

【論文】

A Tōa Dōbun Shoin Look alike? The Development of the Tri-Partite Curriculum at the American Institute of Foreign Trade

——東亜同文書院とアメリカ海外貿易研究所とのカリキュラム上の相似について——

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要約

1980年代半ば、ダグラス＝レイノルズの研究により英語圏の学者たちに東亜同文書院の存在が明らかにされた。同院での教育における革新的な面、また同院のカリキュラムが戦後アメリカの大学で行われた「地域研究」という教育法と酷似していることも指摘された。その1980年代以降、東亜同文書院の歴史的もしくは政治的な側面が詳細に渡り研究された一方、同院の革新的な教育方法については研究が進んでいない。

レイノルズの研究から三十年を経た現在、東亜同文書院の時代を先取りしたカリキュラムを再検討する価値がある。その理由として、まず、中国の経済発展に伴い、19世紀末上海で起きた中国語教育熱と同じようなブームが近年起こっていること。また、現在北米の各地の大学において、東亜同文書院が開発したのと同様の国際人材養成プログラム、つまり、中国語環境の職場で活躍できる人材養成を目的としたプログラムが設けられていることが挙げられる。さらに、現在の北米大学のビジネススクールで行われているMBA、経営者訓練、大学院の海外調査計画などは革新的であると見なされているが、実は様々な点において100年前中国大陸の東亜同文書院の教育者の手によって既に試みられているものである。このような観点に基づき、今回の研究では、

1946年アリゾナ州で設立されたAmerican Institute of Foreign Trade (現・サンダーバード国際経営大学院。以下、AIFT) を取り上げ、その学校で行われていた「tri-partite」(三部構成)カリキュラムを紹介する。

AIFTが東亜同文書院と類似している面は多い。戦後廃棄された空軍飛行機場に設立されたAIFTは東亜同文書院と同じく政府や国軍との密接な関係を保持し、主流の大学教育の枠から遠く離れていたこと。東亜同文書院が隣の中国の話し言葉を重視したのと同様、AIFTも隣国、つまり中南米の言葉であるスペイン語とポルトガル語の教育に力を注いだこと。AIFTのカリキュラムは言語教育、実務的なビジネス内容、地理・歴史・文化を含む「地域」三つの部分に分かれていたこと。また、最も重要な類似点として、東亜同文書院とAIFTは言語教育を国際ビジネス教育の一環としたものとして見なしていたことが挙げられる。

一方で、目立たない類似点もあった。AIFTの教育は東亜同文書院と同じく実業界や政界で注目を浴びたが、学界での評価は高くなかった。両校とも創設以降、常に経済難を抱え、その時々政治・経済的な変動によって頻繁にカリキュラムを変更・再編成せざるを得なかった。しかし、両校とも実業界や政界に影響力のある同窓生の幅広いネットワークをもっていた。また、両校をまねた教育モデルが

一般の大学の学科に導入されたことも共通点のひとつである。その一例として、1997年、愛知大学は東亜同文書院のモデルを受け継ごうとする「現代中国学部」を設立したこと。1960年代初頭、AIFTも「tri-partite」の教育モデルを守る一方で、「American Management Association」の認証評価を得て、一般のビジネススクールの枠に入るように試みたことが挙げられる。

以上を踏まえ、この論文ではAmerican

Institute of Foreign Trade の「tri-partite」のビジネス用言語教育の歴史的な発展を取り上げる。政治的・歴史的な要因がアメリカのビジネス用言語教育に及ぼした影響を論じたのち、AIFTの「tri-partite」カリキュラムの発展を紹介してゆく。次に、AIFTと東亜同文書院のカリキュラムを簡単に比較した後、「tri-partite」カリキュラムを評価し、その実務的な教育が今後の高等教育に果たす役割について論じてゆく。

Introduction

Douglas Reynolds' work in the mid-1980s brought needed attention in English-language scholarship to the innovative educational curriculum developed by the Tōa Dōbun Shoin (Reynolds, 1985). Meanwhile, the 1986 publication “Chinese Area Studies in Prewar China: Japan's Tōa Dōbun Shoin in Shanghai, 1900–1945” raised the intriguing possibility that the “area studies” paradigm that developed in US universities in the 1950s had already (in some key respects) been tried by Japanese educators in 19th-century China (Reynolds, 1986). Despite ongoing interest in the political history of the institution, little more has been written in English about the Shoin's radical experiment in higher education.

Some thirty years on, the Tōa Dōbun Shoin curriculum is worth another close examination. China's economic growth has created a global boom in Chinese language studies not entirely different from the Chinese language boom that was occurring in late 19th-century Shanghai when the Shoin was established (Sinclair & Blachford, 2015). The Tōa Dōbun Shoin developed an elaborate business Chinese program; 100 years later universities in the US are scrambling to produce graduates who can actually use Chinese in a work setting (Spring, 2012). And in many respects, the practical Tōa Dōbun Shoin curriculum foreshadowed much of the innovative international programming offered through MBA, executive education, and other graduate programs in North American business schools. In this study, we discuss the development of one such case: the “tri-partite” (language, area, and business) curriculum at the American Institute of Foreign Trade (AIFT)¹ established in Glendale, Arizona in 1946.

