

Integration and Separation of Immigrants in Japan
- Teachers' Orientations to Identity and Culture -

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Abstract
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International Social Survey Programme 2003 found that about 90% of the people in Japan favours the idea of maintain the ethnic minorities' culture, rather than their adaptation to the dominant majority's culture. It is outstandingly high percentage, compared internationally. The result is consistent with the fact that multicultural coexistence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) policy is welcomed in many local governments to support the immigrants. However, it contradicts to some academics' argument that Japan puts assimilative pressure to ethnic minorities. Therefore, this thesis analyse why the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities' culture enjoys such outstanding support in Japan. The mixed method approach of quantitative and qualitative study was used to solve this puzzle. International comparison based on the statistical analysis of national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minorities' culture revealed that (i) about 80% of the Japanese people have ethnic conceptualization of national identity, which is exceptionally high percentage than other countries, and (ii) the vast majority of both the people with ethnic and civic national identity favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities' culture. Therefore, the qualitative analysis of interview data with schoolteachers of the immigrants' children were conducted to examine why, of which aspect and to what extent teachers expect the immigrants' children to maintain their ethnic identity and distinct culture, and expect them to adapt themselves to the dominant Japanese culture. It was found out that it is expected for the immigrants' children to maintain their ethnic minority identity and traditional culture in private, and to adapt themselves to group oriented and rule-based Japanese culture in public. However, such group orientated and rule-based culture is not regarded as “culture”, but simply as “rules” to give an order to ethnic and cultural diversity. The finding of this thesis implies that multicultural coexistence is a new form of cultural nationalism in Japan (“tertiary nationalism”), meaning a nationalism which (i) has been brought about by confronting the growing ethnic and cultural diversity within a nation, particularly after '90s in Japan, and (ii) tries to preserve its rule-based culture and to spread it to the ethnic minorities by taking off its label of "culture", (iii) though not incorporating them to a member of a nation, but (iv) expecting them to maintain their ethnic identity and traditional culture in private.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

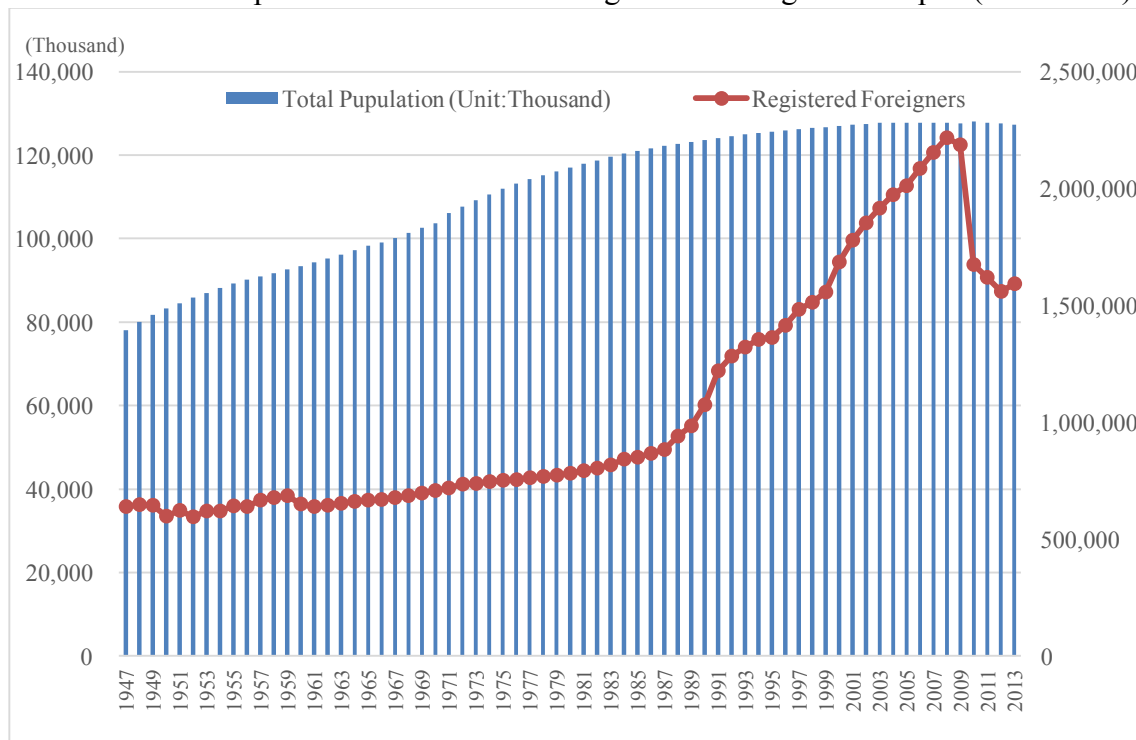
1.1 Research Question and Background

Immigration is a global phenomenon in the modern world. In many economically developed countries, one of the most critical issues is how to integrate immigrants into the country. Japan is no exception. In recent years, it has been receiving more and more immigrants, particularly since the 90s, when the basic immigration law changed¹² (Chart 1-1).

¹ The Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (“Syutsunyukoku kanri oyobi nanmin nintei hou”(出入国管理及び難民認定法)) was amended in 1990. It reflects requests by the Japanese economic community to accept more immigrant workers at a time in which the economy was booming (“bubble boom”) in the late 1980s. This amendment enabled individuals of Japanese descent in Brazil and Peru (“Nikkei”) to migrate to Japan more easily by creating the category of “fixed domicile resident” as a resident status and giving work permits to third-generation foreigners of Japanese descent. The number of immigrants rapidly increased after this amendment. The immigrants who arrived after this amendment are often called “newcomers” in contrast to the “old comers”, who migrated to Japan earlier. “Old comers” often refers to people from China and Korea with special permanent resident status. They are people who were forced to migrate to Japan during WWII.

² The details of more recent trends in migration to Japan, such as the effect of a declining population since 2005, the economic crisis in 2008 and the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 are described by Iguchi (2014) (pp.32-34).

Chart 1-1: Total Population and Number of Registered Foreigners in Japan (1947-2013)



Source: Statistical Survey Department, Statistics Bureau, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, and Judicial System and Research Department, Minister's Secretariat and Immigration Bureau, Ministry of Justice.

Notes:

- (1) From 1947 through 1970, excluding Okinawa-ken.
- (2) Up to 2004, all Japanese migrants whose period of intended stay in foreign countries were within 90 days (= the estimation by transients) have been included in the estimation of the migrational change.
- (3) Beginning in October 1950, legal immigrants and emigrants are based on the Statistics on Legal Migrants of the Ministry of Justice. As for Okinawa-ken, from Oct. 1, 1971 to May 14, 1972, the data are based on the Migration Statistics compiled by the Statistics Agency of the Ryukyu Government.
- (4) Beginning in October 1965, immigrants and emigrants staying for a short period are excluded.
- (5) The data regarding the number of foreigners, except for 1949, are as of the end of the year. The data for 1949 are as of the end of October. The data shows the number of foreigners registered based on the Foreigners' Registration Ordinance or the Aliens' Registration Act.
- (6) For the year 1947, the total population is based on the 1947 Extraordinary Census.
- (7) The total populations in 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975, 1980, 1985, 1990, 1995, 2000 and 2005 are based on the census population.
- (8) The total population in 1952 includes 2,968 persons from Toshima-mura, Oshima-gun, Kagoshima-ken, which reverted to Japan in December 1951.
- (9) The total population in 1954 includes 201,132 persons from the Amami Islands, which reverted to Japan in December 1953.
- (10) The total population in 1968 includes 173 persons from the Ogasawara Islands, which reverted to Japan in June 1968.

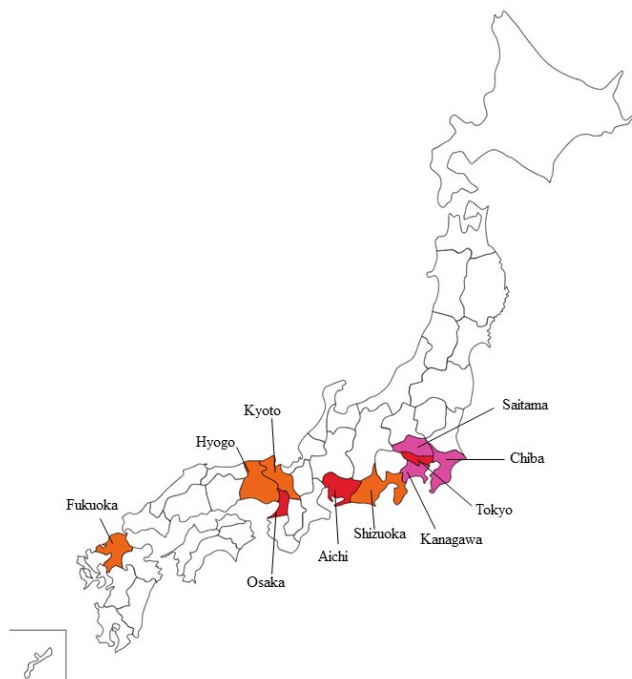
Table 1-1 and Chart 1-1 show the top 10 prefectures in the number of foreigners in Japan.

Table 1-1: Top 10 Prefectures in the Number of Foreigners in Japan (2014)

| Prefecture | Number of Foreigners |
|----------------|----------------------|
| Tokyo | 430,658 |
| Osaka | 204,347 |
| Aichi | 200,673 |
| Kanagawa | 171,258 |
| Saitama | 130,092 |
| Chiba | 113,811 |
| Hyogo | 96,530 |
| Shizuoka | 75,115 |
| Fukuoka | 57,696 |
| Kyoto | 52,213 |
| Total in Japan | 2,121,831 |

Source: Ministry of Justice, 2014

Chart 1-2: Top 10 Prefectures in the Number of Foreigners in Japan (2014)



Created based on Ministry of Justice 2014

Table 1-2 shows the top 5 sending countries for immigrants in 2012. The neighbouring East Asian countries, such as China, and South and North Korea, are the top two sending countries of immigrants to Japan, followed by the Philippines, Brazil and the United States.

Table 1-2: Top 5 Sending Countries of Immigrants in Japan (2012)

| Sending Countries | N | % |
|-----------------------|-----------|--------|
| China | 699,154 | 30.1% |
| South and North Korea | 549,798 | 23.6% |
| Philippines | 220,217 | 9.5% |
| Brazil | 183,066 | 7.9% |
| United States | 76,869 | 3.3% |
| Vietnam | 73,877 | 3.2% |
| Thailand | 64,173 | 2.8% |
| Taiwan | 59,633 | 2.6% |
| Peru | 48,828 | 2.1% |
| Indonesia | 36,354 | 1.6% |
| Total | 2,325,608 | 100.0% |

Source: Ministry of Justice

As to the purpose of migration to Japan, it is useful to look at the statistics regarding the new entry of foreigners according to status of residence (activities and social position). According to Table 1-3, the number of immigrants in every category has been increasing in recent years. Temporary visitors dominate, constituting about 97% of total new immigrants in 2014. Except for temporary visitors, students (24.5%), technical intern trainees 1-RO (22.6%), entertainers (10.5%) and officials (7.1%) were the popular purposes of migration to Japan in 2014.

Table 1-3: New Entry of Foreigners by Status of Residence (Activities and Social Position) (2010 - 2014)

| Status of Residence (Activities, Social Position) | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | 2013 | 2014 |
|---|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|------------|
| Diplomat | 11,167 | 9,678 | 10,977 | 10,215 | 9,056 |
| Official | 27,000 | 19,563 | 26,991 | 26,131 | 23,844 |
| Professor | 2,639 | 2,420 | 2,595 | 2,662 | 2,709 |
| Artist | 256 | 221 | 281 | 315 | 327 |
| Religious Activities | 713 | 737 | 737 | 1,291 | 923 |
| Journalist | 136 | 59 | 51 | 46 | 66 |
| Investor/Business Manager | 896 | 838 | 820 | 632 | 984 |
| Legal/Accounting Service | 3 | 4 | 4 | - | 3 |
| Medical Service | 2 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 27 |
| Researcher | 528 | 423 | 438 | 437 | 429 |
| Instructor | 2,339 | 2,540 | 2,312 | 2,366 | 2,526 |
| Engineer | 2,852 | 4,178 | 5,216 | 5,387 | 7,662 |
| Specialist in Humanities/International Service | 4,113 | 4,658 | 4,993 | 5,354 | 6,608 |
| Intra-company Transferee | 5,826 | 5,348 | 6,126 | 6,245 | 7,209 |
| Entertainer | 28,612 | 26,112 | 34,969 | 37,096 | 35,253 |
| Skilled Labour | 3,588 | 4,178 | 4,910 | 2,030 | 2,360 |
| Technical Intern Training 1-I | 2,282 | 5,178 | 5,876 | 5,585 | 6,377 |
| Technical Intern Training 1-RO | 23,720 | 60,847 | 62,039 | 61,841 | 76,139 |
| Technical Intern Training 2-I | - | - | 4 | - | 2 |
| Technical Intern Training 2-RO | - | 227 | 49 | 17 | 15 |
| Cultural Activities | 3,159 | 2,729 | 3,104 | 2,947 | 3,230 |
| Temporary Visitor | 7,632,536 | 5,180,961 | 7,246,072 | 9,247,673 | 12,052,223 |
| (within 15 days) | 1,200,397 | 703,300 | 1,116,106 | 1,325,109 | 2,571,914 |
| (within 90 days) | 6,432,139 | 4,477,661 | 6,129,966 | 7,922,564 | 9,480,309 |
| Student | 63,478 | 49,936 | 57,579 | 70,007 | 82,460 |
| Trainee | 51,725 | 16,079 | 17,957 | 16,486 | 16,162 |
| Dependent | 19,486 | 18,165 | 20,653 | 19,028 | 20,429 |

| | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Designated Activities | 11,972 | 12,954 | 12,659 | 10,711 | 10,661 |
| Spouse or Child of Japanese National | 11,452 | 10,766 | 10,855 | 9,244 | 9,114 |
| Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident | 1,068 | 1,392 | 1,877 | 1,870 | 2,039 |
| Long-term Resident | 8,178 | 7,811 | 9,845 | 8,788 | 9,911 |
| Temporary Asylum | - | 10 | - | - | - |
| Total | 7,919,726 | 5,448,019 | 7,549,998 | 9,554,415 | 12,388,748 |

Source: Ministry of Justice

Note: “Technical Intern 1” describes those who enter Japan to learn and train in technical skills for the first year, and “Technical Intern 2” describes those who continue to learn and master technical skills for a second/third year. “Technical Intern I” describes those who are accepted by a single company, and “Technical Intern RO” describes those who are accepted by non-profit organisations, such as commerce and industry associations.

In discussing the immigrants in Japan, we should also note that there are about 1,035,428 foreigners who hold permanent resident status (48.8%). Among them, about 360,000 are special permanent residents (16.9%), i.e., the descendants of the Chinese and Koreans who were Japanese nationals before the end of WWII (often called “old comers”) (Table 1-4).

Table 1-4: Registered Foreigners by Status of Residence (2014)

| Status of Residence | N | % |
|---------------------------|--------|------|
| Professor | 7,565 | 0.4% |
| Artist | 409 | 0.0% |
| Religious Activities | 4,528 | 0.2% |
| Journalist | 225 | 0.0% |
| Investor/Business Manager | 15,184 | 0.7% |
| Legal/Accounting Service | 143 | 0.0% |
| Medical Service | 695 | 0.0% |
| Researcher | 1,841 | 0.1% |
| Instructor | 10,141 | 0.5% |
| Engineer | 45,892 | 2.2% |

| | | |
|--|-----------|--------|
| Specialist in Humanities/International Service | 76,902 | 3.6% |
| Intra-company Transferee | 15,378 | 0.7% |
| Entertainer | 1,967 | 0.1% |
| Skilled Labour | 33,374 | 1.6% |
| Technical Intern Training 1-I | 4,371 | 0.2% |
| Technical Intern Training 1-RO | 73,145 | 3.4% |
| Technical Intern Training 2-I | 2,553 | 0.1% |
| Technical Intern Training 2-RO | 87,557 | 4.1% |
| Cultural Activities | 2,614 | 0.1% |
| Student | 214,525 | 10.1% |
| Trainee | 1,427 | 0.1% |
| Dependent | 125,992 | 5.9% |
| Designated Activities | 28,001 | 1.3% |
| Long-term Resident | 159,596 | 7.5% |
| Spouse or Child of Japanese National | 145,312 | 6.8% |
| Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident | 27,066 | 1.3% |
| Ordinary Permanent Resident | 677,019 | 31.9% |
| Special Permanent Resident | 358,409 | 16.9% |
| Total | 2,121,831 | 100.0% |

Source: Ministry of Justice 2014

Note: For the definition of “Technical Intern”, please refer to the note of Table 1-3.

The reasons for social distance between immigrants and the majority Japanese people are various, depending on ethnicity and nationality. We are able to use many means to consider the social distance between different ethnic or nationality groups. Here, I am going to summarise the social distance between Korean, Chinese, Brazilian, Filipino, and American immigrants and the Japanese people briefly in terms of appearance, culture, social position and contacts.

Korean and Chinese people look quite similar to the ethnic “Japanese”: As Japanese people are also Asian, it is often very difficult to recognise them by appearance.

That may be the reason why immigrants from Korea or China, and the third or fourth generation of “old comers” are difficult to recognise by appearance in schools. In particular, some of the “old comers” have Japanese names, and thus, they are also difficult to recognise by names. As for Chinese immigrant children who have just arrived in Japan, they can sometimes be heard speaking in Chinese if there is more than one Chinese student in a class.

On the other hand, people and children from other countries are recognisable by appearance in many cases. The children from Brazil, the Philippines or the US are often “visible” among the students in class.

How close these immigrants are to “Japanese” people in terms of culture is the similar to the closeness in terms of appearance. Korean and Chinese culture have much in common with Japanese culture, compared to Brazilian, Filipino or American culture. Many Korean or Chinese “old comers” were born in Japan and have assimilated with the dominant Japanese culture over generations. Some of them go to ethnic schools and maintain their traditional culture, while others go to Japanese public schools and are quite difficult to recognise by looking at their customs. As for other ethnic groups, it can sometimes become an issue for pupil guidance in school that children (especially girls) from Brazil, the Philippines or the United States have piercings, for example. Because it is often forbidden in Japanese schools, when a female student has a piercing on her body, teachers ask her to take it off in school.

As Korean Youth Association (2014) reveals, the third or fourth generations of Korean “old comers” are equivalent to the majority “Japanese” in terms of educational and occupational achievement; however, there is a tendency among the Korean “old comers” to work in smaller size companies, compared to their Japanese contemporaries. As for the “newcomers”, the social position of the immigrants varies because they migrate to Japan for different purposes. As Table 1-5 shows, apart from the long-term residents, spouses of Japanese citizens, and permanent residents, the Chinese immigrants (“newcomers”) are divided into engineers, students, and technical interns, the American immigrants are primarily professors, instructors, specialists in humanities/international activities, and students, while many of the Filipino immigrants are technical interns. Roughly speaking, therefore, the purpose of the residence of American immigrants is primarily so-called “white-collar” work, while those of the Chinese, Filipino and Brazilian immigrants are mainly so-called “blue-collar” work. Many of the Korean immigrants are the “old comers”, i.e., special permanent residents.

Table 1-5: Status of Residence by Nationality

| | Chinese | Korean | American | Brazilian | Filipino |
|--|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Professor | 0.3% | 0.2% | <u>2.0%</u> | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Artist | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Religious Activities | 0.0% | 0.2% | <u>3.7%</u> | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Journalist | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Investor/Business Manager | 0.9% | 0.6% | <u>1.3%</u> | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Legal/Accounting Service | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Medical Service | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Researcher | 0.1% | 0.0% | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Instructor | 0.0% | 0.0% | 10.3% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| Engineer | <u>3.3%</u> | 1.0% | <u>1.8%</u> | 0.0% | <u>1.0%</u> |
| Specialist in Humanities/International Service | <u>5.4%</u> | <u>2.0%</u> | 12.7% | 0.1% | 0.5% |
| Intra-company Transferee | 0.9% | 0.3% | <u>1.8%</u> | 0.1% | 0.5% |
| Entertainer | 0.0% | 0.1% | 0.8% | 0.1% | 0.1% |
| Skilled Labour | <u>2.7%</u> | 0.2% | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.2% |
| Technical Intern Training 1-I | 0.3% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.3% |
| Technical Intern Training 1-RO | <u>6.3%</u> | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | <u>2.4%</u> |
| Technical Intern Training 2-I | 0.2% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| Technical Intern Training 2-RO | <u>9.4%</u> | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | <u>2.8%</u> |
| Cultural Activities | 0.1% | 0.1% | 0.3% | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Student | <u>15.5%</u> | <u>3.2%</u> | <u>4.9%</u> | 0.3% | 0.4% |
| Trainee | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.0% | 0.1% |
| Dependent | <u>9.5%</u> | <u>2.7%</u> | <u>7.6%</u> | 0.2% | 1.1% |
| Designated Activities | 0.9% | 0.8% | 0.6% | 0.0% | 0.9% |
| Ordinary Permanent Resident | <u>32.3%</u> | <u>12.8%</u> | <u>30.1%</u> | <u>62.7%</u> | <u>53.2%</u> |
| Spouse or Child of Japanese National | <u>5.8%</u> | <u>3.1%</u> | <u>17.1%</u> | <u>9.2%</u> | <u>14.0%</u> |
| Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident | <u>1.6%</u> | 0.5% | 0.4% | <u>1.3%</u> | <u>1.9%</u> |
| Long-term Resident | 4.1% | <u>1.5%</u> | <u>2.3%</u> | <u>25.8%</u> | <u>20.2%</u> |
| Special Permanent Resident | 0.3% | <u>70.8%</u> | <u>1.4%</u> | 0.0% | 0.0% |
| Total | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |
| N | 648,734 | 508,561 | 50,515 | 177,953 | 213,923 |

Source: Ministry of Justice 2014

Note: Above 10% are double underlined, and above 1% are underlined by the author.

According to the Korean Youth Association (2014), roughly 40% of Japanese people have some contact with the Chinese, followed by Koreans (39%) and Americans (37%). Of Japanese people, 28% have some contact with Filipinos and only 17% with Brazilians. Therefore, at the group level, Chinese, Korean and American immigrants are closer to Japanese people than Filipinos or Brazilians in terms of contacts.

In sum, how closely the immigrant groups are felt by the majority Japanese depends on their ethnic or nationality group. In terms of appearance and culture, Chinese and Korean immigrants are felt to be closer to the ethnic “Japanese” majority than the other ethnic groups, as they are also Asian. In terms of social position, each ethnic group has certain characteristics, and thus, their social distance to Japanese people may depend on the social position that the Japanese people occupy. It may also depend on the neighbourhood in which they live, such as, for example, city centre areas with high property prices or suburban areas where the manufacture industry is powerful. With respect to contacts with Japanese people at the ethnic group level, the Chinese, the Koreans and the Americans are closer to the Japanese than the Filipinos and the Brazilians.

In the International Social Survey Programme (ISSP) 2003³, which conducted an international survey regarding national identity, the percentage of people who support

³ The ISSP is a continuing annual programme of cross-national collaboration on surveys covering topics important for social science research. (<http://www.issp.org/index.php>)

the idea that “it is better for society if different ethnic and racial groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions” was the highest in Japan among the 20 countries as shown in Table 1-4^{4,5}. Of the Japanese respondents 66.5% answered that “it is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions” (defined here as maintenance of the ethnic minority culture), while only 8.3% answered “it is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society” (defined here as adaptation).

Japan is the only country where more people support the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, rather than, as in the other countries in Table 1-4, the idea of adaptation to the larger group. This raises the question: why do many more Japanese people support the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, compared to other countries? This question is the starting point of this thesis.

The result of ISSP 2003 is consistent with the recent trend in local policies concerning immigrants’ integration in Japan. Where there is a relatively high number of immigrants, many local governments are now introducing the slogan of multicultural coexistence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”)⁶, which is sympathetic with the idea of multicultural

4 34 countries participated in ISSP 2003. I chose 20 countries in Table 1-1, because this thesis is interested in the integration of immigrants and national identity in the economically developed “receiving countries” of immigrants.

5 The question was “Some people say that it is better for a country if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?” The respondents were asked to choose one of the following: (1) It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions, (2) It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society, or (3) Can’t choose.

6 The historical background and the details of the local policies of multicultural coexistence, as well as the position of the national government about immigrant integration will be summarised later in section 1.2.

policies in Western societies. Multicultural policies (or MCPs) are the “policies for immigrants groups, the acceptance of territorial autonomy and language rights for national minorities, and the recognition of land claims and self-government rights for indigenous peoples” (Kymlicka and Banting 2006, p.2). The basic idea of multicultural coexistence, on the other hand, is that people with different nationalities and ethnicity recognize the differences in each other and try to build an equal relationship and live together, as defined in the report by the research group to promote multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*), set up by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in Japan. Therefore, the fact that many people in Japan preferred the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture is consistent with the recent growing phenomenon of multicultural coexistence, which seems sympathetic with the idea of multicultural policies in “Western” societies in terms of celebrating and respecting ethnic and cultural diversity.

Table 1-6: Attitudes toward Immigrants' Culture (%)

| Country | Maintain Customs and Traditions | Adapt and Blend into the Larger Society | Can't Choose | N |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|---|-----------------|-------|
| Japan | 66.5 | 8.3 | 25.1 | 1,094 |
| United States | 46.3 | 51.4 | 2.3 | 1,197 |
| South Korea | 43.1 | 47.6 | 9.3 | 1,315 |
| Switzerland | 41.4 | 48.6 | 10.0 | 998 |
| Portugal | 38.3 | 50.4 | 11.3 | 1,479 |
| Germany | 29.6 | 48.4 | 22.0 | 1276 |
| Ireland | 29.4 | 57.0 | 13.6 | 1,060 |
| Spain | 29.4 | 62.8 | 7.8 | 1,172 |
| Canada | 28.9 | 71.1 | 0.0 | 1,023 |
| Finland | 28.5 | 46.3 | 25.3 | 1,360 |
| Austria | 27.8 | 57.9 | 14.3 | 1,006 |
| New Zealand | 27.6 | 60.4 | 12.0 | 989 |
| France | 23.1 | 63.2 | 13.7 | 1,575 |
| Great Britain | 18.6 | 56.5 | 24.9 | 851 |
| Norway | 17.9 | 70.7 | 11.3 | 1,439 |
| Australia | 15.8 | 71.2 | 13.1 | 2,130 |
| Sweden | 13.1 | 72.6 | 14.4 | 1,156 |

Source: International Social Survey Programme 2003

However, according to the measurement of the strength of multiculturalism policies by Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) 2015, Japan is categorized as “halfway favourable”⁷. Moreover, some academics have claimed that Japan puts assimilative pressure on immigrants (Kang 1998). In short, the result of Japan in ISSP

⁷ “The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a tool which measures policies to integrate migrants in all EU Member States, Australia, Canada, Iceland, Japan, South Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Switzerland, Turkey and the USA. 167 policy indicators have been developed to create a rich, multi-dimensional picture of migrants’ opportunities to participate in society. The index is a useful tool to evaluate and compare what governments are doing to promote the integration of migrants in all the countries analysed” (<http://www.mipex.eu/what-is-mipex>). Each country is evaluated according to the situation of labour market mobility, family reunion, education, health, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination, and the general score is produced based on them. The list of indicators are summarised in Table 1-8 on p.32. For further information, *Migrants Integration Policy Index 2015*, MIPEX.

2003 contradicts some academic argument.

Consequently, the result of Japan in ISSP 2003 regarding national identity becomes more interesting. It is consistent with the recent widespread introduction of a multicultural coexistence policy by the local governments in Japan, however it contradicts academic discussion, which claims that Japan is culturally assimilative to immigrants (Kang 1998) and is “halfway favourable” in terms of implementing a multiculturalism policy for immigrants (MIPEX 2015).

The research question of this thesis is why do many more people in Japan favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, compared to other countries? Given that the idea of multicultural coexistence are widely embraced in local governments, and that multicultural discourse is welcomed in Japan, while it is criticised as being assimilative to immigrants at national level, how can we make sense of multiculturalism in Japan, or multicultural coexistence? What is the meaning of multicultural coexistence? The aim of this study is to solve this puzzle.

What affects the popularity of the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, rather than the ethnic minority’s adaptation to the majority’s culture in Japan? The question is how many cultural groups are recognized in a nation. Multiculturalism is the idea that society should accept and recognize the existence of plural cultural groups (Kymlicka 2001; Kymlicka and Banting 2006). On the other hand, assimilationism, a

similar concept to that of adaptation, is the idea that a society consists of only a larger, often dominant, cultural group, and cultural diversity is only practiced in the private sphere⁸. Thus, the question also involves a discussion of who, are culturally, nationals. It is a discussion about the cultural dimensions of a membership of a nation.

In sociology, the concept of national identity has been used to discuss people's perceptions about membership of a nation; their attachment to the concept of a nation. The people conceptualize a nation in different ways: ethnic, cultural, civic etc., for example⁹. Kohn ([1945] 1994)'s two distinction of national identity – ethnic and civic- is probably the most well-known conceptualizations. Heath and Tilley (2005) define that ethnic national identity highlights that a nation is a community of people having the same “blood”, putting much emphasis on having a national ancestry, sharing the same history or folklore. On the other hand, civic national identity, on the other hand, conceptualizes a nation as more of a political community of people with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds, putting much value on respecting the law and political institutions (Heath and Tilley 2005).

In general, it has been said that those with a civic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Hjerm 2000; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007; Verkuyten 2006; Verkyuten and Brug 2004; Kivisto

⁸ For the definition of assimilationism, Brubaker (2001) and Joppke (2004) argues the retreat of multiculturalism and return of assimilation. These studies are reviewed in later section: 1.4.2..

⁹ I will review academic literature regarding national identity, multiculturalism as well as other concepts related to immigrant integration in a later section (1.4).

2004). On the other hand, the people with ethnic conceptualisation of national identity are more likely to favour the idea of assimilation (found in British case by Heath and Tilley, 2005). However, nationalism in Japan centres on the “invented” (Oguma 1995) belief of ethnic homogeneity, and people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of multiculturalism in Japan (Nagayoshi 2011). Therefore, the outstanding support for the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture in Japan, found in ISSP 2003, become more interesting and needs to be explained. Why does the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture gather such support in Japan?

Nagayoshi (2011) concluded that her findings of the statistical analysis imply that Japanese people marginalize the ethnic minority by sympathizing with the idea of multiculturalism and emphasising their “otherness”. However, the questions of why and to what extent the people in Japan expect the ethnic minorities to maintain their distinct culture has not yet been studied. This thesis is set out to try to answer these questions. In sum, the aim of this thesis is to explain why many more people in Japan agree with the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, and in which aspect and to what extent they expect the ethnic minority to maintain their distinct culture.

In order to solve this sociological puzzle, I adopted the mixed-method approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis¹⁰. I first statistically examine the association

¹⁰ The details of the research method and data in this study will be explained in Chapter 2.

between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Japan and compare this with eight other countries: Great Britain, Germany, France, the USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden and South Korea, by using ISSP 2003 data. With an understanding of the nature of Japanese national identity and its association with the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, compared to that of other countries, then the relationships between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Japan will be explored in depth by means of a qualitative analysis of the interviews with schoolteachers who teach immigrants' children in Japan. The interview analysis will reveal the teachers' perceptions of "Japanese" and thoughts about the immigrant children's identities and culture. By understanding their images of "Japanese", and why, in which aspect and to what extent they expect the immigrants' children to maintain their ethnic identity and culture, this study will enable us to provide a mechanism that explains why many people in Japan prefer the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture, and what this means, in comparison with the theory of multiculturalism.

The focus of the latter part of this thesis is on education because it is a suitable field in which to observe what aspects of culture of the immigrants' culture are expected to be maintained or to be given up for adaptation to the Japanese majority's culture. Moreover, the skills and knowledge taught in school are embedded in the mainstream culture of the country (often the ethnic majority's culture), thus teaching the national language or national history sometimes is controversial from the ethnic minority's

perspective. The teachers of ethnic minorities often feel pressured to compete with values that are being taught in the mainstream culture (Berry 2005, 2009; Rudmin 2009).

In addition, studying the views of schoolteachers of the immigrant children has a strength of studying “pioneering case”. Having experiences of teaching them, their views may have an effect on shaping the educational policy and integration policy for the immigrants in future Japan. The result may not be able to automatically generalizable to the general population in Japan, however, as a “pioneering case”, the teachers’ interpretation of the idea of maintenance/adaptation of immigrants’ culture, and its association with the different conceptualization of national identity will enable us to have an in-depth understanding of the meaning of the support for multicultural idea in Japan.

The wider significance of this study is its contribution to an academic discussion surrounding multiculturalism and nationalism in Japan, by providing us with an account of how the local context shapes the global ideology and discourse of multiculturalism, and how nationalism responds to confronting ethnic and cultural diversity within a nation.

In this chapter, I will summarize the policy and discourse of multicultural coexistence, as well as the educational practice for immigrant children in Japan in order to provide the background information for this study. Then, I will review the relevant

literature in order to theoretically locate the significance of this study. Finally, the structure of the whole thesis will be explained.

1.2 Multicultural coexistence in Japan

1.2.1 History of Multicultural Coexistence in Japan

There are more than 2 million people in Japan who are foreign nationals. This number includes 360,000 “special permanent residents” who have lived in Japan since before the end of WWII. Mostly, they are of the Korean or Chinese nationalities (Ministry of Justice 2014). They constitute about 2% of the whole population in Japan. The largest population among them is the Chinese (roughly 700,000), whom amount to about 30%, followed by the Koreans, the Filipinos, the Brazilians, the Americans, the Vietnamese, and the Thais (Table 1-1, Ministry of Justice 2012). The Japanese migration policy is mainly shaped by the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, which does not include social integration policies (Iguchi 2014, p.48). Based on the Act, the principle followed by the government has been to accept foreigners with technological skills or knowledge as much as possible, while so-called unskilled labourers should not be permitted (Iguchi 2014). However, this principle does not always reflect the reality; only about 20% of migrants have the objective of working (Iguchi 2014). As to the social integration policy for immigrants, there is basically no state-level policy at the moment. Rather, the government takes the position of encouraging the local governments to

promote “multicultural coexistence” initiatives at the local level¹¹. In addition, we should note that the discussion regarding multicultural coexistence initiatives is mainly targeted at “newcomers”, not “old comers”. Initiatives to promote social equality for “old comers” can be found in some municipalities, such as Shinjuku (in Tokyo) and Kawasaki (in Kanagawa), which, historically, have been areas having a high density of “old comers”¹². However, it is possible to say that the “old comers” have been ignored in the discussion of integration at the state level, and in fact, have almost been excluded (The details of the state-level policy for multicultural coexistence will be reviewed in the next section, 1.2.2).

Wide use by the general public of the term “multicultural coexistence” (*Tabunka kyosei*) began in the late 90s (Yamawaki 2006, Iguchi 2014). Yamawaki (2006 and 2007) reviewed the prevalence of *Tabunka kyosei* in Japan. According to Yamawaki (2007), the first newspaper article to include the term “multicultural” was written in 1993 and addressed a suggestion submitted to the Kawasaki city council by a resident organisation regarding the “development of a multicultural coexistence town” (Yamawaki 2007). Then, a *Tabunaka kyosei* centre (multicultural centre) was established by volunteer citizens to support foreigners who had been affected by the Hanshin-Awaji earthquake¹³ in 1995; this was followed by many other citizen groups, which established *Tabunka*

¹¹ The details are explained in 1.2.2..

¹² It has often been the case that, in those areas, the “old comers” have led the initiatives to achieve equality, fight against discrimination, and promote multicultural coexistence initiatives.

¹³ The Great Hanshin earthquake was an earthquake that occurred in Kobe, in the western part of Japan, on 17 January 1995. More than 6,000 people lost their lives.

kyosei as the keywords for their activities. The centre expanded its activities to other cities, and many other citizens' groups also began to support foreigners in Japan, advocating "multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*)" as the keywords. For example, in 2002, an NGO, "Solidarity Network with Migrants Japan", in collaboration with many local organisations to support foreigners, released the policy proposal: "For a 'multi-ethnic and multi-cultural society'". Gradually, around 2000, some prefectural governments started to use "multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*)" as the keywords for their policies. Then, in 2006, the national government used the term "multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*)" as the keywords in a public document. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications (MIC) released the document "The Plan for Multicultural Coexistence in Local Communities" after the "Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion (「多文化共生の推進に関する研究会報告書」 (*Tabunka kyosei no suishin ni kansuru kenkyuu-kai houkokusho*))". Yamawaki (2006) argues that the firm establishment of the term was determined by the report released by the "Research group to promote *Tabunka kyosei*", which was set up in 2005 by MIC. This report defines multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) as people of different nationalities and ethnicities who recognise the differences in each other and are trying to build an equal relationship and live together (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Japan 2006).

The development of multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) obviously has

different historical roots from that of multiculturalism and cultural pluralism in “Western” countries. As Miyajima (2009) argues, the debate on multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) in Japan has neither been aware of nor affected by multiculturalism in Western countries. However, it is true that many academic researchers have studied multiculturalism and have participated in working groups, ministries, prefectural governments, education authorities and NGOs in an effort to deal with the problems and concerns about immigrants. Thus, the debate on multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) may now be influenced by the debate on multiculturalism to some extent. Moreover, particularly in the field of educational research, the idea of multicultural education has been introduced to immigrant education in Japan and has been much studied. This study will consider the similarities and differences between multiculturalism and multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) in the context of the literature on immigrant integration and nationalism.

I will review the (absence of) a state-level policy for the social integration of immigrants in Japan (1.2.2), the policy of the Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens (1.2.3) and those of some local governments (1.2.4) below, and highlight that it is the local governments and their alliances that have been pioneering an approach for the integration of immigrants in Japan.

1.2.2 Multicultural Coexistence at the State Level

Japanese migration policy is mainly shaped by the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, which does not include social integration policies (Iguchi 2014, p.48). As I summarised above, it is the local governments that have been actively promoting the social integration of the immigrants under the slogan of multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*); the national government has taken the position of assisting the local governments in their promotion of it.

At the state level, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications and the Cabinet Office play an important role in terms of promoting multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) in Japan. The former provides the local governments with the basic principles of how to accept foreigners (mainly “newcomers”) in Japan, as well as coordinates and exchanges information regarding local practices aimed at promoting multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) between local governments, while the latter develops state-level policies and actions regarding issues related to immigrants of Japanese descent (mostly from South America) who have been increasingly migrating to Japan since the 90s.

Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications

MIC uses the word “multicultural co-existence” as a key concept in its policy document. It currently provides an overarching policy to assist local authorities to

promote multicultural coexistence. It began to offer a workshop on the promotion of multicultural coexistence which was developed by a research group of academics and NGO staffs and local and national officers, and then, it released the “Report of a Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion¹⁴” in 2006.

The background section of the aforementioned report explains that local authorities had been promoting internationalisation in their respective communities through “international exchange” and “international cooperation” since the late 80s, while MIC formulated some guidelines¹⁵ for the development of communities where foreign residents can live comfortably. However, it is becoming necessary to promote the internationalisation of local communities further to ensure the “harmonious coexistence of multiple cultures in local communities”¹⁶, as the number of the foreigners is rapidly increasing and is expected to increase even more in the future.

It is worth noting that the focus of the report is mainly “newcomers” who have migrated to Japan since the 90s, when it became easier for immigrants of Japanese descent and their spouses to enter Japan because of the amendment of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. As the quotation from the report indicates below, “old comers” are mentioned only in the paragraph explaining the reasons for the increase in

¹⁴ 「多文化共生の推進に関する研究会報告書」 (*Tabunka kyosei no suishin ni kansuru kenkyuu-kai houkokusho*) in Japanese.

¹⁵ “Guidelines on local authority-led international exchanges” (Jichikaku No. 37, March, 1987), “Guidelines on the development of international exchange in the community” (Jichikaku No. 97, July 1, 1988) and “Guidelines on the formulation of the principle of local international exchange promotion” (Jichikaku No. 17, February 14, 1989)

¹⁶ Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications Japan 2006

the number of foreigners, and the motivation for the report is the “newcomers” whose numbers are rapidly increasing and are experiencing difficulties because of the language barrier.

| (English) | (Japanese) |
|---|---|
| <p>“Until the 70s, the majority of the foreigners in Japan were South and North Koreans (Zainichi Koreans), people from the Korean peninsula who have lived in Japan continuously since before the end of the war and their descendants. However, since the 80s, as the globalisation of the economy proceeds, more people have started to move over the national borders. The number of foreigners in Japan has increased because of the acceptance of returnees from China and Indochinese refugees by the government, as well as international students pursuant to the “100,000 Foreign Students Plan”.</p> <p>Furthermore, the migration of Japanese-South Americans has been promoted as a result of the amendment of the “Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act” in 1990. The increase in the number of Brazilians has been particularly notable, and their acceptance by indirect hiring has been increasing over the past 15 years in Aichi, Shizuoka and Gunma prefectures, where the manufacturing industries are powerful. In addition, the acceptance of trainees and technical interns from Asian countries has been expanding. In these ways, the number of foreign residents is increasing,</p> | <p>「1970年代までは、日本の外国人住民の大半は在日韓国・朝鮮人、すなわち終戦前から引き続き日本に在留している朝鮮半島出身者およびその子孫であった。しかし、1980年代以降、経済活動のグローバル化の進展によって国境を超えた人の動きが活発化した。政府による中国帰国者およびインドシナ難民の受入れや、「留学生受入れ10万人計画」による留学生の受入れなどもあり、日本における外国人住民の数は増加していった。</p> <p>さらに、1990年に「出入国管理および難民認定法（入管法）」改定により、日系南米人の来日が促進された。特にブラジル人の増加は激しく、愛知県・静岡県・群馬県等の製造業が盛んな地域においては、この15年あまりの間に、間接雇用の形態による受入れ進んでいる。また、アジアを中心とする国々からは、研修生・技能実習生の受入れが拡大している。このように外国人住民は、人口の伸びとともに、多国籍化が進んでいる。そして、このような経緯により1980年代から増加したいわゆる「ニューカマー」の中で定住化が進み、国際結婚も増え、永住資格や日本国籍を取得する者が増加して</p> |

and those prefectures have become multi-national. Increasing numbers of “newcomers” since the 80s have become long-term residents. International marriages have also increased, and more people have achieved the status of permanent residents and Japanese nationalities.”

(from 2. Background of Increase in Foreign Residents, Chapter 1 Overview, p.3)

--- In addition to returnees from China and Indochinese refugees, Japanese South Americans and their Japanese spouses can more easily migrate to Japan because of the amendment of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in the 90s. As a result, their numbers are rapidly increasing: They have begun to stay longer and have become long-term residents. Some of these newcomers have difficulties in communicating in Japanese; the response by the local governments to such difficulties is an urgent issue for municipalities with a high density of foreigners.

The increase in the numbers of foreign workers is considered to be unavoidable because of globalisation, the declining birth rate, the growing proportion of elderly people and the decrease in the population - although it is acknowledged as an unusual issue in only a few areas - therefore, it is expected that the response to foreign residents will become a common issue for local governments throughout Japan in the near future.

...Therefore, this research group considered the system of the programme

いった。」

(第1章総論、2.外国人住民増加の背景より、p.3)

・・・中国帰国者、インドシナ難民の他、1990年台の入管法改定により入国が容易となった日系南米人、日本人の配偶者である外国人などが近年急速に増加するとともに、滞在が長期化し、定住傾向を示している。これらのニューカマーは日本語によるコミュニケーションを充分にとることが困難な場合もあり、その対応がニューカマーの集住地域の市区町村における喫緊の課題となっている。

また、現在はまだ一部の地域における特別な課題と受け止められている向きもあるが、今後のグローバル化および少子高齢化・人口減少によって、外国人労働者の増加は不可避との予測もあり、遠くない将来において外国人住民への対応は全国の地方自治体にとって共通の課題となることも予想される。

・・・

そこで、本研究会は、このような現状と今後の見通しの中で、地方自治体が地域において多文化共生を推進するという観点から、そのための施策の体系（多文化共生推進プログラム）のあり方について検討し

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>based on the current status and future prospects as stated above (Plan for Multicultural Coexistence). ... (From 1. Basic Ideas Underlying the Consideration, Chapter 2. Consideration of the Plan for Multicultural Coexistence, p.6)</p> | <p>た。・・・ (第2章多文化共生推進プログラムの検討、1.検討にあたっての基本的考え方より、p.6)</p> |
| <p>The promotion of multicultural coexistence by local governments faces a wide range of challenges. Among them, this research group, as stated above, has focused on the fact that there are many issues arising in local communities because of the substantive growth in the number of newcomers in recent years. We regard the challenges faced by foreign residents who have become long-term residents, but do not have sufficient communication skills in Japanese, as the main focus for consideration, and we include both other foreign residents and Japanese nationals who have foreign roots in our consideration, depending on the issue. (From (1) Main Focus for Consideration, 1. Basic Idea of the Consideration, Chapter 2 Consideration of the Plan for Multicultural Coexistence, p.6)</p> | <p>地方自治体による多文化共生の推進は、きわめて幅広い課題である。そのうち、本研究会においては、前述したように、近年ニューカマーの大幅な増加を受けて、地域で多くの課題が生じていることに注目した。そして、定住傾向にあるが、日本語によるコミュニケーション能力を十分に有しない外国人住民にかかわる課題を主な検討対象とし、その他の外国人住民および外国にルーツを有する日本国籍取得者も課題に応じ、視野に入れて検討することとした。 (第2章多文化共生推進プログラムの検討、1.検討にあたっての基本的考え方(1)主な検討対象より、p.6)</p> |

The report also states that it is necessary for Japanese society to recognise foreigners, not only as tourists and temporary visitors, but also as dwellers and local community residents, as the foreigners are now becoming long-term residents. Furthermore, it states that it is important to support foreign residents in a comprehensive manner and to develop a system to promote their participation in society, as members of

the local communities in which they live (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006).

It establishes local authorities as the most important actors to promote multicultural coexistence in local communities and states that “the basic principles for how to accept foreigners in Japanese society should be presented by the national government”. Therefore, the aim of the MIC’s report is “to assist in the development of guidelines and plans for the promotion of the harmonious coexistence of multiple cultures at the prefectural and municipal levels” (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006).

Based on this report, “the Plan for Multicultural Coexistence in Local Communities¹⁷” was released, and the policy recommendations were presented to local authorities.

In the policy recommendations for local authorities, multicultural co-existence is defined as follows: “[P]eople of different nationalities and ethnicities live together as members of local communities, with respect for cultural differences and efforts to establish fair relationships” (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006).

Under the slogan of “multicultural co-existence”, it recommends four major actions to local authorities, as shown below (Table 1-7).

¹⁷ 「多文化共生推進プログラム」 (*Tabunka kyosei suishin programme*) in Japanese.

Table 1-7: Recommendations of Four Major Actions to Promote Multicultural Coexistence in Local Governments by the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications in Japan

| Communication Support | Livelihood Support | Development of a Multicultural Coexistence Community | Development of a System to Promote Multicultural Coexistence Policies |
|---|---|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multilingualisation of Local Information • Assist to Learn Japanese Language and Society | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing • Education • Work Environment • Medical Service, Insurance and Welfare • Disaster Prevention • Other (Establishment of Consulting System for Foreigners and Support for International Students) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enlightenment for Japanese Residents • Independence and Social Participation by Foreigners | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of the Local System • Division of the Roles and Cooperation between the Related Authorities |

Source: Report of a Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006

It seems that the four major actions to promote multicultural coexistence were developed in order to promote the equal participation of foreign residents in Japanese society from several perspectives, including linguistic support and livelihood support, as well as fighting against discrimination through the enlightenment of Japanese residents. It further pursues the firm development of a system to promote multicultural coexistence at the local level. The basic idea is similar to the ideas underlying multicultural policies in Western societies; however, it still has many shortfalls in the field of action in comparison with the indicators of the multicultural policies presented by MIPEx (Table 1-8), and it was evaluated as “halfway favourable”. Particularly, the political participation, rights and access of different nationalities are areas that Japan’s multicultural coexistence policy does not address.

Table 1-8: Comparison of the Multicultural Policies of MIPEX and the Multicultural Coexistence Policy in Japan

| Multicultural Policy (MIPEX) | Multicultural Coexistence Policy in Japan (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour Market Mobility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access • Access to General Support • Targeted Support • Workers' Rights • Family Reunion for Foreign Citizens <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition of Status • Security of Status • Rights Associated with Status • Education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access • Targeting Needs • New Opportunities • Intercultural Education for All • Political Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electoral Rights • Political Liberties • Consultative Bodies • Implementation Policies • Permanent Residence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition of Status • Security of Status • Rights Associated with Status • Access to Nationality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition • Security of Status • Dual Nationality • Anti-Discrimination <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definitions and Concepts • Fields of Application • Enforcement Mechanisms • Equality Policies • Health <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Entitlement to Health Services • Policies to Facilitate Access • Responsive Health Services • Measures to Achieve Change | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication Support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multilingualisation of the Local Information • Assist to Learn Japanese Language and Society • Livelihood Support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing • Education • Work Environment • Medical Services, Insurance and Welfare • Disaster Prevention • Other (Establishment of Consulting System for Foreigners and Support for International Students) • Development of a Multicultural Coexistence Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enlightenment for Japanese Residents • Independence and Social Participation by Foreigners • Development of a System to Promote Multicultural Coexistence Policies <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of the Local System • Division of the Roles and Cooperation between the Related Authorities |

Source: Report for the Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006 and Migrants Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). 2015. Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015

So far, the reports have been released in 2006, 2007, 2010, 2011 and 2012¹⁸.

