CHAPTER THREE

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CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This final chapter will detail what was learned from the oral histories about separation, schooling, the moral component of the co-construction of curriculum and the informal techniques of social control. Eight anonymous voices of interviewed Chefoo students who were also interned are included in this chapter. Five are of women who are one to four years older than Kathleen and one who is the same age as Mary. Two male students' voices are also shared so as to give a man's perspective. One of the male students is five years older than Kathleen and the other is the same age as Mary. Their quotations are used to give other students' perspectives into selected categories. This chapter will also review what the researcher learned about using historical inquiry in regards to subjectivity and researcher bias, women's history, oral history and issues of documented versus personal reality.

Validity of the Creative Argument

Validity of the creative argument is determined by whether or not the assumptions and interpretations made by the researcher are logical and consistent with the presented stories and historical documents. The researcher's job is to give an honest rendering of how the informants view themselves and their experience. Measuring validity is dependent upon the researcher's demonstrating that the multiple constructions of the subjects have been adequately represented and are credible to those of the subjects. This strength of consistency between the informants' reality and how it was interpreted by the researcher is internal validity. (1)

LeCompte and Preissle identify four qualitative research factors that promote internal validity. The first factor is the amount of time spent in the field and in doing research. A limitation of this study is the lack of access to living among the participants when the events occurred. A strength, however, was the four year process of collecting data which allowed for ongoing analysis and informant collaboration. Once the main informants were designated, each one had input throughout the researching and writing process. Spreading the interviews and meetings with informants over a two year period allowed the researcher to gauge the consistency of their stories. It also ensured a match between "researcher categories and participant realities."

The next factor is that the use of interviews is less abstract than if other data collection instruments were used. Interviews allow the participants' voices to be heard and the empirical categories to be phrased by them. The third factor is that participant observation is done in natural settings rather than contrived ones. While it was impossible for the natural setting of the event to be observed, all the interviews were conducted in the participants' own homes or in environments of their own choosing. They also brought pictures, journals and artifacts to help convey their stories. The last factor is that a qualitative analysis "incorporates researcher reflection, introspection and self-monitoring" that exposes all phases of the research to continued questioning and reevaluation. (2)

It is in this continuous reflection, introspection and self-monitoring of the researcher's own biases that the creative argument is formulated and refined. In this study, internal validity is supported by triangulation of the interviews with other sources. It is also supported by having the participants review the researcher's interpretations and sharing the study with their peers. And finally, the amount of time spent working with the informants and communicating with them supports internal validity.

Separation

While the focus of this study is schooling, not separation from parents, the one must be examined in relation to the other since the desire for schooling created the separation and made Chefoo the type of school that it was. The separation was necessitated for two major reasons. The first and foremost cause was the parents' desire to give their children a strong Western, classical training that would be on par with the public schools of England of which boarding was an acceptable part. Having an Evangelical Christian school with boarding facilities located on the same continent where the parents served was seen in the eyes of the Mission and most of the parents as a vast improvement over sending the children back to their home countries. Boarding at Chefoo reduced the time of separation from seven years (every furlough) to usually just three years or less, depending on the parents' location in China.

The second reason for separation was that the CIM was earnest in having both men and women equally doing full-time missionary work in the interior regions of China. The Mission's progressiveness in doing missionary work in remote places, and in enhancing the role of women, eliminated the option for attending a local Western-style school found only in the coastal urban areas, or for doing home-schooling. This then, created the need for a boarding school and subsequently the separation involved.

No matter what the cause, this separation was a traumatic event clearly recalled in the presented oral histories. The impact of separation from parents and the ensuing homesickness affected Mary and Kathleen at different times and in different ways during their boarding experience. For Mary, homesickness manifested itself immediately through daily vomiting. With Kathleen, at first she was happy to conform with the rest of the boarding children. It was not until she saw her parents again, three years later, that she experienced the emotional impact of a second separation and the realization of not having anyone present to whom she was "of prime importance."

Perhaps the difference between Kathleen and Mary is that Kathleen had two leavings or separations whereas Mary had only the one Mary's one separation from her parents involved her going to school for the first time, much as Kathleen did, excited to be boarding at school like all the other children. Mary did not have a time of reconnecting with her parents to realize or compare the two settings based on emotional needs. Whereas for Kathleen, it was her parents' visit to Chefoo and then their leaving that made her realize what she had been missing by not being with her family. In addition, Mary was also reuniting with her two older siblings and starting with her younger brother at Chefoo. Mary had siblings to whom she mattered on a deeper level, while

Kathleen had no one until her younger sister came—and even then there was little emotional attachment due to the age difference.

In their adult years, some of the Chefusians interviewed, like Mary, take the separation in stride as an acceptable part of attending Chefoo during that era. Kathleen, however, reflected the prevailing view of the other Chefusians that the separation resulted in life-long emotional ache. With each of the Chefusians interviewed, both male and female (thirteen percent of the one hundred fourteen who were interned without parents as well as those who were not directly affected by the war), strong emotions surrounded their words when speaking of first attending Chefoo as a boarder. Though long buried, the sense of abandonment, loss and separation was still vivid over fifty years later.

These feelings of abandonment are expressed in the following few quotes from various male and female interviewees. One gentleman recalled,

> I was five years old [and] a day scholar. A year later at six my mother suddenly departed and I hadn't been warned that they were leaving and putting me in boarding school. It was traumatic. And when you went home for Christmas, just as you were getting used to having parents around again, you had to go back to school. I can remember going to bed crying for three or four weeks after each trip home. I think there was a lot of homesickness and you couldn't write a letter because [the principal] of the primary school read everything so you couldn't tell your parents that you were being bullied or that you were homesick or that your food or clothing weren't adequate—so it was a very bottled-up situation.