The AIFT shared many features with the Tōa Dōbun Shoin: Built on a decommissioned airfield, the AIFT also enjoyed strong government and military

¹ The institution is now called the Thunderbird School of Global Management. We describe below how the school was reorganized and renamed several times over its history. For simplicity, this paper associates the tri-partite curriculum with the “American Institute of Foreign Trade”, the original name of the institution.

connections outside the traditional academic system. While the Tōa Dōbun Shoin focused on the language of Japan's neighbor to the west, the AIFT taught Portuguese and Spanish, the languages of the immediately adjacent Latin America. Like the Shoin, the AIFT curriculum was roughly one part business, one part language, and one part "area" (geography, history, and culture). Fieldwork was built into the AIFT curriculum, a feature which ensured (at least in theory) that graduates had a firm grasp of the industry, language, culture, and geography in a region of specialization. Most importantly, both institutions saw language studies as inseparable from the study of international business.

There were other less obvious similarities. Like the Tōa Dōbun Shoin, the AIFT was a misfit in the traditional academic system: Though the AIFT had a formidable reputation in business and government circles, its administrators yearned for respect in academic circles. From their founding, both schools struggled to fund their programs and frequently adjusted educational offerings in the face of social, political, and academic upheaval. But both institutions had other important non-academic assets. Powerful alumni organizations and vast networks of graduates extended the influence of the schools into diverse fields and industries. Like the Tōa Dōbun Shoin curriculum, the AIFT curricula was adapted and revived in the mainstream academic system. In 1997, the Faculty of Modern Chinese Studies was established at Aichi University, a program that embraced important features of the Tōa Dōbun Shoin curriculum. In the early 1960s, the AIFT began working with accrediting bodies like the American Management Association to integrate the Thunderbird "model" into a more traditional graduate business school format.

This study explores the historical development of the American Institute of Foreign Trade tri-partite business language curriculum. We first summarize political and historical influences on business language studies in the United States over the past 70 years, showing that language education in universities faced a series of existential crises. Next, we outline the history of the AIFT. Finally, we briefly compare the AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin curricula, a comparison that leads to larger questions: What is the long-term value of the business language model pioneered at these two institutions? What role should government play in the development of university language programs? Does practical business language education have a future in institutes of higher education, particularly in business schools?

The Development of Business Language Education in the US Higher Education

The American Institute of Foreign Trade was originally an "outsider" institution offering a unique kind of business language education that traditional research-based universities could not match. But to understand the 70-year rise and decline of the

American Institute of Foreign Trade model, one must understand the broader historical and political context in which business language studies developed in US universities. Language studies, we soon understand, did not develop in an orderly way. Instead, language education responded to a series of national crises that stretched back to the early 1940s.

The first major test of US language education was the Second World War. Until the 1930s, interest in international studies in the United States existed primarily outside the university. Much of the information about the outside world arrived in the country through missionaries and their children (“mish kids” who sometimes returned to the US with native fluency in a foreign language), foreign correspondents stationed abroad, and members of the Foreign Service. This phenomenon was particularly true of China and East Asia where missionaries had concentrated their efforts (McCaughey, 1980). All this would change with WWII.

In the early 1940s, the armed forces became seriously alarmed at the lack of Japanese-speaking talent. When the Navy did a survey of its 200,000 enlisted members, it was found that only 12 were competent in oral and written Japanese. Only five or six universities were teaching Japanese language, and these university programs were certainly not producing what the Navy thought of as “linguists” (Matthew, 1947). Thus, the armed services scrambled to produce the language talent needed. In April 1943, a conference was held in Charlottesville that established a “Foreign Area and Language Program”. A whole new way of thinking about language, the “army method” proposed that if the military was going to hold territory in foreign countries, officers and enlisted men did not just need language training. They needed a thorough understanding of geography, history, politics, and culture associated with the language being studied.

This “area studies” approach quickly spread through the US university system. By the mid-1940s, area programs such as “Latin American Studies” in Northwestern University, “Far Eastern and Russian Studies” at Yale University, “The Far Eastern Department” and “Far Eastern Institute” at Washington University, and the “Regional Program on China and Peripheral Areas” at Harvard University all sprang up (Hall, 1949). Area studies went on to profoundly affect US universities, even today influencing how humanities teaching and research is organized (Pollock, 2016).

The launch of the Russian satellite Sputnik led to another round of desperate soul-searching about language. Lacking even the vocabulary to describe a satellite, the US

public was alarmed and disturbed by a “Russian moon” winking overhead (Dickson, 2001). University educators too felt the shock, prompting one academic to observe: “The event on October 4, 1957 resulted in the most direct challenge ever made to American education.... An acute, almost compulsive need to communicate with Russia in new terms has abruptly awakened the whole nation to the fact that we know no Russian nor any other foreign language for that matter” (Mulhauser, 1959).

