



# SUMMARY REPORT

**OF CHILD ABUSE AT  
CHRISTIAN ACADEMY IN  
JAPAN (CAJ)**

TELIOS LAW PLLC



# **CONTENTS**

<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	01.
<b>INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS AND COMPONENTS</b>	04.
<b>DEFINITIONS AND STANDARDS</b>	09.
<b>SOURCES OF INFORMATION</b>	18.
<b>HISTORY AND CULTURE OF CAJ</b>	20.
<b>CAJ AND A CULTURE OF CHILD PROTECTION OR FAILURE TO PROTECT</b>	26.
<b>TRAUMA FROM ABUSE OR BOARDING SITUATION</b>	32.
<b>INVESTIGATIVE FINDINGS</b>	33.
<b>POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO CHILD ABUSE AT CAJ</b>	40.
<b>CURRENT POLICIES AND MOVING FORWARD</b>	44.
<b>FOOTNOTES</b>	49.
<b>IMAGE CREDITS</b>	50.



## **I. INTRODUCTION**

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This investigation examined historic allegations of historical child abuse at Christian Academy in Japan (CAJ). This included allegations of physical abuse, sexual abuse, emotional abuse, child-on-child abuse, and leadership culpability from CAJ's founding in 1950 until its implementation of revised child protection policies in 2002.

This public Report summarizes the findings of the Investigative Team. Due to the standards governing a private historical investigation, names of victim/survivors (V/S) and those culpable are not shared in this document.

### **A. BACKGROUND AND ORIGINS OF THIS INVESTIGATION**

In the Fall of 2017, a CAJ alumna posted on a Facebook page known as "CAJ Flashbacks," a closed group for CAJ alumni. The alumna's post described an attack that he experienced while living in a CAJ dorm. That post led to the

creation of a separate closed Facebook group for V/Ss of abuse at CAJ to share their stories. The name of this page is CAJ Abuse Survivors Support Group. This new page soon became a forum for many CAJ alumni to share their experiences of abuse during their time as students at CAJ.

In response to the Facebook postings, as well as to multiple calls and letters from CAJ alumni reporting abuse to current administrators, Anda Foxwell, CAJ's current Head of School, posted an article on the CAJ website about child safety at CAJ, acknowledging that its current child safety policies were not always in place in the past and that CAJ welcomed any firsthand reports of abuse, either from staff or students.

Soon after this, CAJ began to receive firsthand accounts of alleged sexual abuse at the school in the mid-to-late 1960s. These allegations from alumni were against two staff members at CAJ during that time. In response to these allegations, Ms. Foxwell accessed the two staff

members' personnel files and determined that each of them had been dismissed after having been reported by a parent for sexually inappropriate contact with a student. Ms. Foxwell reached out to persons who had been in leadership at the school during that time period, and those persons confirmed that the grounds for dismissal for both staff members was related to sexual conduct with students.

During 2018, six CAJ alumni sent letters to the school detailing their personal experiences of abuse and expressing their desire for transparency, accountability, and closure. These letters indicated that the scope of former staff who had engaged in abusive conduct toward students was broader than the two personnel previously identified. Allegations were brought against not only teachers but dorm parents and administrators as well.

After receiving the allegations of historic abuse at CAJ, Ms. Foxwell issued an apology

letter to alumni on January 16, 2019. Many alumni responded to the apology letter through emails to Ms. Foxwell. Many of the responses were positive and grateful. Others expressed deep hurt, sorrow, and disappointment that the apology letter seemed to distance the current administration from past abuses, dismissing them as having happened "decades ago." Shortly after Ms. Foxwell issued the apology letter to alumni, the CAJ Abuse Survivors Support Group (ASSG) responded with a formal request for an independent investigation into the allegations of historic abuse at CAJ.

In conjunction with other organizations involved, CAJ decided to sponsor an independent investigation, along with other Cooperating Missions (identified below). In the Spring of 2019, CAJ engaged with Telios Law, PLLC, to oversee an independent investigation into the allegations. Based in Monument, Colorado, Telios Law is a firm that focuses on conducting



CAJ Campus in the 1950's

misconduct and abuse investigations in various ministry contexts, including historic investigations. This investigation commenced in March of 2019.

## **B. PURPOSES AND OBJECTIVES OF THE INVESTIGATION**

The investigation was designed to be carried out independently from the organizations sponsoring it, and in accordance with best practices.

### **THE PURPOSES OF THIS INVESTIGATION WERE TO:**

- Seek the truth with transparency
- Hear stories from alumni, making sure that alumni are addressed and treated justly (whether or not they were abuse V/Ss);
- Identify offenders and hold them accountable for abuse where possible; and
- Hold leaders accountable for inadequate leadership that failed to protect children.

In order to carry out these purposes, the investigative team attempted to do the following:

- Identify alleged victims of abuse;
- Seek their cooperation and accounts of the abuse endured at CAJ;
- Identify those responsible for the abuse;
- Determine whether and when CAJ Administration and/or CAJ Board knew of and/or should have known of abuse allegations;
- Evaluate whether responses from leadership were adequate and appropriate;



- Determine if there was any cover-up of abuse;
- Report offenses to the appropriate authorities; and
- Generate findings for appropriate action to be taken by CAJ.

In order to accomplish these purposes for abuse allegations spanning half a century, the investigation was necessarily complex.

## II. INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS AND COMPONENTS

### A. ROLES OF PLAYERS IN THE INVESTIGATION

This investigation was made possible by the work and contributions of several different groups of people. This section describes each major player in the investigation and its role in the investigative process.

#### 1. The Sponsoring Organizations

This independent investigation was jointly sponsored by CAJ and four other Cooperating Missions. As discussed below in greater detail, CAJ was formed through the collaboration of six missionary organizations ministering in Japan (Cooperating Missions). Four of the six Cooperating Missions jointly sponsored this investigation with CAJ and have provided information, documents, and funding for the investigation. Those four organizations are:

- Resonate Global Mission
- ECC-Serve Globally
- The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM)
- WorldVenture

CAJ plus the four mission organizations that cooperated together are called the Sponsoring Organizations of the investigation. The other two Cooperating Missions that formed and operated CAJ, One Mission Society (OMS) and SEND International, did not join in sponsoring this investigation.

SEND US (a branch of SEND International) commissioned a separate investigation to address allegations made against SEND US personnel from the 1950s through the 1970s, a much narrower scope than this investigation. Its public report was released on June 27, 2021.

#### 2. The Alumni and Other Witnesses

The Alumni were key in this investigation. Many Alumni provided information as victim/survivors reporting abuse, or as witnesses to abuse or the general cultural situation. Their

CHRISTIAN  
ACADEMY IN JAPAN  
(CAJ)

RESONATE GLOBAL  
MISSION

ECC  
SERVE GLOBALLY

THE EVANGELICAL  
ALLIANCE MISSION  
(TEAM)

WORLDVENTURE



Theresa Sidebotham  
Telios Law PLLC

family members and CAJ staff also provided information. Participating in an investigation like this is painful for many witnesses, and their courage and willingness to share the truth is deeply appreciated.

### **3. The Coordinator**

The Coordinator of this investigation is Theresa Sidebotham, managing attorney of Telios Law, PLLC. The Coordinator's role in this investigation was to direct, organize, supervise, and manage all the components and personnel of the investigation; to assemble, train, and oversee the Investigative Team; and to manage communications with the Sponsoring Organizations.

In her role as Coordinator of this investigation, Ms. Sidebotham received assistance from other Telios Law staff, who helped to process and organize documents, maintain the website, draft communications, and other important tasks.

Ms. Sidebotham retained independent investigators to serve on the Investigative Team.

### **4. The Investigative Team**

The Investigative Team consisted of five independent professional investigators. The members of the Investigative Team are trained as state and federal law enforcement officers, private industry investigators, attorneys, or psychologists. Collectively, the investigators have decades of experience in child abuse and historical child abuse investigations. Some members of the team have significant experience in mission school abuse cases from around the world. The Investigative Team had no direct contact with the Sponsoring Organizations.

The Investigative Team performed the bulk of the work in this investigation. They reviewed thousands of pages of documents, contacted potential witnesses, interviewed witnesses, analyzed information, made factual findings, and combined all of those findings into a comprehensive, 386-page Master Report. Overall, the members of the Investigative Team have collectively spent well over 3,000 hours of investigative work in this investigation. Once they had finished the Master Report, they submitted it to the Coordinator.



# MASTER REPORT: 386 PAGES

## 5. Consultants

This investigation also relied on consulting experts who are specialized in counseling, abuse trauma, and other areas of expertise relevant to this investigation. These consultants assisted the Investigative Team in receiving alumni stories, especially for interviewing traumatized V/Ss about their experiences of abuse as well as for understanding memory issues.

## 6. The CAJ Abuse Survivors Support Group and Alumni Representative

The CAJ Abuse Survivors Support Group (ASSG) has played an indispensable role in this investigation. The ASSG has been a wealth of information for the Investigative Team and has also represented and advocated for the interests of CAJ Alumni.

The ASSG appointed an Alumni Representative, Ms. Debbie Rhoads, who has been invaluable to the investigation. Early on, she presented a training to the Investigative Team on the history and culture of CAJ. Ms. Rhoads and the ASSG have been vitally important in identifying, locating, and coordinating witnesses for this investigation. Throughout, Ms. Rhoads took responsibility to present the alumni perspectives to the investigation and facilitate good communication. In addition, Ms. Rhoads and Ms. Brenda Seat presented the Alumni perspective to the Review Panel. The Coordinator (along with many others) expresses her gratitude to Ms. Rhoads and the ASSG for this pro bono work in advocating for V/Ss and helping to ensure a high quality investigation.

## 7. The Review Panel

The Review Panel is a committee of independent interdisciplinary experts assembled by the Coordinator. The Review Panel was comprised of persons with legal, clinical, counseling, and mission backgrounds. No member of the Review Panel was a current or former staff of CAJ or any of the Cooperating Missions. Each member of the Review Panel served pro bono, out of interest and concern for V/Ss and improving the organizational response to them.

The role of the Review Panel in this investigation was to meet and study the redacted Master Report to closely review and analyze the Investigative Team's findings. Based on its review of the findings, the Review Panel has independently put together recommendations of disciplinary and other appropriate actions to be taken by the Sponsoring Organizations.



Image from 1977  
CAJ Yearbook

## **B. OVERVIEW OF INVESTIGATIVE PROCESS**

### **1. The process of this investigation can be briefly described as follows:**

- A The Sponsoring Organizations commissioned the investigation and retained Telios Law.
- B The Coordinator appointed the members of the Investigative Team and the Review Panel.
- C The Sponsoring Organizations, ASSG, and other parties provided substantial collections of documents relevant to the investigation.
- D The Coordinator and her team organized and processed the documents to prepare them for review by the Investigative Team.
- E The Investigative Team reviewed and analyzed the documents, contacted many potential witnesses, V/Ss, and offenders, and conducted formal interviews of many of those persons.
- F After the conclusion of fact-finding through document review and interviews, the Investigative Team prepared a comprehensive and confidential Master Report setting forth all of its findings.
- G A redacted and confidential version of the Master Report that concealed names of alumni and MKs was provided to the Sponsoring Organizations for purposes of making employment, disciplinary, and policy decisions.
- H The Coordinator provided an Executive Summary of the Master Report to the Review Panel as support for the redacted Master Report, which it also received. Identifying information of alumni and MKs was also redacted from this Executive Summary.
- I The Coordinator reviewed the Master Report to ascertain what persons and incidents needed to be reported to appropriate law enforcement authorities and other entities, and made needed reports.
- J The Review Panel met, conferred, and made recommendations for the Sponsoring Organizations.
- K The Coordinator prepared individual Statements of Findings to those witnesses bringing allegations and those accused, indicating the findings for each alleged incident of abuse.
- L The Coordinator prepared and sent packets for individuals including the Statements of Findings, this Summary Report, and appropriate communications from the Sponsoring Organizations.
- M The Coordinator prepared and published this Summary Report.

## 2. Sharing Information

The Coordinator communicated closely with the Investigative Team, tracking its progress.

Confidential information gathered by the Investigative Team was not shared with the Sponsoring Organizations. In some cases, V/Ss gave express permission for their names to be shared, and in those cases, they were shared. Limited information was shared, also with express permission from witnesses, with the SEND US investigation.

The Sponsoring Organizations did not direct the course of the investigation. The Coordinator regularly updated the Sponsoring Organizations about the general progress of the investigation, but not about specific individuals or allegations.

Throughout the course of this investigation, the Coordinator has provided regular, though general, updates and progress reports of investigative activity on a dedicated website.<sup>1</sup> Since the investigation began, all persons with connections to this investigation—Alumni who attended the school, CAJ staff, families, and concerned persons from participating organizations—have been able to request a link to create a personalized log-in to receive investigational updates through this website. However, no personal identifying information is posted on this website.

Upon receiving the Master Report, the Coordinator and her team were responsible for coding all alumni witness and V/S names to create a redacted Master Report for the Sponsoring Organizations and the Review Panel.