The report in 2006 presented the background and the framework, and provided the basic principles regarding how to accept foreigners. Since 2010, the reports have included information regarding the programmes in some municipalities and prefectures, such as Miyagi, Kanagawa, Aichi, Shinjuku (in Tokyo), Iwata (in Shizuoka), and Osaka¹⁹.

In this way, MIC provides the basic principles regarding how to accept foreigners in Japan; however, it has taken the position of assisting the local governments that actually implement the initiatives. It acknowledges the need to support foreigners who have been increasing in number and have become long-term residents since the 90s (“newcomers”), but it almost completely ignores the “old comers”²⁰. It recommends that the local governments should implement actions for linguistic and life support (education and welfare), but it does not include a discussion regarding rights or nationalities. As

¹⁸ In 2010 and 2011, the name of the group was changed to “Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion”, and it reviewed the ongoing initiatives of some local governments. In 2012, the report particularly focused on disaster prevention and responses to disasters in reaction to the Great East Japan Earthquake.

¹⁹ The municipalities and prefectures are the areas where the members of the research group work. They are the areas with a high density of foreign residents.

²⁰ The “Report on Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion” released in 2010 stated that the initiatives for “old comers”, such as Japanese language lessons and first language lessons might also be partly effective for “new comers” (“Report on Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion”, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010, p.12). This indicates that the report recognised that, in some local governments, there already have been initiatives to support “old comers”, but the motivation and target of the report is consistently on “new comers”.

multicultural coexistence has been developed through initiatives at the local level, the agenda which needs to be discussed at the state level, such as nationalities and political rights at the national level, is not being covered in the current discussion of multicultural coexistence²¹.

The Cabinet Office

While MIC coordinates “multicultural coexistence” policies and actions among local communities, the Cabinet Office plays a coordinating role regarding the policies and actions for foreigners across national authorities in order to resolve issues related to immigrants of Japanese descent.

Recognising their difficult financial situation after the economic crisis in 2008, the Cabinet Office established “The Office for the Coordination of Policies for Foreign Residents” (「定住外国人施策推進室 (*Nikkei Teiju-gaikokujin shisaku suishin shitsu*)」) in January 2009 to take measures regarding the unemployment and unenrolment in schools of foreign residents of Japanese descent. In April 2009, the Office updated the measures and established the “Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese descent” (「定住外国人施策推進会議 (*Teijyu-gaikokujin shisaku suishin kaigi*)」), which consists of the Minister of State for Special Missions in the

²¹ In some local governments, local election voting rights are given to some foreigners. For example, in Kawasaki city, local election voting rights are given to permanent residents and foreigners who live in Japan for longer than 3 years.

Cabinet Office and the heads of various bureaus in related government ministries and agencies.

The Council released the “Basic Policy on Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent” (「日系定住外国人施策に関する基本指針(*Nikkei teijyu-gaikokujin shisaku ni kannsuru kihon houshin*)」) in 2010 and the “Action Plan on Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent” (「日系定住外国人施策に関する行動計画」(*Nikkei teijyu-gaikokujin shisaku ni kannsuru koudou keikaku*)) in 2011. Then, it reviewed the above two documents and released an updated version, combining the two documents into a single instrument entitled “Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent” (「日系定住外国人施策の推進について (*Nikkei Teijyu-gaikokujin shisaku suishin ni tsuite*)」) in 2013. In addition, the Council’s website gathers and shares information regarding the ongoing programmes to encourage the employment and enrolment in schools of immigrants of Japanese descent, as well as to provide more general support for living in Japan.

As the background for setting up its policies, it recognises the difficult situation of foreign residents of Japanese descent regarding employment and enrolment in schools because of the economic crisis in 2008, and acknowledges the contribution that they have made to the Japanese economy. Also, it states that the number of foreigners of Japanese descent, mainly Brazilians and Peruvians, decreased substantially after the crisis; however, at the same time, many of them have tended to become long-term residents in

Japan. Table 1-9 below shows quotations from the “Basic Policy on the Measure for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent”, which explains the background of the policy.

Table 1-9: Background of the Measures for Those of Japanese Descent– Quotation from “Basic Policy on Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent” by the Cabinet Office in Japan (2010) -

Focusing on the fact that descendants of Japanese nationals have a special relationship with Japan, foreign residents, especially Brazilians and Peruvians, of Japanese descent and their families (hereinafter collectively referred to as “foreign residents of Japanese descent²²” are permitted to enter and reside in Japan. In the course of this process, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised and entered into force in 1990. At present, these people are residing in Japan under a status of residence²³ provided in the above act, such as “Long-Term Resident” or “Spouse or Child of Japanese National.” These statuses of residence are based on the foreigners’ personal status or position, and these foreign residents of Japanese descent can, unlike foreigners admitted to Japan under a status of residence based on their activities, freely work with no limits on their activities.

These people have contributed to Japan’s economic development by supporting and invigorating regional economies. However, the global economic crisis that started in the fall of 2008 has changed the situation. Once they became unable to maintain the traditional style of employment, they found it difficult to find new jobs because of their insufficient Japanese language proficiency. This has increased the number of foreign residents of Japanese descent who can no longer make a living.

This increased the number of foreign children not attending school for reasons such as having to give up Brazilian schools in Japan because of financial difficulties.

At the end of 2008, the number of registered foreign residents of Brazilian nationality was 312,582, and the number of those of Peruvian nationality was 59,723. Since the fall of 2008, the number of foreigners leaving Japan has exceeded the number of those entering Japan. As a result of this trend, the number of registered foreign residents of Brazilian nationality at the end of 2009 had decreased by 45,126 (14.4%) from the figure at the end of 2008 to reach 267,456, and the number of foreign residents of

²² These immigrants are not limited to Brazilian and Peruvian nationals, but refer to any foreign residents of Japanese descent under a status of residence such as “Long-Term Resident” or “Spouse or Child of Japanese National,” for their Japanese origin. (Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent 2010, p.1)

²³ The statuses of residence based on personal status or position are as follows: Permanent Resident, Spouse or Child of Japanese National, Spouse or Child of Permanent Resident, or Long-Term Resident. (Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent 2010, p.1)

Peruvian nationality fell by 2,259 (3.8%) to reach 57,464. These data suggest that, amid the still severe economic conditions, a considerable number of foreign residents of Japanese descent have given up living in Japan and have returned to their home countries for reasons such as poor prospects to find a job. In contrast, a fairly large number of foreign residents of Japanese descent still remain in Japan. Those who have lived in the country for a long time tend to stay.

Cited from (1) Situation of foreign residents of Japanese descent. 1. Situation of foreign residents of Japanese descent and future actions. “Basic Policy on Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent (Provisional Translation)”

Source: “Basic Policy on Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent (Provisional Translation)”, Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent, 2010

Based on the recognition of the difficult situation experienced by foreign residents of Japanese descent, the Council stated: “The government has been taking urgent measures in areas such as employment and education. However, the above facts indicate that the government should properly accept foreign residents of Japanese descent as members of Japanese society, rather than simply permit them to settle down in Japan. The government needs to draw up measures for this. In a sense, Japan’s incomplete system to accept foreign residents of Japanese descent as members of Japanese society has created a situation like this” (Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent 2010, p.2). The Council clearly stated that the government should properly accept foreign residents of Japanese descent as members of Japanese society. Also, the following statement expresses the basic concepts regarding the measures: “It is necessary to ensure that foreign residents of Japanese descent, who often have insufficient Japanese language proficiency, are properly accepted as members of Japanese society and are prevented from being excluded from society. An important

perspective in fostering their acceptance as members of Japanese society is that people of different nationalities live together as members of Japanese society, with a respect for cultural differences and efforts to establish fair relationships” (Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent 2010, p.3). It barely mentions other foreigners, stating: “Not only foreign residents of Japanese descent, but also other foreigners residing in Japan may be faced with similar problems. It is desirable that measures for foreign residents of Japanese descent will be applicable to these foreigners to the extent possible.” (Council for the Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent 2010, p.4). This attitude toward individuals of Japanese descent is completely different from the attitude toward other foreigners presented by MIC’s multicultural coexistence policy, which regards them as members of local communities. Therefore, it is possible to say that, at the state level, only foreigners of Japanese descent are thought of as members of Japanese society, and other foreigners are seen as members of local communities.

The Council claims that measures for the foreign residents of Japanese descent should be developed in the following five areas:

- i. Being able to communicate in Japanese in everyday life;
- ii. Providing proper care for children;
- iii. Obtaining a stable job;

- iv. Addressing problems faced in society²⁴ (providing information about education, insurance, health care, disaster prevention, anticrime measures, etc.);
- v. Respecting each other's cultures.

“Becoming a member of a local community” was newly added in 2014, and now measures are being taken in six areas. While the word “multicultural coexistence” or multiculturalism does not appear to be a key concept of the whole policy at the national level, the Council supports “the plan for multicultural coexistence in local communities” by MIC and encourages its activities.

Table 1-10 summarises the areas covered by multicultural policies presented by MIPEX, the multicultural coexistence policy by MIC in Japan which is targeted mainly at foreigners who have migrated to Japan since the 90s, and the policy for foreigners of Japanese descent by Japan's Cabinet Office to support them in addressing the difficulties they have experienced following the economic crisis in 2008. Because of its characteristic as a countermeasure to the financial crisis in 2008, the Cabinet Office's policy covers limited areas. The policy and measures will be reviewed in three years, and thus, it is worth watching continuously in the future.

²⁴ In 2014, it was changed to “Living Safely and Peacefully” and the areas addressed by the measures were broader and further developed, such as disaster prevention (which strongly recognised the effects of the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011), housing support, insurance and the operation of the Basic Resident Registrar as a result of the abolishment of the Foreigners' Recognition Act in 2012.

Table 1-10: Comparison of the Multicultural Policies by MIPEX and State-level Policy for Foreigners in Japan. Source: Report of a Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2006 and Migrants Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). 2015. Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015

| Multicultural Policy (MIPEX) | Multicultural Coexistence Policy in Japan (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications) |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labour Market Mobility • Access • Access to General Support • Targeted Support • Workers' Rights • Family Reunion for Foreign Citizens • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition of Status • Security of Status • Rights Associated with Status • Education • Access • Targeting Needs • New Opportunities • Intercultural Education for All • Political Participation • Electoral Rights • Political Liberties • Consultative Bodies • Implementation Policies • Permanent Residence • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition of Status • Security of Status • Rights Associated with Status • Access to Nationality • Eligibility • Conditions for Acquisition • Security of Status • Dual Nationality • Anti-Discrimination • Definitions and Concepts • Fields of Application • Enforcement Mechanisms • Equality Policies • Health • Entitlement to Health Service • Policies to Facilitate Access • Responsive Health Services • Measures to Achieve Change | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communication Support • Multilingualization of the Local Information • Assist to Learn Japanese Language and Society • Livelihood Support • Housing • Education • Work Environment • Medical Service, Insurance and Welfare • Disaster Prevention • Other (Establishment of Consulting System for Foreigners and Support for International Students) • Development of a Multicultural Coexistence Community • Enlightenment for the Japanese Residents • Independence and Social Participation by the Foreigners • Development of a System to Promote Multicultural Coexistence Policies • Development of the Local System • Division of the Roles and Cooperation between the Related Authorities |
| | <p data-bbox="823 1323 1315 1375" style="text-align: center;">Policy for Foreign Residents of Japanese Descent (Cabinet Office)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Being Able to Communicate in Japanese in Everyday Life (Communication Support) • Providing Proper Care for Children (Education) • Obtaining a Stable Job (Access to Labor Market) • Living Safely and Peacefully (Livelihood Support) • Becoming a Member of Local Community (Development of a Multicultural Coexistence Community) • Respecting Each Other's Culture (Development of Multicultural Coexistence Community) |

Source: Report of a Workshop on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006; Migrants Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) 2015; Migrant Integration Policy Index 2015; and Promotion of Measures for Foreign Residents of Japanese

It is worth noting that the measures by the Cabinet Office are targeted only at foreigners of Japanese descent. The target of the measures is based on an ethnic standard (bloodlines or ancestry), and they state that foreigners of Japanese descent are members of Japanese society, which is different from the recognition of foreigners (mainly “newcomers”) as “members of local communities” by MIC. This reinforces that, in the discussions at the state level, “Japanese” is defined ethnically (bloodlines or ancestry), and foreigners of Japanese descent are recognised as being closer to “Japanese” than other foreigners²⁵.

Abolishment of Foreigners’ Registration Act

Although it is possible to say that a state-level policy of immigrant integration is absent in Japan, we recently saw a first step or the beginning of the foundation for immigrant integration in the abolishment of the Foreigners’ Registration Act in 2012²⁶. In this abolishment, the data system for foreigners was integrated into that for Japanese citizens. It is said that this change created a basis to guarantee the rights and the fulfilment of obligations to foreign citizens (Iguchi 2014).

²⁵ Social distance and national identity (typology of “Japanese”) will be discussed in the literature review.

²⁶ The bill was passed by the parliament in July 2009, and the law took effect partially in July 2010 and totally in July 2012 (Iguchi 2014, p.45).

Although it is far from the establishment of an “immigrant integration” policy and measures, it may be possible for us to say that the abolishment of the Foreigners’ Registration Act is a first step on the long road toward developing a sufficient immigrant integration policy in Japan.

Summary of State-level Migrant Policy in Japan

As reviewed above, at the state level, there is no social integration policy for immigrants, and immigration is only permitted, as much as possible in principle, for foreigners with technological skills and knowledge. As to immigrant integration, the national government (MIC) provides the local governments with the basic principles for “multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*)” -“people of different nationalities and ethnicities live together as members of local communities, with respect for cultural differences and efforts to establish fair relationships” (Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications 2006) - and encourages the local policies and actions. The Cabinet Office has adopted the same stance toward multicultural coexistence; it expects local governments to promote multicultural coexistence, recognising foreigners of Japanese descent as “members of Japanese society” and “old comers” (including those with Japanese descent) as “members of the local community”.

Although some local governments have their own policies and practices for the integration of the “old comers”, the national government has practically ignored them in

its discussion for the promotion of a multicultural coexistence community, and instead, it has focused on “newcomers”. In the policies and measures for foreigners at the state level, MIC targets newcomers, while the Cabinet Office targets only foreigners of Japanese descent among the “newcomers”, taking measures to address the difficult situations caused by the economic crisis in 2008.

At the state level, the discussion of multicultural coexistence does not mention acquisition of nationalities, and only foreigners of Japanese descent are recognised as “members of Japanese society”. Therefore, this indicates that “Japanese” is firmly ethnically (based on bloodlines and ancestry) defined, and foreigners sharing the same “blood” are recognised as being closer to “Japanese” than other foreigners are.

1.2.3 Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens

As of April 2009, 94% of local authorities and 21% of municipal authorities have adopted principles or plans to promote multicultural coexistence²⁷.

Because of the concentration of the immigrant population in some areas, it is the local authorities which have been leading the development of policies to support immigrants in Japan. As the population of “newcomers” grows, some local authorities have started to cooperate with each other: sharing their experiences and problems,

²⁷ Roundtable on the promotion of multicultural coexistence, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010

discussing measures and submitting proposals to the national government, etc. The major association among the local authorities is called the “*Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens*”, which was established in 2001. Hamamatsu city, where many foreigners from South America live, hosted a meeting with the mayors of twelve other cities in which the foreign residents are mainly from South America.

The Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens signed a joint declaration, “*Hamamatsu Sengen*²⁸”, in 2001. It includes several proposals for reforms and systems relating to education, social security, and foreigner registration. In “*Hamamatsu Sengen*”, “coexistence in the local community” is described as follows:

“We, thirteen cities, will cooperate closely and make progress in creating a real coexistence society based on respect for rights and the fulfilment of obligations, while Japanese residents and foreign residents deepen their understanding and respect for each other’s culture and values, through the participation of all residents and their cooperation”.

Quoted from "Hamamatsu Sengen", 2001, Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens

This concept was reaffirmed in the report, “Aiming for a multicultural coexistence society - development of local communities where everyone lives in peace”, which was released in 2010.

²⁸ “*Sengen*” means declaration in Japanese.

1.2.4 Local Multicultural Coexistence (Tabunka Kyosei)

In accordance with MIC's policy of multicultural coexistence, many local governments and municipalities in Japan have introduced programmes to promote it. In 2010, MIC released a report, "Report on Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion (「多文化共生の推進に関する意見交換会報告書」(Tabunka kyosei no suishin ni kansuru iken-koukan-kai houkokusho))", which gathers and shares practical examples of the local initiatives for multicultural coexistence.

Table 1-11 summarises the demographic information of the foreigners in the local governments and municipalities whose initiatives were introduced in the report. As Table 1-1 shows, Kanagawa, Aichi, Tokyo and Osaka are among the top 10 prefectures in their numbers of foreigners. Miyagi is ranked 21st among the 47 prefectures in Japan and accommodates 16,274 foreigners, while Gunma is ranked 13th and accommodates 43,978 foreigners (Ministry of Justice 2014).

In Aichi and Iwata city in Gunma prefecture, the number of Brazilians has been rapidly increasing since the 80s and 90s. These two areas have a strong automobile industry, including companies such as Toyota and Subaru, and many foreign workers from Brazil have been employed in their factories. In Miyagi and Osaka city in Osaka prefecture, a rapid increase in the number of Chinese has been observed, although in Osaka, Koreans continue to be the most numerous group. People from various countries reside in Kanagawa and Shinjuku in Tokyo, reflecting their characteristics as the capital

city and its neighbouring city. Korean “old comers” have historically lived in both of those areas. Kanagawa prefecture received Indochinese refugees as a result of the establishment of the Resettlement Promotion Centre in Yamato city in the 80s, while Tokyo accommodates foreigners with a variety of residence statuses, including students and specialists in humanities/international services.

Table 1-11: Foreigners in Prefectures and Municipalities with a High Density of Foreigners (2010)

| Area (Prefecture) | Registered Foreigners (% in Total Population) | Population by Nationality (unit: thousand) and % to Total Registered Foreigners Population | Characteristics by Nationality | Status of Residence | Situation of Living |
|-------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| Japan | 2,217,426 (1.74%) | Chinese 6,550 (30.0%) Korean 5,890 (26.6%) Brazilian 3,130 (14.1%) | Notably, many Koreans until the 80s, then a rapid increase in Brazilians and Chinese Chinese exceeded Koreans in number in 2007 | Activity is unlimited: 65% Increase in Ordinary Permanent Residents | High number in Kanto, Tokai and Kansai areas |
| Miyagi | 16,091 (0.69%) | Chinese 7.2 (44.9%) Korean 4.5 (27.8%) Brazilian 0.2 (1.4%) | Increase in Chinese Rapid decrease in Brazilians after 2003 due to closure of factories, etc. | Increase in Permanent Residents and Students Rapid decrease of Long-term Residents | Widely dispersed throughout the prefecture |
| Kanagawa | 171,889 (1.92%) | Chinese 51.8 (30.1%) Korean 34.8 (20.3%) Brazilian 14.2 (8.3%) | Many Koreans until the 80s, then increase in Chinese and other nationalities The number of Indochinese is the highest throughout Japan | Higher percentage of Ordinary Permanent Residents and lower percentage of Special Permanent Residents, compared to Japan as a whole | Wide range of nationalities, statuses of residence and backgrounds |
| Aichi | 228,432 (3.09%) | Chinese 46.2 (20.2%) Korean 41.6 (18.2%) Brazilian 79.2 (34.7%) | Many Koreans until the 80s, then rapid increase in Brazilians | Higher percentage of Permanent Residents and Long-term Residents, compared to Japan as a whole | Reside in urban areas in the prefecture High number of Brazilians in many cities High number of Koreans and |

| | | | | | Chinese in Nagoya city |
|---------------------|--------------------|---|---|---|--|
| Shinjuku (Tokyo) | 31,793 (10.2%) | Chinese 9.7 (30.6%) Korean 13.5 (42.6%) Brazilian 0.2 (0.6%) | Wide range of nationalities (119 nationalities) | College-Student and Pre-college Student domain, 28% Increase of Ordinary Permanent Residents for living and work, and Specialists in Humanities/International Services | Some areas with a high density of foreigners |
| Iwata (Gunma) | 9,941 (5.62%) | Chinese 0.8 (7.7%) Korean 0.2 (1.7%) Brazilian 7.4 (74.7%) | Rapid increase in Brazilians after the 90s. | Long-term Residents and Permanent Residents are the majority | Some areas with a high density of foreigners *Foreigners dominate, 54.4%, in public housing |
| Osaka (Osaka) | 121,576 (4.61%) | Chinese 25.4 (20.9%) Korean 83.5 (68.7%) Brazilian 1.4 (1.2%) | Decrease in Koreans, but still domain majority Rapid increase in Chinese | High number of Special Permanent Residents, Permanent Residents, Students, Spouses of Japanese Residents and Long-term Residents | Registered Foreigners by ward More than 30,000 1ward More than 7,000 3wards More than 5,000 4 wards |

Source: Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, 2010, "Report on Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion"

Table 1-12 presents the local initiatives for multicultural coexistence. For communication support, the prefectures and municipalities translate the information into several languages, such as Chinese, Korean, English and Portuguese, so that foreign residents can have access to necessary information in the area. The translated information is available through leaflets, websites and newsletters, and consultation counters for foreign residents are also placed in city councils or local libraries. In addition, the local governments and municipalities provide Japanese language lessons for foreigners and training for the language instructors (Table 1-12(A)).

For livelihood support, MIC has established six areas for the initiatives: housing, education, work environment, medical services, insurance and welfare, and disaster prevention. Consultation services to find housing are provided, as well as instruction regarding the rules for community life, such as trash separation. For the education of foreign children, Japanese language classes and adaptation classes (depending on the area) are provided in the public schools, so Japanese language teachers are additionally allocated to schools by the local governments or municipalities. Sometimes, the translators are also sent to schools in order to help foreign children who have just arrived in Japan. In addition to schoolteachers' voluntary study groups for improving instruction for foreign children, the local education authority organises training programmes for teachers. The programmes are often created based on the

guidebook published by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology in Japan (MEXT); it will be reviewed in section 1.3. Regarding the work environment, the main initiatives are consultant services for job hunting and information aimed at non-discrimination, including opportunities for optimum employment. In the field of medical services, consultant services and translators are provided so that information about hospitals, vaccinations and medical check-ups can be accessed by foreign residents on an equal basis with Japanese residents. Information about evacuation drills and disaster-prevention is also provided in multiple languages. These programmes for disaster prevention were enhanced further after the Great East Japan Earthquake in 2011 (Table 1-12(B)).

To develop a multicultural coexistence community, local governments and municipalities organise many events aimed at fostering intercultural understanding and training their public administration staff. Also, to promote the independence and social participation of foreigners, they create occasions designed to reflect the foreigners' perspectives with respect to local politics and administration, and provide information about the rules and customs in the communities (Table 1-12(C)).

Table 1-12 (A): Initiatives for Local Multicultural Coexistence: Communication Support (2010)

| Communication Support | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| | Multilingualisation of Local Information | Assist to Learn Japanese Language and Society |
| Miyagi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multilingualisation of the newsletter and uploading it on the prefecture's website - Multilingual life guidebook and multilingual magazine | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Teaching Japanese language and customs through the operation of Japanese language classes |
| Kanagawa | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multilingualisation of information provided by the prefecture, including the "Basic plan for providing information for foreign residents" and the "Operating procedure for emergency information for foreign residents" - Issuing 69 multilingual magazines | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subsidy for pioneering organisations providing Japanese language classes and the diffusion of such activities to other organisations by organising conferences to report the results - Uploading a list of Japanese language classes in the prefecture on its website - Providing training for Japanese language instructors and classes for foreigners by establishing the Kanagawa Prefectural Institute of Language and Culture |
| Aichi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Operation of "Consultation and Information Counter" at Aichi Multicultural Coexistence Centre - "Multicultural Service Corner" at Aichi Library - Aichi International Plaza Library - Multilingualisation of publications - Multilingual information on webpage - Multilingual information through FM radio broadcasting - Volunteer staff to support foreign residents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Providing Japanese language learning opportunities - Training of Japanese language volunteers - Support for Japanese language classes - Diffusion of Charter for promotion of the optimum employment of foreigners - Establishment of "Foundation to Support the Learning of the Japanese Language" |
| Shinjuku | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information in English, Chinese and Korean on website (monthly), newsletter (quarterly) and 10 magazines providing life information (yearly update) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishing Japanese language classes for beginners (9 classes in 8 locations) (once and twice a week) - Training class for staff |

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| | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consultation counter for foreign residents (English, Chinese and Korean) - Shinjuku Multicultural Coexistence Plaza (English, Chinese, Korean, Thai, Myanmar) - Distribution of "Shinjuku Life Start Book" (4 languages) at the consultation counter for foreign residents - "Guideline for Providing Information for Foreigners" and ensuring the distribution space for multilingual publications | |
| Iwata | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multilingualisation of official forms, documents and signs - Issuing of newsletter and website in Portuguese - Translators at city council, hospitals and schools - Multilingual information service for all entrees to the city at the consultation counter for foreign residents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Support for organisations providing Japanese language classes - Instruction regarding the rules for all entrees at the consultation counter for foreigners (including hands-on experience in trash separation) |
| Osaka | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multilingualisation of the website (25 bureaus and offices, 24 ward offices) - Consultation counter for foreign residents (5 languages) - Distribution of "Enjoy Osaka" life information magazine (5 languages) - Radio broadcasting to provide city information (3 languages) - List of multilingualised information in Osaka city - "One-day Information Service" for foreign residents (state, Osaka Prefecture, Osaka city, Osaka Prefectural doctors' organisation, Osaka Prefectural lawyers' organisation, etc.) - Multilingual Information Corner at City Council | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Providing Japanese language classes for beginners (3 terms in 2 locations) - Establishing literacy and Japanese language classes (40 classes) - Training of instructors for literacy and Japanese language classes (40 times a year, participation of about 900 people) |

Table 1-12 (B): Initiatives for Local Multicultural Coexistence: Livelihood Support

| | Livelihood Support | | | | |
|----------|--|---|--|--|---|
| | Housing | Education | Work Environment | Medical Service, Insurance and Welfare | Disaster Prevention |
| Miyagi | - Consultation for daily life support for foreigners (English, Chinese, Korean, Portuguese and Japanese) | - Training for teachers to learn points of attention when teaching foreign students - Training and sending supporters for children of foreign nationalities to support learning of Japanese language | - Cultivation of human resources of high professions through "Advanced Practical International Student Promotion Enterprise" in Career Development Programme for Foreign Students by METI's Asia Human Resource Fund | - Training for welfare staff to learn basic knowledge needed to communicate with foreigners - Training and introduction of welfare/life consultant supporters | - Securing volunteer translators in case of disaster and preparation of multilingual support system in case of disaster - Operation of Foreigners' Support Web System in case of disaster and providing multilingual information about weather, earthquakes and tsunamis |
| Kanagawa | - Introduction of real estate agency and help to address troubles after move-in through foreigners' support system - Consultation and information service for foreigners in prefectural | <Primary and Secondary School> - Liaison council for teachers of returnees and foreign students <Prefectural High School> - Call for applicants for special admission | - Consultant counter for foreigners (2 locations) - Training of consultant staff about labour issues | - Telephone consultation service regarding a new strain of influenza | - Registration of volunteer translators in case of disaster - Disaster information service |

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| housing | <p>quota for foreign students in the prefecture and sending supporters for students whose first language is not Japanese, and an educational coordinator</p> <p><Division for Prefectural Residents></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Educational consultation and multilingual support corner for foreign children at prefectural Kanagawa Plaza for Global Citizens - Establishing "Meeting for Support for Japanese Language Instruction for Foreign Children" and considering | | | |
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| | | improvements of the support, including strengthening the work of educational consultation for foreigners and operation of a comprehensive project for Japanese language instruction | | | |
| Aichi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organising exchange programme for foreigners - Information booklet for foreigners regarding prefectural housing - Briefing session in Portuguese for foreigners who are moving in - DVD and illustrated book for instruction regarding rules for community life - Support for moving in to private housing | <p><Enhancement of Educational Support for Foreign Children in Primary and Secondary Schools></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Additional allocation of teachers for Japanese language and adaptation classes - Allocation of language consultants - Training for teachers of foreign children - Special admission quota for people with | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Prevalence of charters for the optimum employment of foreigners - Promotion of job training for foreign residents - Creation and distribution of leaflet for foreign workers - Providing information about labour in multiple languages - Promotion of | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information service for medical and welfare services - Information about hospitals which can respond in foreign languages - Support for uncollected balance of medical fees for foreign emergency patients - Social security information in multiple languages | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Dissemination and enhancement of knowledge regarding the prevention of disasters for foreign residents - Participation in evacuation drills - Promotion of the multilingualisation of disaster information - Support for volunteer specialised staff in case of disaster - Establishment of emergency consultant counter for foreigners |

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|--|---|--|--|
| | <p>experience as a Japanese Overseas Cooperation Volunteer or people who are fluent in foreign languages</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchanging information about issues and initiatives about education for foreign children - Educational support for foreign students at prefectural high schools - Promotion of multicultural coexistence education for foreign students - Promotion of enrolment of foreign children <p><Support for Foreign Nationals' School></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Subsidy for private | <p>prevention of illegal employment and strengthening of crackdown on illegal employment</p> | <p>- Utilisation of "Multilingual Translating System of Information"</p> |
|--|---|--|--|

| | | | | | |
|----------|--|---|---|--|---|
| | | <p>schools</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information service for application for approval of special institute <p><Support for Extracurricular Japanese Language Instruction></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of "Foundation for Support for Learning Japanese Language " | | | |
| Shinjuku | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information regarding the rules for community life such as rental agreements and instruction for use through newsletter, life information magazine - Providing information for call for residents in ward housing - Information about human rights for | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Japanese language classes, intensive classes at educational centre and after-school instruction in Japanese and other subjects - Night Japanese language classes at children's hall | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Introduction of Tokyo Employment Service for Foreigners at consultancy counter for foreigners | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tuberculosis check for students in Japanese language schools - Leaflet for AIDS prevention and telephone consultation service - Allocation of translators for baby medical check-ups - Information service regarding influenza in 4 languages - Multilingualisation of other | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multicultural evacuation drills - Creation and distribution of safety cards - Life information magazine: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> i. for emergencies, ii. for disasters |

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|-------|---|--|--|---|---|
| | foreigners | | | medical announcements | |
| Iwata | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consultation with building managers of housing in areas with high density of foreigners and regular discussions about management system - Call for residents in city housing | <p><Public Schools></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Improvement of educational system for foreign children (establishment of special classes, additional allocations of teachers and provision of supporters) - Drop-out prevention by providing support for after-school learning in 3 locations - Support for transferring to public school by establishing classes for early-stage support - Briefing session for admission of foreigners to information and educational | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchange meetings between companies to send and receive temporary staff in order to improve the work environment and to ask for cooperation with initiatives - employment consultancy with the cooperation of unemployment office | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instruction regarding insurance and pension system and consultation regarding future plans at consultation counter for foreigners - Allocation of translators for baby medical check-ups | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distribution of disaster prevention leaflet and ensuring evacuation locations at consultant counter for foreigners - Anti-crime instruction and road safety instruction at foreign nationals' school |

| | | | | | |
|-------|---|--|--|---|---|
| | | <p>consultancy <Foreign National's School></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchanging information with educational authority - Support for foreign national's school (sending teachers, exemption of gymnasium, etc. and support for non-registered child-care facilities) <p><un-enrolment></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - improvement of response to unenrolment at multicultural exchange centre | | | |
| Osaka | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Providing information and consultation services at housing information centres (3 languages) - Information regarding | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Education for International Understanding - Education for Korean children in | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information for prevention of prejudice in employment (workshop) | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Foreign Elderly Benefits and Disability Benefits - Multilingual consultant and information services (child care, AIDS, new strain of | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Multilingual response at Osaka Municipal Fire Department (5 languages) - Multilingualisation of information board regarding |

| | | | | |
|--|---|---|--|---|
| <p>non-discrimination in regard to moving into housing (distribution of booklet and training)</p> <p>- Providing housing for international students (54 rooms)</p> | <p>Japan (Promotion of Education for International Understanding (98 Ethnic Clubs), etc.)</p> <p>- Education for returnees and foreign students (Sending registered translators, Japanese language instructors, etc.)</p> <p>- Establishing Japanese language and adaptation centre schools (4 primary schools and 4 secondary schools)</p> | <p>- Abolishment of discrimination in employment and information for fair employment</p> <p>- "Basic Instruction for Multicultural Environment"</p> | <p>influenza, etc.)</p> <p>- Multilingualisation of vaccination coupons (English and Chinese), medical consultants, multilingual maternal handbook</p> | <p>evacuation areas and signs for evacuation guidance</p> |
|--|---|---|--|---|

Table 1-12 (C): Initiatives for Local Multicultural Coexistence: Development of Multicultural Coexistence Community and Other Initiatives

| | Development of a Multicultural Coexistence Community | Other |
|----------|--|--|
| | Information for Japanese Residents | Independence and Social Participation by Foreigners |
| Miyagi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Publicity of "Ordinance Pertaining to the Promotion of the Formation of a Multicultural Society", "Miyagi Prefecture Multicultural Society Promotion Plan" - Organising symposium to foster understanding and creation of multicultural society | |
| Kanagawa | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organising EathFesta to deepen exchanges between foreigners and local community - Training and building a network of multicultural social workers - Creation of multilingual manual for public administration and staff training | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of the Kanagawa Foreign Residents' Council in order to receive opinions to promote community building from the perspective of foreigners - Establishment of Association for Promotion of Kanagawa International Policies to hear opinions of intellectuals - Establishment of NGO Kanagawa International Cooperation Council to hear suggestions to prefecture - Dispatch of volunteer translators to public administration - Project for Independence Support for Indochinese |

| | | | |
|----------|--|---|--|
| | | | Refugees |
| Aichi | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Information events - Promotion of information through "Aichi Multicultural Centre" - Construction of website for information regarding multicultural coexistence - Publicity of "Opinion Exchange Meeting for Foreign Residents in Aichi" - Dissemination of charter for the promotion of optimum employment of foreign workers - Promotion of mutual understanding through Japanese language classes - Training of public administrative staff to foster multicultural coexistence thinking | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Establishment of awards - Promotion of participation in social activities - Organising exchange events - Participation in evacuation drills - Promotion of anti-crime patrols - Promotion of initiatives for multicultural coexistence at Aichi Prefectural University, etc. - Strengthening of "Opinion Exchange Meeting for Foreign Residents in Aichi" | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Training and utilisation of multicultural social workers - Promotion of prevention of domestic violence - Legal consultant services by lawyers - Cooperation between consultant counters for foreigners |
| Shinjuku | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Exchange meeting between communities with a high density of foreigners - Organising exchange meeting between wards, foundation groups, NPOs, town councils, and foreigners' communities, etc. - Publicity of the results of Research on Multicultural Coexistence through the ward's webpage | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Distribution of "Shinjuku Life Start Book" and instruction regarding Japanese rules and life customs at consultant counter for foreigners - Providing information about Japanese rules and life customs through Japanese language schools (Video and DVD) - Promotion of participation in town councils and local merchants' associations | |

| | | | |
|-------|--|--|--|
| | | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Discussion at a network of wards, foundation groups, NPOs, town councils, foreigners' communities, etc. - Providing information about Japanese rules and life customs in Japanese language classes | |
| Iwata | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Intercultural workshop at schools and residents' meetings - Instruction of administrative staff | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Instruction regarding obligations (taxes, education and Japanese rules) at consultant counter for foreigners - Japanese language classes - Receiving opinions through town meetings - Review of allocation of translators | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consultant counter for foreigners - Project for multicultural exchange - Research on translator service for independence |
| Osaka | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Organising of seminars, symposiums and lectures (international marriage, child care, multicultural food culture, etc.) - Creation of various leaflets | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - City administration monitoring (20 foreign residents, quarterly) - Recruitment of civil servants (160 on staff as of 2008) - Project for multicultural coexistence in wards | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research on community life of foreign residents - Workshop for ward staff regarding multicultural coexistence |

Source: "Report on Discussion Meeting on Multicultural Coexistence Promotion", MIC, 2010

1.2.5 Summary of Multicultural Coexistence Policy in Japan

A review of Japan's immigrant policy indicates that the local governments and municipalities have been leading the actions regarding immigrants at the grass-root level. *The Alliance of Cities with a High Density of Foreign Citizens has had an effect on the state-level policy for immigrants to a certain extent; we should pay attention to the fact that the registration of foreigners has been abolished, and they are now registered in the Basic Resident Register. This provides the foundation for local governments to further integrate immigrants in the local communities.*

At the state level, the migration policy in Japan is shaped by the Immigration Control Act, and there is no social integration policy for immigrants. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications provides the local governments with the basic principles regarding how to accept foreigners, the multicultural coexistence policy, and the recognition of foreigners as “members of the local community”. Compared to the multicultural policy presented by MIPEX, the policies and the recommended actions for multicultural coexistence in Japan are lacking in many respects. They are weak in promoting the cultural and the socio-economic equality of the immigrants, which is the main goal of multicultural policy. There are some educational initiatives to support immigrant children, but issues related to rights, nationalities or the maintenance of a first language are absent in the discussion. Moreover, the target of multicultural coexistence

policy is mainly “newcomers”, while Chinese and Korean “old comers” are almost ignored.

The Cabinet Office, on the other hand, has responded to issues related to immigrants of Japanese descent (who are among the “newcomers”), recognising them as “members of Japanese society”. It has introduced measures to support foreigners of Japanese descent who were affected by the economic crisis in 2008.

Accordingly, only the integration of immigrants of Japanese descent is discussed as part of the agenda at the state level. The other foreigners are discussed only at the local level, and “old comers” are, for the most part, ignored and excluded, apart from some discussions and actions in a few local governments and municipalities. We can conclude, therefore, that this is occurring because the national identity of the Japanese is exclusively based on an ethnic conceptualisation, and this is reinforced by state-level immigration policy.

1.3 Education of Immigrant Children in Japan

There are about 74,000 pupils and students of foreign nationalities in elementary and junior high schools in Japan. Among them, 27,000 children are provided with Japanese languages lessons²⁹.

²⁹ Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, 2012

In Japan, elementary school education (6 years) and junior high school education (3 years) are compulsory. The children who have foreign nationalities are exempt from this legally, however in practice, the local government encourages them to go to school and accept them for free as they do for the Japanese children.

Though high school (3 years) is not compulsory, but because of the high enrolment ratio of high school (more than 97%), most of the students, including the immigrant children, are under pressure to pass the entrance exam of high schools³⁰.

The educational program related to immigrant children in Japan are multicultural coexistence education and Japanese language classes (the name of such class depends on local governments; “adaptation class”, “international class” etc.). Neither of them is included in the compulsory curriculum, and each local education authority or school introduces them, responding the needs of the students.

As to multicultural coexistence, the term, “multicultural coexistence” does not actually appear as a slogan in the policy document of Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). However, it states that it is a role of local government to develop a multicultural coexistence community (MEXT 2011). Thus, the stance to multicultural coexistence is coherent at the national level among MIC, the

³⁰ Though the national statistics of the enrolment ratio of high school among the students with foreign nationals are not available, academics have reported that it is about 40-60% (it varies in different prefectures) (Ota 2000; Kanai 2004) and the drop-out rate is 10-20% (Ota 2000).

Cabinet Office and MEXT.

“Guidance handbook about accepting foreign pupils and students (外国人児童生徒受入れの手引 (Gaikoku-jin jido seito ukeire no tebiki) Ⅰ)” published by MEXT in 2011³¹, states that the basic principle of the actions by the local government is to aim for multicultural coexistence. It is summarized into three points; respect of human rights, nurture of multicultural coexistence mind in every student, and awareness raising among teachers.

MEXT has the same stance toward multicultural existence as MIC. It plays a role of sharing the experiences of education for foreign students among the local educational authorities.

1.4 Literature Review

Having laid out the primary research questions and background, I now turn to review the relevant literature to locate this research theoretically.

Social change such as the mass inflow of immigrants may challenge the existing nationalism and national identity. In order to discuss how nationalism and national identity in Japan has been affected by the inflow of immigrants and the endorsement of the idea of multiculturalism, I start with a brief review of the theories of

³¹ It presents a role of each position (school managers, Japanese language teachers, home class teacher of foreign pupils and students, local education authority, and municipal education authority) to engage in education for foreign pupils and students, and examples of measures and actions at each level.

nationalism, national identity, and social integration (the relationship between the ethnic/cultural majority and minority), followed by a review of research relevant to Japan. Then, in order to explain the contribution of this thesis to the academic discussion, previous studies in the relevant two fields of study will be reviewed: research on the relationship between national identity and attitude toward immigrants, including the studies of the relationship between citizenship and immigrant integration policies because this gives us a useful insight and analytical framework to this study, and research on multicultural education.

1.4.1 Nation and Nationalism

Although there are many different definitions and types of nationalism, we have a certain consensus that a nation represents “an imagined political community” (Anderson 1991). Anderson (1991) explains that “the members ... never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion”.

There are two positions regarding the creation of nation; primordialism and modernism. Smith (1988), an advocate of the primordialism, argues that nations have ancient ethnic roots and that the nation states had a clear sense of national identity well

before the industrial revolution. An “ethnie” is defined as “a named population sharing a collective proper name, a myth of common ancestry, shared historical memories, one or more differencing elements of common culture, an association with a specific ‘homeland’ and a sense of solidarity for significant sectors of the population” (Smith 1988). Gellner (2006), an advocate of modernism, argues that nations are modern constructions that were functional for emerging industrial capitalism. The old European empire did not need to be, and made no attempt to develop a shared sense of nationhood. Yet, industrial capitalism needed an integrated workforce, and modern methods of mass communication and universal education provided the means for inculcating a shared sense of a nation (Gellner 2006). These two contrasting arguments centre on the question of which comes first: whether “ethnie” (Smith 1988) formed a nation, or was a nation constructed in need of a social change?

Another interesting contrast is the relationship between the nation and ethnic group identity. Germany was evolved based on the collective notion of *Kulturnation* by the middle class, whereas in France the nation-state took on a political meaning emerging together with the French Revolution as *Staatsnation* (Habermas 1994).

Turning to the individual’s sense of belonging to a nation and conceptualization of a nation, sociologists use the concept of national identity. Keana (1994) defines this as

“an awareness of affiliation with the nation that gives people a sense of who they are in relation to others or infuses them with a sense of purpose that makes them feel at home”.

We may understand that national identity means an individual’s attachment to a nation, what makes them a member of a nation. Thus, it may be automatically interpreted as what distinguishes nationals from non-nationals.

How do people identify themselves with a nation? What determines the sense of “national” and “non-national”? Kohn ([1945] 1994) popularized the two distinctions of nationalism: ethnic and civic. The former highlights the tie between a nation and ethnic or cultural community. It considers ascribed characteristics and bloodlines, such as being born in the country and having a particular national ancestry. On the other hand, the latter puts an emphasis on the political aspect, such as respecting laws and political institutions for all the people living within a nation.

Much research has followed this distinction and supported it; however, one has to be aware that an individual can have both ethnic and civic attachment to a nation. Recent research has actually demonstrated that the standard divisions of national identity do not clearly differentiate citizens. For example, by examining the relationship between national identity, national pride and xenophobia in four Western countries, Hjern (1998) supported the two distinctions of national identity, ethnic and civic, and expands the

typology. Based on ISSP 1995 data, he empirically illustrated two more conceptual categories: multiple national identity and pluralists. Multiple national identity is a combination of ethnic and civic national identity, whereas pluralists are people with no or only a weak sense of national identity. Tilley, Exley and Heath (2004) confirmed this distinction and examined the extent to which people in Britain fall into different types in terms of the way they conceptualize national identity. They conclude that the British people cannot easily be categorized as either “civic” or “ethnic” nationalists. Instead, there are three groups; both civic and ethnic, purely civic, neither ethnic nor civic.

Nationalism and National Identity in Japan

Regarding nationalism and national identity in Japan, it has been said that Japanese believe in and are willing to maintain the myth of ethnic homogeneity (Befu 2001; Lie 2000). Oguma (1995)'s argues that the myth that Japan is ethnically homogeneous was developed and prevailed after WWII, by contrasting the discourses and political ideologies before and after WWII in Japan. The Empire of Japan tried to assimilate other Asian people, such as Koreans and Taiwanese, with a belief that they are related by blood, because it was thought that Japanese is a mixed group of many different ethnic groups from North to South Asia³². However, after WWII, such ideology of a multi-

³² Oguma (1995) argues that this is a uniqueness of assimilation by the Empire of Japan. It was based on the belief that the people in other Asian countries are related by blood, which justified its dominance and promoted intermarriage and the order forced on Koreans to change their names to Japanese ones.

ethnic empire was forgotten along with the myth that Japan is ethnically homogeneous. The discourse was “invented” that Japan had been a country of a single ethnic group, a peaceful country of agricultural people without disputes among different ethnic groups (Oguma 1995).

Regarding the more recent nationalism in Japan, Yoshino(1992) reviewed the debate on national identity and cultural uniqueness compared to other groups, known as *Nihonjinron*, which was prevalent in the '70s and '80s. He regards *Nihonjinron* as a species of “secondary nationalism” (or “state nationalism”), meaning nationalism concerned with the preservation and maintenance of national identity, against a “primary nationalism” that tries to effect the creation of a nation that does not yet exist³³. He argues that the content of *Nihonjinron* basically consists of (1) language and communicative competencies secured through native fluency in Japanese, and (2) “social culture”, primarily meaning groups orientation of Japanese and social values supporting it. And at the base of this cultural-deterministic definition of *Nihonjinron* he finds “race thinking”, that is, an argument that these unique characteristics are based on the belief in being a common race.

Secondary nationalism (Yoshino 1992) is a reflection of cultural nationalism of

³³ He suggests that the *Nihonjinron* in the Tokugawa period is a literature on ethnicity on the basis of “primordial qualities”, such as its history, language and myth. On the other hand, the *Nihonjinron* in the '70s and '80s is based on “circumstantial qualities” since it is concerned with defining Japanese uniqueness by comparing with other groups.

Japan to confronting the ethnic and cultural diversity outside the nation, because in ‘70s and ‘80s, the internationalization of Japanese economy was aimed at and many Japanese companies expand their business abroad. Now, experiencing the internal (within a nation) ethnic and cultural diversity, how has cultural nationalism of Japan been changed? This study will look at how cultural image of “Japanese” is developed and compare it with cultural nationalism in ‘70s and ‘80s.

The emphasis on sharing a same ethnicity and culture within the Japanese becomes clearer, by observing the conceptualization of national identity from the ethnic minority perspective. Fukuoka (1993) explored the identities of the second and third generation of Korean old comers, and criticized strong ethnic national identity in Japan. He developed a typology of “Japanese”, as presented in Table 1-13.

Table 1-13: Typology of “Japanese” by Fukuoka (1993)

| Typology | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|-------------|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bloodline | + | + | + | - | + | - | - | - |
| Culture | + | + | - | + | - | + | - | - |
| Nationality | + | - | + | + | - | - | + | - |

Source: Fukuoka (1993), p5

Note: “+” indicates that each category (bloodline, culture, and nationality) is Japanese, while “- ” is not.

His typology indicates that the conceptualization of Japanese national identity has a wide range with a strong emphasis on bloodlines. In Table 1-13, typology 1 is

“purely Japanese” with Japanese bloodline, culture and nationality. Typology 8 is “purely non-Japanese” with non-Japanese bloodline, culture and nationality³⁴. According to Fukuoka (1993), the concept of “Japanese” generally is typology 1 with a strong emphasis on bloodlines among the three elements.

We often hear the majority Japanese people say “he/she is very Japanese” or “he/she is more Japanese than the (true/pure) Japanese”, when someone who does not look “Japanese” is absorbed into a certain element of Japanese culture (Typology 4 or 6), for example speaking fluent Japanese, knowing Japanese history or culture very much. It exemplifies how the Japanese people see the cultural dimension of “Japanese-ness” as a factor of being Japanese. They are not regarded as “true/pure Japanese” in many cases; however, they are regarded to be very close to “Japanese”.

“Old comers” can fit into any type in Table 1-13 because the generation goes further, some of them may have obtained Japanese nationality, get married to ethnically “Japanese” people, and/or adapt culturally to the majority “Japanese”.

