capable of unexclusive practices such as him and Y have non-elite experiences.

Then, why was it necessary to have a non-elite experiences and "stand at the eye level" of the students? What is suggestive in this question is the narrative about the characteristics of teachers in general. This was mentioned

at the beginning of the second interview when I asked him what kind of person the "*Obahan* who graduated from graduate school" is.

First, he said, "This is a metaphor. I meant that a smart person who has a graduate degree doesn't understand people who can't study because they could study." Then he added, "Well, teachers in general are smart, or rather, they have basic academic skills, so they don't try to understand the feelings of children who don't have the skills." And he said, if there is an order from "the best school" to "the worst," the part-time high school is "the worst". So "(teachers in general) cannot even understand the feelings of people in the middle, so I think they can never understand the thoughts or feelings of the students in the part-time high school at all".

According to Mr. S., teachers in general have academic skills, so they cannot imagine the thoughts and feelings of part-time high school students who do not have the skills. In other words, to imagine the thoughts and feelings of the students is to "stand at student eye level" with them. To do this in 'the worst' part-time high school, teachers needed to have experiences of "another side", like Mr. S and his colleague Y which is different from the elite course.

To contextualize Mr. S's narrative above, there are a few teachers with 'non-elite experience' who can practice unexclusive practices and a majority of 'elite (*Obahan*)' teachers who cannot practice such practices. Then he said the former would be necessary in 'the worst' school: a part-time high school. What is particularly noteworthy is that the imaginary '*Obahan* (teacher)' is used as a counterpart to indicate the position of Mr. S himself and Y. This is because Mr. S's statement, "I could stand at the students' eye level because of my 'non-elite experience,'" only makes sense when contrasted with the 'elite (*Obahan*)' teacher. By assuming this contrast, Mr. S was able to construct a justifying logic that "we were the very teachers who did appropriate practices in 'the worst' part-time high school". In other words, the 'non-elite experience' was presented as a resource to justify unexclusive practices.

In the next section, we will focus on the dialogue that refers to the social position of the part-time high school beyond the realm of the high school education system. By focusing on this point, it becomes clear how Mr. S. interpreted unexclusive practices such as "chatting practice" as something that should be prioritized over "standard" practices. In the following, we will zoom in on the point where Mr. S. spoke of the detention center and part-time high school in parallel.

4.3 Social position of part-time high school
4.3.1 A school positioned on the same line as a detention center

In the first interview, Mr. S said, "I once thought which is better, a detention center or part-time high school. It is a social issue. […] I mean I thought which one is more necessary for society. […] Because students did a lot of bad things. They are bad, aren't they? It's not just being lazy about their study, they steal things, they hurt people, and so on".

When I asked him in the second interview about the meaning of his statement, he replied, "because there were many criminals. I mean, […] it was natural for them to smoke cigarettes, and they said, 'We are a motorcycle gang'". In other words, the implication of the statement above was that the students who come to the part-time high school are the same group as those who go to a detention center, and if so, which is useful (and necessary) in society as a place to receive them?

To capture Mr. S's reality more accurately, I would like to examine the statement "part-time high school is a safety net" in the first interview. He talked about a student who got into trouble with the police.

"I got into a police car with the student, but if I didn't get into the car and he attacked the police, he might have been arrested and gone to a detention center for the interference of official duty. […] I wondered if this was a right thing. I once thought that the detention center might be better for them to reform. I don't think so now. I think that part-time high school education is necessary, and that it is a safety net"[5].

So, I asked him what he meant by "the part-time high school is a safety net" during the second interview. He explained about an implication which is not limited to the similarity of the people in both part-time high schools and detention centers. In the following, we will look at the point where he talks about a student who went to a detention center just before I asked him about the implication of the phrase "the part-time high school is a safety net".

I thought that students could not be rehabilitated in a detention center. […] It is because, when the student who said "what do you want?" goes to the center, he would say, "How are you?" […] Those students usually say the same thing. "I'm sorry for my immaturity" or something. […] They pretended to regenerate. They don't have regret. […] That's why they can't be rehabilitated even if they are sent to a detention center.