# III. DEFINITIONS AND STANDARDS

## A. STANDARDS OF PROOF

Several standards of proof exist. The highest standard, "guilt beyond a reasonable doubt," is used in criminal prosecutions, and only in prosecutions. It is nearly a 100% standard. Had this standard been used in the investigation, it would have been almost impossible to corroborate allegations by V/Ss, given the amount of time that has passed.

The standard used in civil cases and in employment matters is that of "preponderance of evidence." The "preponderance of evidence" standard is met if the allegation is more likely to be true than not true. The standard is satisfied if there is a greater than fifty percent chance that the allegation is true. Sometimes, the standard is called "the balance of probabilities."

In the investigation of abuse allegations from CAJ, the standard used was "preponderance of evidence." The Investigative Team considered allegations to be corroborated or substantiated if the evidence showed that they were more likely true than not true.

This standard does have some drawbacks. It means that if abuse is not corroborated past 50%, there may still be a reasonable chance that it happened. And if it is corroborated past 50%, there may still be a reasonable chance that it did not happen. This is a reason for confidentiality in an investigation. It also means that failure to substantiate does not imply criticism of the credibility and good faith of a witness bringing forward information.

## B. EVALUATING CREDIBILITY

In terms of how the Investigative Team determined whether allegations were supported by a preponderance of the evidence, investigators placed the highest credibility on evidence documented close to the time when the alleged abuse occurred. Information from historical documents was also assigned a high level of credibility.

While the Investigative Team also relied substantially on individual testimony as evidence, they took into consideration that these events occurred many years ago, sometimes several decades in the past. Personal memories may not be reliable, and memories shared with others or publicly can often contaminate others' memories. When this happens, it is not intentional on the part of the witness. But it is true that very old memories can sometimes be flawed. At times, there was evidence of individual testimony close to the time of the event, and that testimony received greater weight. Nevertheless, individual testimony was very important, whether given contemporaneously or much later.

In many cases, the Investigative Team was able to substantiate allegations with credible and independent information from other witnesses or from documentary evidence.

Even when allegations could not be corroborated, witnesses' recollections were not discounted but were important in forming an overall picture of life and culture at CAJ, and were thus helpful for background and context to help understand the historical situation.

IN THE INVESTIGATION OF ABUSE ALLEGATIONS FROM CAJ, THE STANDARD USED WAS "PREPONDERANCE OF EVIDENCE." THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM CONSIDERED ALLEGATIONS TO BE CORROBORATED OR SUBSTANTIATED IF THE EVIDENCE SHOWED THAT THEY WERE MORE LIKELY TRUE THAN NOT TRUE.

## C. VOCABULARY USED FOR CATEGORIES OF PERSONS

Investigating abuse is difficult and sensitive, and even the terms to discuss it can be controversial. These are the terms used here, but without any claim to being the only terms or best terms for everyone.

### 1. "MKS"

Persons who have grown up on the mission field are often called Missionary Kids (MK) or Third Culture Kids (TCK). Some prefer the term "former MK," and others take the view that "once an MK, always an MK." For convenience, this Report uses the term "MK," but other terms are equally valid.

### 2. "ALUMNI"

Many of the CAJ students were MKs, but not all. Therefore, this Report often refers to "Alumni" of the school.

### 3. "VICTIM/SURVIVOR"

Those impacted by abuse often have strong preferences concerning the appropriate vocabulary to use. Some prefer the term "victim" to describe persons who have experienced abuse, while others prefer the term "survivor." Each of these terms may carry different connotations for different people. Some may reject one term as implying weakness and defeat and others may reject another as diminishing the harm caused by the abuse.

Recognizing different preferences, this Summary Report uses the term "victim/survivor" (V/S) to encompass both terms. This is only one approach, and it seeks neither to consign those who have experienced abuse to an identity of victimhood nor to downplay the lasting traumatic effects that abuse often has.

### 4. "OFFENDER"

Here, the term "offender" describes persons who perpetrated abuse. This term is versatile in referencing perpetrators of every kind of abuse (sexual, physical, emotional, etc.). The term also captures the active malice of abusive conduct, emphasizing that such persons have offended not only rules, laws, and norms of decency, but against human beings who were children.

### 5. "ALLEGED"

Perhaps the most controversial term used in the context of child abuse investigations is the modifier "alleged" placed before "victim" or "offender." Some persons object to the terms "alleged victim" (AV) and "alleged offender" (AO), arguing that such terms imply doubt of accusations of abuse. On the other hand, those

accused of abuse (and their friends and family) are concerned about due process and not being labeled as offenders without corroboration.

Best practices in an investigation require that the team approach the evidence with no presuppositions as to whether the allegations are true or an individual accused is guilty. An investigation should avoid either an "innocent-until-proven-guilty" or a "guilty-until-proven-innocent" standard, but take a neutral position.

Therefore, persons alleged to have committed abuse are referred to as "alleged offenders." Once the allegations are corroborated, persons are referred to as "offenders." Similarly, someone bringing an allegation may be referred to as an "alleged victim" until the allegations are corroborated.

As noted, the standard of evidence used in this investigation is not that of a criminal judicial proceeding. Finding that a person is an "offender" does not establish that he or she is a criminal. Conversely, the lack of sufficient evidence to corroborate specific allegations against a person does not mean the person's actions are vindicated, and it does not mean that the actions did not occur—just that they are not corroborated.

## **D. CURRENT DEFINITIONS OF CHILD ABUSE**

CAJ's current Child Protection Policy defines child abuse as "inappropriate, immoral, and/or unethical behavior of an adult toward a CAJ student or a minor under 18 years of age, or of a child toward another child where there is a difference in power based on age, or physical, intellectual, or emotional capacity." The policy goes on to say that child abuse "can be perpetrated with or without consent of the victim, can happen in a one-on-one encounter, or in a group setting." The policy also recognizes that "not all inappropriate behavior constitutes abuse/neglect."

CAJ's current policy enumerates and defines four categories of child abuse:

### **1. Physical abuse.**

Physical injury inflicted by other than accidental means upon a child by another person and includes willful cruelty, unjustifiable punishment, or willful infliction of physical pain.

### **2. Physical neglect.**

The negligent treatment or the maltreatment of a child by a person responsible for the child's welfare under circumstances indicating harm or threatened harm to the child's health or welfare.

### **3. Sexual abuse.**

Sexual assault or exploitation of a child.

### **4. Emotional mistreatment.**

Emotional abuse, deprivation, or neglect of a child. This includes the use of threats, intimidation, acts of injustice or indignity by verbal and/or physical means (contact or non-contact) against a person.

While these definitions and categories are helpful, CAJ had no formal child protection policy until 2002, so these were not the definitions in use prior to 2002.

## **E. EVALUATING CHILD ABUSE STANDARDS FOR THE PAST**

While the Report accepts the definitions for abuse set forth in CAJ's Child Protection Policy, it is not possible to simply apply contemporary standards to the past. In an inquiry into abuse as far back as the 1950s, the Report must consider both the cultural milieu and the historical circumstances underlying the perceptions and responses toward abuse in the past.

In addition, CAJ is and always has been a faith-based organization. The investigation evaluates individual behaviors and leadership responses in light of what was known at the time and what training personnel had. However, CAJ was and is a Christian institution operating on Biblical and moral principles. CAJ's Christian ethos would have informed its understanding of the sinfulness and destruction of abuse and the need to protect children. This is particularly true of sexual abuse, as all behaviors comprising sexual abuse would have been Scripturally unacceptable at any time in the past.

This investigation has inquired into allegations and made findings under the rubric of the following categories of child abuse:

(1) PHYSICAL ABUSE, (2) SEXUAL ABUSE, (3) EMOTIONAL ABUSE, (4) INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR, AND (5) CHILD-ON-CHILD ABUSE.

In addition, nine parents, some of whom were Board members, administrators, and teachers from the 50s to the 70s, were surveyed about standards prevailing at the time of the

allegations. While the survey was not scientifically rigorous,<sup>2</sup> it was still helpful as a rough evaluation of prevailing attitudes at the time.

## F. HISTORICAL DEFINITIONS OF PHYSICAL ABUSE

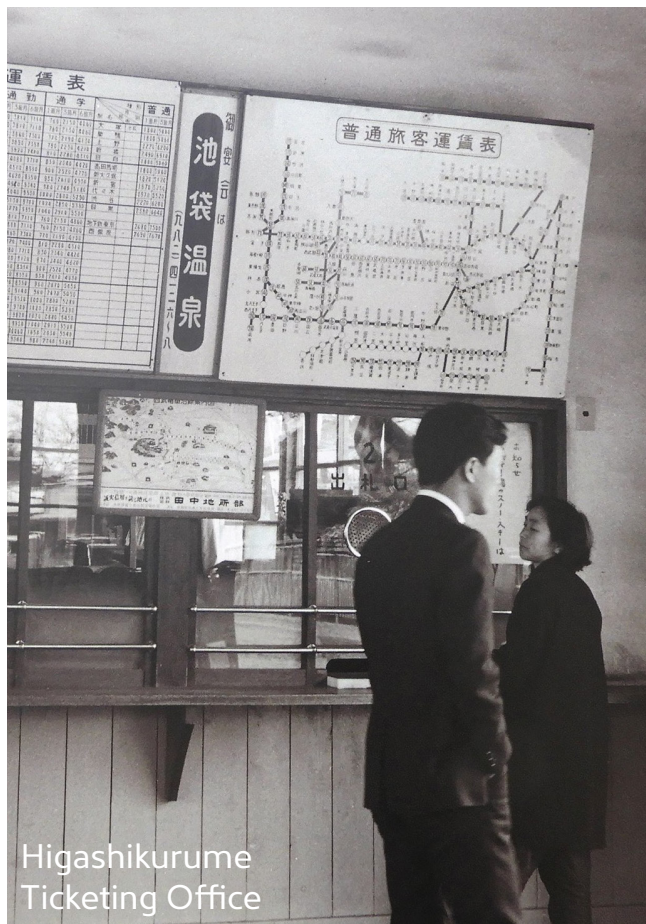
Defining physical abuse in a historical investigation involves changing and diverse views and perceptions of corporal punishment for children to correct misbehavior. Even today, a spectrum of opinions exists as to what forms of corporal punishment constitute abuse and even whether any form of corporal punishment is acceptable.

### 1. Twentieth Century attitudes toward corporal punishment

At the time CAJ was founded in the early 1950s, corporal punishment of a child was broadly accepted in both America and Japan. Starting in the 1960s, attitudes toward corporal punishment began to change. Schools and institutions that had previously been unsparing in their administration of corporal punishment began to reconsider the use of implements such as belts, paddles, and rulers to administer discipline. Gradually, these institutions began to limit the severity and duration of corporal punishment, such as maximum numbers of strikes that could be inflicted.

The consensus that began to evolve in the latter half of the Twentieth Century was that the appropriateness of corporal punishment depended on factors such as:

- the age of the child;
- the behavior that prompted the punishment (egregiousness and frequency);
- the instruments used for discipline (belt, paddle, switch, hand, etc.);
- the number of strikes inflicted;
- the location on the child's body where contact was made and whether the place of contact was bare or covered with clothing;
- the demeanor of the adult administering discipline (whether they were angry or calm); and
- the physical effects of the discipline on the child (bruising, welting, scarring, etc.).



Higashikurume  
Ticketing Office

Under this tacit balancing test, many forms of corporal punishment were regarded as benign, while administrations of discipline that would have been considered a "beating" were condemned and regarded as abusive.

WHILE THE USE OF CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS GRADUALLY STARTED TO DIMINISH THROUGHOUT THE 1970S AND 1980S, THE PRACTICE OF SPANKING CHILDREN IN CLASSROOMS AND DORMS CONTINUED TO BE REGARDED AS ACCEPTABLE BY MANY INSTITUTIONS.

It was regarded as not only acceptable but necessary in the evangelical missionary context in which many MKs grew up during this time.

## 2. CAJ's historical position on corporal punishment

Despite this, CAJ was quite advanced in the area of physical discipline, adopting a policy of no corporal punishment in 1976.

Before 1976, the school had no discernable policy about corporal punishment. One administrator stated in his interview that during his tenure in the 1950s-1970s, there was no

discussion or training for staff regarding corporal punishment. Another administrator during that same time period confirmed that there was no defined disciplinary policy, but that the practice among teachers and dorm parents was to use corporal punishment, although some preferred non-corporal methods of punishment such as detention.

Adults at CAJ from the same historical time period had perspectives (albeit in retrospect) on the appropriateness of discipline that more or less aligned with the tacit balancing test described above. Investigators asked nine parents, some of whom were Board members, administrators, and teachers from the 50s to the 70s, a series of six questions pertaining to corporal punishment by a dorm parent, teacher, or administrator (not by parents):

- When asked about the same sex adult spanking a child's bare, unclothed bottom, the consensus was that it was inappropriate.
- When asked about the opposite sex adult spanking a child's bare, unclothed bottom, the consensus was that it was inappropriate.
- When asked about spanking a child's upper and lower legs, four persons said it was abusive and four said it was inappropriate.



Waiting for Dinner



- When asked about using an implement other than a paddle or a belt to spank a child, the consensus was that it was inappropriate.
- When asked about the appropriate number of swats given in a spanking, the number of swats approved ranged from one to four.
- When asked about hitting or poking in the face, head, chest or abdomen as discipline, the consensus was that such behavior would be abusive.