At the state-level policy for foreigners in Japan, multicultural coexistence policy by MIC is targeted mainly at “new comers” (Typology 8 in Table 1-13) and they are recognised as “members of local community”, while the policy by the Cabinet Office

³⁴ The first generation of Japanese immigrants fits into typology 2, with Japanese bloodline and culture and non-Japanese nationality. The people who have experience of living abroad and returned to Japan are categorized as 3, the people who are naturalized are 4, the third generation of Japanese immigrants are 5, young Korean residents who are not receiving ethnic education are 6, and ethnic minorities such as Ainu are 7.

is targeted at foreigners with Japanese descent (Typology 2 or 5) and they are recognised as “members of Japanese society”. It indicates that the foreigners with Japanese descent is recognised closer to “Japanese” (Typology 1, 3 and 4, having “Japanese” nationality) than the other foreigners because of its ethnic tie.

It is interesting that the culture of Chinese or Korean “old comers” may have more similarities to Japanese in terms of appearance and culture, but they are not recognised as “members of Japanese society” in the state-level policy document³⁵, indicating that bloodline or ethnicity is evaluated higher than culture in the typology of “Japanese”, as Fukuoka (1993) argues.

More recent nationalism in Japan centres on the belief of being the same race/ethnicity and sharing a common culture, which was invented as Oguma (1995) argued. Then, it was strengthened when increasingly confronting the ethnic and cultural diversity in the era of internationalization in the '70s and '80s (Yoshino 1992). Now, how can we understand the popularity of the multicultural discourse in Japan, where the ethnic conceptualization of national identity seems dominant, while at the same time the cultural uniqueness compared to other groups plays a significant role in preserving its cultural national identity? Has ethnic and cultural diversity within a nation brought about any change to Japanese cultural nationalism? By exploring how the idea of maintaining the

³⁵ In some local governments and municipalities, “old comers” are given political rights and recognised as members of local communities.

immigrants' culture is interpreted and supported, I will discuss the meaning of multicultural coexistence in Japan in relation to the theories of multiculturalism and the academic discussion of nationalism in Japan.

1.4.2 Immigrant Integration

Many concepts and theories have been developed to explain the ethnic relation or the relationship between the majority and immigrants. It may be helpful to revisit the well-known Gordon (1964)'s assimilation theory, as well as Berry (1992)'s typology of adaptation. Adaptation is the term used to refer to both the strategies used during acculturation, and its outcome (Berry 1992). Berry (1992) highlights the cultural aspect of immigrant integration in the majority/host society. This typology is based on two issues: the maintenance and development of one's ethnic distinctiveness in society, and the desirability of inter-contact, deciding whether relations with the larger society are of value and should be sought. Table 1-14 illustrates the model, though as he points out in his argument, the two questions may be better described on a continuous scale rather than seen as distinct entities.

According to Berry (1992), assimilation is when the minority gives up a distinctive minority cultural identity and merges into the larger society. Integration implies the maintenance of some degree of cultural distinctiveness while cooperating with

other groups, for example in the economy and civil society. Separation is the situation where the ethnic identity is maintained but without substantial relations with the dominant group. He sees separation as resulting when this strategy is chosen by the minority, segregation when the dominant group imposes it. Marginalization means the situation where indigenous minorities abandon their traditional communities and ways of life but find that they are persecuted or stigmatized by the dominant majority group.

If we can assume that “maintain relationship with other groups” means having equal rights with the majority and being seen as “same” with the majority, although Berry (1992) has not defined in so precisely, Typology 4 (who are culturally absorbed into Japanese and are naturalized) and 6 (who are culturally absorbed into Japanese, but not “Japanese” in an ethnic and nationality senses) by Fukuoka (1993)’s categorization may fit into “marginalization” by Berry (1992)’s categorization. Typology 4 is seen as closer to “Japanese” and to “Integration” category than Typology 6 because the former has the equal rights as the majority. Typology 7 (who are naturalized, but are different from “Japanese” in ethnic and cultural senses) may fit to “Integration” or “Separation” because they maintain their distinctive culture and have equal rights as the majority, but are seen as different from “Japanese”. Typology 8 (who are not “Japanese” in ethnic, cultural nor nationality sense) may fit into “Separation” because they are not seen as “Japanese” nor have equal right as the majority.

Table 1-14: Four Acculturation Strategies by Berry (1992)

| | | Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics? | |
|--|-----|--|-----------------|
| | | Yes | No |
| Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups? | Yes | Integration | Assimilation |
| | No | Separation/Segregation | Marginalization |

Berry (1992; 82)

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism can be understood as a contemporary version of an integration strategy (Heath, Roston & Ali 2010). Definitions of multiculturalism differ from scholar to scholar, context to context. For example, in the United States, it often refers to an acknowledgement of the role of minorities in the nation's history and culture. Thus, it is mainly a statement about identity, while in Canada, Australia, and several European countries, it is mainly seen as a public policy (Castels 2004). Kymlicka, a Canadian political theorist, argues that ethnic and immigrant groups should have the right to maintain their cultures and languages as well as participate in the national civic culture (Kymlicka 1995). He calls this concept "multicultural citizenship" (Kymlicka 1995).

Multiculturalism generally refers to the public acceptance of immigrant and minority groups as distinct communities, which are distinguishable from the majority with regard to language, culture, and social behaviour and which often have their own associations and social infrastructure (Kymlicka 1995). Multiculturalism implies that

members of such groups have equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up their diversity, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values (Castles 2004). Multiculturalism in the modern world involves on the one hand the acceptance of a single culture and a single set of individual rights governing the public domain, and on the other a variety of folk cultures in the private domestic and communal domains (Rex 1996). Also, it means abandoning the myth of homogeneous and monocultural nation-states (Castles 2004).

Here, we may have two questions regarding the multiculturalism or multicultural coexistence in Japan. The first question is what the “key values” (Castles 2004) are, in other words, what are expected to be shared across different ethnic/cultural groups to have a unity within a nation? Are those “key values” universally acceptable by all ethnic/cultural minority groups? In Rex (1996)’s word, what “a single set of culture”, governing the public domain, contains is the question. It would be an important question whether it remains a matter of discussion between the majority and the minority, or the majority automatically determines it, taking it for granted. Taking Japan as an example, we can observe the contents of such “key values” (Castle 2004) or “a single set of culture in the public domain” (Rex 1986) in Japan and discuss the interrelation between cultural diversity and promoting equality. Such “key values” (Castle 2004) or “a single set of culture in the public domain” (Rex 1986) may sometimes contains the values or customs

embedded in the curriculum or school culture. It relates to the evaluation of the children in schools, thus has an effect on the equality of academic achievement in result. It would be also interesting to examine whether such “key values” (Castles 2004) or “a single set of culture in the public domain” (Rex 1986) in Japan are different from those in “western” culture, and what are the relation between those in Japan and those in “western” culture in education for the immigrants in Japan.

The second question that is raised by the theory of multiculturalism is whether the positive attitude toward multiculturalism really abandons the myth of ethnic and cultural homogeneity in Japan. The introduction of the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture may have a different implication in the context where the people have a strong ethnic and cultural conceptualization of national identity. This thesis will contribute to the question by providing evidence which demonstrates that the positive attitude toward multiculturalism possibly works to strengthen the existing ethnic and cultural national identity by the ethnic majority, through respecting and celebrating the ethnic minority’s distinct culture.

Retreat of Multiculturalism

Until the ’90s, citizenship study/studies mainly tended to focus on modelling citizenship policy and social integration policy by nation. However, the focus has been

shifted to short-term change in political discourse and practice across nations after the surge of multiculturalism in the '80s and '90s.

Brubaker (1992) connected ethnic and civic nationalism with models of citizenship, based on *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis*, using examples of the contemporary immigration policies in France and Germany (Brubaker 1992).

Castle (1995) instead suggests a typology of policy models: the differential exclusion model, the assimilation model, and the pluralist model. He categorized countries based on their ideas behind citizenship policies. According to Castles (1995)'s typology, differential exclusion is characterized as a situation in which immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society such as the labour market, but denied access to other areas such as welfare systems, citizenship and political participation. He states that this model seems applicable to former "guest-worker" recruiting countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Austria, Belgium and Japan (Castles, 1995). In those societies, the citizenship model is mainly based on membership of an ethnic group or a cultural community. Assimilation is defined as the policy of incorporating migrants into society through a one-sided process of adaptation; immigrants are expected to become indistinguishable from the majority population linguistically, culturally and socially Castle (1995). In those countries, once immigrants become citizens, they are supposed to reach and enjoy full equality of rights (although this does not necessarily mean that the

migrants are not disadvantaged socially and economically or not discriminated against) (Castles, 1995). Citizenship in the assimilationist country is based on the membership of the political community and sharing in a common culture. The most well-known example of this policy is probably France. Pluralism is characterized as the acceptance of immigrant populations as ethnic communities that remain distinguishable from the majority population with regard to language, culture, social behaviour and associations (Castles, 1995). Immigrants are granted equal rights in all spheres of society, without giving up their distinct customs and traditions. The so-called “classical immigration countries”, such as the USA, Canada and Australia, as well as Sweden and the Netherlands are applicable to this pluralism model. The citizenship criteria in those countries are based on residence (Castles, 1995).

The relationship between a citizenship policy and immigrant integration policy by Brubaker (1992) and Castles (1995) can be summarized as in Table 1-15 below.

Table 1-15: Citizenship and Immigrant Integration Policy by Brubaker (1992) and Castles (1995)

| Citizenship | Social Integration Policy | Countries |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Ethnic Ethnic/cultural | Differential exclusion | Germany, Japan |
| Civic Political/cultural | Assimilation | France |
| Residence | Pluralism Multiculturalism | USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden |

Created based on Brubaker (1992) and Castles (1995)

However, almost simultaneously with the publication of Brubaker's book, Germany adopted naturalization laws that broke with the *jus sanguinis* tradition, whereas France approved laws that considerably modified the *jus soli* tradition. Wondering how it was possible that models of citizenship anchored in long-standing traditions of nationhood and with profound roots suddenly became so flexible, research shifted to short-term changes in political discourses and practices (Favell 1998, Joppke 1999).

Some research has explained that this policy change means a retreat of multiculturalism and the emergence of liberal conceptions of assimilation in both theory and policy (Brubaker 2001, Joppke and Morawska 2003, Joppke 2004). Brubaker (2001) argues that we can discern signs of a modest "return of assimilation" after the vast dissemination of multiculturalism in the '80s and the '90s. What has "returned", however, is not the old version of assimilation. He points out that there is a shift in the focus of normative concern from cultural to socio-economic matters. Joppke (2004) discusses the recent retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal states. He selects three nations as cases to show the recent trend at policy level: Australia, the Netherlands, and Britain. In those countries, with the exception of language, the only explicit impositions on immigrants are liberal impositions, most notably a procedural commitment to liberal-democratic principles. The prominent examples are non-discriminatory immigration policies,

liberalized citizenship rules, and a general distancing from the old idea of “assimilation” (Joppke 2004). According to him, though there is no change at the rhetoric level of multiculturalism, it means that it is generally not the business of the state to force identities on people. He concludes that liberal nation-states are marked by de-ethnicization, in which the various national labels are only different names for the same thing, the liberal creed of liberty and equality. Although he does not look in-depth at the reasons for this, he does suggest three factors which brought about the practical retreat of multiculturalism: (1) the lack of public support for official multiculturalism policies (especially the case in Australia), (2) inherent deficits and failures of multiculturalism policies in socioeconomic respect, mainly in Europe, and (3) a new assertiveness of the liberal state in imposing the liberal minimum³⁶ (Joppke 2004).

What he calls the old idea of assimilation is distinguished from the recent “return of assimilation” in that it is decoupled from cultural assimilation. In sum, through this review of recent research on citizenship we find that the focus shifted from the variations in which the nations have distinct policy models based on each nationalism or “cultural idioms” to a more general trend: a transformed version of assimilation that

³⁶ Joppke (2004) argues that except for language, the only explicit impositions on immigrants are liberal impositions, most notably a procedural commitment to liberal-democratic principles (for example, the German (left-Green) government declared with respect to Muslim immigrants that the assimilation of migrants is not seriously considered by anyone. The Muslims living here don’t have to abandon their cultural and religious identity. However, they are requested to adapt to the structure of a democratic legal state, to accept the Basic Law unconditionally, especially the separation of state and religion... (Berlin: Federal Commissioner for Foreigner Affairs, 2002)).

legitimized its modest comeback based on liberalism (Brubaker 2001)³⁷. In the recent “return of assimilation” studies, the socio-economic (or political) aspect is much more emphasized than the cultural aspect of assimilation. The cultural dimension of assimilation is less emphasized, indeed it is almost non-existent.

In the multicultural coexistence discourse in Japan, what is expected for the ethnic minorities to adapt and accept, in addition to the liberal imposition? If the Japanese people expect the immigrants to adapt and accept certain Japanese values, how are those values related to “liberal minimum” (Joppke 2004)? This thesis (particularly Chapter 5 and 6) will consider what is expected for the immigrants to adapt to the dominant Japanese culture, and what is expected for them to maintain.

Effect of Multiculturalism

Regarding the effect of a multicultural policy on ethnic relations, Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2007) argue that in Britain and the Netherlands, where multiculturalism is promoted, ethno-religious groups are not successfully integrated into the wider society: they have “parallel lives”, being excluded rather than included. Conversely, by

³⁷ Some researchers on Australia argue that it is “neo-liberal multiculturalism” that occupies the current social thought, by which the nation-states choose the immigrants based on their skills. “Neo-liberalism” replaces “whiteness” and gives legitimacy with more “neutrality” and “universality”. Based on this idea, the newcomers are assumed to assimilate themselves into the middle-class culture (Shiobara 2010). Although it is termed differently as “Neo-liberal multiculturalism” and “returned” assimilation, they have common roots in liberalism.

conducting empirical research, Heath and Demirva (2013) found that all groups have displayed a major change across the generations in the direction of a British identity and reduced social distance; therefore they have found no evidence that a multicultural policy has had negative effects on social integration. They draw an optimistic picture of ethnic minority integration in Britain.

With reference to the academic discussion about the effect of a multicultural policy on ethnic relations in Western countries, as above, it would be of interest to investigate the impact of the idea of multicultural coexistence in Japan, where the ethnic conceptualization of national identity seems dominant.

Ethnic Relation in Japan

The first theoretical analysis of social integration in Japan is the study by Yamanaka (1993) of how the Empire of Japan treated Koreans. He analysed the discourse in media before and during WWII about “Korean” residents in Japan³⁸, and divided assimilation into two dimensions: cultural and socio-economical (Table1-16). According to Yamanaka (1993), assimilation by the Empire of Japan fits into the stratification in Table 1-5, culturally assimilating, but differentiating (discriminating) socio-economically.

³⁸ Korean people were forced to migrate to Japan at that time and were forced to assimilate into Japanese culture.

“Assimilation” defined by Yamanaka (1993) is equivalent to “assimilation” in Gordon (1964)’s terminology, and “segregation” defined by Yamanaka (1993) is equivalent to “racism” by Gordon (1964) (Oguma 1995).

Compared with Berry (1992)’s categorization of acculturation strategies, if we can define “maintain relationships with other groups” in Berry (1992)’s as equalization with the majority in socio-economic sense, “assimilation” by Yamanaka (1993) and Berry (1992) are equivalent, while “pluralism” by Yamanaka (1993) and “integration” by Berry (1992) are equivalent. “Stratification” by Yamanaka (1993) and “marginalization” by Berry (1992) indicate the same situation, and “separation” by the two academics indicate the same situation.

Table 1-16: Four Types of Assimilation

| | | Cultural Assimilation | |
|---|-----|-----------------------|------------|
| | | Yes | No |
| Socio-economic Assimilation (Equalization) | Yes | Assimilation | Pluralism |
| | No | Stratification | Separation |

Created based on Yamanaka (1993)

Gordon (1964)’s concept of assimilation is a continuous scale of assimilation process that explains the situation where the immigrants are assimilated to the majority in many aspects gradually through generations. Compared to Yamanaka (1993) and Berry (1992)’s categorizations, it is a process that starts from “separation” to “assimilation”

through “pluralism” (Yamanaka 1993) or “integration” (Berry 1992) or “stratification” (Yamanaka 1993) or “marginalization” (Berry 1992).

“Retuned assimilation” (Joppke 2004) may not be able to fit well into the categorizations by Berry (1992) and Yamanaka (1993) because Joppke (2004) argues that in the rhetoric of “returned assimilation”, it is not the business of the state to care about ethnic culture and identities. However, if we can interpret that “liberal minimum” (Joppke 2004) is a part of the majority’s culture, “returned assimilation” (Joppke 2004) falls into “assimilation” by Berry (1992) and Yanamaka (1993) with a certain limitation. If we interpret “liberal minimum” (Joppke 2004) is not a process of cultural assimilation, then it falls into “pluralism” (Yamanaka 1993) or “integration” (Berry 1992).

A study of contemporary social integration in Japan is studied by Fukuoka (1993). By examining the identities of the second and the third generations of Korean old comers, he defines four typologies: exclusion, assimilation, (promoting) human rights and suppression. He argues that the Japanese policy toward Korean residents in Japan after WWII is mainly one of suppression, meaning one that makes no effort to include them into society, nor exclude them, but fix them to a subordinate position.

Other researchers argue that the people in Japan are hostile toward assimilation and often stress keeping foreigners separate and distinct (Dale 1986, Itoh 1998). Itoh (1998) argues that the history of *sakoku* or isolation in the *Tokugawa*-period explains the

Japanese hostility toward assimilation. Yoshino (1992) argues that there is a general assumption in the discourse of Japanese cultural uniqueness (*Nihonjinron*) in the '70s and '80s, that Japan remained distinct by *sakoku* in the *Tokugawa* period, and more importantly that this saved Japan from Western domination. According to Oguma (1995)'s study on the myth of homogeneity in Japan, this assumption may be invented and prevailed after WWII. This historical narrative is used to inflame nationalism and beliefs of Japanese racial superiority (Oguma 1998).

Now, returning to the research question of this thesis, why does the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's distinct customs and traditions gather such outstanding support in Japan, compared to other countries? How can we make sense of the wide acceptance of multicultural coexistence by the Japanese people, which has been criticized as culturally assimilative to ethnic minorities?

1.4.3 National Identity and Attitude toward Immigrant Culture

Regarding the association of the conceptualization of national identity and attitude toward immigrants' culture, some other researchers have argued that the people with weaker ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of

multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Hjern 2000; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007; Verkuyten 2006; Verkuyten and Brug 2004; Kivisto 2004). However, Nagayoshi (2011), applying the statistical analysis of the ISSP 2003 data, found that ethnic national identity in Japan has positive effects on the endorsement of multiculturalism, while having negative effects on the endorsement of equal rights between ethnic majorities and ethnic minorities, although in other countries, assimilation and segregation beliefs are held by those against immigration, while only multiculturalists are pro-immigration (Berry 2001). Nagayoshi (2011) argues that it can be assumed that, by emphasizing their ‘otherness’ in multiculturalism, Japanese people – intentionally or unintentionally – marginalize the ethnic minorities. They celebrate cultural diversity while maintaining a robust image of the ‘pure’ Japanese. Other academics have also argued that the Japanese people endorse the idea of multiculturalism, in order to separate ethnic minorities from pure “Japanese” by emphasizing their cultural differences, thereby marginalizing them (Burgess 2004; Okubo 2008; Tai 2007). And multiculturalism in Japan does not stress national unity and is used to exclude ethnic minorities as different, thereby solidifying Japanese national boundaries (Tai 2007).

This study will extend this research interest and contribute to the discussion by explaining the mechanism of what kind of culture, to what extent and why the people in Japan expect immigrants to adapt to the dominant Japanese culture and at the same time

to maintain their distinct culture. For example, what kind of culture do the teachers who have the ethnic conceptualization of “Japanese” expect them immigrant children to maintain? Why do they expect them to learn certain Japanese customs and to give up a certain immigrants’ customs? Do the teachers who have the civic conceptualization of “Japanese” have the same reason why they expect the immigrant children to maintain their certain customs?

1.4.4 Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Finally, I will review the historical background of multicultural education and the studies of immigrant education in Japan. Since this study is interested in teachers’ orientation to immigrant’ identities and culture, it is helpful to review the theories of multicultural education and studies of immigrant education in Japan.

Multicultural education started to gather public attention from the ’70s in North America, Western Europe, and Australia. It was developed, in part, to respond to the concerns of groups on the margins of society who wanted to maintain important aspects of their cultures and languages as well as the right to fully participate in their nation-states and societies (Banks and Banks 2004). A major goal was to reform schools and other educational institutions so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class

groups would experience educational equality (Banks and Banks 2004).

Multicultural education is closely related to multiculturalism. The traditional nation-state based on nationalism is equipped with institutions, such as law, schools, the army and bureaucrats, to monitor and control any deviation from the homogeneity and to assimilate different peoples. Modern public educational systems, which assumed the integration in a nation-state could be achieved by providing universal education based on cultural homogeneity, was questioned and multicultural education, that takes the cultural and ethnic diversity of the people into consideration, has received attention as one of the effective ways to reconstruct the educational system. (Ehara 2000)

Multicultural education has been found to be crucial for refugee students' ability to successfully navigate their educational experiences (Hek 2005; Scott 2008).

Immigrant Education in Japan

Many academic researches on ethnic minority education in Japan refer to multiculturalism and multicultural education. Comparative education researchers introduce the theories and practices of other countries, and ethnographers describe the current situation and concerns in Japan by conducting case studies. A variety of research topics are studied, such as identities of minority students, analysis of Japanese school culture, underachievement, language instruction and so on.

In the studies on Japanese school culture from the perspective of the ethnic minority, it is often said that school culture in Japan is culturally assimilative in order to educate nationals (Kang 1998) and it ignores ethnic differences based on the idea of equality: “everyone is equally treated”. Tsuneyoshi (1996) states that one of the characteristics of Japanese school culture is “*Issei-kyodotai-suigi*” “coordinated communalism”, which consists of communalism, assuming homogeneity and expecting sharing experiences, compathy, and voluntary coordination leaning on shared values, and a teaching style where everyone does the same thing all together. Even in a trend of individualization (“*kosei-ka*”) after the educational reform in the 80s, the ethnic differences of the minority students is perceived as the student’s individual difference or personality. Shimizu and Shimizu (2001) pointed out that ethnicity of the minority children became “invisible” (ignored or unlikely to be perceived). As a result, even though the fundamental idea of schools has changed slightly from communalism to individualization, ethnic differences of the minority students continue to be ignored.

Responding to the criticism that school culture in Japan is assimilative and ignores ethnic/cultural differences, some researchers set multicultural education as a new goal (Ehara 2000, Ota 2000), and other researchers refer to the theory and practice to consider whether it fits well into Japanese education (Tarumi 2007).

This study will explain why and how teachers integrate and separate

immigrants' children and consider the role of school to nationalism when the discourse of multicultural coexistence is widely shared.

1.5 Structure of Thesis

This thesis consists of six chapters, including this introductory chapter and a conclusion (Chapter 6).

In the following Chapter 2, the overall research design and details of data will be summarized. The substantive three chapters (from Chapter 3 to Chapter 5) can be divided into two parts. Chapters 3 and 4 summarize the statistical analysis of ISSP 2003 data, and explains the nature of national identity of Japan and its association with the attitude toward immigrant culture. Then, Chapter 5 summarizes the results and analysis of the qualitative analysis of the interview data with teachers of the immigrants' children in Japan. Part II adds a crucial explanation to the nature of national identity and attitude toward immigrant culture in Japan, and thereby answers the research question of this thesis: why do many people in Japan favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture?

Chapter 3, I will statistically analyse the nature of national identity in Japan, in comparison with eight other countries: Great Britain, Germany, France, the USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden and South Korea. I will examine to what extent the traditional

division of ethnic-civic national identity is applicable to Japan, compare the meanings of each dimension of national identity in those countries, and analyse the proportion of the different conceptualizations of national identities.

In Chapter 4, I will analyse the association between the different conceptualizations of national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture and compare the results of Japan with the other countries in order to understand what is exceptional about Japan, that makes it stand out in respect of the support for the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture.

In Chapter 5, the results and analysis of the interview with teachers will be summarized. I will explore the images of "Japanese" by the teachers, their expectations of the immigrants' children, and their thoughts about the immigrants' culture. Analysing the relationships between the teachers' different definitions of "Japanese", and their views about the immigrants' children's identity and culture, I will discuss the meaning of support for maintaining the immigrants' culture in the context of Japan, where the ethnic conceptualization of national identity is dominant.

Then, finally, in the conclusion (Chapter 6), the theoretical implication of the results of this thesis will be discussed in two aspects: the meaning of multiculturalism in Japan (or multicultural coexistence) in academic discussion of immigrant integration, and the meaning of multicultural coexistence as a new type of ethnic and cultural nationalism

in Japan.

Chapter 2: Data and Methods

2.1 Overall Strategy

The aim of this study is to analyse why the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture gathers such outstanding support in Japan, as discussed in Chapter 1, and to explore the meaning of multicultural coexistence in Japan. In order to answer these questions, I use a mixed-method research strategy, combining a quantitative analysis and qualitative analysis. The overall design is a sequential explanatory strategy: a qualitative analysis of interview data with teachers of immigrants' children in Chapter 5 will add an explanation to the findings of the quantitative analysis of Chapters 3 and 4.

In this chapter, I will explain the data and methods used for the quantitative analysis of Chapters 3 and 4 in the next section (2.2). Then, in section 2.3, I will explain the sampling procedure and interview questions, and provide some background information on the cities and schools that I visited for the interviews conducted in the

qualitative analysis of Chapter 5.

2.2 Quantitative Analysis

2.2.1 Statistical Analysis

In Chapters 3 and 4, I conducted a statistical analysis on national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, by using ISSP 2003 data, explained below. In Chapter 3, I focus on national identity and used cross-tabulation and factor analysis in order to analyse the nature of national identity in Japan, in comparison with other countries. In Chapter 4, based on the findings of Chapter 3, I examine the association between different conceptualizations of national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, and compare the results internationally. In order to do that, I use a logistic regression analysis.

I will explain the data used for the statistical analysis and the selected countries for comparison in the following section (2.2.2). Then, the variables used for the analysis of Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 will be explained in 2.2.3 and 2.2.4, respectively.

2.2.2 Data and Selected Countries for Comparison

For statistical analysis, I use the existing data set of ISSP 2003. The International Social Survey Programme is a series of international surveys conducted

every year on different topics. The data set is available online³⁹, and so far there have been two waves of surveys focusing on national identity, in 1995 and 2003. In fact, the third wave of surveys on national identity was conducted in 2013, however the results are not yet available. Thus, the data of 2003 is the most recent available one regarding national identity⁴⁰.

34 countries participated in ISSP 2003, and in Chapters 3 and 4 I focus on nine of them: Japan, Great Britain, Germany, France, the USA, Canada, Australia, Sweden and South Korea.. In addition to Japan, I choose the “Western” countries with various political regimes that receive a lot of immigrants, and South Korea, that has similar characteristics to Japan in terms of having a relatively high ethnic homogeneity, its national identity based on ethnicity, as well as obviously having many common social and cultural values of East Asian countries.

The total number of the respondents in each country is summarised in Table 2-1. In total, the data of 12,038 respondents in the 9 countries are analysed. The sampling strategy of the respondents depends on each participant country. Stratified random sampling or cluster random sampling is used mostly.

³⁹ The data set of ISSP 2003 National Identity is available from the German Social Science Infrastructure Services (GESIS) website: <https://dbk.gesis.org/dbksearch/sdesc2.asp?no=3910> (last accessed on October 6, 2014).

⁴⁰ World Value Survey (WVS) is also an international survey programme conducted every 5–10 years since 1980. There are some questions of relevant topics to this thesis: national pride and attitude toward ethnic diversity etc. However, the data set is not appropriate enough for the analysis of this study because WVS omitted the questions about national identity in Japan.

Table 2-1: Number of Respondents

| Country | Abbreviation | N |
|---------------|--------------|--------|
| Japan | JP | 1,102 |
| Great Britain | GB | 873 |
| Germany | GER | 1,283 |
| France | FR | 1,669 |
| United States | US | 1,216 |
| Canada | CAN | 1,211 |
| Australia | AU | 2,183 |
| Sweden | SWE | 1,186 |
| South Korea | SK | 1,315 |
| Total | | 12,038 |

Source: ISSP 2003

2.2.3 Variables in Chapter 3

In order to explore the nature of national identity in the 9 countries including Japan, I use the answers to the questions in ISSP 2003 below as a variable of national identity⁴¹.

Question: National Identity (A)

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [nationality]⁴². Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

- (a) To have been born in [country]*
- (b) To have [country] nationality⁴³*

⁴¹ The questions in Japanese are attached in Appendix B.

⁴² [Nationality] and [country] in the question are substituted by each country's nationality (i.e. "truly British", "truly Japanese", "a true American"). (ISSP 2003 National Identity II - ZA3910 – Codebook: http://www.info1.gesis.org/dbksearch/file.asp?file=ZA3910_cdb.pdf)

⁴³ The word, "citizenship" is used in the questionnaire in Great Britain: "to have British citizenship", whereas the word "nationality" is used in Japan: "to have Japanese nationality". Citizenship and nationality are close concepts, but have different meanings. I have paid attention to the different use of

- (c) *To have lived in [country] for most of one's life*
- (d) *To be able to speak [country language]*
- (e) *To be a [religion]*
- (f) *To respect [country nationality] political institutions and laws*
- (g) *To feel [country nationality]*
- (h) *To have [country nationality] ancestry*

For each item, there are 5-point Likert scale options to answer: “*very important*”, “*fairly important*”, “*not very important*”, “*not at all important*” and “*can't choose*”.

Question: National Identity (B)

How much do you agree with the statement below?

It is impossible for people who do not share [country's] customs and traditions to become fully [country nationality].

There are 5-point Likert scale options to this question: “*agree strongly*”, “*agree*”, “*neither agree nor disagree*”, “*disagree*”, “*disagree strongly*” and “*can't choose*”.

I recode the answers to the questions above in order that the strongest importance or agreement scores 5, while the weakest importance or agreement (the strongest disagreement) scores 1. For Question -National Identity (A), I put “*can't choose*” in the middle, scoring 3, while I dropped it from the analysis of Question (B) because the

words, or the translation issue when I compared the results of the survey internationally, though I can assume that its impact on the result of this study may be small enough to ignore.

latter has an option “neither agree nor disagree”, whereas the former does not have an option equivalent to that⁴⁴. The details of coding are summarized in Appendix A: Codebook.

The recoded variables of national identity are used for cross-tabulation and factor analysis in order to examine to what extent the traditional distinction of national identity – ethnic and civic⁴⁵ – is applicable to Japan, what kind of national identity Japanese people have, and to compare the results with the other eight countries.

2.2.4 Variables in Chapter 4

In Chapter 4, I carry out a logistic regression analysis for the 9 countries, including Japan, to analyse the association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority’s culture (maintenance of the ethnic minority’s culture or adaptation to the larger society). Based on the findings of Chapter 3, the predicted probabilities of having a favourable attitude toward the ethnic minority’s adaptation to the larger society, rather than the maintenance of their distinct customs and traditions, is analysed by the different categorizations of national identity in the nine countries.

⁴⁴ The details are summarized in the Appendix A.

⁴⁵ The details of this traditional distinction of national identity were reviewed in Chapter 1.

Dependent Variable

The dependent variable for the analysis of Chapter 4 is attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, and I use the answers to the question below⁴⁶.

Question: Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture

Some people say that it is better for society if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?

- *It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions (defined here as "maintenance of the ethnic minority's customs and traditions")*
- *It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society (defined here as "adaptation to the larger society")*
- *Can't choose.*

"Ethnic Minority" is not defined or explained in details in the questionnaire, thus the respondents answer the question depending on whom they regard as "ethnic minority".

In order to examine the predicted probabilities of preferring the ethnic minority's adaptation to the larger society, to than the maintenance of their distinct customs and traditions, I recode "maintenance of the ethnic minority's customs and traditions" as 0, and "adaptation to the larger society" as 1⁴⁷. I drop "can't choose" from the analysis because the focus of this analysis is on the predicted probabilities of

⁴⁶ The questions in Japanese are attached in Appendix B.

⁴⁷ The details are summarized in the Appendix A.

preferring “adaptation to the larger society” in comparison with “maintenance of the ethnic minority’s customs and traditions”.

Nagayoshi (2011) uses the same data set, ISSP 2003, but but uses a different question as indicator of endorsement of multiculturalism. Nagayoshi (2011)’ s study focuses on the people’s political view on the government’s role about the preservation of the ethnic minority’s culture, while this study focuses on the people’s general view and attitude toward the ethnic minority’s cultural adaptation/maintenance. The details will be reviewed and summarised in Chapter 4.

Independent Variable

The independent variable for the logistic regression analysis in Chapter 4 is the different conceptualizations of national identity: ethnic (including both ethnic and civic), and civic (including neither ethnic nor civic)⁴⁸, created based on the variable of national identity, which is used for the analysis of Chapter 3.

The categorical variables of different conceptualizations of national identity will be explained in Chapter 4.

⁴⁸ The details of the categorization of national identity will be explained in Chapter 4.

Control Variables

In order to evaluate the degree of the effect of national identity on the predicted probabilities of choosing the ethnic minority's "adaptation to the larger society", rather than "maintenance of the ethnic minority's distinct customs and traditions", I controlled the effects of socio-economic factors: age, gender, employment status, residential area, and educational degree. The variable of class in ISSP 2003 was based on ISCO, which is often used for sociological analysis, but I do not use it for the analysis of this study, because it was not asked in Japan.

I compare the results of logistic regression analysis for the 9 countries based on the two models below.

Model 1: National Identity

Model 2: Age + Gender + Employment Status + Residential Area + Education +

National Identity

The details of coding the controlled variables are summarized in Appendix A.

2.3. Qualitative Analysis

2.3.1 Interview with Teachers

In Chapter 5, I will explore the qualitative analysis of data from interview with teachers of immigrants' children in elementary schools and junior high schools in the two cities in Japan in order to investigate (i) their images of "Japanese", (ii) their views about the immigrants' identities: whether they think it desirable for them to have "Japanese", " – (hyphenated) Japanese" identity or maintain their ethnic identities, and (iii) why, in what way and to what extent they favour the idea of maintaining the immigrant children's culture and identity, rather than adaptation to the dominant Japanese culture. The results of the analysis will help us to understand the meaning of multicultural coexistence in Japan: in what way it is different from the theory of multiculturalism in "Western" countries.

The focus on education and teachers of immigrants' children enables us to understand the complex feature of culture, in other words, the difficulty of promoting equality for children with ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds. The skills and knowledge taught in schools are embedded in the mainstream culture, often the ethnic majority's culture. Thus, teachers of the ethnic minority children often feel pressure to compete with values being taught in mainstream culture (Berry 2005, 2009, 2012; Rudmin 2009).

Interviews with teachers in elementary, junior high and junior high night schools, which have Japanese language classes for students with non-Japanese nationalities were carried out in the two cities, Tokyo and Kawasaki in February and March 2013. Elementary and junior high schools are compulsory for Japanese children, whereas junior high night school is for people who are over 14 years old (by which age it is generally expected that compulsory education has been completed) but were not able to complete their compulsory education for some reason.

There are many immigrants who have just migrated to Japan and are over 14 years old attending junior high night schools. There are also many adults who were war-displaced people left behind in China by their Japanese relatives in their infancy (“*Chugoku Zanryu Koji*”) attending junior high night schools. Thus, the students in junior high night schools are more diverse in terms of age and ethnic and cultural backgrounds, as well as jobs (some of the students are working during the daytime) because the proportion of immigrant students in junior high night schools is bigger than that in elementary and junior high schools.

In elementary and junior high schools, which are compulsory education for Japanese children, it is significantly important for teachers not only to teach the academic

subjects, but also to discipline the children. Tsuneyoshi (1996) stated that one of the characteristics of Japanese school culture is coordinated communalism (“*Issei-kyodotai-syugi*”), meaning communalism expecting sharing experiences, compathy and voluntary coordination based on shared values, and a teaching style that everyone doing the same thing all together. The teachers in elementary and junior high schools, therefore, need to pay particular attention to the immigrants’ children, especially those who have just migrated to Japan, in terms of teaching such school rules and desirable behaviours. By contrast, in junior high night schools, generally speaking, teachers are less likely to pay attention to their discipline, however they need to pay attention to the immigrants behaviour so that they do not have problems when they start working in Japan.

In the next section (2.3.2), I will summarize the number of people and children with non-Japanese nationalities and the local educational policies for them in Tokyo and Kawasaki, where the interviews with teachers were conducted. Then the access to schools and teachers will be explained, and the information on the schools and teachers that I visited for the interviews will be summarized in 2.3.3. The interview procedure and questions are explained in 2.3.4.

2.3.2 Cities of Tokyo and Kawasaki

I carried out interviews with teachers in two cities, Tokyo and Kawasaki, in the Kanagawa prefecture, Japan. Both cities have many immigrants, including so-called “old comers”, “newcomers”⁴⁹ and those who are married to people with Japanese nationalities.

Tokyo is the capital city of Japan, where about 13 million people live. About 3% of them (about 400,000 people) are people with foreign nationalities (Table 2-2). This constitutes about 20% of the people with foreign nationalities in Japan, and this percentage is the highest among all 46 prefectural areas⁵⁰.

Table 2-2: Number of People with Foreign Nationalities in Tokyo and Kanagawa and Percentage of People with Foreign Nationalities in Japan

| Prefecture | 2009 | 2010 | 2011 | 2012 | % (2012) |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|
| Tokyo | 415,098 | 418,012 | 405,689 | 393,974 | 19.33 |
| Kanagawa | 173,039 | 169,405 | 166,153 | 162,325 | 7.96 |
| Japan Total | 2,186,121 | 2,134,151 | 2,078,480 | 2,038,159 | 100.00 |

Source: Ministry of Justice, Japan

In Tokyo, there are approximately 5,400 pupils with foreign nationalities in primary schools and 2,800 students with foreign nationalities in junior high schools in 2010⁵¹. There are also children who have Japanese nationalities, but are recognized as

⁴⁹ “Old comers” refers to the Chinese or Korean people who were forced to migrate to Japan before WWII and their descendants. Now, they have third and fourth generations. Many of them are culturally assimilated into the Japanese majority’s culture. “New comers” refers to the immigrants who migrated to Japan after 1990 when the basic immigration law was amended. The countries of origin of new comers are various: China, Korea, Philippines, Brazil, Peru etc.

⁵⁰ This number is based on the statistics of foreign resident registration by the Ministry of Justice in Japan. Under the Alien Registration Law, a foreign national scheduled to reside in Japan for more than 90 days must apply for alien registration.

⁵¹ Tokyo Metropolitan Board of Education (2010). The data in 2010 is the most recent data available.

“students who need to learn Japanese language”. They are mostly children of immigrant parent(s). There are 1,556 foreign pupils in elementary schools and 873 students in junior high schools who are recognized as “students who need to learn Japanese language (Table 2-3). The first languages of those children who learn Japanese in schools are various: Chinese, Filipino, English, Korean etc. as shown in Table 2-4.

Table 2-3: Students Who Need to Learn Japanese Language in Tokyo (2012)

| Nationality | Elementary | Junior High | Total |
|--------------|------------|-------------|-------|
| non-Japanese | 959 | 692 | 1,651 |
| Japanese | 597 | 181 | 778 |
| Total | 1,556 | 873 | 2,429 |

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan

Table 2-4: First Languages of Students Who Need to Learn Japanese Language in Tokyo (2012)

| First Languages | N |
|-----------------|------|
| Portuguese | 15 |
| Chinese | 921 |
| Filipino | 405 |
| Spanish | 57 |
| Vietnamese | 56 |
| English | 148 |
| Korean | 123 |
| Other | 255 |
| Total | 1980 |

Source: Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan

Kawasaki is a major urban area in the Kanagawa prefecture, located in close

vicinity to Tokyo. Now, 29,624 people with foreign nationalities live in Kawasaki⁵². The city has been accommodating many people from Korea (“old comers”) since the 1910s and ’20s, as well as many “newcomers” from various countries such as China, Korea, the Philippines, India, Brazil, India, the US, etc. There are 541 pupils with foreign nationalities in elementary schools, and 260 students with foreign nationalities in junior high schools in Kawasaki⁵³. Their countries of origin are diverse, such as Korea, China, the Philippines, Brazil, Peru, Vietnam etc. The ten biggest nationality groups of non-Japanese children in Kawasaki are summarized in Table 2-5.

Table 2-5: Nationalities of Children of non-Japanese in Kawasaki (2009)

| Nationality | Elementary | Junior high |
|-------------|------------|-------------|
| Korean | 166 | 66 |
| Chinese | 118 | 69 |
| Filipino | 116 | 62 |
| Brazilian | 37 | 16 |
| Peruvian | 26 | 11 |
| Vietnamese | 19 | 7 |
| American | 12 | 1 |
| Argentinian | 4 | 5 |
| Thai | 5 | 2 |
| Indonesian | 8 | 0 |

Source: Kawasaki City Board of Education (2009)

I chose the two cities because both of them are urban areas with various ethnic

⁵² Kawasaki City Council (2012).

⁵³ Kawasaki City Board of Education (2009) :

http://www.keins.city.kawasaki.jp/1/KE1026/h23/kikoku_gaikoku/tomoniikiru/2011tomoniikiru.pdf

groups and a big population of Korean “old comers”. Particularly, in Kawasaki, the “old comer” Koreans have been powerful in shaping the policies and practices for the immigrants in the area, being the first city that uses the word, multicultural coexistence, in the newspaper. I expected to compare the two cities in order to see the effect of Korean “old comers”, which turns out to be very difficult because the teachers rarely mention the “old comer” Korean children. Moreover, only one school gave a permission for interview in Kawasaki.

2.3.3. Access to School and Teachers

Not all the schools where immigrants’ children study have Japanese language classes. When the number of immigrants’ children who need to learn the Japanese language increases, the school sends a request to the local board of education to set up a Japanese language class. The request is not always granted, and some schools have been requesting for years and are still waiting for permission⁵⁴. If the immigrants’ children who are in need of learning the Japanese language are going to a school that does not have a Japanese language class, they are sent to another school in a nearby area to take Japanese lessons. I sent letters to the head teachers of all the schools that have Japanese language

⁵⁴ From the conversation with teachers that I interviewed.

classes in Tokyo⁵⁵, in order to ask their permissions to interview teachers⁵⁶. There are 19 elementary, 7 junior high and 5 junior high night schools that run Japanese language classes for immigrants' children in Tokyo.

In the case of Kawasaki city, I first consulted the Board of Education and they introduced me to 5 schools that have international classes⁵⁷. I sent letters to the head teachers of those schools.

I telephoned the schools after sending the letters in order to ask directly whether I could interview the teachers, and to explain the research topic and interview questions. 8 elementary, 3 junior high, and 2 junior high night schools in Tokyo, and one elementary school in Kawasaki gave me permissions to interview teachers. Among the schools that did not accept a request for interview, most of them told me that they did not have time for interviews, and a few of them were concerned about ethical issues regarding the possible impact of the information of the students' ethnic backgrounds being written in my thesis⁵⁸. Most of the schools that refused to participate in this study or did not answer to my request are located in the areas where many Korean old comers live. It suggests that they would like to avoid possible tensions between Koreans and Japanese in the area

⁵⁵ I excluded the islands that belongs to Tokyo, but have very different environment, being far away from the central Tokyo.

⁵⁶ The letters for a request of interviews are attached in Appendix B.

⁵⁷ International classes in schools in Kawasaki are basically equivalent to Japanese language classes in schools in Tokyo. The names are different depending on the prefecture and cities. The name of classes for immigrants' children changes. They were previously called adaptation classes in some areas (heard from the teachers that I interviewed).

⁵⁸ One teacher told me that they had had a bad experience when they accepted an interview for a newspaper article about immigrant education.

caused by being included in this study because they may have much experiences of that kind. In other research project, I have heard that teachers are worried about that the information of the number of the students of the ethnic minority children in academic studies or newspapers may make some Japanese parents to avoid to send their children to the school. It is possible to estimate that the Koreans in the schools that I visited for this study are under representative compared to its real population because I could not visit a school in Shinjyuku and could visit only one school in Kawasaki though both Shinjyuku and Kawasaki have much Korean residents for a long time.

I requested interviews with as many teachers as possible, particularly those teaching Japanese language classes or international classes, and also the homeroom⁵⁹ teachers of classes to which many immigrant students belong to⁶⁰. Table 2-6 summarizes the schools and teachers that I had interviews with. I had interviews with 24 teachers in 14 schools.

⁵⁹ Homeroom in elementary school is a class that a pupil belongs to. They learn most subjects in their homerooms. Teachers in elementary schools are in charge of teaching most subjects and discipline the students in their homeroom classes.

⁶⁰ There are only a few immigrant students in some classes, while there are many (more than 4 or 5, for example) immigrants students in other classes. I requested interviews with those teachers who are in charge of teaching the homeroom classes where many immigrant students study.

Table 2-6: Schools and Teachers for Interview

| Teacher ID | School Level | City | Area | School | Gender | Subject/Position | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|----------|----------|---------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------------------------|--|
| A | Elementary | Tokyo | Itabashi | 1 | Male | Japanese language | | | |
| B | | | | 2 | Female | Japanese language | | | |
| C | | | Edogawa | 3 | Male | Japanese language | | | |
| D | | | | Ota | 4 | Male | Homeroom (year 4) | | |
| E | | | Kita | 5 | | Female | Japanese language | | |
| F | | | | | | Male | Homeroom (year 6) | | |
| G | | | | | | Male | Japanese language | | |
| H | | | | | | Male | Japanese language | | |
| I | | | | | | 6 | Female | Japanese language | |
| J | | | | | | Male | Japanese language | | |
| K | | | Sumida | 7 | | Female | Japanese language | | |
| L | | | | | | Female | Japanese language | | |
| M | | | Kawasaki | Kawasaki | Minato | 8 | Female | Japanese language | |
| N | | | | | | 9 | Male | Teaching director | |
| O | | | | | Female | Japanese language, International Class | | | |
| P | Junior high | Tokyo | Itabashi | 10 | Female | Japanese language | | | |
| Q | | | | | Female | Japanese language | | | |
| R | | | Edogawa | 11 | | Male | Japanese language | | |
| S | | | | | | Male | Japanese language | | |
| T | | | | | Junior high (night) | | 12 | Male | Japanese language, Mathematics, Homeroom |
| U | | | | | | | Male | Japanese language, Science, Homeroom | |
| V | Junior high | Katsushika | 13 | | Female | Japanese language | | | |
| W | | | | Kita | 14 | Female | Japanese language | | |
| X | | | | | Male | Japanese language | | | |

2.3.4 Interview Procedure and Questions

The interview was semi-structured. It took roughly 45 to 60 minutes, but ran over 90 minutes for some teachers and the teachers told me much about their thoughts about the education of immigrant children. I asked the questions regarding the image of “Japanese” (quoted from ISSP 2003), their expectations about the immigrants’ children’s identities and their thoughts about the immigrants’ culture (quoted from ISSP 2003)⁶¹.

Before and after the interviews, I told them that it was not compulsory to answer the questions and asked them to let me know if they would not like to answer any questions(s) or they would like to delete their answers. In order to opt-out any time after the interview, I gave them my contact number and email address. As the gatekeeper of this interview are head teacher of each school, I tried to highlight that they can refuse to answer the questions in order to avoid coercion. One teacher told me that she would like me not to record her answers, thus I did have an interview with her, but did not include her in the analysis.

*Question: National Identity and Ethnic Relations (Questions are cited from ISSP 2003)
1-1. Some people say that it is better for society if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?*

- *It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions*
- *It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society*

⁶¹ The interview questions and the cards that I presented for information for the teachers are attached in Appendix B.

- *Can't choose*

1-2. *Why do you think so (answers to Question 1-1)?*

1-3. *Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Japanese. Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?*

- (a) *To have been born in [country]*
- (b) *To have [country nationality]*
- (c) *To have lived in [country] for most of one's life*
- (d) *To be able to speak [country language]*
- (e) *To be a [religion]*
- (f) *To respect [country nationality] political institutions and laws*
- (g) *To feel [country nationality]*
- (h) *To have [country nationality] ancestry*

1-4. *Why do you think so (answers to Question 1-3)?*

Question: Immigrant Children's Language, Identities and Culture

2-1. Do you think it desirable for the immigrants' children to speak both Japanese and their first languages?

2-2. Why do you think so (Answer to Question 2-1)?

2-3. Do you think it desirable for schools in Japan to teach the immigrants' children's first languages? (*although in practice, it is difficult to do that within a constraints of current educational system. Please give your opinion generally whether it is desirable for the public education in Japan provides the immigrants' children with their first languages lessons.)

2-4. Why do you think so (Answer to Question 2-3)?

2-5. Do you think it desirable to teach immigrants' children the history of their countries of origin?

2-6. Why do you think so (Answer to Question 2-5)?

2-7. Do you think it desirable to teach immigrants' children the traditional customs of their countries of origin?

2-8. Why do you think so (Answer to Question 2-7)?

2-9. What do you expect the immigrants' children regarding their identities in the future? (*The examples are listed on the card. What do you think about the statement written on the card? Also, please give your opinion generally about the immigrants' children's identities.)