Convinced that the United States needed more civilians fluent in Russian to prevent the country from ever being surprised again, the federal government launched the National Defense Education Act. Eventually becoming Title VI of the Higher Education Act, the act was originally a funding program for the teaching of lesser-taught languages (Moore, 1994). Language education was seen as a competitive tool and was even conceived of as a weapon (Roeming, 1962). Meanwhile, language education became very closely associated with technology. Since technology was key to gaining parity with the Russians in space, technology was also key to learning Russian and other stubbornly difficult languages, bureaucrats and educators concluded. The age of the language “laboratory” was born (Mildenberger, 1965; Murphy, 1960). But the act’s most important consequence was that it put renewed focus on area studies programs, and these programs spread out around the country.

The third major crisis in language education was triggered by the 1975 Helsinki Accords. Formally accepting the Soviet annexation of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the Accords essentially acknowledged Soviet domination of Eastern Europe (Office of the Historian, 2017). The accords inspired government to demand better language education from universities. On April 21, 1978 US President Jimmy Carter established the President's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies through Executive Order 12054 (The American Presidency Project, 1978). The commission hired the Rand Corporation (Pincus, 1980) and produced a scathing report in October 1979 that contains some of the following observations:

Americans' incompetence in foreign languages is nothing short of scandalous, and it is becoming worse. Our vital interests are impaired by the fatuous notion that our competence in other languages is irrelevant. Indeed, it is precisely because of this nation's responsibilities and opportunities as a major power and as a symbol of ideals to which many of the world's people aspire that foreign languages, as a key to unlock the

mysteries of other customs and cultures, can no longer be viewed as an educational or civic luxury.

The President's Commission believes that our lack of foreign language competence diminishes our capabilities in diplomacy, in foreign trade, and in citizen comprehension of the world in which we live and compete (Perkins, 1979).

The report produced much debate (Groennings, 1983; Lambert, 1980; Martin, 1983), and experimentation (Grosse, 2004; Grosse, 1985; Radebaugh & Shields, 1984). Universities received another round of funding in the form of scholarships, fellowships and grants through the National Security Education Program (US Code, 1991). This funding impacts language programming even today, as we show below.

The fourth major crisis in language education began with something the American public did not clearly understand: Dynamic Random Access Memory (DRAM). In the late 1970s, Japan became a significant producer of semiconductors (DRAMs), reducing the US market share in this important nascent industry from 70 to 20 percent between 1978 and 1986 (Irwin, 1994). Japanese import barriers to U.S. beef, oranges, tobacco, rice, telecommunications, autos and auto parts further raised tensions and US trade deficit with Japan soared from USD 9 billion to USD 37 billion from 1979 to 1986 (Japan Times, 2017).

It disturbed the US government that Japan (with South Korea and other countries to follow), a country with a poorly understood language, culture, geography and history, was threatening US dominance in a key industry. The 1983 report *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* produced by Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education stated:

“Our Nation is at risk. Our once unchallenged preeminence in commerce, industry, science, and technological innovation is being overtaken by competitors throughout the world.... [W]hile we can take justifiable pride in what our schools and colleges have historically accomplished and contributed to the United States and the well-being of its people, the educational foundations of our society are presently being eroded by a rising tide of mediocrity that threatens our very future as a Nation and a people. What was unimaginable a generation ago has begun to occur--

others are matching and surpassing our educational attainments” (National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983).

The government clearly saw language was an integral part of the “competitiveness” crisis. The US Congress passed an Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act of 1988 which attempted to “link the human capital and information needs of U.S. business with *international education, language training*, and research capacities of universities across the United States” (US Department of Education, 2014) [italics mine]. The 17 Centers for International Business Education and Research which have resulted from the Trade and Competitiveness Act are now spread all across the United States (Centers for International Business Education and Research, 2017).

The Iraq War caused another confidence crisis in education and another desperate search for competent language speakers. After the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, radio stations broadcast an urgent call for Arabic speakers to contact the FBI. To the disappointment of the FBI, only a few volunteers had an appropriate level of expertise (Pratt, 2004). By 2006, the US military had become trapped in a war in Iraq that appeared unwinnable through military force alone. Congress commissioned former Secretary of State James Baker and nine other bipartisan individuals in an “Iraq Study Group” to make policy recommendations. The language problem was obvious: “All of our efforts in Iraq, military and civilian, are handicapped by Americans’ lack of language and cultural understanding. Our embassy of 1,000 has 33 Arabic speakers, just six of whom are at the level of fluency” (James Baker, Lee H. Hamilton, 2006).

This language deficit led to major change. In 2007, the influential but conservative Modern Language Association published a report arguing that university language education had to fundamentally change (MLA Ad Hoc Committee on Foreign Languages, 2007). An ambitious new language education curricula in universities, the Language Flagship, an initiative of the National Security Education Program (NSEP) at the U.S. Department of Defense, engaged more than 100 business leaders to systematically assess global skills needed by US business (Duggan, 2009). The Flagship currently sponsors 27 programs in 22 US institutions in “tough” languages like Arabic, Chinese, Hindi/Urdu, Korean, Persian, Portuguese, Russian, Swahili, and Turkish (The Language Flagship, 2017).

