# The Concept of Multicultural Education in Western Societies and its Relevance to Japanese Education

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## Abstract

The objectives of this study were 1) to examine the nature and extent of cultural diversity in Japan; 2) to ascertain the meaning of multicultural education in both the North American and Japanese contexts; and 3) to make judgements concerning the relevance of multicultural education to Japanese education.

It was determined that Japanese society is indeed a culturally diverse one, that the cultural minorities are relatively small in numbers and that the Japanese government has traditionally followed a policy of the cultural assimilation of minorities.

Using conceptual analysis to investigate the meanings of multicultural education, the study found that the concept as developed in North America includes such elements as intercultural education, multiethnic education, minority education, human rights education, anti-racist education, democratic education, political education, education for social justice and peace education. These supporting meanings were found to have both distinctiveness yet also overlapping value associations.

The study reached the conclusion that a qualified concept of multicultural education has relevance to Japanese society, but that the degree of relevance depends upon the extent to which the government follows policies that strengthen or moderate traditional cultural values, recognizes and supports the development of minority cultural communities and encourages openness in its immigration and refugee policies.

## Résumé

Les objectifs de cette étude étaient : 1) d'analyser la nature et l'ampleur de la diversité culturelle au Japon; 2) de déterminer le sens de l'éducation multiculturelle à la fois en Amérique du Nord et au Japon; et 3) de porter un jugement sur la pertinence de l'éducation multiculturelle pour le Japon.

On a déterminé que la société japonaise était effectivement diversifiée sur le plan culturel, que les minorités culturelles sont relativement peu nombreuses et que le gouvernement japonais a toujours suivi une politique d'assimilation culturelle des minorités.

D'après une analyse conceptuelle visant à étudier les différents sens de l'éducation multiculturelle, les auteurs de l'étude ont pu constater que la notion telle qu'elle existe en Amérique du Nord englobe des éléments comme l'éducation interculturelle, l'éducation pluri-ethnique, l'éducation des minorités, l'éducation sur les droits de la personne, l'éducation antiraciste, l'éducation démocratique, l'éducation politique, l'éducation pour une justice sociale et l'éducation pour la paix. Ils ont découvert que ces sens ont à la fois un caractère distinctif et des associations de valeurs qui se chevauchent.

Les auteurs en déduisent qu'une notion qualifiée de l'éducation multiculturelle présente de l'utilité pour la société japonaise, mais que ce degré d'utilité dépend de la mesure dans laquelle le gouvernement suit des politiques qui renforcent ou au contraire modèrent les valeurs culturelles traditionnelles, reconnaît et appuie le développement des communautés culturelles minoritaires et encourage l'ouverture dans ses politiques sur l'immigration et les réfugiés.

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# Chapter One

## Introduction / Nature of the study

### 1.0. Background

Since I have been away from my country, Japan, I tend to think more about my own identity. As people often ask about my opinions, which mainly have been formed from my cultural background, I have come to consider where my ideas originate, and why I think a particular way. My surroundings are the most important factors in the construction of my "self." As I was brought up in Japan, which is often regarded as a homogeneous society in the broadest sense of the term, I had few means of comparison with other cultures.

In Japan, I did not notice my cultural identity because most people around me shared a similar culture and values, and I took it for granted that my perception could apply to others as we could generally communicate and understand each other without clarifying our thoughts. Therefore, I did not tend to think seriously of myself and my cultural identity. It was as a result of living and studying in Canada that I became more aware of my own cultural identity.

Since I came to Canada, I have encountered many opportunities to notice and experience various cultures around me. Furthermore, I have begun to know more about myself and think more about my own culture and identity. In fact, interacting with many people, who shared various cultures and backgrounds, caused me to search within myself, and I realized that there were many parts within me that I had not noticed until now.

One thing that I noticed through perceiving Japan from two cultural points of view is that there are certain things which people consider as given, and nobody questions these issues in Japan, such as "What are our values, culture, and identity?" I realize that we often do not recognize what the social norms are. Since the social norms tend to be strongly adhered to in Japanese culture, people often ignore, or do not notice, the existence of other perspectives outside their own.

In the case of the native people, the Japanese government has attempted to assimilate them so as to build a uniform society. As a result, many people today do not know or recognize the existence of different cultural perspectives among minority groups, such as Koreans and Chinese people in Japanese society. Tai (1999: 92-95) states that the idea of being Japanese is derived from a theory of a unitary nation in Japan. The Japanese government has emphasized an assimilation policy and building of national unity after the Second World War and so in effect denied the idea of Japanese "purity." As a result, the government has cultivated cultural unity rather than cultural diversity. Thus, I think a homogeneous, normative culture has been created to a considerable degree in Japan.

As another example, the Japanese people have been much influenced by Chinese Confucianism. Many people regard Confucian principles of living as the social norm as a matter of course, as these principles have been integrated into the society. Compared to other traditions of faith in the world, I think

Confucianism has permeated Japanese society so strongly that it has become an integral part of its culture today. In fact, there are so many Confucian rituals and principles of living among the Japanese that most people equate them with being Japanese. For instance, the Japanese respect their elders and believe in the re-incarnation of spirits so that there is a day for welcoming the spirits of their ancestors in the middle of August (so called *Obon* お盆). It is believed that the spirits are supposed to return once a year. On that day, people entertain the spirits with food on the family altar, and so they return to their hometown from all over the country and clean up their families' graves. Thus, an important custom in Japanese culture when family members get together originates from Confucianism.

It is generally understood that any society has a shared culture and shared values, which unite all its members. However, at the same time, we should keep in mind that the imposition of cultural uniformity (e.g., being Japanese in Japan) has the possibility of reducing or even eradicating the particularist cultural identity of members of minority groups within mainstream society. For instance, the question is often asked of foreign people in Japan: "What is your nationality? (なにじんですか？)." In Japan, it is considered as normal that people share the same ethnicity, nationality, culture, language and physical characteristics (Tai 1999: 261). Therefore, the question, "What is your nationality?" can be asked without considering a person's ethnic/cultural significance. To be "different" has often been regarded negatively, and the

concept of difference is still not fostered in Japanese society.

As Canadians live in a multicultural society, they are members of various sub-cultures and they therefore tend to have a diversity of backgrounds and perspectives. The aim of a multicultural education system is to teach people to be aware of the existence of diverse cultures in a society. Therefore, it would appear that Canadian people generally have more opportunities than do the Japanese to be aware of their own cultures, backgrounds, and also of themselves in a pluralist society.

In contrast, Japanese society is more or less composed of a unified culture; therefore, the opportunities to encounter people who are brought up with different cultures are fewer in Japan. However, I believe that all human beings have the capacity for different perspectives and opinions. Within a society that is uniform on a certain level, such as Japan, I believe that it is difficult to be aware of the significance of sharing various perceptions, as there already exists a dominant culture in society.

In my case, the way I perceive things and express my opinions is shaped by myself as a "knower." My cultural background and identity always relate to, and affect, my perceptions. I think there are many hidden aspects of culture that I have not recognized for a long time. For example, I had not thought of perceiving a thing in various ways until I came to realize the importance of shifting my standpoints. Although "myself" is the closest person that I can access, at the same time, it is the most difficult person to know because I cannot perceive

"myself" objectively.

## 2.0. Statement of problems

There are various external influences on modern Japanese society, particularly from western countries; these have a great impact on culture and society. Young students are the ones who are stimulated and influenced by these influences the most.

Looking at Japanese history, we can see that the nation has developed without much outside influence until modern times. Even after contact with western countries, the people have adopted new ideas and have adapted these ideas to meet their needs. In this sense, Japan has kept a balance in importing outside influences and in maintaining its cultural identity.

However, the current Japanese situation is different. Many of the young people are losing their traditional identity. Today, in the post war period, they are brought up in a society that is more affluent. Many of them enjoy a new concept of "consumerism, increased leisure time, and vigorous pursuit of pleasure" (Kumagai 1996: 73-74). Since modern society is full of western popular culture, many young people are fascinated by these new cultural phenomena at the surface level. As outside influences challenge Japanese culture and values, many people shift their values, such as their respect for authority. The consequence is that they pay less attention to traditional Japanese culture and are changing from their traditional culture, values, and identity.

Currently, higher education in Japan does not foster critical thinking. Many students have a vast amount of written knowledge through memorization, but they do not know how to personalize knowledge, that is, to integrate it into a personal system of thought. Partly because of the problematic educational system, many Japanese people cannot build their identities through critical thinking (Haiducek 1991: Chap. 4).

A number of studies have examined the relation between the educational system in the United States and Japan, which show some commonalities (e.g., necessity of adult education) between the two nations. In fact, Japan is considered as following North American trends in various fields. Education is one such trend as the Japanese educational system is thought to be lagging a few decades behind North America (Kelly 1998: 25). In the 1970's when America was changing culturally and demographically and attempted to equalize the education of minorities, universities offered open admissions, multicultural education, and alternative modes of attendance and evaluation. These changes were applied to women, racial groups and other minorities. In this sense, Japan is now facing a similar situation to that of North America in the 70's, although there are so many cultural, social, and historical differences (ibid).

## 3.0. Purpose and objective of the study

When I embarked upon this study, I realized that I did not know much about my own country, or myself, well enough to explain it clearly to people who

are not familiar with it. As I had been surrounded by an environment which is composed of quite similar cultures and people, I had difficulty in explaining my culture and country. Through my encounters with many people, I realized that learning in a different culture actually was causing me to reflect upon myself. It helped me to realize the significance of knowing the "self" as well as knowing "others." I was stimulated by these opportunities in Canada to face my identity as a Japanese person.

By experiencing "culture shock" when I first came to Canada, and also "reversed culture shock" which I experienced when I returned to Japan, I found myself to be in a better position to perceive the world as an "insider" and "outsider." Through shifting my standpoint, I could see what had before been a hidden part of Japanese society, such as minorities, and I began to think about the near future in Japan, particularly from an educational point of view. Although I have often heard that the Japanese educational system is now in crisis, I could not understand the deeper aspects of the problems. Since I have studied education at McGill in a western liberal tradition, I recognized that it is possible to perceive education from various perspectives, as it is reflected by its historical, socio-cultural, and political contexts.

As I developed my interest in knowing more about the current educational system in Japan, I was somewhat bewildered by the array of possibilities and theoretical perspectives. Therefore, I thought that I needed to focus on a certain topic that would further develop my interest in comparative cultures and

perspectives. So, I decided to study education from a multicultural perspective, with a view to learning something that I can introduce to the educational system in Japan. Therefore, my research topic will be "Multicultural Education and its Relevance for Japan."

By studying other countries' issues in education, particularly from the western point of view, I realize that learning new educational concepts actually broadens my perspective and helps me to understand the current Japanese students' attitudes towards the educational system more profoundly. Although it is not always possible to adopt the beneficial elements of other countries' systems, I believe that comparison often cultivates a new way of examining the fixed concepts of those systems.

In order to foster multiple and global perspectives through education, I think that cultural identity is one of the most important issues to begin with; therefore, I believe that education should encourage students to reflect more fully upon the concept of cultural identity. In terms of the concept of multicultural education, I will examine its internal aspects for Japan, rather than its external faces so that I mainly focus on internal cultural diversity in Japanese society. In order to consider the relevance of multicultural education to Japan, I will examine the North American system of education, particularly multicultural education; I will identify key concepts associated with multicultural education from ideological conceptual aspects; and I will look at their relevance for the Japanese school system.

## 4.0. Research Questions

This research considers the current and changing educational system in Japan as that system is perceived to serve the interests of Japanese society. The term, "multicultural" does not have a translatable equivalent in the Japanese language. However, as Japan is evolving into a society in which diversity is becoming an increasingly significant issue, this thesis represents an explanation of the relevance of multicultural education through conceptual analysis to a changing Japan. Martin (1991) mentions that "multicultural education is the first step toward empowering all students in a global society" (cited in Takahashi, 1997). Thus, the following subsiduary questions are aimed at answering my major research question: "How much is the concept of multicultural education relevant to Japan?"

1. To what extent is Japan an ethnically diverse society?
2. In Japanese society, what is the relationship between collective identity, group identities and individualism?
3. What are the supporting concepts and their meanings for multicultural education in western societies?
4. Given the nature of Japanese society, to what extent can multicultural education contribute to its overall development?

## 5.0. Research procedure

I began my study by a search for official government documentation on

Japan and multicultural education. Since this topic is a relatively new concept in Japanese education, I found only a limited amount of basic information.

In order to try to support what I had collected and to obtain up-to-date documentation, I wrote to a member of the Japanese Diet to request their assistance, but even after follow-up letters, there was no response from them.

My next step was to obtain professional literature on multicultural education, recently published in Japanese and North American journals. These often touched briefly upon the notion of multicultural education as a new way of education in Japan, but these descriptions were often brief and unhelpful, and they usually did not consider multicultural education in the Japanese context. Therefore, I personally contacted some Japanese educators and asked them about the concept of multicultural education in Japan and how it is considered in Japanese context at present. In this way, I was able to gather some additional updated information on my subject.

After assembling the documentation, I reviewed literature both North American and Japanese to explore the questions of Japanese national identity and to investigate the meaning of multicultural education. The literature suggested a number of different concepts and meanings of multicultural education in two different societies. As a result, I was able to identify nine supporting concepts, which are closely associated with multicultural education, and I used these as a means of examining the relevance of the concept of multicultural education to Japan. The nine concepts are as follows: 1) intercultural education,

2) multiethnic education, 3) minority education, 4) human rights education, 5) anti-racist education, 6) democratic education, 7) political education, 8) education for social justice, and 9) peace education. In each case, I examined the meaning of the supporting concepts as constituent meanings of multicultural education, drawing upon discussions in the literature, and identifying the values explicitly or implicitly associated with them.

Throughout the conceptual analysis of the supporting concepts, I aimed to find their meanings in the generic sense, and their meanings in the North American and Japanese contexts. In undertaking this exercise, I searched for both distinctive and overlapping meanings. When this conceptual analysis was completed, I then was able to discuss the relevance of the North American concept to Japan and its educational system. In this way, the pertinence, relevance, appropriateness of the concept could be discussed in a meaningful and nuanced way.

# Chapter Two

## The Japanese Educational System

### 1.0. Introduction

In considering the relevance of multicultural education for Japan, it is important to examine the Japanese system of education and the way in which it is related to the society of which it is a part. In this chapter, I will inquire into its historical, socio-cultural, and political contexts.

Historically, the Japanese nation tended to maintain its cultural and social structure under the control of a traditional structure, which highly values Confucianism. Confucianism requires respectfulness for elders and an orderly construct of society. As schools usually reflect the society, the Japanese educational system has emphasized students' collective identity as a core part of its school curriculum. Although there are some influences from outside of Japan today, at its core, Japan maintains its own unique cultural identity.

From the socio-cultural point of view, Japanese society is still constructed by hierarchy, although this has been changing over time. Hierarchical thinking influences the fields of business and education. Restricted entrance to universities creates a limited reservoir of high talent for government and business. Universities are regarded as providing "credentials" that students receive through competitive admissions. Only the highest achieving and most talented students are accepted. The goal of the university system is maintaining an elite element in society, and job guarantees come with entrance to the most distinguished

universities. Therefore, universities are considered as places of rest and relaxation before facing the rigours of the workplace (Haiducek, 1991).

Political context is another significant factor in considering the Japanese educational system. As the socio-cultural structure in western countries and Japan is different, so also government policy in education varies. The western policy focuses more on cultural diversity; conversely, Japanese policy emphasizes cultural assimilation and conformity. Because of the assimilation policy of the Japanese government, most people tend to share similar values and so, to some degree, a singular uniform culture exists (Beauchamp 1992: 9-11).

Each of these contexts --- the historical, socio-cultural and political --- will now be examined in order to provide an appropriate background against which the relevance of multicultural education can be discussed.

## 2.0. Historical context

Examining the process of the development of the Japanese educational system through its history will help us to understand modern Japanese attitudes towards education and schooling. Historically, Japan resisted occupation by outsiders until after the Second World War and its people created a unique culture throughout the long period of geographical isolation.

Hendry (1987) states that around the fourth century, the society was already stratified and "the internal organization was based on related family lines, with a main line, whose head was the leader or chief, and branch lines which were

subordinate to the main one" (p. 11). These stratified social structures created the basic hierarchical social order. By the fourteenth century, Samurai warriors, who considered the hierarchical principles and loyalty as a paramount virtue, founded a feudal society. Since the society had established a firm feudal system and the hierarchical social structure had persisted through the centuries, formal education for ordinary people was neglected from the tenth century to the seventeenth century in Japan. As education during this period was strongly influenced by Buddhism and Confucianism, the number of people who were formally educated was limited and included mainly priests and monks.

Since the Tokugawa period (1603-1868), education became more widespread and the Japanese educational system evolved into its modern form. As Confucianism was highly valued in the Tokugawa period during this time, education was based on the Confucian virtues: learning, benevolence, justice, courtesy, and individual integrity; and the content was a combination of moral and vocational education. Beauchamp (1982) points out that the Tokugawa era was a war period in Japan; therefore, education was "class-based[,] and the *samurai* [warrior] class were expected to be men of learning as well as of war" (p. 10). By the end of the Tokugawa period, more than 300 schools were founded and "commoners" were also encouraged to get an education by the government. In 1868, the last year of the Tokugawa period, Japan opened the country to the outside, accepted western learning and became committed to modernization.

The year 1868 began the era called "the Meiji Restoration." The 1868

Charter Oath (See Appendix A), which emphasized the search for and gathering of knowledge beyond Japan, was issued as the basis for educational modernization, and a new era had come to Japan. Since then, Japan has dynamically modernized with western influence. However, the new policy was not accepted by some people who had authority in government. From 1880 onwards, the American educational approach ended and a more nationalistic education was put into place until defeat in the Second World War. Woronoff (1997) points out as follows:

> The intrusion of Western powers, with very different mores, naturally upset the previous order which was also being challenged domestically by supporters of the emperor, who wanted to oust the shogun and 'reform' society. This was partially achieved with the Meiji Restoration of 1868, when the old class structure was substantially reworked and all citizens became direct subjects of the emperor (p. 143).

Furthermore, Japanese warriors, feeling the influence of the Western Great Powers as the country opened up to the world, were afraid of external aggression and colonization; hence Japan became a nationalistic nation for both defensive and developmental reasons (Fujioka & Namikawa 1997: 20-28 & 102).