(Card)

- I expect them to live as "Japanese".
- I expect them to maintain their ethnic identities. (i.e. Chinese, Filipino)
- I expect them to live as "half (double)".
- I expect them to live as "*zainichi*". (ie. Chinese in Japan, Filipino in Japan)
- I expect them to live as "- (hyphenated) Japanese". (i.e. Chinese – Japanese, Filipino - Japanese)
- I do not particularly hope that they consider their identities.
- The question of identity is what their parents consider. It is not school or teacher's role.

2-10. Why do you think so (Answer to Question 2-9)?

2-11. The identity, "*Zainichi*- " (i.e. *Zainichi*- Chinese (Chinese in Japan), *Zainichi*-Filipino (Filipino in Japan)) are common expression of identities of the people with foreign nationalities or immigrants in Japan. However, it seems that "- (hyphenated) Japanese" (such as "Chinese-Japanese" or "Filipino-Japanese") is not widely used at the moment. What do you think about the identity, "- (hyphenated) Japanese"? (*The examples are listed on the card. What do you think about the statement written on the card? Also, please give your opinion generally about the immigrants' children's identities.)

(Card)

- It is appropriate to use "*Zainichi*-". "- (hyphenated) Japanese" is not appropriate to express the immigrants' identities.
- If someone has "- (hyphenated) Japanese" identity, I do not mind that at all.
- It is desirable to change the citizenship policy and relevant law so that "- (hyphenated) Japanese" identity may be widely used.
- Can't choose.

The definition of “different racial and ethnic groups” (in Question 1-1) are not specifically defined such as “Chinese” or “Japanese-Brazilians (*Nikkei-Brazil Jin*), but I told them that I would like to ask their views depending on their experiences of teaching the immigrants’ children, thus we can assume that “different racial and ethnic groups” in the context of this interview are mainly the people/children of the foreign nationalities and who are in need of learning Japanese lessons, including Chinese, Koreans, Brazilians, Peruvians, Indians, Bangladeshi etc. They may be different from teacher to teacher, reflecting the school context. Some of them may have “Japanese” parent and non-“Japanese” parent in a sense of nationality; others may have non-“Japanese” parents.

I did not ask the questions for a particular ethnicity or nationality. For example, I did not ask, “do you think it desirable for the *Chinese* immigrants’ children to speak both Japanese and their first languages?” (Question 2-1 in the interview), rather I asked in a way such as “do you think it desirable for the immigrants’ children to speak both Japanese and their first languages?”. It may be possible for the teachers to have different views on the children of different ethnicity or nationality for some reasons, thus it is a limitation of this study that it cannot describe a variety of views by one teacher by the children’s ethnic background. Such description may benefit the thesis with more detailed discussion of social distance by ethnic group. This should be further explored in the future study. In this thesis, the views by teachers that are observed by interview are about

“immigrant”, as a group. It may include some ethnic groups, such as Chinese and Philippines, and may be about a group of a single ethnic group, such as Chinese only. Some of the citations of the interview and information of teachers include the ethnic background of the children in class, thus I tried to take such information into account as much as possible.

Furthermore, in many schools in Japan, the number of the students by ethnicity are not open to public, and the head teachers often do not give a permission for such information to be disclosed. It was the case for the study for this thesis, as well. In some schools, the teachers told me the number of the students by ethnicity or nationality in classes or schools, but often did not like me to include it in the thesis with the school names in order to avoid the discriminative impact of it, for example, more “Japanese” parents send their children to other schools, knowing the number of the foreign students or a certain nationality etc. Therefore, I do not include the information of the number of students by ethnicity/nationality in class or school, and it is a limitation of this thesis; however, it is an important fact itself that they do not want to disclose such information to public, because it tells us about the discrimination in Japan.

In addition to the questions above, I also asked some questions in response to the teachers’ answers in order to better understand the their thoughts.

2.4. Summary

As explained above, I conducted a mixed-method approach of quantitative and qualitative analysis in order to solve a sociological puzzle: why the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture gathers such outstanding support in Japan, compared to other countries, and why the Japanese people favour the idea, in what way and to what extent they expect the ethnic minorities to maintain their distinct culture.

The quantitative study and qualitative study are complementary to each other: the former will give us the characteristics of the association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, and the latter will explain the logic and reasons behind the association.

Chapter 3: Nature of National Identity - International Comparison of ISSP 2003 Data -

3.1. Introduction

As explained in Chapter 1, this study investigates why many more people in Japan have a favourable attitude toward maintaining the ethnic minority's culture than in other countries. The popularity of multicultural discourse is consistent with this result, however it contradicts previous literature arguing that Japanese culture puts assimilative pressure on immigrants. If the Japanese people placed strong assimilative pressure on immigrants, it would be natural for more people to have a favourable attitude toward adapting to the majority's culture. Thus, it raises the question of why many people in Japan agree with the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's distinct customs and traditions.

In addition, the theory of multiculturalism in "Western" countries is developed

based on the idea of civic national identity and multicultural citizenship. In contrast, it has been said that Japan has a strong ethnic national identity (Befu 2001). Thus, it raises another question of why those who have the image of “Japanese” in an ethnic sense support the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture. What does the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities’ culture in the context where there is a strong ethnic national identity mean?

Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis, I statistically analyse the national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority’s culture in Japan, in comparison with other 8 countries – Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Australia, Canada, Sweden and South Korea⁶² – using the ISSP data 2003.

As reviewed in Chapter 1, there are two different conceptualizations of national identity in academic research – ethnic and civic -. The former highlights the tie between a nation and ethnic or cultural community, highlighting the bond based on ethnicity or race (“bloodlines”), while the latter puts an emphasis on the political aspect, such as respecting laws and political institutions.

Regarding the relationship between national identity and attitude toward the immigrants. Hjerm (1998) examined how the different forms of national identity and national pride are related to xenophobia in the four “Western” countries of the different

⁶² The details of the data and method are written in Chapter 2.

political regimes. The categorization of the political regimes is based on Castle and Miller (1993): Germany-ethnic model, Australia and Sweden-multicultural model, and Britain-imperial model. It was found that there is no clear relationship between the political regime and the types of national identity. The proportion of people with the different national identities is the same in the four countries; that of the people with a multiple national identity (having high scores on both ethnic and civic) is largest, followed by civic national identity, the pluralists (neither ethnic nor civic, meaning having low scores on both ethnic and civic) and ethnic national identity. Though Australia and Sweden have multicultural policies, it has not resulted in a higher degree of civic national identity. Germany has differential exclusion policy, but does not contain a higher proportion of the people with ethnic national identity.

Having this result in mind, it can be expected that the similar proportion of the different types of national identity can be observed in Japan: multiple (both ethnic and civic) and civic (only) are the majority. However, as the review of the study of Japanese nationalism revealed, having the same ethnicity and sharing a common culture are highlighted in Japan (Befu 2001). Thus, it leads us to expect that the people with ethnic national identity are the majority of the Japanese people. Then, how can we expect the proportion of different types of national identities in Japan? This question will be explored by statistical analysis of national identity of Japan and other 8 countries in Chapter 3.

In Chapter 3, I start with an overview of the national identity in the 9 countries. I will then examine whether the traditional two distinctions of national identity can be applied, and compare what constitutes the dimensions of national identities. Finally, I will compare the proportion of the different types of national identities in Japan and the other countries. Then, in Chapter 4, I investigate the associations between national identity and attitude towards the ethnic minorities' culture for each country because it would help us understand why the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities' culture gathers outstanding support in Japan. It will further explain why the idea of multicultural coexistence is widely welcomed in Japan.

3.2. Data and Method

To analyse and compare the national identities in the 9 countries, including Japan, I used ISSP 2003 data as described in Chapter 2, and run cross-tabulation and factor analysis.

I use the two questions from ISSP 2003 data as explained in Chapter 2. To grasp an overview of the answers to Question: National Identity (A) and (B), I create charts showing the percentages of the people who answered “very important” or “important” to (a) to (h) in Question (A) and “strongly agree” or “agree” to Question (B) for each country.

Then, I run a two factor analysis: one for all the 9 countries to see the overall dimensions of national identity, and one for each country to test whether the traditional two distinctions of national identity (ethnic and civic) are applicable to each country. Finally, I create four different categories of national identity in order to compare the proportion of them internationally.

3.3. Results

In this section, first I summarize the nature of national identity in Japan, compared to those in the other countries. Then, I examine whether the ethnic-civic division of national identity is valid for Japan and the other countries, and whether the proportion of ethnic national identity is heavier than those in the other countries.

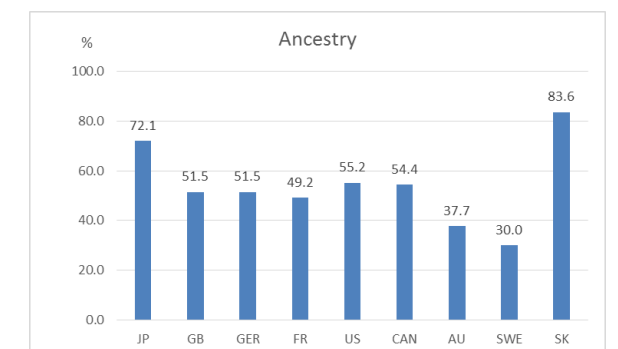
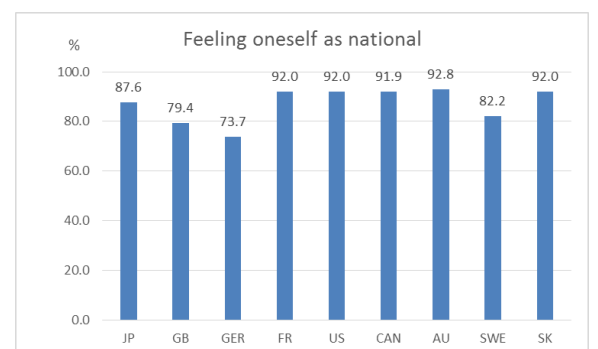
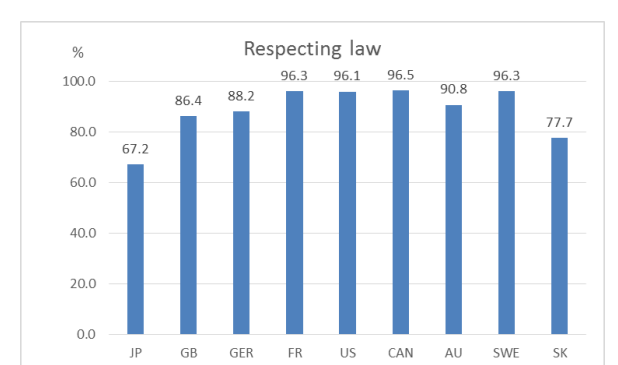
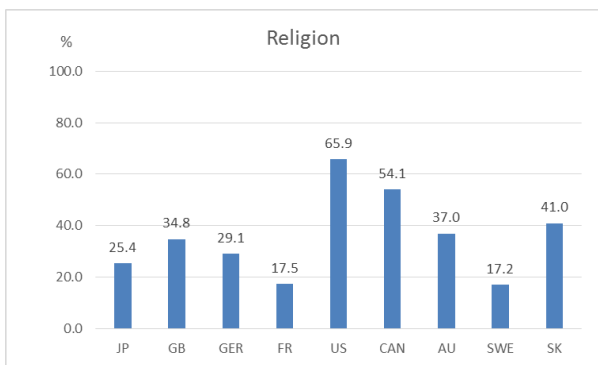
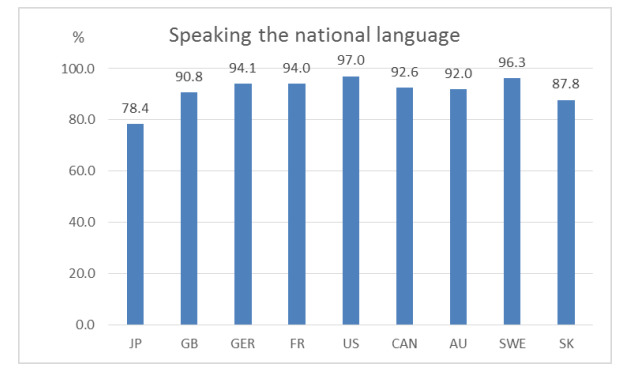
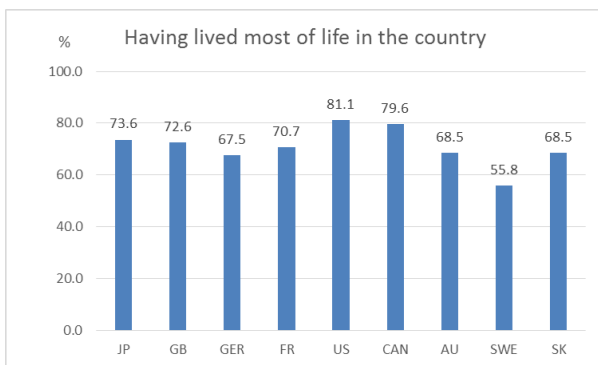
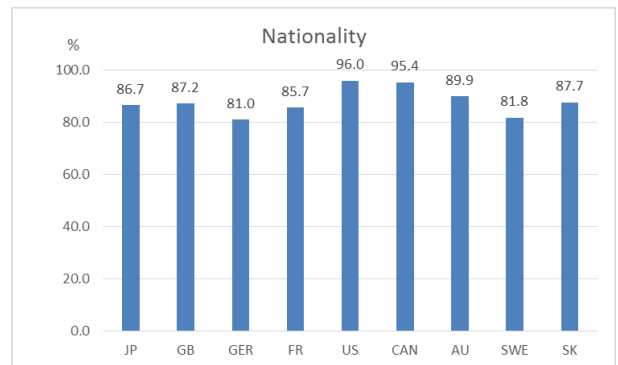
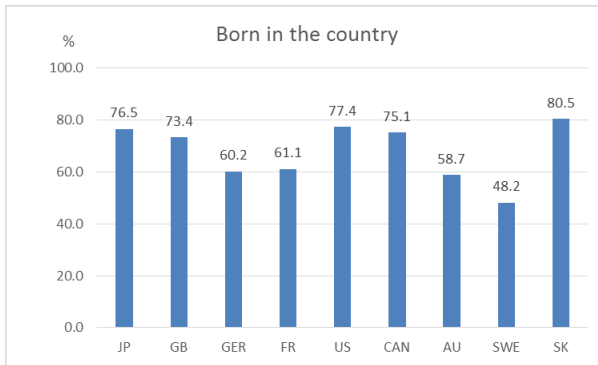
3.3.1. Overview of the Answers

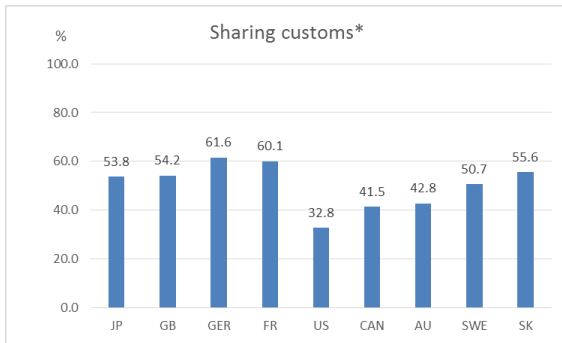
What is important to be nationals?

Charts 3-1 summarises the overview of the answers to Question (A) and (B), presenting the percentages of the people who answered “very important” or “fairly important” to each item⁶³.

⁶³ For Question (B), the percentage of the people who answered “strongly agree” or “agree”.

Chart 3-1: The percentages of the people who answered “very important” or “important” to the question: how much do you agree/disagree that the following item is important to be (truly) nationals?





Notes:

- (1) * = % of the people who answered “strongly agree” or “agree” to the question.
- (2) The percentages are calculated except for the missing value (i.e. no answer, not available).

In all the 9 countries, more than 70% of the people agree with the importance of having a nationality, speaking the language and feeling as a national in order to be true nationals. In particular, nationality is thought to be a very important part of being true nationals by more than 80% of the people, showing the highest average score at 87.9% (st.d = 4.7)⁶⁴. Language is also thought to be a very important element in all the 9 countries, though the percentages in Japan and South Korea are slightly lower than those in the other countries (78.4% and 87.8%, respectively). About 90% of the people in France, the US, Canada and Australia think that it is important or very important whether one feels as a national, for example whether one feels French or American, in order to regard someone as a national. More than 80% of the people in Japan and Sweden, and more than 70% of the people in Great Britain and Germany, think it important or very important to see someone as a national.

⁶⁴ The meaning of the high percentage of agreement on the importance of having a nationality may differ from country to country. I will analyse and discuss this further in Chapter 4.

Respecting laws and institutions in the country is thought to be important by 80 – 90 % of the people in most of the countries, excluding South Korea and Japan. The percentage drops to 77.7% in South Korea and 67.2% in Japan.

Overall, the things that people can achieve or learn regardless of race or ethnicity are seen as important in terms of developing a national identity by most people. These are the items that are often seen as indicators of civic dimension of national identity. It is worth noting that the percentages of these items drop slightly in Japan and South Korea. We may infer from this that the people in these two countries are not as inclusive to the ethnic minorities when defining nationals as in the other countries.

Having the country's ancestry is important in Japan and South Korea (72.1% and 83.6% respectively), while it is not so important in the other countries. The percentages vary widely depending on the country. In Australia and Sweden, only 30 – 40 % of the people think it important to be true nationals. In the rest of the countries, the percentages are around 50%, thus about half of the people take it seriously.

Combined with the result described above, this may indicate that the people in Japan and South Korea tend to see race and ethnicity more seriously for defining nationals, rather than being open to include people of other races or ethnicity.

Being born in the country is seen as important for being true nationals by the majority in most of the countries. Approximately 80% of the people think it important in Japan, the US, Canada and South Korea, while it drops to about 60% in Germany, France and Australia and it is only 48.2% in Sweden.

Having lived most of one's life in the country is thought of as important by the majority in all the target countries; the highest percentage is in the United States (81.1%) and the lowest in Sweden (55.8%).

For these two factors above, it may be worth looking at how the people interpret them, because the interpretation may differ depending on what kind of image the people have of nationals. In other words, some people may regard someone as a national in a political sense, assuming that people born in the country or having lived most of their life in the country should have the right to politically participate in the country. On the other hand, other people may define nationals in an ethnic or cultural sense, believing that people born in the country are the racial majority, or that those who have lived most of their life in the country are well accustomed to the country's customs and traditions.

It seems that religion is not as important as the other factors in order to see someone as a national. The average of the percentage for religion, shown in Charts 3-1, is the lowest. The majority think it important in the US and Canada (65.9% and 54.1% respectively). About 30 – 40 % of the people think it important in Japan, Great Britain,

Germany, Australia and South Korea, and less than 20% of the people in France and Sweden.

Sharing customs and traditions is thought of as important in being true nationals in Germany and France (about 60%). It is thought to be important by the majority in Great Britain, Japan and South Korea, while 32.8% of people hold the same view in the US.

Therefore, a comparison of the results for the question about national identity may indicate that Japan and South Korea tend to have an image of being “Japanese” or “South Korean”, sharing the same race or ethnicity, while the other countries put more emphasis on sharing political membership.

What is important in being Japanese?

According to the literature review on nationalism and national identity in Japan, the conceptualization of “Japanese” generally puts strong emphasis on bloodlines, rather than culture or nationality (Fukuoka 1993), while it also emphasizes the cultural uniqueness of Japanese, particularly highlighting its group orientation and social values supporting it (Yoshino 1992).

The result of the ISSP2003 in Japan (Chart 3-1) is partly consistent with the literature review. In Japan, the six items (born in Japan, having Japanese nationality, having lived most of one’s life in Japan, speaking Japanese, feeling oneself as Japanese and having Japanese ancestry) are seen as important for being truly Japanese by more

than 70% of the people. Respecting law and sharing customs are also important for the majority, while religion is not so important for most of the people (Chart 3-1).

Compared with the other countries, it is noticeable in Japan that (i) the percentage of those regarding Japanese ancestry as important is high, and (ii) the percentages regarding language and respecting the law as important are low.

The percentage for ancestry in Japan is much higher than the average of the 9 countries. We can conclude that people in Japan see bloodlines as being more important to see whether someone is Japanese or not, as Fukuoka (1993) argued. Whether the people in Japan recognize the cultural uniqueness as the core of its conceptualization of “Japanese” or not cannot be proven sufficiently only by the result of ISSP2003.

Respecting laws and political institutions in the country are often seen as important by the people who tend to have the civic image of nationals. Respecting law and political institutions may be taken for granted for the people living in Japan, and irrelevant to whether someone is Japanese or not. How the people in Japan actually interpret this will be analysed later in Chapter 5.

3.3.2. Dimension of National Identity

Table 3-1 shows the results of factor analysis of national identity for the 9 countries. The scores greater than 0.2 are underlined. The factor analysis gives us four factors. Factor 1 has “being born in the country”, “having lived most of one’s life in the

country” and “having the country’s ancestry” underlined, meaning that they are the main components of the first factor. “Respecting the law and political institutions” has a negative characteristic in it. In Factor 2, “having country’s nationality”, “speaking the national language”, “respecting the law and political institutions” and “feeling oneself as a national” are the main components. In sum, we can reasonably conclude that Factor 1 shows the ethnic dimension of national identity, while Factor 2 shows the civic dimension of national identity. This corresponds to the traditional discussion of the dimension of national identity; in other words, the ethnic and civic distinction of national identity holds true for the 9 countries, when all the countries are observed at once. It is shown that “having country’s nationality” also contributes to form factor 3 and 4, however they are not so strong factors.

Table3-1: Factor score of National Identity for Nine Countries (Rotated)

| | Factor 1 | Factor 2 | Factor 3 | Factor 4 |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Born in the country | <u>0.34</u> | 0.04 | 0.11 | -0.02 |
| Nationality | 0.10 | <u>0.26</u> | -0.04 | -0.03 |
| Having lived most of life in the country | <u>0.21</u> | 0.15 | 0.03 | -0.01 |
| Speaking the national language | 0.04 | <u>0.24</u> | 0.12 | 0.05 |
| Religion | 0.10 | 0.07 | 0.07 | <u>0.22</u> |
| Respecting law | -0.02 | <u>0.24</u> | 0.01 | 0.10 |
| Feeling oneself as national | 0.06 | <u>0.23</u> | -0.08 | 0.04 |
| Ancestry | <u>0.30</u> | 0.00 | <u>0.22</u> | <u>0.23</u> |
| Sharing customs | 0.06 | 0.02 | <u>0.22</u> | 0.06 |

Note: The scores not less than 0.2 are underlined.

Comparison of the dimensions of national identity and their components

I also carry out factor analysis of national identity for each country because it can be expected that what is thought to be important in being a true national may be different in different societies. I examine whether the dimensions of national identity vary across countries, and analyse whether the components of each dimension also vary depending on the country's context.

Table 3-2 summarizes the result of the factor analysis for each country. It suggests that national identity has more than one dimension in all the target countries, but the number and the contents of each dimension are different from country to country.

The first factors shown in Table 3-2-(1) mainly consist of being born and having national ancestry with a few exceptions (In Germany, being born in the country does not contribute to form the factor so strongly). The US, Canada and South Korea have two sets of factors, which can be interpreted as ethnic dimension. We may be able to label the first one as ethnic, following the traditional division in this field of study. The second one shown in Table 3-2-(2), on the other hand, mainly consists of respecting the law and feeling oneself as a national in all the countries except for the US. Having country's nationality and speaking national language contributes to form the factor in some countries. Australia has two sets of factors. One in Australia includes the national language, and the other includes the nationality, respecting the law and feeling oneself as a national. The contents of the factors are slightly different depending on the country,

however we may call this the civic dimension.

Table 3-2: Factor score of ethnic dimension of national identity for 9 countries

(1) Ethnic Dimension of National Identity

| | JP | GB | GER | FR | US | US(3) | CAN | CAN(2) | AU | SWE | SK | SK(2) |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Born in the country | <u>0.25</u> | <u>0.28</u> | 0.03 | <u>0.27</u> | <u>0.31</u> | 0.19 | <u>0.34</u> | 0.16 | <u>0.35</u> | <u>0.33</u> | <u>0.29</u> | 0.12 |
| Nationality | <u>0.27</u> | 0.10 | <u>0.20</u> | 0.10 | 0.09 | -0.02 | 0.08 | 0.10 | <u>0.42</u> | 0.06 | <u>0.37</u> | 0.04 |
| Having lived most of life in the country | 0.14 | <u>0.21</u> | <u>0.21</u> | 0.11 | 0.28 | 0.11 | 0.28 | 0.13 | <u>0.27</u> | <u>0.20</u> | 0.13 | 0.14 |
| Speaking the national language | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.07 | -0.02 | 0.01 | 0.15 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.14 | 0.08 |
| Religion | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.04 | 0.16 | 0.13 | <u>0.22</u> | 0.09 | 0.13 | 0.08 | 0.11 | 0.04 | <u>0.31</u> |
| Respecting law | 0.03 | -0.02 | -0.01 | 0.02 | -0.01 | -0.01 | -0.04 | 0.06 | -0.03 | -0.02 | 0.03 | 0.17 |
| Feeling oneself as national | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.05 | 0.05 |
| Ancestry | <u>0.20</u> | <u>0.34</u> | <u>0.22</u> | <u>0.34</u> | <u>0.23</u> | <u>0.33</u> | <u>0.28</u> | <u>0.23</u> | <u>0.31</u> | <u>0.32</u> | 0.10 | <u>0.25</u> |
| Sharing customs | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.09 | 0.19 | 0.07 | 0.15 | 0.06 | 0.14 | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.05 | 0.09 |

Notes:

(1) The scores not less than 0.2 are underlined.

(2) US, Canada and South Korea have two sets of factor scores which seem to express ethnic dimension of national identity. The number in brackets means the order of factors. (i.e. CAN (2) indicates the second factor of Canada).

Table 3-2: Factor score of ethnic dimension of national identity for 9 countries (Continued.)

(2) Civic Dimension of National Identity

| | JP | GB | GER | FR | US(2) | CAN(3) | AU(2) | AU(3) | SWE | SK(3) |
|--|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Born in the country | 0.03 | -0.01 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.04 | -0.04 |
| Nationality | 0.09 | 0.19 | 0.19 | 0.18 | <u>0.28</u> | <u>0.30</u> | 0.11 | <u>0.33</u> | <u>0.46</u> | 0.19 |
| Having lived most of life in the country | 0.07 | 0.16 | 0.12 | 0.08 | <u>0.24</u> | 0.11 | 0.17 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.01 |
| Speaking the national language | 0.16 | 0.19 | <u>0.27</u> | <u>0.26</u> | <u>0.22</u> | 0.07 | 0.27 | 0.14 | 0.50 | 0.16 |
| Religion | 0.17 | 0.06 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.04 | 0.17 | 0.02 | -0.01 | 0.08 |
| Respecting law | <u>0.23</u> | <u>0.24</u> | <u>0.24</u> | <u>0.24</u> | 0.05 | <u>0.20</u> | 0.08 | 0.21 | <u>0.47</u> | <u>0.26</u> |
| Feeling oneself as national | <u>0.21</u> | <u>0.33</u> | <u>0.30</u> | <u>0.26</u> | 0.16 | <u>0.37</u> | -0.01 | <u>0.28</u> | <u>0.30</u> | <u>0.30</u> |
| Ancestry | 0.18 | 0.06 | -0.01 | 0.07 | 0.00 | -0.02 | 0.11 | -0.03 | -0.08 | 0.08 |
| Sharing customs | 0.03 | -0.03 | -0.01 | 0.16 | -0.01 | -0.07 | <u>0.20</u> | 0.00 | <u>0.25</u> | 0.03 |

Notes: (1) The scores not less than 0.2 are underlined.

(2) The number in brackets means the order of factors. (i.e. US (2) indicates that it is the second factor of the United States. The first and third factors are shown in the ethnic dimension of national identity (Table 3-3-(1)).

Therefore, it can be concluded that the traditional two distinctions of national identity – ethnic and civic - are valid for these 9 countries, but the components of each dimension vary depending on the country.

In Japan, it has been shown that ethnic national identity mainly consists of being born in Japan, and having Japanese nationality and Japanese ancestry. As for the civic dimension, respecting the law and feeling oneself as Japanese are the main items that it comprises. Interestingly, nationality is more closely related to the items that form ethnic national identity. The factor score for having Japanese nationality in ethnic dimension is higher than that in civic national identity (0.27 in ethnic dimension and 0.09 in civic dimension). Thus, nationality in Japan contributes more to the ethnic dimension of national identity.

Is nationality ethnic or civic?

Comparing the ethnic/civic distinction across the 9 countries (Table 3-2), it is interesting that nationality is one of the main components of the ethnic national identity and closely related to being born in the country, having lived most of one's life in the country, and having ancestry in Japan, Germany, Australia and South Korea, while it constitutes the civic national identity in the United States, Canada, Australia (again in factor 3) and Sweden, being related to the language, respecting the law and self-identification. Therefore, we may be able to conclude that nationality is interpreted

differently depending on the context; the people generally think the nationality should be given to the people with ethnic characteristics in Japan, Germany and South Korea, while it should be given to the people with civic characteristics in the United States, Canada, Australia and Sweden. In Australia, nationality may possibly have two interpretations. It is seen as a membership of ethnic nation and a civic nation. This is consistent with the situation that citizenship policies in Japan, Germany and South Korea have been based on ethnicity, on “bloodlines”. Basically, Japanese citizenship can only be acquired by descent. Germany abolished the citizenship rule based on bloodlines, but the result may indicate that the people usually recognize the entitlement of citizenship based on the ethnic standard. On the other hand, the so-called “immigrant countries”, such as the United States, Canada and Australia, are the traditional *jus soli* countries with regard to citizenship. Sweden recently reformed and has opened equal political opportunities for all its residents.

Though Hjerm (1998) found that the proportions of the people of different conceptualizations of national identity do not reflect the political regime (reviewed in Chapter 1), the factor analysis for each country revealed that the perception of nationality, which we may reasonably assume that it is close to their conceptualization of membership of a nation, reflects the country’s traditional citizenship policy.

Is language a skill or ethnic culture?

The factor score of speaking national language in the two dimensions are very close in Japan and South Korea (0.14 and 0.16, respectively), while it has much stronger links with the civic items in the other countries. Like nationality, the interpretation may differ depending on the country's context. In other words, speaking the same language may play a role in providing a sense of membership of the ethnic nation in Japan and South Korea. The belief in homogeneity may play a role in creating such a sense of language and ethnicity. On the other hand, in the other countries, language may be something that one can learn regardless of one's ethnic background and something that can be shared by people of different ethnicities. Language may be seen as less ethnic in those countries; rather it plays the role of a skill or tool toward being a member of a political nation. We may assume how widely or internationally the language is spoken may affect the perception of language and ethnicity. English and French are spoken outside the country as well, while Japanese and Korean are not.

In sum, according to Tables 3-2, we may be able to conclude that there are two traditional divisions of national identity in principle, ethnic and civic, in the target countries in this study. However, it is worth noting that (i) there are more than two dimensions in some countries – the national identity can be divided into three dimensions in the US, Australia and South Korea; (ii) the civic dimension of national identity is

weaker, or not well developed in Japan: in civic dimension, the factor score of ancestry is higher than that of language (iii) the components of each dimension are slightly different in different countries. Having the nationality and speaking the national language may have different meanings, thereby form different dimensions of national identity, depending on the context of the country.

3.3.3. Proportion of Different Conceptualization of National Identity

Four categories of national identity

Some studies reveal that an individual can have both ethnic and civic national identity at the same time (Hjerm 1998, Tilley 2004 etc.). Tilley (2004) created the four categories of national identity: both (ethnic and civic), civic (only), ethnic (only), neither (ethnic nor civic). Multiple national identity means that someone's national identity has the characteristics of both the ethnic and civic dimensions, and neither national identity means that it has none of the characteristics. I refer to his way of creating the four categories of national identity.

I assign the respondents with the “ethnic scores” and “civic scores” based on their mean scores of each combination of items. The items that showed factor scores above 0.4 in Table 3-2 are chosen for calculating the “ethnic score” and “civic score”. Table 3-3 explains the components of the ethnic/civic dimension of national identity for each country. For example, for the Japanese respondents, the ethnic score is equal to the

mean of the scores of “being born in the country”, “having Japanese nationality” and “having Japanese ancestry”.

Each score ranges from 1 to 5 depending on the answers, indicating the respondent’s recognition of the importance of each item in being nationals. In this way, I assign all the respondents in the 9 countries to the ethnic and civic scores. Then, I make four categories of national identity, depending on the ethnic and civic scores: “multiple (both ethnic and civic)”, “ethnic”, “civic”, “neither ethnic nor civic”, as illustrated in Chart 3-2.

Table 3-3: Calculations for the “Ethnic” and “Civic” scores

| | Country | equals to the mean of the scores of |
|--------------|---------|--|
| Ethnic Score | JP | “Born in the country” + “Nationality” + "Ancestry" |
| | GB | "Born in the country" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | GER | "Nationality" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | FR | "Born in the country" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | US | "Born in the country" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | CAN | "Born in the country" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | AUS | "Born in the country" + "Nationality" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | SWE | "Born in the country" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Ancestry" |
| | SK | "Religion" + "Ancestry" |
| Civic Score | JP | "Respecting law" + "Feeling as Japanese" |
| | GB | "Respecting law" + "Feeling as British" |
| | GER | "Speaking German" + "Respecting law" + "Feeling as German" |
| | FR | "Speaking French" + "Respecting law" + "Feeling as French" |
| | US (2) | "Nationality" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Speaking English" |
| | CAN (3) | "Nationality" + "Respecting Law" + "Feeling as Canadian" |
| | AU (3) | "Nationality" + Respecting law" + "Feeling as Australian" |
| | SWE | "Nationality" + "Having lived most of life in the country" + "Speaking the national language" + "Respecting law" + "Feeling Swedish" + "Sharing customs" |
| | SK (3) | "Respecting law" + "Feeling as South Korean" |

Note: Among the factors shown in Table 3-3, US (3), CAN (2) and SK (1) are dropped from calculation of ethnic scores. Factors, AU (2) is dropped from calculation of civic scores

Chart 3-2: Division of Four Types of National Identity

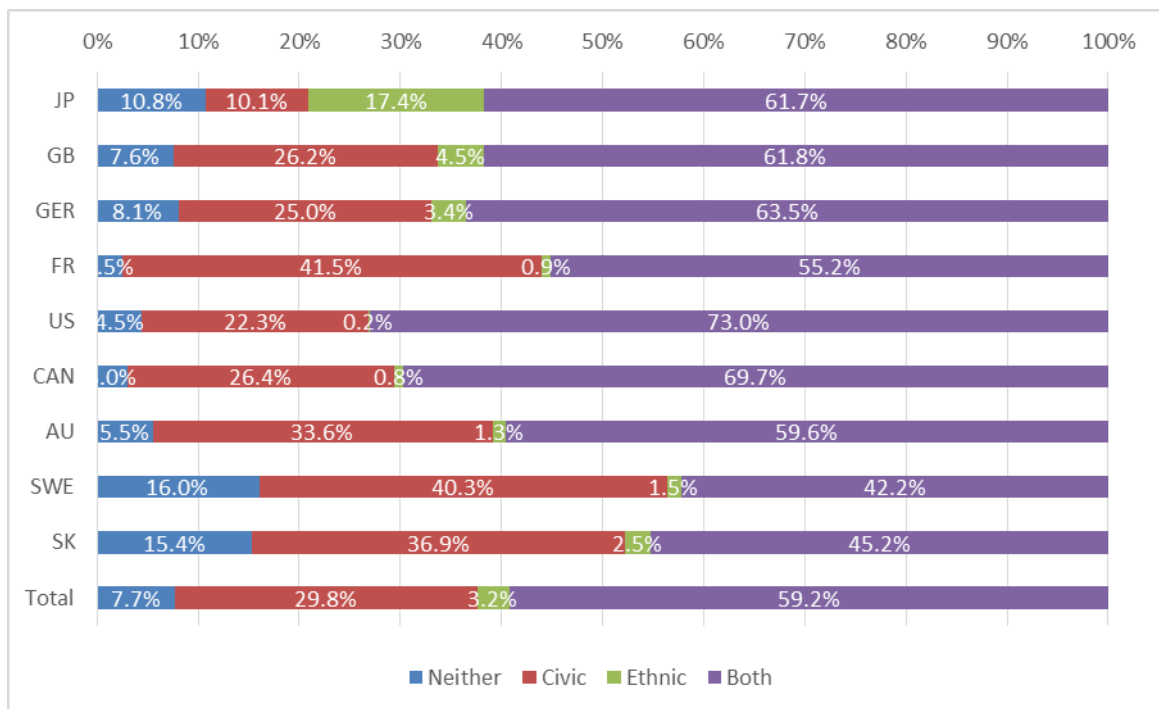
| | | Ethnic Score | | | |
|-------------|-----------|--------------------------|--------|-----------------------|--------|
| | | 2 or less | 2.01–3 | 3.01–4 | 4.01–5 |
| Civic Score | 4.01–5 | Ethnic | | Both ethnic and civic | |
| | 3.01–4 | | | | |
| | 2.01–3 | Neither Ethnic nor Civic | | Civic | |
| | 2 or less | | | | |

Source: Tilley (2004)

This has been modified a little, but is basically based on Tilley (2004).

Chart 3-3 show the distribution of the four different types of national identity across 9 countries.

Chart 3-3: Distribution of Four Different Types of National Identities in 9 Countries



In Japan, the largest group is both (ethnic and civic) national identity (61.7%), followed by ethnic (17.4%). These two groups make up approximately 80% of the people. Compared with the other countries, this is characterized by the high proportion of “ethnic” (17.4%) and the low percentage of “civic” (10.1%).

Hjerm (1998) argued that the proportion of different conceptualizations of national identity and the political regime are not associated: the people with both ethnic and civic national identity is the largest group, followed by the people with civic national identity in Germany, Australia, Sweden, and Great Britain. It holds true for all the countries in this study, except for Japan. In Japan, the people with both ethnic and civic

national identity is the largest group, and the second largest group is the people with ethnic national identity. More people have the ethnic image of “Japanese” than civic image of “Japanese”.

Therefore, what is exceptional about Japan is its high concentration on the ethnic dimension and light concentration on civic dimension of national identity.

3.4. Conclusion

As previously stated, the statistical analysis of national identity in Japan and the other 8 countries indicates that the people in Japan tend to interpret much more seriously whether someone has Japanese ancestry or not in order to regard someone as Japanese, while they do not interpret so seriously whether someone respects the law and political institutions and speaks Japanese or not.

Factor analysis demonstrates that traditional division of national identity – ethnic and civic – holds true for the countries examined in this chapter, including Japan. (There are more than two dimensions in some countries). However, the components of ethnic and civic dimensions are slightly different across countries. It was also found that the main components of ethnic and civic national identity in Japan are not exceptional, compared to those in the other countries. The ethnic dimension consists of being born in Japan, having Japanese nationality and having Japanese ancestry. The civic dimension

consists of respecting the law and political institutions in Japan and feeling oneself as Japanese. What is interesting about Japanese (and South Korean) national identity is that language is closely related to the ethnic dimension, while in the other countries it is closely related to the civic dimension. It implies that language is perceived closely to ethnicity in Japan (and South Korea), rather than perceived simply as a skill or communication tool. Finally, what is exceptional about Japan is the proportion of the different conceptualizations of national identity. The percentage of the people with ethnic (only) national identity is much higher than those of the other countries, thus it demonstrates the image of nationals in an ethnic sense is more widely shared in Japan than that in the other countries.

In the next chapter, I will analyse the association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Japan and the other 8 countries. Then, in Chapter 5, I will analyse the teachers' answers about the image of "Japanese" and orientation to the immigrants' culture. How they interpret the things in the questions will be further explored.

Chapter 4: National Identity and Attitude Toward Ethnic Minority's Culture - International Comparison of ISSP 2003 Data -

4.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the nature of the relationship between different types of national identities and attitudes toward the ethnic minority's culture internationally.

Nagayoshi (2011) found that the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of multiculturalism in Japan, though it had been argued that the people having less ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Hjerm 2000; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007; Verkuyten 2006; Verkuyten and Brug 2004; Kivisto 2004). Some academics argue that the Japanese people separate the ethnic minorities by the

endorsement of the idea of multiculturalism, emphasizing the cultural differences (Burgess 2004; Okubo 2008). Conversely, Japan has a strong ethnic national identity and citizenship policy (Oguma 1995), and Japanese school culture has been criticised as being assimilative to the ethnic minority children (Kang 1998), ignoring the ethnic differences based on the idea of equality that everyone is equally treated (Tsuneyoshi 1996). Thus, it leads us to expect that the people with ethnic national identity support the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities.

In this chapter, I will test whether the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the maintenance of ethnic minority's culture in Japan as Nagayoshi (2011) argues, and also investigate whether this relationship between national identity and attitude toward ethnic minorities' culture is exceptional, compared to the other countries.

International comparison of the association between the different conceptualizations of national identity and attitude toward ethnic minorities' culture will provide some evidence whether Japan has an exceptional characteristic of the relationship between these two. The result will help account for why Japan has such outstanding support for the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture.

4.2 Analytical Framework and Method

To analyse the associations between national identity and attitude toward the

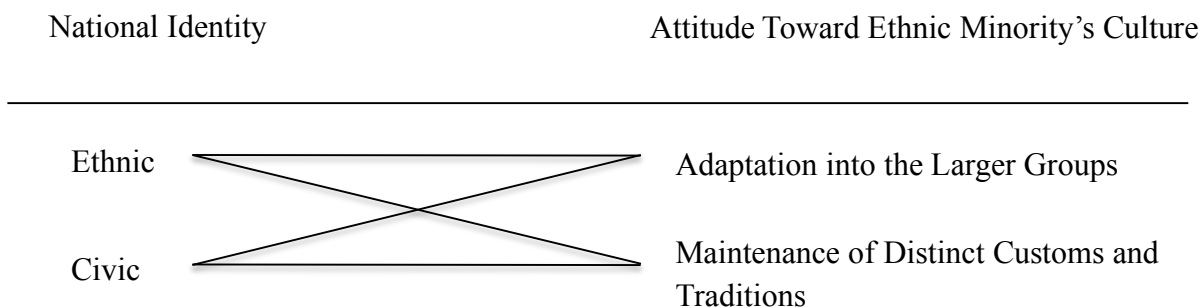
ethnic minority's culture statistically, I carry out the regression analysis between relevant variables. The details of the analytical framework and the variables are summarised below.

4.2.1 Analytical Framework and Hypothesis

Multicultural coexistence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) was developed and became popular as a slogan for many local governments after the ‘90s. Multicultural coexistence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) has a similar idea with the theory and practice of multiculturalism developed in Canada and Australia though it has a completely different social and historical background, in that it respects and celebrates the cultural diversity of the ethnic minorities. The idea of multiculturalism in Canada and Australia has been developed based on civic and multicultural citizenship, moreover, as found in Chapter 3, the proportion of the people with civic national identity is roughly a quarter to one-third, and those with ethnic is about 1%, while in Japan, the people with civic national identity consists of only 10%, and those with ethnic is 17% (Chart 3-3). It is natural to expect the different conceptualizations of nationals – ethnically inclusive or exclusive – have an different effect on the way of interpretation and practice of the similar idea, respecting and celebrating ethnic and cultural differences. Thus, it would be interesting to contrast multicultural co-existence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) in Japan and multiculturalism elsewhere with a particular focus on how the strong ethnic national identity in Japan shapes the local interpretation and introduction of such idea.

I set up my analytical framework as Chart 4-1 to analyse the associations between the different conceptualizations of national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, statistically.

Chart 4-1: Analytical Framework: Different Types of National Identity and Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture



I hypothesise that the patterns of associations between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture are different by individual. The basic assumption behind this hypothesis is that one's image of nationals may be associated with his/her thought about the ethnic/cultural minority group; whether a nation should consists of a single cultural group, or it has to contain plural cultural groups.

The patterns of relationships between the ideas about the nationals and the ethnic minority's culture are also expected to differ depending on the social context of the country. In one country, for example, those who define the nationals ethnically tend to support the cultural adaptation of the immigrants, and those who define nationals

regardless of their race or ethnicity may tend to support the maintenance of the minority's culture. On the other hand, in another country, the former may agree on maintaining the minority's culture, while the latter may support cultural adaptation.

As reported in Chapter 3, the high proportion of people in Japan have multiple and ethnic national identities, and a small proportion of people have civic national identity; we can reasonably expect that the people with ethnic national identity in Japan are more likely to support the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture, as Nagayoshi (2011) found. That would be able to explain the high percentage of support for the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture in ISSP 2003.

For the so-called "immigrants countries," such as Australia and Canada, which adopt the policies of multiculturalism, it can be expected that the people who support the idea of the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture tend to have civic national identity. In fact, as shown in Chapter 3, almost all the people (more than 90%) are categorised as having civic or both (ethnic and civic) national identity. Thus, it can be assumed that the idea that the immigrants and the ethnic minorities should be given citizenship and equal rights with the majority, without being expected to be culturally absorbed or adapted into the majority, is widely shared by the people.

My hypothesis for France, well known for its assimilation based on civic national identity, is that the people with civic national identity are more likely to support

the idea of adaptation through which the immigrants are expected to learn the French language and French culture in order to become French. Stemming from the Revolution, French republic is based on the idea of civic citizenship in principle; that anyone, regardless of his/her ethnic or racial background, can be or is expected to be “French,” by learning the French language and culture in public. Thus, presumably most of the people in France agree with the assimilative idea about the minority’s culture based on their civic national identities.

As to the relationships between the demographical variables and attitude toward the ethnic minorities’ culture, men show more prejudice toward immigrants than women (Ekehammer et al 2003), thus it can be expected that the men tend to favour the idea of cultural adaptation to the majority culture. According to Palmer (1996), unemployment and anti-immigration attitude are related (labour market competition theory), therefore we can expect that the unemployed people are more likely to favour the cultural adaptation. Many studies have confirmed the relationship between education and attitude toward immigrants: the more educated, the more tolerant toward the immigrants, based on contact theory, by which the highly educated people have more cosmopolitan network that will generate tolerance and pro-outsider views of the world (Espenshade and Hempstead 1996). Based on the same theory, the people living in a city are expected to have more supportive attitude toward immigrants than those living in a countryside

because we can assume they have more contacts with them

4.2.2 Method

To examine the associations between the different national identity types and attitudes toward the ethnic minority's culture in the 9 countries, logistic regression analysis is used, as the dependent variable is binary.

As explained in Chapter 2, the dependent variable is the indicator of attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture.

Logistic regression analysis gives us the prediction for preference of the cultural adaptation into the larger society by the ethnic minorities.

I dropped the answer of "can't choose" to the dependent variable from the analysis because the focus of the analysis is on the difference between the people's attitude of "maintenance of minority culture" and "adaptation"⁶⁵. Table 4-1 summarises

⁶⁵ As shown in Table 1-6, the percentage of "can't choose" in Australia, Canada, France South Korea and the US are relatively small and are not expected to affect the results so much. They are bigger than that of "maintaining minority culture" in Great Britain, Germany and Sweden and it is bigger than that of "adaptation" in Japan.

the proportion of different attitude toward ethnic minority culture by country without the option of “can’t choose.” It shows that in Japan, about 90% of the people favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities’ culture. Again, it is outstandingly high.

Table 4-1: Answers regarding the Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority’s Culture in 9 Countries (Without the Answer of “cant’t choose”) (%)

| | Maintenance of Ethnic Minority's Culture | Adaptation into the Larger Group | Total | N |
|---------------|--|----------------------------------|--------|------|
| Japan | 88.89 | 11.11 | 100.00 | 819 |
| Great Britain | 24.73 | 75.27 | 100.00 | 639 |
| Germany | 36.58 | 63.42 | 100.00 | 924 |
| France | 26.76 | 73.24 | 100.00 | 1360 |
| United States | 47.39 | 52.61 | 100.00 | 1169 |
| Canada | 28.93 | 71.07 | 100.00 | 1023 |
| Australia | 18.15 | 81.85 | 100.00 | 1851 |
| Sweden | 15.25 | 84.75 | 100.00 | 990 |
| South Korea | 47.53 | 52.47 | 100.00 | 1193 |

Created based on International Social Survey Programme 2003

Note: The percentages are calculated without the answer of “can’t choose.”

Independent Variables

The independent variables are the two categorical variables of conceptions of national identities; “with ethnic component” and “without ethnic component”. I combined four categories into two, because the percentages of the people categorised in “ethnic (only)” and “civic (only)” are very small (Chart 3-3). Each categorical variable is created based on the composition of ethnic/civic dimension in each country (Chapter 3). Thus, each dimension does not mean precisely the same, however the ethnic - civic distinction

is valid in overall.

I do not use the two factor scores of national identity, ethnic and civic, because they are highly correlated, as shown in Table 4-2 below.