SEXUAL ABUSE OF CHILDREN WOULD READILY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS MORALLY CULPABLE IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY.

### 3. Physical abuse and physical injury

This investigation operated on a definition of physical abuse, currently accepted, that involved some form of tangible injury such as welts, lacerations, bruising, or scars. While behavior may still be inappropriate or unacceptable, it is generally not considered physical abuse without physical injury.<sup>3</sup>

### G. HISTORICAL DEFINITIONS OF SEXUAL ABUSE

As mentioned above, the moral standard for sexual abuse would not have changed much for religious organizations over time. Sexual abuse of children would readily have been identified as morally culpable in the Christian community. Sexual contact with children was absolutely a violation of Biblical standards about purity

accepted by the Christian community and taught to the children. This understanding could have informed a vigorous response to sexual abuse, but in many cases, this vigorous response did not happen. Also, in many cases, adults were not aware of the abuse.

In cases where they were not defended by an adequate adult response, the sense of moral culpability would have added to the shame of the victims. In addition, the false construct of their moral culpability might have added to the silence of the victims. This sense of culpability arose because missionary children at CAJ were raised in a purity culture. They heard throughout their childhoods in church, school and at home to keep their bodies pure for marriage, and not to engage in any kind of sexual activity because their bodies were a temple. To then have people in authority, teachers and spiritual leaders, using their bodies sexually, to be touched with a sexual intent that they did not consent to, caused survivors to experience a spiritual and psychological dissonance of such magnitude that many have never recovered.

TO THEN HAVE PEOPLE IN AUTHORITY, TEACHERS AND SPIRITUAL LEADERS, USING THEIR BODIES SEXUALLY ...CAUSED SURVIVORS TO EXPERIENCE A SPIRITUAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DISSONANCE OF SUCH MAGNITUDE THAT MANY HAVE NEVER RECOVERED.

A partial reason for the inadequate response to abuse, including lack of awareness that it could or did happen, is that the understanding and perceptions around sexual abuse have evolved over time within United States culture. Before the mid-1970s, the clinical and professional understanding of what constituted "sexual abuse" was generally limited to sexual violence perpetrated by strangers. There was very little recognition, let alone understanding, of non-violent sexual abuse perpetrated by family or friends. In such instances, child victims were often regarded as being complicit in the conduct. While such conduct was regarded as taboo and inappropriate, it was not considered to be harmful to child victims, especially for victims who were boys.

In the United States, abuse reporting laws started being enacted in the late 1960s, though they were not universal until many years later. However, it was not until the late 1970s that the psychiatric community began to recognize the long-term negative effects of child sexual abuse on V/Ss. Even then, abuse prevention was still focused on “stranger danger.” Not until the mid-1980s did professionals begin to acknowledge how common and how destructive sexual abuse was.

The clinical and professional understanding of sexual abuse was mirrored in the culture, and likely negatively impacted the understanding of those such as parents and administrators, who often badly misunderstood what they were hearing. In sum, leaders would have understood the actions as wrong in that day, but the standards of what would be considered an adequate response to the wrongdoing have changed greatly, as the cultural understanding of the deep harm of child sexual abuse has evolved with research and study.

Missions began to develop child protection policies in the mid to late 1990s and began to develop procedures of internal abuse investigations in the early 2000s. While this was not inconsistent with the major organizations in the U.S. that worked with children, there was likely also some delay for mission organizations to catch up with contemporary research in the field. It was around this time that CAJ adopted formal child protection policies.

In this investigation, allegations of sexual abuse and responses to sexual abuse were evaluated to the extent possible based on the standards that existed at the time, not the policies that exist today. This investigation used a working definition of “child sexual abuse” as (1) touching sexual body parts (body parts covered by underwear or swimwear), (2) either under or over the clothes, (3) of a child (17 years old or

## LATE 60S

**In the United States, abuse reporting laws started being enacted.**

## LATE 70S

**The psychiatric community began to recognize the long-term negative effects of child sexual abuse on V/Ss.**

## MID 80S

**Professionals begin to acknowledge how common and destructive sexual abuse was.**

## MID-LATE 90S

**Missions began to develop child protection policies.**

## EARLY 00S

**Missions and other organizations in the U.S. began to develop procedures of internal abuse investigations.**



THERE IS A CATEGORY OF CONDUCT THAT, WHILE NOT RISING TO THE LEVEL OF ABUSE, IS STILL INAPPROPRIATE AND MAY NEVERTHELESS BE GROUNDS FOR CULPABILITY AND DISCIPLINE.

younger) (4) that is not necessary for a child's health and safety. It also considered verbal sexual abuse (saying sexually inappropriate things) or visual sexual abuse (showing the child inappropriate things or asking to see private areas of a child).

## H. EMOTIONAL ABUSE

Perhaps the most difficult category of abuse to define is that of emotional abuse. This category of abuse is often perceived as being subjective. Additionally, emotional abuse is not premised on a single comment or incident, but generally requires a pattern of mistreatment.

There is no doubt that physical and sexual abuse both inflict severe emotional damage on V/Ss. But emotional abuse involves words and actions toward children that damage them emotionally without requiring touch (though that also may be present).

CAJ's current Child Protection Policy features the following definition for "Emotional mistreatment":

Emotional abuse, deprivation, or neglect of a child. This includes the use of threats, intimidation, acts of injustice or indignity by verbal and/or physical means (contact or non-contact) against a person.

This is the general standard adopted in this investigation.

## I. INAPPROPRIATE CONDUCT

As CAJ's Child Protection Policy correctly states, "not all inappropriate behavior constitutes abuse/neglect." There is a category of conduct that, while not rising to the level of abuse, is still inappropriate and may nevertheless be grounds for culpability and discipline. Often, inappropriate conduct would not meet the standards required by criminal standards but is morally reprehensible.

Inappropriate conduct may take forms that are sexual, such as innuendo and touching. It may also be physical conduct that is inappropriately aggressive, such as an excessive use of disciplinary force that does not result in any injury to a child. In any event, where the behavior could not be clearly defined as sexual abuse or physical abuse, but was inappropriate under

the circumstances, investigators classified it as inappropriate behavior.

## J. CHILD-ON-CHILD ABUSE

In addition to child abuse perpetrated by adults at CAJ, this investigation also inquired into allegations of child-on-child conduct. While child-on-child or peer-on-peer acts are not generally considered to constitute child abuse, but rather inappropriate behavior, there are exceptions under certain circumstances. For example, if there is an age difference between the two children of four years or more, or some other power disparity exists, or if the conduct was forcible, such as rape, peer-on-peer activity will be analyzed under the rubric of abuse.

Even if it is categorized as inappropriate behavior, peer-on-peer bullying or other inappropriate activity can be highly traumatizing to the victims of such conduct.

## K. CRIMINAL STANDARDS AND REPORTING

Some of the witnesses in this investigation asked whether this was a criminal case. This is



EVEN IF IT IS CATEGORIZED AS INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR, PEER-ON-PEER BULLYING OR OTHER INAPPROPRIATE ACTIVITY CAN BE HIGHLY TRAUMATIZING TO THE VICTIMS OF SUCH CONDUCT.

not a criminal investigation. Only a governmental entity has prosecutorial powers to indict or charge criminals or to impose criminal sanctions.

While many of the instances of abuse constitute criminal conduct, the statutes of limitations applicable in the respective jurisdictions in which V/Ss and offenders now live make criminal prosecution unlikely. Much of the abuse occurred several decades ago and would be too old to prosecute in many jurisdictions, including Japan, where most of it happened.

Part of the responsibility for the investigation is to make appropriate reports to law enforcement authorities or other entities.

## L. NAMING AND ANONYMITY

We have chosen in this Report not to share specific details that may identify victims and other alumni, to protect their privacy. We have also chosen not to name offenders publicly. The preponderance standard used in investigations like this is lower than that used in criminal prosecutions, meaning we are evaluating whether the allegations are "more likely than not" true. This lower standard means that the findings are not as solidly established as when a case has been prosecuted, and it is potentially a due process issue to publish offenders' names. However, the Sponsoring Organizations have been provided with names of offenders, the Review Panel has evaluated cases with offender names, and all cases have been evaluated for appropriate law enforcement reports or other appropriate notifications. In addition, those bringing allegations are being notified individually as to whether their specific allegations are corroborated.

# IV. SOURCES OF INFORMATION

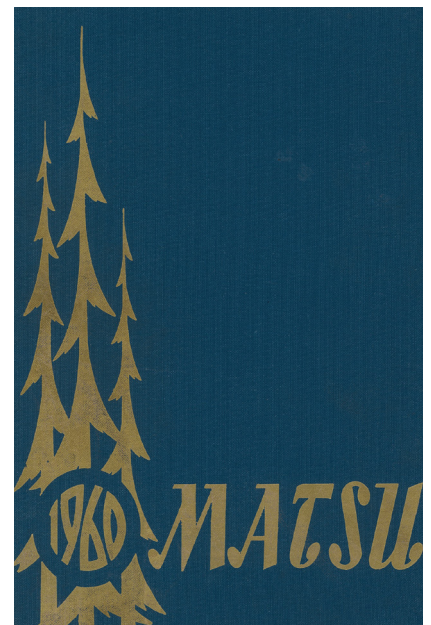
## A. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM REVIEWED OVER 1,400 DOCUMENTS THAT WERE CONCURRENT IN TIME WITH EITHER ALLEGED INCIDENTS OF ABUSE OR WITH THE TENURES OF RELEVANT STAFF AND ALUMNI AT CAJ. THE DOCUMENTS SPANNED OVER 50 YEARS OF CAJ'S HISTORY .

This corpus of historical documents, consisting of tens of thousands of pages, included the following categories of records:

- CAJ Board Minutes, Executive Action Minutes, and other Board records from 1950 to 2005;
- Minutes and records of various CAJ committees from 1950 to 2005;
- Faculty meeting reports and records from 1950 to 2005;
- Headmasters' reports from 1950 to 2005;
- Enrollment data from 1950 to 2005;
- Historic written correspondence discussing matters relevant to allegations, offenders, and V/Ss;
- CAJ *Matsu* yearbooks from 1957 to 2014;
- Personnel files for staff who were alleged offenders or otherwise persons of interest, from Sponsoring Organizations;
- Field Reports;
- Historic photographs of students, staff, and grounds at CAJ ;
- Obituaries of deceased persons of interest;
- Two published books; and
- Historic documents provided by Sponsoring Organizations (and to a very limited extent, by SEND US).

The Sponsoring Organizations readily cooperated in providing all requested documents.



Cover of 1960 CAJ  
*Matsu* Yearbook



CAJ Campus  
Building, 1969

## **B. WITNESS INTERVIEW TESTIMONY**

In addition to documentary evidence, the Investigative Team formally interviewed fifty-nine witnesses, including alleged V/Ss, alleged offenders, alumni, former staff, former administrators, and other persons with relevant information. The Investigative Team contacted and received information from dozens of other persons who did not sit for a formal, full-length interview.

In some instances, a full-length interview was not necessary because the witnesses were not bringing allegations, and in other instances, witnesses chose not to interview. While there were a number of people whom the Investigative Team would prefer to have interviewed, the Team understood that people process trauma differently and at different rates. Some individuals were not ready to share their stories, and the Investigative Team respected that. While this meant that sometimes abuse could not be corroborated, we recognize that this is unavoidable due to the nature of traumatic events. At a number of points, the Master Report indicates that abuse may have happened that could not be corroborated.

In addition, due to the very lengthy time span of the investigation, some potential witnesses had died, were too ill to interview, or otherwise had become unavailable.

### **MEMBERS OF THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM TRAVELED ACROSS THE UNITED STATES AS WELL AS INTERNATIONALLY TO CONDUCT IN-PERSON INTERVIEWS.**

Because the COVID-19 pandemic happened during the course of this investigation, some of the interviews had to be conducted virtually through videoconference. However, the team made great effort to interview those accused and those with important allegations in-person when possible.

In addition to providing verbal testimony, many of the witnesses provided written timelines, sketches, explanatory drawings, and other helpful documents they had gathered or prepared to help clarify their testimony.

# V. HISTORY AND CULTURE OF CAJ

## A. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF CAJ'S FOUNDING

CAJ was founded just five years after the Empire of Japan surrendered to the Allied Powers on August 15, 1945, thereby ending the six-year-long Second World War. During the ensuing American occupation of Japan, President Harry Truman appointed General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander of occupying Allied Forces. Although Emperor Hirohito was permitted to stay in power (at least as a figurehead puppet), Gen. MacArthur assumed virtual sovereign control of the island nation as the country gradually overhauled its constitution to become a parliamentary democracy.

During the occupation, Gen. MacArthur implemented policies to invigorate the spiritual life of the Japanese people. Whether out of earnest piety or out of a strategic geo-political initiative to prevent the spread of Communism in Japan by fostering Christianity,

GEN. MACARTHUR CORRESPONDED WITH VARIOUS AMERICAN RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS, ENCOURAGING THEM TO SEND THOUSANDS OF CHRISTIAN MISSIONARIES TO JAPAN TO FILL WHAT HE SAW AS A WAR-TORN SPIRITUAL VACUUM.