Since the Meiji Restoration in 1868, the Japanese government had as its national goal the building of a "strong army and a wealthy nation" (Beauchamp 1982: 11) in order to strengthen internal cohesion in the new world of emergent nations. Thus, Japan had opened itself to the world; it emphasized its national cohesion and became a nationalistically-oriented society again. Contrary to the early Meiji education, which emphasized liberal education, a new education since

1880 was oriented to nationalism and militarism.

Education became an instrument to attain the nationalistic goal. As part of national development, the government began to promote many reforms including the integration of outside ideas during this period: it despatched hundreds of young Japanese students to study abroad; it sent invitations to foreign employees to introduce new knowledge, and it established a highly centralized Ministry of Education (1871). Furthermore, the U.S. elementary school model was briefly adopted and American style textbooks were used in many schools in Japan (Beauchamp, 1982). Japan accepted western influences and transformed them into Japanese ways during the modernization period. Thus, Japan began to recognize the significance of engaging and participating in world affairs. At the same time, the Japanese reforms and educational system were inspired by nationalism. To be a modernized country, Japan emphasized education for enlivening its economy and trade (Fujioka & Namikawa 1997: 127).

In 1890, the government issued "The Imperial Rescript on Education" (See Appendix A). This legislation promoted education for patriotism, a focus which remained until the end of the Second World War (Beauchamp, 1982 & Roesgaard, 1998). "The Meiji Imperial Rescript on Education" played an important role in Japanese educational history because it "explicitly made Confucian thought central to the moral education that was to guide the national polity" (De Vos 1992: 38). As Roesgaard notes, "the Rescript formulated the moral base to mandate the switch in people's loyalties from traditional family and

clan loyalty to Emperor and nation loyalty" (p.37). During this time, the schools encouraged students to learn reading and writing effectively and to acquire basic knowledge and skills. Creative thought was regarded as dangerous because it was deemed to challenge central authority, and natural conformity.

When Japan was defeated in the Second World War in 1945, the country and the educational system were in ruins. The mandate of General Douglas MacArthur was to implement the provisions of the 1945 Potsdam Proclamation. The major goals of his command were the demilitarization, democratization, and decentralization of Japanese society (Beauchamp, 1982). Japanese education was transformed from the militaristic and ultra-nationalistic pre-war education system to a democracy-based education. Furthermore, the emperor issued an "Imperial Rescript" in 1946, denying his dignity and endorsing the principles of the 1868 Charter Oath. U.S. Education Missions arrived in Japan, and American educators planned an educational system for a peaceful society in Japan under the supervision of General MacArthur (Beauchamp, 1982).

After seven years of American occupation in 1952, the Japanese government began to modify the reforms imposed by the Americans and to reestablish its own educational system. Furthermore, the new Japan Teachers Union was established and functioned so as to maintain the democratized system, not to regain the pre-war nationalistic orientation. Thus, the American occupation transformed the pre-war nationalistic system of education into a new educational system based on democracy and provided a model of one type of

democratic education that is still the basic framework of education in Japan (See Appendix C: Figure 1).

## 3.0. Socio-cultural context

Socio-cultural context is another significant factor in considering the current Japanese educational system. Although Japan is a relatively uniform society and is well known for its hierarchical order, increasing emphasis has been placed on the respect accorded individual students. Since the concept of Confucianism has deeply permeated society, traditional Confucian thought (e.g., reverence for elders) still remains the nature of Japan today. As society tends to be oriented to conformity and "'groupism' over 'individualism'" (Kumagai 1996: 9), these national characteristics create a certain quality in human relations. For example, "[p]eople care very much about how they are viewed by others and if they are following the accepted social norms in the prescribed fashion" (Kumagai 1996: 9-10). The quality of Japanese human relations can be seen in the construction of social status which can be achieved by following mainstream education. Young people are therefore socialized into a uniform society in which minority cultures are not given prominence or voice.

Due to demographic changes, it is predicted that Japan will be an aging society and the number of college-aged students will decrease (See Appendix C: Figure 2). It is estimated that the current competitive entrance examinations will disappear and most students will be able to enter university. In consequence,

there will be more capacity in universities than there are students within the next 10-20 years. As it will get easier to enter universities, the number of students with a university diploma will increase. When these students graduate, the population bulge will pass from university to employment, and there will be a greater number of people seeking a relatively fixed number of jobs. Jobs will become scarce and promotions will come more slowly. Since it will be easier to go to university, university campuses will likely be much more inclusive places than they are now.

Furthermore, it is expected that there will be more immigrants, refugees, and foreign workers coming to Japan (See Appendix B: Tables 1-1 & 1-2) and the Japanese government will not be able to continue to ignore the marginalized and minority populations. From a larger perspective, Japan will face a serious shortage of younger people to inherit the traditional work, such as craft workers. Currently, many foreign workers come to Japan with a temporary visa (tourist, student or entertainment categories) and then over-stay illegally to seek work (See Appendix B: Tables 2-1 & 2-2 *The term "illegal remainder" is used for people who stay illegally until they are asked to go back). These "newcomers", or migrant workers, easily find jobs, because they take up employment in places where there is a lack of young Japanese people. Particularly in the 1970's and 1980's, male foreign workers could easily find jobs requiring manual labour. Since Japan has experienced a period of economic upswing, and since not many young Japanese are seeking jobs in the categories of "dangerous, dirty and

difficult work", so called "3K industry", foreign workers easily gain employment and earn a relatively high salary. In order to obtain sufficient numbers of workers for manual labour, many Japanese contractors support immigrant employees during their stay in Japan.

From a demographic aspect, Japan cannot be considered as a homogeneous country anymore (See Appendix B: Tables 3-1, 3-2 & 3-3). In the past, Japan could be regarded as a homogeneous society because the government encouraged standardization and assimilation of minorities, such as Chinese, Koreans, and aboriginal people. There were quite a number of foreign residents in Japan who were regarded as "oldcomers", whereas the current foreigners are seen as "newcomers." These "oldcomers" are "... the descendants of indentured laborers from Japan's pre-1945 colonies in China and Korea. They were born and raised in Japan, have residency in Japan and carry alien registration cards" (Stevens 1997: 141-144).

Today, foreign residents can be categorized into two groups: 1) those who came to Japan involuntarily due to the political situation (e.g., past wars), 2) those who came to Japan voluntarily to improve their living standard and to expect economic success (most of them are temporary residents). According to Kymlicka (1995), the first category is called an "ethnic minority" and the second one "ethnic groups" (cited in Kodama, 1999). Chinese and Koreans fall into the category of "ethnic minorities." Foreign workers coming to Japan recently are "ethnic groups." Currently, the number of refugees is increasing and most of

them expect to stay in Japan (Kodama 1999: 52). These people cannot fit clearly into either of the categories above, since they came to Japan due to political circumstances and they hope to be permanent residents (p 63).

These minorities have been discriminated against and have experienced difficulty maintaining their cultural identity, because the Japanese government has succeeded in standardizing the culture and in shaping a relatively homogeneous society. Today, minority people are still marginalized, but the government does not encourage assimilation as much as in the past, since there is now a greater awareness of cultural diversity in Japan. These issues are significant elements to consider, as Japanese culture develops to adapt to shifting socio-cultural conditions (Tanaka 1996 & Nakajima 1998).

Although Japan is not a culturally and ethnically homogeneous nation, the concept of homogeneity has been recognized and propagated within the society. As a result, uniformity has been strongly emphasized in schools, and individualism as a value has had little place in Japanese education.

Two fundamental problems besetting contemporary Japanese education are a lack of quality in learning in the sense of any individualized attention to students, and social class as a barrier to educational achievement (Wolferen 1989). There are not many opportunities for students who drop out to find alternative ways of learning. As higher education is encouraged in school, many students only consider school learning as a way of climbing the social ladder or contributing to self-discipline. The quality of learning is not often considered as

an important element among students. Kumagai (1996) points out the students' attitude towards schools as follows:

> [T]he most striking aspect of their lifestyle is the limited time for leisure or spiritual enrichment, activities that help foster individuality and creativity. Indeed, the daily average of free time for elementary school, junior high school, and senior high school students is approximately the same as that for young workers (p. 78).

Although the number of dropouts is relatively low compared to North America, it is increasing now, and not many alternatives are offered to students. Kumagai (1996) discusses the current dropouts as follows:

> In recent years, "changes in academic programs" has replaced "maladjustment to school life" as the primary reason students give for dropping out of school. Dropouts who change their academic programs have several options. They may prepare independently for the qualifying examination to enter a university, study at technical schools, or find employment. However, since no follow-up studies on high school dropouts have been conducted, their exact whereabouts are unknown (p.79).

There are very few options for school dropouts and it is difficult for them to live in Japanese society since educational level and social status are held in high esteem. Those who experience difficulties in school are adolescents, who are generally at a very sensitive age. It is difficult for them to foster their self-esteem through the current system of schooling.

From a cultural point of view, young people in particular, who are in the educational system, are an important force for cultural change. Japanese people today have been influenced by western popular-culture, such as fashion, music, and films. These arts forms exemplify a greater openness within society.

Japanese culture has dynamically shifted through young people, who are more sensitive to these external influences than older members of the population. For instance, the traditional Japanese diet has greatly changed since the post war period. Young people are curious about new food (e.g., fast food, Italian food etc) and have become the predominant clients of "ethnic" food.

As a result of globalization, the world is getting smaller and it is much easier to be exposed to other cultures especially through the media. As significant media consumers, and as a population more amenable to change, young people introduce various cultures into society. However, there are also negative aspects at the same time. Many Japanese young people uncritically accept new cultural behaviours without recognizing the deeper aspects, and they pay less attention to Japanese culture and begin to lose important elements of their cultural identity as Japanese (Tanaka 1996: Chap. 7).

Today, as external cultures have exerted a greater influence upon Japan, cultural change is occurring at a greater speed. Parents who were brought up in a more open society are having children who have less contact with the traditional culture, and so it seems that the tendency of maintaining their unique culture has been changing.

Culture, values and identity have been changing yet the system of education is still based, to a large degree, on a traditional, homogeneous culture. One may well ask, how much should the educational system be re-thought in order to reflect the realities of contemporary society?

## 4.0. Political context

Political context is another significant factor in considering the current Japanese educational system. While western educational policy is based on cultural diversity, Japan tends to be rooted to its singular culture, and its educational policy has been oriented to cultural assimilation.

In 1868, Japan opened up the country to the outside, accepted western learning, and became committed to modernization as a democratic state. For example, "a compulsory system of integrated Western-style education" (Kumagai 1996: 62) was established by the Meiji government in 1872 (See Appendix C: Figure 1). Although the educational system was based on democracy, the Japanese government adapted western democratic ideas to fit Japanese society. In doing so, it also interpreted democracy according to Japanese cultural traditions. In consequence, Japanese education is indeed different from that of western systems even though both of them are based on democratic concepts.

One of the distinguishing characteristics of Japanese education under democracy is that the educational system is shaped and controlled by the central government. The present system had its origins with U.S. occupation in 1947. It is a unified system in which the central government determines primary and secondary school curricula through its Ministry of Education, which authorizes all materials for classroom use (Kumagai 1996: 62-64).

Although the Japanese system of education is governed by the Ministry of Education, Beauchamp (1992) states that there is some input from teachers into

the school curriculum:

> Japanese teachers also maintain a high degree of professional involvement, with almost 75% belonging to a professional teacher association where frequent discussions of teaching methods and problems take place (p. 19).

Japanese education is characterized by its particular concept of democracy. In North America, the concept of democracy stresses the values of individuality and equality. However, in Japan, the concept is different. Henshall (1999) clarifies the concept of democracy among Japanese as follows:

> To the Japanese, the western-style independent individual risks breaking the social contract. He or she threatens wilfulness, selfishness, arbitrariness, and disruption to social order and stability. These are all signs of immaturity. Better to have more socially mature 'contextual individuals', who can relate to each other --- for the most part at least --- with shared values of interdependence and a mutual understanding of their place. Indeed, some Japanese would maintain that as an ideal they should have but a muted sense of otherness between themselves and those around them (p. 177).

Contrary to North American democracy, Japanese democracy does not emphasize as much the values of individuality and equality. Since Japanese society is deeply related to its traditional culture, the concept of democracy is therefore interpreted differently.

However, political speaking, the Constitution of 1947 (See Appendix A) promulgated under American occupation following Japan's defeat in the war, declared that all the people have basic human rights (Article Eleven), including equality (Article Fourteen), and rights to be educated (Article Twenty-six). Furthermore, Japan has ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1996), the International Covenant on

Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1979), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (1979), and The Convention on the Rights of the Child (1994) (Kodama 1999: 11).

Today, external influences need to be examined to consider the evolving nature of Japanese politics. As the demographic composition of Japan changes, it is important to focus on the current situation of foreigners from a political point of view. In terms of immigration policy and foreign workers, Japan is facing a critical situation. Since Japan has formed its nation through assimilating people, homogeneity in the broadest sense of the term has remained. However, the concept of homogeneity appears to be less relevant to modern Japanese society, because more people are coming from outside into Japan. The Japanese government has restricted the entry of foreigners by law. Today, the Alien Registration Law classifies foreign residents into six categories:

(i) Registered foreigners who did not go through landing*.
(ii) Unregistered foreigners who did not go through landing.
(iii) Foreign residents who entered legally and are registered.
(iv) Foreign residents who entered legally and are not registered.
(v) Foreign residents who entered illegally and are not registered. (Mori 1997: 8)

"Landing" in the first category refers to the formal immigration process. The people who did not go through "landing" usually came to Japan illegally by boats and are often described as "boat people" who are refugees from Indochina.

Currently, there are two types of foreign residential qualifications in Japan: 1) permanent residents, and 2) non-permanent residents (See Appendix B: Tables

4-1 & 4-2). According to the immigration bureau of the Ministry of Justice, 1) permanent residents are divided into two categories: a) general permanent residents, and b) exceptional permanent residents. The latter are persons who were formally Japanese nationals or descendents of former Japanese nationals.

Postwar immigration policy has permitted skilled foreign workers to enter Japan, but it has not permitted unskilled labourers. As the number of illegal foreign workers was increasing, an amendment to the Immigration Control Act was promulgated on December 15, 1989, and enforced on June 1, 1990. Although unskilled labourers are not allowed to enter under the new law, there is a new category of exemption: those people who are 1) foreigners of Japanese descent (so called *Nikkei* 日系) and 2) workers who enter under the trainee system (Mori 1997: 96).

In adding these new categories, the Japanese government aimed at filling vacancies in companies which faced a severe shortage of young workers. However, the current policy only deals with the situation of a lack of young workers in Japan, and the new law does not provide any solution to the presence or entry of illegal foreign workers. It is clear that the government limits the entry of other nationalities into Japanese society, as the new law limits the exempted foreign category to only *Nikkei* (日系), who are partly Japanese by origin.

According to the immigration bureau of the Ministry of Justice, the number of illegal remainders is 251,679 and it has decreased 6.2% from July 1999 to January 2000 (See Appendix B: Tables 2-1 & 2-2). Since the numbers peaked in

1993, the number of illegal remainders has been decreasing. This decrease may be caused by the current sluggish economic conditions, and also by the more rigid application of immigration regulations.

Since Japan has been developed as a unified single nation through its educational system, diversity, as an obstacle to the ideology of nationalism, has been ignored in society and in Japanese schools (Kodama 1999: 4). In terms of minority education, it has been considered that minority people are not supposed to be different from the Japanese, and the concept of minority education has not been perceived to be applicable to the society.

Even though the terms such as "internationalization" and "globalization" have been emphasized today, the Japanese government tends to pay less attention to the internal aspects, such as minority education. However, there will be more cultural/ethnic diversity in the near future and the significance of the interior situation, particularly minority education, needs to be examined.

Thus, there are various issues in the current Japanese politics. How these issues are resolved will determine the direction in which Japanese society will develop.

## 5.0. Summary

Throughout this chapter, I have examined the Japanese educational system from historical, socio-cultural, and political standpoints. Historically, Japan has maintained the traditional culture and homogeneity as a core part of its

society. Although the country has adopted some outside influences, the society has not been fundamentally changed by these influences, except for youth culture. Nowadays, Japan is facing an increasingly challenging situation, as there are many outside influences which sometimes challenge its traditional culture, and which therefore may have a potentially dramatic impact upon education.

Socially, Japan perpetuates its class system through higher education. Since a vertical order and harmony are highly emphasized in Japan, the social process by which the elitist social class has access to universities to get jobs represents a conserving process for Japanese society. However, if there is a radical shift in the system from the conformity-oriented to a quality/content-oriented education, there will be fundamental changes in social values in Japan.

Furthermore, culturally, Japan tends to accept new concepts from outside through assimilating and transforming them to fit into the Japanese context. The openness of Japan will need to be addressed. Such developments may represent value shifts. The relevance of multicultural education to Japan will depend upon the nature and extent of these shifts.

# Chapter Three
# Literature review

## 1.0. Introduction

In this chapter, I will examine cultural diversity in the Japanese context, which is a new way of perceiving the construction of Japanese society. Through reviewing the literature, which deals with various internal cultures in Japan, I will consider its notions of cultural diversity and the current concepts of multicultural education in Japan. I will then examine the literature related to the nature of North America society and the corresponding concepts of multicultural education.

## 2.0. Notions of cultural diversity in Japan

### 2.1. Internationalization

Recently, the ideas of "internationalization" and "globalization" have been a focus for development in various fields in Japanese society. The move towards internationalization has created opportunities to encounter diverse cultures within and outside Japan. Not only those providing leadership in the economy, but ordinary people are being affected by internationalization. The mass media have conveyed the interdependence of Japan with the world and people cannot live without facing the concept of internationalization.

In the educational field, the necessity of internationalization is also emphasized. According to the first report (c. 1984) concerning the reform of the educational system by the National Council on Educational Reform (NCER), the so-called 臨教審 (1984 -), it is aimed at inheriting the traditional culture, and

educating the citizen to be able to devote oneself to international society with recognition of the Japanese. Furthermore, the second report (c. 1984) states that the Japanese need to be trusted by international society in order to live with internal peace, international cooperation, and interdependent relationships. For these goals, "it is necessary to be able to self-assert the uniqueness of Japanese society/culture in an extensive international field, and is important to possess an ability to understand the prominent characteristics of diverse culture as well." Also, "it is aimed at educating a citizen to possess the spirit of patriotism and also fostering a person not only to perceive a thing with a limited internal perspective but also to share the international, global, and human perspectives" (Tanaka 1996: 126-127).