Table 4-2: Correlation between Factor Scores Indicating Ethnic and Civic National Identity

| | Coefficient | p-value | N |
|----------------------------|-------------|---------|------|
| Japan | 0.91 | 0.00 | 1057 |
| Great Britain | 0.71 | 0.00 | 770 |
| Germany | 0.77 | 0.00 | 1152 |
| France | 0.73 | 0.00 | 1380 |
| United States; (1) and (2) | 0.89 | 0.00 | 1180 |
| United States; (1) and (3) | 0.95 | 0.00 | 1188 |
| Canada | 0.94 | 0.00 | 1161 |
| Australia | 0.60 | 0.00 | 2027 |
| Sweden | 0.77 | 0.00 | 1095 |
| South Korea; (1) and (2) | 0.81 | 0.00 | 1302 |
| South Korea; (2) and (3) | 0.83 | 0.00 | 1302 |

Table 4-3 shows the proportions of two conceptualizations of national identity in the 9 countries. In Japan, the percentage of the people of “with ethnic component” national identity is about 80%. It decreases to about 70% in Great Britain, Germany, the US and Canada. And it drops to 60% in France and Australia. In South Korea, it is almost half of the people, and in Sweden, it turns out to be the minority (about 40%).

Control Variables

Socioeconomic factors may also influence the attitude toward the ethnic

minority's culture. As written in Chapter 2, I use socioeconomic factors such as age, gender, employment status, residential area and educational degree as control variables. The details of coding these variables are summarised in the Appendix A.

As the dependent variable is a binary categorical variable (0= maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture, and 1= adaptation), I carry out the logistic regression analysis for the two models below in order to see the effect of the different types of national identity, controlling for socioeconomic aspects.

Model 1: National Identity

*Model 2: Age + Gender + Employment Status + Residential Area + Education +
National Identity*

Table 4-3: Proportion of the Different Types of National Identity in Nine Countries (2) (%)

| | JP | GB | GER | FR | US | CAN | AU | SWE | SK |
|-------------------------------------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Civic (without ethnic component) | 20.9 | 33.8 | 33.1 | 44.0 | 26.8 | 29.4 | 39.1 | 57.3 | 52.2 |
| Ethnic (with ethnic component) | 79.1 | 66.3 | 67.0 | 56.0 | 73.2 | 70.6 | 60.1 | 42.8 | 47.8 |
| N | 1,102 | 803 | 1,261 | 1,456 | 1,213 | 1,193 | 2,076 | 1,186 | 1,315 |

Note: The percentages are calculated without the missing values.

4.3 Result

Tables 4-4 to 12 are the results of the logistic regression analysis of predicting whether the respondent chooses “adaptation” rather than “maintenance of the ethnic minority’s culture” for the 9 countries. The reference category of national identity is “without ethnic component”⁶⁶. I express the two distinction of national identity in the analysis below as “ethnic” and “civic”, indicating “with” and “without” ethnic component, respectively.

4.3.1 Japan

As shown in Table 4-4, in Japan, having ethnic conceptualization of national identity has a positive effect on preferring the cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities for the two models. This indicates that even after controlling for the other variables, the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of the ethnic minority’s cultural adaptation into the larger society, compared to those who have civic conceptualization of national identity (coef.=0.64, p-value<0.1 in model 2).

The constant terms of model 1 is very low (-2.73), meaning that the people with civic national identity (reference category) are less likely to prefer the idea of the ethnic minority’s cultural adaptation, rather than the idea of maintenance of their distinct

⁶⁶ The reference categories are “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

customs and traditions. This means a great deal when we compare it with the constant terms in the other countries. I will compare the scores and discuss the meaning of it later.

About the effects of the other factors, there is a slight association between residential area and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture. The people living in a city or town are less likely to support adaptation than those living in an urban area (coef. = -0.73, p-value <0.1 in model 2). In addition, among the educational factors, having the lowest formal educational qualification increases the chance of supporting adaptation compared with having no formal qualification (coef. = 1.22, p-value <0.05). Though the effects of the residential area and education on the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture are very important questions, I do not discuss these results further because the fuller study of them lies outside the scope of this thesis.

Table 4-4: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: Japan

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------------|----------|
| | | Coefficient | P> z | Coefficient | P> z |
| | | nt | | nt | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.78 | 0.00 *** | 0.64 | 0.08 * |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | 0.00 | 0.99 |
| | Above 56 | | | -0.02 | 0.97 |
| Gender | Female | | | -0.12 | 0.67 |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | 0.29 | 0.72 |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | 0.22 | 0.54 |
| | Student | | | 0.08 | 0.89 |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | 0.34 | 0.69 |
| | Retired | | | 0.31 | 0.41 |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | -0.73 | 0.06 * |
| | Country | | | -0.23 | 0.55 |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | 1.22 | 0.01 ** |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | 0 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | 0.73 | 0.10 |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | 0 | |
| | University degree completed | | | 0 | |
| _cons | | -2.73 | 0.02 ** | -2.85 | 0.00 *** |
| N | | | 819 | | 695 |
| Prob > chi2 | | | 0.01 ** | | 0.02 ** |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance (**<.01, *<.05, *<.1).

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

(3) The two dummy variables of education, “above lowest qualification” and “university degree completed” are dropped because of collinearity.

(4) The dummy variable of education, “above higher secondary level” is dropped because it predicts failure perfectly.

4.3.2 Great Britain

Table 4-5 tells us that in Great Britain, the effect of having ethnic national identity remains significant after controlling socioeconomic factors. It indicates that the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of the ethnic minority's cultural adaptation into the larger society, compared to the people with civic national identity (coef. = 0.50, p-value <0.05 in model 2).

Thus, national identity has an effect on attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Britain; however it seems that the other factors actually have a stronger effect. Employment status, residential area and education show the statistically significant effects on the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture.

Among the employment status factors, "unemployed," "student" and "not in the labour market/disabled" show statistical significance (coef. = 2.24 for "unemployed", coef. = -0.99 for "student" and coef. = -0.98 for "not in the labour market/disabled"). Compared to those who are employed, those who are unemployed tend to agree on cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities. By contrast, students and the people not in the labour market tend to agree on maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture.

As for the residential area, people living in a city, town or country tend to have a favourable attitude toward adaptation compared to people living in an urban area (coef. = 1.05 for "city, town", and coef. = 1.88 for "country"). Assuming that, on average, the urban area is more ethnically diverse, we may conclude from this finding, that the people

living in the neighbourhood where residents are ethnically and culturally diverse are more likely to think that it is desirable for the ethnic minorities to maintain their culture.

Education is also a factor that determines people's attitudes toward ethnic minority cultures. Compared to people with no formal qualifications, people with higher secondary level qualifications tend to support maintenance of the minority culture (coef. = -0.89, p-value <0.05). However, we cannot conclude that the more educated an individual is, the more the individual supports the maintenance of the minority culture as the coefficients do not increase along with the level of education. Moreover, the other education dummy variables do not show statistical significance.

We can see from the result of the logistic regression analysis that, in addition, to employment status and residential area, national identity has a significant effect on attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture. The people with ethnic national identity in Great Britain are more likely to support the adaptation by the ethnic minority's culture into the larger dominant culture. The question now arises, what kind of British culture can the ethnic minorities be expected to get familiarised with. This point will remain unsettled for Britain as it goes beyond the scope of this thesis, however, the same aspect will be further investigated in case of Japan in Chapter 5.

Table 4-5: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: Great Britain

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.62 | 0.00 | *** | 0.50 | 0.02 | ** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | | 0.31 | 0.23 | |
| | Above 56 | | | | 0.20 | 0.57 | |
| Gender | Female | | | | -0.21 | 0.33 | |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | | 2.24 | 0.03 | * |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | | -0.15 | 0.68 | |
| | Student | | | | -0.99 | 0.05 | * |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | | -0.98 | 0.02 | ** |
| | Retired | | | | -0.07 | 0.84 | |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | | 1.05 | 0.01 | ** |
| | Country | | | | 1.88 | 0.00 | *** |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | | -0.56 | 0.15 | |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | | -0.60 | 0.09 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | | -0.89 | 0.02 | ** |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | | -0.21 | 0.59 | |
| | University degree completed | | | | -0.57 | 0.12 | |
| _cons | | 0.73 | 0.00 | *** | 0.19 | 0.71 | |
| N | | | 593 | | | 587 | |
| Prob > chi2 | | | 0.00 | *** | | 0.00 | *** |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance (***<.01, **<.05, *<.1).

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

4.3.3 Germany

As Table 4-6 shows, in Germany, the people who have the ethnic conceptualization of national identity are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, compared to the people who have the civic conceptualization of national identity (coef. = 0.48, p-value <0.01 in model 2).

Among the socioeconomic factors, residential area only shows the statistical significance. The people who live in city or town tend to have a preferable attitude toward the ethnic minority's cultural adaptation into the German majority's culture (coef.=0.59, p-value<0.01).

Table 4-6: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: Germany

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.67 | 0.00 | *** | 0.48 | 0.00 | *** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | | 0.14 | 0.48 | |
| | Above 56 | | | | 0.22 | 0.42 | |
| Gender | Female | | | | -0.19 | 0.20 | |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | | 0.04 | 0.89 | |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | | 0.27 | 0.37 | |
| | Student | | | | -0.07 | 0.87 | |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | | -0.28 | 0.49 | |
| | Retired | | | | 0.04 | 0.88 | |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | | 0.59 | 0.00 | *** |
| Education | Country | | | | 0.32 | 0.14 | |
| | Lowest formal qualification | | | | 0.62 | 0.45 | |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | | 0.31 | 0.53 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | | -0.29 | 0.92 | |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | | 0.05 | 0.98 | |
| | University degree completed | | | | -0.01 | 0.94 | |
| _cons | | 0.85 | 0.48 | | -0.56 | 0.21 | |
| N | | | 910 | | | 890 | |
| Prob > chi2 | | | 0.00 | *** | | 0.00 | *** |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance (***<.01, **<.05, *<.1).

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

4.3.4 France

Table 4-7 presents the result of logistic regression analysis for France. It tells us that having ethnic national identity increases the chance to favouring the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (Coef.=0.77, p-value<0.01).

Among the socioeconomic factors, age, employment status and education show the statistical significance. The people who are above 35 years old are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities to French dominant culture, compared to the people who are under 35 years old (coef.=0.64 for the people between 35 and 55 years old, and coef.=0.52 for the people above 56). This is consistent with the fact that the retired people are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, than the employed people (coef.=0.77 p-value<0.05), because normally the retired people are older than the employed people. The people who live in city or town are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, compared to the people living in urban areas (Coef.=0.81, p-value<0.05). As for education, the people who have lowest formal qualifications, above lowest qualification, and above higher secondary level tend to prefer the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, compared to the people with no formal qualification (Coef.=1.17, p-value<0.1, Coef=1.05,p-value<0.1, and Coef=1.05, p-value<0.01).

Though the socioeconomic factors have effect on the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, the effect of having ethnic national identity is stronger than those socioeconomic factors.

Table 4-7: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: France

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.90 | 0.00 | *** | 0.77 | 0.00 | *** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | | 0.64 | 0.00 | *** |
| | Above 56 | | | | 0.52 | 0.06 | * |
| Gender | Female | | | | -0.06 | 0.67 | |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | | -0.29 | 0.31 | |
| Residential Area | Housewife / Helping Family | | | | -0.37 | 0.25 | |
| | Student | | | | -0.07 | 0.83 | |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | | 0.09 | 0.87 | |
| | Retired | | | | 0.77 | 0.01 | ** |
| | City and Town | | | | 0.10 | 0.57 | |
| Education | Country | | | | 0.06 | 0.71 | |
| | Lowest formal qualification | | | | 1.04 | 0.09 | * |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | | 0.86 | 0.15 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | | 0.48 | 0.43 | |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | | 0.83 | 0.17 | |
| | University degree completed | | | | 0.63 | 0.29 | |
| _cons | | 0.50 | 0.00 | *** | -0.74 | 0.23 | |
| N | | 1197 | | | 1178 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.00 | | | 0.00 | | |
| | | | | *** | | | *** |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance.

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

4.3.5 US

The result for US (Table 4-8) shows that national identity loses its effect on attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture after controlling socioeconomic factors. It means that in the United States, there is no significant difference between the people with ethnic conceptualization of national identity and civic conceptualizations of national identity, in terms of their orientation to the ethnic minority's culture.

By contrast, age and residential area show the statistical significance. The older, the more they prefer the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (Coef.=0.28 p-value<0.1 for the people who are between 35 to 55 years old, and Coef.=0.69, p-value<0.01 for the people who are above 56 years old). As for residential area, the people living in city or town are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (Coef.=0.35, p-value<0.01).

Table 4-8: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: United States

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|--------|-------------|----------|
| | | Coefficient | | Coefficient | |
| | | nt | P> z | nt | P> z |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.26 | 0.05 * | 0.14 | 0.34 |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | 0.28 | 0.05 * |
| | Above 56 | | | 0.69 | 0.00 *** |
| Gender | Female | | | -0.15 | 0.23 |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | 0.05 | 0.87 |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | 0.00 | 0.99 |
| Residential Area | Student | | | -0.29 | 0.38 |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | -0.77 | 0.09 |
| | Retired | | | 0.20 | 0.38 |
| Education | City and Town | | | 0.35 | 0.00 *** |
| | Country | | | 0 | |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | -0.30 | 0.72 |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | -0.35 | 0.65 |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | -0.33 | 0.65 |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | -0.44 | 0.54 |
| | University degree completed | | | -0.68 | 0.35 |
| _cons | | -0.91 | 0.42 | 0.05 | 0.94 |
| N | | 1168 | | 1166 | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.05 ** | | 0.00 *** | |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance (***<.01, **<.05, *<.1).

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

(3) The two dummy variables of residential area, “country” is dropped because of collinearity.

4.3.6 Canada

Table 4-9 presents the result of logistic regression for Canada. The people with ethnic national identity in Canada are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (Coef.=0.50, p-value<0.01).

Socioeconomic factors also affect the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Canada. As for age, the older, the more they agree on the idea of cultural adaptation (coef.=0.66, p-value<0.05 for the people who are between 35 and 55 years old, and coef.=1.22, p-value<0.01 for the people who are above 56 years old). It shows the same pattern as that in the US and has even stronger effect. Female are more likely to favour the idea of maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture, compared to male (coef.=0.41, p-value<0.05). And compared to the employed people, students are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (coef.=1.32, p-value<0.1). This pattern is opposite to that in Great Britain. The people living in city or town, and living in country tend to prefer the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, compared to the people living in urban areas (coef.=0.36, p-value<0.1, coef.=0.55, p-value<0.1, respectively). Finally, the more educated, the more they favour the idea of cultural adaptation (coef.=2.42, p-value<0.1 for the people who have completed higher secondary degree and coef.=2.30, p-value<0.1 for the people who have above higher secondary level degree).

Table 4-9: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture: Canada

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.55 | 0.00 | 0.50 | 0.00 | *** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | 0.66 | 0.01 | ** |
| | Above 56 | | | 1.22 | 0.00 | *** |
| Gender | Female | | | -0.41 | 0.01 | ** |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | -0.59 | 0.37 | |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | 0.20 | 0.55 | |
| | Student | | | 1.32 | 0.07 | * |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | 0.66 | 0.18 | |
| | Retired | | | 0.31 | 0.23 | |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | 0.36 | 0.05 | * |
| | Country | | | 0.55 | 0.07 | * |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | 1.85 | 0.17 | |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | 2.05 | 0.12 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | 2.42 | 0.06 | * |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | 2.30 | 0.08 | * |
| | University degree completed | | | 1.82 | 0.16 | |
| _cons | | 0.52 | 0.00 *** | -2.57 | 0.05 | * |
| N | | 1009 | | 871 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.00 *** | | 0.00 *** | | |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance.

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (combined with “neither”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

4.3.7 Australia and Sweden

Australia and Sweden show similar results (Table 4-10 and 11). In both countries, the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (coef.=0.92, p-value<0.01 for Australia and coef.=0.85, p-value<0.01 for Sweden).

Age increases the chance of agreeing on the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities in both countries. The people who are above 56 years old are more likely to prefer the idea of cultural adaptation (coef.=0.57, p-value<0.05) in Australia, and the people who are between 35 to 55 years old are more likely to prefer the idea of cultural adaptation (coef.=0.40, p-value<0.1) in Sweden, compared to the people who are under 35 years old. Females are more likely to favour the idea of maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture in both countries (coef.=-0.28, p-value<0.1 in Australia and coef.=-0.43, p-value<0.05 in Sweden). As for employment status, in Australia, housewives are more likely to favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture (coef.=-0.45, p-value<0.1), and in Sweden, the unemployed people and student are more likely to favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture (coef.=-0.97, p-value<0.05 for unemployed people and coef.=-0.51, p-value<0.1 for student), compared to those who are employed. In Sweden, the people living in country are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities (coef.=0.56, p-value<0.05), compared to the people living in urban areas. In Australia, those who have above lowest educational

qualification are more likely to favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture (coef.=-0.56, p-value<0.1), compared to those who have no formal qualification.

Table 4-10: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture: Australia

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 1.12 | 0.00 | *** | 0.92 | 0.00 | *** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | | 0.19 | 0.27 | |
| | Above 56 | | | | 0.57 | 0.02 | ** |
| Gender | Female | | | | -0.28 | 0.05 | * |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | | 0.24 | 0.68 | |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | | -0.45 | 0.05 | * |
| | Student | | | | -0.61 | 0.10 | |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | | -0.22 | 0.52 | |
| | Retired | | | | 0.05 | 0.85 | |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | | 0.17 | 0.25 | |
| | Country | | | | 0.12 | 0.55 | |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | | 0.21 | 0.50 | |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | | 0 | | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | | -0.56 | 0.06 | * |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | | -0.16 | 0.53 | |
| | University degree completed | | | | -1.20 | 0.00 | *** |
| _cons | | 0.89 | 0.00 | *** | 1.33 | 0.00 | *** |
| N | | 1767 | | | 1716 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.00 | | | 0.00 | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance.
(2) The reference categories are “civic” (combined with “neither”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.
(3) The dummy variable for education, “above lowest qualification” is dropped because of collinearity.

Table 4-11: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture: Sweden

| | | Model 1 | | | Model 2 | | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|------|-----|-------------|------|-----|
| | | Coefficient | | | Coefficient | | |
| | | nt | P> z | | nt | P> z | |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 1.10 | 0.00 | *** | 0.85 | 0.00 | *** |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | | 0.40 | 0.09 | * |
| | Above 56 | | | | 0.37 | 0.22 | |
| Gender | Female | | | | -0.43 | 0.02 | ** |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | | -0.97 | 0.02 | ** |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | | -0.16 | 0.89 | |
| | Student | | | | -0.51 | 0.09 | * |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | | -0.39 | 0.24 | |
| | Retired | | | | 0.41 | 0.32 | |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | | 0.09 | 0.68 | |
| | Country | | | | 0.56 | 0.04 | ** |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | | 0.42 | 0.20 | |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | | 0.29 | 0.28 | |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | | 0.01 | 0.98 | |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | | -0.22 | 0.49 | |
| | University degree completed | | | | 0 | | |
| _cons | | 1.32 | 0.00 | *** | 1.14 | 0.00 | *** |
| N | | 990 | | | 968 | | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.00 | | | 0.00 | | |
| | | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance.

(2) The reference categories are “civic” (combined with “neither”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

(3) The dummy variable for education, “university degree completed” is dropped because of collinearity.

4.3.8 South Korea

In South Korea (Table 4-12), similarly with the other countries, except for the US, having ethnic national identity increases the chance of preferring the idea of cultural adaption by the ethnic minorities to the idea of maintenance of their distinct culture (coef.=0.22, p-value<0.1).

Among the socioeconomic factors, the employment status of not being in the labour market/disabled shows the only statistical significance. Compared to employed people, the people not in the labour market are more likely to support adaptation by the ethnic minorities in South Korea (coef.=0.64, p-value<0.1).

Table 4-12: Results of Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Agreement on Cultural Adaptation into the Larger Society: South Korea

| | | Model 1 | | Model 2 | |
|-------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|----------|-------------|--------|
| | | Coefficient | | Coefficient | |
| | | nt | P> z | nt | P> z |
| National Identity | Ethnic | 0.34 | 0.00 *** | 0.22 | 0.09 * |
| Age group | 35/55 | | | -0.27 | 0.86 |
| | Above 56 | | | 0.09 | 0.72 |
| Gender | Female | | | 0.16 | 0.25 |
| Employment Status | Unemployed | | | 0.52 | 0.13 |
| | Housewife / Helping Family | | | 0.07 | 0.69 |
| | Student | | | -0.26 | 0.30 |
| | Disabled / Not in Labor Market | | | 0.64 | 0.08 * |
| | Retired | | | 0.18 | 0.52 |
| Residential Area | City and Town | | | -0.07 | 0.62 |
| | Country | | | 0.10 | 0.68 |
| Education | Lowest formal qualification | | | 0.17 | 0.65 |
| | Above lowest qualification | | | -0.26 | 0.48 |
| | Higher secondary completed | | | 0.09 | 0.82 |
| | Above higher secondary level | | | -0.13 | 0.74 |
| | University degree completed | | | -0.40 | 0.29 |
| _cons | | -0.06 | 0.45 | -0.11 | 0.98 |
| N | | 1193 | | 1173 | |
| Prob > chi2 | | 0.00 *** | | 0.00 *** | |

Notes:(1) The number of “*” means the degree of statistical significance (**<.01, *<.05, <.1).
(2) The reference categories are “civic” (including “neither ethnic nor civic”) for national identity, “under 35” for age, “male” for gender, “employed” for employment status, “urban” for residential area and “no formal qualification” for education.

Comparing the results across the 9 countries above, we may say that Japan is not exceptional in terms of the pattern of association between the different conceptualizations of national identity and the attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture, while it is exceptional in terms of the constant terms.

In every country, the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the immigrants' adaptation to dominant culture, except for the US⁶⁷. This holds true for Japan as well. The direction of co-efficient is the same in all the countries, as summarised in Table 4-13.

Table 4-13: Summary of Coefficients of Model 2, Logistic Regression Analysis across 9 Countries (Summary of Table 4-3 to 4-11)

| Country | JP | GB | GER | FR | US | CAN | AUS | SWE | SK |
|---------|-------|--------|--------|---------|------|---------|---------|---------|-------|
| Coef. | 0.64* | 0.50** | 0.48** | 0.77*** | 0.14 | 0.50*** | 0.91*** | 0.85*** | 0.22* |

However, what is exceptional about Japan is the chance (log odds) of favouring cultural adaptation rather than maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture among the people who have the civic national identity (reference category in the model 1) because as shown in Table 4-14, the constant terms in model 1 of Japan is outstandingly low, compared to the other countries.

⁶⁷ In U.S., the direction of the effect is the same as those in the other countries, however it does not show the statistical significance (Table 4-8).

It may be helpful to look at Table 4-15 to understand the meaning of these findings about Japan. Table 4-15 shows the percentage of the people who favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture and cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities by different conceptualizations of national identity – ethnic and civic – for Japan and Great Britain. The coefficient reflects the difference of the percentages of supporting the idea of cultural adaptation between the people with ethnic national identity and civic national identity (shown as the arrows in Table 4-15). The constant terms reflects the percentage of the people supporting the idea of cultural adaptation among those who have civic (reference category in the logistic regression analysis) national identity (shown as the red circles in Table 4-15).

Table 4-14: Summary of Constant Terms of Model 1, Logistic Regression Analysis across Nine Countries (Summary of Table 4-3 to 4-11)

| Country | JP | GB | GER | FR | US | CAN | AUS | SWE | SK |
|---------|----------|---------|------|---------|-------|------|---------|---------|-------|
| Coef. | -2.73*** | 0.73*** | 0.84 | 0.50*** | -0.91 | 0.52 | 0.89*** | 1.32*** | -0.61 |

Table 4-15: Comparison of Proportion of Attitude toward Immigrants' Culture by Different Conceptualizations of National Identity in Japan and Great Britain

| Japan | Maintenance | | Adaptation | Total | N |
|--------|-------------|---|------------|-------|-----|
| Civic | 94% | > | ↓ 6% | 100% | 179 |
| Ethnic | 88% | > | ↓ 12% | 100% | 639 |
| | 89% | | 11% | 100% | 818 |

| Great Britain | Maintenance | | Adaptation | Total | N |
|---------------|-------------|---|------------|-------|-----|
| Civic | 32% | < | ↓ 68% | 100% | 234 |
| Ethnic | 19% | < | ↓ 81% | 100% | 344 |
| | 24% | | 76% | 100% | 578 |

Therefore, the pattern of association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Japan is not exceptional: the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of cultural adaptation. However, what is exceptional about Japan is its low constant terms: log odds of favouring the idea of cultural adaptation, rather than the idea of maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture by the people with civic national identity (reference category) is exceptionally low.

The result of this study contradicts Nagayoshi (2011)'s result, though using the same dataset, ISSP 2003, with this study. Nagayoshi (2011) found that the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of multiculturalism, while this

study found that the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of adaptation, compared to those with civic national identity. The difference in results may be because of the different variables used in the two studies. Table 4-16 shows the indicators of variables of the two studies.

The indicators of ethnic national identity and socio-demographic variables are different, but what is more important is that the two studies use the different variables as indicators of attitude toward multiculturalism. In Nagayoshi (2011)'s study, the question which asks the respondent's view on the government's action to preserve the ethnic minority's culture, while in this study, the question which asks the respondent's individual attitude toward ethnic minority's cultural adaptation/maintenance. In other words, Nagayoshi (2011) focuses on the political perspective (cultural right, and view on endorsement of multiculturalism), while this study focuses on the individual attitude toward ethnic minority's culture. We may be able to say that Nagayoshi (2011)'s study tries to look at the further future of Japan, in light of introduction of multicultural policy, than this study, looking at the people's general current view on cultural relation between majority and minority.

It seems that the two studies share the research interest, having the common awareness of ethnic/racial issues in Japan, however, the purpose are slightly different. Nagayoshi (2011)'s study is more suitable to see the political aspect, by analysing the people's view on the role of government for ethnic minorities. On the other hand, the

variables used in this study better represent the people's general attitude toward ethnic minority's culture, to be maintained or to be adapted into the majority "Japanese" culture. With the analysis of schoolteachers' view on the immigrants children's culture, this study aims to capture the individual attitude of the majority Japanese.

Table 4-16: Comparison of Variables used in Nagayoshi (2011) and This Study

| Variable | Nagayoshi (2011) | This Study |
|----------------------------------|--|--|
| Attitude toward multiculturalism | <p>“Should ethnic minorities be provided with government assistance to preserve their customs and traditions?”</p> <p>= 5-points scale from “Agree strongly” (5) to “Disagree strongly” (1)</p> | <p>“Some people say that it is better for society if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?”</p> <p>= 3 options;</p> <p>“It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions” (0)</p> <p>“It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society” (1)</p> <p>“Can’t choose” (dropped)</p> |
| Ethno-national identity | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Is it possible for people who do not share Japanese customs and traditions to become fully Japanese?” <p>5-point scale from “Agree strongly” (5) to “Disagree strongly” (1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Japanese. Other say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?” <p>b-1. To be able to speak Japanese</p> <p>b-2. To be a Buddhist or Shintoist</p> <p>b-3. To have Japanese ancestry</p> <p>= 4 points scale from “Very important/ver close” (4) to “Not</p> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A. “How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “ <p>- It is impossible for people who do not share Japanese customs and traditions to become fully Japanese.</p> <p>= 5-points scale from “Agree strongly” (5) to “Disagree strongly” (1) and “Can’t choose”.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • B. “Some people say that the following things are important for being truly Japanese. Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?” <p>b-1. To have been born in Japan</p> <p>b-2. To have Japanese nationality</p> <p>b-3. To have lived in Japan for most of one’s life</p> |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| | <p>important at all/ not close at all “ (1)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How close do you feel to your ethnic group? | <p>b-4. To be able to speak Japanese b-5. To be a Buddhist or Shintoist b-6. To respect Japanese political institutions and laws b-7. To feel Japanese b-8. To have Japanese ancestry</p> <p>= 4-points scale from “Very important” (4) to “Not important at all “(1) and “Can’t choose”.</p> <p>*Creating two categories of national identity; with/without ethnic component of national identity, based on the calculation of “ethnic scores” and “civic scores”⁶⁸.</p> <p>“Ethnic Score” in Japan = (b-1 + b-2 + b-8) / 3 “Civic Score” in Japan = (b-6 + b-7) / 2</p> <p>These are the mean scores of components of ethnic/civic dimension of national identity in Japan (according to the result of factor analysis in Chapter 3)</p> |
| Socio-demographic characteristics | Age, gender, education and occupation | Age, gender, employment status, residential area and educational degree |

Source: Nagayoshi (2011)

Note: Nagayoshi (2011) also uses the indicator of endorsement of equal rights for ethnic minorities as dependent variable, and analysed the association between the three variables. However, it is omitted from this table, because the purpose of this table is to compare the variables for attitude toward multiculturalism and ethno-national (ethnic national) identity used in Nagayoshi (2011) and this study.

⁶⁸ How to create the categorical variable is explained in details in Chapter 3.

The meaning of this result, together with the result of Chapter 3 to the research question of this thesis, why Japan has many more support for the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture, will be discussed in conclusion of this chapter (next section).

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, the relationships between the different conceptualizations of national identities and attitudes toward the ethnic minority's culture were examined and compared across the 9 countries; Japan, Great Britain, Germany, France, United States, Canada, Australia, Sweden and South Korea.

In previous studies, the people who have weaker ethnic national identity are more likely to sympathise with the idea of multiculturalism (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Hjerm 2000; Sniderman and Hagendoorn 2007; Verkuyten 2006; Verkuyten and Brug 2004; Kivisto 2004), however Nagayoshi (2011) found that the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of multiculturalism in Japan, by using ISSP 2003 data. She concluded, agreeing with some academics in that the Japanese people separate the ethnic minorities by the endorsement of the idea of multiculturalism, emphasizing the cultural differences (Burgess 2004; Okubo 2008). Conversely, Kang (1998) argued that the school in Japan puts culturally assimilative pressure on the ethnic minority students.

The result of this chapter contradicts to Nagayoshi(2011)'s argument. The people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities into the larger society. Japan has the same pattern of association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture with those of the other 8 countries, except for the US⁶⁹. What is exceptional about Japan, however, is the substantially low constant terms in model 1, meaning that the chance of favouring the idea of cultural adaptation among the people with civic national identity is substantially lower than those in the other countries. As Table 4-15 shows, having ethnic national identity increases the chance of preferring the idea of cultural adaptation, however, overall, the vast majority may lend support to the idea that the maintenance of the ethnic minorities' culture.

As reported in Chapter 3, Japan is exceptional in the proportion of the people who have ethnic conceptualization of national identity. A little less than 20 % of the people have the ethnic image of Japanese, and more than 60% of the people have both the ethnic and civic image of Japanese (Chart 3-3).

In short, Japan has much higher percentage of the people with ethnic national identity, and they are more likely to favour cultural adaptation rather than maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture. So, how can we make sense of the result of ISSP2003 that

⁶⁹ The direction of effect is the same, however it does not show the statistical significance in the US.

the percentage of the people in Japan who support the idea of maintenance of ethnic minorities' culture is substantially higher than the other countries?

It needs to be further investigated and this drives us to the question of how the different types of national identities are linked to the support for maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture, and what kind of culture is expected when they agree on maintenance/adaptation. For the people with the civic national identity, the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture may be understood more or less in a similar way as multiculturalism. On the other hand, for the people with ethnic and multiple national identities, it may be interpreted as the maintenance of Japanese culture. We may presume that the immigrants and ethnic minorities are thought of as being unable to or not expected to be "Japanese," because the notion of the "Japanese" membership is attached exclusively to the ethnically "Japanese." Thus, maintaining the ethnic minority's culture may be closer to separatism, rather than to multiculturalism, with a hidden hope of preserving "Japanese" culture without incorporating any other minority culture. To what extent and of which aspect the people in Japan expect the ethnic minorities to maintain their distinct culture will be investigated through analysing the interview with schoolteachers of the immigrants' children in the next chapter.

In Chapter 5, I will explore and describe how one's national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture are linked, and what kind of cultures are assumed to

be in support of maintenance/adaptation through looking at the interview data of the teachers for the immigrant's children in Japan.

Chapter 5: Teacher Orientation to National Identity and Attitudes to Immigrant Cultures in Japan

5.1 Introduction

Part I (Chapter 3 and 4) analysed the nature of national identity in Japan and its associations with attitudes towards ethnic minority cultures, compared with other countries, using international social survey data.

Chapter 3 found that (i) the traditional division of national identity –ethnic and civic – is valid to Japan, (ii) the main components of ethnic dimension of national identity in Japan are being born in Japan, having Japanese nationality and having Japanese ancestry, while the main components of civic dimension of national identity are respecting the law and political institutions in Japan and feeling oneself as Japanese. Thus, Japan is not exceptional in that the traditional division of national identity between ethnic and civic are applicable to the people in Japan. However, what is interesting about Japan,

compared to the other countries is that (iii) language links closer to the items which form the ethnic conceptualization of national identity than those which form the civic conceptualization of national identity. Japanese language is regarded to be closely related to Japanese ethnicity, rather than being regarded as simply a skill or tool. And what is more exceptional about Japan is (iv) the high proportion of ethnic national identity and the low proportion of civic national identity. There are more people who have ethnic image of “Japanese” than those who have civic image of “Japanese”. The percentage of the people with ethnic national identity is 17.4%, which is much higher than those in the other countries (for example, 0.9% in France and Canada, and 4.5% in Great Britain).

Then, in the following Chapter 4, the logistic regression analysis was used to investigate the nature of relationship between different conceptualizations of national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority’s culture. It was found that (i) Japan is not exceptional in terms of the pattern of association between the two variables: the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minority into the dominant culture, compared to the people with civic national identity, however (ii) Japan is exceptional in that it has outstandingly low (high) percentage of the people favouring the idea of cultural adaptation (maintenance of the ethnic minority’s culture), regardless of one’s conceptualization of national identity. Approximately 90% of the Japanese people prefer the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority’s culture, rather than the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities.

Given that people in Japan favour the idea of maintenance of ethnic minority's culture, regardless of one's conceptualization of national identity (Ch.4), and that the concept of multicultural-coexistence has been widely introduced in local policies to support immigrants in Japan (Ch.1), it is crucial to understand why the idea of maintain the ethnic minority's culture gathers much support by the people with ethnic and civic national identity, what the maintenance of ethnic minority cultures means to the people with the different conceptualizations of national identity in Japan, and whether it is differently understood from the concept of multiculturalism.

The aim of this chapter, therefore, is to investigate what makes people with civic and ethnic national identity support the maintenance of ethnic minority's culture. How do they interpret the concept? This will provide us with a key to solving the puzzle of why multicultural discourse is so widely accepted in Japan, and whether it has the same meaning as the theory and practice of multiculturalism in Western Europe and North America.

I chose the field of education in Japan to explore these questions. I conducted interviews with the teachers of immigrants' children in two areas of Japan. Education and schools are an appropriate field for considering the situation around multicultural coexistence in Japan, and national identity in relation to orientation to immigrant culture. There are several reasons for this.

Education is one of the fields in which we most often see the policies and

discourses of multicultural co-existence in Japan. As explained in Chapter 1, the number of immigrants' children in Japan is quite large, and many local governments and education committees have introduced the idea of multicultural co-existence as a creed through which to support them.

We can assume that teachers in the schools and areas where there are many children of immigrants have thought about what is “Japanese” in relation to the immigrants' culture through the experiences of teaching the children, most of whom are growing up and working in Japan. Particularly for people who have the ethnic image of “Japanese”, that image might be challenged sometimes. Also, they are experienced and know a lot about teaching the immigrants' children, including the difficulties of balancing the maintenance of the minority's culture and teaching the majority's culture. For the teachers, it may be a place where there is a conflict between promoting equality and respecting cultural diversity. In other words, the immigrants' children are disadvantaged in terms of learning the knowledge and skills in Japanese schools because some are embedded in Japanese culture and unfamiliar: learning knowledge and skills is sometimes equivalent to the process of cultural assimilation itself. At the same time, however, academic achievement is also an important process that helps with socialisation and allows the children of immigrants to participate equally with the majority of people. Thus, studying the views of schoolteachers who have experiences of teaching immigrant children can be seen as “pioneering case” in that sense.

Schools and teachers are a window through which to look at Japan's future in terms of the integration of the increasing number of immigrants' children and the development of ethnic relations. Their views on the immigrants' children based on the experience of teaching them may shape the policy of immigrant education and integration in the near future. In addition, by learning the teachers' view on the immigrants' culture and identities, we can learn how the general people may react if more and more immigrants migrate to Japan.

For the immigrants' children, it is their first-entrance to Japanese society. It plays a significant role that affects how they participate in society both in cultural and socioeconomic aspects, as well as how they develop their ethnic/cultural identities.

Qualitative study is appropriate for the aim of this chapter. There is a limitation to the use of statistical analysis of macro data to answer the questions of this chapter. Statistical analysis works well to provide an overall picture of phenomena, however it does not give us detailed information, for example, about how people really interpret the questions in a survey, and why they chose their answers etc. I therefore carried out fieldwork, conducting interviews, in order to better understand what people think about the questions. This enables us to see the way people think more generally about a topic, as well as how they develop their answers in the process.

In this chapter, I start by explaining how I conducted the interviews and describing the interviewees (5.2). I will then analyse the images of “Japanese” held by teachers in Japan, and their relation to thoughts about the identity and culture of immigrant’s children. First, I focus on the answers given by teachers to the question of national identity, what kind of images of “Japanese” are held (5.3). In the next section (5.4), I will analyse expectations of the identity of immigrant children: whether they are expected to become “Japanese” or “- (hyphenated) Japanese” or to maintain their ethnic identity, such as “Chinese in Japan” or “Filipino in Japan” in the future. In the following section (5.5), the way that national identity and attitudes toward the immigrants’ culture are related to each other will be explored. I investigate how the maintenance/adaptation of culture is interpreted by teachers, why they have a favourable attitude toward the maintenance of the immigrants’ culture or adaptation into the dominant “Japanese” culture, and what kind of culture is assumed that they will maintain/adapt.

5.2 Method and Data

As written in Chapter 2, I carried out interviews with schoolteachers who teach immigrant children in elementary and junior high schools in the two cities: Tokyo and Kawasaki. The interviews were conducted from February and March in 2013. I sent out the letters to the head teachers of the schools, which have Japanese language class or

International class⁷⁰ for the immigrants' children.

14 schools accepted my request of interview and 24 teachers participated in the interview. Table 5-1 summarises the basic information about the schools that I visited and teachers I had interviews with. The names of schools and teachers are pseudonym. There were 13 male teachers and 11 female teachers. As for the teaching subjects, the vast majority of the interviewees are Japanese language teachers. There is a few "homeroom" teachers⁷¹ in elementary school and subject specific teacher (Mathematics and Science) in junior high school, and one teaching director (Table 2-6).

The interview is semi-structured. I asked the questions written in 2.3.4, and added a few questions to ask the reasons of their answers and to understand their views better.

From the next section, I will describe and analyse the teachers' conceptualization of "Japanese" and their thoughts about the immigrants' children's identities and culture.

5.3 Image of "Japanese"

I start by exploring how the teachers imagine "Japanese", and examining whether ethnic and civic dimensions are applicable to their ideas of "Japanese".

Chapter 3 of this thesis found that there were two traditional dimensions of

⁷⁰ The names of such classes depend on schools and areas. Generally, it is called Japanese language class in Tokyo and International class in Kawasaki.

⁷¹ "Homeroom" teachers in elementary schools teach every subject (with a few exception) to the pupils in their classes. In secondary level, the teachers teach their major subjects.

national identity applicable to the 9 countries with a few exceptions, but that the ethnic and civic dimensions are differently formed in different countries, reflecting the social context. In Japan, it seems that the two distinctions are applicable, but the civic dimension is not as strongly formed as in other countries. A large proportion of people have their ethnic national identity and a small proportion of people hold civic national identity, compared to the other countries in Japan.

By analysing the data from interviews with 24 teachers, it was found that there are roughly three ways of defining “Japanese”: civic, cultural and ethnic. I will describe each way of defining “Japanese” in this section. How teachers think about the identities and culture of immigrants’ children is analysed based on these three categorisations of national identity in the following sections (5.4 and 5.5, respectively).

5.3.1 Overview of the Answers

Table 5-1 summarises teachers’ answers about what is important in defining someone as Japanese, with the strongest importance scores “4” (very important), and the weakest importance scores “1” (not at all important). I underlined the scores “3” and “4” to highlight what mainly constitutes each teacher’s idea about national identity. The score with the brackets means that I code them based on their answers, when they did not clearly give a score for importance.

There are two things related to the interpretation of the interview data that we

had better note.

I pay attention to giving a score when the teacher did not clearly give a score, particularly for the difference between “very important “ and “fairly important”. People’s expressions are obviously different, thus some people describe things as “very important”, while other people describe them as “fairly important”, and similarly, “not very important” and “not at all important”. The scores of importance are therefore not comparable between teachers. It is better to compare the scores for the different items from one teacher in order to understand their image of “Japanese”.

In the process of interviewing, it is found that teachers often answered the question from the perspective that each item is necessary or unnecessary to be Japanese. For example, one teacher said, “(language) is not necessary (to be Japanese). Ummm, it is not strange if there is a Japanese people who cannot speak Japanese.” (Teacher K). When they answered “fairly important” to some items and “very important” to one item, it sometimes means that those “fairly important” items are somewhat important, but unnecessary, while the “very important” item is something necessary.

Table 5-1: Answers about National Identity; How Important Do You Think Each of the Following Statement is Important to be Truly Japanese?

| Teacher ID | Born in the country | Nationality | Having lived most of life in the country | Speaking the national language | Religion | Respecting law | Feeling Japanese | Ancestry |
|------------|---------------------|-------------|--|--------------------------------|----------|----------------|------------------|----------|
| A | 1 | (4) | 1 | 1 | 1 | (2) | 1 | 2 |
| B | DK | DK | DK | DK | DK | DK | DK | DK |
| C | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (3/4) | (1/2) | (3/4) | (3/4) | (1/2) |
| D | (2.5) | (3) | (2.5) | (2.5) | (2.5) | (2.5) | (4) | (2.5) |
| E | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (3/4) | (1/2) |
| F | 2 | 2 | (3) | (2) | DK | 1/2 | 1/2 | 1/2 |
| G | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| H | 3 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 4 | 3 |
| I | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 |
| J | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (1/2) | (3/4) | 3/4 |
| K | (2) | (2) | (2) | (2) | (2) | DK | 1 | 2.5 |
| L | 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |
| M | 1 | (1) | 1 | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 4 |
| N | 1.5 | 3 | 2.5 | 3 | 1 | 2.5 | 4 | 2 |
| O | (1) | (1) | (3) | (3) | (1) | (3) | (3) | (1) |
| P | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | (1) | 4 | 3 |
| Q | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 |
| R | (1/2) | 3 | 3 | (1/2) | (1/2) | 3 | 3 | (1/2) |
| S | 1 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| T | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| U | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| V | (1) | 4 | (1) | (1) | 1 | (1) | (1) | (1) |
| W | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2.5 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| X | 2 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 1 |

Notes:(1) The scores indicate the importance of each item: 4 "very important", 3 "fairly

important", 2 "not very important", and 1 "not at all important". DK means, "don't know". 2.5 means that teachers replied that they cannot say whether it is important, nor not important.
(2) The numbers in brackets are the scores coded by the author based on interviewee narratives, when they did not clearly give the score.
(3) Teacher B answered, "don't know", but told about her students. I analysed the

As shown in Table 5-1, 16 teachers out of 24 answered that one's own feeling is very or fairly important in being Japanese, however, it is worth noting that this had different meanings to different teachers. Having Japanese citizenship was also considered important in being Japanese by many teachers. 14 teachers answered that it is very or fairly important to be Japanese. 8 to 9 teachers answered that it is very or fairly important to have lived most of one's life in Japan, to speak the Japanese language, and to respect Japanese laws and political institutions. There were only a few teachers who answered that having Japanese ancestry or being born in Japan is important. No teacher answered that religion (*Shinto*) is important in being Japanese.

Analysis of the teachers' answers, including both the given scores and the narratives, about what is important for being Japanese, reveals that there are three dimensions defining the "Japanese" people; ethnic, civic and cultural. When one sees having Japanese ancestry as an important factor in being Japanese, they have an ethnic definition of "Japanese". When one includes having Japanese citizenship and/or feeling oneself as Japanese as one of the important factors in being Japanese, they have a civic definition of "Japanese". When one sees having lived most of one's life in Japan and/or speaking Japanese language as important in being Japanese, they define "Japanese" in a

cultural sense. Some people define “Japanese” culturally; although they answered that “feeling oneself to be Japanese” is important in being Japanese.

Different Interpretations of “Feeling Oneself as Japanese”

It is found that the same item was sometimes differently interpreted and comprises a different image of “Japanese”. Analysing both the scores of importance and statements about reasons and background enables us to understand views more accurately.

“Feeling Japanese” is seen as important in being Japanese by many teachers, however what it means differs depending on the teacher. One teacher who defines “Japanese” in a civic sense said that if someone feels themselves to be Japanese and lives in Japan, then they are Japanese, regardless of their ethnicity; for another teacher who defined “Japanese” in a cultural sense, “feeling Japanese” means that someone is proud of being Japanese, have love and loyalty for the country and/or is sympathetic to the Japanese way of thinking, which is often expressed as a “spirit of harmony (*wa-no-kokoro*)”. These two teachers, who have the different views of the definition of “Japanese”, both gave high scores to the item: “feeling Japanese”. This would not have been seen if we had only focused on the scores. Their statements will be cited in the analysis of civic and cultural definition of “Japanese”.

Diversity and Equal Treatment

When I asked teachers about their views of the image of “Japanese” and the identities of immigrants, many began their answers by saying that it is not important if someone is Japanese or not when they teach them, or by saying that the children are treated equally regardless of their ethnicity. It seems that they were concerned that the recognition of difference may possibly cause discrimination. They emphasised that they distinguish between Japanese and non-Japanese if they have to, however it is not important whether a student is Japanese or not. This sense of equality is observed in most of the teachers.

This sense of equality sometimes causes a conflict between ethnic/cultural diversity and equality. Teachers who communicate and teach the immigrants’ children everyday are exposed to such conflict: how to balance respecting ethnic/cultural differences and promoting equality. This problem is seen throughout the interviewed data and will be discussed later.

5.3.2 Dimensions of “Japanese”

As mentioned before, there are three different ways of defining “Japanese”: civic, cultural and ethnic. Some teachers have a civic or political image of “Japanese”, their definitions regardless of race or ethnicity, and being inclusive of immigrants. Other teachers place much value on cultural aspects as to whether they regard someone as

Japanese or not. They can be inclusive of immigrants, and the cultural image of “Japanese” is the underlying idea of cultural assimilation. As in the French assimilation model, regardless of their race or ethnicity, people become Japanese if they learn the Japanese way of thinking and speak Japanese. Other teachers, in contrast, take people’s race or ethnicity seriously, excluding immigrants whose parents are both “non-Japanese” in ethnic sense.

Actually, the cultural dimension can be observed in statistical analysis of ISSP data 2003, too. The third factor in the raw result of factor analysis consists mainly with “having lived most of life in Japan” and “speaking Japanese”. However, it is dropped from the analysis in Chapter 3 and 4 because (i) the factor scores are not so big, and (ii) it is not comparable with the other countries.

These three dimensions are not always exclusive of each other, they sometimes overlap and are blurred. Added to this, for some teachers “Japanese” and “non-Japanese” are not clearly defined, but there are degrees of “Japanese-ness”. The former can be phrased as the noun “Japanese”, while the latter can be better phrased as an adjectives of “Japanese”, enabling the expression “very Japanese”. This conforms to Fukuoka (1993)’s argument in the study of the identity of Korean residents in Japan.

The three dimensions of “Japanese” that I find from the interview analysis in this thesis basically agree with Fukuoka (1993)’s typology of Japanese. Fukuoka (1993), as reviewed in Chapter 1, distinguished the necessary factors to be seen as Japanese into

three; bloodline, culture and nationality, and categorises into 8 different types of Japanese based on the combinations of the three factors, from “purely Japanese” to “purely non-Japanese”. With reference to his typology, some teachers interviewed in this study regard the people who satisfy all three dimensions (“purely Japanese” in Fukuoka (1993)’s word) only as Japanese, while other teachers regard such “purely Japanese” as “Japanese” and additionally the people who are culturally adapted into Japanese to a large extent, but do not have Japanese ancestry or nationality (Typology 6 in Fukuoka (1993)’s study) as “very Japanese”; regarding differently, but including into their concepts of “Japanese”.

I break the three dimensions down into several groups according to answers to the questions about what is important in being Japanese as shown in Table 5-2.

The civic image of “Japanese” can be further divided into three groups according to the main criteria for regarding someone as Japanese. The teachers categorised in Group I (administrative) see only whether someone has Japanese nationality or not, when they regard someone as Japanese. They depend on official membership of “Japanese”, in other words, objective indicators. This makes a good contrast to teachers in Group II (subjective), whose definitions of “Japanese” depend on one’s self-identification alone. If the people feel themselves to be Japanese, then they are Japanese, in their understandings. The third group (Group III, both administrative and subjective) sees both aspects to be complementary.