The sixth and final crisis crystallized around China’s entry into the World Trade Organization in December, 2001. Concern over China’s runaway economic growth

arguably reached the public psyche long before there was talk of China's entry into the WTO. Popular business books published about overseas Chinese in the 1990s bore sensational titles such as *New Asian Emperors*, *Lords of the Rim*, and *Blood, Sweat, and Mahjong* (Haley, Tan, and Haley, 1998; Oxfeld, 1993; Seagrave, 1996), suggesting that US industry was somehow being excluded from Chinese trade by close-knit networks of overseas Chinese. Thus, China's entry into the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 2001 made China trade into a full-fledged crisis: While the US had less than a 100 billion dollar trade deficit with China, by 2010 that figure had risen to almost 300 billion (Economist, 2017). In 2017, Donald Trump condemned US leaders for allowing China's accession to the WTO again, showing the agreement was still a sore point.

This rapidly growing China trade, along with worries that the US economy was not keeping up with its counterpart, greatly invigorated Chinese language studies in US universities over the past decade (Fryer, 2012). Chinese studies were needed to facilitate massive interchange with China in fields as diverse as international trade and economics, banking, entertainment, real estate, architecture, design and fashion (Spring, 2012). Programs developed quickly: The Flagship program mentioned above now contains 12 Chinese Flagship programs in prestigious universities all over the US; all the programs are designed to produce students fully functional in a Chinese language environment (The Language Flagship, 2017). Meanwhile, universities faced increasing competition in Chinese education from China itself. Since 2004 when world's first Confucius Institute was established in Seoul, more than 400 institutes have appeared in Asia, Africa, North America, the Middle East, Europe, and Oceania since 2004, 39 percent of which are in US universities and colleges (Hua & Wei, 2014). Confucius Institutes were initiating language studies, cultural interchange, and study abroad, traditionally the purview of the universities. Universities worry about losing control of China-related content, even prompting Penn State University and the University of Chicago to close their institutes (Peterson, 2018). Either universities provide their own coherent Chinese language programming, they discovered, or China would offer its own version.

The Rise and Decline of the American Institute for Foreign Trade

The section above mentioned six national "crises" that shaped language education in universities. Below we describe how one institution developed amidst these crises of "national interest", in the process creating a completely new model of language education.

We begin with the trauma of WWII. In 1945, the US faced a new kind of challenge. Thousands of veterans were returning to the work force and civilian life after being deployed overseas. Meanwhile, once the war ended, the US economy was going to have massive unused industrial capacity that could be used to develop international markets. Two colonels in the Army Air Forces, Finley Peter Dunne and W. Stouder Thompson, spotted an opportunity: “[T]he United States, for many years to come, would be in a position to expand its trade with other nations on a large scale.” However, the US faced another looming challenge. The AIFT founders cautioned that “although [the US] had the raw materials and the technical capacity to produce and deliver the goods, [the US] was notoriously short of personnel trained for foreign trade” (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996).

The two colonels did not choose an academic leader to develop the AIFT curriculum. Instead they chose Barton Kyle Yount, a man from the military with a very impressive educational credential. A 1907 West Point graduate, Yount had served as a Commanding General in the Third Air Force and Commanding General of the Air Forces Training Command from 1942 to 1946. Not only was Yount intimately familiar with the innovative language and area programming developed during the war, but he also had experience supervising two million students. And having served in Hawaii, France, China, and Japan, Yount had a unique international perspective on education. He notes,

I knew that the young men who were going to foreign countries to represent American business were, in many cases, entirely untrained and unfit to represent their firms and their government.... Unquestionably, our best representatives abroad are those who come in close contact with the people through their business associations and who, therefore, learn their customs, psychology, and their way of thinking. They can make friends for our country; or they can make enemies (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996).

The school could never have been started without a close relationship with government. Given their Air Force connections, Dunne and Yount knew that Thunderbird Field #1 was going to be deactivated and might soon to be declared war surplus. They perceived the property might come available at a discount through the Surplus Property Act, which provided "discounts to nonprofit, non-taxable educational institutions on account of benefits which may accrue to the United States". The

prominent Air Force veterans were able to acquire the property valued at \$USD 407,000 for a “100 percent discount”, or for free. Once the sale was completed, the two then capably defended themselves against charges they were insider profiteers grabbing government assets, ultimately answering to an investigation by Rep. Roger Slaughter, chairman of the House Surplus Property Committee.

The AIFT catalogue in 1946 shows the institute astutely perceived the United States’ would immediately become a global leader in international trade. However, the school shrewdly focused its attention on Latin America:

That the United States will play a major role in the coming expansion of international trade, both as a provider of needed goods and services, and as a volume purchaser of the goods and services of other countries, is undeniable. Nowhere is this more certain than in our relations with our hemispheric neighbors, the republics of Latin America.

There are excellent opportunities for young men and women to take active part in this forthcoming expansion of our commerce with Latin America. However, for such participation, a practical knowledge of the history, customs and usages of the Latin American countries, and a fluent command of Spanish or Portuguese, together with a solid background in foreign trade and its administration, are well nigh essential (Arizona State University,).