One of the ways in which Japan has been encouraging cultural diversity through education is the JET Program (the Japan Exchange and Teaching Program). According to the 2000 JET Program application,

> [the program] seeks to help enhance internationalization in Japan by promoting mutual learning and understanding between Japan and other nations, [and it] aims to enhance foreign language education as it is taught in Japan and to promote international exchange at the local level through fostering ties between Japanese youth and foreign youth.

The JET Program was started in 1987 and is run by local Japanese governments cooperating with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Home Affairs, and the Council of Local Authorities for International Relations. In 1999, 5,835 participants were on the program from 37 different countries (McConnell, 2000 & http://imaginarius.org/alt/jet.html).

As the nation has developed in the post war period, the idea of modernization has tended to be equated with westernization among the Japanese. As a result, the concept of internationalization is needed to understand the external world. According to Tanaka (1996: 129-130), among many of the Japanese, the concept of internationalization means to understand different cultures and to communicate with foreigners through a different language, particularly English. Thus, as internationalization is emphasized, people pay more attention to the outside world and pay less attention to internal diversity, such as the existence of minority people in Japan. It may be argued that the Japanese need to recognize both internal and external internationalization. "Internal internationalization", which seems to be lacking in Japan, is necessary to help individuals to understand the concept of globalization and the way it is affecting Japanese society. Not only western-focused internationalization, but also internal internationalization through education, will be a significant aspect from now on in Japan.

## 2.2. Minorities in Japan

Tanaka (1996) states that as a result of internal internationalization, intercultural education is necessary for Japanese students so that they can understand the situation of foreigners living within their own communities. According to Tanaka, current important issues are "How should we communicate with the people who have diverse cultures?" and "How can we accept children of

diverse cultures in our system of education?" (p. 165). However, Ebuchi (cited in Tanaka 1996: 166) points out that while Japan cannot now be categorized as a multicultural society, since it emphasizes its uniformity and ignores the existence of minorities, it is impossible to consider internationalization without preparing for building a multicultural society. Thus, the necessity of intercultural education is emphasized for the future of Japan, which is expected to face greater cultural diversity in the years ahead.

Harajiri (1997) mentions that minorities in Japan are categorized by not only their small number but also their social, political, and economically inferior position in relation to the majority (p. 151). According to Barth (cited in Komai, 1999), the concept of an ethnic group can be defined as follows:

> An ethnic group is a group of people, which defines itself as a collectivity based on its common background, culture, religion, physical characteristics, and language. Or, they are categorized by society as an ethnic group, which has social boundaries which separate them from others (pp. 10-11).

Based on this definition, I will categorize some ethnic groups in Japan and will now focus on the literature dealing with the position of minority people in the Japanese educational system.

### 2.2.1. Korean people

Korean people account for the greatest proportion of foreigners in Japan and most of them possess Korean nationality. Although they are permanent residents, they are called "Korean in Japan (在日韓国人)" and are considered as

foreigners since their nationality is not Japanese. This perception creates an exclusionary process for Korean people because they are not local people, the Japanese (Harajiri 1998: 153-154).

Throughout history, there have been many interactions between Japan and Korea. Most Korean people in Japan today came under the condition of Korean annexation, colonization, and enforcement during the Second World War. Therefore, there still exist some negative feelings concerning each other among Japanese and Koreans to this day. As a result, Korean people in Japanese society tend to hide their origin, and the majority have changed their Korean names into Japanese ones. Because Koreans have experienced discrimination, there have been calls for change from some quarters and assertions that these minority people should be able to disclose their true origin. As people of Korean nationality are limited in the way they may participate in Japanese society, such as non-right for voting, many of them have become naturalized as Japanese citizens. The government encouraged Korean people to become Japanese citizens in order to obtain equal rights with Japanese and asked them to change their names into Japanese ones and to behave as Japanese if they wanted to avoid discrimination. Such an assimilative naturalization has created many Korean Japanese today; most of them live like Japanese and do not make their original ethnicity or identity public. There is no consideration for Korean people to foster their culture, language and identity in the Japanese political arena or in the educational system (http://www.onekoreanews.com/tongil/rensai/min_koku.htm).

Kuraishi (1998) states that it is necessary to effect social change and to encourage Korean people to express their true names (p. 195). In 1985, the law of registration changed and it became possible for Korean people to maintain their Korean names after they are naturalized as Japanese citizens. However, there still exists political discrimination, in that those of Korean origin and nationality do not have the right to vote in elections, and have limitations on their right to enter Japanese universities (if they graduate from Korean high school and do not have the Japanese high school diploma). Thus, the Japanese government has excluded these minority people yet at the same time forced them to become "Japanese" through a policy of assimilation.

Responding to such treatment, many Korean people have tried to retain their culture and identity since 1947 sending their children to "Korean schools (朝鮮学校)." There are currently one hundred and forty Korean schools throughout Japan (updated in 1998). In these schools, the core curriculum is conducted in Korean and Japanese is spoken only in the Japanese class. However, the mother tongue of these children is Japanese, as most of them speak Japanese at home. In this sense, Lee (1998) states that the Korean schools are promoting bilingual education (p. 98).

However, the attitude towards Korean schools of the Ministry of Education has been very lukewarm. Korean schools have always faced a fragile existence. For example, there is almost no financial aid for these schools. Lee (1998) points out that "although the Korean people pay their taxes, they cannot obtain

governmental support for their schools. This can be a form of educational discrimination" (p. 102). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education still does not allow Korean students, who graduate from Korean schools, to have a right to enter universities in Japan. On the other hand, the Ministry of Education fosters the acceptance of international students from overseas as a way of enhancing internationalization. As the Ministry of Education has not viewed Korean schools as an integral part of the educational system, it is clear that the government fostered educational policies intended to assimilate minority people. Such discriminations against Korean people have affected their opportunities to get jobs as well. Under such circumstances, the Korean people pay the price of economic and social discrimination in order to maintain their culture through Korean education (pp. 99-103). Today, the attitude towards Korean people has been changing and the concepts of ethnicity and nationality have begun to the considered separately. However, there still remain various limitations and discrimination against people of Korean origin.

### 2.2.2. Foreign remainder

Besides Korean people, there are Taiwanese and Chinese people as foreign remainders in Japan. Until the 1970's, the number of Chinese registrants was only approximately 50,000. However, it has been increasing since then as the government allowed foreigners to come to Japan as students of the Japanese language. (In 1993, Chinese registrants were approximately 210,000).

Furthermore, Japan was experiencing rapid economic growth in the 1980's, and a shortage of workers for the "3K industry" (See Chap. 2, pp. 19-20). The economic gap between Japan and other Asian countries led foreigners to come to work in Japan. Currently, the number of foreign workers and remainders is increasing and it is one of the significant issues in Japan (Harajiri 1997: 155-156).

### 2.2.3. Refugees

According to Kodama (1999: 31-32), in Japan, the issue of refugees usually refers to the acceptance and settlement of refugees from Indochina. Since the Second World War, only a few exiles have sought protection in Japan. However, the refugee acceptance system was not established firmly until 1975 when nine Vietnamese refugees were accepted. At that time, Japan accepted these people to stay as temporary refugees and accommodated them in a local institution. In 1978, the government implemented a policy which accepted only Vietnamese refugees into Japan. In the following year, Indochina refugees were also included. Then, the number of acceptances of refugees increased as time went by. In 1981, the government ratified a treaty on refugees. In 1996, the total number of Indochinese refugees was over ten thousand, and, in consequence, the problems concerning their stay in Japan have increased.

Refugees are allowed to stay in Japan for periods of six months, one year, or three years. However, if they are accepted as Indochinese refugees, they can have the same rights as foreign residents. Also, it is possible to be a permanent

resident, but there are some limitations, including the lack of the right to vote, unless they possess a Japanese nationality (Kodama 1999: 34-35).

Once refugees are temporarily protected in local institutions with assurance of staying in Japan, they start a new life in the International Aid Center for a period of six months. The Center gives some advice on how to live in Japan and gives instruction in the Japanese language. When refugees leave the center, they are able to obtain employment. Then, they can actually start to live in Japanese society as "remainders" (Kodama 1999: 34-35). Thus, the process of accepting refugees in Japan is somewhat different from that in North America, which accepts and respects their cultural background. Kodama points out that the way of accepting refugees who have various backgrounds indicates that Japan asks minority people to discontinue their own cultural affiliations and to follow the Japanese way of life (pp. 42-43).

### 2.2.4. The Ainu

The Ainu are aboriginal people who live in northern Japan, Hokkaido, and also in the northern mainland (See Appendix D: Figures 1 & 2). Their traditional life was based on a "hunting-fishing and plant-gathering economy" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 43). Today, the number of the Ainu has decreased and the population is about eighteen thousand. In the Edo period (1603-1867), the Japanese government adopted policies of oppression towards the Ainu people who lived only in the northern part (Harajiri 1997: 156).

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese began at the end of sixteenth century with the establishment of Japanese sovereignty over the region of Hokkaido. The Meiji government (1868-1912) abolished the restriction of Japanese to reside in Hokkaido. By implementing this measure, the Japanese were encouraged to emigrate to Hokkaido and to begin the process of assimilation of the Ainu. As Ohnuki-Tierney (1998) states,

> The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers and forced to attend Japanese schools established by the government. Beginning in 1883, the Ainu were uprooted from their settlements, granted plots of land more suited for agriculture, and encouraged to take up agriculture (p. 44).

According to Harajiri (1997), the Meiji government ruled Hokkaido and through a series of steps controlled the Ainu people. First, the government created one category for all aboriginal people and called them "Ainu." Second, the government promoted an assimilationist policy in nominally protecting aboriginal people. Third, the government restricted their mobility and life by classifying them as "natives." Finally, in order to establish national cohesion, the government promoted "ethnic homogeneity" within Japan but created a category for the Ainu, treating them as second class citizens (p. 156).

Thus, since the eighteenth century, the Ainu have been considered as "one of the marginalized internal others within Japanese society" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 44) and they are regarded as "uncivilized or primitive." Furthermore, the term, *dojin* (土人), literally means "the dirt of earth people" (p. 46) and refers to the Ainu as "unenlightened natives." In 1977, the Japanese government took direct

control of the Ainu and issued the official "instructions" concerning the management of the Ainu. One of the instructions introduced by Takakura (cited in Ohnuki-Tierney, 1998) follows:

> The Ezo [Ainu] are forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu [the government] has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use their's. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs, then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes (pp. 46-47).

It is obvious that the Japanese government assimilated the Ainu through a powerful hegemonic ideology and colonized them to be controlled by Japanese society in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Today, "Ainu culture has largely disappeared, and it is argued that they exist as a poorly acculturated and economically and politically marginal minority" (Sjöberg 1993: 182). In fact, the category of Ainu was created by the Japanese government so that diverse aboriginal people were placed into a single category. As the Japanese government integrated the Ainu into Japanese society through its assimilation policy, it is hard for the Ainu to maintain their traditional culture and identity. However, the Ainu have tried to preserve their culture and strengthen their ethnicity in various ways. "An example is that tourist production and display have become a central process in the conscious reconstruction of Ainu identity" (p. 182). It is becoming more common for Japanese schools to arrange excursions to an Ainu village in order for students to experience aboriginal culture.

### 2.2.5. Okinawan people

Okinawa is located in the southern part of Japan (See Appendix D: Figures 1, 3-1 & 3-2). According to Lebra (1966), "Okinawa lies midway astride the Ryukyu archipelago, which stretches over the eight hundred miles separating Kyusyu from Taiwan" (p. 3). As Okinawa used to be the Ryukyu kingdom and had its own nation, it shares a distinctive culture when it is compared with the one in Honsyu (mainland). Furthermore, the location of Okinawa, which is close to Taiwan and China, itself has contributed to the building a unique ethnic culture. Lebra (1966) points out,

> The location of Okinawa --- approximately three hundred miles equidistant from China to the west, Taiwan to the south, and Japan to the north --- provided a crossroads where three cultural traditions met and merged to form a unique local configuration (p. 10).

Okinawa has been a part of Japan since the Meiji period and the Okinawan people are Japanese citizens, but it is obvious that they possess their own culture which has traced a different path in history from the rest of Japan.

Historically, the Ryukyu Islands including Okinawa used to be small, autonomous communities until approximately the fourteenth century. In the fifteenth century, these small communities were consolidated into one kingdom, called the Ryukyu kingdom. However, they had important links with China, Taiwan and Japan (Sered 1999: 13).

For example, there are some similarities in basic agriculture, such as pig

raising in Okinawa and Taiwan. The Ryukyu kingdom had continuous contact with China over five hundred years, as Ryukyuans had no choice but to pay tribute in order to maintain a peaceful relationship with the Chinese. Also, the kingdom was influenced by some elements of Chinese culture, such as Buddhism (Lebra 1966: 10-13). As Lebra (1966) points out "a tribute state permitted assimilation of many traits which ultimately affected all levels of society" (p. 13), Okinawa today is a melding of these diverse cultures.

The relations between Japan and the Ryukyu Islands have not been continuous, but have been "an ebb and flow" (Lebra 1966: 14). Therefore, Lebra points out that "to any foreign observer reasonably familiar with Japan, Okinawa does not suggest a mere provincial entity but rather a distinct culture evincing varying degrees of affiliation with neighboring cultures" (p. 13).

From the seventeenth century, Japan began to control Okinawa, and in 1879, "Japan officially annexed Okinawa, bringing about a number of changes in Okinawa's economic structure" (Sered 1999: 14). Since then, their category shifted from "Ryukyuan" to "Okinawan." As a result of annexation, the Okinawan culture has changed to abolish "the old class system and the curtailment of upper-class pensions" (Lebra 1966: 18). Lebra describes the change, which was aimed at assimilating Okinawans as follows:

> The land reforms of 1899-1903 abolished communal land tenure and introduced the Japanese system of private property and inheritance; this single act ushered in a series of changes which altered the whole fabric of village life. Official policy aimed directly at the eradication of Okinawan culture and the transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals (p. 18).

The most effective Japanization of Okinawan culture was the introduction of the new educational system during the twentieth century. Although Okinawan persisted as the indigenous language, "[t]he new generation, the third since the establishment of universal education, is receiving considerably more exposure to Japanese than its parents or grandparents" (Lebra 1966: 9). Today, the number of people who speak Okinawan is declining and most of them speak Japanese. Furthermore, "[w]here necessary, repressive laws and police measures were also resorted to by the government, and things Okinawan were gradually discredited" (Lebra 1966: 18). Even though the government promoted a policy of assimilation, there remained the prejudiced concept that Okinawans were a less educated ethnic people, and it took some time to treat them as equal Japanese citizens (Harajiri 1997: 158).

Although the Okinawan culture has been dominated by the Japanese, the reason for its successful transformation may be based on similarities in appearances. Lebra (1966) states as follows:

> This achievement of assimilation may be attributed in part to the linguistic and cultural affinities of the two peoples, since sufficient resemblances existed to make their differences bridgeable; a wider gulf might have produced lasting antipathy, as in the case of Korea (p.18).

After the Second World War, Okinawa was governed by America until 1972. Today, Okinawa is one of the local prefectures in Japan, and the people share the same rights as mainland Japanese citizens. However, there still exists the US military base which creates an obvious difference between Okinawa and

other cities (Harajiri 1997: 157-158).

2.2.6. Burakumin

Buraku people are those who have been categorized as the bottom "layer" of society during the Early Modern period (1603-1868) when a "caste society" developed in Japan. In this system, people were divided into four castes, warriors, farmers, manufacturers, and merchants (in descending order). Within the merchant caste, there were two categories the *eta*, and *hinin*. The latter were largely "outcasts" and considered as non-human (the literal meaning of *hinin*). *Eta* refers to purifiers or sweepers and includes a derogatory connotation. By making an outcast category, the shogunate at that time governed the society as a superior group within the caste system (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 40).

People in the lowest caste tended to stay together and they engaged in "defiling" occupations, such as "butchers, tanners, makers of leather goods, falconers, cormorant fishermen, undertakers, caretakers of tombs, executioners, *tatami* (bamboo) floor-mat makers, footgear manufacturers, and sweepers" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 39). These jobs were considered as culturally impure because they relate to death and dirt.

Today, those people are officially called "hisabetsu burakumin"(被差別部落民), which literally means "the people of settlements under discrimination" (Ohnuki-Tierney 1998: 36). Burakumin have been discriminated against in Japanese society as their occupations were viewed as impure and morally inferior,

perceptions that became firmly established during the Early Modern period and which have persisted until the present.

After the Second World War, there were tremendous changes concerning Buraku issues. In 1965, the government formulated the *Dowa* (同和) Policy Deliberation Committee in order to solve Buraku problems and, in 1969, they adopted the Law on Special Measures for *Dowa* Projects (Harada 1981: 9). As *Dowa* Education, Buraku Kaiho Kenkyusyo (cited in Kitaguchi, 1999) states that "liberation begins and ends in education" (p. 11). Until 1972, school textbooks had not contained Buraku issues, since they were masked within the society. People tended to consider that Buraku issues were too taboo to speak about in public. Since 1972, *Dowa* education was introduced into schools and Buraku problems are now taught as an important issue in society (p. 12).

Although Burakumin are racially/ethnically the same as the majority of Japanese, they have been discriminated against throughout history. Under Japanese society, they have been called "Japan's invisible race" by De Vos and Wagatsuma (cited in Ohnuki-Tierney, 1998: 42) or "victims of social discrimination." Today, the classification of Burakumin is less clear as the Burakumin mingle more freely with other citizens. Some of them have achieved much success in the dominant culture and discrimination against them has been decreasing. Furthermore, the Japanese government has made some effort to solve the problem of discrimination. However, it is not so easy to erase social discrimination that is so deeply rooted in history.

### 2.2.7. Ex-patriot students

As Japan interacts with foreign countries, the number of people who work in foreign countries has been increasing. Their children, who are brought up overseas face various situations when they come back to Japan. Most of them are educated in foreign educational systems and are perceived to lack Japanese values and so are handicapped in following the Japanese way of life. Upon their return to Japan, it is hard for these students to adjust themselves to the Japanese educational system, which emphasizes uniformity.

Most of the ex-patriot students are educated in the western system so that they are accustomed to respect individuality and individualism. Although the situation is changing, the Japanese educational system does not support cultural diversity. Many of the ex-patriot students lose their identity as Japanese and cannot fit into Japanese society even though they are Japanese citizens. Teachers sometimes do not know how to treat these students who have different cultural backgrounds (Tanaka 1996: 138-160).