Another woman, of Kathleen's age stated,

> I had some terrible, terrible nightmares and it happened more than once--terrible things that I saw. I was probably seven. When I was eight, I looked up that verse [Romans 8:28] (3) and that is the first experience I remember personally with God and I began looking positively at my separation from my parents. Although, it still hurt. I went home [one] Christmas and that was the first time I saw my mother after the separation and I remember walking around the streets holding her hand and looking up into her face and saying, 'it seems strange to think that you're my mommy.' [After the war] when I was a teenager, my mother said I always used to write happy letters home and she wondered if I ever felt the separation like she did. I said to her, 'yes, I remember wandering around the school grounds and I was just missing something and now I know it was you I was missing.'

Another man interviewed recalled the difficulty the separation was on the staff as well as the children.

> It was very hard for our teachers [with the kids] who were separated from their parents. Hard to work with us and trying to be substitute parents. Some kids were really lonely and really needed their parents. We [brothers and sisters] all felt terribly grieved, almost like a bereavement when they [parents] left. They were hoping to come back again in about two years. But then after Pearl Harbor, there was no chance that they would be able to travel at all. They stayed in free China and we waited in Weihsien until the end of the war.
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> The hard thing for us kids [siblings] was not so much the camp. Kids have a tremendous amount of resilience. But we heard one day that my mother had died and that was a tremendous shock which has taken years to overcome. Having been separated for all those years—always we lived in hope that they would come and we would be together again as a family. To have that smashed in such a way that you couldn't mourn or grieve—there was no funeral and no resolution, just to have been told from a distance was very hard.

A second aspect of the separation was the reuniting with parents and then working through the long-term impact of the lengthy separation. Mary attributes her ease of resuming family life with their having remained in China for a year after the war, and then resettling in a small mid-west, Bible-belt town in the United States. Kathleen, however, talked of the awkwardness that resulted from living as a family again. She also found the Chefoo reunions hard to cope with as she reali7ed she did not feel that "everything was wonderful" in her past as those around her were expressing.

Kathleen eventually sought counseling to work out her mixed feelings about the past and how they impacted the present. Other Chefusians who were interviewed struggled with putting the separation in perspective and whether or not to hold anyone responsible for that separation. One woman said that as a child,

> I thought, 'It's really God who made my parents do this, and the head of the Mission.' And that affected my relationship with God for a long, long time. I don't blame my parents, the Mission, and I certainly don't blame God now. It was just what they thought was the right thing to do at the time. I know some of the students have turned away completely [from Christianity] because they just got over-stuffed, as it were. I almost feel guilty for saying that because everything was done with the best of intentions.

A second woman stated,

> They [the teachers] were all good people. I don't think they knew it was wrong to leave us in school all that time without seeing our parents. They were doing it for God, for the best of motives. It's only modern psychiatry and the discovery of how this can affect people that has altered the view. You can't judge in retrospect a group of people who thought they were obeying God to the best of their view. Admittedly, it may have had all sorts of effects on the kids. I'm always sad because I feel that the staff wanted to do their best for us and often people don't give that impression.

Others interviewed spoke of the difficulty in reuniting with parents after years of separation.

> It wasn't easy for us. Our parents hadn't seen us for six or seven years and they couldn't adjust to the fact that we were no longer children. I was twenty and my mother wanted to do everything for me. We were resistant to being supervised too closely. We had learnt resourcefulness in camp, you had to find food and cook it; mend your own trousers or whatever it was and then all of the sudden into this adjustment. They [parents] were wonderful people but it was very difficult to bridge that period.

A female interviewee stated,

> [In camp] we were one big family and I had to be careful that I didn't say anything like this in front of my mother, but actually we got to a stage where we didn't know them [parents]. Our friends and the staff had become surrogate parents and that was our world. It was traumatic when we were finally released and we left them and went to a strange country. We were glad to see [our parents] again but they couldn't understand that we thought we were grown up. We'd changed more than they had. They still wanted us to do exactly what they wanted. Just when we wanted to buy modern clothes and not be different anymore--we couldn't. There wasn't any money and they [parents] had old fashioned ideas. It was quite hard but we got through it.

A male interviewee recalled that after being released from Weihsien, he and his siblings stayed in barracks near an airport while waiting for their father to come to them.

While at the airport the officers would take them for rides on the motor bikes.

> I think one of the tragedies was that when my father did come, we hardly knew him and we kids were very excited about going for rides with

these air force people rather than seeing our own father. That was very hard for him though looking back, it was sort of natural. We just didn't know each other. The separation of five years and without a mother there—that took quite a few years to work through.

The absence of parents impinged on each student's life since no other relationship could adequately fill that role. The students' relationships with their teachers were respectful but distant. It was peers who subsequently filled the need for companionship, though at times that too could be strained by things like being "sent to Coventry." That is not to say that the students did not cope or do well in their adult lives, but this researcher believes that there is an emotional cost that colors the relational areas of a child's life as they mature into adults. Quantitative studies, one specific to Chefoo students born between 1935 and 1955 by Hogben, (4) and one dealing with Adult Missionary Kids (AMK's) in general, have been done which show that separation or, those who "attended boarding school. . did not appear to have been disadvantaged as adults . . ." (5)

However, the Hogben study, though purposely not dealing with those Chefusians who were interned, did find that "the longer the child's separation the more difficult were adjustments to adult relationships." (6) It is time for more qualitative life stories to be researched and written so as to capture individuals' perception on how childhood separations and repeated leavings influenced who they are today. Perhaps these stories would provide a foundational basis for the future stories of those who are now in foster- care or separated from parents for a variety of societal reasons.

Schooling

Whether Chefoo was the "best school east of the Suez" as Mary stated, or not, is the topic for another study. It is a credit, however, to the Chefoo teachers and staff that the school was able to maintain its high academic standards throughout the internment. These dedicated teachers provided strong preparation for succeeding on the Oxford School Certificate Exams. This is demonstrated by the fact that once the Chefoo School was settled in Weihsien Internment Camp, the students continued with their academic studies in preparation for the Oxford Exams.