The AIFT envisioned an entirely new kind of higher education. “[The AIFT] differs from other schools of business in that it offers a shorter course, and one more sharply specialized.... Regular degrees will not be awarded. It is the desire of the institute to develop its program without the restraining influence of traditional degree requirements. A certificate of graduation will be awarded to each student who completes the curriculum.” Though it would not lead to a university diploma, the program was designed to be challenging and difficult. “The entire spirit will be much more that of a graduate school than of an undergraduate school”, the first catalog stated. Meanwhile, the school aimed to provide its graduates with a set of very practical skills. “Its program is devised to meet in a single school year, though a streamlined, thoroughly practical curriculum, the specific educational needs of prospective representatives of United States business and government abroad...” (Arizona State University, 2017).

The most fascinating aspect of the AIFT curriculum is its direct connection to WWII language and area training in the US military. As mentioned in the previous section, areas studies began shaping humanities programs in first-tier US universities immediately after the war. However, the AIFT was clearly intended as a full-fledged area program outside the confines of the traditional university environment. The cover of the 1946 catalog reads, “The American Institute of Foreign Trade: A new kind of school—using proven, modern high-speed educational methods to prepare men specifically to live, work, and do business with the peoples of the Latin American countries”.

The program was divided into three “divisions”, the “Division of Foreign Trade”, “The Division of Latin American Language and Area Studies”, and “Language Training”.

The 1940s Tri-Partite Program at the AIFT		
<i>Foreign Trade</i>	<i>Latin American Language and Area Studies</i>	<i>Language Training</i>
<p>Required that all students take an orientation course that showed Latin American opportunities “for exporters, importers, bankers, accountants, cost accountants, advertising men, port and utilities managers, shipping specialists, salesmen, travelling managerial representatives, office and personnel managers, insurance representatives, technicians, and production managers, etc.” The Vocational Guidance Committee offered further advice to students.</p>	<p>Offered students opportunity to become “fluent in Spanish or Portuguese language, and generally conversant with the ethnology, geography, history, politics, economy and social and business characteristics of the various Latin American countries and regions”. Students were further encouraged to “pursue a program of detailed study with regard to the special problems of one or two countries through seminars with instructors thoroughly familiar with Latin America”.</p>	<p>Used the “most modern techniques of language teaching including those developed during the war in the Army and Navy Specialized Training Programs.... Work will be done with large groups of students on problems of language analysis and theory, while instructors whose mother tongue is Spanish or Portuguese will guide language practice with smaller groups of students.”</p>

The above AIFT model later became known as the “tri-partite” curriculum because it was roughly focused on three specialized parts itemized above: business, area, and

language (Doyle, 2012). Moreover, the above content specifically references Army and Navy Specialized Training Programs, demonstrating the tri-partite program was really an effort by Dunne and Yount to adapt the “language and area” framework Yount had supervised during the war.

Because of its unique, practical, and international curriculum, the AIFT made important innovations that would only come to the traditional, research-based universities decades later. For example, students were already being sent to Guadajara, Mexico for international experience by 1970. In 1980, the institute (then called the American Graduate School of International Management) began sending students to Beijing’s University of International Business and Economics. Even at a time when a permit was required for foreigners to travel outside Beijing, the group still accumulated more than 5000 miles of travel all across China. Programs in many other countries would follow.

The school much more quickly and adeptly adopted technology for international business studies though the large research-based universities had more access to technology. Even by 1959, the school had a sophisticated language laboratory. In the mid-1990s, the institute’s Chief Information Officer, a former president of information technology subsidiaries at Charles Swab, Motorola, and US West, networked dormitories, created distance learning facilities, and developed courseware on CD-ROM. The AIFT was also a leader in what we would now call experiential learning. The InterAd marketing course was established in 1958. Over the decades, InterAd became a popular capstone course where students did research on a product and a destination country, devising ways to get that product established in a new market. The InterAd program became so popular that companies would pay almost the price of student tuition to have student teams help them on a marketing project.

The school was far ahead of other schools in terms of developing alumni relations. By 1950, the institute had a solid alumni donation program, and had already raised \$USD1875. By 1958, alumni donations accounted for \$USD57,000, or more than ten percent of the school’s budget. Meanwhile, the career success of the alumni increased the stature of the school in the business community and drew attention to the programming in ways other university-based business programs could not match. Successful AIFT graduates spread out around the world in diverse fields, often attracting

the attention of prestigious business publications. More importantly, the alumni associated closely with each other through their business dealings.