## 3.0. Concepts of multicultural education in Japan

In Japan, multicultural education has usually been expressed as "intercultural education" (異文化間教育) and the term connotes the understanding of a different culture. When the term, "intercultural education", is used, the other different culture (usually an outside culture) is compared to Japanese culture. Some people criticize the usage of the term as it includes a discriminative

meaning. Recently, the term, "intercultural education", has been replaced by "multicultural education" (多文化教育) in order to eliminate the confusion in the usage of the term. Sometimes, it is possible to categorize these terms by their different indication; "multicultural education" is increasingly being used for the internal diverse culture within Japan (e.g., the Ainu culture) and "intercultural education" is used in reference to outside culture (e.g., the western culture). However, the concepts of "intercultural education" and "multicultural education" are radically new in Japan and there has not been established the firm definition for these terms. In Japan, homogeneity has been emphasized over a long period of time and differences, except those explained in section 2, have tended to be ignored. Therefore, Japan has not reached the point at which there is a consensus in distinguishing between the terms, "intercultural" and "multicultural", or intercultural and multicultural education (A. Okada, personal communication, June 19, 2000 & N. Kodama, personal communication, June 22, 2000).

According to Ebuchi (1997), research concerning intercultural education began in Japan in the late 1980's. As the research was often ambiguous without a firm definition established, the field of intercultural education has been subject to much criticism. Since many researchers have defined intercultural education in different ways, there are various concepts concerning intercultural education. Ebuchi defines intercultural education as "activities that include education (or system, process, method, result etc) which relates to diverse cultures in many ways" (p. 270). Furthermore, he states that "the task of intercultural education

research is to study various phenomena and issues, that are considered as a common framework of intercultural contact, by using various perspectives and research methods in a micro/macro view."

Currently, Japan has been changing as it encounters significant issues, such as the increasing number of foreign workers, and it is increasingly difficult to ignore the necessity of intercultural education. As the society needs to acknowledge the diversity of cultures in daily life, it has been challenged to rethink education, particularly the potential of intercultural education. In Japan, intercultural education has not yet been systematized as a legitimate academic field (Ebuchi 1997: 271).

Nakajima (1998) points out three aspects to be considered when multicultural education is studied in Japan as follows:

1. It is necessary to possess a comparative educational aspect, such as intercultural comparisons or cross-cultural differences, since Japan has followed a different path to nationhood in its history, compared with western countries where the nations have been populated by immigrants.
2. It is significant to understand multicultural education within a Japanese context. Multicultural education has been introduced into Japan based on western research and the circumstances of minorities in Japan and the issues pertaining to them have been ignored.
3. Multicultural education needs to be understood not only in terms of ethnicity and cultural pluralism, but also in terms of the diversity of culture within "mainstream culture" such as female culture, the culture of the deaf or of the blind, the culture of the aged, the culture of particular sexual orientations and the like (pp.22-25).

Japan still does not generally recognize ethnic and cultural diversity. National

education is still based on a mono-cultural concept. Within national education, ethnic and cultural problems are generally not considered. In a sense, Japan, Japanese, and its society are over-simplified. International education is perceived by only one perspective that of external internationalization. By separating "we" and "others", Japanese education has, to date, not examined the complexity of its internal realities (Nakajima 1998: 25).

## 4.0. Concepts of multicultural education in North American society

### 4.1. Nature of North American society

After the coming of the First Nations to North America, the continent was settled by people from various parts of the world (many of them from the United Kingdom). As the United States and Canada were built by people who began to share common cultures but who came from various cultural backgrounds, they are countries characterized by cultural diversity. Throughout history, there has been both cultural integration and cultural separation, and it is the latter process that has formed the current pluralistic society.

The U.S. has been established by the inter-mingling of various cultures, the people are also mixed with various cultural backgrounds. Therefore, it is difficult to define clearly who Americans are in ethnic terms. On the other hand, the Japanese tend to emphasize "ethnic purity" and it is quite possible to classify the people by their ethnicity, because the country has been formed through the conscious building of cultural unity.

Since its founding as a nation, the U.S. has been dealing with issues of internal diversity and considering ways of orchestrating its social and cultural differences (Tai 1999: 38). Although the nation has encouraged cultural diversity, the American identity has been developed in the past through the melting pot theory. Within the nation, each of the various cultures has not always been treated equally, and issues concerning minority people have begun to be discussed more actively since the 1980's. These issues have increasingly focused on the idea of "multiculturalism."

Canada, as another North American society, has also been formed as a nation by various cultures. Today, it is "one of the major immigrant nations and is the first country in the world to have a multicultural policy" (Ghosh 1996: 17). In 1971, Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau announced a policy of "Bilingualism within a Multicultural Framework", and the Multiculturalism Act was implemented in 1988. Although multicultural programs and research into multicultural education were promoted in 1972 under the Secretary of State, federal control over education is limited to the extent that multicultural and anti-racist education may be regarded as not having been fully implemented in Canada yet. Only five provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, British Columbia, and Ontario) have formally endorsed the federal policy of multiculturalism.

Even though North American society has long experienced diverse cultures and inter-cultural conflicts among its people, the concept of "multiculturalism" has only recently been emphasized and problems concerning

diversity continue to be significant in their systems of education.

### 4.2. Pluralistic society

In North American society, it is difficult to categorize people by their ethnicity as they have mixed with various cultures and ethnic groups. According to the U.S. Census Bureau, the population is classified by race as follows; 1) white, 2) black, 3) American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut, 4) Asian, Pacific islander, 5) Hispanic origin, 6) white, non-Hispanic, 7) black, non-Hispanic (U.S. Census Bureau, 1999).

On the other hand, Statistics Canada classifies the Canadian population by 1) single origins and 2) multiple origins. Within the 1) single origins, the population is categorized as it follows:

> British origins; French origins; European origins; Western European origins; Northern European origins; Scandinavian origins; Eastern European origins; Baltic origins; Czech and Slovak origins; Southern European origins; Balkan origins; Other European origins; Asian and African origins; Arab origins; Maghrebi origins; West Asian origins; South Asian origins; East and South East Asian origins; Indo-Chinese origins; African origins; Pacific Islands origins; Latin, Central and South American origins; Caribbean origins; Black origins; Aboriginal origins; Other origins (Statistics Canada, 1993).

Thus, within North American society, ethnic and cultural diversity is regarded differently by each government. It would appear that in America, there are strong forces that encourage people to become "American" whatever their cultural/ethnic background. At the same time, people are asked to fit into American society and people are categorized by their appearances. Therefore,

the attitude toward multiculturalism is focused more on people's appearances rather than their ethnocultural/geographical backgrounds as it is seen in the U.S. Census classification. On the other hand, Canada focuses more on each of the ethnocultural/geographical backgrounds of those who make up Canadian society rather than their appearances. American society is often typified as "a melting pot", since cultural and ethnic diversity is blended into one American society, whereas Canada is "a mosaic society" as it is composed of various ethnic and cultural groups.

When settlers came to North America in the seventeenth century, they encountered "the First Nations people" or "aboriginal people." These native people including such groups as Inuit, Eskimo, Mohawk, and Cree etc. tend to live in "pockets", although not forced to do so. Although the western settlers came to the land later, they marginalized aboriginal people and many became deprived and impoverished. According to Ghosh (1996), the harsh treatment of aboriginal people is described as follows:

> They have experienced intolerance, discrimination, and racism by the non-Native population, and the formal education system has had devastating effects on them. A history of disastrous educational practices and socioeconomic policies for Native peoples has resulted in poor education, unemployment, poverty, high crime rates, alcoholism, substance abuse, and suicide (p. 23).

Although the Native groups have been discriminated against, they do not accept the policy of multiculturalism as a new way of solving racism, "because they are not immigrants nor do they consider themselves to be visible minorities"

(Ghosh 1996: 24). In 1973, the Canadian federal government accepted that the aboriginal people control their native education. Since the First Nations people are involved in curriculum, their children can begin to develop self-esteem and be proud of their cultural heritage through education.

Historically, the majority of North American society is composed of the people of British origin. According to the first national census in 1790 in the United States, the nation consisted of 61 % British-American, 10 % Irish-American, with other ethnic groups making less than 10 % each. Thus, people of British origin dominated North American society as a majority group. The new comers considered themselves as the majority American and the First Nations were marginalized in a way similar to immigrants. Over the years, people of British origin have tended to mix with other ethnic groups and those identifying themselves as such make up a much smaller proportion of the population. In fact, according to the national census in 1990, the proportion of British-Americans was only 19 % (Asai 1997: 83-87).

One of the visible minority groups in North America is the African American. The modern history of African Americans began with the emancipation of slavery in 1863 and the granting of civil rights in 1964. According to the national census in 1990, African Americans made up 12.2 % of the population. Although African Americans still account for the largest minority population, it is expected that the Hispanic component of the U.S. population will surpass that of African Americans in 2010 (Asai 1997: 140-144).

In Canada, "there are long-established black communities which, together with the surrounding dominant cultures, provided an early haven for escapees from slavery in the United States" (Lynch 1986: 25). However, blacks in Canada experienced subtler forms of discrimination than in the United States. Until the post war period when there was a major influx of immigrants into Canada, the issue of blacks was not focused and there was less awareness of discrimination against blacks than there is today (pp. 25-26).

As mentioned above, Hispanic people are radically increasing in the American demography. The workers for the equivalent of the 3K industries (See Chap.2, pp. 19-20) are also lacking in the United States and the Hispanic immigrants account for a high proportion of workers in these sectors. In some states, such as California, Texas, and Florida, the Hispanic population is strongly represented in elementary schools, which have implemented bilingual education, English and Spanish (Asai 1997: 113-118).

Another significant minority group in North America is the Jewish people. Although their population is not so many as other ethnic groups (2.5 % in total American population in 1986), it accounts for 44 % of the total Jewish people in the world. The first Jewish immigrants settled in Virginia in 1621; since then Jewish people continued to come to North America and have gradually exercised important influence in political and academic circles. Although their ethnicity is less recognizable by appearance, they have also experienced prejudice as an ethnic group (Asai 1997: 47-51).

The ethnic minorities described above are only a few of the many in North America, and have been described to illustrate the nature of North American society as one of the most pluralistic in the world. The literature related to pluralism and multiculturalism will now be examined.

## 4.3. Notions of multicultural education

### 4.3.1. Multiculturalism

According to Ghosh (1996), multiculturalism is "an ideology, a system of beliefs determined by the existence of many cultures" (p. 4). As an immigrant continent, North America has received various ethnic groups since its foundation. For this reason, multiculturalism has become an important concept of the society. The term, multiculturalism, has been applied to the educational field since the late 1980's (Tai 1999: 38).

The use of the term dates back to the civil rights movement in the 1960's when the social position of ethnic and racial minorities was considerably lower than that of the majority whites, and when North American culture usually implied a derivative of western European culture. The term, multiculturalism, began to be used as a concept for improving the minority situation, for asserting ethnic identity and for developing a "politics of identity" (Tai 1999: 49).

The notion of multiculturalism is based on the assumption that there are ethnic cultures and that all cultures are relative (Tai 1999: 49). In Ghosh's opinion, the notion of multiculturalism includes "the dominant group that defines

the norm" (p. 4) as well as other ethnic and minority groups which are considered as different from the norm in their "race, ethnicity, gender, class, religion, lifestyle."

On the other hand, multiculturalism is opposed by people who are concerned about the idea as a threat to national unity. As multiculturalism is not an ideal concept but is derived from the real situation in North America, it is interpreted in many ways and it is hard to define the universal term. Furthermore, it has come to include not only ethnicity but also cultural groups (e.g., females, handicapped people, homosexuals, etc) (Tai 1999: 50).

### 4.3.2. Principle concepts of multicultural education

Multicultural education is, in effect, a criticism of the former educational system, which is mainly based on western culture, and it involves a recognition of other diverse cultures and histories [*intercultural education*.] Multicultural education started with ethnic studies, which focus on the history and culture of ethnic groups from cultural scientific perspectives; ethnic studies developed into *multiethnic education* (Tanaka 1996: 57 & Tai 1999: 50).

As the children of many minority and ethnic groups were not achieving as well as the majority students, the enhancement of multicultural education was emphasized. Multicultural education changes the educational circumstances for minority and ethnic groups' students in order to build self-respect, self-knowledge and consequently to provide equal academic achievement with the majority students. Thus, multicultural education is aimed at conveying the history and

culture of minority students without comparing it to the western standard [*minority education*] (Tai 1999: 51-52).

The aim of multicultural education is the education of all children, whether members of minority or dominant groups, by focusing on student diversity [*education for social justice.*] *Human rights education* also needs to be concerned, as it is an important aspect of multicultural education to provide equal opportunities to all children. Furthermore, *peace education* expands the concept of human rights and justice in multicultural education. Notwithstanding, the structures in school are usually devised for homogeneous populations so that "power inequality becomes central to the problem of discrimination, and children of minority groups are being socialized into failure" (Ghosh 1996: 32). As a result, students who are "the poor, ethnic minorities, and female" achieve lower in academic grade. Empowerment, as the basic aim of multicultural education, needs to be considered because "people need a sense of control over what they are doing so that they can achieve and act" (p. 58). At the same time, allocation of power in *political education*, becomes also a significant aspect in multicultural education. Research indicates that "social status influences school performance" (p. 32) and shows that "when social status of groups changes, the educational performance of groups also changes." In order to change systemic discrimination, education needs to focus on "a diverse variety of skills, talents, values, goals, and aspiration[s]" (p. 33) by respecting other cultures.

Thus, Ghosh (1996) states that redefining multicultural education helps to

be inclusive at 1) the structural and institutional levels, 2) the individual level, and 3) the philosophical level in education (p. 35). In this sense, a redefined multicultural education intends to foster change by breaking with the status quo of the past. It has tended to educate all students in order to foster "a democratic vision of society" [*democratic education*] (p. 37).

According to Tanaka (1996), multicultural education is a broad concept, which includes ethnic studies, *multiethnic education*, and *anti-racist education*. Although it is not clearly defined, the purpose is to improve the educational circumstances of students who face various disadvantages (pp. 58-59).

4.3.3. Theories of multicultural education

According to Banks (1994), some critics have asserted that multicultural education was "merely another passing fad" (p. 7) since the theory and concept have only been established within the last twenty years. However, Banks points out that multicultural education has gradually become institutionalized in the educational systems of North America.

Banks (1994) introduces the two multicultural education paradigms, the "cultural deprivation paradigm" (p. 48) and the "cultural difference paradigm", as a way of explaining the lower achievement of low-income and ethnic minority students. These two theories provide opposite perspectives towards multicultural education. As Banks states, "[c]ultural deprivation theorists see the major problem as the culture of the students rather than the culture of the school."

This theory emphasizes the necessity of cultural changes of students who are from ethnic groups and social-class. On the other hand, "[c]ultural difference theorists believe that the school, rather than the cultures of minority students, is primarily responsible for the low academic achievement of minority students." These theorists take the position that the school must change rather than students, by introducing diverse cultural studies into school curriculums (pp. 48-50). In stating the two theories, Banks introduces the research of "the effects of cooperative learning techniques" by Slavin (1983) and Aronson and Gonzalez (1988). According to the research,

> the academic achievement of minority students [is] enhanced when they are taught using cooperative learning strategies ... and [it] indicates that both White and ethnic minority students develop more positive racial attitudes when they participate in cooperative learning situations (cited in Banks, 1994: 50).

From a conceptual point of view, multicultural education can be perceived both as "macrocultures" and as "microcultures" (Banks 1994: 51). The macroculture is "the national or shared culture of the nation-state or society, the big culture"; it is one overarching culture in a society. Microcultures, are smaller cultures, and they interpret "the overarching national value[s]" differently according to their own cultural values (p. 52).

According to Ghosh (1996), multicultural education is defined by perspective and methodology, and has seven characteristics as follows;

1) multicultural education [is] one that allows [the] full development of the potential and critical abilities of *all* children regardless of their "differences"
2) multiculturalism is a right to difference

3) multicultural education is not only for minority groups
4) multicultural education must be seen to be radically different from a framework in which students of difference equate the school curriculum and culture with the dominant-culture privilege
5) multicultural education must deal with the total culture of the school
6) multicultural pedagogy must create new spaces in what Gadamer has called the "fusion of horizons" (quoted in Taylor, 1994: 67)
7) multicultural education must aim to transform, not merely reform, the relations and meaning in education (pp. 1-3)

In a modern liberal democratic society, an implication of multiculturalism is the equality of all races' cultures. Sociocultural-economic differences are considered as an obstacle to equal opportunity. Therefore, multicultural education has focused on the "politics of difference" created by social stratification. The social differences are based on "physical (race/ethnicity), biological (gender), and economic (class)" categories (Ghosh 1996: 1). Since democracy demands equal opportunities and human rights, education must validate social, gender, and cultural differences as an important element of one's identity.

Ghosh (1996: 2-3) believes that multicultural education must be offered to all children; even those in the dominant groups (e.g., Eurocentric, Judaeo-Christian, male, middle-class), as it aims at teaching critical consciousness to all. Every student has equal value in the school curriculum and environment, and no student should feel that they are ignored, denigrated, or given a demeaning picture of themselves. In multicultural philosophy, diverse cultures must be an important part of school curriculum so that every student can be empowered to deal with realities and can broaden democratic concepts. For educators, it is

important to emphasize an understanding of the ways by which differences and inequalities are constructed and to help students to gain identity and empowerment. Thus, multicultural education is based on the differences among others and is focused on identity development (Ghosh 1996: Chap. 1).

From another theoretical aspect, the notion of "politics of identity" has appeared as it is focused on the relationships between individual's identity-formation and politics. Ethnic identity is emphasized not only for the pursuit of economical profit and progress of social status but also for the individual's self-recognition and accomplishment (Tai 1999: 67).

Taylor (1994) explains the notion of identity by using the term, "the politics of recognition." According to his theory, individual identity is recognized by two ways in the modern democratic society where "the old concept of honor [in feudal society] was superseded" (p. 27). One is "equal recognition" which is to perceive a person equally without considering his/her "status of cultures and of genders." Another perspective is "being true to myself" (p. 28), which considers the ideal concept of "my own particular way of being." As the development of "my own original way of being" (p. 32) can be generated through a "dialogical" process with people, Taylor describes the formation of individual identity as follows:

> [M]y discovering my own identity doesn't mean that I work it out in isolation, but that I negotiate it through dialogue, partly overt, partly internal, with others. That is why the development of an ideal of inwardly generated identity gives a new importance to recognition. My own identity crucially depends on my dialogical relations with others (p. 34).