Between July of 1944 and September of 1945, three groups of students, thirty- seven in all, took the Oxford Exams while interned. Of that thirty-seven, thirty-four passed satisfactory or better, two did not pass and one was absent. The one absence and the two who did not pass were all from the last group who took the exam after liberation while the internees were preparing to return to their home countries. The first two test groups took their exams in the midst of internment with no surety of a future beyond the internment walls. After the

war, the test results were turned over to the Oxford examiners who reviewed and validated the scores and then reported them in their July, 1946 results data. (7)

Even in the Lower Forms and in the Prep School, the students were held to high standards during internment. A Fourth Form grading sheet from the internment years shows that the students were taught and graded in ten subjects: French, Composition, Latin, Arithmetic, Algebra, History, Geometry, Geography, Literature and Grammar.

These subject grades were then added together and divided by ten to give each student's percentage rank in class.

The Prep students were given letter grades in eleven areas which were sub-divided into two to five aspects of each subject. The eleven areas were English Language, Reading, Arithmetic, Scripture, History, Geography, Art, Handwork, Music, General Work and General Conduct. Some of the graded sub-divisions included *expresses thoughts clearly, thinks out problems carefully*, *works with care*, and *obeys promptly*. (8) Overall, of the twenty-four students interviewed for this study, 100% went on for post- secondary education with most continuing into the helping professions of ministry, education, nursing and medicine.

There is no question that Chefoo was a good school with high standards. As one student related,

> There was a real sense of community there. They would have sports, regattas, cricket in the summer and a lot of activities. They had a number of excellent concerts. They had very high standards. I know that Chefoo was considered the best British style school east of the Suez. Students who left there [and] went back to England for college usually did very well. They had a good grounding. Another student stated that Chefoo provided a thorough education, fantastic teachers, outstanding results on Oxford exams and a happy environment in sports. The end result was a successful school in which a high portion of the graduates became doctors, nurses, professors and ministers.
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> Anywhere you go there's a Chefusian in a key position, so it was a success but there were sad sides to it.

Unfortunately, those who were not at the top, such as Mary and Kathleen, often expressed feelings of inferiority in comparison to their classmates. Kathleen, like many of the others interviewed, did not realize that she was in fact "better than average" until she returned to her parent's home country and compared herself with the general population. Mary expressed similar feelings until she learned at Weihsien that she had the top average, thus changing her

self-perception. For those who never earned top academic ranking, who never won an athletic competition, or who were not gifted in music or art, their schooling experience at Chefoo could be discouraging.

> At the end of the year they gathered everybody together to read the grade levels. The way they did it was they would start from the bottom average, from the bottom student to the top student. By the time they got to the top student, everyone would clap their hands and then there was silence and you start at the bottom of the next grade. I wasn't doing well in school, in fact my first grade period I had 50%. My father wrote me, and my father didn't write very often, and he said, 'if you bring up your average a whole lot, I'll give you a watch for Christmas. So I worked hard and brought up my average to the 80's and from then on I was with the top students. I had a taste of being near the top of the class. That's a little status.

As another Chefusian woman stated, at Chefoo,

> I felt that I had no talents. No teacher hardly ever gave any individual encouragement. You struggled to compete with all your peers. There was a select group that always excelled. I was in the nondescript middle, but there were some poor kids who were always in trouble. When I came over here [Canada] I just excelled. I came top of my class and won the top scholarship. I recognized then that I wasn't as dumb as I thought I had been.

Schooling though is more than just academic performance. Schooling encompasses the passing on of values and mores of the institution. As presented in the Prologue, Sergiovanni attributes five purposes to schooling: "to develop basic competency in the three R's; to pass on the culture; to teach students to think; to build character; [and] to cultivate excellence." (9) As stated above, Chefoo more than adequately developed basic competency, cultivated excellence and taught students to think. What the students thought about the culture that was being passed on and the means used for character development are the concerns of this study and the next part of this chapter.

The Co-construction of Curriculum and its Moral Component

The term co-construction is derived from "Constructivism" defined by Sergiovanni as "the simple idea that children and adults construct their own understandings of the world in which they live." (10) Co-construction is the interaction or intersection of the teachers' and students' understandings which produces what is culturally and academically passed on by the teachers to their students. Co-construction is the continual constructing, negotiating and reconstructing of the traditions, values and morals of their school and social

culture as students and teachers interact to make sense of their shared worlds. This is especially relevant to the Chefoo students because they lived with or near their teachers for five or more years of their lives.

Mary and Kathleen, by relating their histories orally, expressed the curricular values of the Chefoo School. Their stories gave examples of both explicit and implicit ways that the students got the message of what this school was about and how they were to relate to it. However, the women's stories also showed their own thinking and understanding of what the school staff was trying to convey and how they as students interpreted it.

Safety in Structure

Some of the positive messages that the students expressed that they had received in the midst of the war and internment was a feeling of security and safety. Whether it was due to a faith in God, in their teachers, or just the bliss of ignorance, both women expressed that they felt no real fear during the war and internment experience. The teachers and staff did an excellent job in, as Mary related, sheltering and preserving their childhoods. This was accomplished by maintaining predictable routines of school and daily life.

As both Kathleen and Mary indicated, there were structures and purposefulness to all that the students did. The standards and expectations were the same for the students whether they were at the Chefoo School or in the internment camp. The whole concept of being "God's representatives, daughters of the King—princesses," meant something, especially to the British children who were raised to revere the Royal Family. Mary especially, seems to have thrived in the existence of structures and routine and continues with them today in her work. Her's is a positive, upbeat story of how the teachers used rituals, predictability and safety to see the children through their time of internment.