Mr. S. look back at his experience of visiting students who went to the detention center, and recognizes that even if the students' attitudes seem to have changed drastically, they are merely acting out regeneration by saying formulaic words like expressing remorse for their immaturity.

After the above exchange, the author asked, "Concerning that, (I'd like to ask you something.) […] (By showing the transcript of the first interview,) you said, once I thought that a detention center could rehabilitate them, but now I think that part-time high schools would be a safety net". Then Mr. S. replied, "so, what I said now is the explanation about it. […] I went to see them, and they said, 'Yes, I understand, sir' or something. Based on those experiences, I think they can't be rehabilitated. Instead, they should develop their whole personality, which gives a sense of self-usefulness, fulfillment, and accomplishment. For the sake of that, part-time high schools are needed and become a safety net through that meaning. Maybe, I meant it like this". In other words, Mr. S's statement that "a part-time high school is a safety net" implies that since detention centers cannot even rehabilitate children, education that helps those people to develop their whole personality is meaningful[6].

Moreover, it is not only the visitation experience that supports Mr. S's recognition that detention centers cannot rehabilitate students. When I asked him, "When did you feel 'they can't be rehabilitated in a detention center'? Did you get any chance to have a relationship with children who have come out of a detention center?"

Mr. S. replied that he had no such experience, but added, "I asked what happened to them after they went to the detention center. 'What happened after that? What happened to him?' then someone says, 'He is in a gang now'. Like that". He said that he had such experiences and also said, "Those who came from detention centers did not come to the part-time high school. If they never came to the school, it means that they have not been rehabilitated, including my imagination. […] Well, further, there may have been some who came to the part-time high school in their 40s or 50s after going to a detention center. But I'm not sure if some older students went to the center or not. I didn't have a chance to hear of those stories."

Thus, in addition to his experiences visiting students in detention centers, Mr. S. also experienced having students who left detention centers eventually joining a gang. Moreover, he never met a student who entered the school where he worked after passing through a detention center. Based on these experiences, Mr. S formed the perception that detention centers cannot even rehabilitate students.

We will summarize Mr. S's narrative. First of all, he talked about which is more socially useful, considering that detention centers and part-time high schools receive the same group of students. In the beginning, Mr. S. thought that a detention center covers the 'rehabilitation' and a part-time high school covers the 'development of the whole personality'. However, through various experiences, he came to realize that detention centers could not even rehabilitate children, and he found significance in part-time high school education. In this reality at a part-time high school, Mr. S was able to justify his practices as being superior to the "standard" practices.

On the other hand, however, some teachers criticize Mr. S's practices. How was Mr. S able to counter these criticisms? In response to a question on this point, Mr. S. spoke of the part-time high school as a school in a pressing position.

4.3.2 Prevention of 'dropout inferiority'

In the second interview, the author asked, "In your part-time high school, you negotiated (with other teachers) to advance students. Is there any argument as to whether advancing students is beneficial or not? (Mr. S: Yes, yes, yes, yes. Yes, yes.) How do you fight with them?"

Mr. S answered, "I said, 'Even if students repeat the year, they never regret not studying, not learning well or improving their motivation next year'". He recognized that they can't be motivated to study by staying in school. However, Mr. S understands, "If the student whom I mentioned earlier graduates without being able to calculate

fractions he will not be able to go back to school even if he wants to learn fractions again 30 years from now. But if he drops out of school, he can go". He knows that there are opinions that say, 'In fact, letting students proceed to the next level when they rarely studied could be a deprivation of the right to learn'.

However, Mr. S added, "But that may be true 30 years from now, but today, or next year, students feel a strong 'dropout inferiority'. It leads them to a sense of self-denial. (Author: So, considering that, letting them advance to the next grade...) …Letting them advance and graduate and making them have a 'good face' is better". The author then asked, "What happens when they have a sense of 'dropout inferiority'"? Mr. S. said the following.