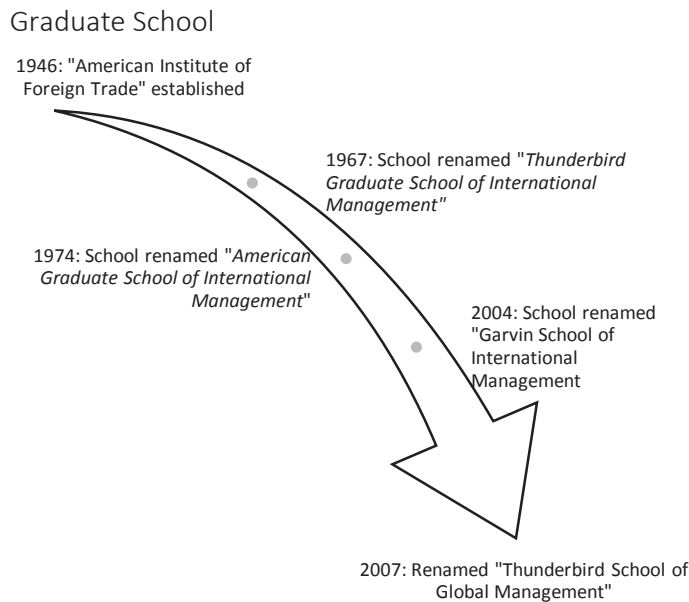
But the AIFT's uncertain status in the university system threatened the innovative tri-partite curriculum right from the beginning. First, there were money challenges. Private universities in the US use large endowment funds for long-term budgeting and count on tuition revenue through stable enrollment. On the other hand, public universities enjoy large transfers from state governments, making them less dependent on student enrollment for tuition. The AIFT could enjoy none of this security. When the AIFT received the airfield property from the War Assets Administration in 1946, it agreed to operate an international trade school for ten years. The institute struggled with this commitment and struggled to pay for its facilities from the beginning. Meanwhile, the airfield facilities were never intended to be used for higher education, and they continued to degrade. Water availability was always a problem in the desert, and the pumping system frequently broke down. Roads deteriorated and roofs leaked (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996).

Uncertainty about funding made the school more and more dependent on the business community through the years. Before the institute was even founded, architects of the program Dunne and Thompson visited large companies like National City Bank, General Electric, Westinghouse, 20th Century Fox Films and other firms to see if they would hire talent from the prospective graduates (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996). Later, the institute would devise more and more creative ways to increase industry funding. For example, Dr. William Voris, president from 1971 to 1989, saw 100 acres of the former airfield being used only for the annual balloon race. "Why not build an international business park?" Voris mused. The institute could lease the property to a developer. The developer could put in some "campus-like buildings" to house international research and business firms. These were the kind of firms, Voris imagined, that could use faculty and students in a complementary use of the property. Money pressures even compelled to change the school to change its name in 2004 to accommodate a large donation from an alumnus. See Fig. 1.

The uncertain status of the AIFT in the university system also profoundly affected its programming. Early in the 1950s, graduates of the AIFT wanted to continue their studies toward a bachelor's degree at the University of Houston: The AIFT (along with other reincarnations of the school) suddenly had to prove its value in the mainstream

academic system. By the end of the 1950s, there was strong pressure for the school to become accredited by other business schools. The accreditation process started in 1963 when AIFT joined the American Management Association, though accreditation through the North Central Association would not come until 1969. The accreditation process directly affected the content that the school would offer. First of all, the school chose to become a “graduate business school” in 1967 and in 1971 began exclusively offering a “Masters of International Management”. But unlike Europe, most business schools in North America do not see language and cultural education as their mandate. The focus on language and “area” gradually lessened; no language requirement currently exists at the Thunderbird School of Global Management.

Fig. 1 AIFT: from Institute to Accredited



Becoming a “business school” weakened the school’s tri-partite advantage for other reasons. The AIFT suddenly had to compete with all the other business schools offering international business. As noted above, the government began using scholarships and grants through the National Security Education Program (later Title VI) at the end of the 1950s to aggressively promote the teaching of lesser taught languages. International programs initially grew slowly. But by the 1980s, the Centers for International Business Education and Research were all teaching global business and heavily emphasizing language. Programs like San Diego State University’s International Business program used Title VI funding to create a highly-esteemed business program infused with language (Sacco, 2014), providing competition for the AIFT tri-partite education.

The Tōa Dōbun Shoin and the American Institute of Foreign Trade

The sections above introduced the American Institute of Foreign Trade in some detail, and examined the historical and political context in which its unique tri-partite curriculum developed. We have left its most important feature for last: the institute was remarkably similar in its conception, development and philosophy to the Tōa Dōbun Shoin.

Some of the similarities were very obvious. Both schools taught students in small, closely-knit groups. A photograph remains of AITF students sitting out on the lawn being drilled by a Spanish teacher (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996, p. 43). A similar photo remains of students out on the campus lawn with a Chinese teacher in the 1982 Tōa Dōbun Shoin university history (Koyūkai, 1982, p. 548). Both groups of students spent their time on isolated campuses where they were expected to spend the majority of their time studying. The Thunderbird Airfield was situated in Glendale, 30 miles from Phoenix in a hot desert environment. The Tōa Dōbun Shoin campuses were isolated on a number of levels. From the establishment of the Rakuzendō in Hankow in 1886, to the establishment of the first Gaochaomiao Guisuli Shanghai campus, the Shoin campuses were all situated away from the international treaty port communities. Students lived in fast-changing, politically unstable, Chinese-speaking commercial environments, so students were forced to rely on each other. Meanwhile, students were far from family and their comfortable Japanese-language environment in Japan.