Kathleen, however, while agreeing that she always felt safe, was not as cognizant of finding her personal security in the structures, nor in those around her. Instead she turned her focus inward and sorted out what feelings and events she had control over and those that she did not thus burying them in her subconscious. One cannot determine how much of this introspection is due to adolescent moodiness and being two years older than Mary, or whether Kathleen was just a more reflective child. For even in pre-adolescence Kathleen was determining or co-constructing the difference between what was taught and what she felt and believed based on her past experiences and on her surroundings. Mary, however, seemed more accepting of the routines and structures.

Much of the predictability and routine that Mary speaks of in her story actually comes from living an institutional life where everyone must be on a schedule so that things run smoothly. This aspect of Chefoo made for an easier transition to internment camp because the students were used to doing daily life activities by a strict schedule, whereas the other internees found it to be a limiting aspect of their previous freedom. And, quite the opposite was true for the Chefusian students. The American students who were repatriated were first sent to Weihsien for two weeks before the rest of the Chefoo contingent arrived. One of these students recalled that her time during those two weeks without the Chefoo staff was unstructured. During those two weeks "it carne to me that something's different about my life. What is it? I know, nobody is saying to me, 'now it's time to get up, it's time to eat, it's time to read your Bible."

All of the Chefusian women and men interviewed agreed that being interned in Weihsien was a broadening experience which either enhanced or challenged the values of their previous life at Chefoo. One woman said, "We were so naive at Chefoo. We had this abnormal sheltering in that we weren't part of the real world. Even our books were censored." Once in Weihsien, the staff and students found themselves in a different world. It was a liberating experience for the students as they were freer to talk and associate with people from whom they had previously been sheltered, from Catholic priests to nightclub performers.

> At Chefoo the teachers controlled the whole environment and we kids were totally cut off, not only from the Japanese and from the outside world, but from any secular thinking. As soon as we went to Weihsien, we were suddenly thrown right in the middle of a very secular society with prostitutes, drug addicts, millionaires and businessmen.

Another older male student stated that,

> Coming to Weihsien was a colossal shock to us but it was beneficial. The upbringing at Chefoo was very fundamentalist. I swallowed it all and then the Weihsien experience shook me up a bit. It involved rethinking. Moving into this larger camp of 2,000 people was a breath of life--meeting people of wider points of view and rethinking one's own upbringing in this wider context_ The intellectually stimulating professors, lecturers, missionaries from other societies, and very informed people. But the problem with it was we had been programmed in advance that outside of fundamentalism, everything was evil and false.
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> So we came with reservations against these other missions and suddenly we found ourselves working side by side with them and found them to be men and women of prayer and deep devotion. The stark

reality of these liberal people being just as devout Christians as the rest of us made you rethink. It caused doubt in our lives as to whether our upbringing was reliable.

A female student commented about the religious tolerance that,

> We were brought up that Catholics were beyond the pale and then two Catholic fathers were allocated to our camp. When they first arrived we were told the Bible says, 'Call no man thy father.' So we were to call them mister but it didn't last long. They were so wonderful that we soon called them father. [In Weihsien] they had a lot of nuns and we hadn't been with nuns before but they were so wonderful. Again our prejudices that we had been taught just went by the board.

Another female student remembers that

> I found the adults fascinating. I didn't know that adults argued because of course the missionaries took great care so we didn't know about these things. And, I didn't know all the 'interesting' words they used or the ways they talked to each other—I was all ears. The walls were so thin that you could hear arguments through the other side. Yes, I found camp quite fascinating!

It was the older teenage students who expressed feelings of fear concerning their futures rather than for their current internment. As another woman stated,

> One of the hardest things was never knowing when it was going to end. I remember the Headmaster saying, when the war broke out, 'Give them about two weeks and the Allies will win out.' And that's what we all believed and thought.
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> So then when it went on month after month, year after year, you thought, 'Are we ever going to be free? Are we going to die here?' That part was scary.

The staff did an excellent job of keeping life normal so that the younger children were involved with the continuity of schooling, contests, sports and the progressing from one Form to the next. But for the older students who had completed their Oxford exams, and who would normally be back at their home country getting on with their lives, they were the ones who felt most disconnected with the school and stalemated in the camp_

Kathleen represents the beginnings of questioning the authority of her teachers. Mary got the curricular message that the school was trying to send. Perhaps this was because it reflected the same message she had received from home before attending Chefoo. And, maybe it was due to Mary's younger age

where she still held her teachers in awe so that there was less processing and assimilating on her part but instead just acceptance. This acceptance reflected what she had learned at home by singing the promises of God during family worship time when she states, "Why would you question it? Why would we doubt? This was what our parents anchored us with." And, so too, did her teachers.

Mary represents the other Chefusians interviewed when she talks about the "issue of the spirit," in having daily inspection, not going out raggedy—of cleaning your square inches of floor each day. It does teach a self respect, pride and responsibility that many children today are lacking. Through these actions, the Chefoo teachers were able to maintain the school's high standards academically and in behavioral expectations even when the surroundings changed and were less than best.

> Our teachers said just because we were in a Japanese concentration camp doesn't mean you forget your manners. So no matter what the situation was we had to sit up straight, eat properly and always be correct in everything. At that time I think we thought they were strict, but I think we appreciated that.

Another Chefoo boy compared the Chefoo students to the Weihsien students in that,

> The Chefoo schools [in Weihsien] were more disciplined and stricter. They had high standards and were very religious. The Weihsien schools were a happy go lucky collection or mixture of different ethnic groups, different foreigners from Belgium, Holland, Scandinavia and some from Britain. We got to know some of the Weihsien kids but we got the feeling that they weren't taking education nearly as seriously as the Chefoo School. We often longed to have the lifestyle of the Weihsien kids.

Of course this maintaining of standards was fostered by a hierarchy of discipline.

Discipline

Both women admitted that the extreme forms of discipline used at Chefoo would be considered abusive by today's standards, but that it was typical for that generation of British boarding schools. The inclusion of God as judge, though, took the aspect of discipline and school life in general one step further than what most students would experience in a school. What would normally be viewed as simple acts of childhood instead became, as Mary found out when she exposed her bottom to a boy, "like you broke the heart of the Lord. . . . an act of moral turpitude." The religious overtones of pleasing God, that He was always watching and that "your sins will find you out," is why Kathleen stated, "with the

God bit thrown in, there was no escape. And with no parents there you were reduced to pulp."