If students have a 'dropout inferiority', they don't have a sense of self-affirmation, so they don't have a sense of usefulness. Then they take up antisocial behaviors. (For example,) "I'm not going to be accepted in society anyway. But the gangs and motorcycle gang friends say they need me (like this)". So, they work hard for the sake of the gang and their friends and hurt the rich people and the good. They become antisocial forces.

Mr. S. believed that the "dropout inferiority" that dropouts have leads to a lack of self-esteem and no sense of usefulness, and to make up for it, they commit themselves to antisocial forces. That is why Mr. S. said that it is necessary for students to advance and graduate from part-time high schools on time anyway as a "safety net" to prevent committing to those groups. This was confirmed by Mr. S's response after the above exchange.

The author said "The fact that 'dropout inferiority' leads to a lack of a sense of usefulness is very important. It is quite important to prevent that". Then Mr. S replied, "As a safety net. (I said safety net) That meaning".

In this connection, it should be pointed out that he emphasized "graduation" as an opportunity for students to gain a sense of self-affirmation. The following narrative was given after the statement quoted in the previous section, "The part-time high school is more important than the detention center as a place to gain a sense of self-usefulness, and so on".

You know, they make themselves a good face at the graduation ceremony. They don't understand much. […] They don't know the inverse of a fraction. But they take credits and graduate. They have really good faces, and they say, "Thank you, teacher".

This narrative suggests that logic of the necessity of having students advance and graduate to prevent "dropout inferiority" is supported by actual experiences. Considering this point, it makes sense that Mr. S. said that "students should be promoted to prevent dropout inferiority, even though it may deprive them of the right to learn", or that "developing the whole personality in a part-time high school is making the school be a safety net". The above experiences are also considered to be a resource for Mr. S to ground the effectiveness of unexclusive practices. In other words, Mr. S was able to justify his practices by predicting that "graduation," which was the result of his unexclusive practices, would have a positive impact on the students.

This chapter examined the logic of justifying unexclusive practices, focusing on the unique reality of Mr. S. In the next chapter, we will summarize the findings so far and discuss them.

V. Conclusion

This paper analyzed the narratives of Mr. S and examined how the 'unexclusive practices' which prevent dropping out were made possible. In doing so, we examined Mr. S's logic that justified "outlaw-like" unexclusive practices, focusing on the unique reality of the part-time high school.

Mr. S justified his unexclusive practices based on the following logic. That is, in a part-time high school: (1) 'standard' practices would exclude students (Chapter 4, Section 1), (2) teachers are required to have "non-elite" experiences and to practice by standing at the "students' eye level" (Section 2), and (3) students who have the risk of committing to anti-social groups should stay in school (Section 3).

On the basis of above, we need to note that the logic that justified Mr. S's "outlaw-like" unexclusive practices was based on critical references to 'standard' educational practices and the 'elite' teacher image. Here, in particular, we would like to examine how we can interpret Mr. S's references to 'standard' practices and general teacher images. A clue is in an exchange during the second interview. Especially, the following part of where he described his own practices as "outlaw-like" [1] is significant. When the author asked, "As long as it is for the development of the whole personality, we can choose any method...?", Mr. S. replied, "I don't think any method is allowed. [...] we should not take the drug together with the student to stop him taking drugs. That's why I said 'outlaw-like'".

In this exchange, Mr. S emphasized that he had to practice within the limits of what he was allowed to do as a teacher. Considering this, the fact that he presented his own practices and position by criticizing 'standard' practices and the general image of a teacher in the logic of his justification suggests that he had to make his practices and position meaningful within the scope of activities allowed for teachers. In other words, we can read "the dilemma of the teacher who must oscillate between his personal narrative and the narrative about teachers envisioned by the system and society" [Isemoto 2017: 361] in Mr. S's narratives also. Therefore, we can grasp that Mr. S's "outlaw-like" practices, while literally irregular educational practice, had aspects that were made possible by monitoring the scope of acceptable practices as a teacher.