Gen. MacArthur's correspondence coincided with an exodus of missionaries and Christian nationals from China and Korea as those countries came under Communist control and began persecuting the Church. By the time American occupation ended in April 1952, Japan, especially the prefect of Tokyo, had become a hotbed of evangelical activity, as American and European missionaries, as well as Christian refugees from the continent, streamed into the rapidly Westernizing island.

Many of these Christians coming to Japan in the late 1940s and early 1950s brought with them school-age children who would join the vast number of Euro-American children in Japan whose Christian parents had come there either as part of the Allied military occupation or in conjunction with the post-war influx of Western-owned industry and capital into Japan.

REGARDLESS OF WHAT BROUGHT THESE CHRISTIAN FAMILIES TO JAPAN, THEY WANTED THEIR CHILDREN TO HAVE A QUALITY CHRISTIAN EDUCATION IN THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE. THESE ARE THE CIRCUMSTANCES THAT BROUGHT ABOUT THE FIRST GENERATION OF CAJ PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND STUDENTS.

## B. MISSIONARY CULTURE, JAPANESE CULTURE, AND CAJ'S CULTURE

The historical context is important for understanding the original mission and culture of CAJ. Many of the people who played a part in founding CAJ and guiding it through its infant stages were, to some degree or another, influenced by various cultural perspectives that shared common emphases of sacrifice, adaptability, honor, and stoic reticence.

Whether they were there as missionaries, businessmen, or military, the "Greatest Generation" American expatriates in Japan had a strong sense of duty and sacrifice for a greater good.<sup>4</sup> From their perspective at the dawn of the post-war era, democracy had triumphed over fascism, liberty had triumphed over tyranny, and good had triumphed over evil; all because of the selfless fortitude of individuals who suffered for the sake of a noble cause.

MISSIONARIES IN JAPAN DURING THAT TIME UNDERSTOOD THE PROSPECTIVE TRIUMPH OF THE GOSPEL IN JAPAN AS PREDICATED UPON THE SAME FORMULA OF AUSTERITY AND PERSEVERANCE THAT HAD ENDURED THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND DEFEATED THE AXIS POWERS .

Just as veterans of the recent war felt an obligation to honor their fallen comrades who died fighting for a righteous cause, many missionaries who had fled Communist takeovers in China and Korea had seen their fellow laborers made martyrs for their Christian witness.

The result was a zealous commitment to a higher cause built on a sense of indebtedness to others who had made the ultimate sacrifice. Both military and missionaries in Japan were convinced that the work they were doing there was righteous and was of critical significance to humanity; work to which the ordinary obligations of family life and child-rearing would take a back seat, even if it meant that children would need to be placed in boarding schools so their parents could be free to pursue their lofty callings. Such an arrangement was regarded by many parents as a necessary and honorable sacrifice for a greater good.

This worldview echoed traditional Japanese culture and family life, which also emphasized subjection of the individual to the greater good of family and community. Japanese society was an honor-based culture in which indebtedness to one's ancestors and the protection of one's reputation and the reputation of one's family was paramount. The practice of *hara-kiri*, or ritual suicide as a response to shame, was not



Handing Out Tracts

yet a long-gone archaic custom in Japan even in the 1950s. The post-war cultural milieu in which CAJ was formed was not inconsistent with the *Bushido* attitudes of honor and shame that had characterized previous generations in Japan.



Samurai or retainer kneeling before government official or daimyo



In Japanese culture as well as in missionary culture, there was no reasonable expectation of accommodation for the individual nor an acceptance of anything that might blemish the communal reputation. In the missionary culture, this created a worldview where it was difficult to confront and respond to incidents that might reflect negatively on the Christian community or on the Gospel. To expose shameful facts about a person who was important in the missionary community was to risk bringing shame on the community as a whole and on its righteous cause.

Another commonality between traditional Japanese culture and that of the missionary culture was an attitude toward parenting children that was quite different than present-day American notions of parenthood and childhood. In both cultures, children were perceived not so much as unique individuals for whom few pains should be spared to foster their gifts and ensure their happiness, but rather as extensions of their parents. The children's interests and desires were subordinate to their parents' work. This was true as a matter of custom in Japanese culture, where the honor of one's ancestors was an overriding principle. It was also true as a matter of practical necessity in missionary culture, where parents were preoccupied with labor of the highest significance and could not be distracted by the demands of full-time parenting. The frequent lack of financial resources would have exacerbated the impact of this perspective.

The convergence of the "Greatest Generation" sense of duty and sacrifice, the evangelical fervor of the missionaries, and the Japanese social atmosphere into which both were transplanted created a particular culture among the missionary community in and around Tokyo.

THE AMERICAN AND EUROPEAN ALUMNI WHO ATTENDED CAJ IN THE EARLY YEARS HAD TO NAVIGATE THESE CULTURAL EXPECTATIONS. DEMANDS ON THEM INCLUDED A SELFLESS ACCEPTANCE OF SEPARATION FROM PARENTS AND LIFE IN A BOARDING SCHOOL; AN UNQUESTIONED RESPECT FOR AND HONOR TOWARD THE ADULTS WHO THEMSELVES HAD SACRIFICED TO SERVE AS TEACHERS AND DORM



PARENTS; A PROHIBITION AGAINST BRINGING SHAME ON ADULTS IN CHARGE OR ON THE SCHOOL; AND THE PREMISE THAT CHILDREN SHOULD BE SEEN AND NOT HEARD.

THIS WOULD AFFECT CHILD SAFETY AT CAJ IN WAYS THAT WERE NOT FORESEEN AT THE TIME.

TO EXPOSE SHAMEFUL FACTS ABOUT A PERSON WHO WAS IMPORTANT IN THE MISSIONARY COMMUNITY WAS TO RISK BRINGING SHAME ON THE COMMUNITY AS A WHOLE AND ON ITS RIGHTEOUS CAUSE.

### C. HISTORY OF THE EARLY YEARS (1950-1960)

First named the Japan Evangelical Christian School, the institution which came to be known as Christian Academy in Japan (CAJ) was started in 1950 through the initiative of missionary parents with a desire to have their children receive a Christian education provided in the English language. The school's original campus was located in downtown Tokyo. In its first year of operation, the school had thirteen students, all of whom were taught by one teacher, Ms. Nettie Dyk. The school received "zaidan hou-jin" status as a nonprofit in 1955. The principal purpose of the school was "providing of education for the children of missionaries and other Christians who live in Japan."<sup>5</sup>

In the Fall of 1951, the school relocated westward to Higashikurume to the site where the Imperial dairy farm had operated before the war. While the new campus was in a rural setting in the 1950s, Higashikurume has since been absorbed by the western portion of the Tokyo Metropolis.

Once the campus moved to a more remote area, most of the students' parents could no longer invest the time in transporting their children to and from school. While many students began commuting alone by bus or train, the new Higashikurume campus was half an hour from the nearest mass transit transfer point. The school provided a bus to transport children for a short time, but it served a relatively small area.

Consequently, many of the school's students were given a lot of independence in their daily commute to school and were permitted to move about Tokyo without adult supervision because their parents were absorbed in missionary work. Likely as a result of this less-than-ideal situation, CAJ became a boarding school in the same year that its campus relocated.

Throughout the 1950s, CAJ experienced major changes and growth. Facilities and curriculum expanded likewise. During that decade, the school constructed a gymnasium and expanded its library from 141 books to over 2,000 volumes.

Virgil Newbrander became CAJ's first headmaster in 1952. Howard Blair succeeded Newbrander in 1954. During Blair's tenure, CAJ graduated its first student in 1956. By the time Martin Essenburg began his fourteen-year term as headmaster in 1959, the school had sports teams, cheerleading, choir, a band, and a school newspaper.



CAJ Student in Transit, 1966

## D. TRANSITION TO BOARD OPERATION (1961)

A significant transition occurred in 1961, when CAJ changed from a parent association to a board-operated school, with Board members appointed from six cooperating Christian missions. Those six organizations were:

- Far Eastern Gospel Crusade, (FEGC) (now known as SEND International);
- The Evangelical Alliance Mission (TEAM);
- The Conservative Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (now known as World Venture);
- Christian Reformed World Missions (now known as Resonate Global Missions);
- The Department of World Mission of the Evangelical Covenant Church (now known as Serve Globally); and
- The Oriental Missionary Society (OMS) (now known as One Mission Society).

Under this new structure, each participating mission was represented by members on the CAJ Board of Education and each also sent personnel to serve as teachers and dorm parents at CAJ. This new Board controlled the school's affairs and appointed the school's headmaster (now called "Head of School"), who served as the principal or executive of the school, hiring personnel, overseeing the students, and managing the school's administration and daily operations.

In the early days of the school, the sponsoring missions helped to supply teachers, supported the school financially, and had two representatives from each mission serve on the Board of Directors.

## E. AN ERA OF FLUCTUATION (1960-1980)

In the first two decades of CAJ's existence, the school grew and expanded considerably. When the school was founded in 1950, the population of Tokyo was under twelve million. By 1970, the city's population had nearly doubled to 23.3 million. In that same twenty-year period, the population of Higashikurume increased five-fold from 10,000 to 50,000 and would more than double to over 100,000 by 1980.

CAJ'S GROWTH PARALLELED THE EXPLOSIVE GROWTH OF THE TOKYO METROPOLIS. THE SCHOOL HAD BEGUN WITH ONLY THIRTEEN STUDENTS IN 1950. BY 1969, THE SCHOOL HAD OVER 500 STUDENTS.

After the transition to a board-operated institution in 1961, renovations and expansions of CAJ's facilities continued in order to accommodate a growing student body. New classroom buildings, dorms, a dining hall, and an auditorium replaced old buildings. Many of the key CAJ traditions and institutions, such as the Alma Mater song and the PTA Thrift Shop, began during this period of growth and expansion. Jack Jones took over from Martin Essenburg as headmaster from August of 1973 through June of 1976.

However, in the mid-1970s, a decrease in the yen/dollar exchange rate coincided with a decrease in the number of English-speaking children to educate in and around Tokyo. The result was a plunge in enrollment at CAJ. By 1980, only 285 students attended CAJ, nearly a 50% reduction from the student body size ten years earlier.



City Lights at Night, CAJ  
Yearbook 1984

## **F. LATTER TWENTIETH CENTURY: 1981-2000**

When Dr. Claude Meyers became headmaster of CAJ in 1981, the school had just under 300 students, its library had over 15,000 volumes, and annual tuition was \$1,400. The school expanded again through the 1980s. In 1982, CAJ started School Support Services (SSS), a program that provides educational resources to English-speaking homeschoolers in Japan and part-time students at affiliated schools. In 1985, the school established a separate middle-school division.

CAJ implemented successive major improvement plans during this period, one in 1988 and another in 1997. It built a new Academic Building in 1997.

## **G. A NEW MILLENNIUM: 2000-PRESENT**

### **SIGNIFICANT CHANGES CAME TO CAJ AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTY- FIRST CENTURY.**

While celebrating its 50th anniversary, CAJ implemented a comprehensive improvement plan in 2000. This plan overhauled curriculum, enhanced counseling, improved technology training, expanded the school's ESL program, reformed the school's student appraisal system, reorganized leadership, and adopted a new staff development policy.

In 2013, CAJ underwent a major change in corporate structure and governance. Since 1955, CAJ had operated under the legal entity status of "*zaidan houjin*," meaning that it was only a generic association or foundation. CAJ did not enjoy certain government benefits and tax exemptions that were afforded to similar institutions that operated and a formal recognition of "*gakkou houjin*" (literally "incorporated school") status. During the 1980s and 90s, CAJ's Board had discussed the possibility of seeking *gakkou houjin* status but there were concerns of whether the benefits were outweighed by the possibility that CAJ might be forfeiting any autonomy to government control.

Starting in 2009, CAJ again considered transitioning to a *gakkou houjin* status. After conferring with other schools who had made the change and consulting with legal experts, CAJ

moved forward with seeking *gakkou houjin* recognition from the Japanese government. On March 31, 2013, the original *zaidan houjin* CAJ entity was dissolved and the next day, April 1, the new *gakkou houjin* CAJ entity was formally established at a public ceremony. As a *gakkou houjin*, CAJ enjoys greater legal privileges and parties can make tax-deductible donations to the school.

CAJ is also a member of the Japan Council of International Schools, the Association of Christian Schools International, and the East Asia Regional Council of Schools. Through these organizations, CAJ has accountability and keeps current in educational developments. CAJ is also fully accredited with the Western Association of Schools and Colleges.

As of 2021, CAJ has approximately 450 students in its day school program and another 300 students in its SSS program. MKs still make up roughly 40% of CAJ's student body, but they are joined by a growing number of students who are the children of business professionals.

CAJ'S FOUR-ACRE CAMPUS  
IN THE WESTERN SUBURBS  
OF TOKYO NOW INCLUDES  
A 370-SEAT AUDITORIUM, A  
450-SEAT GYMNASIUM, AND A  
26,000-VOLUME LIBRARY.