In the categories of cultural and ethnic dimensions of “Japanese”, the borderline

is blurred for some teachers, and they include two types of people as “Japanese”; for example, they may include a combination of ethnically-defined “Japanese” and politically-defined “Japanese”. I therefore create groups to take this into account: Group IV (cultural), V (cultural and/or ethnic), VI (ethnic), and VII (ethnic or civic).

Table 5-2: Three Dimensions of “Japanese”

| Dimension | Group | Important Things in being Japanese | Teachers |
|-----------|-------|---|---------------------|
| Civic | I | Administrative (Nationality) | A, G and V |
| | II | Subjective (feeling oneself to be Japanese) | E and P |
| | III | Administrative and Subjective | L, Q and W |
| Cultural | IV | Cultural | D, F, I, O, R and N |
| Ethnic | V | Cultural and/or Ethnic | J and S |
| | VI | Ethnic | K and M |
| | VII | Ethnic or Civic | H and U |
| | VIII | Other | C |
| | IX | Don't Know | B and T |

Note: I omitted Teachers B and T from Group IX (Don't Know) in the analysis below.

5.3.3 Civic Definition of “Japanese”

The civic definition of “Japanese” regards someone as Japanese with no account taken of one's race or ethnicity. 8 teachers out of 24 interviewed have this civic

and political idea of being “Japanese”.

In Chapter 3, the result indicates that only a small proportion (about 10%) of people in Japan fall into the civic (only) conceptualization of national identity. In addition, having Japanese nationality have closer relationship with the ethnic dimension of national identity in Japan. Thus, the meaning of civic dimension that we can observe from the Japanese general public (the respondents in ISSP) and the one we can observe from the interview with the teachers are slightly different. However, they share the same idea in respect of taking no account of one’s race or ethnicity.

The reason that civic national identity counts among the interviewed teachers more than in the general population in Japan, may be because they communicate with immigrants’ children every day, and the widespread idea of ethnic “Japanese” is sometimes challenged, as it does not correspond to ethnic and cultural diversity and the complexity of the situation.

I divide teachers who have a civic image of “Japanese” into a further three different groups: Teacher A, G, V into Group I (administrative); Teachers E and P into Group II (subjective); and Teachers L, Q and W into Group III (both administrative and subjective). The characteristics of each group can be summarised as follows.

I: Administrative

Teachers A, G and V answered that holding Japanese nationality is an important

indicator in regarding someone as Japanese or not.

Teacher V mentioned that she did not care whether a student is Japanese or not, when taught in school, and stated that nationality is important when she has to regard someone as Japanese.

Teacher V

(English)

We simply think that if someone has Japanese nationality, they are Japanese. Regarding respecting the law in Japan and something like that, one has to follow that, if they live in Japan. It is important to be able to speak Japanese and those kind of things, but nationality may be the only thing in being Japanese.

(Japanese)

私たちの場合はすっごく単純に日本の国籍を持っていれば日本人であるということ、あと日本の法律を尊重しているとか、そういうのは日本に生活してるんだったら守りなさいということですよ。あとは、大事なのは日本語が話せるようになるとか、そういうことだと思いますけど、日本人であるっていうのは、国籍だけかな。

Teachers A and G also answered that nationality was important, and the other items were not. Teacher A evaluated its importance, referring to the impact of nationality on one's life.

Teacher A

(English)

The most important thing is having Japanese nationality, I think. (...) Being Japanese... having nationality gives you some benefits and creates some obligations. Nationality is important in that sense. In addition, it gives you a

(Japanese)

一番重要なのはやはり、日本の国籍を持っていることですかね。(中略)日本人っていうのはやっぱり国籍によって、あのそれぞれ受ける恩恵とか果たす義務とかでてくるので、そういう意味では、そういう意味で国籍は重要ですよ。あの滞

| | |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| qualification to stay in the country. | 在用の資格まででてくるわけですから・・・。 |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|

As above, Teachers A, G and V think that nationality is more important than any other items. Their views rely on the official and political criterion, compared to the other teachers.

II: Subjective

In contrast, Teachers E and P rely on one's own identification alone in regarding someone as Japanese.

Teacher E regards someone as Japanese if they feel Japanese, regardless of their nationality, appearance (race and ethnicity), or language.

| | |
|--|---|
| Teacher E (English) If someone feels Japanese, they are Japanese. There are people who cannot speak Japanese, although they look Japanese, and there are people who speak Japanese and look "Western". In fact, one's appearance, spoken language, and nationality may be convenient for administrative categorisation, however, when you face someone, they are just some of the indicators and are not irrelevant (important). Religions are also varied. Thinking about these, it depends on the criteria by which we regard ourselves as | (Japanese) 自分が日本人だと思っていれば、日本人。日本の姿かたちをしていても、日本語話せない人もいるし、日本で生まれてない人もいるし、日本語話せるからといって、姿かたちが欧風だったりもする。姿かたち、話してる言葉、国籍で何人て割るのって、実は、行政上の分類では便利かもしれないけど、人間を見たときはそれは尺度の一つであって、関係ないんじゃないかな。ましてや宗教なんて世界でいろいろあるわけだし。となると、自分が何人、何の尺度で何人と自分を判断をするかによるんじゃないかと思ひ |
|--|---|

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>nationals. So, there are children in class who came from China and whose parents are Chinese, but have said that they are Japanese from the beginning. Saying I am not Chinese. I ask “you have been brought up in China and came here”, then (they) says “no, I am Japanese”: having made up their mind. Looking at such sense, I thought that it is one’s mind (that is important).</p> | <p>ますね。だから、実際に子どもの中には、中国から来て、親も中国なんだけど、私は日本人ですともう最初から、言ってる子もいる。だから中国人じゃありません。だって中国で生まれ育ってここに来たんでしょって。いや私は日本人ですって腹くくってる子もいるし。そういった感覚をみたときに、うん、その、心なんじゃないかなって感じはしました。</p> |
|--|---|

She stated that things like one’s appearance, language, birthplace and nationality may be convenient for “administrative categorisation” of people, but are only “some of the indicators”. She also believes that self-identification is most important. Her ideas derive from her experience of seeing a child who was born and brought up in China, but identifies as Japanese.

Teacher P has a similar idea, and stated that if one feels Japanese and has a will to live in Japan all one’s life, she regards them as Japanese.

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>Teacher P (English) If someone wants to live in Japan, they are Japanese. I think life is important (in order to regard someone as a national). Those who have a place to stay in Japan and want to live there for a long time, although they have various identities, are Japanese.</p> | <p>(Japanese) 日本で生活してきたいと思うんだったら、日本人。生活なんじゃないかな。居場所をそこで、日本の国のなかで、ずっと生活していこうと思う人達が、いろんなアイデンティティー持ってるけど、日本人なんだと思いますね。</p> |
|---|---|

Teachers E and P regarded someone as Japanese, according to their subjective view only.

III: Administrative and Subjective

Teachers L, Q and W defined “Japanese” by both administrative and subjective factors as shown above.

Teacher L sees both nationality and one’s will to live in Japan as important.

| Teacher L | |
|--|---|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| There are many people with foreign nationalities who are interested in Japanese history or culture, want to live in Japan, come and live in Japan, thinking that it is a good place. I answered from the perspective that I see those who want to live or study in Japan, getting Japanese nationality or permanent residence status equally, as Japanese, though they were born in other countries. | 外国籍の人でもやはり日本のことを、歴史に興味があったり文化に興味があったり、日本に住みたいって、日本でいいところだなって移住してきて住んでる方っていっぱいいるじゃないですか。うん。そういう方達も、やはり自分で国籍として日本で暮らしたい、日本で勉強したいって方は、なんていうかな、たとえ生まれた国が違って、日本人として、永住権なんかもあって、うん、そういう方達も日本人としてみなす・・・、あの・・・、同じ感覚で見えていくべきだなっていうような思いはあった、その観点で答えたつもりだったんです。 |

Teacher W also included nationality and self-identification in what she thinks important in being Japanese, as well as respecting law and political institutions, however, she additionally mentioned that having a cosmopolitan identity is more important than

having a Japanese identity in the era of internationalisation.

| Teacher W | |
|---|---|
| (English) There are people who were born and brought up in Japan, but now live abroad, and there are people who used to live in other countries, such as China, and live in Japan for good, having got Japanese nationality. ...It may be a different topic, but I think regarding someone as a national, such as Japanese, is not very important. Rather, I think it is important to regard someone as a person or as cosmopolitan. | (Japanese) 日本生まれ、日本育ちの人でも、海外で生活する場合がありますし、中国なり外国で暮らしていても、その後日本国籍をとって、日本でずっと生活していく人もいますので、はい。私自身は何人ていう・・・ただ、話題がそれるかもしれないですけども、日本人とか何人とかいう意識は私はあまり重要だとは思ってなくて、1人の人間、国際人という感覚の方が大事だと思っています。 |

Teachers L, Q and W highlighted one's will to live in Japan, their nationality and obeying the law in Japan, for regarding someone as Japanese.

As shown above, these teachers understand "Japanese" in a civic way, regardless of one's ethnicity or cultural background. For them, "Japanese" membership should be shared among people who are officially registered as Japanese, identify themselves as Japanese, or following the law and political institutions in Japan.

What these people expect of the identities of immigrants' children will be analysed later in 5.4.

5.3.4 Cultural Definition of “Japanese”

IV: Cultural

Teachers D, F, I, O, R and N seem to have a cultural definition of “Japanese”. Compared to the civic definition, the cultural definition focuses on the lifestyle and sense of belonging to, or loyalty for, Japan. It is also characterised as not being part of a dichotomy of “Japanese” and “non-Japanese”, rather, it looks at the degree of “Japanese”, applied especially to immigrants and those of Japanese descent living abroad⁷². I describe their cultural image of “Japanese”, referring to five teachers below.

The cultural definition of “Japanese” that the teachers have is similar to the discourse of cultural uniqueness of Japanese in ‘70s and ‘80s. Yoshino (1992) analysed those discourses and suggests a concept of ‘secondary nationalism’, meaning nationalism concerned with preservation and maintenance of national identity, against a ‘primary nationalism’ that tries to effect creation of a nation. His argument is based on his study of the discourse on cultural uniqueness of Japanese with comparison to other culture, which was prevalent in ‘70s and ‘80s, when the people in Japan started experiencing and witnessing the internationalization of economy.

The content of ‘secondary nationalism’ seems to continuously exist within the

⁷² In this respect, they may have an ethnic definition of “Japanese” as well, allowing recognition of two types of “Japanese”: “Japanese” in an ethnic sense and more widely in a cultural sense.

of the cultural definition of “Japanese” in this study, and seems further developed in comparison with the diverse culture that immigrants bring into Japan. As a cultural nationalism, the image of cultural “Japanese” distinguishes itself from other culture and maintains its national identity.

Teacher D answered that having a Japanese citizenship and feeling oneself to be Japanese as important factors in being Japanese. The meaning of “feeling oneself to be Japanese” implied for him that the “Japanese” people have love for and loyalty to Japan, as below. His interpretation of “feeling Japanese” is different from that of Teacher E, who has a civic image of “Japanese”.

| Teacher D | |
|---|---|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| If we categorise people as Japanese nationality, those who have Japanese nationality are Japanese legally. But, I do not think that having Japanese nationality is sufficient. It depends on situations and people. If someone likes Japan, the parents are Japanese.... There may be various things (in being Japanese), but if we require Japanese ancestry, then how do we consider someone who has been naturalised in Japan. (...) | 本当に日本人というふうにくくってしまうのであれば、国籍というのは法律上日本国籍を有しているというのは日本人ですよ。で、日本国籍を持っているだけでいいのかといたら、そうではないと思うんですが、それは場合によって、人それぞれによって違うと思うんですね。日本が好きであることとか、両親が日本人だからとか、いろいろあると思うんですけども、でも先祖が日本人であることにしてしまうと、じゃあ帰化をした場合はどうするんだっていう話にもなりますしね。(中略)国籍はもちろん重要ではあるんですけど。うーん。日本を好きで、日本に何か、自分は日本人だって思う。自分自身 |
| Nationality is of course, important... ummmm, Loving Japan, doing something for Japan, feeling Japanese. After all, feeling Japanese is important, I think. | |

を日本人だと思っているということは、やっぱり重要なのではないかなと思います。

Teacher I answered that having Japanese nationality, having lived most of your life in Japan and feeling Japanese are important. In addition, she said that someone becomes almost Japanese by getting accustomed to Japanese culture through living in Japan. This implies that she assumes cultural adaptation in order to become Japanese. Thus, we may reasonably understand that she has a cultural definition of “Japanese”.

Teacher I

(English)

Having lived most of their life in Japan, or getting accustomed to Japanese culture makes people just the same as Japanese. Though they trace their roots in China or the Philippines, I think they are almost the same as Japanese... (...) Feeling oneself to be Japanese should be taken importantly. There is a child whose mother is Chinese, but says I am Japanese. So, I want to respect them (their wills).

(Japanese)

人生の大部分を日本で暮らしているって、やっぱりきちっと日本の風土に慣れてるってことは、日本人だっていうような、ほとんど変わらないですよ、ルーツが例えば中国やフィリピンであっても、もう日本人と変わらないんじゃないかなというふうに思うので・・・。(中略)やっぱり自分自身が日本人だと思っているってことは本人の自覚なので、これは重要視してあげて、いくらお母さんが中国の方でも、もう私は日本人だってやっぱり言う子がいるんですよ。なんでそういう子はやっぱり、本人を、こうね、尊重してあげたいと思うので、うん。

Teacher O focuses on the language the children use to consider the question. She thinks that when they think in Japanese, they are Japanese.

Teacher O

(English)

It says (on the question card) being born in Japan, but the Chinese students (in her school) were born in Japan.

(...), but (they) went to China one month after they were born in Japan, then they came back to Japan. (...) When they speak in Chinese at home, they think of themselves as Chinese, so while they think sometimes in Japanese and sometimes in Chinese, we cannot say (that they are Japanese or Chinese), I guess. So, when I ask the pupils in year 6, and who speak Japanese very well, about the language in which language they think, there are children who answered that they think in both languages. If they think in Japanese, they are Japanese, I think.

(Japanese)

日本で生まれたことって言ったら、あの、実は中国人のお子さん達は日本で生まれてるんですよ。

(中略)でも、生まれて1ヶ月たったら中国へ帰ってしまって、6年くらいいて、それからまた日本に来るって。(中略)やっぱり家で中国語話すと中国人だと思ったり。だから考え方、頭の中に浮かんで考える言葉が日本語だったり中国語だったりしてる間はまだどちらともいえないんじゃないですかね。だから、6年生ぐらいだと、上手なお子さんは、ねえあなたは日本語と中国語のどっちで考えてるのと言ったときに、うーん、僕両方だっていうお子さんはいらっしやいましたね。日本語でまずものを考える、とやっぱり日本人なのかな。

As above, she does not necessarily regard someone as Japanese, when they speak Japanese. Instead, she thinks that it is important whether they think in Japanese or in their first language. The language of speaking and thought are differentiated, and the latter is seen as something that indicates the degree of cultural adaptation, while the former is seen more simply as a tool of communication because people can speak a newly learned language after a short period of residence. It seems that she basically puts much value on the current environment and degree of cultural adaptation in order to regard someone as Japanese: to live in Japan, to think in Japanese, to respect the law in Japan,

and to feel Japanese. Her idea seems to be based on her recognition that the immigrants' children are born in Japan or come to Japan at a young age, and do not know very much about their parents' original countries and their culture⁷³.

Teacher N chose nationality, language and feeling Japanese as important factors in being Japanese, and said that feeling Japanese was the most important among those factors. We can understand from his statement that, “for the families who respect their original countries' culture very much, they have strong identities of where they come from, though they have lived in Japan for a long time”, that culture and identity are closely related in his understanding. We may understand that he has a cultural image of “Japanese”, because his perspective is that cultural identity forms one's life style, and he thinks that having nationality is also an important factor affecting one's life.

Teacher N

(English)

I think that feeling Japanese is the most important.

(...) I think having lived most of life in Japan is between “fairly important” and “very important”, I think. It depends on family. For the families who have almost Japanese life-styles, if they live most of their life in Japan, they are already Japanese. For the families who respect their original country's culture very much,

(Japanese)

私は自分自身を日本人だと思うが一番重要だと思います。

(中略) 暮らしていることは “fairly important” と “not very important” の間ぐらいだと思います。これはご家庭によってもずいぶん違うと思うんですね。はい。やはりもう日本の生活で、ほぼ動いてらっしゃるご家庭に関しては、人生の大部分を日本で暮らしているともう日本の方ですし、逆に非常にご自身の母国の文化とい

⁷³ Her recognition of the immigrants' children's culture will be described in the next section.

they have strong identities of where they come from.

うのを大切にされている方ですと、日本に長く住んでらっしゃってもやはり、私は〇〇の出身ですよということをアイデンティティーとしてきちんともってらっしゃる方もいらっしゃるので。

In this way, these teachers understand “Japanese” culturally. They rely on different things such as language of thought, love and loyalty for Japan, cultural identity etc., to see the degree of cultural “Japanese-ness”.

Teachers who define “Japanese” in a civic sense and those who define it in a cultural sense agree about where they see someone as “Japanese” regardless of race or ethnicity. They are inclusive of people who are born outside Japan and migrate to Japan.

V: Cultural and/or Ethnic

The images of “Japanese” by Teacher J and S seem to have two dimensions: cultural and/or ethnic.

Teacher J regards both people who are not ethnically “Japanese”, but culturally assimilated, and people who are ethnically “Japanese”, but live abroad and are culturally affected by the other culture, as “Japanese”. He answered that feeling Japanese is the more important thing in being Japanese. This interpretation of feeling Japanese is different from that given by Teacher E, who has a civic image of Japanese, and means

that one is sympathetic to the traditional Japanese way of thinking. In this respect, his image of “Japanese” is culturally defined.

Teacher J

(English)

It is up to oneself, I think. If one feels oneself to be Japanese, likes Japanese culture and wants to have heart of the Japanese, it is good to regard them as Japanese, so I think it is up to oneself.

(...) For example, we say the heart of harmony (wa-no-kokoro). Learning those original Japanese ways of thinking, or something like that, or ... for example, there are people who like the spirit of Judo very much and come to Japan. It is said that those people have the heart of the Japanese or Japan (...) In that sense, I think how one thinks of oneself is important.

(Japanese)

本人しだいなのかなって。本人が、自分は日本人、日本の文化が好きだから、日本人の心を持ちたいと思えば、あ、日本人でいいんじゃないと思うし、っていうところで、本人しだいなのかな。

(中略)例えば、和の心って言い方をしたりすると思うんですね。日本独自の考え方って言ったら変ですけど、そういったものを学んだり、例えばスポーツでいうと、すごい柔道の精神論がいいって思って日本に来て柔道を学んでっていう方が、私は日本人の心を持っているとか、日本の心を持っているっておっしゃったりするじゃないですか。(中略)そういった意味で、自分自身がどう思っているかっていうのが大事なのかなって。

Added to the cultural image of “Japanese”, he has an ethnic image of “Japanese”

as well, respecting one’s own ethnic background as below.

Teacher J

(English)

When we say ancestry, I think it is difficult how far we trace, isn’t it? (...) but I think the place that you have your own roots is important.

(...) The place you have your roots, such

(Japanese)

先祖っていうと、どこまでさかのぼっていくのかっていう、あるじゃないですか。(中略)ただその、ルーツがあるところっていうのは大事なのかなって。

(中略)親だったり、家族だったり、がル

as through parents or family, is an important factor, I think. 一ツのある場所、っていうのは大きな要因かなと思いますね。

Teacher S, by contrast, has an image of “Japanese” as ethnically and culturally defined. He answered that one’s appearance (race) matters to his recognition as “Japanese” in addition to nationality, speaking Japanese, and having lived most of life in Japan. We may therefore say that Teacher J defines “Japanese” in a cultural or ethnic sense, while Teacher S defines it in a cultural and ethnic sense.

As described above, culture matters a great deal to when someone is seen as “Japanese”. Thus, we may reasonably expect that people regard the immigrants’ children in Japan as gradually becoming “Japanese” in a cultural sense, as the length of their stay in Japan gets longer. Their expectations about immigrants’ children and orientations to the immigrants’ culture will be analysed later in 5.4 and 5.5.

5.3.5 Ethnic Definition of “Japanese”

VI: Ethnic

Teachers K and M seem to have an ethnic definition of “Japanese”. Japanese membership is shared within the same race/ethnicity. They both highlight the importance of having Japanese ancestry in regarding someone as Japanese. People who have an image of “Japanese” as ethnic, like these teachers, account for about a quarter of people in Japan,

as found in Chapter 3, which is one of the noteworthy characteristics of Japan.

Although Teacher K shows a hesitation in deciding whether she thinks the parents' ethnic/cultural background and the living environment and culture in Japan which surrounds immigrants' children in their current life is important in order to define "Japanese", she sees "parents' country of origin" as relatively important, hoping that the immigrants' children appreciate the connection with their family and culture.

| Teacher K | |
|---|---|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| Teacher K : "Ancestry" is a slightly different expression, but I think it's not important whether parents, or one of the parents... is born (in Japan). To have (Japanese) citizenship is not important either. Having lived most of your life (in Japan) is not important, the Japanese (language) is not important, either.... Religion is not important, either. Respecting (Japanese) laws and political institutions...is this for adults? | K 先生:先祖っていう言い方するとあれなんですけど、私は両親の、両親がどっちかって・・・、だから生まれたことは重要ではありません。日本の国籍を持っていることも重要ではない。大部分を日本で暮らしていることも重要じゃない、日本語も・・・重要じゃない、で、宗教も重要じゃない。この政治制度や法律を尊重しているってこと、これは大人に関してかな・・・ |
| (...) I don't know about this. ... Feeling (Japanese) is not at all important. And this expression, having (Japanese) ancestry is a little difficult, but if the parents are Japanese, whichever culture or background the children grow up in, I hope they have some sense of Japanese,mmm..... is it irrelevant?..... it's between "fairly important" and "not very important. ... (Language) is not | (中略)わからないなあ。ちょっとこれわからないですね。自分自身を日本人だと思っていること、これは全然、まったく重要じゃありません。で、この先祖っていう言い方がちょっと難しんですけども、両親が日本人だった場合には、どんな文化や背景で育ってきても、日本人の部分を持って欲しいなあって私は思うから・・・、それでも関係ないかなあ・・・、「まあ重要」と「あまり重要でない」の間かなあ・・・。それでも「まあ重要」と |

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| <p>particularly important, I think. I don't think it's strange if there are Japanese people who cannot speak Japanese.</p> <p>Author: I see. For example, people who grow up abroad?</p> <p>Teacher K: Yes, that's right. I would be torn....</p> <p>Author: It is difficult....</p> <p>Teacher K: Mmmmm, but I don't think that they must speak Japanese.</p> | <p>「あまり重要でない」の間ですねえ。うーん。(中略)(言語は特に)必要ないと思ってます、はい。うーん、別に日本語が話せない日本人がいてもおかしくないと思う。</p> <p>著者:なるほど。例えば海外で育ったとかっていうことですね</p> <p>K 先生:うん、そうですね。私はその人はじゃあ、悩めますね、これって・・・</p> <p>著者:難しいことですよ。</p> <p>K 先生:うーん。でも、日本語ができなくっちゃいけないとは思わないですね。</p> |
|--|--|

In this way, she places the importance of having Japanese ancestry as “between ‘fairly important’ and ‘not very important’”, but it can be interpreted that she sees “*the parents’ country of origin*” as a relatively important thing in her judgment, because she responds “not important” to all the other factors apart from “respecting laws and political institutions”. Her idea is supported by her hope expressed as “*if the parents are Japanese, in whichever culture or background the children grow up, I hope they are part of Japan*”.

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Teacher M</p> <p>(English)</p> <p>Teacher M: Having Japanese ancestry. Ancestry or the parents. It does not mean that we trace it to a long time ago or several generations, but I think the most important thing is blood. For example, we have an Iranian student whose parents have obtained Japanese nationalities in our class. In this case, the child is Japanese in a way. But, they look different, speak a</p> | <p>(Japanese)</p> <p>M 先生: 先祖が日本人であるっていう。先祖っていうのかな、親とかがね。でも、遠い昔だったら、そんな何世代にも渡ってっていう意味では全然ないんですけども、やっぱり一番は血だと思っすよね。例えば今この学級にイラン人なんですけれども、両親ともに日本の国籍とった人がいるんですよ。そうすると子どもは一応日本人になるのかな。でも外</p> |
|---|--|

different language, although they speak Japanese very well, they speak Persian when they go home. I cannot think of those children as Japanese even though they have Japanese nationality.

(...)

Author: Roots?

Teacher M: Yes, where they are originally from counts. (...) There are people who are not Japanese (as noun), but are Japanese (as adjective) and can go into Japan. There are people like that. (...) Those people know (Japan) much more than we do. They are people that I do not hesitate to live with (in Japan). However, when it comes to whether they are Japanese, Japanese in terms of blood, I do not think so clearly.

見が違ふし、しゃべる言葉も、日本語上手ですけども、家に帰ったらペルシャ語ですよ。やっぱりあの子達を国籍がいくら日本でも日本人ていうふうにはやっぱりちょっと自分の中で思えないんですよ。

(中略)

著者: ルーツ?

M 先生そうですね。もともとどこの国の人っていう感じがありますよねえ。(中略)あのね、なんかね、この人は別に日本人じゃないけど、日本的で、全然日本の中に入って大丈夫って、大丈夫っていうか、そういう感じの人っているんですよ。(中略)ああいう人たちなんて私たちよりよっぽど知ってるしね。すごく。気持ち的に一緒に暮らしていくのになんの抵抗もない人ですよ。でも、あの方が日本人て、血みたいな意味での日本人かっていうとやっぱり、それは違うって、はっきり自分の中で思ってますけども。

She also mentioned the difficulty in the interpretation of ancestry at the beginning, and said that she interpreted it in a limited sense as an individual's ethnic or national background, substituting other words such as "parents", "where they are originally from" or "blood". She further mentioned appearance and whether someone knows Japan well. In addition, she differentiated between "Japanese" as a noun and "Japanese" as an adjective. The latter were also described as people who can enter Japan. This indicates that she understands that there are "Japanese" in an ethnic sense and in a cultural sense, and the former means (true) Japanese to her.

VII: Ethnic or Civic

Teachers H and U regard two different kinds of people as “Japanese”: people who have Japanese ancestry (ethnic), and people who identify themselves as Japanese, although they are not “Japanese” in an ethnic sense. I thus categorised their national identity as ethnic or civic: the idea being that someone is “Japanese” in an ethnic sense, or they are “Japanese” in a civic sense.

Teacher H answered that feeling Japanese was very important, and that being born in Japan, having Japanese nationality, speaking Japanese and having Japanese ancestry were fairly important in order to be Japanese. However, he added that nationality is not necessary. He stated that if someone identifies themselves as Japanese, although they do not look “Japanese”, they are Japanese.

Teacher U answered that having Japanese ancestry, feeling Japanese and respecting law in Japan are important, mentioning that he wants to include the 3rd or 4th generations of the Japanese children left behind in China at the end of World War II⁷⁴ as Japanese.

⁷⁴ He teaches in a night junior-high school and there are many students who are the 3rd or 4th generations of Japanese children left behind in China at the end of World War II.

Teachers categorised in Group VI (ethnic) and VII (ethnic or civic) see one's ethnic background as important for national identity, as described above. Although the number of teachers who have an ethnic image of "Japanese", interviewed in this study is small, we may understand that this is a commonly shared view among people in Japan, as many previous studies have revealed, and was also found in Chapter 3 of this thesis. Their views of the immigrants' children's identities and culture are of great importance in order to grasp the overall picture of support for the idea of maintaining cultural diversity.

5.3.6 Other Image of "Japanese"

Teacher C's image of "Japanese" cannot be categorised as civic, cultural or ethnic. It may be fair to say that he requires more in order to be Japanese. He answered, *"I think that the Japanese people who speak only Japanese or do not have any experience of living abroad.... do not fulfill the requirements. I question it even if someone fulfils all the items (in the question). ... Being able to speak another language makes us being aware of the characteristics and importance of Japanese. Knowing other countries makes us understand Japan more"*.

5.3.7 Summary: Images of "Japanese"

In order to answer the research question of this thesis, why the idea of maintaining immigrant cultures attracts such outstanding support, compared to other

countries, I started analysing the associations between different types of national identity and attitudes toward immigrant cultures by interviewing teachers who teach immigrants' children in Japan. In this section, I focus on the question: what kind of image of the Japanese do teachers have?

By analysing how teachers define “Japanese”, it was found that there are three dimensions to the image of “Japanese”: civic, cultural and ethnic, depending on which aspects one see in order to regard someone as Japanese. The cultural dimension was extracted, in addition to the civic and ethnic, which was found in Chapter 3.

It was also found in this section that teachers interpret the same items in a question differently, depending on their thoughts about national identity. In particular, “feeling oneself as a national” was often used as an indicator of civic national identity in the statistical analysis of ISSP data, however, it is sometimes interpreted more culturally: feeling Japanese means that someone understands and is sympathetic to the traditional Japanese way of thinking, for example.

Based on the categories of national identity created in this section, I will analyse teachers' expectations about the immigrants' identities, and their attitude toward immigrant cultures in the following sections (5.4 and 5.5).

5.4 Expectations about Immigrants' Children's Identities

The situation regarding the immigrants' children's ethnicity, culture and identity is quite complex and unstable. For most of the children who have different ethnic or cultural backgrounds from the majority of children, such as the children who have foreign nationalities, and either came to Japan with their parents, or were born in Japan to immigrant parents, their period of life in Japan is always getting longer than that spent in their or their parents' original countries. However, there is also a case that the immigrants' children suddenly have to go back to their countries for some reason, such as a parent's job. What do teachers in Japan think about the identities of the immigrants' children who live in such a complex and unstable situation? Do they have any expectations about the identities of them? If so, what kind of identities do they expect, and why?

I asked Interview Question (2) below.

*Interview Question (2) Expectations about the identities of immigrants' children
What kinds of identities do you expect immigrants' children (students with foreign nationalities or the students whose parent(s) are not of Japanese nationality) to hold in the future? What do you think of the identities listed on the card?*

I presented a card on which the examples listed below were written.

It is good for them to have...

- “Japanese” identity.
- their ethnic identity. i.e. “Chinese”, “Filipino”

- “half” (double) identity⁷⁵.
- “Chinese in Japan”, “Korean in Japan”, “Filipino in Japan” (Zainichi-)⁷⁶
- “ – (hyphenated) Japanese”
- *I do not particularly expect them to consider their identities.*
- *It is not what school or teachers think about. It is their family’s role.*

I will describe and analyse the teachers’ expectations about the immigrants’ children’s identities by the categories of national identity created in the previous section. The result will make us take a step further to understand the meaning of the people’s attitudes toward the immigrants’ culture, because it tells us how the teachers regard the immigrants’ children in contrast to their images of “Japanese”, in other words, how they draw a line between Japanese and non-Japanese. The meaning of the favourable attitudes toward the maintenance of the immigrants’ culture will be differently understood, depending on whether they include or exclude the immigrants’ children into their concepts of “Japanese”.

I will describe and analyse teachers’ expectations about immigrants’ children’s identities using the categories of national identity created in the previous section. The results will take us a step further to understanding the relationships between national identity and attitudes toward immigrant cultures, because the question of ethnic identity

⁷⁵ “Half” or “double” identity is a term commonly used in Japan, indicating that one’s father or mother is non-Japanese.

⁷⁶ This expression is commonly used in Japan to indicate the foreign nationals living in Japan. Historically, it was particularly used for the long-term Korean residents who trace their Korean roots under Japanese rule. They are distinguished from the newly arrived Koreans of post-1980.

is closely related to the relationship between culture and nation: “Japanese” in a civic sense can include cultural diversity, whereas “Japanese” in an ethnic sense does not.

5.4.1 Civic “Japanese” and Immigrants’ Children’s Identities

First, I describe the thoughts of teachers who have a civic image of “Japanese”. As their ideas of “Japanese” are open and inclusive of the immigrants, it is possible that they expect the immigrants’ children to be “- (hyphenated) Japanese” or “Japanese” in a civic sense.

I: Administrative

Three teachers (Teachers A, G and V), who think that having Japanese nationality is important in order to regard someone as Japanese, replied that it is “difficult (for the age of the children in elementary school)”, she “do(es) not consider it”, or “would like them not to stick to it”. They emphasised the importance of teaching and learning.

Teacher A answered that the question of identity is not something school deals with, at least at the level of elementary school.

Teacher A

| | |
|--|---|
| <p>(English)</p> <p>We do not go into such things (the question of identity). I think it may be good for the children to decide and think by themselves in the process of their development. At the level of elementary school, (...) school does not have enough room to go into such a topic. So, right now we are doing our best to keep up with daily classes.</p> | <p>(Japanese)</p> <p>あまりそういうこと(アイデンティティー)をこちらの方で踏み込んではいないですね。あくまでも本人たちが成長していく段階で、決めていったり考えていったりいいことなのかなと思いますし、小学校のレベルでは、(中略)そういうところまで踏み込める余裕が学校にはないという。なんで、今、とりあえず日々の授業についていけるように、そこが精一杯のところですかね。</p> |
|--|---|

Teacher V, who teaches at a night junior-high school, also reported that they do not have time to think about their identities because it is hard for them to study in Japanese schools. She said that she does not particularly expect them to think about their identities, but expects them to develop their own lifestyles and live as independent individuals.

| | |
|--|---|
| Teacher V | |
| <p>(English)</p> <p>My personal view is that I do not want them to particularly consider their identity, rather I want them to live as (independent) individuals. But, at the same time, I want them to not to forget to be proud of their original countries. So, I do not have an expectation for them to have Japanese identities. If they live in Japan, I say that they have to follow the law and customs in Japan, but that is different from being Japanese. I think anyway it is desirable for them to have their preferred lifestyles and to live as a person. (...) I do not think that they are not thinking about that (the</p> | <p>(Japanese)</p> <p>私の個人的な意見としては、アイデンティティーについては特に考えないで人として生きて欲しい。でもやはり自分の国に対する誇りっていうのは忘れないで欲しいとおもいますね。だから日本人として生きて欲しいという気持ちはないですね。日本のなかで生きるのであれば、日本の法律や習慣を守って、がんばろうということは言いますが、それと日本人としてってことはないので、あくまでも本人が一番生きやすい生活スタイルを作って、それで人として生きていければいいなどは思っていますね。(中略)そういうこと(アイデンティティーの問題)を</p> |

| | |
|--|--|
| question of identity). They have a bigger problem now. (She indicated that studying and catching up with the class are the bigger problems). | まだ考えてないと思います。それどころじゃない感じかな。(日本の学校の授業についていくことで精一杯ということ述べた。) |
|--|--|

Teacher G said that she does not take the question of identity so seriously. She emphasised that she sees any nationality as a person, equally.

As above, teachers who regarded someone as Japanese depending on Japanese nationality only, do not think that the question of identities is as important as studying in Japanese schools. Studying so as not to be left behind is seen as a more important and serious problem.

II: Subjective

What do Teachers E and P, who rely on someone's self-identification for regarding someone as Japanese, think about the immigrants' identities? Their answers were a good contrast with the notion of culture, as below.

Teacher E answered that the children's own feelings and the parents' expectations were important regarding the immigrants' children's identities in principle. She added that she thinks that the idea of respecting one's roots is widely shared in Japan, but it may be an imposition of a common Japanese idea onto the immigrants' children.

Teacher E

(English)

It makes an immigrant's child happier to talk about the Japanese way of thinking, values, and that the Japanese people have a sense of respecting those things. If we tell children who were born in the Philippines to respect the Philippine way of thinking, or customs, or tell (the children who were born in China) to respect Chinese culture, it is an imposition. Um... do they start respecting it because the adults around them tell them to do so? They sometimes do so by themselves. There are children who think that "I live in Japan, was brought by my parents, live in Japan now, have to speak Japan and follow the Japanese customs, but I identify myself as Chinese". There are children who do not identify themselves as Japanese. It is of course not necessary to identify that way.

(...) I think many adults say so (to respect one's identity of original country). Most of the adults may say so. But, I think it has a patronising air, because what you respect depends on you. It is not what other people tell you to do. However, patriotism is one of the topics we learn in moral education in Japan, so it may be one of the characteristics of Japan to respect such things (country of origin).

(...) Yes, I started thinking that it may be one of the Japanese ways of thinking to respect one's roots, being stuck to such things. I started thinking that since I came to this school.

(...) (For people from China) (Making a

(Japanese)

その子はたぶん日本人よりで考えを教えてあげたり、価値観を、こういう価値観で生きていくんだよとか、日本人はこういうのを大事にする感覚を持っているんだよとか、いうことを教えてあげた方がその子にとっては幸せかもしれないですよ。ただ、そのフィリピンで生まれたからフィリピンの国の考えや文化風習を大事にする、中国の文化を大事にする、しなさいよって言ったらそれはもう押し付けなので。うーん。周りの大人から言われてそうなるのか。ただ、自分から芽生える場合もありますよね。自分は日本で暮らして、親に連れられて今日本で暮らして、日本語も話さなきゃならないから日本語を話していて日本の文化風習にならっているけれども、自分は中国人だって最後の最後まで、最後の一線までは日本人になりきる必要もないけど、なりきらない子もいますから、うん。

(中略) (母国のアイデンティティーを大事にしろということについて) 言っちゃうんでしょね。たいがいの大人って、きっと。でも言ってることに関しては、え、恩着せがましいとか思っちゃうんだけど。だって、何を大事にするのかは人それぞれで、あなたに言われることではないって。ただ、愛国心とかいうことは日本の道徳教育の中にも入っているので、やはりそういったものを大事にするんだよっていう感覚もまた日本人ぽいのかもかもしれないですね。

(中略) そう。ルーツを大事にするんだよってというようなことにこだわっているのもすごく日本的な考えなのかもしれない

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>Living is valuable itself. Children from China often say so. They ask, why don't you convert to money? The most important thing for them is money. Then, they themselves (are the second most important thing). Then... is there any other thing which is important? It was not only one or two students who said that. (...). I do not know about this (the immigrants' identities in future). I do not have expectations myself. It is what their parents expect. The parents have expectations of the way their children live, but we are a third person and we do not have expectations about how they live.</p> | <p>って。ここに来てから思うようになりましたね。 (中略)(中国の人にとっては)生きてくことが価値。それこそが価値で・・・、中国の子よく言ってますね。なんでお金の換算しないのかって。やっぱりいちばん大事なのはお金。自分。その次が・・・。その次なんてあんの、みたいな。それが1人2人じゃなかったの。 (中略)これ(将来のアイデンティティー)はちょっと答えがわかりません。私の希望はないです。親が持つことじゃないですか。親がその子にどう生きて欲しいって考えるけど、私達第三者だから、あくまで。その子にどう生きて欲しいまでは考えないですね。</p> |
|---|--|

As above, Teacher E said that the question of the immigrants' identities is what they or their parents think about, and the idea of respecting one's roots is common in Japan, but it may be an imposition of something very Japanese to the immigrants. She explained that she realised this because of communication with children from China. Her view reflects her conflict about the immigrants' children's ethnic/cultural diversity and equality. Her answers are very informative and give us a great deal of insight into the question.

In addition, she said that the immigrants' children were not willing to talk about the customs of their countries of origin. This perspective is different from the one of Teacher P, who sees the immigrants' ethnicity positively and tries to ask many things about their countries of origin, in order to develop their self-esteem.

Teacher E

(English)

The children learning Japanese in this school look displeased for a second, when I ask them about their original countries, the kind of customs they had, if there is something similar to the Doll Festival in March in Japan, and what they do on New Year's day. They do not happily say, there is one, instead, more than half of the students say, mmmmm. They are not willing to say much about it, instead they let us know that they do not want us to ask about that, when I ask about the way we say something in English or in Chinese. About 80 to 90% of the students react in such a way. There is no student who is willing to tell teachers (about the customs of their country of origin). So, I think they may be absorbed or immersed in Japan after only one or two years.

(...) They are not willing to tell us. Instead, they ask if there are such things. We learn the seasonal events in Japan throughout the year, and we always ask them if there are similar events in their countries of origin. Then, they do not know about it, even when there is a similar event. There may be some children who did not learn (in their country of origin).

(...) There are some children who stick to it (culture of their country of origin). There is a Filipino student who says that he was in a high level class when he was in the Philippines, and does not want to accept Japan. There are some (children like that). Those children go back to their countries,

(Japanese)

この学校で日本語覚えて育ってく子供達ってやっぱりなんかもう前の国のことを聞こうとすると、ちょっとどんな習慣があった、3月ひな祭りみたいなものってあった、正月はどうしてるって前の国のことを聞こうとすると、ちょっと一瞬嫌な顔するんですよ。あった、あったって喜んででは伝えずに、うーんって、そういう表情する子が半分以上いるんじゃないかな。あんまり多くを語ろうとしないし、逆に、あ、これ英語できあって、あのこれなんて言うんだかって聞こうとすると、英語でなんていうのとか中国語ではなんていうのって聞くと、なんかちょっとやめてくださいみたいな、反応されることがほとんど、8割9割じゃないかな。すすんで先生教えますよっていう子はいないですね。だからなんかもう数年にして、1年2年にして、やはり日本というものに浸かってきている、気持ちが入ってきているのかもしれない。

(中略)喜んででは教えてくれないです。そんなの逆にあつたのみたいなものとか。だいたい日本の行事はひと通り、1年を通してやるので、必ずそのときに、自分の生まれ育った国にそういうものがありましたかって聞くと、あ、なんかどうだっただろ、あつたけど、よくわかんないとか、教わってきてない子供もいるのかなって思うんですけど。

(中略)それ(出身国の文化)すごくこだわる人は・・・。いるんですよ、子どもにも。自分がフィリピンから来ているって絶対にもう自分はフィリピンで優等生のクラスにいて、絶対日本なんか受け入れたくないっていう子もいます。うーん。中に

in the end. They cannot take it, here.

は。そういう子は帰ります。耐え切れず
に、ここが。

Similarly to teachers in Group I, who prioritise academic achievement and participation in the society by immigrants, Teacher E indicated that respecting the ethnic/cultural background too much sometimes has a negative effect on academic achievement in Japan, knowing that it is generally thought to be desirable.

In the study of multicultural education, children's ethnicity is thought of as a resource and its use is encouraged to promote higher academic achievement (Hek 2005; Scott 2008). Many of the teachers interviewed in this study respect the immigrants' ethnicities and culture, and try to use it as a resource to promote their self-esteem, in consequence, better academic achievement. They do so because they want to protect the children's personality and self-esteem from the pressure of cultural adaptation. Thus, It is of interest that Teacher E points out that the immigrants' children do not have such ethnic/cultural resources to be used and that ethnicity and the culture of the immigrants' country of origin sometimes become obstacles to promoting equality (she expressed this as "happy"). As at the end of the citation, there is a point where remaining too close to one's ethnicity or culture prohibits them from adapting to Japanese school. It indicates that sometimes, it may be more important or strategic for an immigrants' family to adapt into the life and culture in Japan flexibly (intentionally or unintentionally) in terms of promoting equal participation in Japanese society.

We may interpret this as an example case of “recognition – redistribution dilemma” (Barry 2001). The mechanism of this dilemma will be discussed later because taking the attitudes toward the immigrants’ culture, not only their identities, into consideration, we may be able to see why this dilemma is brought about more clearly, by understanding what kind of the immigrants’ ethnic culture is expected to maintain and to give up, in the aim of higher academic achievement.

Teacher P answered that there are no children who identify themselves as Japanese, and that she respects the children’s own identification, saying, “it is not necessary for them to become Japanese”, and “it is good to be as they like”. However, she also said that she personally expects them to be someone who supports Japan, saying, “if they live in Japan, they are Japanese”, and expressed her view that place of residence is important in being “Japanese”. Additionally, she mentioned that it is desirable for them to have “- (hyphenated) Japanese” identities.

| Teacher P | |
|---|---|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| I want them to be people who support Japan. | やっぱり日本を支えてくれる人になって欲しいなあと。 |
| (...) As far as I see here, there is no student who identifies themselves as Japanese. | (中略)ここで見ている限り、自分が日本人と言ってる子はいないですねえ。ハーフの子はどっちも言いますが、やっぱり自分は何人だっちはっきり言ってま |
| Half of the students ⁷⁷ identify themselves in both ways, but clearly say I am a | |

⁷⁷ This means that the student’s father or mother is non-Japanese.

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>national (of the country of origin). I think it is good. It is not necessary for them to become Japanese. It is good to be as they like.</p> <p>(...) I think in that way. However, if they are in Japan, I want them to be people who support Japan.</p> <p>(...) After all, one's own family is the basis of everything, so they think many things based on their families. They are in Japan, but their own culture, - it is necessary to change their language, but - basically things like food do not change so much. If father or mother is Japanese, and the other is a foreigner, probably they go in a combined way with two cultures as "national (of country of origin) in Japan" (zainichi). I cannot say that I want them to be something. I think in that way.</p> <p>(...) I want them to be "- (hyphenated) Japanese" most. If they live in Japan, they are Japanese. So, it is ok to have " - (hyphenated) Japanese" identity. Then, what they think about themselves... is after all important to people around them.</p> <p>(...) I think if they naturally begin to identify themselves as " - (hyphenated) Japanese", it is OK. It is not good to force them to be Japanese. It is only a matter of what they think on their own.</p> | <p>すし、それはそれでいいと私は思います。無理して日本人になる必要はないし。そのまんま、彼らが思うままでいいと思いますので。</p> <p>(中略)そういう感じにしか、私には。ただ、本当に日本にいるんだったら、日本を支えて欲しいなっていう。</p> <p>(中略)結局、自分の家庭がやっぱりいちばんメインですから、そこから発想しますよね。いろんなものを。自分たちは日本にいるんだけど、自分の文化っていうのは基本的にはやっぱり、言語はダメだとしても、食べ物とかそういうものはあまり変わらないじゃないですか。お父さんとお母さんのどっちか片方が日本人で、片方が外国人の場合はまた折衷案で行くと思うんですけど、在日〇〇人かなあと。こうして欲しいとはいえないですよ。私はやっぱりそんな風に思いますね。</p> <p>(中略)一番これ(〇〇系日本人)になって行って欲しいなど。なんでもいいから、住んでれば日本人なんだし、〇〇系日本人でいいんじゃないかと思いますねえ。そうなって、本人がどう思うか。周りから見ると結局そうなっていますよねえ。</p> <p>(中略)私は〇〇系日本人で、本人がだんだん思っていけば、それはそれでいいし。自然なら。無理してあなた日本人になんなさいじゃなくて。本人の感覚でしかないと思うんですよ。</p> |
|---|---|

Teachers E and P both respect someone's own will with regard to the identities of immigrants' children, but they have different views of the culture of the immigrants' children. They are a good contrast of whether we see children are culturally rooted in

their parents. Teacher E sees that the immigrants' children do not know very much about the traditional events of their parents' original countries, so it may be interesting for them, if they are taught the "Japanese" way of thinking in order to live in Japan. She has a sceptical view of the widespread idea of respecting the cultural background of immigrants' children. On the other hand, Teacher P sees that their thoughts are influenced by their parents' culture, and expects the immigrants' children to become "- (hyphenated) Japanese".

III: Administrative and Subjective

What do Teachers L, Q and W, who have both an administrative and subjective view of the image of "Japanese" think about the immigrants' identities? Teacher W thinks that it is the immigrants' free will that will determine their identities, without any restriction from their nationalities or the country that they live in. He said, "*I want them to be as they think. I want them to be proud of the way they identify themselves*". On the other hand, Teachers L and Q, mentioning that the students' own wills are important, said that they expect them to respect their roots. For example, Teacher L said, "*their own wills are the most important, but ... I want them to respect the country where they were born, the country where they have their roots*". It is because the children's ethnic identities are thought of as their basis, and it is seen as undesirable to lose them. Teacher Q expressed

this view as, “*basically, their own countries, China or the Philippines, are the basis of them. I think it is not good that (basis)*”.

In summary, regarding the identities of immigrants’ children, teachers who have a civic definition of “Japanese” think either that there is a bigger problem, such as studying not to be left behind, or that they want to respect the students’ own wills the most. Teachers categorised in Group III additionally mentioned that they personally expected the children to respect their ethnic roots.

5.4.2 Cultural “Japanese” and the Immigrants’ Children’s Identities

IV: Cultural

Now, turning to teachers who have a cultural image of “Japanese”, what do they think about the immigrants’ identities? Do they expect the immigrants’ children to become “Japanese” by adapting to the dominant Japanese culture, to maintain their ethnic/cultural identities, or to have an identity, such as “- (hyphenated) Japanese”, reflecting both their ethnic backgrounds and cultural adaptation into Japanese culture?

Analysis of the views of Teachers D, F, I, O, R and N tells us that their views are roughly divided into two: respecting ethnic background, or becoming “Japanese” in a

cultural sense (except for Teacher I, who answered that she thinks it desirable for the children to decide their identity according to their own will in the future, because they were brought suddenly to Japan due to their parents' work.)

Teachers D, F and N answered that they would like immigrants' children to respect and maintain their ethnic identities, although they were slightly different about the details.