Furthermore, he discusses the significance of "the politics of recognition"

and its relation to multiculturalism in the modern democratic society where equal recognition is not provided all the people.

> The projection of an inferior or demeaning image on another can actually distort and oppress, to the extent that the image is internalized. Not only contemporary feminism but also race relations and discussions of multiculturalism are undergirded by the premise that the withholding of recognition can be a form of oppression (p. 36).

"The politics of recognition" has two aspects in its assertion: "politics of universalism" (p. 37), which emphasizes the equal rights, and "politics of difference" (p. 38), which is to recognize the uniqueness of individual identity. Taylor (1994) points out that these two perspectives are both derived from the concept of individual recognition in modern society and he considers the confrontation of the two. On the one hand, it is important to recognize "the principle of equal respect" (p. 43), which requires to treat people in a "difference-blind fashion." On the other hand, it is necessary to "recognize and even foster particularity."

By introducing the two opposing perspectives, Taylor (1994) concludes that every culture has an equal value and we have not reached a level, so called "ultimate horizon" (p. 73) to consider "the relative worth of different cultures" yet. Therefore, he suggests that what we can do now is to open up our perception for multicultural education in order to shift our perspectives.

## 5.0. Summary

In this chapter, I have examined the notions of cultural diversity in Japan and also the development of multicultural education in North America. Although

it is unusual to examine internal cultural diversity in Japan, I have recognized that it may be necessary to think about multicultural education, because of the significance and circumstances of minorities. As it has a multiethnic composition, North America has experienced various issues concerning multicultural education. In the case of Japan, there exists "covered" cultural diversity, such as Korean people, Okinawan people and Burakumin. As the government has forced those minority people to be "Japanese" and eliminated their cultural existence in Japan, the idea of multiculturalism has not emerged as it has in North America. However, Japan has been facing diverse cultural influx today and the government has become increasingly aware of the issues concerning internal minority people and recently arrived foreigners.

In reviewing literature, I have found that multicultural policy has developed from the nature of North American society. Multicultural education grew out of the social developments that emerged in response to the issues of minority people, human rights, anti-racism, democracy, and social justice.

The foregoing examination of the concept of multicultural education in western societies has suggested a number of supporting concepts of multicultural education. In the next chapter, I will identify and discuss these constituent concepts, and consider their relevance for Japan.

# Chapter Four
# The Western concept of multicultural education and its relevance for Japan: A Conceptual analysis

## 1.0. Introduction

For my conceptual analysis, I have examined the ways in which scholars have constructed knowledge about multicultural education and I have discerned some supporting concepts, which are major issues for multicultural education. In this chapter, I will look at different aspects of multicultural education, which I have recognized as its constituent elements or supporting concepts from a review of the literature. I will discuss the meanings of the supporting concepts, taking into account the different western and Japanese contexts. In all, nine supporting concepts of multicultural education were identified as follows:

## 2.0. Supporting concepts of multicultural education and their meaning and relevance for Japan

### 2.1. Intercultural education

One of the basic and most significant supporting concepts of multicultural education is intercultural education. It means, literally, "education between, or across, cultures." Originally, the term was used to refer to collective national cultures in the sense of educating for international understanding. However, as the idea of culture became differentiated, the meaning of intercultural education changed and became more complex (Ghosh 1996: 55-56).

In North America, the idea of culture has come to include not only ethnic culture as a result of immigration over a long period of time, but also the cultures

of many different groups such as class culture, the culture of gender, the culture of the deaf, and the like. Because of the decentralized nature of North American society and the strong values for individualism and enterprise, the cultures of a wide variety of groups have thrived side-by-side. Intercultural education has developed both as a means of enlarging the understanding of groups with limited experiences of other cultures, as a means of promoting understanding in inter-group (inter-cultural) conflict, and as a way of giving voice to groups that are otherwise silent in the society.

By contrast, Japan is a country that has tended to cultivate cultural uniformity and to assimilate various cultural groups within its borders. However, recently, the maintenance of cultural uniformity has become increasingly difficult as there are now more frequent encounters with other cultures within Japan, such as foreign workers and refugees. As well, more people go abroad than ever before and encounter other cultures externally.

In Japan, intercultural awareness has developed as the country experienced social and economic changes, such as becoming a significant world-trading nation. However, it is still considered that intercultural understanding is an external issue and often does not refer to internal cultural differences within Japan. In school, intercultural education has been adopted and it usually refers to the study of western cultures and does not include internal cultural studies, such as the Ainu and Burakumin issues.

According to Ebuchi (1997), the purpose of intercultural education is to

understand the issues concerning communication among people who have different cultures and languages. Ebuchi states that it is possible for the Japanese minorities to communicate with the majority in the Japanese language and to understand Japanese culture, so that minority cultures have not been seen as an important issue as it is in North America. However, in the near future, as minority groups are becoming more numerous, Japan may well want to examine intercultural education and its role in national development (p. 159).

Thus, intercultural education has different meanings in the North American and Japanese contexts. For each society, the term is interpreted in relation to the perceptions and aspirations of their respective populations.

The North American concept of intercultural education would seem to be relevant to Japan only if Japan were to adopt a policy of cultural transformation. Such a transformation would involve a shift from an exclusive focus on Japan and external cultures to a focus that would include the diversity of cultures within Japan, even if the groups are relatively small in relation to the mainstream culture. Such a transformation would also require some change in values along the continuum from collectivism to individualism. Intercultural education is therefore linked closely with the political and educational goals of Japan.

### 2.2. Multiethnic education

Multiethnic education is closely associated with the meaning of intercultural education; however, it tends to be viewed as a narrower and more

specific term. Multiethnic education is normally the study of ethnic cultures, including that of the mainstream culture, in a society. Particular focus is on the origins of the ethnic groups and their different cultural values.

As Banks (1981) points out "it is necessary to discuss the meaning of culture in order to describe what multicultural education theoretically suggests since culture is the root of multicultural" (p. 52). Because ethnic studies are cultural in nature, multiethnic education is another core concept of multicultural education.

In North America, various ethnic groups have made up the population since the foundation of Canada and the United States, and multiethnic education has developed as a way to solve cultural "prejudice, discrimination, identity conflicts, and alienation" (Banks 1981: 52) among the various constituent ethnic groups. To live peacefully in an ethnically diverse society is one of the most important goals of multiethnic education.

In Japan, there has been very little popular awareness of ethnic differences since successive governments have adopted policies of assimilation: emphasis has been placed upon the collective identity. Hence there has been no corresponding concept of multiethnic education and no equivalent term exists in Japanese education.

The relevance of the concept of multiethnic education will depend on the extent to which the government will shift its policy to encourage a greater diversity of identities in Japanese society, or the extent to which various ethnic groups will

become more assertive in expressing their particular ethnic origins, and in the interplay between these two forces. At present, there is evidence, as previously noted, that the government is showing more openness towards recognizing ethnic differences and for some ethnic groups, such as the Korean, to want to retain some degree of separate identity.

### 2.3. Minority education

Minority education initially aims at studying the problems of minority groups, including access to and opportunity for education, achievement at school, and the degree of their participation in the making of decisions that affect them. There is often an important relationship between the socio-economic status of minority groups in society and their access to education, their treatment within the educational system, and their academic achievement. Thus, minority education needs to be considered in order to eliminate various barriers for minorities to their being treated equally in the formal educational system (Ghosh, 1996 & Ogbu, 1978).

For many years, attempts were made by the government and the churches in North America to assimilate aboriginal people by educating them in residential schools, by teaching a "mainstream" curriculum and by discouraging the use of native languages. Over the past two or three decades, however, aboriginal minorities have been accorded more respect. Their languages, history and culture have been valued both by the aboriginal people themselves and in the education of mainstream youth. The traditional relationship that many aboriginal

people have had with the earth, has been upheld as a model in the ecological crisis. Hence minority education has played a role in building the identity and survival of aboriginal people and it has replaced the previously widespread assimilationist policy.

In Japan, there are few aboriginal people and some minorities, but their culture and existence are not so much emphasized since the government has already assimilated them and most Japanese do not pay very much attention to them. As the aboriginal people only exist in the northern and southern parts of Japan, there are few opportunities for mainstream Japanese to communicate with them, unless they visit their residence area. For the other minorities, it is sometimes difficult to know their situation since these social minorities tend to hide their backgrounds.

Beauchamp (1992) assesses minority education as follows:

> Although there is a form of minority education focused on a relatively small Korean population living in several large Japanese cities, most Japanese still see themselves as racially pure. This powerful concept of a homogeneous group serves to legitimize and reinforce the notion of uniformity within Japanese society (p. 11).

By defining its uniformity, Japan has conditioned the minds of its citizens to ignore the existence of minorities and sometimes exclude them unless they assimilate into Japanese society. Through this process of assimilation, Japanese society has "hidden" these minorities and shaped the nation as a fake homogeneous society.

In the international framework, the significance of minorities has been

recently fostered in Japan. Some Japanese minorities, such as the Burakumin, began to represent their situation in the international forum and this fact has aroused public attention in Japan (Weiner 1997: 75). Thus, as Japanese minorities are receiving more prominence at the international level, the Japanese government is tending to pay more attention to its internal cultural diversity.

### 2.4. Human rights education

Human rights are a primary issue for multicultural education. Ghosh (1996) states that "[h]uman rights education is focused on developing student awareness of individual rights and responsibilities, sensitizing them to the rights of all. Human rights is an aspect of multicultural education because issues of equal rights for all are a common human concern" (p. 33). As in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations, equal rights and human freedoms are recognized as essential to human dignity. Since equal rights for all people are emphasized, human rights education has became also an integral part of multicultural education.

In North American society and especially in the United States, individual human rights have been an important part of the political ideology, and they have been considered basic to the democratic way of life. The study of human rights among underprivileged people and minority groups, and action to remedy the denial of rights, have been the focus of many advocacy groups. In North America, people's civil and political rights are guaranteed under the law. This

aspect of multicultural education has been emphasized in human rights education and is fostered in North America today.

Human rights in Japan are also regarded as an important issue of society under the Constitution. The Constitution was promulgated under the American occupation after the war; however, the concept of human rights and freedoms appears not to have permeated Japanese society to the extent that human rights education is practiced widely in Japan at present.

As previously noted, Japan has been a signatory nation to a number of international human rights conventions and Japanese citizens have become increasingly aware of their rights within this legal framework. Minority groups in Japan interact with minorities and ethnic groups in many countries, and they have questioned the commitment to human rights of the Japanese government.

Partly because of advocacy movements, the Japanese government in 1996 ratified the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. This action, in turn, has gradually enhanced the notion of human rights within the nation. At the same time, international conferences sponsored by the United Nations have obviously helped the discriminated minorities, such as Burakumin in Japan, to give opportunities of representing their voices in international forums (Neary 1997: 75).

Through international organizations, Japanese minorities, particularly Buraku people, have "tried to create a network of groups active in defending the interests of minorities and indigenous peoples which will enable them to exchange

ideas and co-operate, especially in relation to United Nations' policies" (p. 75). Neary (1997: 76) describes the recent situation as follows:

> The most recent development has been the creation of the Asia Pacific Human Rights Information Centre (APHRIC) which started operations in December 1994. It aims to provide information about human rights activities in the Asia Pacific region, promote research in Japan and in the region as a whole and provide human rights education both locally and regionally. Finally, it aspires to be the precursor of some kind of formal human rights organization that will operate within Asia Pacific to promote and protect human rights (cited in Hurights Osaka, 1995).

In spite of these developments, human rights education has not yet been developed by the government and by schools to any great degree, as it has tended to remain as an ideological concept in law only. The government has not expressed any sense of urgency to change existing cultural policy.

### 2.5. Anti-racist education

Anti-racist education is education designed to reduce or eliminate discrimination based upon race. Behind discriminatory practices are often the unequal distribution of power and resources that has been constructed by "socio-economic and political histories of colonialism and oppression" (James 1996: 6). "Prejudice, ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, and racism are a result of ignorance --- a lack of contact and awareness of people of 'other cultures' " (p. 4). They are also the result of separation from the "other" as a result of social values and attitudes. Anti-racist education emphasizing the reduction of prejudice and discrimination, has therefore been an important part of multicultural education.

In North American society where cultural and racial diversity are important phenomena, anti-racist education has been needed to enhance multicultural education, as the basic concept of "equality of educational opportunity" is directly connected to anti-racist education. The need for anti-racist education has been particularly relevant to urban communities where people of different racial origins, including recent immigrants to North America, tend to live.

In Japan, there are some social prejudices and discrimination against minorities, but it is sometimes difficult to know who are discriminated against, as many minority nationals have tended to blend into Japanese society. As the concept of being different, as an important aspect in multicultural society, has not permeated Japan, most of the Japanese minorities are not encouraged to show their true identity. Furthermore, they are less recognizable since they do not have a clear distinction in their appearances, such as blacks or orientals in North America. There are very few "visible" minorities in Japan. Because there is less concern for racial prejudice as such, anti-racist education has not been practiced in Japan as in North America.

Racial awareness for mainstream Japanese society has been developing for those who travel abroad, for those few who might come into contact with the very limited presence of people of European origin, and for those who will encounter the small number of people of other racial origins whose numbers may increase but not significantly. Nevertheless, I believe that anti-racist education could be an important part of multicultural education in Japan as it can help to

challenge racial stereotyping which is often based upon ignorance about, or lack of contact with, people of other racial origins and so can be integrated into general education. Such an education can help in the building of a more open and receptive society.

### 2.6. Democratic education

Democracy is a basic concept very closely allied to multicultural education. According to Entwistle (1971), it "requires direct, active, and continuous citizen participation in government through discussion and a willingness to assist responsibly in the administration of policy decisions" (p. 73). Ghosh (1996) describes the democratic values that are a contributory part of multicultural education; "[v]alues such as human dignity, equality, justice, and freedom are universal ethical values that form the basis of democratic values" (p. 61). These democratic values directly relate to multicultural education. In a democratic society, all citizens must obtain "the right to be different and the right to belong" (Ghosh 1996: 61) and should "receive full status with no allowance for second-class rank."

In North America where the constituent nations have emphasized democratic values, and democracy is the major ideology underpinning society, education for democracy has been continuously developed to promote citizen participation in government. However, democracy has been interpreted in different ways. In the United States, individual rights and responsibilities have

been strongly emphasized, whereas in Canada, while individual rights are important, collective rights and the collective welfare have generally received more attention. That includes the collective rights and identities of different cultural groups. Democratic education in Canada has included acknowledging, respecting, understanding to some degree, and protecting the identity of different cultural groups. Differences tend to be celebrated rather than ignored or de-valued.

Japan is a much younger democratic society as compared to those in North America. Democracy was introduced into Japan after the Second World War, when power was transferred from the occupying powers to the Japanese people. The country is ruled nationally by an elected parliament called The Diet, and locally by elected governments in the forty-seven prefectures, and in cities, towns and villages. The government has twelve ministries which have "much the same titles and jurisdictions as American departments ... and they are similarly divided into specialized bureaus and sections" (Campbell 1989: 116-117).

In terms of sensitivity to minorities, the Japanese government has no specific department for supporting minorities in The Diet. It seems that the issues of minorities are attended to in a number of regular government departments. Campbell (1989) describes the policy of the Japanese government concerning minority issues as follows:

> [T]here has been more public attention to such issues as urban overcrowding, pension and health programs for the elderly and the handicapped, and to some extent the problems of minority groups and even

> women. Bureaucrats must now take such concerns into account to a greater extent than in earlier years, and thus, even if unconsciously, they have become responsive to a greater variety of interests (p. 124).

Although there is no particular department for minorities, "[l]ocal government has provided additional points of access and influence for minority groups" (MacDougall 1989: 157). Particularly, Burakumin are supported by local government for "special scholarships ... to further their education and thereby to take better advantage of the opportunities afforded by the open, democratic system." Thus, Japanese democracy, on the surface, functions the same as in North American society. However, in terms of actual representation, minorities are not well reflected in Japanese democracy at present.

In terms of the school curriculum, students are taught the ideology of democracy at school in a general way. However, there appears to be little critical discussion of the specific applications of democracy, of contemporary political issues or of democratic values.

Beauchamp (1989: 241) mentions that not all the Japanese schools are highly centralized and he introduces a school board in Kobe where various anti-discrimination materials are used for primary and secondary schools. However, he points out that it is not entirely successful. "[As] many teachers feel uncomfortable discussing such issues, this is an approach that may lend itself to long-term improvements in the situation" (p. 241).

Considering the relevance of democratic education to Japan, it is obviously equivalent since the nation has developed after the Second World War

with the adoption of democracy. However, there are many problems that arise when governmental policy is not based on democratic values; and it is significant to change the educational system as well as governmental policy to be a democratic nation. Pempel (1989) points out that "[m]ost discrimination [in Japan] lacks foundation in law but is nonetheless real and stigmatizes significant portions of the population. [Minorities] have been granted no systematic means of political or legal protection" (p. 23). Furthermore, Japan has had few minority legal challenges in comparison with North American society. Although the number of minorities is small, there may be more struggle for amendments to the laws with a growth in political consciousness.

Recently, as the number of foreigners have been increasing in Japan, the situation of non-Japanese citizens has received more attention, especially the recognition of their rights and voices in society. The idea of democracy may need to be reinterpreted in Japan. The quality of democracy will therefore also affect the meaning of multicultural education in Japanese society.

### 2.7. Political education

As politics is the allocation of resources, political education involves an understanding of the way in which power is gained, controlled and exercised in society. Power issues are significant concepts in multicultural education. According to Freire (1995), it is important for all groups in a society, especially disempowered groups, to become conscious of their own position in the society

and conscious, as well, of the forces and processes by which some groups may maintain power and others are oppressed or constrained. Chomsky (1991) has drawn attention to the way in which governments and large corporations use the media to manipulate information in the exercise of power. Political education has the task of developing an awareness of these processes, and of empowering individuals and groups to challenge the status quo (Entwistle, 1971 & Heater, 1969).

Since political education deeply relates to democracy, North American education has tended to emphasize political education in a democratic context. As immigrant societies, Canada and the U.S. have stressed civics and citizenship in political education. Conley (1988) observed that "[a]lthough most students do not study politics in any formal way, they do receive a great deal of political education ... " (p. 49). This type of education is gained through a number of different subjects, to some degree through school government, and "a sense of general citizenship, emphasizing particular attitudes and virtues over others" (p. 50).