# VI. CAJ AND A CULTURE OF CHILD PROTECTION (OR FAILURE TO PROTECT)

## A. CAJ'S EARLY CULTURE THROUGH THE EYES OF ALUMNI

The cultural perspectives of CAJ's early years are corroborated by the accounts of alumni and parents gathered during this investigation, along with the effects that the perspectives had on the lives of the children involved. Several MKs who were interviewed spoke about their perception of CAJ's early culture as one in which "mission" was prioritized over family. Many MKs expressed their understanding that the Gospel mission was the primary calling above all else. This led to parents placing their children at CAJ in a dorm environment separated from parents



and other family.

One former student who attended CAJ during the 1950s and 60s as a seven-day boarding student became emotional during his interview when he described the bitter feelings of summer breaks ending and having to leave the "comfort of home" to return to this "weird and strange setting." This student said of dorm parents:

THEY WERE CALLED DORM PARENTS, BUT THEY'RE NOT REALLY PARENTS. THEY ARE DORM CUSTODIANS OR DORM GUARDIANS, OR DORM DISCIPLINARIANS. EVEN THE REALLY GOOD ONES THAT TRIED REALLY HARD . . . THEY WERE STILL JUST LIMITED BY TIME AND ENERGY.

This student compared the boarding school placement to the story of Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac in Genesis 22, explaining that the application of this story for missionary families in Japan was that they were called to make a similar sacrifice in their own families by placing children in a boarding school in order to obey God's calling. However, in the case of the MKs, the sacrifice was ultimately carried out day by day and year by year.

Another student who attended CAJ in the 50s and 60s stated:

THE MISSIONARY WORK OF THE PARENTS TOOK PRIORITY OVER ALL ELSE, INCLUDING THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF PARENTHOOD. IF THE CHILD WASN'T PRESENT, THE PARENTS COULD DEVOTE MORE OF THEIR TIME TO THE WORK OF GOD [. . .] OUR PARENTS BELIEVED THAT GOD AND HIS WORK TOOK

PRECEDENCE OVER EVERYTHING, INCLUDING FAMILY WELFARE AND THE PROPER STEWARDSHIP OF CHILDREN. AS GOOD CHRISTIANS, THEY COMPLETELY ACCEPTED THE AUTHORITY OF THE MISSION BOARD EVEN WHEN IT RAN COUNTER TO THEIR OWN BELIEFS OR FEELINGS.

Multiple students interviewed noted that the missions with which their parents were affiliated had policies that required children to attend boarding schools. These students described the sense of duty, sacrifice, and loyalty that their parents had to their mission organizations, creating an atmosphere where no one could resist or protest these conditions. One alumnus emphasized that this was seen as the “sacrifice for the greater good.”

One alumna who was a confirmed V/S of abuse by a CAJ teacher in the 1960s remarked how the offender himself drew upon this reality to pressure her into not reporting the abuse. The offender told her that if she told her parents, they would be sent home from the mission field and it would be her fault. This student stated that later in life when she told her mother about the abuse she experienced at CAJ, her mother responded by assuring her that it was necessary to have placed her in school because “if you were not in school, we could not have done the work we had to do, and all these people wouldn’t be Christians.”

These pressures to protect the missionary cause created what one student called a “pervasive code of silence,” and what another student described as “don’t ask, don’t tell.” This code of silence not only kept students from reporting abuse, but also kept adults from reporting inappropriate behavior they observed, and thus created an environment where offenders would not be stopped.

This code of silence was consistent with the prevailing cultural sentiment that children were to be seen and not heard. One student at CAJ during the 50s and 60s recounted how “children didn’t speak until spoken to. Children were taught to respect and obey adults without questions. Children had no voice and no credibility.” Another student during that time commented that:

IT WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR CHILDREN WHO WERE SEEN AS EXTENSIONS OF THEIR PARENTS’ MINISTRIES AND WERE TO BE “SEEN AND NOT HEARD” [. . .] WE WERE TO BE KIND, RESPECT AUTHORITY AND OBEY ADULTS, NO MATTER WHAT. CHILDREN HAD VERY LITTLE VOICE OR CHOICE IN WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM [. . .] AT SOME LEVEL, WE ALL UNDERSTOOD THE STRESS OUR PARENTS WERE UNDER AND THE IMPORTANCE OF THEIR WORK. IT WAS OUR DUTY TO NOT MAKE WAVES!

ONE ALUMNUS EMPHASIZED THAT THIS WAS SEEN AS THE “SACRIFICE FOR THE GREATER GOOD.”



IT WAS OUR DUTY TO NOT MAKE WAVES!

## B. BOARDING SCHOOL LIFE FOR CAJ STUDENTS

CAJ's boarding school program started in 1951 to facilitate students who were not able to commute daily as day students. There were two groups of boarding students: five-day boarders and seven-day boarders. Five-day boarders stayed in the dorms through the week and went home to their parents on weekends. Five-day boarder alumni commonly reported a phenomenon they called the "Sunday Night Blues," in which students as young as six years old would spend the final hours of their weekends lamenting their return to the dorms the next day. One alumnus vividly described the anguish of parting from his parents each week:

THE DREAD WOULD BEGIN SATURDAY NIGHT WHILE LYING IN MY BED, THE DREAD OF HAVING TO SAY GOODBYE TO MY PARENTS FOR ANOTHER WEEK. SUNDAY MORNING WE'D AWAKE TO A HOT BREAKFAST OF WAFFLES OR PANCAKES OR SCRAMBLED EGGS. WE STILL HAD THE BUFFER OF SUNDAY SCHOOL AND CHURCH AND SUNDAY DINNER BEFORE WE'D HAVE TO LEAVE. AFTER DINNER WAS OVER, I'D PACK MY SUITCASE. I WOULD THEN RIDE THE THREE HOURS BY TRAIN TO THE CHRISTIAN ACADEMY IN JAPAN, FOLLOWED BY FIVE LONELY NIGHTS IN MY BED, LONGING FOR HOME, LONGING TO BE HOME WITH MY PARENTS. WHEN MY BROTHER, SISTER AND I WERE YOUNGER MY FATHER WOULD ACCOMPANY US ON THE TRIP. ON THOSE OCCASIONS MY FATHER WOULD SAY GOODBYE TO ME AT THE DORMITORY GENKAN. I WOULD RACE BACK TO MY ROOM TO CATCH ONE LAST GLIMPSE OF HIM AS HE HEADED BACK TO THE TRAIN STATION.



Student waiting for train to return to CAJ

WHILE PARENTS OCCASIONALLY VISITED THESE STUDENTS DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR, SEVEN-DAY BOARDERS WENT VERY LONG STRETCHES OF TIME WITHOUT SEEING THEIR PARENTS.

Seven-day boarders were students who only went home for Christmas, Easter break, and summers. While parents occasionally visited these students during the school year, seven-day boarders went very long stretches of time without seeing their parents. Seven-day boarders often spent their weekends in another dorm with different staff and students.

Boarders were segregated by sex, with boys' dorms and girls' dorms. Both five-day and seven-day boarders were placed under the care of dorm parents. These were adults hired by CAJ specifically to serve as caretakers and overseers of children in the dorms (and often tasked by the Cooperating Missions as well). Students were generally expected to refer to "dorm mothers" as "Aunt" and dorm fathers as "Uncle" and to submit to them as if they were parents.

Several alumni commented positively on their experience in the dorms. Many expressed that life in the dorms was fun and enjoyable. However, many others shared very negative experiences, including severe homesickness, bullying, or abuse by dorm parents. Multiple alumni described how they cried themselves to sleep most nights in the dorms.

Some former students described how dorm parents were neglectful or unable to keep track of all of the children under their care, resulting in ineffective supervision over the children. One alumnus described his experience as follows:

WE KEPT A LOT OF SECRETS [. . .] THE DORM PARENTS WERE, THEY WERE PRETTY CLUELESS ABOUT WHAT WAS GOING ON IN THE DORM [. . .] I KNOW A LOT OF KIDS WERE DAMAGED BY THE DORM JUST FROM THE FACT THEY WERE AWAY FROM THEIR PARENTS AND WE WERE STRONGLY DISCOURAGED FROM INTERACTING WITH OUR SIBLINGS, YOU KNOW WE SAT WITH OUR DORM GROUPS NOT OUR FAMILY GROUPS.

On the opposite extreme, other students described how their dorm parents assumed a very authoritarian posture and exercised significant power over all the children under their care, assigning chores and rigidly directing every activity. One alumna described one such dorm mother:

WE ALL HAD JOBS AND THEN WE WOULD GATHER MAYBE EVERY AFTERNOON AND GO OVER OUR JOBS, ALL OF US GIRLS AND WE OFTEN DIDN'T DO OUR JOBS THE WAY SHE THOUGHT THEY SHOULD BE DONE. SO THERE WOULD BE PUNISHMENTS MAYBE LIKE DELAYED PUNISHMENT TO GET A SPANKING LATER [. . .] ONE CHORE WAS THAT THERE WERE RIMS, WOOD RIMS [. . .] LIKE WAINSCOTING...AND ONE JOB LITERALLY WAS TO GO WITH A CLOTH REALLY CAREFULLY [. . .] ANOTHER JOB WAS, SHE HAD A BIRD [. . .] THE CAGE WAS EITHER BROUGHT OUT OR WAS WHERE WE COULD SEE IT [. . .] ONE OF MY JOBS WAS TO CUT OUT [. . .] ONE OF THOSE PAPER CIRCLES [. . .] FOR IN THE BASE TO LINE IT AND TAKING OUT THE STUFF AND THROWING IT AWAY.

Many students described strict policies and rules enforced by dorm parents and harsh penalties for violating those rules. While dorm life does not appear to have been a negative experience for all alumni who participated in this investigation, dorm life was a genuinely traumatic experience for some CAJ students.

### **C. CORPORAL PUNISHMENT: CHANGING CULTURE AND POLICIES**

As discussed above, perceptions and norms around corporal punishment of children were different in the mid-twentieth century, especially in an evangelical missionary context in a Japanese setting.



## 1. Corporal punishment in the early years

Alumni interviewed in this investigation reported that physical discipline was common in the dorms in CAJ's early years. When asked in her application to CAJ about her philosophy of discipline, one dorm mother at the school during the 1960s wrote:

When a child is committed to the care of someone, that person (adult) is responsible for disciplining the child, including corporal punishment, when necessary. I have spanked on occasion, however, I had permission from the parents of those particular children to do so.

BECAUSE MISSIONARY PARENTS THEMSELVES OFTEN HAD A MENTALITY OF "SPARE THE ROD, SPOIL THE CHILD," THE FACT THAT DORM PARENTS IMPLEMENTED SPANKINGS WAS NOT CONTROVERSIAL.

Nevertheless, while corporal punishment was widely regarded as acceptable among parents, dorm parents, teachers, and others at CAJ

as well as the broader missionary community, some disciplinary practices at CAJ would not have been acceptable even during the 50s and 60s. For example, one dorm parent administered discipline with a rubber hose, sometimes on students' bare legs and bottoms, on occasion leaving welts and scars.

ONE FORMER HEADMASTER, ON MULTIPLE OCCASIONS, SLAPPED STUDENTS ACROSS THE FACE.

## 2. Policies on corporal punishment

In the 1970s, CAJ's Board began to discuss the issue of corporal punishment and how it should be regulated at the school. At a Board meeting on May 19, 1975, the following policy was proposed:

**C.A.J. reserves the right to administer corporal punishment to students. When corporal punishment is administered notification of the action is to be presented in writing to the principal and/or Headmaster for Grades 1-6 and the Headmaster only for Grades 7-12.**

The report is to include this information:

- reason for punishment
- instrument used
- time
- witness



**Informing the parents of the corporal punishment is required of the one administering the discipline.**

**By corporal punishment we mean spanking.**

- 1. A regulation wooden paddle will be provided by the administration.**
- 2. The paddle will be applied to the buttocks only. Students are never to be slapped.**
- 3. A co-worker (or adult) will serve as witness.**

**Corporal punishment will be administered, in most cases, after other means of punishment or restrictions have failed.**

Rather than adopting this proposed policy at that meeting, the Board resolved to table action on corporal punishment.

At its next meeting on June 16, 1975, the Board resolved to get input from a PTA panel discussion about corporal punishment. At the Board's meeting on January 20, 1976, the Education Committee recommended that no corporal punishment should be administered until a definite policy was established. The minutes from the Board's meeting on April 20, 1976 indicate that the Board heard long discussions from faculty involving several matters related to corporal punishment.

THE EDUCATION COMMITTEE GAVE ANOTHER REPORT TO THE BOARD ON CORPORAL PUNISHMENT ON JUNE 15, 1976. FINALLY, ON SEPTEMBER 21, 1976, THE BOARD PASSED A MOTION THAT "CORPORAL PUNISHMENT NOT BE EMPLOYED AT C.A.J."

For the day, this policy on corporal punishment was relatively progressive.

11). Motion prevailed that corporal punishment not be employed at C.A.J.

Excerpt from 1976  
Board Minutes

## **D. FORMAL CHILD PROTECTION POLICIES**

The coming of the new millennium also saw the introduction of CAJ's first formal Child Protection Policy. The school started formulating its new child protection policy in February 2000 and the policy was formally adopted on June 11, 2002.