Teacher D, although he mentioned that it is not something that teachers tell immigrants' children, expressed his expectation that they respect their roots and learn about their countries of origin.

| Teacher D | |
|--|--|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| Though they came to Japan, I want them to respect their countries of origin. I do not hope for a situation where these children or those children do not know about the parents' countries, or do not know about their first languages. However, it is not something that we should teach. | 日本人に、日本にきたからといって、この子達もあの子達も、自分の親の国のことはまったくないとか、母国語は知らないよっていうんじゃないかと、ルーツがあるんだから、それを大事にして欲しいんですけども、でもそれはね、教えるべきことではないなということですよね。 |

Teacher N also thinks it desirable for immigrants' children to respect their ethnic roots, but with a slightly different reason than Teacher D above. He began his

answer by mentioning that it is what families think about, and that school's role is to give the children the skills to live in Japan. He then continued as below.

| Teacher N | |
|--|--|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| However, I wonder if those immigrants' children can go to internationalised world without having the identity of their country of origin. When we go abroad, we are often asked, "where are you from?", aren't we? And we sometimes make friends with other people by introducing where we are from. So, I personally think that I want them to clearly recognise where they are from. | じゃあそういう子達が、自分は〇〇の出身だということをもたないで、世界に出ていけるかということ、それはどうかなという気もするんですね。やはり海外に行くと、どうしてもじゃあ君は来た国はどういう国なんだって必ず聞かれますよね。で、そこを紹介することによって、また海外の人と親しくなれる部分というのもあるので、やはり自分の出身というところはきちんと持っていて欲しいなという思いもあるので。 |

The reason he wants the immigrants' children to have their own ethnic identities is because it will be important when they go abroad and work internationally. As he has experience of working abroad himself, he seems to think that being proud of one's own ethnic identity helps us communicate well with people from other countries.

Teacher N, who is also sympathetic to the idea of respecting ethnic identities, said that he accepts that immigrants' children identify themselves as Japanese because in case of students, identifying oneself as Japanese actually means becoming friends (peers).

| Teacher F | |
|---|--|
| <p>(English)</p> <p>It is sad to lose your country of origin, so I do not want them to lose their countries of origin at all. I think it may be difficult, but I want them to be proud of their countries of origin and be able to tell people proudly where they are from, although they live and work in Japan.</p> <p>(...) If they say that they have become completely Japanese, I think it is an expression of happiness with becoming friends (peers) with other classmates. (So, I would say) I am happy, too. You have completely made friends with them. I want to accept their happiness by saying that they are Japanese.</p> <p>(...) After all, I think it would be better for them to respect their countries of origin, because they are their roots. Not only looking at their parents, but also the previous generation and further previous generation: there is something has been passed down for generations. I feel sorry for the ancestors to lose it someone loses that identity to become Japanese, by thinking only of themselves.</p> | <p>(Japanese)</p> <p>ただ、人としてね、母国を捨てるっていうのは悲しいと思うので、それは絶対に捨てないで欲しいと思います。難しいと思うんですけど。ええ。やはり日本を中心として活躍する人材ではあっても、私はそのどこどこの国の出身の人間で、母国に誇りを持っているっていうことが話せる、自信持って伝えられるような人になって欲しいと僕は思ってます。</p> <p>(中略)</p> <p>本人が私すっかり日本人になっちゃったというときの、日本人になっちゃったというのはみんなと仲間になれて嬉しいという意味の表現だと思うので。嬉しいよ、僕もって。君本当にすっかりみんなと仲間になれたね。まるでどっからどう見ても日本人じゃないって言って、本人の喜びを認めてあげようと思うんですね。</p> <p>(中略) やっぱり自分の母国は持ってた方がいいと思います。だって、ルーツですもん。あの、自分の直前の親だけ見るんじゃなくて、その上、そのさらに前、連続と受け継がれてきたものってあるじゃないですか。それ捨てて、いきなり自分の代だけで、自分は日本人ですっていうのは先祖に申し訳ないですよ。</p> |

As above, he thinks that it is very important to respect one's own ethnic identity and to be proud of it because it means to respect one's parents and ancestors, while at the same time he wants to accept the children's happiness if they identify themselves as Japanese, because it means that they have familiarised themselves with the new environment and new friends.

He had a negative attitude to being naturalised as Japanese. He thinks that the reason people become naturalised citizens of Japan is because they have experience of being discriminated against. He said, *“I think there are not many people who love Japan truly and become Japanese by losing their whole past. I personally think that being naturalised as Japanese may be for some negative reasons. It is because the Japanese people discriminate against them, isn't it? I do not think it is good because it is as if their patriotic love for Japan is tested by the Japanese people”*. From what he said, we may understand that because his image of “Japanese” is defined in an ethnic/cultural sense, becoming Japanese means losing one’s pride for an ethnic and cultural background.

The three teachers above have favourable attitudes toward maintaining the ethnic identities of immigrants, while Teacher R and O’s expectations, described below, are closer to preferring that they become “Japanese”.

Teacher R is sympathetic to the idea that immigrants’ children become “Japanese” in a cultural sense, while at the same time he said that immigrants’ children *“should not forget about their countries of origin”*. Given that he prefers the idea of cultural adaptation by immigrants’ children (which will be analysed in the next section), we may understand that he thinks it desirable that immigrants’ children retain their ethnic identities, and are adapted into the dominant Japanese culture.

He said that any immigrants' children have never told him that they identify themselves as Japanese, but if they said so, he might respond that "*it is good that you fit in, but you still need these things to be Japanese*". From what he mentioned before in the interview, "*these things*" that are necessary for being Japanese include knowledge about seasonal events and traditional culture in Japan.

Teacher O clearly said that she expected immigrants' children to be "Japanese" in a cultural sense. As reported in the previous section, language of thought is an important factor for her to regard someone as national, thus she expected immigrants' children to have become "Japanese", if they basically think in Japanese. We may see from the citation below that her expectation is largely derived from the fact that she is a Japanese language teacher. It reflects her hope that they learn the Japanese language well and become "Japanese" who can independently live in Japan.

Teacher O

(English)

It is easy for me. I want them to live as Japanese. That's because I have been teaching them so hard. So, I have a hope that they become Japanese.

(Japanese)

私はすごく簡単だから。日本人として生きて欲しい。だってここまで頑張って日本語教えたんだから、日本人になって欲しいっていう思いはありますよ。

In addition, she said that immigrants' children do not know about their countries of origin: "anyway, the children whom I teach do not know about China", and "as far as I communicate with them, I cannot hear anything Chinese from them"

In this way, teachers who have a cultural image of "Japanese" have three different views of immigrants' children's identities. Teacher I prioritised the children's own wills. Teachers D, F and N said that respecting and maintaining immigrant ethnic identities is desirable, and Teacher O and R said that becoming culturally "Japanese" is desirable.

V: Cultural and Ethnic

Teacher J, who has a cultural or ethnic image of "Japanese", basically respects immigrants' children's own opinions about their identities saying, "*how the children want to live is the most important*", and argued that being cosmopolitan may be an appropriate concept that reflects the complexity of the ethnicity and culture of immigrants' children. He said, "*the concept of nationals has a limitation. ... in this respect, cosmopolitan is applicable, I think*".

Teacher S, who had a cultural and ethnic image of "Japanese", thinks that immigrants' children should respect the culture of Japan and their countries of origin, and argues that it is important to recognise their ethnic roots.

Therefore, the expectation about immigrants' children' identities by the teachers who define "Japanese" culturally is that the children of immigrants will have both an ethnic identity and become culturally "Japanese".

Looking at the answers about attitudes towards immigrants' culture (described in detail in the next section (5.5)), teachers who attach more value to immigrant cultural backgrounds (Teachers I, D, N, F, J and S), answered that it is desirable for the immigrants to both maintain their distinct customs and traditions and to adapt into the larger society, while teachers who expect them to be "Japanese" (Teachers O and R) answered that it is desirable for them to adapt. This indicates that their thoughts about the various cultural groups in Japan reflect their expectations about the identities of immigrants' children. The associations between teachers' national identities and attitudes towards immigrant cultures will be analysed further in the Section 5.5.

5.4.3 Ethnic "Japanese" and the Identities of Immigrants' Children

VI: Ethnic

Here, I will describe and analyse the kind of identities that are thought to be desirable for immigrants' children according to the teachers who have ethnic images of what "Japanese" is. We must note that their perspectives are especially important in this

study because they substantially represent an overall picture of the relationship between national identity and attitude toward the immigrant cultures in Japan.

Teachers K and M, who think that having Japanese ancestry is important for being Japanese, both answered that they expected immigrants' children to respect their ethnic "roots".

Teacher K started her answer by saying that she hesitates to differentiate according to nationality, and noted that she has never seen immigrants' students as "(hyphenated) Japanese", but as people of their ethnic origin, such as "Chinese" or "Filipino". She expressed her opinions as noted below.

| Teacher K | |
|---|---|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| <p>Teacher K: I always hesitate to use the word, 'nationals'. So, I say 'a child who comes from China', and so on. (...) I intentionally use such words. And for example, what I expect of the children from China would be Chinese in Japan, I guess.</p> <p>Author: I see. Not Chinese-Japanese, but Chinese in Japan?</p> <p>Teacher K: Yes, if I have to say use the word, 'nationals'.</p> | <p>K 先生:あんまりね、私、何人て言い方することに、なんかちょっと抵抗がいつもあります。だから、中国から来た子、とか。(中略)私はいつも意図的に使ってるんですね。だけど、例えばじゃあ中国から来た子に、もしアイデンティティー、こういうふうが大きくなってって欲しいなっていうのは、やっぱり日本にいる中国人という見方をするかなあ。</p> <p>著者:あ、なるほど。えっと、中国系日本人ではなくて、日本にいる中国人。</p> <p>K 先生:うん、まあ、あえてなんとか人て言い方するなら。</p> |

She gave an example of one of her students who came to Japan from China, and changed to a Japanese name, as below.

Teacher K

(English)

Recently, I talked with a Chinese family. They said that they will get Japanese nationality soon, so they were changing their names to Japanese names from now. I said, wait, what is the problem? For example, if the child feels displaced because of having a Chinese name, it is what schools have to solve. The family easily decided to change their names to Japanese names, but I do not want them to change so easily. I wanted to talk to them like that.

(Japanese)

ついこの間も名前の件で、中国のお家と話したことがあって、いずれ国籍をとるつもりだから、もう通称名に今のうちから日本名にしますっていうお話があって、ま、ちょっと待ってくれ、それはどういうことだ、例えば子どもが中国名であることに何か嫌な思いをしているんだったら、それは学校で解決しなければならないし、簡単にお家でね、じゃもうこれから日本人になるから日本の名前をっていうんであれば、それはまたそんな簡単に考えないで欲しいなっていう、こちらからの投げかけはしたかったしっていうのがあって。

From what she said, we may understand that she is concerned that the student from China hopes to be “Japanese”, losing their Chinese identity, possibly because they have been discriminated against. If so, she wants to deal with it and hopes they will be proud of having Chinese identity. “Japanese” in her sense is determined by one’s ethnicity or ancestry, as reported in the previous section. Thus, becoming “Japanese” means that the child loses their roots.

Teacher K also expressed her conflict about whether she should respect immigrant ethnic/cultural backgrounds or their current living environment, as below.

Teacher K

(English)

Now, there are many students who came to Japan from China, And one of them has Japanese citizenship. His father is the second generation of a war-displaced Japanese people with Chinese citizenship, so he has Japanese citizenship. His mother is Chinese. Their child insists that he is Japanese, not insists.....says. He has a Japanese name, his father is Japanese and his mother is Chinese, “but I am Japanese”. Hearing him saying that, some teachers, including me, think he is not. “You are Japanese, but your mother speaks Chinese” She speaks Japanese very well. “but your mother is from China, your grandmother is also...”. He has a very good relationship with his grandmother and loves her very much. He speaks in Chinese with his grandmother. “You speak with your grandmother in Chinese, don’t you? And she is in China, and you say that you want to go to China, then if you say that you are Japanese, you do not need to be able to speak in Chinese because you are Japanese, and that you make an effort only to learn Japanese, I think it is wrong, not wrong, but I hope you appreciate Chinese as well.” I talk to him like this..... So, I always torn between “feeling own self as Japanese” and “having Japanese ancestry”, and wonder a lot about what I can say to them, having Japanese family, a Japanese name and Japanese citizenship. (...) I always think “you are Chinese”. So, I think that there are lots of things to do

(Japanese)

今、ここで勉強している子で、中国から日本に来て、日本の学校に入るから、日本語勉強して、学校でも頑張ってるっていう子どもいっぱいいるんです。それで・・・、ついさっきまで今日やってた子なんですけど、国籍は日本なんです。お父さんは、残留孤児の2世、だから日本国籍を持ってる、で、お母様は中国の方なんです。その子どもは、僕は日本人だって言い張るんです。言い張るっていうか、言うんです。名前も日本だし、お父さんは日本人、お母さんは中国人、だけど僕は日本人だ、・・・っていうのを聞いて、私とあと何人かの教員は、違うよっていうふうには私は思うんです。あなたは日本人もそうだけど、お母さんは中国の言葉をしゃべって、お母様も日本語上手なんですよ、だけど、お母さんは中国の人だよ、おばあちゃんも、おばあちゃんとはすごく仲の良い子どもなんだけど、おばあちゃんのこと大好きなんだけど、おばあちゃんとは中国語でお話するんです。大好きなおばあちゃんとは中国語で話すよね、そのおばあちゃん中国にいて、中国に行きたいなあってあなた言うよねってときに、日本人だ、日本人だから中国語できなくてもいいんだ、日本語頑張るんだっていうのは・・・、先生は違うと思うな、違うと思うなっていうか、あなたは中国語も大切にして欲しいなって話しはしていくんです。・・・だから、いつも本当これでは、特に(選択肢)「本人が日本人と思っていること」とでは、「先祖が日本人であること」とか、家族が日本人だよ、名前は日本だよ、国籍は

| | |
|---|---|
| <p>as a Chinese living in Japan, a lot more things to do than Japanese children” and “you have Japanese citizenship, a Japanese name, but because you came from China, I want to talk a lot about China with you, want to hear about China and want you to grow up as a child who appreciates China. I treat my students in that way.</p> | <p>日本だよっていう子にはどういふふうに話 しができるんだらうって部分は悩む部分 ではありますねえ。</p> |
|---|---|

The conflict she described above is the same kind of conflict that Teacher E, who had a civic image of “Japanese” mentioned. It is a question of cultural diversity and equality. Teacher E said that immigrants’ children may be “happy” if they do not stick to their ethnicities too much, implying that a minority ethnicity sometimes become an obstacle to promoting immigrants for higher academic achievement and equal participation in Japanese society. Conversely, Teacher K, as written above, thinks it desirable to maintain immigrant ethnic identities and cultures, by which she aims to encourage them to fight against cultural assimilative pressure and discrimination.

Similarly, Teacher M understands that it means denying immigrants’ ethnicity, if they become “Japanese”. In her understanding, it seems that ethnicity determines what nationality they are, and the degree of adaptation to Japanese culture adds “Japanese-ness”. This can be understood by her statement, *“I feel that they are Japanese-nised, except for children who return to their countries very soon. Those entered in the first year are very Japanese”*. Her view is expressed below.

| Teacher M | |
|--|---|
| (English) If we identify them as Japanese, it means that we deny their ethnic background. I think we cannot do that. (...) I feel that they are Japanese-nised, except for the children who return to their countries very soon. Those who entered in the first year are very Japanese | (Japanese) やっぱり、日本人としてってしちゃうとね、その子の外国の部分を否定しちゃうことになるので、やっぱりそれはできないと思うので、 (中略) やっぱり日本人化してるなあっていうのは感じますよ。すぐ帰っちゃう子は別として。1年生から入った子っていうのは、すごく日本的。 |

In this way, Teachers K and M both draw a line between nationality based on people's ethnicity, and expecting immigrants' children to maintain their ethnic identities in Japan. Becoming "Japanese" is seen as something negative, meaning that they lose, hide or are being denied their ethnic backgrounds and self-esteem. Teacher K, particularly emphasised the importance of protecting their ethnic identity, when it originated in a sense of anti-discrimination.

VII: Ethnic or Civic

Teachers H and U recognise both "Japanese" in an ethnic and "Japanese" in a civic sense as Japanese. Both emphasised that they respect the decisions of immigrants' children in regard to their future identities. In this respect, their perspectives are similar to the those of teachers who have a civic image of "Japanese".

Teacher H said that she doesn't pay much attention to which identity immigrants' children develop, and does not particularly expect to at the level of elementary school, although at the same time mentions that she thinks it desirable that immigrants' children are proud of their ethnic "roots" and have a chance to learn about their ethnic and cultural backgrounds.

Teacher U, who teaches at night junior high school, also said that she does not focus on the question of identity, saying, "when I teach them, I do not care which country they are from. I do not care at all. In general, thinking about the future, I do not mind their identifying as "- (hyphenated) Japanese". Then, she emphasised that she expects the students to participate actively in Japanese society.

In summary, teachers categorised in Group VI (ethnic) think it desirable to maintain immigrant ethnic identities, for example "Chinese in Japan", rather than "Chinese-Japanese" or "Japanese", so as not to deny their backgrounds and personality, but to encourage them. This leads to the important question of approaches to promoting equality, which will be discussed later in this chapter. Teachers categorised in Group VII (ethnic or civic) have a similar view as those who define "Japanese" in a civic sense (Group I to III), and in an ethnic sense (Group VI): they do not have any particular expectations about immigrants' children's identities, thinking desirable to respect the

children’s ethnic roots and also thinking it has no problem that the immigrants’ children will be “– (hyphenated) Japanese”:

5.4.4 Image of “Japanese” and the Identities of Immigrants’ Children

Table 5-4 summarises teacher expectations of the identities of immigrants’ children according to the different types of image of “Japanese”.

Table 5-4: Types of National Identity and Expectations of Immigrants’ Children’s Identities

| Dimension of National Identity | Group | Characteristics of Important Things in being Japanese | Expectations of the Identities of Immigrants’ Children |
|--------------------------------|-------|---|---|
| Civic | I | Administrative (Citizenship) | Do not have enough time to think about it. Getting accustomed to life in Japan and studying are more important. |
| | II | Subjective (Feeling oneself as Japanese) | One’s own identification should be prioritised. Becoming “- (hyphenated) Japanese” |
| | III | Administrative and Subjective | One’s own identification should be prioritised, but it is desirable that they respect their “roots”. |
| Cultural | IV | Cultural | Respecting “roots” Becoming “Japanese” |
| Ethnic | V | Cultural or Ethnic | Respecting “roots” Becoming cosmopolitan |

| | | | |
|--|------|-----------------|--------------------|
| | VI | Ethnic | Respecting “roots” |
| | VII | Ethnic or Civic | Respecting “roots” |
| | VIII | Other | |
| | IX | Don’t Know | |

Note: When the expectations are written using bullet points, it means that teachers in the group have different views.

Qualitative analysis of teacher expectations about immigrant identities resulted in several findings, as below.

Teachers with a civic definition of “Japanese” tend to put greater value on how immigrants’ children can become more accustomed to life and studying in Japan than their original identities. Teachers with a cultural definition of “Japanese” have two different views: to respect their original ethnic or cultural minority identities, and to be assimilated as “Japanese” in a cultural sense. Teachers who imagine “Japanese” in an ethnic sense tend to expect immigrants’ children to respect and retain their original ethnic or cultural minority identities.

It was found that some teachers with civic or cultural national identities prioritise their academic achievement and participation in Japanese society more than the question of their identities, while some teachers with ethnic or cultural national identities take the problem of immigrants’ children’s identities seriously because it is thought to be important in its own right and for the sake of better academic achievement that they

respect the children's own will, self-esteem, and relationship with the family, and protect them from the pressure of cultural assimilation and discrimination. This is a question of how we regard ethnicity, culture and identity in the field of education, whether it is a resource or not. Furthermore, it raises a question of when it becomes a resource to promote academic achievement, and what kind of culture can be used as a resource.

The other finding in this section is that it is difficult for teachers to use an expression of identity such as "ethnic/cultural background + national in a political sense", for example, such as "- (hyphenated) American" is difficult to be used by teachers because national identity in Japan is generally understood in an ethnic sense, and to expect immigrants' children to have "Japanese" identity is seen as replacing and denying their ethnic/cultural identities. Thus, we can understand that expressions such as "classmate", "peer (*nakama*)" and "nationality is irrelevant in teaching" are used to reflect teachers' sense of equality and to include immigrants' children.

We may conclude that the findings above centre on the question of ethnic/cultural diversity and equality. By looking at education and interviewing the teachers of immigrants' children, we can see a conflict between them. This question will be examined and discussed further in the following section.

5.5 Attitudes toward Immigrant Cultures

In the previous section (5.4), I analysed teacher expectations of immigrants' children's identities according to different types of national identities.

In this section, I turn to teacher attitudes toward immigrant culture, and describe its association with the image of "Japanese". I explore why teachers support maintenance/adaptation, and examine what kinds of culture are to be maintained/adapted, as well as the cases in which they should be maintained/adapted. This will give us an insight into the research question of this thesis: why many more Japanese people are sympathetic to the idea of maintaining ethnic minority cultures.

Through understanding teachers' views of immigrants' culture, a conflict between ethnic/cultural diversity and equality, in other words, whether respecting and celebrating ethnic/cultural backgrounds promotes equality or not, will also be discussed.

5.5.1 Overview of the Results

Table 5-4 summarises teachers' answers to the question below about immigrant cultures.

Table 5-4-A: Summary of Answers Regarding Attitudes Towards immigrant Cultures

| | Raw Answer | Recoded by the Author |
|------|------------|-----------------------|
| Both | 9 | 20 |

| | | |
|--------------|----|----|
| Maintain | 11 | |
| Adaptation | 2 | 3 |
| Can't choose | 1 | 0 |
| Don't know | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 24 | 24 |

Table 5-4-B: Answers regarding Attitudes toward Immigrant Cultures

| Teacher's ID | Interviewee Answer | Answered Coded by the Author |
|--------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------|
| A | Unclear | Both (Maintenance) |
| B | Maintenance | Maintenance |
| C | Don't know | Don't know |
| D | Don't know | Both (Maintenance) |
| E | "cannot make a firm statement" | Both (Maintenance) |
| F | Both | Both (Maintenance) |
| G | Maintenance | Both (Maintenance) |
| H | Maintenance | Maintenance |
| I | Unclear | Both (Maintenance) |
| J | Maintenance | Both (Maintenance) |
| K | Maintenance | Both (Maintenance) |
| L | Unclear | Both (Maintenance) |
| M | Adaptation | Adaptation |
| N | Maintenance | Maintenance |
| O | Maintenance | Adaptation |
| P | Both | Both (Maintenance) |
| Q | Both | Both (Maintenance) |
| R | Adaptation | Adaptation |
| S | Both | Both (Maintenance) |
| T | Maintenance | Both (Maintenance) |
| U | Maintenance | Maintenance |
| V | Both | Both (Maintenance) |
| W | Maintenance | Maintenance |
| X | Both | Both (Maintenance) |

I told teachers that it was not necessary to choose one of the options, if they

could not find their answers there, and asked them to instead describe what they think about the topic of the question in general. As shown in the left column of Table 5-4-A, of 24 teachers, 9 felt that it is good that the different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions, as well as adapt and blend into wider society. 11 teachers answered that maintenance is better, and 2 teachers answered that adaptation is better. 1 teacher said that she could not choose, and another teacher said that he did not know. After they chose their answers from the options, I questioned them in detail. Based on the detailed answers, I recoded their answers as shown in the right column in Table 5-4-A. 20 teachers were recoded now that they have a favourable attitude toward both maintaining a culture and adapting into wider society. People may tend to emphasise the maintenance of culture, although they think that there are certain restrictions on it. Such restriction may be taken for granted. This may demonstrate why many more people in Japan are in favour of the maintenance of the immigrants' culture, rather than their adaptation into the Japanese dominant culture. I recoded 3 teachers' answers to "adaptation". The reason why I recoded "maintenance" and "both" into one category as "both" is summarised below.

Diversity at home and "rules" in public

Interestingly, the detailed descriptions of their ideas revealed that those who answered "both" and "maintenance" actually share a common idea. Most teachers who

supported the idea of the maintenance of minority culture referred a certain limitation of the maintenance, in fact. They argued that ethnic minority cultures should be maintained as long as the “rules” in schools and/or society were not broken. They shared an idea that it is important to obey the rules in daily life in Japan and adapt to the Japanese way of life in public space, while being free to follow their own customs and traditions at home and within the small ethnic communities.

I therefore recode “maintenance” and “both” into one category as “both”, as shown in Table 5-4. They differ in the degree of stress put on the importance of maintaining distinct customs and traditions of immigrants. This idea will be elaborated on further with the interview quotations in the following sections.

Table 5-5 summarises teachers’ answers regarding their images of “Japanese” and their attitudes toward immigrant culture.

Table 5-5: Summary of Teachers' Answers Regarding Image of "Japanese" and Attitudes toward Immigrant Culture

| Dimension | Group | Characteristics of Important Things in being Japanese | Attitude toward Immigrant Culture | Teachers |
|-----------|-------|---|-----------------------------------|---------------|
| Civic | I | Administrative (Citizenship) | Both Maintenance and Adaptation | A, G and V |
| | II | Subjective (Feeling oneself to be Japanese) | | E and P |
| | III | Administrative and Subjective | | L, Q and Q |
| Cultural | IV | Cultural | Both Maintenance and Adaptation | D, F, I and O |
| | V | Cultural or Ethnic | | R and N |
| Ethnic | VI | Ethnic | Both Maintenance and Adaptation | K |
| | VII | Ethnic or Civic | | M |
| | VIII | Other | | C |
| | IX | Don't Know | | B and T |

Teachers who had a civic image of "Japanese" all agree on the maintenance of immigrants' distinct culture with certain exceptions, and teachers who had cultural or ethnic images of "Japanese" have two different views: maintaining immigrant culture

with certain exceptions, and cultural adaptation into the dominant Japanese culture.

In the next section, I will describe and analyse the associations between teachers' images of "Japanese" and attitudes toward immigrants' culture.

5.5.2 Maintaining Immigrant Culture with Certain Exceptions of Adaptation into the Japanese Dominant Culture

The idea of maintaining immigrant culture gathered support from all types of national identity, as Table 5-5 above shows. I will describe and explain the ideas with quotations from their interviews, according to the different types of national identity: civic, cultural and ethnic. The patterns of associations described below are important in light of answering the research question in this thesis, because they provide us with evidence to prove that the idea of maintaining immigrant culture attracts people, regardless of their conceptions of national identity, even people with ethnic national identity.

Civic image of "Japanese" and Maintenance of Immigrant Culture

Teachers who have a civic image of "Japanese" all supported the maintenance of immigrant culture with some restrictions.

Teacher A stated that he expects immigrants to respect and follow rules and

customs in public, although it is good to maintain their traditions and customs in private.

| Teacher A, | |
|--|--|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| I think it is desirable for them to follow the rules, customs and traditions of the country in public space, and to maintain their own traditions and customs in their groups. So, publicly, I think they should respect the traditions and culture of the country. (...) Even in their groups, in public spaces such as in a restaurant or hotel, I think it would be better to follow (the rules), and to refrain from doing something uncomfortable to others. | 公的な場所では、やはりその国のルールや慣習や伝統を守っていく、尊重する態度が培われていけばいいと思いますし、内々のグループの中でその自分たちの出身の伝統や慣習などを守っていく、それもいいと思います。なので、公にはやっぱりその国の伝統や文化を尊重すべきだと思います。 (中略)グループ内でも、公のそういう、レストランとかホテルとかっていうところで、守らなければいけない、人に対して不快な思いをさせるようなことは慎んだほうがいいかなと思いますね。 |

Teachers G and Q also had a similar idea. Teacher Q said, “*it depends on the situation. In the neighbourhood where they live, it is better to adapt to the way of the majority and cooperate, such as the rules regarding taking out the garbage from home to the certain place, and evacuation drills. However, there are good things and good customs in each culture, so it is better to personally respect them*”. She contrasts the rules for groups in public and personal customs as examples of the adaptation and maintenance of culture, respectively.

Teacher V who teaches in a night-time junior high school said that she thinks

that it is good to maintain immigrants' distinct customs and traditions in principle, as long as they do not interfere with the other students or study.

Teacher V

(English)

In the situation where they can maintain their distinct customs and tradition, I think it is good to do that in light of respecting the country of origin. But, we cannot do that where we work. Then, we have to adapt to the majority's culture. In this school, Muslim students said that they want to pray. We say it is OK as long as it does not interfere other students or affect studying. There are also some things that they do not eat. So, we change their foods. School cooperates with them in that way. However, if they cannot fit into the other students activities, it means that they are not up to school life. We do not prohibit their customs: we do not deny them as long as it is possible for them practice within school.

(Japanese)

固有の習慣とか伝統を守れる状況であれば、守っていくのがそれぞれのね、自分の母国を大切にしている意味っていうのはいいと思うんですね。でも仕事するときなんかはそんなこと言ってもらえないっていうのがありますよね。そうすると(イ) (数の多いん方の文化に合わせる)ってことになるので。この学校でもイスラム教徒の人とかがお祈りさせて欲しいとか。それは他の生徒の邪魔にならないように、勉強に差し支えない範囲でどうぞという形でやっていますし。食べ物なんかも、何は食べられないっていうような習慣もありますよね。そしたらそれも、その人だけ材料を変えたりして、学校としてはそういう協力はしていますね。ただ、他の人の活動に合わせられないというのであれば、学校生活には向かないということなので、妨げるわけではないですけども、この中でできることであれば別に否定はしていませんね。

She gave me examples of what schools do for cultural diversity, such as arrangements for the prayer time of Muslim students and for religious/cultural dietary habits. She said that they do that as long as it does not hinder their study, in principle.

Teachers E and L described the problem of balancing cultural diversity and becoming accustomed to the Japanese way of thinking and behaviour in schools.

Teacher E was not convinced fully about either maintaining ethnic minority culture or adaptation. She pointed out the difficulty immigrants' children had in getting along well in Japanese schools, when they stuck too much to their original culture, although she thinks that it is not desirable to deny their cultural background.

Teacher E

(English)

If people stick to maintaining their own traditions and customs too much, it is impossible to live together, but having said that, it is not desirable to deny their own identities in order to live together. We cannot intervene in which country's customs they follow at home, it is the place that the family's rules or the customs of the country they identify with should be followed. Then, when they come to school, they look free-spirited from the Japanese people's point of view. They wonder why there are such rules and restrictions. A student coming from a country where they do not have such rules or norms would wonder why people all behave in the same way. It is natural for Japanese people. It is natural that everyone does the same things and has the same things; carrying school bags and wearing the same school uniform, but it may be strange to the rest of the world. However, when someone lives in such a place where it is appreciated

(Japanese)

自分たちの持っている伝統や慣習、そのアイデンティティーを守っていくことに固執してしまうと、やはり共生はできないし、かといって、共生するために自分のアイデンティティーを打ち消していく方が望ましいかといったらそうではないので言い切れないとおもいますね。その家何人、どの国かっていうのは、そこは私達が介入できない部分なので、それは家族のルールであったり、その国の家族が思っている国のルールや習慣が保たれるべき場所だと思いますけど、学校に来て、わりと外国から来てる子ってわりと自由奔放な、日本人から見たらね、自由奔放なところがあり、なぜそういった規律があるのか、ルールがあるのか、というそういったルールや規律のない概念から来てる子にとっては、なんでみんな同じ動きをしているんだろうと捉えられたりしますよね。日本人にとってはそれが当たり前、みんなと同じことをするのが当たり前、同じものを持っているのが当たり前、ランドセル持って制服着

| | |
|---|--|
| <p>that people all behave together, if they actually learn how to behave as long as they can and they understand, - not forcing themselves to accommodate to the others - they may be able to get along well, especially in case of the children.</p> | <p>るのが当たり前だけど、世界からとったらそれはすごく軍隊的で、変…。かといって、やはりそういったみんなで行動することを大事にしていくところで生活し、生きていくのであれば、そういうことを気にしない民族だったらいいけれども、気にする人たちの中で生きていくのであれば、その子が大事にされる、自分自身が大事にされるっていうことを考えたときに、流れに流されるということではなく、様子を見て、自分ができる範囲で納得できる範囲で周りと同じように動いたり、合わせるのではなく、自然に動いちゃったとか、そういうことであれば、そのほうが子どもたちは仲良くできるんだらうなって。</p> |
|---|--|

As above, she does not always take a positive view of maintaining immigrant culture and she does not strongly agree with adaptation either. She expressed her conflict, that respect for ethnic/cultural background does not always encourage participation in Japanese schools and society for immigrants' children who have already started identifying themselves as Japanese, however at the same she knows that the school rules in Japan are something strange and unfamiliar for them, suggesting it is a part of Japanese culture.

Teachers P and W emphasised the importance of maintaining immigrants' first languages at home. Teacher P is particularly concerned about the academic underachievement of the immigrant students, and hopes that they become "*independent*

people who can pay their tax". That is why she focuses on the importance of developing linguistic abilities in their first languages. She said, "*they cannot think*" or "*cannot express their own ideas*" if they forget or have not developed their abilities enough in their first languages.

Teacher P

(English)

I think both are good. Of course, it is necessary for them to accommodate themselves to Japan. But, without their own identities, people cannot think, so it is the best to keep adapting to Japan, while they appreciate their own languages and cultures. ... Of course, there are things that they should definitely be adapted to, but it is not good to completely lose their own things. Teachers in Japan used to say, "please speak Japanese at home, too". That didn't work at all, conversely. It is OK if they always speak Japanese, but it is not well spoken. After all, I think it is important that people have their own first languages ("mother language" in literal translation).

(Japanese)

私は両方かなと思うんですけども、やっぱり日本に合わせる必要はあると思います。ただ、自分のアイデンティティーがないっていうのは、物を考えることができませんので、やっぱり自分の言葉とか自分の文化も大切にしながら、日本にも適応していくっていうのが一番いいなと思います。やっぱり溶けこまなきゃならないものっていうのは絶対ありますけど、でも自分のものをなくすっていうのは絶対によくない。一時期、日本の教員、日本の教師のなかで、家でも日本語話してくださいって。それは全然うまくいかない。逆に。お家でも全部日本語ならそれはそれで構わないけど、そんなうまい日本語ではないのでね。やっぱり自分の考えを自分の母語を持っていることが大事だなと思います。

In this way, her idea is that the maintenance of immigrants' first languages helps develop their academic achievements and the identities of "– (hyphenated) Japanese", that eventually promote equality and participation in society.

Similarly, Teacher W also mentioned the importance of maintaining immigrants'

first languages and ethnic identities.

As summarised above, teachers who define “Japanese” in a civic sense think that it is desirable for immigrants’ children to both maintain their distinct culture and to adapt into the dominant Japanese culture. They think it desirable to maintain religion, food customs and first languages, for example. They place certain restrictions on the maintenance of the practice of immigrants’ culture. They distinguish space as public and private, and expect immigrants to practice their distinct customs and traditions in private, or they approve the maintenance of immigrant culture on the condition that it does not interfere with the existing rules and practices.

Cultural Image of “Japanese” and Maintenance of Immigrants’ Culture

Teachers F, I, J, N, S and X emphasised that it is good for immigrants’ children to maintain their ethnic culture, but there are certain exceptions to this. The idea is basically the same as that of teachers who had a civic image of “Japanese”. I will summarise their views briefly, with some references to the interview transcript.

Similarly to the teachers who had a civic image of “Japanese”, as reported above, Teachers I, J and X said that it is good to maintain immigrants’ first language, religion, food customs and traditional practice, while they said that immigrants’ children

have to follow the rules in schools. Teacher I responded as below.

| Teacher I | |
|--|---|
| (English) First of all, I do not want them to forget their first languages. It is desirable that they develop their first language, while they can speak Japanese, so if they speak in their first language at home, I encourage them to continue that and not to forget it. (...) Then, I think it cannot be helped that they have to get accustomed to customs, the customs of our culture in school life. I think it would be great for them to maintain their traditions and culture. (...) They often bring sweets to school, or buy and eat them on the way home. They did those kinds of things before, but I think we have to teach them our rules and promises in Japan decently. (...) So, I think I want to let them spend their school lives in the same way (as the other students). | (Japanese) まず、あの、言語は、母語を忘れないで欲しいなっていうのはあるんですね。母語もきちっと確立させながら、日本語もできるのが一番理想だと思うので、もしご家庭で母語を使ってるんだったら、ぜひ使って忘れないようにしてくださいってことは、言っています。(中略)あとはやっぱり習慣ていうか、学校生活はね、こちらの方の習慣に慣れてもらわなきゃいけないので、それは、思いますね。あと、伝統とか文化とかはね、もうぜひ忘れないで、継承していければいいなと思ってるんですけど。(中略)結構学校にお菓子なんか持ってきちゃったりとか、そういうふうに、ね、買い食いしながら帰ってるとか、そういうのがちよつと、あったんですけど、やっぱりきちっと日本のね、ルールていうか約束はこういったもんだよって教えていかないといけないって思ってるんですけどね。(中略)なので、学校生活については同じように、きちっとやらせたいとは思っていますね。 |

| Teacher X | |
|--|---|
| (English) Basically, I think there are things to which they have to accommodate themselves in the Japanese way if they live in Japan, but regarding religious customs or traditional culture that they cannot lose from their identities, Japanese people should not tell | (Japanese) 基本的には、日本で生活していく上では、日本の中で合わせなければいけない部分ていうのもかなり出てくるとは思うんですけども、例えば宗教的なものだったり、絶対にこう、自分のアイデンティティの中から捨てられない伝統文化とか |

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| <p>them to accommodate Japan forcefully. So, to make it simple, I think it is good that they choose (what to maintain and what to give up). (...) It is good to practice their customs and traditions at home, while (adapting to the Japanese way) when they are outside home.</p> | <p>ってあると思うので、そこについては、例えば日本人が強制的に合わせてくれるというような言い方ではなくて・・・、だから自分の中で取舍選択すればいいのかなとは、簡単に言えば思います。・・・そうですね。(中略)家ではやっぱり自分の国とか、家庭の慣習だとか伝統をきちっとやりながら、1歩外出たときってというのは、そうですね、はい。</p> |
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Teachers F and S focused on maintaining ethnic/cultural identity, as follows.

Teacher F said that his idea fits into a combination of the maintenance of immigrant culture and adaptation, giving a few examples as below.

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| <p>Teacher F</p> | |
| <p>(English) I cannot find my answer in the options here. I think it is good to do both. I think they would be unhappy if they cannot adapt to Japanese culture, traditions or customs, as far as they chose to live in Japan. They would not be able to maximise their abilities and would be misunderstood by other people, if they stick to their own traditions and customs only. However, they do not need to lose them in order to adapt themselves to Japan. I think there are probably many things that they have to adapt themselves to, in fact. If they can wisely tell the Japanese people about where they are from, and about their culture and traditions, other people, especially in a country like Japan, would accept them I think. So, if I have to choose</p> | <p>(Japanese) これ僕、この中にないなあ。たぶん両立するっていうほうが僕は考えてます。えっと、日本という国で生活することを選んだ以上、日本の文化や伝統、慣習っていうものに合わせられないと、不幸になると思います。自分たちが持てる力を十分に発揮できないし、周囲から誤解されると思うんですよね。自分の国の伝統や慣習だけに固執すると。でも、それを捨ててまで、日本に合わせることもないと思います。でも、おそらくは、日本に合わせないといけない部分がたくさんできちゃうんだと思います。実際は。だけれど、私たちはこういう国の出身で、こういう文化慣習があって、っていうのを、なんていうんだろう、それこそ賢く周りの日本の住民に伝えていけるような人だったら、なおのこと日本て国だから、余計に</p> |

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| <p>my answer from the options here, I would mix maintenance and adaptation.</p> <p>(...)In this school, well, probably in other schools as well, I guess, the students should not bring anything irrelevant to studying. Also, they should not overdress or use accessories (raffishness) in principle. There are people who do that due to religious reasons. Except for that, it is forbidden in Japan. We teach that it is divided: there is a place to be fashionable and a place not to be. For example, we do not drink in class. I think I would tell them this because it would be interesting for those who are going to live here, if they know those things and can follow them. In that sense, it is when in Rome, do as the Romans do.</p> | <p>受け入れられやすいんじゃないかと思うんですけどね。だから、このア(”独自の文化の維持”)、イ(”多数の文化に合わせる”)の中から選ぶとすると、ア(”独自の文化の維持”)とイ(”多数の文化に合わせる”)の折衷案になっちゃうんですけどね。どうしても。</p> <p>(中略)ここの学校では、まあどこもだいたいそうですけど、学用品と関係ないものは持ってこない。あと、必要以上の身だしなみ、装飾品は身につけてこないというのが原則ですから、宗教上の理由とかで、そういう方もいると思いますけど、そういうものでなければ、ダメなんだよ、日本では。おしゃれする場所とそうじゃないところってはっきり分かれてるんだよ。例えば授業中に飲み物飲まないでしょとかっていう。そういうところも、今後ここで生活していくあなたにとって、知ってて、分かってて、やれた方があなたにとってプラスになるからということはお伝えとおもいます。そういう意味では郷に入りては郷に従えですけど。</p> |
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As above, he spoke about personal belongings, how to dress appropriately in school, and behaviour in class as examples of the rules immigrants' children have to follow in school.

He also talked about a wise way to be accepted by the ethnic majorities in Japan.

He additionally said:

“I think people who can accommodate themselves to Japan would be loved more. Then, it would be good if they show their ethnic identities little by little. If they do so, other people would be interested in them and they would be able to have very interesting

communication. When you join people whose majority has a different culture, don't you think that you do it that way in order to be accepted?" (Teacher F)

Teacher N basically shares the idea, saying that:

"I have a basic principle that we give them the skills in order to live in Japan, while we expect them to respect their distinct culture at home, but..." (Teacher N)

However, he said that it cannot be so simply divided.

Teacher N

(English)

We talked about adapting to Japan in public, and practicing their own ways in private. It is true, but while I am working, honestly speaking, I feel that there are many things that we cannot distinguish so clearly. I have a basic principle that we give them the skills in order to live (survive) in Japan, while we expect them to respect their distinct culture at home, but when we think about whether it always solves the problem, obviously there are many things that overlap (public and private spaces).

(Japanese)

公の場は日本で、私的な場は母国でっていうお話しがちょっとあったと思うんですけども、正直大きく分けるとそれって確かにそうなんですけれども、なかなか間の部分でわけられない部分が多いというのが、現場にいるものとしては実感する部分なんです。学校で日本で生きていくための力を、ご家庭ではその独自の文化を大切にしてほしいという基本的なスタンスはあるんですけども、じゃあすべてそれで方が付けられるかというとなんなことありませんし、当然重複する部分っていうのは非常にでてきますのでね。

He gave an example of one student from China, who took very long time to learn Japanese and tried very hard to study for the entrance exam for junior high school. Then, he started forgetting to speak Chinese, as he started speaking Japanese. Teacher N said that he felt pity about the loss of his first language, while at the same time he was

happy about his academic achievement in Japanese.

The Ethnic Image of “Japanese” and Maintenance of Immigrant Culture

Teachers K, H and U who had an ethnic image of “Japanese” are sympathetic to the maintenance of immigrants’ children culture. Their views are again similar to those of teachers who have civic or cultural views of national identities.

Teacher K answered that it is better to maintain immigrant customs and traditions, but it depends on place. In other words, she thinks that there are certain situations where immigrant children have to accommodate themselves to Japanese culture, while she also highlights the importance of communicating their first languages at home. She expresses her opinion as below.

Teacher K

(English)

I think it is good to maintain their customs and traditions. However, it is not from morning to night, when it comes to politics and laws, I think either of them, no..., well, I want them to appreciate (Japanese culture) in a case where it should be appreciated, but in the other cases, I think it is good to maintain. I want them to speak their languages if the language at home is not Japanese. I personally think so. For example, though he is learning

(Japanese)

慣習や伝統は守っていくのがよいと思います。が、それは朝から晩まで生活の全てでということではなく、先ほどのメモで政治や法律って部分ではどちらかを、どちらかっていうか、つまり日本、日本でいう場面なら大事にして欲しいと思います。が、そうでない場面では、守っていくのが良いと思っています。・・・お家の中の言語が日本語じゃないのがメインならその言語でしゃべって欲しいなと思っています。私個人は。例えば、日本語を勉

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| <p>Japanese, if it is convenient for his father and mother to communicate in Chinese, or what should I say, in order to educate him in the words of what his father and mother want to say, if they can talk of their feelings better in Chinese, I want them to communicate in Chinese.</p> | <p>強していても、お家でお父さんお母さんとのコミュニケーションが中国語の方が便利というか、その方が、彼の、なんていうのかな、お父さんお母さんが言いたいことが彼を育てていくために、中国語の方が心が届くような話しができるなら、中国語でコミュニケーションとってほしい。</p> |
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She emphasises the importance of the connection with family members through maintaining first languages and ethnic identities. In her understanding, her ethnic national identity and preference for the maintenance of immigrant culture are linked by her hope that immigrant children have a firm relationship with their families by appreciating their ethnic or cultural background and maintaining their first languages and ethnic identities.

Teacher H answered that he hopes that the immigrants' children to respect their ethnic "roots" because opposing the Japanese culture denies their ethnic identities.

In this way, Teachers K, H and U, who define "Japanese" in an ethnic sense, support the idea of maintaining immigrant culture. This pattern of association between ethnic national identity and the maintenance of the immigrants' culture means a great deal to the research question in this thesis. It was theoretically expected that ethnic national identity is closely related to attitudes towards cultural assimilation, however it seems that the description above contradicts this expectation. Taking expectations about immigrant identities, written in the previous section, into consideration, this pattern of association

will be further discussed later in the conclusion of this chapter.

This section described and summarised how teachers with different types of national identities agree on the idea of maintaining immigrant culture, with some exceptions and conditions in which they expect cultural adaptation. In general, they think that it is desirable for immigrants' children to maintain their culture, such as religions, food customs, traditional ways of thinking, and first languages at home, and as long as it does not break the rules in schools and neighbourhoods, such as what to bring and how to dress properly in schools, behaviour in class, rules regarding taking out the garbage at home to certain areas, and evacuation drills in the neighbourhood. Those rules in schools and neighbourhood often seem strange and unfamiliar to immigrants, and are embedded in culture, however teachers did not express them as "culture". They were recognised as "rules", and seen differently to traditional culture.

Some of teachers pointed out the importance of maintaining the ethnic/cultural identity of immigrant students and their first languages because it contributes to their higher academic achievement and equal participation in the Japanese society. In contrast, other teachers pointed out that sticking too much to an ethnicity can sometimes discourage them.

What we have to note here is that not only the teachers who had a civic image

of “Japanese”, but also those who had ethnic ideas of “Japanese” share these ideas. It may largely account for the strong support for the idea of maintaining cultural diversity in Japan, given that people with an ethnic national identity account for a quarter of people in Japan, and would be three-quarters if we also count people with multiple national identities.

I will describe and summarise how teachers agree on cultural adaptation in the following section.

5.5.3 Adaptation to the Dominant Japanese Culture

Three teachers (Teachers M, O and R) expressed their agreement on cultural adaptation by immigrants’ children, rather than the maintenance of their distinct customs and traditions.

Teacher R has a cultural definition of “Japanese”, is concerned that society will be divided into several cultural groups, if each cultural group maintains their distinct culture, and argued that he prefers the idea of cultural adaptation on principle. He said that he tells his students in Japanese language class which customs of their ethnic culture are incompatible with Japan, while he tries to respect the “*good points*” about immigrants’

ethnic culture at the same time.

| Teacher R | |
|---|--|
| (English) | (Japanese) |
| If I have to choose, I think it is good to adapt to the majority. If we say that it is good to maintain their distinct customs and traditions, there will be various communities. There are Filipino communities and Korean communities, as well as China town etc., however, I think it is important to adapt to Japanese life and to Japanese society, and to blend into Japan, as one country, while maintaining their individuality at the same time. (...) What we teach in Japanese language class is that we respect each other, what they need to do to live in Japan, and what Chinese customs do not fit into Japan. In this way, the basis is Japan. Having Japan as a basis, I try to respect the good points of each culture. | まあどちらかと言えば、イ(数の多い方の文化に合わせる)の方ですかね。固有の慣習や伝統を守っていくのが良いという、そのコミュニティができちゃうでしょ。それはやっぱり日本の中で、フィリピン社会とか韓国社会とか。中華街とかいろいろあるかもしれないんだけど、やっぱりね、自分の国を独自性っていうのはもちながら、やっぱり日本での生活、1つの国、日本での社会に適応していく、溶け込んでいく。うん。というのが、大切かなと思って。 (中略) 日本語学級で教えてるのは認め合って、独自の、日本の生活していく場合はこういうところまで必要だけど、中国にいたときのこういう風俗習慣とか、こういう習わしとかは日本にちょっと合わないぞとかね。そういう形で、まあベースはやっぱり日本ですけどね。やっぱりそれを土台にして、それぞれのいいところはね、認めるようにはしてるんですけどね。 |

Teacher O, who defines “Japanese” culturally, started her answer, by saying that she prefers the idea of the maintenance of immigrant culture, however, we can understand from what she said in details that her view is closer to adaptation.

| Teacher O | |
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| (English) | (Japanese) |

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| <p>I personally think that the Japanese culture is diminishing now, isn't it? I am deeply concerned about it. For example, in music class, when Shamisen and other Japanese music is played, then, I heard from the music teacher, the students voice doubts because they have not heard that. I do not think it is good, so I actively introduce Japanese things. (...) I have to enlighten students that Japanese culture is great, I think.</p> | <p>私自身は日本の文化が今すごく少なくなってますよね。それがすごく危惧していますのでね。(省略)例えば、音楽の時間に三味線や和風の音楽をかけます。そうすると、音楽の教員から聞いたんだけど、えって子どもの声があがるそうです。聞いたことがないから。で、私はそれはイヤなので、積極的に和風のもの入れてるんですよ。(省略)日本の文化はとてもいいんだってことをどっかで啓蒙していかないといけないんだらうなあって私は思います</p> |
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Teacher O's argument is derived from her concern about the diminishment of traditional Japanese culture. For example, she says that she "*do(es) not think it is good*" that the students do not know the Japanese traditional music played with the *Shamisen* (a three stringed instrument which looks similar to a guitar and a banjo). She also said that she tries to teach the students in her school the traditional Japanese tea ceremony, flower arrangement etc.