Through this study, it can be said that we have been able to draw partly how the 'unexclusive practices' demanded by a part-time high school that accepted students with a variety of difficulties were made possible. However, the findings of this paper were derived from an examination of the narrative of one former teacher, and we have only presented one possible variation of the logic that underpins the practices. Therefore, it must be pointed out that there is still room for further study.

Finally, we would like to point out two difficulties with part-time high schools suggested by the above discussion. The first is the possibility that changing the position of part-time high schools that accept students with diverse issues in the high school education system may have caused difficulties. Perhaps the 'unexclusive practices' of Mr. S and his colleague Y may have helped students to settle in the school. However, as we have seen in this paper, 'unexclusive practices' require a supporting logic. In Mr. S's case, it was made possible by his teaching experiences and life experiences. Therefore, it was not easy for other teachers to implement the above practices. Of course, the practices of Mr. S and his colleague Y are not the only practices that can retain students in school. However, we would like to point out that the above-mentioned difficulties may have occurred with the practices of part-time high school education from a certain period downward.

The other is a more structural difficulty. It is noteworthy that Mr. S. was able to construct logic underpinning his unexclusive practices toward the students by referring to the situation of the school where he worked (e.g., the reality of being on the same level as a detention center). This finding confirms Sato's [2013] finding that educational practices are developed in the reality inherent to schools. On the other hand, our finding suggests that the diversity of students makes it difficult to construct a school-specific reality, which makes it difficult to formulate a policy for the practices of retaining students in the school. In fact, Sagawa [2019], in his analysis of the journals of Tokyo's part-time high school teachers, points out that the teachers' practices expanded as the student became more diverse and they could no longer have an image of part-time high school students as working youths. In light of this, it can be assumed that, especially after the 2000s, as part-time high schools became part of the "second track" [Koga 2017], it was extremely difficult for teachers to construct a "reality specific to the part-time high school" and implement practices that retain their students.

Therefore, it is necessary to examine the difficulties that current teachers face in retaining their students. As above, studying the actual condition of the school will not only provide knowledge at the academic level, but will also contribute to the development of effective perspectives for discussion at the educational administrative level.

Notes

1. In the second interview, Mr. S said, "Education is the formation of the whole personality. [...] So, I think that though the means are outlaw-like somewhat, it should be chosen for education".

2. In the first interview, Mr. S said, "Certain students repeated from my class. Then I never saw him fight with the teacher in the next year. […] The teacher brushed him off. That teacher was a senior teacher, about 10 years older than me and the student stopped coming. Because the student doesn't come, there are no fights with the teacher. So, he excluded the student".

3. The Osaka Prefectural Government does not count the data of students who have jobs separately, like 'full-time high school student' and 'part-time high school student'. Therefore, 'new students who have full-time jobs' include full-time high school students. However, it is unlikely that those who enter full-time high school work full-time. Consequently, the number can be understood as those who enter a part-time high school (or correspondence high school, etc.). The calculation method is as follows (new students who have full-time job ÷ junior high school graduates who entered high school × 100).

4. Mr. S stated that the timing of the consolidation and abolition was "1994 or 1997," but I was unable to confirm the timing. However, as far as the number of part-time high schools is indicated in the data of Osaka Prefectural Government, there were indeed 56 schools in 1989, but this number had decreased to 41 by 2001 [Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology 2001, 2017].

5. In the preliminary exchanges leading up to the first interview, the author had told Mr. S. that I see the part-time high schools as a 'safety net' in the high school education system. Therefore, it is possible that Mr. S used the term 'safety net' by remembering this exchange.

6. When Mr. S. described his outlaw-like practices in the second interview, he said, "After all, the practices are for the children's growth. (Author: Ah…, growth?) Yes. Education is the formation of the whole personality. The whole personality is formed. This is the principle of education. (Author: Yes) So, well, it doesn't matter whether it's growth or personality formation […]". From this, we can see that Mr. S is using the term "whole personality formation (development)" as synonymous with "growth".

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