The curricula of the AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin curricula resembled each other, and both resembled the “area studies” curriculum that the Army and Navy schools developed during WWII (Reynolds, 1986). The Foreign Area and Language Program concept developed by the US military in Charlottesville in 1943 was broken into three parts: 1) Special Knowledge of Characteristics and Conditions of Areas of Occupation; 2) Language Training; and 3) Special Application of Civilian Specialties to Military Government Situations (Matthew, 1947). 58. If we simply replace the third division with “Special Application of Specialties to Business Situations”, we have an approximation of the tri-partite curriculum for which the AIFT was so well known. Both the area studies model and the AIFT tri-partite curriculum distinctly resemble the 1901 curriculum of the Tōa Dōbun Shoin with its unique mix of language (Chinese and English), area

(geography, history, law) and business (currency, strategy, industry) (Koyūkai, 1982, p. 132).

Both AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin programs developed exceptionally sturdy alumni networks. Graduates of these programs spread out into industries only tangentially related to language and international business. For example, former institutional archivist of the Thunderbird School of Global Management Nelda Crowell recalls being at an alumni meeting in Bangkok and realizing that most of the alumni present were also on the American Chamber of Commerce (Arizona Memorial Project, 2017). The alumni network also meant jobs for graduates: In the early years of AIFT, placement of graduates was about 80-90 percent (Thunderbird School of Global Management, 1996). The Shoin alumni also gradually established themselves in certain fields. Some of these fields were predictable: Many graduates found work in military or government jobs in occupied Manchuria and in the South Manchuria Railway Co. Many more joined the Japanese trading companies like Itochu, Mitsui, Nisho Iwai, Marubeni and Furukawa Zaibatsu. But Shoin graduates ended up in industries one might not expect. Some got involved in banking and finance, entered the foreign service, or engaged in shipping, mining and textiles. A substantial number ended up as academics, particularly those who did not complete their programs in China and graduated in Japan after the war. Most interesting, Shoin graduates left a very large footprint in broadcast and media fields. Many graduates initially got involved in Chinese, Japanese, and English newspaper publishing in China, and established themselves in media and publishing companies in Japan after the war (Koyūkai, 1982, pp. 273-358). Sending students to many fields established a very broad base of support for the school.

But the AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin shared less obvious features. First of all, both institutions began with strong connections in military and government. The AIFT got the land for their campus for nothing as a decommissioned war asset, and the entire curriculum was based on a military training program. Arao Sei, Konoe Atsumaro, and Nezu Hajime, the three architects of the Tōa Dōbun Shoin, all enjoyed strong military and government connections. Konoe was a well-traveled aristocrat, politician, and bureaucrat who had political connections in China and Japan to develop the Nanking Dōbun Shoin and other cultural/educational projects. Arao Sei and Nezu Hajime both spent time in the China section of the Sanbu Honbu (General Staff Headquarters), and Nezu Hajime served as an intelligence officer in the Sino-Japanese War. Yet neither the AIFT nor the Tōa Dōbun Shoin chose to focus on military language schools or

diplomatic training programs. Instead they were both developed international business programming not possible in traditional research-based universities.

Indeed, both the AIFT and Shoin deliberately distanced themselves from the traditional university system. The AIFT chose a military man to design the curriculum and offered a certificate without the “restraining influence” of university requirements. Likewise, the Tōa Dōbun Shoin was more inspired by the experience of Arao Sei and Nezu Hajime running a bookstore in Hankow than it was by the imperial university system in Japan. Meanwhile, the Shoin was managed by the Gaimushō rather than the Monbushō (Reynolds, 1986). The proponents of both the AIFT and Shoin systems believed in fieldwork research activities, language practice with native speakers, and study-abroad long before universities had spotted the benefits of these activities. And both the AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin saw the study of language and international business as inseparable. It would be the 21st century before academic researchers would acknowledge the complexity of the language/business interface (Doyle, 2012). Both institutions had a world language focus unaligned with universities. At the end of the 19th century when the Shoin was established and middle of 1940s when the AIFT were established, both universities were heavily focused on European languages and the classical culture of their respective civilizations. The Tōa Dōbun Shoin focused on modern Chinese, while the AIFT focused on the languages of Latin America, neither traditional objects of academic inquiry.

Moreover, the AIFT and the Tōa Dōbun Shoin curricula were both born out of a sense of crisis. We mentioned above that American government and society has keenly felt a lack the need for language skills to pursue post-war international trade, to compete with the Russians, to do business with the Japanese, and to protect their commercial interests in business dealings with China. Japan, too, experienced a language crisis.