In Japan, political education has not been developed as in North America because there is less concern for cultural diversity and Japan has not faced the situation of great economic disparities among its citizens. The educational system is shaped and controlled by the central government. As the central government possesses power in politics, those people who control the system are usually mainstream Japanese citizens. There are, however, some

disempowered groups.

For example, people of Korean origin who are permanent residents cannot become lawyers unless they are naturalized as Japanese citizens because they are not allowed to obtain the legal license to be a lawyer with Korean nationality. Although alien registration was introduced, including fingerprinting, from 1955, it was abolished in 1991, as it galvanized a protest movement and created a disturbing issue for the government (http://www.onekoreanews.com/tongil/rensai/min_koku.htm). These facts are not usually well known, as mainstream Japanese citizens do not experience situations of discrimination first hand. Generally, only the minorities and those who exercise power over them are aware of the disempowerment.

At this point, Japan has not fully recognized the significance or relevance of political education; however, it may be necessary to provide equal opportunities for minorities as well as for mainstream citizens. By considering the importance of equality, Japan may help its minorities to flourish and to participate more fully in national life. Critical consciousness has been developed, in the past, among some groups, such as the Burakumin, who have started an active social movement against discrimination, but they have had only limited success so far. A more systematic approach to political education would help young people to understand Japanese politics and to promote a transformation of Japanese society.

## 2.8. Education for social justice

Education for social justice is primarily concerned with equal educational and economic opportunity for all people. The value of justice, particularly for social minorities, such as female and handicapped people, is an important concept. According to Smith and Carson (1998), "concern with social justice allows us to question the lack of opportunities for certain segments of the population, systemic problems of racism, pay inequalities, sexism and so forth" (p. 28). As an important intent of multicultural education is to provide equal educational opportunity to students of diverse cultures, it is necessary to examine whether education is equally accessible to all children in our society. By including education for social justice, we are considering carefully another facet of multicultural education.

In the North American context, education for social justice is fairly well infused into society, since it closely relates to human rights education, anti-racist education, democratic education, and political education. There is often a disparity, however, between declared goals in a democracy and the realities that exist for different cultural groups. Research shows that minority students in North America generally achieve lower than mainstream/dominant group students (Ogbu, 1978). Many of multiculturalists have pointed out the fact that unequal opportunity produces a social and political gap between minority and mainstream populations. Education for social justice has developed in order to close these gaps and to produce a more just and equal distribution of resources, as one of the

important aspects in multicultural education.

In Japan, the concept of education for social justice is not emphasized to the extent that it is in North America. However, there is clear evidence which indicates the educational gap between minorities and the majority in Japan. According to the Ogbu's research (1978), a clear education gap exists between mainstream and minority students. He reports that "a number of studies show that long-term absenteeism, truancy, and school dropout are more prevalent among Buraku students" (p. 313). Furthermore, he concludes that "the minority outcasts in Japan ... consistently perform lower than the dominant group on tests of both intelligence and scholastic achievement. They also generally have lower educational attainments than the dominant group" (p. 314). According to Shimahara (cited in Beauchamp, 1989), one current report (c. 1984) shows that about 95 percent of Buraku students are enrolled in high school. Shimahara describes that "the difference in high school enrollment between the eligible minority and majority populations has narrowed to less than 10 percentages points" (cited in Beauchamp 1989: 240). Furthermore, Shimahara points out that "there is still a significant difference between Burakumin and majority youths in educational attainment at the postsecondary level", even though the gap has gradually been diminishing. Compared to North America, this information is not usually brought to public attention so that it is difficult for mainstream Japanese to be sensitized to the real situation of minorities.

By cultivating uniformity, the government tries to hide or to dissolve

cultural differences and to suppose that problems of discrimination are resolved. However, in fact, this ambiguous treatment has not changed the situation of minorities. The denial of minority rights works against education for social justice.

Education for social justice would involve examining systemic discrimination against minorities, creating a system in which minorities can openly voice their concerns and creating the value that being different does not threaten the unity of Japanese society.

### 2.9. Peace education

Peace education, which is also a facet of multicultural education, focuses principally on the peaceful resolution of conflict. While it means basically the idea of non-violence, it includes as well the concepts of "human rights, social justice, world mindedness, ecological balance, meaningful participation, and personal peace" (Smith & Carson 1998: 26).

How we think about peace depends on "personal and cultural experiences within particular contexts" (Smith & Carson 1998: 23). Although there is no universal definition or concept of peace education, the significance of peace education is "the hope that we can learn to live in harmony with one another and with nature" (p. 25). According to Ghosh (1996), " 'education about peace' deals with content; the broader term 'education for peace' (or educating for positive peace) involves cognitive, attitudinal, and behavioral objectives" (p. 33).

Through considering the resolution of conflicts, meaningful participation, and human rights, it is possible to develop larger perspectives in a multicultural society.

In North America, peace education has been considered very broadly. It is thought to include not only a study of physical violence, but also the deeper dimensions of structural violence and psychological violence. It leads the learner to think about the significance of human rights, equal participation, and social justice in society. By including these concepts, peace education encourages the development of multiple perspectives at the local, national and international level.

In Japan, peace is an important social value as Japan experienced the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki during the Second World War. Concern for peace education has grown from this experience and so the emphasis has been on non-violent resolution of conflict. In fact, Japan does not possess any nuclear weapons; there is no system of military conscription; and Japan only has a Self-Defense Force for the nation. As an atomic bomb victim, Japan has declared the abandonment of wars under the Constitution after the Second World War, and people pray for victims of the war on No-More Hiroshima Day. Although there is no particular curriculum of peace education in schools, the fundamental concept of peace at the national and international levels has permeated Japanese society.

In considering the relevance of peace education to Japan, it is necessary to remember how people have responded to the Second World War, which is

deeply embedded in the Japanese psyche. But at the same time, with increasing cultural diversity, Japan may need to perceive the more comprehensive meanings of peace. As noted earlier, cultural changes in Japan have the potential for increasing tensions between different social groups. The values of non-violence, human rights, social justice, world mindedness, ecological balance, meaningful participation, and personal peace at the intra-national level may be increasingly applicable in a multicultural society.

## 3.0. Summary

In this chapter, I have examined nine supporting concepts of multicultural education. The basic meaning of each concept has been explained, and the meanings have been examined in their North American and Japanese contexts. Both the complementary nature of the concepts and their inter-relatedness have also been discussed.

In the next chapter, I will summarize what I have found in this conceptual analysis and will also discuss findings of my study in response to the research questions posed in Chapter 1. I will also discuss the limitations of this study and offer suggestions for future research.

# Chapter Five

# Conclusions

## 1.0. Introduction

In my final chapter, I will discuss the conclusions reached from the data presented in the earlier chapters to the research questions that were initially presented in my thesis. There were four questions as follows:

1. To what extent is Japan an ethnically diverse society?
2. In Japanese society, what is the relationship between collective identity, group identities and individualism?
3. What are the supporting concepts and their meanings for multicultural education in western societies?
4. Given the nature of Japanese society, to what extent can multicultural education contribute to its overall development?

After presenting my conclusions, I will briefly discuss the limitations of this study and suggest some possible directions for further research on multicultural education in Japan.

## 2.0. Conclusions

### 2.1. Japan as a culturally diverse society

Today, Japan is noticeably changing in its demographic characteristics and also in its culture after the rapid technological development of the post war period. The government has encouraged the nation to be a democratic society

and its socio-cultural and political situation have been affected by outside influences, particularly, from western countries. While the government has adopted concepts and culture from outside, it has usually transformed these ideas to fit them into Japanese society.

Currently, it seems that Japan has been in the ambiguous situation of being an important part of international society while maintaining a cultural uniformity. Governmental policy has emphasized national unity; however, it is becoming difficult to maintain such cultural uniformity, since Japan has been changing demographically. In fact, the number of foreigners coming to Japan has increased. The increased presence of foreigners and of external cultural influences in themselves have had a significant impact on the diversification of culture in Japanese society.

At the same time, there is a growing awareness of the small number of minority cultural groups in Japan. They include the residents of Korean origin, the Burakumin, the Ainu and the Okinawans. While the numbers are small, they would be comparable to the numbers of aboriginal people in Canada. Among Japanese society, there is increased awareness of the presence and the cultural differences of these minority groups.

### 2.2. Collective and individual identities

In modern Japanese society, collective identity is still highly respected among people and harmony plays an important role in many places, such as

school, work place, and among friends. Individual identity, which is a major characteristic in western societies, is not so accepted in Japan; furthermore, it is often regarded as a negative characteristic.

While collective identity is very important to the Japanese, more space is being found in the culture for group identities and individual identities that are consonant with one another. The implication of this development is that education needs to be reformed to reflect the new realities, but at the same time the system of education can become an instrument of change. Current discussions of educational reform, which at present focus upon such issues as school violence, need to be understood within the larger context of cultural change.

The curriculum in Japanese schools has been carefully standardized across the nation to provide a uniform general education for all. Such a program supports the building of a collective identity. However, this curriculum does not take into account the different experiences of various cultural groups in Japan, or of individual differences in experiences and learning styles, or of differential needs on the basis of a preparation for future careers. Competitive examinations at various stages of schooling, emphasize and reinforce standardization.

Some of the problems generated by this system of education are school violence and the maladjustment of individuals who are not successful in the system. Greater attention to culture differences and to individual differences in learning could well assuage these problems.

Thus, I would conclude that the cultural and social aspects of learning do not have to be based at one extreme entirely on individual identity, or at the other extreme entirely on the collective identity, but rather on a dialectical relationship between the Japanese collective, the cultural groups and the individual citizens.

## 2.3. Supporting concepts

**The Supporting Concepts of Multicultural Education: A Summary of Their Meanings**

| Supporting Concept | Principal Meaning | Additional Meaning(s) | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Intercultural Education | **Diversity** | Voice | Comprehensi-veness | Communicati-veness | | |
| Multiethnic Education | **Respectful-ness** | Diversity | Human Dignity | Equality | Communicati-veness | |
| Minority Education | **Voice/ Participation** | Respectful-ness | Diversity | Human Dignity | Justice | |
| Human Rights Education | **Freedom(s)/ Liberty (ies)** | Security | Human Dignity | Equality | | |
| Anti-Racist Education | **Equality** | Justice | Human Rights | Awareness | | |
| Democratic Education | **Voice/ Participation** | Equality | Responsibility | Human Dignity | Justice | Freedom |
| Political Education | **Empower-ment** | Responsibility | Voice | | | |
| Education for Social Justice | **Justice** | Equality | Empowerment | | | |
| Peace Education | **Non-Violence Peacefulness** | Justice | Voice/ Participation | World-Mindedness | Ecological Balance | Inner Harmony |

In considering the relevance of multicultural education to the Japanese context, I have had to inquire into the meaning of the term, multicultural education. I found that multicultural education is a complex and many-faceted concept which has a number of associated concepts. In turn, each of the supporting concepts tend to contain a dominant value but also have composite meanings and associated values. I have summarized the supporting concepts in the table above.

It may be concluded from the above table that each of the supporting concepts tends to highlight a particular facet of multicultural education. However, in each case, there are associated meanings and values that overlap with the meanings of other supporting concepts. Although there are some distinct differences in meanings in each concept, many include the notion of *diversity, voice, human dignity, equality, empowerment, justice, participation and non-violence*. These notions form important meanings for multicultural education as a more generic concept.

The emphasis of the meanings in Chapter 4 indicated that with one exception, they all have relevance to Japan as a democratic society which has a small number of minority cultural groups. The exception is in anti-racist education which appears to be less relevant as far as internal relations are concerned in Japan, as Japan is virtually a racially homogeneous society.

Within the context of the demographic changes in Japan and the increasing prominence of minority cultural groups in the national consciousness, it

could be concluded that multicultural education has increasing relevance to Japan.

### 2.4. Multicultural education and national development

Japan has a long and complex history and only relatively recently has it had experience with democracy. To a great extent, democracy must be continuously rethought, reorganized and revitalized as its meaning is examined and reflected upon. A democratic state like Japan needs to conceptualize itself as a living and growing entity adapting the democratic process to change and new circumstances. The educational system reflects and contributes to this process.

I have exercised cautiousness in making comparisons between multiculturalism in North American society and Japanese society, as North American society is very diverse and contains a great range of cultural and racial groups. Japan has traditionally been a more homogeneous society with only a relatively small number of cultural minorities. The stimulus to develop policies of multiculturalism and multicultural education in Japan has been weaker and in consequence the practice has been slow to develop.

At present, Japan does not give high priority to the recognition of minority groups and these groups are not prominent in the national consciousness. Traditional practice has been to attempt to assimilate minority groups into the mainstream culture. However, external influences, such as the United Nations Human Rights Commission have drawn attention to human rights questions and

to the place of human rights in an emerging world culture. In addition, access of minority groups to worldwide internet communication is further sharpening the awareness of minority cultures of their human rights and of their cultural identity. Such processes have been developing a consciousness of intra-national perspectives as well as international perspectives of cultural diversity.

The extent to which Japan develops a policy of multiculturalism and multicultural education will be determined by the interplay between the strength of tradition and the need for and desire for change. The government has followed a policy of conserving and extending the mainstream culture and it has not, as yet, reached a point of recognizing human rights from a multicultural perspective.

The response of the Japanese educational system has therefore been slow. However, as Tanaka (1996) suggested, Japanese educators can open up their perspectives and can consider a new way of approaching the current educational system by interacting with and focusing upon the voices of minority students, who have different backgrounds (pp. 138-160).

Overall, I believe that multicultural education can be positively developed, in part, in the current Japanese educational system. Although many educators today are seeking a new educational system which recognizes Japan as an integral part of international society and as a nation that more and more will encounter other cultures, it seems that internal cultural diversity is often ignored. The educational system now needs to focus upon internal cultures, as minority cultures have tended to be hidden within mainstream society. It will then be

possible to recreate a new and unique culture and society within Japan.

## 3.0. Limitations of the study

My study of the relevance of multicultural education for Japan has been undertaken in Canada. A strength of this procedure has been that I have obtained a more comprehensive understanding of multicultural education than if I had undertaken the study in Japan. However, a weakness of the procedure is that, although I have gathered substantial material on cultural diversity in Japan, as well as on contemporary educational policy, the material in this regard is not as rich as if it would have been had the study been undertaken in Japan. Furthermore, it is more difficult to determine and to hear the real voices of cultural diversity in Japan today. A more thorough study of the relevance of multicultural education in Japan could well require that field work be done among such Japanese minority groups as the Burakumin, Ainu and Okinawans to determine the perceptions and needs of these minority cultures. That is to say I believe that a more valid and complete study of this topic would necessitate a more direct representation of the voices of the minority cultural groups concerned.

## 4.0. Suggestions for the Future Research

To some extent, suggestions for further research come from the limitations of the present study, but they may also come from extensions of this study. I would recommend that a systematic study of existing government policy on

multicultural education be undertaken, especially as it may reflect the relationship between the central government and other levels of government and the cultural groups themselves.

Second, it would be appropriate for a number of case studies to be undertaken of the different minority groups, to examine their history more closely, the nature of inter-cultural conflict that they may have experienced, and the cultural aspirations of the groups. Such case studies would provide the basis for more participation of the groups to help determine their future cultural development.

Third, it is recommended that research be carried out in selected faculties of education in Japanese universities to determine the extent to which multicultural education is a part of teacher education, educational policy studies, and institutional management studies. The conceptual ideas underpinning multicultural education could well form a useful framework for conducting such an inquiry.

Fourth, it would be possible to introduce action research into the schools of minority cultural groups. Such research would involve the discussion with teachers of such concepts as democratic education, multicultural education, human rights education, political education and minority education in the design and development of curricula. It would be conducted to determine the extent to which it empowers teachers at the local level.

A final recommendation is that the same type of action research could be

introduced to teachers in schools of the mainstream culture. The same supporting concepts of multicultural education could form the basis of reflective practice in which teachers would be encouraged to discuss the meanings and values involved, with both their students and colleagues. Such procedures can test the affect of developing multicultural education at a grass roots level and the way it could be adapted to local needs and circumstances.

# Appendix A

## Constitutional Documents Relating to Minorities and Human Rights Education

**Charter Oath of 1868**

By this oath we set up as our aim the establishment of the national weal on a broad basis and the framing of a constitution and laws.

1. Deliberative assemblies shall be widely established and all matters decided by public discussion.
2. All classes, high and low, shall unite in vigorously carrying out the administration of affairs of state.
3. The common people, no less than the civil and military officials, shall each be allowed to pursue his own calling so that there may be no discontent.
4. Evil customs of the past shall be broken off and everything based upon the just laws of Nature.
5. Knowledge shall be sought throughout the world so as to strengthen the foundations of imperial rule.*

The oath was written by the new leaders and given to the newly restored emperor to present to the people.

Source: Sources of Japanese Tradition, volume II, compiled by Ryusaku Tsunoda, Wm. Theodore de Bary and Donald Keene (N.Y.:Columbia University Press, 1958) p. 137.

五箇条ノ御誓文(明治元年 3 月 14 日)

掛巻も畏こき天神地祇の大前に今年三月十四日を生日の足日と撰定めて禰宜申さく今より天津神の御言寄しの随に天下の大政を執行はむとして親王卿臣国々諸侯百僚官人を引召連て此神床の大前に誓ひ奉らくは近き頃ひ邪者の是所彼所に荒び武びてあれば天下の諸人等の力を合せ心を一つにして皇らが政を輔翼、奉り仕奉らしめ給へと請祈申す礼代は横山の如く置高成て奉る状を聞食て天下の万民を治給ひ育給ひ谷蟇の狭渡る極み白雲の墜居向伏限り逆敵対者あらしめ給はず遠祖尊の恩頼を蒙りて無窮に仕奉る人共の今日の誓約に違はむ者は天神地祇の倏忽に刑罰給はむ物ぞと皇神等の前に誓の吉詞申給はくと白す

一 広ク会議ヲ興シ万機公論ニ決スヘシ
一 上下心ヲ一ニシ盛ニ経綸ヲ行フヘシ
一 官武一途庶民ニ至ル迄各其志ヲ遂ケ人心ヲシテ倦マサラシメン事ヲ要ス
一 旧来ノ陋習ヲ破リ天地ノ公動ニ基クヘシ
一 智識ヲ世界ニ求メ大ニ皇基ヲ振起スヘシ

我国未曾有ノ変革ヲ為サントシ朕躬ヲ以テ衆ニ先ンシ天地神明ニ誓ヒ大ニ斯国是ヲ定メ万民保全ノ道ニ立ントス衆亦此旨趣ニ基キ協心努力セヨ

**Imperial Rescript on Education (1890)**

Know ye, Our subjects:
Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue. Our subjects ever united in loyalty and filial piety have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof. This is the glory of the fundamental character of Our Empire, and herein lies the source of Our education. Ye, Our Subjects, be filial to your parents, affectionate to your brothers and sisters; as husbands and wives be harmonious, as friends true; bear yourselves in modesty and modernization; extend your benevolence to all; pursue learning and cultivate arts, and thereby develop intellectual faculties and perfect moral powers; furthermore, advance public good and promote common emergency arise, offer yourselves courageously to the State, and thus guard and maintain the prosperity of Our Imperial Throne coequal with heaven and earth. So shall ye not only be Our good and faithful subjects, but render illustrious the best traditions of your forefathers (Beauchamp 1982: 13).