This pressure of "pleasing God, and thereby your teachers and thereby your parents," did much to make the students conform and toe the line. But the students still "constructed" their own understandings and truths from these experiences which sometimes led them to the opposite conclusions and understanding from what their teachers were trying to imbue. It is here that Mary and Kathleen's interpretations and stories differ.

Kathleen's oral history is more a personal examination of feelings and how she interpreted and responded to the events around her. Even as a child in the Prep School, Kathleen seemed to see through the religious soberness that outweighed common sense and humor in understanding the actions and nature of children. Kathleen felt that the strict discipline actually encouraged deceit because if a student confessed to misbehavior, he or she was punished anyway. This deception extended to a spiritual level too as the students learned to use the religious moral component of the school and discipline structure to their own advantage.

Kathleen expressed the convenient use of "conversion" at age nine as a way to get positive attention. Or, as another female student explained how the students co- constructed the core moral component of the curriculum for their own physical salvation,

> They [teachers] didn't do a lot of caning. It was one of the last punishments, but even the staff could be pushed because of their anxiety for us to become good. I became a Christian about three times [laughs]--got out of all sorts of punishments that way. Awful isn't it? I'm ashamed of it, but still—anything to survive.

Even Mary describes, almost with glee, two times she behaved badly and was not caught. Kathleen seemed to express a paradox of the moral teaching of Chefoo. On the one hand the students were told that God loved them, which Mary expressed. Yet Kathleen stated that they were also "constantly told how wicked we were and made to feel it." This, among other things, led Kathleen to feel unloved by God, and by anyone else.

Other students expressed similar feelings of doubt as to whether God loved them, or if they were really going to heaven because of the "hot-house" atmosphere of constantly having to be good to please God.

One male student commented that in his opinion,

> It is fair to say that the hell-fire teaching plus the deprivation of parents were the two biggest problems of the school. The hell-fire teaching was taught regularly and missionaries coming up to the coast to

> preach in Memorial Hall would get into that because they had been preaching that in the interior. I went to bed crying thinking about people going every second, so many thousand going to hell every second, which is what we were told. My personality took this seriously and I sobbed going to sleep. There was a sense of guilt in playing a game of sport or swimming or doing anything leisurely when logically in the hour or two of games seven or eight more thousand were going to hell. I just had to reach a stage in my late teens when I just turned it off
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> When I went to Doctor before the visit was out he would say, 'have you been saved?' Now I felt as a child that if it wasn't obvious by my life that I wasn't saved, then I wasn't saved! And so he put me through the motions all over again in his medical room. And a schoolmaster, he asked me if I was saved and again I thought, 'well, if you can't see it, apparently I can't be.' And he put me through the motions. So most people got saved five or six times and then to have a revivalist come along asking you to come forward—by that time salvation's become something indistinguishable and cheap.

Some students even questioned their parents' love for them since the parents had chosen to be with the Chinese rather than with them. Sometimes the students did not feel as special as they were told they were.

Feeling Special

"Feeling special" is another student co-construction that Mary and Kathleen shared and yet on which their perspectives diverged. Again, Mary picked up on what most likely was the desired outcome of the Chefoo school staff, that she and the other students were special because they were loved by God and because they went to the Chefoo School. Kathleen, however, got a very different message. She did not feel loved by God, nor by the staff. And, any specialness she felt had to do with a racial superiority enhanced by the fact that they, as white Westerners were separated from, and treated far better than, the Chinese to whom the missionaries were there to minister. As another Chefoo student said, "We were definitely given a sense of superiority to the other missions which wasn't right. We were no better than the others, in fact, they treated their missionaries better than our missionaries were treated."

This feeling was also reinforced in the fact that the children were forbidden to speak Chinese at the school, the very language their parents had spent years laboring to learn in order to spread the gospel. As one male student recalled,

> We weren't supposed to talk to any Chinese because the educational level of the Chinese was much lower—they would come out with swear

> words and dirty stories. So there was a strict 'don't speak to the Chinese' which [hesitation] was probably right, but the result was we were in a British compound in the middle of China and we [might as well] have been in London for the environment.

Another male student echoed the same sentiments. "They [staff] totally separated us from the Chinese which was really strange because many of us might have become missionaries later on. I think they wanted to protect us from what they thought was a decadent culture." The children were not taught anything about the surrounding Chinese culture or country as part of the school curriculum One teacher, Mr. Martin however, did make it a point to have a special class outside of the curriculum for the Upper Forms students to teach them about the history and culture of their host country. Most of the Chefoo students interviewed regretted the loss of the language in which they were once fluent.

Perhaps because of the lack of parental presence, these students needed to "feel special." Kathleen expressed that, while she felt special in a racial way, she never felt "really listened to" or cared for. Mary also admitted that no Chefoo teacher had ever touched "the child within." She now, however, recognizes the importance of gaining a child's trust and being able to have a positive impact on the heart of a child. Mary tries to do that now in her work by listening to and collecting the stories of the children she works with because they too have had very few people in their own lives who have deeply cared for them or really listened to them.

> Fifty plus years later in life, the Chefoo students express how this unique experience affected their lives. One male student stated,
>
> My feeling is that going through [the internment] was good and bad. The good is that the situation was so exceptional and unusual that it made us improvise, it made us resilient, imaginative and to do creative, unusual things. The bad was particularly the separation from our parents, and therefore the dysfunction as families and the adjustment from that. But on the whole I think people have survived it pretty well.

A female student put her experience into perspective this way,

> At that stage of life I felt very inadequate but now at this stage of life I'm realizing that all those people that knew exactly what to do and how to conform, they're the ones that are saying, 'You've had such an interesting life!' I think, well thank goodness. I'd much rather have that. But in the early days you just want to conform and you can't.