## **E. CLOSING THE BOARDING PROGRAM**

Another major change in the lives of students came in 2009 when CAJ closed its boarding program.

## VII. TRAUMA FROM ABUSE OR BOARDING SITUATION

In this investigation, alumni have expressed many permanent effects on their lives from the complex trauma of both the boarding situation and abuse. These anecdotal accounts are well-supported by research.

THE DORM ENVIRONMENT, WHERE CHILDREN WERE APART FROM THEIR PARENTS AND EVEN SIBLINGS WERE SEPARATED, COULD ALSO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO ANXIOUS-AMBIVALENT ATTACHMENT SYNDROME. THIS COULD EASILY LEAD TO SOME DEGREE OF TRAUMA EVEN FOR CHILDREN WHO WERE NEVER ABUSED.

It is well established that those who experience trauma can experience post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depending in part on how the event is thought about or given meaning, or their appraisal of the trauma.<sup>6</sup> One form of trauma appraisal is determined by a sense of alienation, or feeling disconnected from the self and others. A sense of alienation can influence negatively how strongly linked the traumatic experiences are with subsequent PTSD symptoms.<sup>7</sup> The links between alienation and post-traumatic stress symptoms also show up in survivors of child abuse.<sup>8</sup>

THE IMPLICATION IS THAT WHEN THE VICTIM OF THE TRAUMA EXPERIENCES ALIENATION, THE LIKELY LONG-TERM EFFECT OF THE TRAUMA IS WORSE. CORRELATION TO PTSD, DISSOCIATION, AND DEPRESSION IS HIGHER.<sup>9</sup>



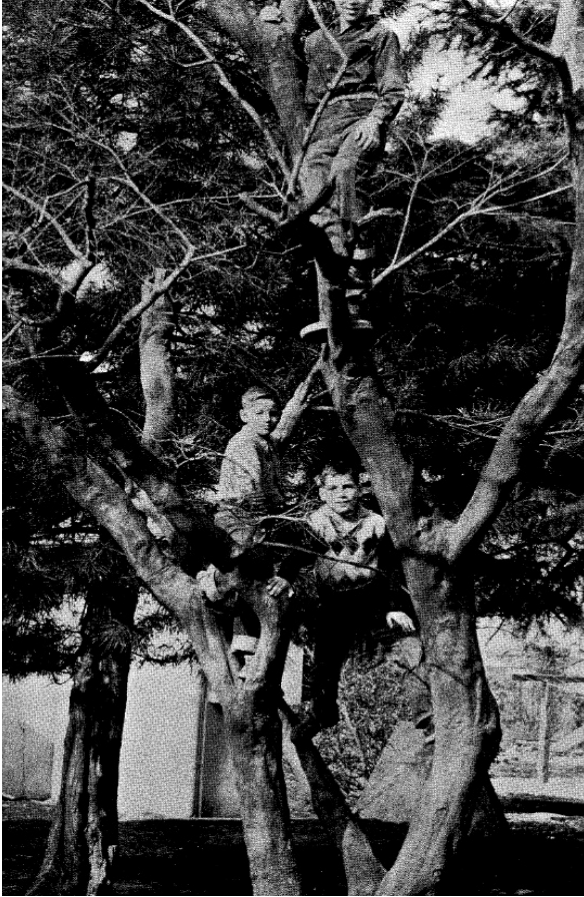
"And don't forget to....Love, Mommy"  
Excerpt from 1961 CAJ Yearbook

This makes it likely that children who were already struggling with attachment issues with the family were less equipped to be resilient when faced with abuse trauma and more likely to suffer long-term consequences from the abuse.

### SEXUAL ABUSE IS WELL-KNOWN TO PRODUCE LONG-TERM TRAUMA.

Traumatic stresses such as sexual abuse are associated with alteration in brain structure.<sup>10</sup> Harsh physical punishment can also produce depression and anxiety in children.<sup>11</sup> The child can show less self-esteem or have a sense of powerlessness.<sup>12</sup> Corporal punishment can also have detrimental effects on brain development, though harshness, frequency, and the span of time over which the child is punished all have to be taken into consideration.<sup>13</sup>

A further discussion of complex trauma and its effects, as well as some modern approaches to treatment, is found in the Appendices.



## **VIII. INVESTIGATIVE FINDINGS**

THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM INVESTIGATED SEVENTY-TWO CASES OF ALLEGED ABUSE OF FIFTY-EIGHT CAJ ALUMNI BY EIGHTEEN ADULT CAJ PERSONNEL AS WELL AS SEVERAL OTHER CHILD-ON-CHILD OFFENDERS. THE ALLEGATIONS OF ABUSE SPANNED A FORTY-THREE-YEAR PERIOD FROM 1957 TO 2001. WHILE MORE RECENT ALLEGATIONS WOULD HAVE BEEN INVESTIGATED, NOTHING BEYOND 2001 WAS BROUGHT FORWARD.

### **A. GATHERING ALLEGATIONS**

Allegations were gathered in several ways. In many cases, alumni had reached out either to CAJ or directly to the Coordinator, who connected them with the Investigative Team. In other cases, allegations were received from other alumni, and the Investigative Team followed up with the alleged V/Ss.

For some allegations, investigators were either not able to obtain sufficient information to support the allegations, or the allegations were too vague to be useful. Some individuals were accused of actions that would not have been considered abuse at that time. Others were accused of actions that would have been considered abuse, but evidence supporting the allegations did not allow the Investigative Team to reach a finding by a preponderance of the evidence.

In some cases, the alleged V/Ss were deceased, or decided that they did not want to participate in the investigation for various personal reasons. In some cases, they did participate in the initial screening interview, but chose not to do the formal interview.

### **B. CORROBORATED ALLEGATIONS**

THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM FOUND EVIDENCE TO CORROBORATE FORTY-SIX ALLEGATIONS OF ABUSE AGAINST NINE ADULT OFFENDERS AND ONE CHILD-ON-CHILD OFFENDER.

The table on the next page shows the numbers of abuse cases, V/Ss, and offenders, both alleged and corroborated, for each category of abuse. Note that because of overlap, with V/S who alleged more than one type of abuse, or more than one instance of abuse, or offenders who had more than one victim, or committed more than one type of abuse, the numbers do not always correlate well.

## TABLE OF ABUSE ALLEGATIONS AT CAJ

Category of Abuse	Number of Cases Investigated	Number of Cases Corroborated	Number of Alleged Victims	Number of Alleged Offenders	Number of Corroborated Victims	Number of Corroborated Offenders
Sexual Abuse	37	18	34	10	24	4
Physical Abuse	18	5	17	7	5	3
Emotional Abuse	2	1	2	2	1	1
Inappropriate Behavior	5	14	5	8	9	5
Child-on-Child Abuse	11	1	11	15+	1	1
Total	73	39	69	42+	40	14

### THE FOLLOWING CLARIFICATIONS RESOLVE APPARENT COMPLEXITIES IN THE DATA AND EXPLAIN THE NATURE OF THE FINDINGS OVERALL:

- Some offenders offended against multiple V/Ss. Indeed, some were serial offenders.
- Some offenders engaged in multiple forms of abuse against different V/Ss.
- Some alumni alleged abuse by multiple persons.
- Some alumni were the V/Ss of multiple offenders.
- Some alumni alleged abuse by persons whose identities were unknown and unascertainable.
- Some alumni alleged incidents of abuse involved multiple offenders at once, such as incidents of child-on-child abuse by groups of fellow students.
- Some alumni alleged abuse, but the evidence only corroborated conduct that would be considered inappropriate behavior rather than abuse.
- For some cases, the alleged V/S either declined to participate in the investigation or was deceased at the time of the investigation; thus no finding of abuse could reliably be made without any information from the alleged V/S. For many of these instances, investigators concluded that allegations would have likely been corroborated had the alleged V/S been able to tell his or her story.
- Some alumni alleged only one category of abuse against an offender, but the evidence corroborated two categories of abuse.
- Some alumni alleged multiple categories of abuse against a single offender, but only one category of abuse was corroborated.

# CHILD ABUSE IS NOT SOMETHING THAT CAN BE CATEGORIZED INTO TIDY AND DISCRETE CLASSIFICATIONS.

The table is intended to be helpful in quantifying V/Ss, offenders, and allegations as a way of summarizing allegations. It helps show the allegations brought and work that was done on the investigation.

But abuse cases are not reduceable to numerical data.

THIS BREAKDOWN OF THE INVESTIGATIVE FINDINGS IS IN NO WAY INTENDED TO REDUCE ABUSE V/SS TO NUMBERS. THE FIGURES REFLECTED ON THE TABLE REPRESENT HUMAN BEINGS. THEY REPRESENT PAIN AND SORROW, AND IN MANY CASES, LONG-TERM TRAUMA. THEY REPRESENT MANY DIFFERENT SITUATIONS AND DIFFERENT PEOPLE, EACH OF WHOM HAVE THEIR OWN UNIQUE STORIES AND STRUGGLES.

## C. SEXUAL ABUSE

OF THE CASES THAT WERE SUBSTANTIATED, TWENTY-FIVE WERE OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE. THE INVESTIGATIVE TEAM FOUND THAT ALLEGATIONS OF SEXUAL ABUSE WERE SUBSTANTIATED AGAINST FOUR ADULT OFFENDERS, ALL OF WHOM ARE FORMER CAJ TEACHERS AND ADMINISTRATORS.

### 1. Fourth-grade Teacher at CAJ in the 1960s

Eighteen of the twenty-five substantiated cases of sexual abuse were perpetrated by a single offender, a fourth-grade teacher at CAJ during the 1960s who was presumably a pedophile despite no formal diagnosis.

THE EVIDENCE OF THIS TEACHER'S PREDATORY ACTIVITIES WAS OVERWHELMING, AND HIS ACTIONS CAN ONLY BE DESCRIBED AS HEINOUS.

He has been deceased for some time and therefore justice will be provided in another Jurisdiction.

This teacher began abusing children the year he arrived at CAJ, both boys and girls. Abuse occurred in his classroom, at his apartment,

in student dorms, in the school infirmary, and even in the home of one student. The abuse that he perpetrated against his students was often open and obvious to other students in the classroom. Several V/Ss report that this teacher would call students up to his desk to "show them something." Once the students were behind the offender's large desk, he would put his hand into their underwear and fondle them. The teacher would also walk around the classroom massaging students' shoulders and putting his hand in their pants.

In addition to teaching at CAJ, this offender also spent time in the boys' dorm as a substitute dorm father. Several V/Ss describe how on the nights when this offender would put the boys to bed, he would go from bed to bed, fondling each boy.

This offender also lured V/Ss into his apartment to abuse them. One V/S described in his account of abuse how he was invited to the offender's apartment and pressured to undress to show the results of a medical procedure on his private parts.

One V/S was abused by this offender in the V/S's own home. The V/S's parents, unaware of the offender's predatory acts toward children, asked the offender to stay with their children while the parents were away. This V/S described the sense of embarrassment, fear, and helplessness he experienced when he was abused by this offender in what should have been the safety of the V/S's own bedroom. He described the sense of intimidation in this way:

... AND HIM HAVING BEEN MY, HE WAS MY 4TH GRADE TEACHER TWO YEARS PRIOR TO THAT AND THE WAY WE ARE ALL RAISED IN JAPAN YOU DON'T STRIKE BACK, YOU DON'T [...] TOTAL INTIMIDATION, DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO DO, DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO SAY, VERY FRUSTRATED, VERY EMBARRASSED.

This offender's contract with CAJ was eventually terminated when revelations of his abusive activities reached the Board.

ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS, THE OFFENDER WOULD EXCESSIVELY BEAT THE V/S FOR BENIGN CONDUCT SUCH AS GIGGLING.

## **2. Art Teacher at CAJ in the 1960s.**

Investigators also corroborated multiple allegations against another male teacher who was at CAJ during the 50s and 60s. This teacher had at least four V/Ss, all of whom were male and all of whom were in 11th or 12th grade when the abuse started.

WITH EACH V/S, THE OFFENDER ENGAGED IN EXTENSIVE GROOMING.

This involved establishing personal friendships with the V/Ss, continually giving them compliments, taking them on overnight trips, plying them with alcohol, and giving them massages before advancing or attempting to advance to more overt sexual contact.

The offender even wrote a letter to one V/S threatening to jeopardize his college prospects if the V/S did not reciprocate affection. When the V/S took this letter to the headmaster at the time, the headmaster assured the V/S that he would not permit the offender to follow through on his threat.

This offender refused to participate with the CAJ investigation and was notified that allegations against him would stand un rebutted. He died on June 19, 2021 at the age of 96.

## **3. Headmaster at CAJ in the Mid-1970s**

Allegations were also corroborated against a male headmaster at CAJ during the mid-1970s. Investigators found that this offender sexually abused one male student and had inappropriate behavior towards another. One of this offender's V/Ss was subject to sexual abuse on several occasions. The other student experienced highly inappropriate comments.

## **4. Teacher at CAJ in the Late 1990s to Early 2000s**

Another incident of corroborated sexual abuse involved a young adult male part-time teacher who began a sexual relationship with a teenage female student. After the student became pregnant, the teacher was fired.