Post-war intellectuals and Chinese language educators like Andō Hikotarō, Ogaeri Yoshio, and Kuraishi Takeshirō saw little value in pre-war Chinese studies, criticizing it as un-academic, unscientific, and disrespectful (Andō, 1988; Kuraishi, 1973; Matsuda, 2001). But Japan was moving quickly to make up for what it saw as a deficit. Japan first felt an urgent need for Chinese language in 1862 when Japan sent its first trade mission to China. The Japanese delegates understood neither China’s spoken northern dialect, the language of officialdom, nor the dialects they heard around Shanghai’s bustling ports. Thus, the Japanese were forced to resort to “brush chats” (hitsudan) with other educated

Chinese (Haruna, 1998). We know that the Japanese keenly felt their country's deficiencies in modern Chinese language education because Takasugi Shinsaku, leader of the delegation, brought back a copy of Englishman Robert Thom's Chinese translation of Aesop's Fables from the trip to be used as a Chinese textbook (Ando, 2011). Japan would spend the next 30 years busily developing its own business language textbooks (Sinclair & Blachford), a project that would culminate with the *Kago Suihen* textbook series at the Tōa Dōbun Shoin (Matsuda, 2001).

The 1880s brought yet another language crisis. Entrepreneur Kishida Ginkō realized that to market eyewash in China, strong Chinese language skills were necessary, a need that gave rise to first the Rakuzendō and then the Nisshin Bōeki Kenkyūjo. But the most important language crisis came when companies like Mitsui and Nisho Iwai settled into business in China. There they tried to get rid of the comprador (*baiben*) system that western companies relied on to deal with local Chinese businesses (Negishi, 1948; Reynolds, 1986). A faculty member at the Tōa Dōbun Shoin in 1901, Negishi Tadashi, was fascinated with Chinese guilds, networks, and compradors. To do business deals directly with the Chinese, he would later observe, significant language skills and knowledge of business practice (*shōshūkan*) were necessary (Negishi, 1948). The Tōa Dōbun Shoin textbooks demonstrate educators realized high level language skills were as urgently needed as were knowledge of local Chinese business conditions.

Finally, the schools' position outside the traditional funding university meant that they both struggled financially. As noted above, even during the period when the AIFT (including in its Thunderbird years) enjoyed "top international business program in the country" status, it still struggled to maintain its campus and to pay its bills. The Rakuzendō and Nisshin Bōeki Kenkyūjo both struggled in their early years (Fujita, 2012, p. 37). Despite the support of powerful, influential people like Konoe Atsumaro, the Dōbunkai, and Tōa Dōbunkai, parent organizations of the Tōa Dōbun Shoin, both struggled (Fujita, 2012, p. 49). From the very beginning the TDS struggled with finances (Koyūkai, 1982, p.93). For example, in 1901, the Tōa Dōbunkai only allotted a 10,000 yen budget for the school, an amount which did not allow either for improvement of school facilities or for foreign student expenses.

Conclusion

If the American experience with business language education in higher education teaches us one thing, it is that the Tōa Dōbun Shoin business-language curriculum is just

as relevant today as it was in the 19th century. Government and business continue to demand university graduates knowledgeable in business, proficient in language, and comfortable in “the area”. Governments continue to spend millions to encourage universities to produce talent ready for the international workplace. Both government and business worry that graduates still do not receive the education necessary to be effective in today’s globalized workplace.

Meanwhile, producing graduates with solid language and business skills may not be as difficult to achieve as it once was. Barriers to tri-partite language-business training continue to drop: The cost of international transportation, communication, and travel have continuously decreased over the past four decades. Language-learning technology has made vast advances. Post-secondary students grow up in a global market for goods, travel widely, and sit beside foreign students in their classrooms. Today’s students no longer experience the linguistic, cultural, and psychological distance with far-off countries once perceived by their teachers. Some institution in the near future will find a way to offer the education envisioned by the AIFT and the Tōa Dōbun. That institution, we can imagine, will deliver this education much more cheaply and on a much broader scale than has been possible before.

However, this study has shown universities might not be best suited to offer the tri-partite education. Universities cannot respond to government demands in a large-scale, coordinated way. Instead, they continually respond to funding initiatives in an ad-hoc, isolated fashion that tends to duplicate efforts. The Flagship programs, we note above, are fundamentally similar to the Centers for International Business Education and Research programs that preceded them. Meanwhile, business schools, along with the accrediting bodies that guide their activities, have never seen language education as a fundamental part of their mandate. Once the AIFT sought accreditation, its curriculum was sanitized and the tri-partite curriculum of business, language, and area gradually weakened. Relying on businesses for financial support further constrains business schools ability to develop programs outside the traditional realms of finance, accounting, marketing, human resources, and organizational behaviour. In the end, the tri-partite curriculum developed at the AIFT and Tōa Dōbun Shoin may be better suited to Japan’s *senmon gakkō* system, to the polytechnic schools in Europe and North America, or to some other kind of distance-learning platform that does not yet exist.

In the end, the curricula at the American Institute of Foreign Trade and the Tōa Dōbun Shoin were responding to an ongoing, rapid process we now know as globalization. This process will place new demands on higher education, further disrupt established curricula, and inspire other radical innovation. More importantly, we can expect the ongoing globalization of the economic system will raise the value of a tripartite education of business, language and “area” even further.

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