Universal theme of Social Control

Safety in structure, discipline and feeling special: these three themes, generated from the interviews and built on the constructs of separation and schooling, show not only how students interpreted and co-constructed the school curriculum's moral component, they also exposed areas of where the school curriculum emanated informal techniques of social control. Much of the social control at Chefoo however, was explicit, from the boarding school rules and routines to specific uniforms for all seasons and activities. Even the students' leisure time was structured so that conformity, cooperation and a continual purpose of an activity were stressed with all activities supervised by the staff This emphasis carried over into the camp. Structure both at Chefoo and in Weihsien provided not only safety for the students, but a means and feeling of control for the school staff though ironically the students had more freedom in the internment camp. In many ways, how the school went about defining Christian morality was much more powerful and oppressive than any of the activities of their Japanese captors.

Cultural conformity or social control was most overt in the area of discipline where one often faced painful consequences for failure to obey. Perhaps because of the blatant methods used to have the students comply, it is here that the students implicitly did otherwise. The students learned to project the appearance of remorse, repentance and conformity while not necessarily complying in their personal being. The students who talked about using "conversion experiences" as a means, not so much for salvation of their souls, but to avoid harsh physical punishments indicate this. The students, however, were not innocent of exerting their own means of making their peers conform. Sending students to "Coventry", or shunning them was quite effective for the girls to get back at a child who did not kowtow to the group, and there is little doubt that bullying was also at times employed.

In the third theme of feeling special, social control moved beyond the confines of the school into the world at large as the students incorporated feelings of superiority due to how Westerners operated in the Asian world at that time. However, the students felt special not just because they were white, Christian and separated from the Chinese, as Kathleen felt, but because of the emphasis placed upon the importance of education. Mary talked about knowing she attended the "best school east of the Suez." While another informant compared the Chefoo students with the other Weihsien students and found the Weihsien students to be lacking in the seriousness of their studies. These feelings of Chefoo "specialness" and social control developed a strong sense of loyalty in the students for the ethos of the school. That bond still exists today for many of them and created conflict for some as they tried to describe their love-hate relationship for Chefoo.

No matter what the academic or social subject was at Chefoo, everyone understood that the underlying moral curriculum was, as stated in a 1921 parent handbook, that "The moral and spiritual interest of the children are of the highest importance. . . [and were] made matters of constant prayer and thought. (11) These were fine and acceptable goals to have for a school of that era and religious setting. What makes the difference is how these goals were expressed on a daily basis by the teachers and staff It is through this interaction of educator and pupil that the moral component of the curriculum is presented. These two oral histories give evidence that students do co- construct moral values taught at school and filter them through their lenses of past experiences, family background, and assimilate it with other implicit messages they are concurrently receiving.

Commonality of experiences

During the Second World War, the Chefoo and Weihsien children were not the only ones to suffer hardship and loss firsthand. Millions of children on both the Allied and Axis sides and those caught in between experienced the traumas of war. Emmy E. Werner, an author and a developmental psychologist, was such a child who lived through World War Two in Germany. Werner was the same age as Kathleen in this study. In Werner's latest book, *Through The Eyes of Innocents: Children witness World War II* , (12) she interviewed twelve adults from both sides of the conflict as well as researched through two hundred eyewitness accounts of children and teenagers from a dozen Allied and Axis countries. Though none of the children she documents in her book were Allied internees in Japanese camps, some of Werner's findings parallel those found in the themes of the oral histories of this study. Her overall findings were as follows:

> This we have learned: The trauma of war appears to affect children differently, depending on the level of violence they have been exposed to and their capacity to cope with it. The effects tend to vary also with age, gender, and temperament; their family and social support, and the political ideology and/or religious faith that provides the context of their lives. (13) Some war experiences in childhood tend to have a lasting impact: exposure to heavy bombing and combat; prolonged separation from the family; internment in refugee or detention camps; the loss of loved ones through acts of violence; and lack of proper schooling.

Some other areas of Werner's findings that support those of this study were in that children fared better if they were with an adult who maintained a calm exterior and did not easily demonstrate upsetness but rather provided support, even in the midst of bombing. Having such a calm, supportive adult in a child's life was most important in its positive impact on the child's later life.

Another positive indicator was the child's own "continuing sense of purpose in life, a sense of coherence and faith, appeared to make a difference in the way children of war managed the absurdities of what they saw, both during the war and in the postwar periods of deprivation." (14)

Three other aspects Werner found that helped children to be resilient were in having "access to continued schooling, the reaffirmation and strengthening of family ties, and the opportunity to do useful work that has enabled many child survivors of World War II to fashion an adult life that has had a sense of purpose." (15) The Chefoo students had all of the positive indicators discussed by Werner which helped them to survive the trials of war. The Chefoo students had supportive teachers who maintained that "stiff upper lip" which saw them through many traumas. Their teachers provided continuous schooling throughout the war. Their parents and then the school staff provided the children with a strong faith foundation in God and family relations. And finally, camp life required the children to have responsible jobs upon which the routine running of the camp depended.

Each of these areas discussed above easily fit into the three themes derived in this study from the oral histories and historical documents. The schooling routine and the can- do demeanor of the school staff provided the safety in structure. This school structure and the faith tenets it was based upon required boundaries and a discipline structure for maintaining those boundaries. The "feeling special" that the students described, though ascribed to for different reasons before internment, was reinforced by their required helpfulness in the camp. Children of war share commonalities that help them to survive, no matter which side of the war they find themselves. Unfortunately, today's children of war would find much in common with the children of war in this study.