## **D. PHYSICAL ABUSE**

The Investigative Team found evidence sufficient to corroborate eight cases of physical abuse involving three different offenders.

### **1. Dorm Father at CAJ in the 1950s**

A dorm father in the boys' dorm during the 1950s was determined to have physically abused at least one male student. On several occasions, the offender would excessively beat the V/S for benign conduct such as giggling. When the student came home on weekends, his parents would find him covered with welts and bruises from the abuse. The student eventually had to be pulled from school and homeschooled because of the abuse.

### **2. Dorm Mother at CAJ in the 1960s**

One offender, a dorm mother at CAJ during the 1960s, was determined to have abused at least three students by administering excessive corporal punishment. She often used a rubber hose as an instrument of discipline, striking students on their bare bottoms and legs, and in some cases leaving welts, bruises, and scarring.

### **3. Headmaster at CAJ in the 1960s**

Another offender, a former headmaster at CAJ, was determined to have slapped at least four students across the face, and to have scratched a student's face with a pin. At least some of these incidents rose to the level of minor physical abuse, but they were all at least inappropriate behavior.



## **E. EMOTIONAL ABUSE**

The Investigative Team was able to corroborate one allegation of emotional abuse, that a dorm mother at CAJ during the 1960s engaged in emotional abuse against at least one female student. This offender was the same dorm mother discussed above who was determined to have beaten students with a rubber hose.

This does not imply that emotional abuse was rare. In many of the cases of physical and sexual abuse, emotional abuse would have been a component, perhaps the primary component. And undoubtedly in many cases, emotional abuse would be difficult to report or establish after so much time has passed.

## **F. INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR**

SEVERAL CORROBORATED ALLEGATIONS, WHILE NOT RISING TO THE LEVEL OF ABUSE, STILL CONSTITUTED INAPPROPRIATE CONDUCT OF AN ADULT TOWARD A MINOR.

For example, the same teacher mentioned above who committed sexual abuse against at least eighteen children, also engaged in behavior toward students that was inappropriate, such as sitting them on his lap and asking students to see their surgery scars and the spots from their measles.

FOR LEADERSHIP CULPABILITY ONE ASKS: WHAT DID THE LEADERS KNOW ABOUT THE ABUSE OF CHILDREN, WHEN DID THEY KNOW IT, AND DID THEY FAIL TO TAKE APPROPRIATE ACTION IN RESPONDING TO ABUSE?

In other cases, discipline was excessive and inappropriate, but did not cause any actual injuries to the students.

For some cases, the allegations made against an offender were those of abuse, but there was insufficient evidence to corroborate beyond inappropriate behavior. For example, allegations of sexual abuse against one teacher were not corroborated, but it was corroborated that the teacher had attended a graduation ceremony at CAJ while highly intoxicated and touched students inappropriately as he was congratulating them on their graduation.

In another example, a student alleged physical abuse by a teacher whom he alleged assaulted him violently in front of an entire class of students. Given the disparity of several witness accounts, it could only be corroborated that the teacher in question had engaged in inappropriate aggression against the student.

## **G. CHILD-ON-CHILD ABUSE**

The Investigative Team inquired into eleven cases of alleged child-on-child abuse but were only able to find sufficient evidence to corroborate one serious case of abuse. Due to the sensitive nature of the child-on-child abuse that was corroborated, details for that case will not be provided, but it was in effect a group sexual assault.

## **H. LEADERSHIP CULPABILITY**

In addition to cases of abuse and inappropriate behavior, the team also investigated leadership culpability. For leadership culpability one asks: What did the leaders know about the abuse of children, when did they know it, and did they fail to take appropriate action in responding to abuse? One component is the appropriate response based on cultural considerations of the day and the standards or training (if any) in place at the time.

In order to be culpable, leadership needed to have knowledge of the abuse or reasonably suspect abuse at the time. At all times, Christian leadership should have recognized that grossly abusive behavior (particularly sexual abuse) is inherently wrong and should have responded.

As previously mentioned, investigators reviewed documents including board minutes, personnel files, and letters from parents.

## INVESTIGATORS CONCLUDED THAT IN SOME CASES, LEADERSHIP FAILED TO ADEQUATELY REPORT OR ACT ON CREDIBLE ACCOUNTS OF ABUSE.

For instance, the response may have been delayed or not as vigorous as necessary. Inadequate responses in some instances failed to safeguard children. In other instances, leadership apparently never knew that abuse was taking place (or there was much more than they were ever aware of). In some cases, action was taken by the leader personally, but all the appropriate stakeholders were not informed, such as the CAJ Board and mission organizations, and most importantly, the missionary parents of the child in their care.

For instance, in the case of the fourth-grade teacher in the 1960s who had so many victims, the Headmaster and Board of Directors agreed to allow him to resign amidst credible, though not numerous, allegations of gross sexual misconduct. However, the missionary parents were never informed of the reason he left. Tragically, at least one child who had reported to his parents regarding this teacher was never believed by his family, causing lifelong trauma. Most of his victims were never identified in that time frame, and investigators made findings that some credible V/S have still not come forward. For the many silent V/Ss of this man, no concerned adult in their lives was aware of what might have happened to them. While it cannot be guaranteed that parental understanding of the abuser's behavior would have changed the outcome for these children, certainly the parents had a right to know the extent of his abusive behavior and to choose how to deal with it in their own families.

HOWEVER, THE  
MISSIONARY PARENTS  
WERE NEVER INFORMED  
OF THE REASON HE LEFT.

FOR THE MANY SILENT  
V/SS OF THIS MAN, NO  
CONCERNED ADULT IN  
THEIR LIVES WAS AWARE  
OF WHAT MIGHT HAVE  
HAPPENED TO THEM.

While it is true that the responses of leaders were fairly typical within the culture of many decades ago, as previously discussed, and were not intentionally inadequate at the time, the fact remains that children were at times not adequately protected by leader responses. Knowledge about child abuse was inadequate from a current-day perspective, training for staff and leaders was inadequate, and child protection policies and reporting were not in place through much of the history of the investigation.

**EVEN IF THIS REFLECTS THE ERA, IT RESULTED IN EXTENSIVE HARM TO CHILDREN.**

# IX. POSSIBLE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS TO CHILD ABUSE AT CAJ

The Investigative Team considered what factors might have contributed to an atmosphere where abuse could happen. The following factors represent the most significant contributing factors to children being vulnerable and subject to abuse, based on input from V/S and alumni. While these factors may no longer be in place, it is important to consider how a failure to protect children can occur and did occur.



## A. LACK OF TRAINING AND SUPPORT FOR TEACHERS, DORM PARENTS, AND LEADERS

Many alumni and former staff indicated that there was little to no formal training for teachers and dorm parents at CAJ during the early decades of its operations. Witnesses stated that staff were not properly trained in child protection or in recognizing, reporting, and preventing abuse. One headmaster from this period commented that “CAJ had no guidelines for teacher/student behavior or relations. We had nothing.”

In a letter to Telios Law regarding this investigation, one alumnus stated:

THERE APPEARED TO BE NO TRAINING OF STAFF (DORM PARENTS AND TEACHERS) IN SENSITIVITY TOWARD THE IMPORTANT PERIOD OF DEVELOPMENT THAT OCCURS DURING EARLY CHILDHOOD YEARS, NOR IN MEETING YOUNG CHILDREN’S EMOTIONAL NEEDS.

Some witnesses pointed to an absence of meaningful sex education at the school as a source of the reticence that caused abuse not to be reported. Sex education was not generally common during this period and was often limited to presentations on “reproductive science” in biology classes. One alumnus shared that the attitude at CAJ was that “sex was dirty, sex was ugly, sex was nasty and sinful so it should be saved for marriage.” Alumni described a culture of shame and taboo around sex that created an environment where it could never be discussed and where reporting sexual misconduct was difficult.

SEX EDUCATION WAS OFTEN LIMITED TO PRESENTATIONS ON “REPRODUCTIVE SCIENCE” IN BIOLOGY CLASSES.

Another common complaint among students and staff was that dorm parents were overwhelmed and struggled with the lack of support from CAJ and the Cooperating Missions. Many dorm parents had families of their own and were also responsible for large numbers of dorm students seven days a week. This burden left dorm parents ill-equipped to provide the kinds of attention and oversight necessary to monitor abuse.

This lack of preparation and support for CAJ dorm parents likely contributed to student-on-student bullying and abuse. The dorms were often a place where older students did not care for the younger students but bullied and abused them. Several students said their dorm parents "stood by" and watched the abuse.

## **B. CHILDREN WERE TO BE SEEN AND NOT HEARD**

As discussed, the atmosphere at CAJ during its early years was influenced by missionary zeal, "Greatest Generation" austerity, and even Japanese culture. One result of this cultural amalgam was a prevailing sentiment that children were to be seen and not heard. "Children didn't speak until spoken to. Children were taught to respect and obey adults without questions. Children had no voice and no credibility," wrote one alumnus in a letter to investigators.

Another alumnus put it this way:

IT WAS ALSO EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR CHILDREN WHO WERE SEEN AS EXTENSIONS OF THEIR PARENTS' MINISTRIES AND WERE TO BE "SEEN AND NOT HEARD" [. . .] WE WERE TO BE KIND, RESPECT AUTHORITY AND OBEY ADULTS, NO MATTER WHAT. CHILDREN HAD VERY LITTLE VOICE OR CHOICE IN WHAT HAPPENED TO THEM.

These notions were often connected with emphases on submission to authority. Ideas about headship and subservience in the nuclear family, the Church, the military, and institutional ministries permeated into dorm life and school life. This put children at the bottom of a hierarchy in which they had no voice and no means to call dorm parents, teachers, and administrators into question.



"The Path to Learning,"  
CAJ Yearbook 1971

STUDENTS HAD LITTLE CONFIDENCE THAT THEIR REPORTS OF ABUSE WOULD BE CONSIDERED AS ANYTHING OTHER THAN CHALLENGING AUTHORITY.

## C. POOR RESPONSES TO REPORTS OF ABUSE

Even when children did report abuse to an adult, it rarely resulted in immediate action. Even parents sometimes responded to their children's reports of abuse with disbelief, indifference, and even punishment.

### **ONE ALUMNUS RECOUNTED HOW HIS PARENTS REACTED WHEN HE TOLD THEM ABOUT HAVING BEEN SEXUALLY ABUSED BY A TEACHER AT CAJ:**

I told my parents at dinner, and they were shocked [. . .] there was a PTA meeting coming right up. They went to the PTA meeting and talked to [the offender] and [. . .] when they got home that night, I got my mouth washed out with Borax soap on a toothbrush for lying cause he told them that I was making it up and he convinced them that I had a vivid imagination and mistook something or whatever and I was grounded for that summer. I couldn't leave my room except for dinner [. . .] I got whipped severely with a belt, and I remember my mouth burning with Borax soap. I was labeled by the rest of the family [. . .] liar, you are a liar, liar pants on fire, and they called me William Tell because I tattled and told a lie [. . .] [The offender] really messed with me. He screwed me up good. My family kind of rejected me. I was labeled the liar [. . .] I felt my family didn't love me.

Several alumni interviewed recounted that their reports to parents and dorm parents fell on skeptical and apathetic ears. "If children reported abuse, adults assumed they were fantasizing or misconstruing those events," said one alumnus.

Incredulity and nonchalance were not confined to parents and dorm parents. And disregarded reporters of abuse were not just children. Warnings, concerns, and reports of suspected abuse from parents, Board members, and even

staff were not always responded to by headmasters and others in leadership. At least one former staff member stated she was ostracized by administration and ultimately terminated for having expressed concerns about one offender's suspicious behavior with children.

"IF CHILDREN REPORTED ABUSE, ADULTS ASSUMED THEY WERE FANTASIZING OR MISCONSTRUING THOSE EVENTS"

## D. MISSION, NOT FAMILY, WAS THE HIGHEST PRIORITY

Another aspect of the unique culture at CAJ was a prioritization of mission over family. Many MKs expressed that in each of their families, it was made perfectly clear that the Gospel was their parents' highest calling, not their children. This seemed to missionary parents and missionary organizations a compelling justification to place children into boarding schools.

Emphasis on mission discouraged reporting issues that might negatively affect the Christian witness in Japan or otherwise hamper missionary work. It also created an environment where parents were often preoccupied with what they considered to be of higher priority than keeping tabs on their children and being attentive to indicators that might have raised the suspicion of abuse.



## E. A CODE OF SILENCE

A fifth factor that likely contributed to an atmosphere in which abuse went unreported, and was perhaps a culmination and result of other factors, was a "Code of Silence." Alumni often observed that students simply did not talk to adults about the abuse that they experienced or witnessed. This not only kept students from reporting abuse, but also kept adults from reporting inappropriate behavior of other adults.

Many incidents of abuse and suspicions of abuse went unreported until the V/S were much older. This allowed serial offenders during the 1960s and 70s to abuse children repeatedly with impunity.

These five interrelated factors were pointed out by many of the MKs who were interviewed in this investigation.