教育勅語(明治 23 年 10 月 30 日)

朕惟フニ我カ皇祖皇宗国ヲ肇ムルコト宏遠ニ徳ヲ樹ツルコト深厚ナリ我カ臣民克ク忠ニ克ク孝ニ億兆心ヲ一ニシテ世々厥ノ美ヲ濟セルハ此レ我カ国体ノ精華ニシテ教育ノ淵源亦実ニ此ニ存ス爾臣民父母ニ孝ニ兄弟ニ友ニ夫婦相和シ朋友相信シ

恭倹己レヲ持シ博愛衆ニ及ホシ学ヲ修メ業ヲ習ヒ以テ智能ヲ啓発シ徳器ヲ成就シ進テ公益ヲ広メ世務ヲ開キ常ニ国憲ヲ重シ国法ニ遵ヒ一旦緩急アレハ義勇公ニ奉シ以テ天壌無窮ノ皇運ヲ扶翼スヘシ是ノ如キハ独リ朕カ忠良ノ臣民タルノミナラス又以テ爾祖先ノ遺風ヲ顕彰スルニ足ラン

斯ノ道ハ実ニ我カ皇祖皇宗ノ遺訓ニシテ子孫臣民ノ倶ニ遵守スヘキ所之ヲ古今ニ通シテ謬ラス之ヲ中外ニ施シテ悖ラス朕爾臣民ト倶ニ拳々服膺シテ咸其徳ヲ一ニセンコトヲ庶幾フ

**The Constitution of 1947**

Article 11:

The people shall not be prevented from enjoying any of the fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights guaranteed to the people by this Constitution shall be conferred upon the people of this and future generations as eternal and inviolate rights.

Article 14.

All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin.

Article 26:

1)

All people shall have the right to receive an equal education correspondent to their ability, as provided for by law.

2)

All people shall be obligated to have all boys and girls under their protection receive ordinary education as provided for by law. Such compulsory education shall be free.

日本国憲法（１９４７）

第十一条　国民は、すべての基本的人権の享有を妨げられない。この憲法が国民に保障する基本的人権は、侵すことのできない永久の権利として、現在及び将来の国民に与へられる。

第十四条　すべて国民は、法の下に平等であつて、人種、信条、性別、社会的身分又は門地により、政治的、経済的又は社会的関係において、差別されない。

第二十六条

１　すべて国民は、法律の定めるところにより、その能力に応じて、ひとしく教育を受ける権利を有する。

２　すべて国民は、法律の定めるところにより、その保護する子女に普通教育を受けさせる義務を負ふ。義務教育は、これを無償とする。

# Appendix B

## Statistics Related to the Population of Japan

**Table 1-1. Change in total number of foreign registrants**

| Year | Total number | Increase in % from previous yr. | Index number | % which accounts for the Japanese population (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1973 | 738,410 | | 100 | 0.68 |
| 1978 | 766,894 | 3.9 | 104 | 0.67 |
| 1983 | 817,129 | 6.6 | 111 | 0.68 |
| 1988 | 941,005 | 15.2 | 127 | 0.77 |
| 1989 | 984,455 | 4.6 | 133 | 0.80 |
| 1990 | 1,075,317 | 9.2 | 146 | 0.87 |
| 1991 | 1,218,891 | 13.4 | 165 | 0.98 |
| 1992 | 1,281,644 | 5.1 | 174 | 1.03 |
| 1993 | 1,320,748 | 3.1 | 179 | 1.06 |
| 1994 | 1,354,011 | 2.5 | 183 | 1.08 |
| 1995 | 1,362,371 | 0.6 | 185 | 1.08 |
| 1996 | 1,415,136 | 3.9 | 192 | 1.12 |
| 1997 | 1,482,707 | 4.8 | 201 | 1.18 |
| 1998 | 1,512,116 | 2.0 | 205 | 1.20 |

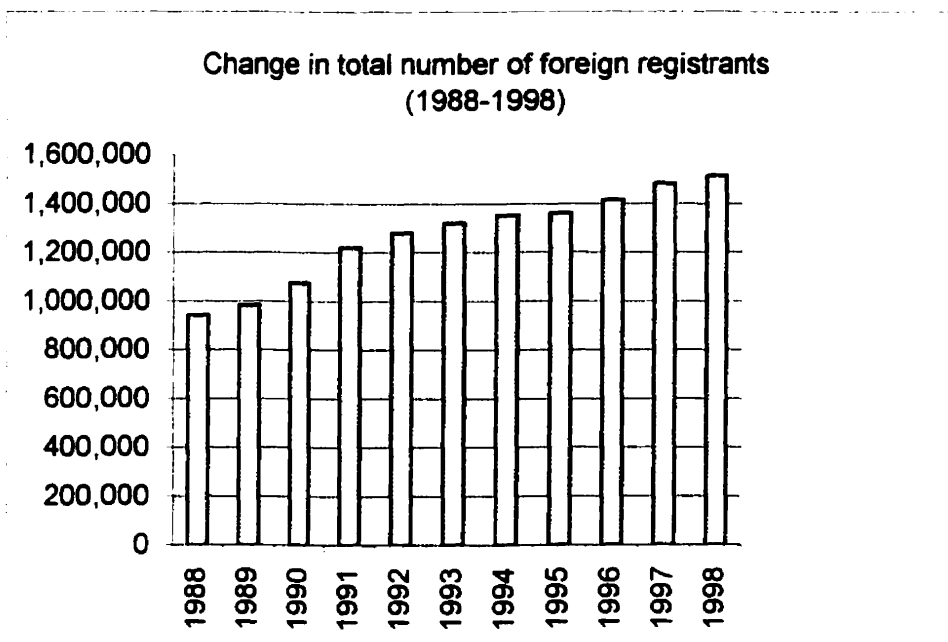
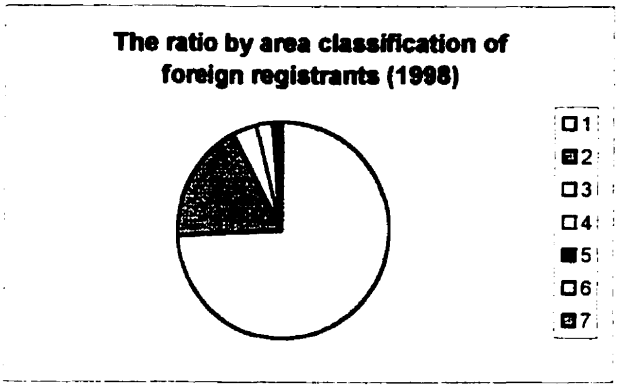


**Table 1-2.**

**Change in total number of foreign registrants classified by world region of origins**




| Area | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | Composition rate (%) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number** | **1,354,011** | **1,362,371** | **1,415,136** | **1,482,707** | **1,512,116** | **100.0** |
| Asia | 1,050,211 | 1,039,149 | 1,060,081 | 1,086,390 | 1,123,409 | 74.3 |
| South America | 203,840 | 221,865 | 248,780 | 284,691 | 274,442 | 18.2 |
| North America | 52,317 | 52,681 | 54,668 | 55,312 | 54,700 | 3.6 |
| Europe | 32,529 | 33,283 | 35,136 | 38,200 | 39,925 | 2.6 |
| Oceania | 8,571 | 8,365 | 8,753 | 9,645 | 10,514 | 0.7 |
| Africa | 4,909 | 5,202 | 5,609 | 6,275 | 6,940 | 0.5 |
| Non-nationality | 1,634 | 1,826 | 2,109 | 2,194 | 2,186 | 0.1 |

**Table 2-1.**
**Ratio of illegal foreign remainders by nationality**

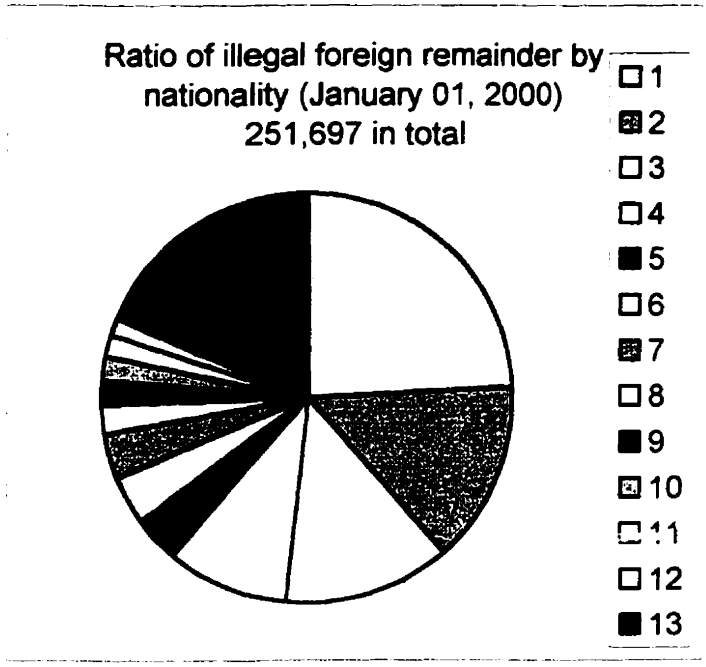


**Table 2-2. Change in total number of illegal foreign remainder by nationality (1990-2000)**

| Nationality | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 | 1999 | 2000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number** | **106,497** | **216,399** | **292,791** | **296,751** | **288,092** | **284,744** | **284,500** | **282,986** | **276,810** | **271,048** | **251,697** |
| Korea | 13,876 | 30,976 | 37,491 | 41,024 | 44,916 | 49,530 | 51,580 | 52,387 | 52,123 | 62,577 | **60,693** |
| Philipine | 23,805 | 29,620 | 34,296 | 36,089 | 38,325 | 41,122 | 41,997 | 42,547 | 42,608 | 40,420 | **36,379** |
| China | 10,039 | 21,649 | 29,091 | 36,297 | 39,552 | 38,464 | 39,140 | 38,296 | 37,590 | 34,800 | **32,896** |
| Thailand | 11,523 | 32,751 | 53,219 | 53,845 | 46,964 | 43,014 | 41,280 | 39,513 | 37,046 | 30,065 | **23,503** |
| Malaysia | 7,550 | 25,379 | 34,529 | 25,653 | 17,240 | 13,460 | 11,525 | 10,390 | 10,141 | 9,989 | **9,701** |
| Taiwan | 4,775 | 5,897 | 7,283 | 7,677 | 7,906 | 8,210 | 8,502 | 9,409 | 9,430 | 9,437 | **9,243** |
| Peru | 242 | 1,017 | 6,241 | 11,659 | 14,312 | 14,693 | 13,836 | 12,942 | 11,606 | 10,320 | **9,158** |
| Iran | 764 | 21,719 | 32,994 | 23,867 | 18,009 | 14,638 | 13,241 | 11,303 | 9,186 | 7,304 | **5,824** |
| Myanmar | 1,234 | 3,425 | 5,425 | 6,341 | 6,335 | 6,022 | 5,885 | 5,900 | 5,829 | 5,487 | **4,986** |
| Indonasia | 315 | 1,192 | 2,675 | 3,144 | 3,189 | 3,261 | 3,481 | 3,758 | 4,692 | 4,930 | **4,947** |
| Bangladesh | 7,195 | 7,807 | 8,161 | 7,931 | 7,295 | 6,836 | 6,500 | 6,197 | 5,581 | 4,936 | **4,263** |
| Pakistan | 7,989 | 7,923 | 8,056 | 7,414 | 6,517 | 5,865 | 5,478 | 5,157 | 4,688 | 4,307 | **3,414** |
| Others | 17,190 | 27,044 | 33,330 | 35,810 | 37,532 | 39,629 | 42,055 | 45,187 | 46,290 | 46,476 | **46,690** |

**Table 3-1. Change in total number of foreign registrants by nationality**

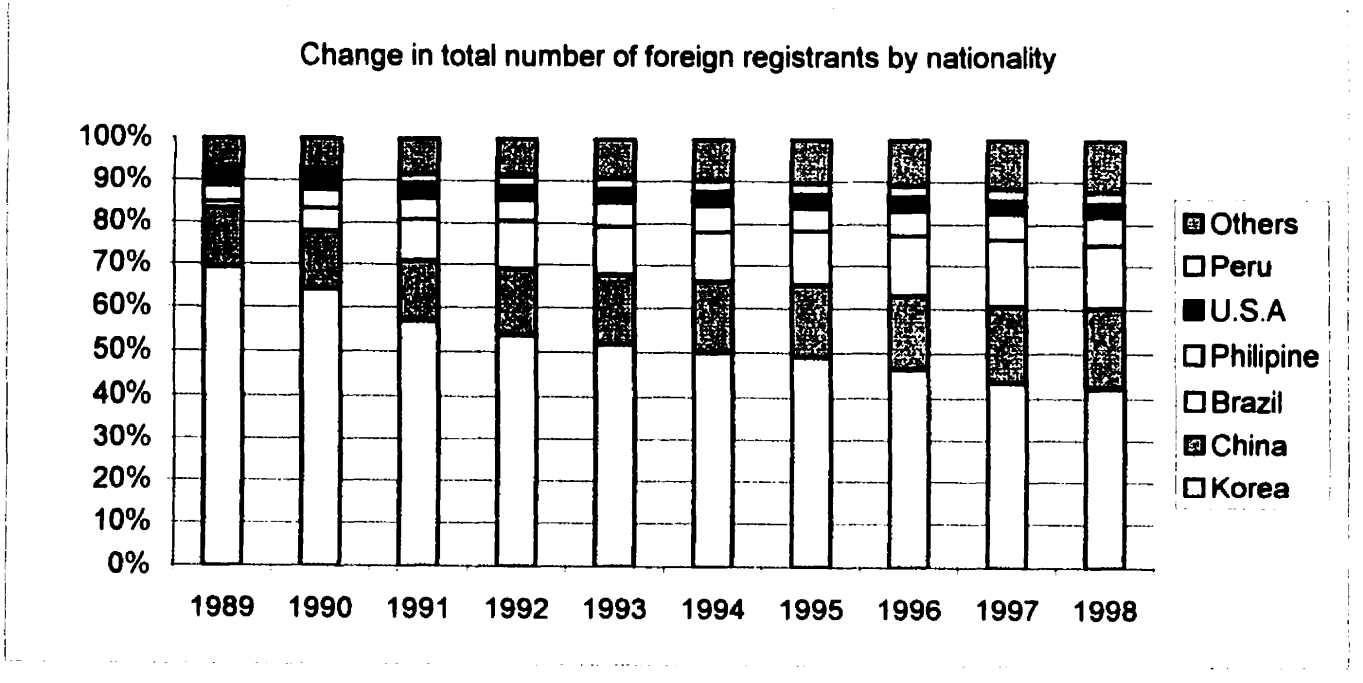


**Table 3-2. Change in total number of foreign registrants by nationality**

| Year / Nationality | 1989 | 1990 | 1991 | 1992 | 1993 | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number** | **984,455** | **1,075,317** | **1,218,891** | **1,281,644** | **1,320,748** | **1,354,011** | **1,362,371** | **1,415,136** | **1,482,707** | **1,512,116** |
| Korea | 681,838 | 687,940 | 693,050 | 688,144 | 682,276 | 676,793 | 666,376 | 657,159 | 645,373 | **638,828** |
| China | 137,499 | 150,339 | 171,071 | 195,334 | 210,138 | 218,585 | 222,991 | 234,264 | 252,164 | **272,230** |
| Brazil | 14,528 | 56,429 | 119,333 | 147,803 | 154,650 | 159,619 | 176,440 | 201,795 | 233,254 | **222,217** |
| Philipine | 38,925 | 49,092 | 61,837 | 62,218 | 73,057 | 85,968 | 74,297 | 84,509 | 93,265 | **105,308** |
| U.S.A | 34,900 | 38,364 | 42,498 | 42,482 | 42,639 | 43,320 | 43,198 | 44,168 | 43,690 | **42,774** |
| Peru | 4,121 | 10,279 | 26,281 | 31,051 | 33,169 | 35,382 | 36,269 | 37,099 | 40,394 | **41,317** |
| Others | 72,644 | 82,874 | 104,821 | 114,612 | 124,819 | 134,344 | 142,800 | 156,142 | 174,567 | **189,442** |