Lessons Learned about Historical Inquiry

Part of what makes this study unique is that it has used oral histories and documents to tell personal stories occurring within an historical event. This uniqueness, however, also brings limitations to the study. These limitations will be reviewed in this section under four categories: subjectivity and researcher bias, oral history and interactions of the past and present, documented versus personal reality, and women's history. The four categories of this section are examined specifically from this researcher's perspective as she encountered and worked with these limitations throughout the research and writing process. Oral history, interactions of the past and present, and documented versus personal reality are really intertwined with one another and only separated here for clarity.

Subjectivity and Researcher Bias

At the initial stage of formulating a study on education in internment camps, no thought was given to pursuing the children of missionaries, or to focusing on a boarding school for such children. However, as the research unfolded with the interviews of the Chefoo students, I could not deny the ease with which the Chefusians and I related to one another. The more interviews I did, the more I realized how much my own background resembled theirs. As the daughter of a minister, I have an analogous evangelical Christian perspective and belief, and grew-up with similar expectations and teachings.

Since some of the Chefusians have not maintained the faith they were reared in, I allowed them to reveal to me where they were in their faith. This was usually established early in our meetings as they inquired about me and my background and often directly asked if I were a church-goer and to what denomination. Disclosing my personal history established common ground and a shift in their vocabulary to what I refer to as "Christianese". They felt free to talk about the Lord, to recite scripture and to expose their faith throughout our conversation. Even those who no longer strictly adhered to Christianity could talk in the jargon with which they were raised and knew that I understood it and why some of them had rebelled against it. While this rapport may have made me sympathetic and biased toward their views, it facilitated my entering their world to get an insider's perspective that they rarely shared with others.

What attracted me to the Chefoo internment story was its presentation to me as an amazing and positive story of how the teachers overcame the hardships of war to protect and educate their charges. Most of the first interviews I did, and the related memoirs I read, presented this outlook. But then I interviewed a Chefusian who spoke about the emotional toll of being separated from parents, of having to conform to the school's system and of being interned. This interview alerted me to how other Chefusians talked about their separations, about the discipline of the school and how they perceived the long term effects of their educational experience.

It was this interview that exposed my bias toward only hearing the positive story of the Chefoo School. However, I then became over-intrigued with those Chefoo students who expressed negative feelings about their experience. I sought to control my bias by reviewing all twenty-four of the Chefusians I had interviewed and focusing on the two women's stories whom I thought adequately represented both the positive and negative stories I had heard. It was also important that the women and I felt comfortable in continuing to communicate so that we could share and discuss the study as it unfolded. The result of this collaboration is the study you are now reading.

Oral history and interactions of the past and present

The use of oral history to recall an event years after its occurrence juxtaposes a past event in a present day context.

> Thus, the historical frame is negotiated between an interviewer and the individual asked to recall the past. . . . Both discuss the past from dramatically different perspectives. The interviewer is at least a temporary expert on the topic or event: he or she will have a distinct chronology and an agenda of questions. . . . The narrator typically has a more or less hazy chronology of the events he witnessed; unlike the interviewer, he may not have thought about the event for forty years; and, except in the rarest cases, he has not read secondary literature embedded with historical interpretation of the event's significance. (16)

This quote accurately describes what I encountered in the interviewing process. After some initial interviews and research which educated me to the event's framework, I became a "temporary expert" of the names, chronology and documents associated with the event. This newly acquired knowledge delighted the interviewees as not only did they now have an interested party with whom to share the stories of their youth, but someone who knew the people and events being discussed and often had a better overall grasp of the historical framework than they did. In essence, I gave them the story outline while they filled-in the details specific to their lives.

Perhaps the biggest concern of past and present interacting is trying to resolve whether a practice that was considered normal and acceptable in a specific time period should now be considered wrong when looking through present-day behaviors and expectations. And if it is thought wrong, should those who participated in it because it was the norm then be held accountable now. In essence some of the Chefusians are questioning if any of the adults of their past should be held responsible for the separations (and excessive discipline) due to schooling and the war.

This is a hard matter to reconcile as it involves the very people that the Chefusians as children had their closest relationships with, their parents, their teachers and their God. Typically the Mission or God get the blame. Or, if the person has not thought it through for herself or himself, it becomes just another paradox from their past that is suppressed. The framework of this issue is one that historians consistently encounter when trying to compare cultures of the past and present. Ultimately it comes down to each person's worldview. But whether that worldview is modern, postmodern or Biblical, those who were innocent victims of actions in the past that were once thought acceptable need to acknowledge their pain, grant themselves permission to grieve, and be assured that doing so is not a lack of faith.

> One Chefusian suggested that the World War II Chefoo generation should have a reunion in which we could share our common experiences and help each other work through our pain and resentments in order to reach spiritual and emotional health. Having a responsible Mission leader would be helpful for us to hear that those policies are now rejected and supplanted by more wholesome practices. Now [in missions today] it is very different--children see their parents more often. But, it is because [of] those of us [who] paid an awful price for it.

Documented versus personal reality

What I encountered in some of my interviews, especially with those who were younger children during the internment, was a repetition on the Chefoo and internment stories as presented in the books authored by David Michell or Langdon Gilkey. The younger Chefusians had to rely on these stories to supply or to gloss over their memories of Chefoo and camp. This taught me early on to know the book versions so that I could compare the reliability and validity of the oral histories I heard. It also required my questioning through these stories to get at the interviewee's personal memories.

What I soon learned through these interviews was to let the person talk and not to be concerned with accuracy of dates, locations and names. I was interested in their story and memories, whether or not they were consistent with the written documents and the oral histories that I had previously heard. I rarely asked questions except to get them started or to clarify a name or location based on the context of the story they were relating. Most of them did very well in recalling the chronology of the events. They all shared personal mementos and pictures which helped them to tell their stories. Dates may not have been specifically remembered, but events and the emotions those events brought about were. And it was those emotionally charged memories that were important to the interviewee and to me.