UNDERSTANDING HOW THESE  
FACTORS COMBINED TO  
CONTRIBUTE TO INSUFFICIENT  
PROTECTIONS FOR CHILDREN  
WILL HELP CAJ AND THE  
SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS  
FOR THE FUTURE.



## **X. CURRENT POLICIES AND MOVING FORWARD**

### **A. CAJ'S CURRENT CHILD PROTECTION POLICIES AND PROCEDURES**

Starting in 2002, CAJ implemented a modern Child Protection Policy to ensure that child abuse is never permitted to happen again.

CAJ's Child Protection Policy requires extensive screening of all applicants for any staff position and requires staff to participate in annual child abuse training and review of the policy.

The policy mandates that all staff must report any suspected abuse or neglect of a child and specifies the procedures for reporting promptly and effectively. The policy sets forth a process for speedily and thoroughly investigating all reports of child abuse and neglect and outlines the appropriate remedial measures to be taken, as well as the penalties and consequences for violations of the policy. A copy of CAJ's current Child Protection Policy is provided in the Appendices of this Summary Report.

In addition to the provisions of the Child Protection Policy, CAJ also requires staff and volunteers to review, agree to, and sign a Code of Conduct for Child Safety. This document states that CAJ staff and volunteers must observe and consider three primary principles in any setting where children are present:

**1**

#### **VISIBILITY**

*Is it possible for others to see me?*

**2**

#### **ACCOUNTABILITY**

*Do others know where I am and what I am doing?*

**3**

#### **APPROPRIATE USE OF POWER**

*Do students feel safe in my presence?*

PERSONNEL ALSO ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY ARE ALL MANDATORY REPORTERS OF ANY DANGER TO A CHILD'S SAFETY.

The Code of Conduct makes all staff and volunteers explicitly aware of CAJ's policies and restrictions pertaining to physical contact, discipline, communication, and relationships with children. Personnel also acknowledge that they are all mandatory reporters of any danger to a child's safety. A copy of CAJ's current Code of Conduct for Child Safety is provided in the Appendices of this Summary Report. Child protection policies from the Sponsoring Organizations are also provided in the Appendices.

## B. DESIRED OUTCOMES FROM ALUMNI

In a survey conducted by the CAJ ASSG, CAJ alumni were asked to identify the most important outcomes they wanted from this investigation. All alumni surveyed stated they wanted acknowledgment of past failures by CAJ and the Sponsoring Organizations to protect students. 95% of those surveyed said they wanted survivor accounts to be treated in such a way that all survivors feel heard. The same number stated that they wanted accountability for living abusers through reports to law enforcement, churches, and ministry organizations.

Alumni commented on how they thought this investigation would provide resolution for them. The following are a sample of responses from alumni:

AS A SURVIVOR, IF THERE IS AN ADMISSION OF WRONGDOING, AND IF I AM HEARD AND ACKNOWLEDGED WITH COMPASSION, I BELIEVE THIS WOULD PROPEL ME FORWARD IN MY JOURNEY OF HEALING.

I HAVE BEEN TOLD BEFORE WHEN I BROUGHT UP THE ISSUE AT REUNIONS THAT IT WAS NOT PROPER TO TALK ABOUT AND THAT THE PEOPLE I WAS REFERRING TO WERE THE NICEST PEOPLE AND I SHOULDN'T TALK ABOUT THEM THE WAY I DID, SO LET'S TALK ABOUT THEM AND WHAT THEY DID TO US.

I SEEK SOME CLOSURE FOR THOSE WHO SUFFERED MORE THAN I EVER DID, AND SO I STAND WITH THEM IN THIS ACTION AS MY PRIMARY PURPOSE. IF CONTRIBUTING SOME SMALL PART OF MY STORIES HELPS THEIR STORIES TO BE QUALIFIED AND ACKNOWLEDGED, I WILL HAVE ALSO FOUND RESOLUTION IN THIS EFFORT.

During witness interviews, investigators asked alumni what they desired in terms of an outcome from this investigation. Some expressed that they wanted a more meaningful apology from CAJ. Some expressed that they wanted transparency. Others wanted accountability, others closure, and others healing. Some alumni expressed that they wanted people to better understand the lingering effects of child abuse and the consequences of inadequate prevention.

THE MOST COMMON RESPONSE FROM ALUMNI DURING THIS INVESTIGATION WAS THAT THEY WANTED TO SUPPORT THEIR CLASSMATES AND FRIENDS AS A MEANS OF ADVOCATING FOR THEM AND HELPING THEM HEAL.



Perhaps the unique finding made in this investigation is the admirable degree of authentic solidarity, cooperation, support, and encouragement among CAJ alumni. This investigation uncovered a great deal of darkness and terrible abuse. It exposed wickedness and revealed the pain that many continue to experience. But it also discovered the hope, comfort, strength, and healing that many alumni have found in their faith or in their lifelong connections with fellow students with whom they shared many common experiences, both good and bad.

For more information about the Alumni Response, please see the Appendices.

## **C. RECOMMENDATIONS FROM THE REVIEW PANEL**

The Review Panel met for three days in May of 2021. The three representatives encompassed the following experience: alumni of CAJ (but not a V/S), ministry leader, U.S. Army General, parent of MKs, organizational Child Safety representative, forensic psychologist and abuse expert. The Logistics Coordinator of the investigation attended to provide detailed information, and Ms. Sidebotham facilitated as Coordinator, but they did not function as members of the Review Panel.

### **THE REVIEW PANEL, AFTER REVIEWING THE REDACTED MASTER REPORT AND A PRESENTATION FROM THE ALUMNI REPRESENTATIVES, MADE THE FOLLOWING GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONS, AS WELL AS RECOMMENDATIONS RELATED TO CERTAIN INDIVIDUALS.**

1. **PROVIDE ACCESS TO THE ALUMNI PRESENTATION TO THE SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS AS WELL AS AN ALUMNI VOICE FOR THE PUBLIC REPORT.**
  - A. This is being done in cooperation with the Alumni Representative. The Alumni Representative and a colleague will share a detailed presentation of the alumni perspective with leadership from the sponsoring organizations. They have also prepared the Alumni Response in the Appendices.
2. **PROVIDE THE BUDGET AND OPPORTUNITY FOR A COMMEMORATIVE PLAQUE OR WORK OF ART IN COOPERATION WITH ALUMNI.**
  - A. The CAJ Board has approved this and will work with alumni to create a memorial to child safety that honors those who suffered in the past while being suitable for viewing by children of today.
3. **PROVIDE A RETREAT FOR ALUMNI STAFFED BY A RESTORATIVE JUSTICE ORGANIZATION.**
  - A. Details are being worked out for a retreat. First steps will be to do an alumni survey to determine level of interest and what size of retreat facility will be needed. The current concept is that a restorative justice professional will help to facilitate discussion and make sure voices are heard.
4. **APOLOGIES SHOULD BE MADE WITH CARE AND CONSIDERATION.**
  - A. The Sponsoring Organizations are working with people experienced in trauma to better understand their proposed apologies.

**5. HAVE PROTOCOLS IN PLACE FOR DELIVERING INDIVIDUAL APOLOGIES.**

- A. The Coordinator of the investigation is working with the Alumni Representative to determine appropriate ways to notify alumni and deliver packets.

**6. CREATE A TRUST FUND FOR COUNSELING.**

- A. While the Sponsoring Organizations are working on details, finances will be made available for counseling through a third-party provider.
- B. This fund will initially run for five years, then will be reevaluated based on requests and interest from alumni.

**7. USE A MODEL TO SERVE COUNSELING REQUESTS THAT IS MANAGED AND HAS GUIDELINES, BUT THAT DOES NOT REQUIRE PERSONAL INFORMATION BEING GIVEN TO THE SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS.**

- A. Plans are being made to do this in a way that will ensure an adequate quality of care while not providing any personal information about those receiving counseling to the Sponsoring Organizations.

**8. CURRENT CAJ CHILD SAFETY POLICIES SHOULD BE REVIEWED EVERY OTHER YEAR BY AN INDEPENDENT SOURCE.**

- A. This already happens regularly through accrediting organizations. Also, there are currently no dorms at CAJ, and all teachers are fully credentialed.

**9. CURRENT CHILD SAFETY POLICIES OF THE OTHER SPONSORING ORGANIZATIONS SHOULD BE REVIEWED EVERY OTHER YEAR BY AN INDEPENDENT SOURCE.**

- A. This is in place and the other Sponsoring Organizations have committed to this on an ongoing basis.

**10. ENGAGE IN A RISK EVALUATION WITH STUDENTS OF CAJ.**

- A. This risk evaluation is in process and will be done by an external organization both initially and from time to time thereafter.

## D. COUNSELING AND RESOURCES FOR THOSE AFFECTED BY ABUSE

CAJ and the Sponsoring Organizations are making counseling available for V/S at CAJ through a third-party provider. **Important: to receive counseling, it is not required that the V/S participated in the investigation, or if he or she did participate, it is not required that the allegations were substantiated.** CAJ and the Sponsoring Organizations realize that not everyone may have been ready to come forward, and acknowledge the difficulties of substantiating abuse in historical investigations.

Watch for further details to come about counseling. In the meantime, if you are a V/S who wishes to seek counseling, please reach out through the [www.cajhistoricalinvestigation.info](http://www.cajhistoricalinvestigation.info) website contact form with your request for counseling.



# FOOTNOTES

1. See Investigative site for the Christian Academy in Japan, Telios Law, CAJhistoricalinvestigation.info. **(page 8)**
2. It was not scientifically rigorous for numerous reasons, including a small sample size and the assumption that individuals would be able to accurately monitor their own changing views over the course of their lifetime. **(page 12)**
3. However, it may be considered emotional abuse as well as inappropriate behavior. **(page 14)**
4. And in addition, many missionary men would have been former servicemen. **(page 21)**
5. Article 3 of CAJ Ziadan Houjin Act of Endowment. **(page 23)**
6. Rachel McIlveen et al., *A Meta-Analytic Review of the Association Between Alienation Appraisals and Post-traumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms in Trauma-Exposed Adults*, 33(5) *Journal of Traumatic Stress* 720-730 (2020). **(page 32)**
7. *Id.*
8. Rachel McIlveen et al., *Exploring the relationship between alienation appraisals, trauma, post-traumatic stress and depression*, *Psychological Trauma: Theory, Research, Practice, and Policy*, doi: 10.1037/tra0000523, available at <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/31738074/> (advance online, November 2019). **(page 32)**
9. *Id.*
10. (Akemi Tomoda et al., *Reduced Prefrontal Cortical Gray Matter Volume in Young Adults Exposed to Harsh Corporal Punishment*, 47 (2) *Neuroimage* T66-T71, doi: 10.1016/j.neuroimage.2009.03.005, available at <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/19285558/> (2009). **(page 32)**
11. Christina M. Rodriguez, *Parental Discipline and Abuse Potential Affects on Child Depression, Anxiety, and Attributions*. 65(4) *Journal of Marriage and Family* 809-817 (2004); Michele Knox et al., *History Postpartum Depression and the Odds of Maternal Corporal Punishment*, 33(4) *Families Systems Health* 395-399 (2015). **(page 32)**
12. Murray A. Straus, *The Primordial Violence: Corporal Punishment by Parents, Cognitive Development, and Crime*, Walnut Creek CA: Altamira Press (2003). **(page 32)**
13. Tomoda, *supra* note 10. **(page 32)**

# IMAGE CREDITS

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## IMAGES FROM CAJ MATSU YEARBOOKS:

**1960:** Cover of *Matsu* yearbook, Page 18.  
Girl in science class, Page 40.

**1961:** Landscape photograph, Page 3.  
"And don't forget to.....Love, Mommy," Page 32.  
Boys in a tree, Page 33.

**1968:** Recess Group, Page 8.

**1969:** Campus building, Page 19. Snowy campus, Page 48.

**1971:** "The Path to Learning," Page 41.

**1975:** CAJ Board of Education, Page 30.

**1977:** CAJ wall and sign, Page 6. Japanese tower, Page 44.

**1984:** City lights at night, Page 24.

**2012:** Snow day outside of CAJ, Page 25.

## IMAGES COURTESY OF HIRAIWA KAZUO:

"HigashiKurume Ticketing Office," Page 12.

"Waiting for Dinner," Page 13.

"Entrance to CAJ Campus," Page 16.

"Shimizu's Store Outside School Entrance," Page 20.

"HigashiKurume Station 1965," Page 23.

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Two girls holding hands, Page 22.

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"Stew Waiting for the Train to Return to CAJ," Page 28.

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"1973 *Matsu*," Cover Image.

"*Matsu* – 1974 Student Body," Inside Cover Image.

"CAJ Campus 1950's," Page 2.

"Aerial View of CAJ Campus," Page 17.

"1966 *Matsu*," Page 27.

"*Matsu* – Elementary Boys Dorm," Page 43.

## OTHER IMAGE SOURCES:

Stillfried & Andersen, Publisher. *Samurai or Retainer Kneeling Before Government Official or Daimyo*. Photograph. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, [www.loc.gov/item/2009632874/](http://www.loc.gov/item/2009632874/), Page 21.

Excerpt from 1976 Board Minutes, Page 31.