**Table 3-3.**
**Change in Total Number of Foreign Registrants and the Japanese Population**

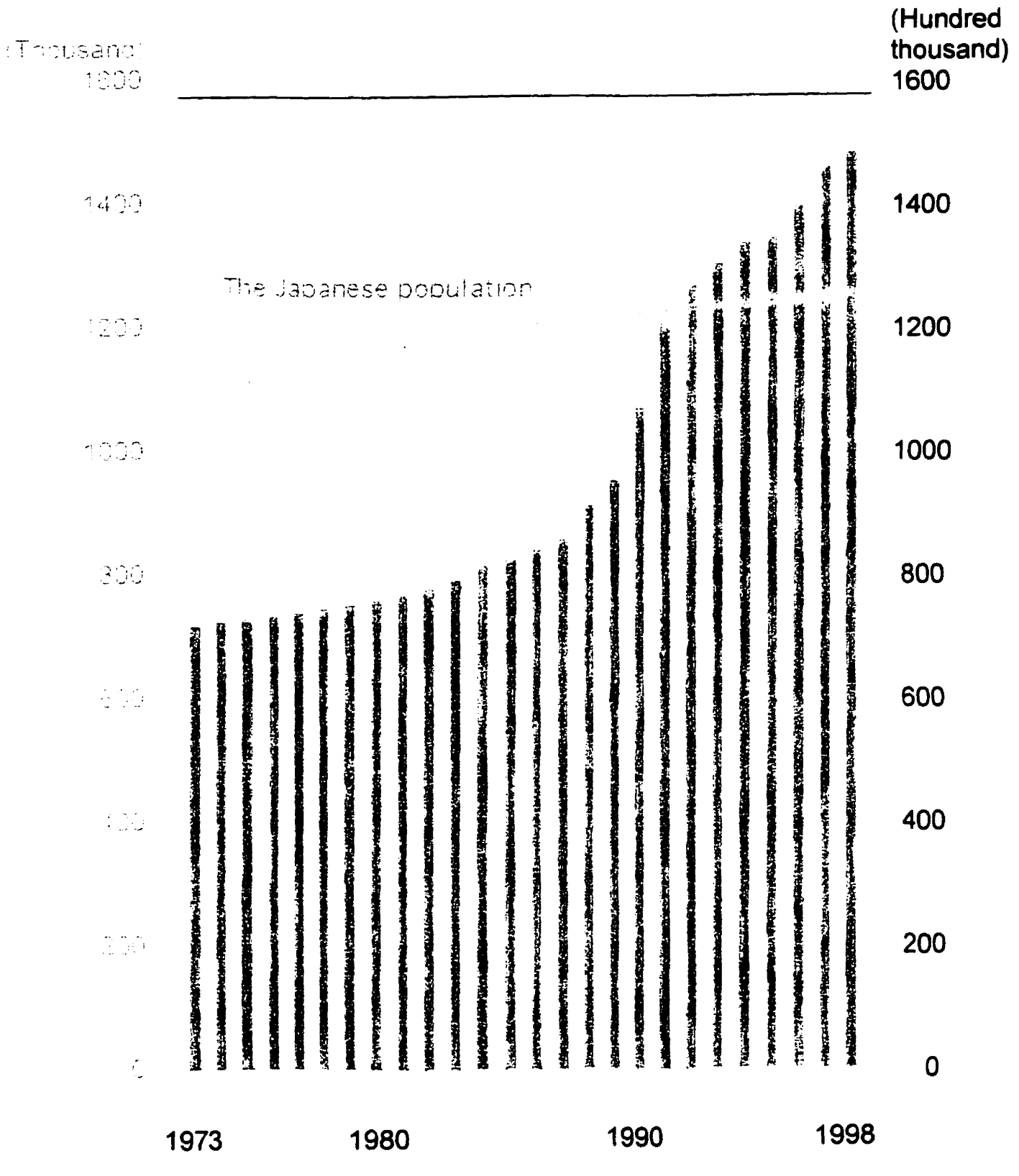


**Table 4-1. Change in total number of permanent residents**

| Year / Residential qualification | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Permanent residents** | **631,554** | **626,606** | **626,040** | **625,450** | **626,760** |
| General permanent residents | 52,867 | 63,556 | 72,008 | 81,986 | **93,364** |
| Exceptional permanent reside | 578,687 | 563,050 | 554,032 | 543,464 | **533,396** |
| Non-permanent residents | 722,457 | 735,765 | 789,096 | 857,257 | **885,356** |
| Total number in foreign registrar | 1,354,011 | 1,362,371 | 1,415,136 | 1,482,707 | **1,512,116** |

**Table 4-2. Change in total number of permanent residents by nationality**

| Year / Nationality | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Permanent residents** | **631,554** | **626,606** | **626,040** | **625,450** | **626,760** |
| Korea | 588,439 | 580,122 | 572,564 | 563,338 | **554,875** |
| China | 27,381 | 28253 | 30376 | 32,899 | **35,940** |
| Others | 15,734 | 18,231 | 23,100 | 29,213 | **35,945** |

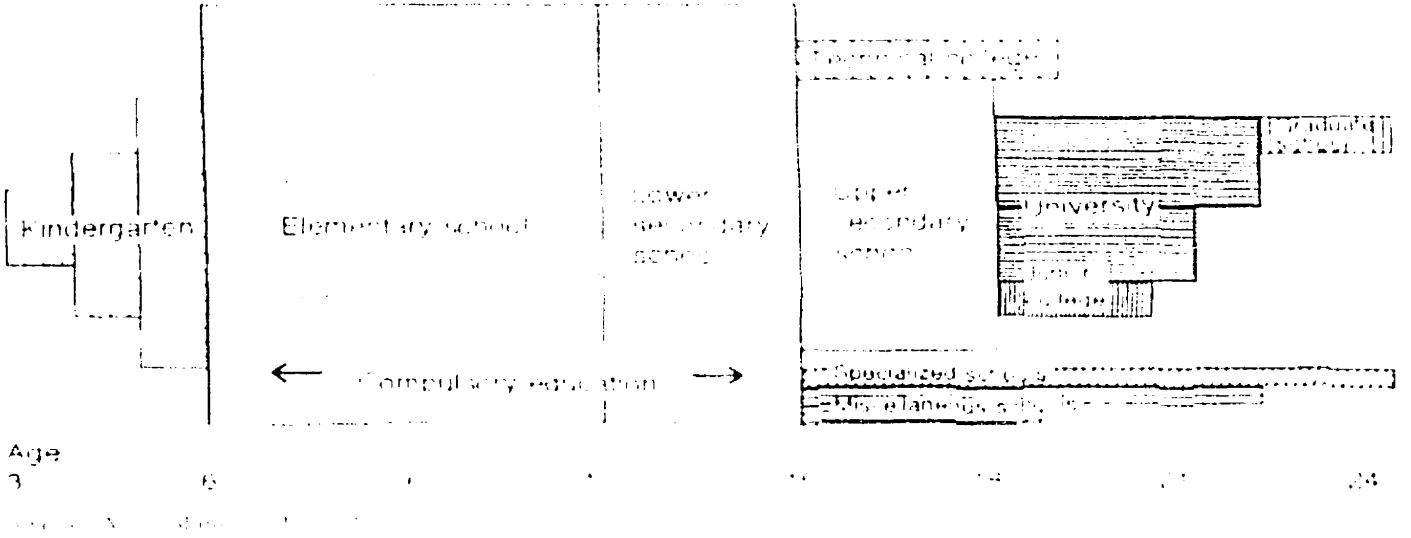
**Table 4-3. Change in total number of temporary residents**

| Year / Nationality | 1994 | 1995 | 1996 | 1997 | 1998 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Total number** | **136,838** | **151,143** | **172,882** | **202,905** | **211,275** |
| Brazil | 59,280 | 69,946 | 87,164 | 111,840 | **115,536** |
| China | 14,718 | 15,544 | 16,526 | 18,746 | **19,953** |
| Peru | 14,718 | 15,544 | 16,526 | 18,746 | **19,953** |
| Korea | 12,804 | 12,468 | 11,855 | 10,868 | **10,416** |
| Philipine | 4,006 | 4,740 | 5,584 | 6,751 | **8,385** |
| Others | 17,648 | 17,792 | 18,175 | 17,759 | **18,058** |

# Appendix C

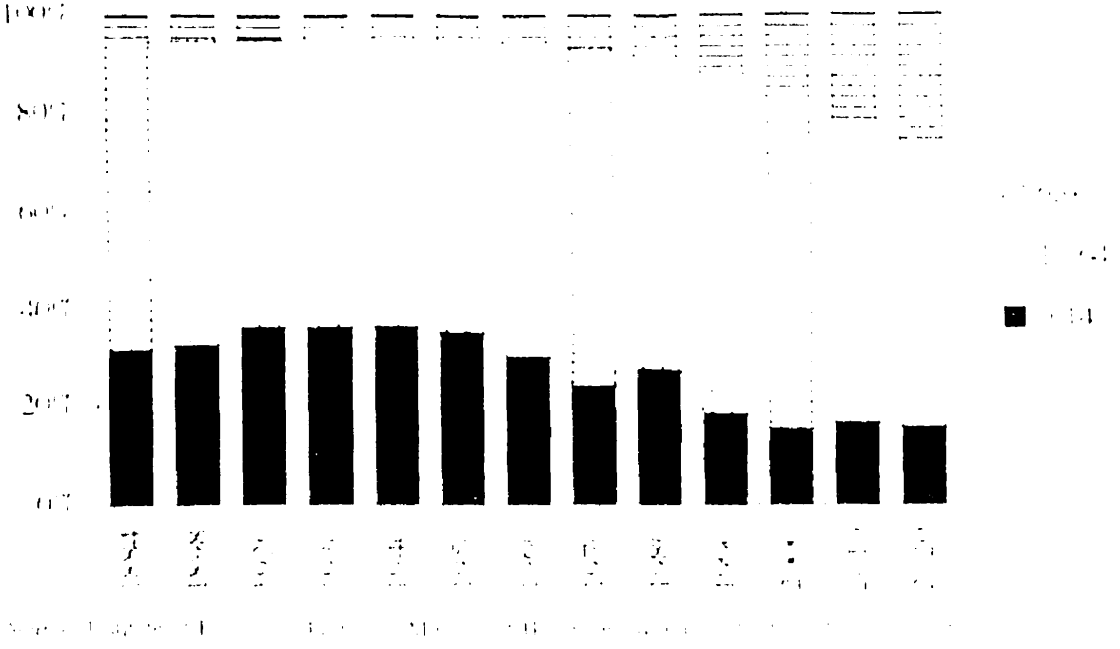
## The Japanese System of Education

**Figure 1. Japanese School System**




Cited in Kumagai (1996:63).

**Figure 2.**
**Changes in Percent Distributions of the Japanese Population by Three Age Groups: 1884-2020**

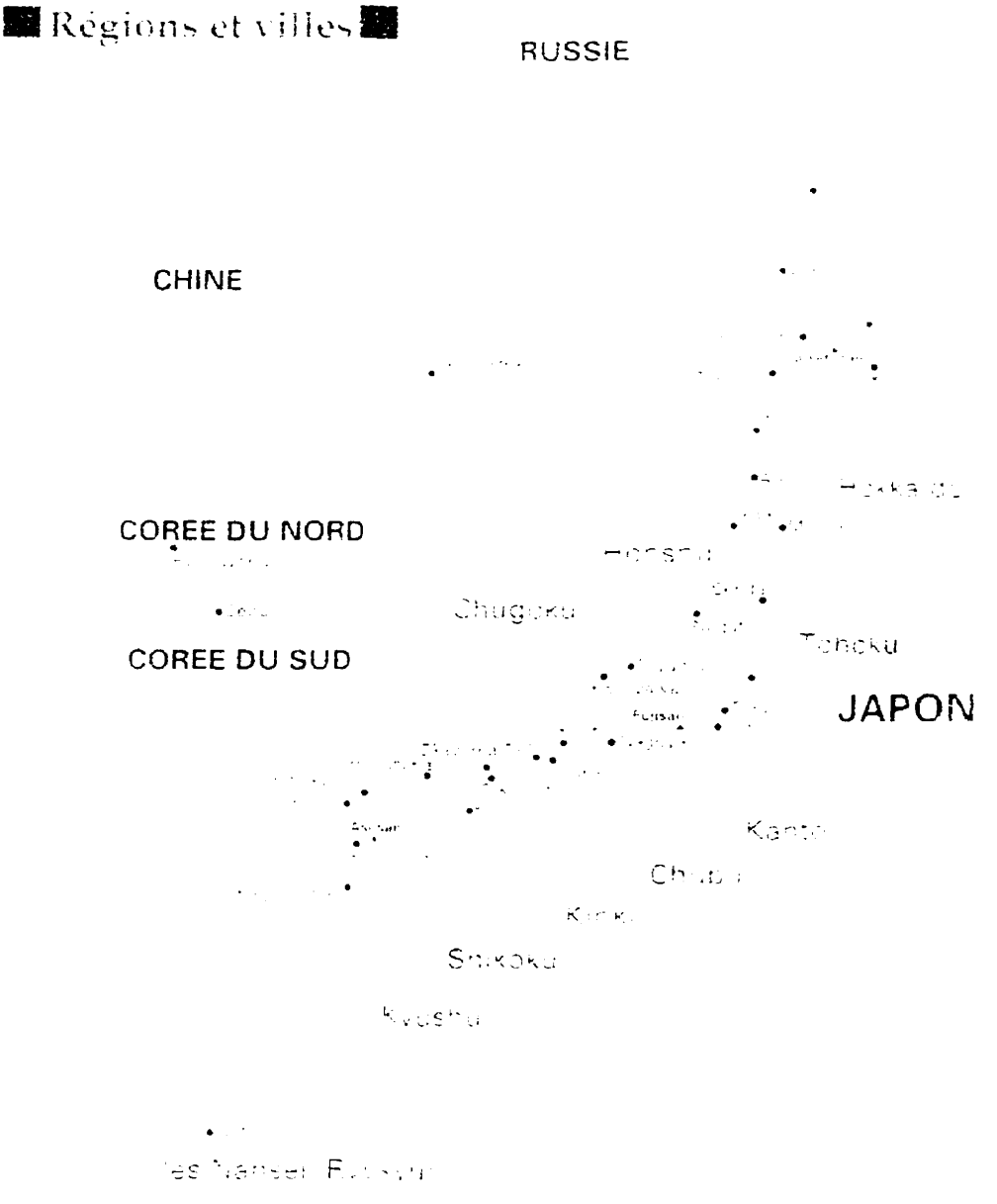


Cited in Kumagai (1996: 126).

## Appendix D

## Cultural Groups and the Geography of Japan

**Figure 1. Map of Japan**

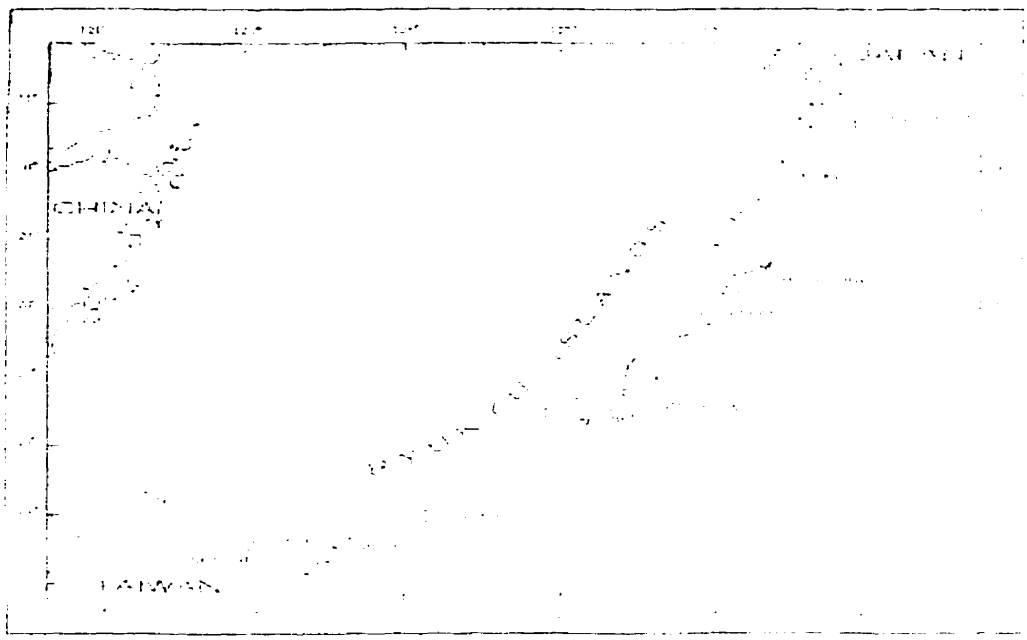



Cited in Kodansha International (1995).

**Figure 2. Map of present day Hokkaido**

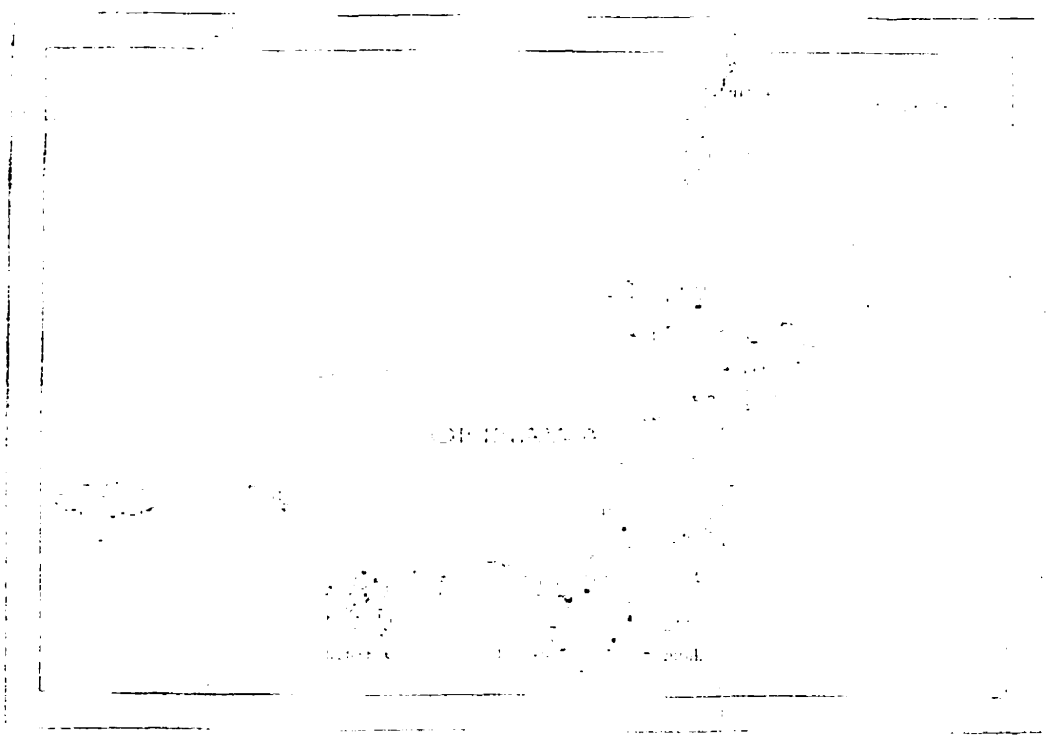
Cited in Sjöberg (1993: 2).

**Fugure 3-1. Map of Ryukyu islands**



Cited in Lebra (1966: 5).

**Figure 3-2. Map of Okinawa and outlying islands**



Cited in Lebra (1966:6).

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*Titles published in Japanese are listed in Japanese language and each is followed by a title translated into English within blackets.

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