Both Kathleen and Mary did well in relating their past to me. Much of this was due to their having previously organized their thoughts — Kathleen for counseling sessions and writing her Chefoo article and Mary in writing her book. Mary and Kathleen represent the tension I found within many Chefusians and between Chefusians. Even I came to categorize my interviewees as either "rah-rah Chefoo" for those who thought everything was great and who are possibly in denial about some of their emotions. Or, as "boo-hoo Chefoo" for those who hold Chefoo accountable for all or most of their emotional problems. It was refreshing to talk with those who recognized their love-hate relationship with Chefoo and who had found a balance between the positive and the negative experiences.

The discrepancies that I had to deal with had nothing to do with documented facts, but with the stories I heard about the person I was about to interview, and then my own impressions of that person upon our meeting. As I would travel from one Chefusian's home to the next, I would hear all the gossip about the person I had just visited. Much of this struck me as sibling rivalry as they based their worth on how they compared with what their peers had accomplished. It also let me see how the Chefoo community defined themselves and judged who was or was not loyal to Chefoo and often, therefore, to God.

It is emotionally hard for a non-Christian Chefusian, or one who believed she/he had a traumatic experience at Chefoo, to go to a reunion and feel accepted. That is changing, however, as the Chefusian numbers are dwindling and people who have not seen each other for years desire to meet again. The books and articles can all say that the Chefoo students came out of their experience emotionally unscathed but their oral accounts present a different story. Unfortunately, those who experienced some significant emotional trauma were not comfortable in sharing it beyond our interviews and their wishes have been honored.

Women's history

After a few initial interviews, the focus of this study centered on women's oral histories rather than men's. There is still a male influence, however, as most of the historical texts and memoirs are written by men since few of the interned women have published their accounts. One of the reasons for using women informants was the comfortability factor of women opening up more to a woman researcher than the men might have. A second reason for focusing on women was to provide them the opportunity for their voices to be heard as there are few women-authored, published memoirs or historical texts dealing with this subject. This scarcity of resources was another attraction but also a limitation for the researcher.

In order for the women's voices to be distinct, it was important for me, the researcher, to share my findings, interpretations and theory with the informants as the research was constructed. This collective effort made it less likely for me, the researcher, to "generate propositions that are imposed by the researcher and more likely to be responsive to the logic of evidence that does not fit the researcher's preconceptions." This also "encourages the research subjects' empowerment through systematic reflection on their own situations and roles in reproducing or transforming existing power relations." (17)

It was not until most of the women I interviewed started telling me about their menstrual cycles and knowledge of sexuality as internees that I knew this was women's history at its core. It never occurred to me before how significant an event menstruation is for a pubescent woman. But it made sense that this

meaningful event, in an abnormal setting and under duress, is even more a symbolic rite of passage. Some of the women spoke for the first time of having been molested by a staff member. Others shared stories such as the following,

> I don't remember any fear except in particular instances where we would be face to face with a Japanese soldier alone, or without a staff member with us. I thought that was a little frightening because we were at his mercy without anyone to say Nay.' Of course we didn't know what the danger was, we didn't understand the concept of rape. As for dating, one boy had a crush on me. We'd go strolling around. One day he took me up to one of the guard posts. He had made friends with one of the guards on duty. They chatted and we stood looking out over the countryside, which I hadn't done for ever. But all the time this was happening, the Japanese guard was stroking my bottom. He, [the boy] didn't know and I didn't dare say anything.

It has taken years for some of them to reconcile the "good" of the school and mission with the violation that was done to them. Some are still living with this unprocessed pain. On a historical scale it may seem insignificant, but it indicated to me that the women were being open with me. I appreciated their honesty.

Summary

At the beginning of this study, two questions were raised: How was schooling co- constructed by students and staff while interned in an artificial culture created by military rule? And, how do those former students perceive the influence of this unique educational experience upon their lives? Chapter One provided the historical setting for the school group from which the research was drawn. Chapter Two gave voice to two women representatives of the students who were educated while interned. Chapter Three used the collected oral histories and historical documentation to pull-out core themes from the data about how students co-construct the moral component of schooling. Three themes emerged, safety in structure, discipline and feeing special. These three themes were examined in the underlying framework of separation from parents and schooling. The Epilogue that follows will look at these themes within the realm current educational concerns and future research.

1 Sharan B. Merriam, Case Study Research in Education (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Ltd., 1988) 167. ↑

2 LeCompte & Preissle, 342.

3 "And we know that in all things God works for the good of those who love him, who have been called according to his purpose." Romans 8:28 MV.

4 Dr. Monica M. Hogben, "The Adjustment of Missionaries' Children to Adult Life: Report of a Statistical Survey 1935-1955," (An unpublished study done within the Overseas Missionary Fellowship organization, formerly CIM, circa 1975) 1-7.

5 Leslie A. Andrews, "The measurement of adult MKs' well-being," Evangelical Missions Quarterly 31.4 (October, 1995): 423.

6 Hogben, 5.

7 Oxford School Certificate Results, Microfilm #34, Contributor, Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations, Ewert House, Sununertown, Oxford, results on July, 1946 data.

8 Both report cards were provided to the author from Marjory Harrison Jackson's private Chefoo collection.

9 Sergiovanni, (1996) 122.

10 Sergiovanni, (1996) 38.

11 Prospectus of the China Inland Mission Schools (Chefoo: Publisher, 1921) 5. SOAS, CrIvI/CSP Box 1, Files #1-10.

12 Emmy E. Werner, Through The Eyes of Innocence: Children witness World War II (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).

13 Peter S. Jansen and Jon Shaw, "Children as the Victims of War: Current Knowledge and Future Research Needs," Journal of the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry 32, no. 4 (July 1993): 697-708. As quoted in Werner, p. 21 L

14 Werner, 212, 221.

15 Werner, 222.

16 Dunaway, 261.

17 Leslie G. Roman, "The Political Significance of other ways of Narrating Ethnography: A Feminist Materialist Approach" in The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education edited by Margaret D. LeCompte, Wendy L. Millroy & Judith Preissle, (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1992) 583. ↑