She also said,

"Chinese children do not practice their cultural things at home. I think they do not have such cultural things at home. It seems Filipino families like home decoration and they have a variety of it, but Chinese people... mmm, I think they have enough to do to live" (Teacher O)

What we learn from her statement above is that she believes that immigrants' children do not know very much about their ethnic culture, and children from China especially do not practice their traditional customs. Her perspective on immigrant cultural backgrounds is close to that of Teacher E. Teacher E also claimed that immigrants'

children do not know very much about their ethnic customs and are not willing to talk about them. Conversely, Teachers P and K pay particular attention to the use of immigrants' first languages and argue that respecting their ethnic/cultural backgrounds can promote their higher academic achievement. This indicates that whether a teacher sees that immigrants' children have their own ethnic/cultural resources is related to their approach to encouraging higher academic achievement.

Similarly to Teacher O, who preferred the idea of cultural adaptation, Teacher M, who had an ethnic definition of "Japanese", is deeply concerned about the diminishment of Japanese traditional culture and values. She particularly mentions the effect of westernisation and globalisation, saying as "*we become unable to know which country it is*" and argues "*Japan should go its own way.*" She also talked about religious dietary rules and time for prayer as examples, and expressed her concern that it might be difficult for Japanese society to accept all such cultural differences. What she thinks should be maintained about Japanese traditional culture and values are its family system and cooperative relationships with neighbours. We can conclude that her argument is derived from her concern about the loss of Japanese traditional culture and values against the inflow of the other culture.

Teacher M

| | |
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| <p>(English)</p> <p>If I can talk about Japan only, I think it is good to maintain Japanese customs and traditions. Obviously, in private, they have various foods, seasonal events and so on. (...) Thinking about the strength and characteristics of the Japanese people, I think people often forget about Japan (Japanese culture). (...) We lose our own culture in that way and absorb so much from other cultures. And we often mimic Western countries, as expected. (...) If each cultural group maintains their distinct traditions and customs, then we will not be able to recognise which country it is. Then, I think that Japan should go its own way. So, I think it is good for minorities to adapt themselves to the majority. Talking about school, for example, I think school lunch is typical. Muslim people do not eat pork, and now because there are not many Muslims we say it is ok. Schools deal with it very well, but what if there are more people who say this not only about eating pork, but other various things..., prayer time, for example, then if we make a time for prayer at school, I do not think that's quite it. In that sense also, I think it is good to adapt to the majority's way.</p> | <p>(Japanese)</p> <p>日本に限定して言わせて頂ければ、やはり日本の慣習とか伝統をまもっていく方がいいと思いますね。えっと、どう考えてもプライベートはね、食べるものとか行事とかそれぞれあると思うので。 (中略) やっぱり日本人の強さとかね、特性とか考えたときに、今本当に日本のことを結構なんか忘れちゃってる。(中略) そういう自分たちの文化捨てて、他からの文化の吸収が激しいっていうのがあったり、それからま、やっぱり欧米諸国の真似がなんでも多いと思うんですよ。 (中略) えっと、例えば、固有の伝統や慣習をまもっていくっていうのも、どこの国だかわかんなくなっちゃう。いっぱい人入ってきてますよね。でもやっぱりね、日本のこと考えたら、日本は日本でいくべきだと思うので。やっぱりイ(数の多い方の文化に合わせる)っていうふうに思いますね。でね、学校の中で言えば、例えば給食なんか典型的なものだと思うんですけども、あの、例えばイスラムの人がいますよね。そうすると豚肉食べないとか、ま、いろいろあるでしょう。で、今は人数が少ないし、え、どうぞって言って、この学校なんかもすごくよく対応してますけども、うーん、その豚肉だけじゃなくて、いろいろなことがね、例えばお祈りしたいとかね、もっと大勢になって、じゃあお祈りの時間をつくる、それに合わせるっていうふうに学校がなっちゃうとね、やっぱり違ってくるかなみたいに思うのねー。そういう意味でも、イ(数の多い方の文化に合わせる)がいいかなと思いますね。</p> |
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As above, the three teachers who had cultural or ethnic images of “Japanese”

are sympathetic to the cultural adaptation of the immigrants. They are concerned about the loss of Japanese traditional culture or cultural unification in the country, and prefer cultural adaptation by the immigrants. For them, the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture may have a negative impact, such as the loss or breaking of the majority Japanese culture.

It would be necessary to investigate further what the "Japanese culture" that they do want to protect mean. In other words, what kind of elements of "Japanese" culture they are concerned of being broken or lost by the immigrants, traditional culture or rules and norms in the Japanese society? This thesis has a limitation in this respect, as I did not go further to ask this question precisely. With a deeper understanding of what kind of culture they expect the immigrants to adapt themselves to, the

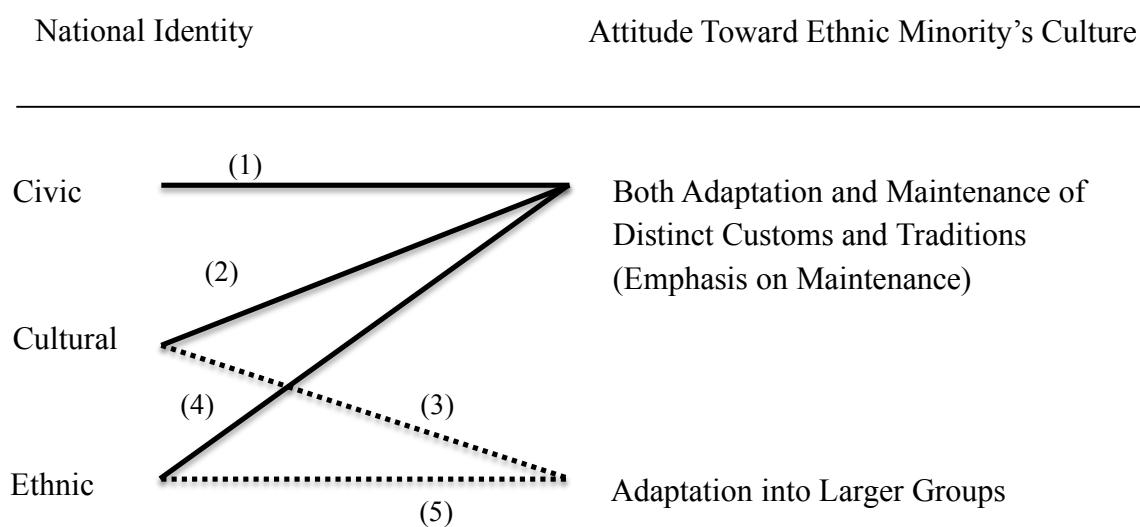
5.5.4 Summary and Discussion: Culture to be Maintained and to be Given Up

As written above, I have analysed teachers' attitudes toward the immigrants' culture in relation to different conceptions of national identities. The purpose of this chapter, particularly in this section, is to investigate what makes people with different types of national identity support the maintenance of ethnic minority cultures in Japan.

Chart 5-1 summarises and illustrates these associations. To sum up, 8 teachers,

whose images of “Japanese” are defined in a civic sense, all agree on both the maintenance and adaptation of culture (illustrated as the association (1) in Chart 5-1). Among 8 teachers, who define “Japanese” people culturally, 6 teachers agree on the maintenance (2), while 2 teachers agree on the adaptation of culture (illustrated as the association (3)). Among 4 teachers, who see an ethnic national identity of “Japanese”, 3 teachers agree on both adaptation and maintenance (emphasising maintenance) (4), and 1 teacher agreed on the adaptation of immigrant cultures (illustrated as association (5)).

Chart 5-1: Associations between National Identity and Orientations to Immigrant Cultures



To answer the research question of this thesis, what should be highlighted here is that both people with the civic national identity and the ethnic national identity favour the immigrants’ cultural adaptation and the maintenance of a distinct culture. People who

have cultural national identity are also sympathetic to the same idea.

Regardless of the types of national identities, many teachers are in favour of the maintenance of immigrant cultures as long as they do not break the rules in schools and public space. It is thought to be desirable for immigrants to maintain their first languages, ethnic/cultural identity, religion, food, and traditional customs and way of thinking in private, as long as it does not break social rules in public space, such as in Japanese schools and in the neighbourhood. Quantitative study of ISSP 2003 found that the vast majority of people in Japan, regardless of one's conceptualization of national identity, favour the idea of maintenance of ethnic minority's culture. What this chapter can add to this finding is that they favour the idea as long as it does not break the rules in schools and public space in Japan.

Teachers who have a civic image of "Japanese" agree on the maintenance of minority culture using the same logic as the theory of multiculturalism and multicultural education in "western" countries. The idea of maintaining immigrant cultures based on the cultural national identity means being closer to cultural separation: a situation where a variety of cultural groups exists in the same society and each cultural group maintains its cultural identity.

What we should note is that teachers who have an ethnic image of "Japanese" are also sympathetic of the idea of maintaining immigrant culture as long as it does not break the rules in schools and public space in Japan. Ethnic national identity and culture

of the immigrants' children's are appreciated due to educational considerations, and anti-assimilation and anti-discrimination attitudes. It draws a situation where each ethnic/cultural group preserves its ethnic identity, practicing their distinct customs and traditions: ethnic separation.

This association between ethnic national identity and support for the maintenance of immigrant cultures is one of noteworthy characteristics of Japan. Given that the national identity of people is generally concentrated on the ethnic dimension⁷⁸, it provides us with important evidence to account for such strong support for the maintenance of ethnic minority culture in Japan, observed in ISSP 2003, as well as the popularity of the multicultural coexistence policies and discourses.

Combining the results from Sections 5.3 to 5.5, the relationships between national identity and attitudes towards immigrant cultures will be further discussed in the conclusion of this chapter (5.6). The meaning of the favourable attitudes toward the maintenance of the immigrants' culture and cultural adaptation into the dominant Japanese based on the different types of national identities contributes to a discussion, whether the Japanese society puts assimilative pressure to the immigrants or it separates "non-Japanese" from "Japanese" in order to maintain its image of ethnic/cultural "purity"

⁷⁸ As reported in Chapter 3, the ethnic and multiple (both ethnic and civic) national identity accounts 80% of the people in Japan.

Dimension of Culture

According to answers from teachers about attitudes toward immigrant culture, it is found that the word “culture” has various meanings depending on the teacher, and on the situation they explain. Table 5-6 summarises the dimensions of culture.

Table 5-6: Dimensions of Culture

“Ethnic” Culture to be Given Up = Customs that most of the teachers do not expect the immigrants’ children to bring into school, and something that breaks the rules and customs in public

(Ex.) Buying and eating sweets on the way home from school (seen as ‘bad’ student behaviour), Clothes and accessories in school (sometimes seen as ‘too gaudery’ for school), etc.

“Ethnic” Culture to be Maintained = Traditional culture, something that most of the teachers expect the immigrant children to maintain in private, and something that does not break the rules and customs in public

(Ex.) Religion, Food, Seasonal Events, Traditional Customs, First Language, etc.

“Culture at Meta-Level” (Japanese) = Rules in public (school, neighbourhood etc.), social norm and manner, national language, something that immigrants are expected to learn

(Ex.) Queuing on the Train Station, School Uniform, School Rules such as what can/cannot be brought into school, Not to buy and eat/drink on the way from/to school etc.

“Western” Culture and Values = Democratic values, human rights, anti-racism, anti-discrimination etc.

(Ex.) Law

Note: “Culture at meta-level” and “local culture” may be differently distinguished in elementary and junior high schools. Pupils in elementary schools learn about traditional Japanese events more often than students in junior high schools. Japanese language teachers in elementary schools teach traditional and seasonal Japanese events to immigrants’ children.

It is thought that the rules and norms in Japanese schools and society (“culture

at meta-level (Japanese)” in Table 5-6) are adapted, however it is not always seen as “culture”. These rules and social norms may be seen as local or ethnic (“Japanese”), from “western” culture’s point of view, as well as from the immigrants’ point of view, and this may be the main reason why Japanese schools have been criticised as assimilative, ignoring ethnic/cultural differences. However, it is taken for granted, and seen as culturally neutral by most teachers, and thought to be something that people, regardless of their ethnic backgrounds, should be shared and followed in public. Thus, it is not seen as something that denies the ethnic identity of children nor is it seen as imposing Japanese “ethnic culture”. Immigrants’ children are not expected to be adapted to traditional Japanese culture or “ethnic (Japanese) culture” because it is negatively recognised as assimilative, a manner often criticised, while they are expected to follow the rules even if it is something embedded in Japanese culture. It seems this “culture at meta-level” provides us with a multicultural situation in Japan with very basic norms to be shared among the various ethnic/cultural groups. We may conclude that this is a part of “key values” (Castle 2004) or “a single set of culture in the public domain” (Rex 1986).

By contrast, when they talk about what they expect immigrants’ children to maintain, “culture” often means something that they practice at home such as religion, food, seasonal events and traditions. Its maintenance is encouraged, as long as it does not break the rules in public, by teachers who are sympathetic to the maintenance of immigrant culture and adaptation to Japanese culture.

It would be more interesting if I could explore the contents of “Japanese” culture that is expected to be protected by the teachers with ethnic/cultural national identity who favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the immigrant children. What are expected to be protected about “Japanese” culture, and how it fits into this dimension of culture (Table 5-6) needs to be investigated in the future research.

The mechanism of multicultural co-existence: giving an order to ethnic and cultural diversity based on a single set of values (“culture at meta-level”), while containing a variety of traditional culture in private, looks quite similar to the idea of multiculturalism. In the theory of multiculturalism, Castles (2004) calls such a single set of value as “key culture”, Rex (1996) calls as “a single set of culture in the public domain”, or Jopkka (2004) calls it as “liberal minimum”. However, the differences between multicultural co-existence and multiculturalism lie in (i) multicultural coexistence (*Tabuna kyosei*) in Japan does not assume the possibility of ethnic minorities’ becoming “Japanese”, and (ii) culture the immigrants are expected to adapt themselves to (“culture at meta-level”) is embedded in the majority Japanese culture. We may regard them as “key values” or “a singles set of culture in the public domain” in Japan⁷⁹.

Regarding “western” culture in Table 5-6, it is often taken for granted, much more than the rules in Japanese schools and society (“culture at meta-level”) , thus most

⁷⁹ This suggests us that “key values” (Castles 2004), “a singles set of culture in the public domain” (Rex 1986), or “liberal minimum” (Jopkka 2004) in “western” culture are not “universal” culture, therefore we cannot naturally expect them to be shared among the various cultural groups. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis, and needs to be further considered in the future.

of teachers do not highlight the importance of respecting the law and political institutions in being Japanese. Obeying the law is thought to be irreverent to whether someone is Japanese or not. We can reasonably imagine, however, when some practice of ethnic traditional culture or religion by the ethnic minority breaks the law or principle of the society, obeying the law will be recognized as something that gives a sense of belonging to the state more clearly. The culture, which is often seen as “universal” or “taken-for-granted” becomes visible.

Therefore, we could observe “key values” in Japan (“culture at meta-level”) and “key values” in “western” culture (“western” culture and values) in education for the immigrants in Japan. The immigrant children are expected to adapt themselves into both of them in the public domain. “Key values” in “western” culture (“western” culture and values) are more invisible than “key values” in Japan (“culture at meta-level”) because the former is taken for granted more than the latter.

One of the differences between multicultural coexistence in Japan and multiculturalism in “western” culture lies in this existence of plural layers of “key values”. “Key values” in Japan is one of the characteristics of the integration of the immigrants in Japan. It may be the reason that the Japanese people are seen as culturally assimilative to the immigrants, as Kang (1998) argues, because “key values” in Japan are determined automatically by the majority, and there is no space for the minorities to negotiate.

Moreover, taking Japan as a case, we can further consider whether “key values”

in “western” culture can be taken for granted. Though it is beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be considered how we could leave sufficient room for the minorities to negotiate and discuss the contents of such “key values” with the majority.

Cultural Diversity and Equality

The interview analysis in this chapter reveals that there are 3 different perspectives of the ethnicity and culture of immigrants’ children.

There are cases where the children’s ethnic or cultural backgrounds become a useful resource for academic achievement. For example, many teachers point out that it is particularly important for immigrants’ children to speak their first languages at home, because it helps not only in developing vocabulary and cognitive ability in their first languages, but also improving Japanese language skills and developing their ethnic identities. In this respect, a first language is seen as a resource for the development of identities and higher academic achievement. We may understand that first language is something immigrants’ children are expected to maintain as shown in Table 5-6. It implies that there are something in the immigrants’ culture that are not expected to maintain, more strictly speaking, expected to be given up (at least in school and in public space in Japan).

Conversely, there are some cases where the students have strong ethnic identities and pride, and are not able to adapt to Japanese schools, and return to their original countries in the end. It gives us evidence to demonstrate that the ethnicity of the

children does not work well for equal participation. We may understand that strong ethnic identity in this case is not something they are expected to maintain. It indicates that there are something in the immigrants' culture that are supposed to give up or not to bring into the Japanese school by the teachers. It is seen that they are not useful for promoting their higher academic achievement in the evaluation system of the Japanese schools, or they possibly break the norms and order of the Japanese schools.

The two kinds of cases above indicate that the children have their original ethnic/cultural background. In addition to these two perspectives, there is also a perspective that immigrants' children do not know much about their original countries and culture. From this perspective, the immigrants' children are seen more clearly as the object to be socialised. And they are regarded similarly with the ethnic/cultural majority students, except for the Japanese language ability. In this sense, the school culture is assimilative in order to educate Japanese, as Kang (1998) points out, and such linguistic difference is perceived as the children's individual difference or personality (Shimizu and Shimizu, 2001).

Since how well the students practice the rules in school matters to their evaluation, in other words, the two goals of multiculturalism - the right for equality and the right for being culturally different - are interrelated in schooling, analysis in schools enable us to observe the conflict between respecting cultural diversity and promoting equality. Thus, teachers often feel pressure to compete with values that are being taught

in mainstream culture (Berry 2005 and 2009; Rudmin 2009).

5.6 Conclusion: Integration and Separation

In order to solve the puzzle of this thesis, why the idea of maintaining ethnic minority cultures attracts such strong support in Japan compared to other countries, a statistical analysis using the international social survey data, ISSP 2003 was undertaken in Chapters 3 and 4. International comparison of the results highlighted that Japan has an exceptionally large proportion of the people with ethnic conceptualization of national identity, and the vast majority favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minorities' culture.

This result indicated that both people with ethnic national identity and civic national identity supported the maintenance of ethnic minority cultures in Japan, and led us to the question: how do people with ethnic and civic national identity understand the idea of maintaining ethnic minority cultures, and why do they support it? It was hypothesised that the idea of maintaining ethnic minority cultures means different things to people who define "Japanese" in a civic sense, and in an ethnic sense. For people who define "Japanese" in an ethnic sense, it may not mean multiculturalism, but is close to separation because the concept of ethnically defined "Japanese" cannot include people of other ethnicities or cultures. Understanding the association between ethnic national identity and support for the maintenance of ethnic minority cultures provides us with a

key to explain the puzzle in this thesis because most Japanese people have ethnic or both (ethnic and civic) conceptions of national identity. The interviews with the schoolteachers who teach immigrants' children were therefore conducted to understand their images of "Japanese", views of the immigrants' children's identities and thoughts about the immigrants' children's culture: why, of which aspect and to what extent they expect the immigrants' children to maintain their distinct culture. The teachers of the immigrant children can be regarded as "pioneering case" because they are exposed to contacts with the immigrant children and their parents, and have many experiences of teaching them. Therefore, we may expect that the teachers' views on the identities and culture of the immigrant children may have an effect on the policy making of education for them in the near future.

Chart 5-2 below summarises the findings of this chapter. This chapter started by exploring teachers' views about what is important in being Japanese. The 3 dimensions of the image of "Japanese", ethnic, civic and cultural, were found. Some teachers consider whether someone has Japanese nationality and/or feels themselves to be Japanese in order to regard them as Japanese, other teachers decide whether someone practices the Japanese way of behaviour and thinking and/or has lived in Japan for most of their life, and other teachers determine whether someone has Japanese ancestry. Expectations about immigrants' children were then investigated for each type of national identity. We could

see that there was a moderate tendency for teachers who have a civic image of “Japanese” to prioritise immigrants’ daily life and study, rather than the question of identity; those who have a cultural image of “Japanese” have two different views, expecting immigrants to maintain their ethnic/cultural identity, or to become “Japanese” in a cultural sense, and those who have an ethnic image of “Japanese” and take their ethnic “roots” seriously, hoping that the immigrants have a firm relationship within their family through maintaining the ethnic identities and practicing the distinct culture. Finally teachers’ opinions about immigrants’ children’s culture were scrutinised. Teachers who had a civic image of “Japanese” supported maintenance of immigrants’ culture ((1) in Chart 5-2), and teachers who had a cultural and ethnic image of “Japanese” had two different views, the maintenance of immigrant cultures (2 and 4) or cultural adaptation into the dominant Japanese culture (3 and 5).

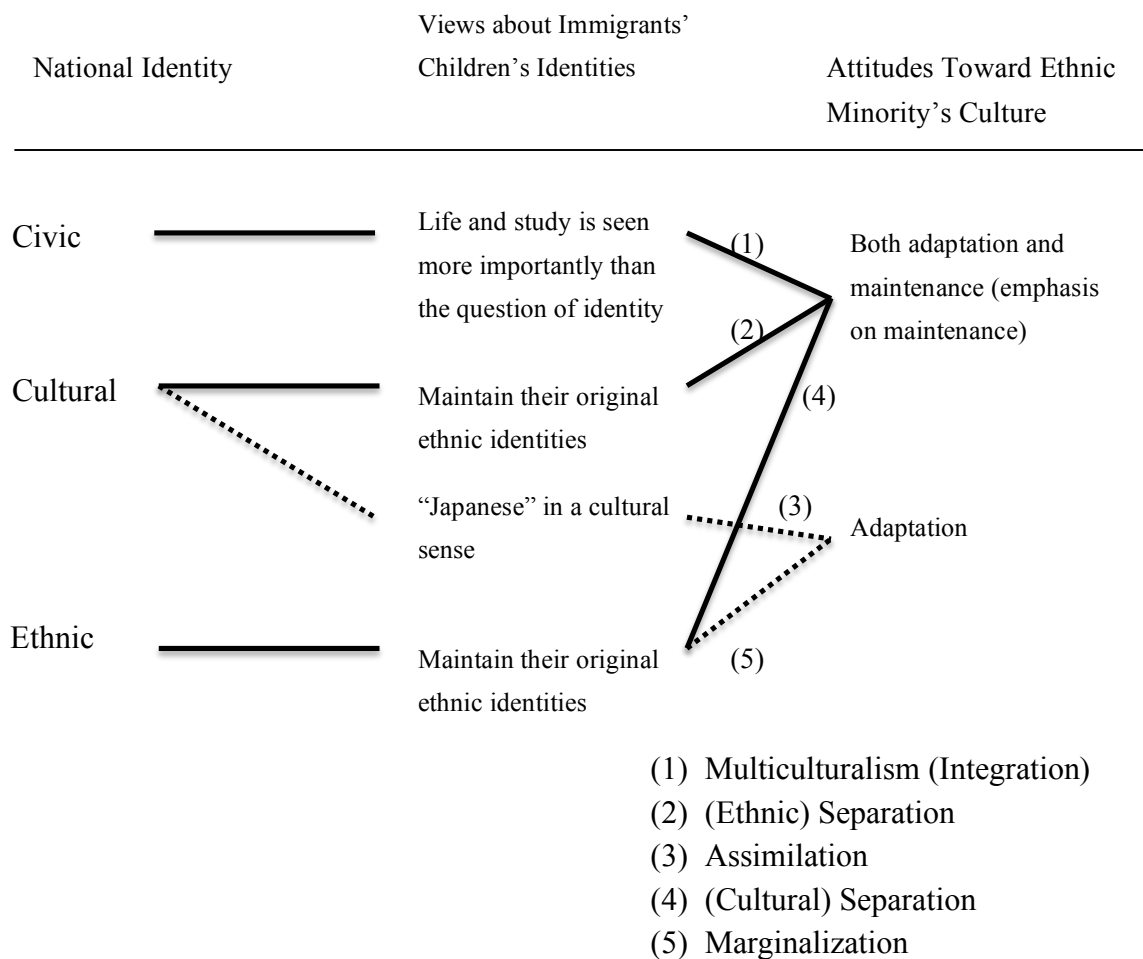
When we look at the overall results, teachers’ intentions behind the expectation that it is desirable for immigrants’ children to maintain their ethnic identities are similar, regardless of their different images of “Japanese”: they try to encourage children’s academic achievement and participation in Japanese society through respecting their ethnicity and culture. However, taking their conceptualizations of the national identities of Japan into consideration, their ideas can be described differently.

We may conclude that the teachers’ different views of national identity and attitudes toward the immigrants’ identities and culture are as follows. The idea of the

maintenance of immigrants' culture based on the idea of a civic image of "Japanese" as multiculturalism by which "Japanese" identity in a civic sense is shared, enabling "(hyphenated) Japanese" identity, to contain the various cultural groups in a nation (illustrated as the relationship (1) in Chart 5-2). The same idea based on the cultural or ethnic image of "Japanese" may be understood as separation, preserving immigrants' own ethnic identity and culture (2 and 4). The Japanese people are assimilative in respect of following the social rules as Kang (1998) argued, and they are separating or excluding the ethnic minorities in respect of identity as Burgess (2004) and Okubo (2008) argued, at the same time. As some academics argue, they favour the idea of multiculturalism, but they do so in order to separate ethnic minorities from pure "Japanese" by emphasising their cultural differences (Burgess 2004; Okubo 2008; Tai 2007; Nagayoshi 2011).

We may also understand the idea of cultural adaptation by immigrants to dominant Japanese culture based on the cultural image of "Japanese" as assimilation: people regardless of their race or ethnicity become "Japanese" if they learn the Japanese language and way of thinking(3); and the same idea based on the ethnic image of "Japanese" as marginalization, maintaining the ethnic minorities' identities, but culturally affected by Japanese dominant culture (5).

Chart 5-2: Relationships between Teachers' National Identity, Views about Immigrants' Children and Culture



The findings in this chapter lead us to conclude that both civic and ethnic national identities support the maintenance of immigrants' culture, as long as it does not break the rules and customs in public space in Japan. Additionally, cultural identity also supports the maintenance of the immigrants' culture. Among the people who have the strong ethnic national identity, there are some people who favour the idea of cultural adaptation by the ethnic minorities, especially when they are worried about the loss or

change of Japanese traditional culture by the effect of globalization.

Comparing the results of the interview analysis and the statistical analysis of ISSP 2003, the implication of the result of this study, focusing on the schoolteachers' views on the identities and culture of the immigrant children, therefore, can be summarised in the three points as follows.

First, the majority of the teachers interviewed in this study have the civic or cultural conceptualization of Japanese national identity, while among the general population in Japan, or the respondents of ISSP 2003, more people have ethnic conceptualization of Japanese than civic conceptualization. We may not be able to generalize the result of the analysis of the teachers too much. We cannot precisely conclude what are the reasons of the difference between the two results; it may be because of a particular characteristic of educators, having the sympathetic attitude toward the immigrant children in terms of equality of right, or because they are experienced and know a lot about the difficulties immigrants face with etc.

Secondly, the result of the interview analysis of the teachers' view on the culture of the immigrants children may be applicable to the general population's view in Japan. The majority of the teachers put an emphasis on maintaining ethnic minority's culture, though what they actually argue is that they support the idea as long as the rules in public spaces in Japan are not broken. Also in ISSP 2003, the majority of the respondents support the idea of maintenance of ethnic minority's culture. This result suggests us that the

support for the idea of maintenance of ethnic minority's culture by the respondents in ISSP 2003 actually mean that the support of the idea with a condition that the rules in public space in Japan are not broken.

Thirdly, the reason why the teachers with ethnic/cultural/civic national identity support for the idea of maintenance/adaptation of culture, found in this chapter, may also be applicable to the general population in Japan. The support for the idea of maintenance/adaptation of culture has different reasons depending on the conceptualization of national identity. Thus, the favourable attitude toward multiculturalism can be interpreted as multiculturalism or separation, while the favourable attitude toward adaptation can be interpreted as assimilation or marginalization.

Therefore, we may be able to conclude that the vast majority of the general population in Japan support the idea of maintenance of ethnic minority's culture as long as it does not break the rules and customs in public space in Japan. This is actually the central idea to multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*). Following the rules and customs in Japan by immigrants is taken for granted by the majority Japanese, thus it is not likely to be recognised, such as the result of ISSP 2003 and the prevalence of multicultural coexistence policy in local governments and municipalities.

Finally, what does multicultural coexistence mean, particularly in the history of nationalism in Japan? The myth of ethnic homogeneity in Japan is constructed after WWII (Oguma 1995), and the people in Japan believe in and are willing to maintain that myth of ethnic homogeneity (Befu 2001; Lie 200). The discourse of cultural uniqueness of Japanese (*Nihonjinron*) became prevalent in '70s and '80s, when the internationalization of the Japanese economy was aimed at, and many Japanese people go out from the country. The discourse of cultural uniqueness of Japanese (*Nihonjinron*) had an effect on maintenance and preservation of national identity (“secondary nationalism” (Yoshino 1992))⁸⁰.

Now, the idea of multicultural coexistence has been introduced Japan in the context where it receives more and more immigrants, particularly after the change of basic immigration policy in '90s. Confronting the ethnic and cultural differences within the country (although Japan has been ethnically and culturally diverse) more visibly, they may even more strongly try to maintain their “purity” of national identity.

What we found from this thesis is the rise of “tertiary nationalism” by which they preserve its solidarity (or isolation) based on ethnicity and rule-based culture, intentionally or unintentionally, and encouraging the ethnic and cultural diversity within a nation.

⁸⁰ The term is defined against “primary nationalism” that tries to build a nation.

One of the characteristics of the discourse of cultural uniqueness of Japanese (*Nihonjinron*) was “social culture”, meaning group orientation of the Japanese and social values supporting it. We can observe that the cultural nationalism exists in some teachers’ definition of “Japanese”. However, in the discourse of multicultural coexistence, the people do not perceive such group oriented, rule-based culture as “culture”, rather they regard it as “rules”.

The theoretical implication of the findings of this thesis will be further discussed in Chapter 6: Conclusion.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This study investigated why many more people in Japan have a favourable attitude toward maintaining the ethnic minority's culture than in other countries, found in ISSP 2003. The popularity of multicultural discourse in Japan is consistent with this ISSP 2003 result, however it contradicts previous studies arguing that Japanese culture puts assimilative pressure on immigrants (Kang 1998; Tsuneyoshi 1996). If Japan places strong assimilative pressure on immigrants, it would be natural for more people to favour the idea of immigrants' adaptation to the majority's culture.

The theory of multiculturalism in 'Western' countries is developed based on the idea of civic national identity and multicultural citizenship. In contrast, it has been said that Japan has a strong ethnic and cultural national identity (Oguma 1995; Yoshino 1992; Befu 2001). Therefore, it raises the question of why those who have an image of "Japanese" in an ethnic and cultural sense support the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture. What does multicultural coexistence, that shares the common idea

with multiculturalism mean in the context where there is a strong ethnic and cultural national identity?

I have applied a mixed-method approach to answer this research question. In Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis, I statistically analysed the association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority's culture in Japan, in comparison with the other 8 countries: Great Britain, Germany, France, the United States, Australia, Canada, Sweden and South Korea, by using ISSP 2003 data. Then, in Chapter 5, I carried out a qualitative analysis of interviews with teachers in schools in two Japanese cities, where there are many immigrant children. Interview analysis enabled us to understand the mechanism of the association found by statistical analysis. In other words, we can investigate why the idea of maintaining the immigrants' culture or their adaptation to the dominant Japanese culture is supported by people with different conceptualizations of the national identity of Japan.

The reason why this study focuses on teachers enables us to understand what kind of ethnic minority's culture is expected to be maintained, and under what condition they expect that, because education is a process of socialization of children and they expect the children to maintain/give up certain values and customs. It also enables us to understand the logic behind the associations between different attitude toward ethnic minority's culture and different conceptualizations of national identity, then accordingly

why the idea of maintaining the immigrants' culture has outstanding support in Japan, where the ethnic and cultural conceptualization of national identity is dominant.

In Chapter 3, I started with an overview of the nature of national identities in the 9 countries. I examined to what extent the traditional two distinctions of national identity – ethnic and civic – is applicable to Japan, in comparison with the other countries. Also, the proportion of the different conceptualizations of national identities in Japan was compared to those in the other countries.

What we learned from Chapter 3 is that the traditional two distinctions of national identity is generally applicable, and the people in Japan concentrate much on the ethnic dimension of national identity, rather than the civic dimension. The percentage of people with ethnic national identity is exceptionally higher than those in the other countries.

In Chapter 4, the relationship between different conceptualizations of national identity and attitudes toward the ethnic minority's culture was analysed in Japan and the other 8 countries.

What was found in Chapter 4 was that (i) the pattern of association between national identity and attitude toward the ethnic minority culture in Japan is not exceptional: the people with ethnic national identity are more likely to favour the idea of the immigrants adapt to the dominant culture; however (ii), what is exceptional about

Japan is its low percentage of support for the idea of the immigrants' adaptation to the dominant culture. The majority of both people with ethnic national identity and civic national identity favour the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's distinct culture, rather than the immigrants' adaptation into the dominant Japanese culture.

The findings of Chapters 3 and 4 above, therefore, lead us to question why people both with civic and ethnic national identity support the maintenance of the ethnic minority's culture, rather than the ethnic minority's adaptation to Japanese culture? What is the meaning of the idea of maintaining the ethnic minority's culture for those people with ethnic national identity? Then, the findings from the analysis of the interview with teachers who teach the immigrant children in Japan in Chapter 5, provided us with an account for such exceptionally strong support for maintaining the ethnic minority's culture.

What we found from the interview analysis in Chapter 5 was that regardless of the types of national identities, many teachers favour the maintenance of the immigrants' culture as long as it does not break the rules in schools and public spaces. Some elements of the immigrants' culture are encouraged to be maintained because it is thought that they promote the children's academic achievement, while other elements of the immigrants' culture are expected to be relinquished because they contradict the rules and norms in public spaces in Japan. It is thought to be desirable that immigrants maintain their first languages, ethnic/cultural identity, religion, food, and traditional customs and way of

thinking in private, or as long as it does not break the social rules in public space.

From the perspective of non-Japanese in a cultural sense, the expectation for the immigrants' children to follow the rules and norms in public spaces in Japan is assimilative. However, from the perspective of the ethnic majority teachers these are often taken for granted as “key values” (Castles 2004) in Japan, because such rules and norms give a conformity and order in the public domain.

As for the teachers who have the civic image of “Japanese”, they agree on maintaining the immigrants' culture with the same logic of the theory of multiculturalism and multicultural education in Western countries, attempting to realize cultural diversity and socio-economic equality (academic achievement in the school context). What we have to note that teachers who have an ethnic or cultural image of “Japanese” are also sympathetic to the idea of maintaining the immigrants' traditional culture, but that adapting to the Japanese rules and norms is not seen as culture from the majority's perspective.

Given that the national identity of the people is generally concentrated on the ethnic dimension in Japan,⁸¹ it provides us with key evidence to account for that the outstanding support for the maintenance of the ethnic minority culture in Japan, as observed in ISSP 2003, as well as the popularity of the multicultural coexistence policies

⁸¹ As reported in Chapter 3, the ethnic and multiple (both ethnic and civic) national identity accounts for 80% of the people in Japan.

and discourses.

In conclusion, the theoretical implications of the findings of this thesis, therefore, can be summarized in two aspects: as a contribution to an academic and political discussion of multiculturalism, and to an academic discussion of Japanese nationalism.

In the study of ethnic relations, although it has been argued that people with an ethnic national identity are more likely to support the idea of assimilation (Arends-Tóth and Vijver 2003; Hjerm 2000; Sniderman and Hagendoorn and Hagendoorn and Hagendoorn 2007; Verkuyten 2006; Verkuyten and Brug 2004; Kivisto 2004). Nagayoshi (2011) found that in Japan, those with ethnic national identity are more likely support the idea of multiculturalism, but they are less likely to support the idea of promoting equal rights for ethnic minorities. She concluded that the result implies the Japanese people – intentionally or unintentionally – marginalize the ethnic minorities, by emphasizing the ethnic minority’s “otherness” (Nagayoshi 2011). In fact, it has been argued that the people in Japan are hostile toward assimilation and often separate foreigners (Dale 1986; Itoh 1998). In addition, some academics argued that the Japanese people endorse the idea of multiculturalism, in order to separate ethnic minorities from pure “Japanese” by emphasizing their cultural differences, thereby marginalizing them (Burgess 2004; Okubo

2008; Tai 2007). Tai (2007) claimed that multiculturalism in Japan does not stress national unity, but it is used to exclude ethnic minorities, and solidify Japanese national boundaries.

By contrast, in the study of immigrant education in Japan, the school culture has been criticized as being assimilative to the ethnic minorities (Kang 1998), ignoring ethnic differences based on the idea of equality. Shimizu and Shimizu (2001) claimed that after the educational reform in the '80s, ethnic difference is perceived as the students' individual difference or personality, because of the effect of individualization.

This thesis extended the research interest of these studies reviewed above, and further explained the mechanism of why, in which aspect and to what extent the people in Japan expect immigrants to adapt to the dominant Japanese culture, and to maintain their distinct culture.

By interviewing schoolteachers in Japan, this thesis found that they expect immigrant children to follow the rules in public spaces, while they expect them to maintain their first languages and traditional customs, as long as it does not break the rules and customs in the public spaces in Japan. Thus, the Japanese put assimilative pressure on the immigrants as Kang (1998) argued, and separate them from "Japanese" as Burgess (2004) and Tai (2007) argued.

The rules in public spaces, that the teachers expect the immigrants to follow, are a part of Japanese culture from the immigrants' perspectives, however they are not seen as culture by the majority of teachers and are taken for granted. Or if they are seen

as a part of culture, they think that they cannot be helped. Such rules in public spaces in Japan are similarly viewed as “key values” (Castle 2004) in the theory of multiculturalism, which gives conformity and order to those with ethnic and cultural diversity. That is why the teachers rarely recognize it as adaptation to the majority’s culture by the immigrants’ children⁸², rather they tend to emphasize their sympathetic attitude toward the idea of maintaining the immigrants’ culture.

It is also thought to be desirable for the immigrants to maintain their first languages, the traditional values and customs, as well as their ethnic identity as much as possible because it is thought that preserving their distinct culture and ethnic identity helps to develop their self-esteem, and consequently encourages them to compete with the pressure of assimilation and discrimination.

Therefore, the similarities between the idea of multiculturalism and multicultural coexistence in Japan, is that they both have an idea that the different ethnic and cultural groups accept on the one hand a single culture, and on the other a variety of folk culture in the private or communal domains. On the other hand, one of the differences between the two ideas is that the former assumes both “key values” in Japan and “key

⁸² What I have to emphasize here is that although the majority expect the minority to follow the rules embedded in the majority’s culture, this is not equivalent to the French assimilation model, because the minorities are rarely regarded as Japanese by following the rules, rather it is thought to be desirable to maintain their ethnic identity. (As reported in Chapter 5, there are a few exceptions in which the teachers recognize the immigrants’ children who are familiarized with the Japanese dominant culture to a great extent as Japanese or “very Japanese”).

values” in “western” culture (Castle 2004), and “key values” in “western” culture are more invisible and taken for granted more.

The other difference is that adaptation to Japanese domestic rules and customs by the immigrants does not give them equal rights with the ethnic majority in Japan. They are not regarded as Japanese by conforming to those rules; rather it is thought to be desirable for them to maintain their ethnic identities because this promotes equality through higher academic or socio-economic achievement. They are expected to be remain different from the ethnic/cultural “Japanese”. This difference derives from the different conceptualizations of national identity, on which multicultural coexistence (*Tabunka kyosei*) in Japan and multiculturalism in “western” culture are based. Strong ethnic and cultural national identity keeps the immigrants different from the “Japanese”.

The other theoretical implication of this thesis is with regard to nationalism in Japan. I argue, from what we found from the thesis, that multiculturalism in Japan, or multicultural coexistence signifies a contemporary version of Japanese nationalism: “tertiary nationalism”.

As Oguma (1995) argued, the myth of ethnic homogeneity of Japan was invented after WWII. And the myth has been believed in and maintained by the Japanese people (Befu 2001; Lie 2000). More recently, in the '70s and '80s, the discourse of the cultural uniqueness of Japan (*Nihonjinron*) became prevalent, and Yoshino (1992)

defined it as “secondary nationalism, meaning nationalism concerned with preservation and maintenance of national identity, against a ‘primary nationalism’ that tries [to] effect [the] creation of a nation that does not yet exist”.

What this thesis revealed is that “tertiary nationalism”. It is a nationalism that attempts to preserve and maintain its national boundary based on its ethnicity and traditional culture on one hand, and at the same time attempts to spread its rule-based culture to other ethnic and cultural groups within a nation, on the other, although the ethnic and cultural minority groups are not recognized as “Japanese” by adopting to the rule-based culture. The strong emphasis on ethnicity and culture, most prominent characteristic of Japanese nationalism, is consistent through “primary nationalism”, “secondary nationalism” and “tertiary nationalism”. However, what distinguishes tertiary nationalism from “secondary nationalism” is that it was brought about because of increasing ethnic and cultural diversity within a state.

“Tertiary nationalism” is the response of the Japanese ethnic and cultural nationalism to the growing ethnic and cultural diversity *within the nation*, particularly after the '90s, when the basic immigration law was changed, whereas “secondary nationalism” was a phenomenon that we could observe in the '70s and '80s, when internationalization of the Japanese economy became a significant issue, and more and more people experienced ethnic and cultural diversity *outside the nation*. In other words, “secondary nationalism” was a response to *external* diversity, while “tertiary nationalism”

is a response to *internal* diversity.

Another difference between “secondary nationalism” and “tertiary nationalism” lies in the perception of a rule-based culture. In the discourse of the cultural uniqueness of Japan in the ’70s and ’80s (*Nihonjinron*), “social culture” (Yoshino 1992), meaning group orientation of Japanese and the social values supporting it, was seen as one of the characteristics of Japanese culture, which distinguishes Japanese from other ethnic and cultural groups. In the “tertiary nationalism” that I suggest, by contrast, such group orientation of the Japanese is expected to be shared by the ethnically and culturally diverse people within a state. However, such group orientation is often not regarded as a part of “culture”; rather it is regarded as the basic rules, providing the ethnic and cultural difference with a conformity and order. In this respect, “rules” or “culture at meta-level” according to my analysis of dimensions of culture in Chapter 5 is regarded to be similar with “key values” in the theory of multiculturalism. Therefore, multicultural co-existence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) is a new form of cultural nationalism by which Japanese rule-based culture is taken off its label of “culture”, and survives in the era of increasing ethnic and cultural diversity, without being recognized as cultural adaptation. Multicultural co-existence (“*Tabunka kyosei*”) in Japan and multiculturalism elsewhere has a sympathetic attitude toward the ethnic minority’s culture by respecting and celebrating cultural diversity. However, they have contrasting attitude toward the diverse culture within a state: multicultural co-existence preserves a majority’s cultural nation within a culturally

diverse state, while, as Castles (2004) states, multiculturalism abandons the myth of homogeneous and monocultural nation state (Castles 2004).

Teachers advise the ethnic and cultural minorities' children to pick up "good" things from both culture (Japanese and the ethnic minorities') in order to make a balance between cultural diversity and equality. They play a significantly important role to guide them by telling them what they have to adapt themselves to and what is better to be maintained. From the perspective of cultural nationalism, teacher's role is to take off the label of "culture" from the rule-based Japanese culture. Thus, multicultural co-existence education in Japan, though it has been developed to criticize the assimilationist education and to respect the cultural diversity, actually helps Japanese cultural nationalism survive through the era of ethnic and cultural diversity without being recognized as cultural adaptation.

Therefore, multicultural coexistence (*"Tabunka kyosei"*) in Japan where the people generally have strong ethnic and cultural national identity, is a new form of ethnic and cultural nationalism, "tertiary nationalism", meaning a nationalism which (i) has been brought about by confronting the growing ethnic and cultural diversity within a nation, particularly after '90s in Japan, and (ii) tries to preserve its rule-based culture and to spread it to the ethnic minorities by taking off its label of "culture", (iii) though not incorporating them to a member of a nation, but (iv) expecting them to maintain their ethnic identity and traditional culture (in the aim of socioeconomic equality, nominally).

The generalization of the findings of this thesis has a certain limitation because of the proportion of the immigrants' ethnicity in the schools of the interviewed teachers. As reported in Chapter 5, the main ethnic groups in the schools I visited were Chinese and Filipino. They are so-called "newcomers" to Japan, in contrast to "old comers", many of whom are Koreans who were forced to migrate to Japan before and during the wartime and their descent in Japan. The interviewed teachers rarely mentioned the descent of Korean "old comers", though it is natural that there are Korean "old comer" children in the schools⁸³. In addition to their historical background, they are different from "new comers" in many respects: having permanent residency, their degree of assimilation because they are now third and fourth generation, having similar appearance with ethnic "Japanese" etc. Therefore, an investigation into the impact of the introduction of multicultural coexistence to Korean "old comers" would lead us to draw a different picture of integration of ethnic minorities in Japan. This requires further research.

Similarly, the interview with the teachers in the areas where many Brazilian new comers live would provide us with a different picture of how they define "Japanese" and non-"Japanese", and what they expect the children to learn about Japanese culture

⁸³ The main reason why they rarely mention Korean "old comers" is probably because of their fluency in speaking Japanese, and because the problem of underachievement is less likely to be seen compared with the "new comer" immigrant children, as well as because they are "invisible" in terms of appearance and cultural tradition, as explained in Chapter 1 (p.7-11). I mainly asked the teachers of Japanese language, thus their focus was on their students who were mainly "new comers".

and give up among the Brazilian culture. As the social distance to Japanese are different depending on ethnicity or nationality, as I reviewed in Chapter 1, the ethnic composition of the children in the interview areas may have an effect on the teachers' views on the immigrants' identities and culture. This thesis produces an important part of a picture of multicultural coexistence in Japan (*Tabunka kyosei*), however, further studies on more areas of various local background is necessary to have more pieces to complete the whole picture of multicultural situation in Japan.

Appendix A: Codebook for Quantitative Analysis

Question: National Identity (A)

Some people say that the following things are important for being truly [nationality84]. Others say that they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

- (i) *To have been born in [country]*
- (j) *To have [country nationality]*
- (k) *To have lived in [country] for most of one's life*
- (l) *To be able to speak [country language]*
- (m) *To be a [religion]*
- (n) *To respect [country nationality] political institutions and laws*
- (o) *To feel [country nationality]*
- (p) *To have [country nationality] ancestry*

| Answer | Code | |
|----------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Original Variable | New Variable |
| Very important | 1 | 5 |
| Fairly important | 2 | 4 |
| Not very important | 3 | 2 |
| Not at all important | 4 | 1 |
| Can't choose | .b | 3 |
| NA, refused | .c | . |

Note:

“NA” indicates “No Answer”. “. (dot)” indicates that it was dropped out from the analysis.

Question: National Identity (B)

How much do you agree with the statement below.

It is impossible for people who do not share [country's] customs and traditions to become fully [country nationality].

| Answer | Code | |
|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Original Variable | New Variable |
| Agree strongly | 1 | 5 |
| Agree | 2 | 4 |

⁸⁴ [Nationality] and [country] in the question are substituted by each country's nationality (i.e. “truly British”, “truly Japanese”, “a true American”). (ISSP 2003 National Identity II - ZA3910 – Codebook: http://www.info1.gesis.org/dbksearch/file.asp?file=ZA3910_cdb.pdf)

| | | |
|----------------------------|--------|---|
| Neither agree nor disagree | 3 | 3 |
| Disagree | 4 | 2 |
| Disagree strongly | 5 | 1 |
| Can't choose | 8 (.b) | . |
| NA, refused | 9 (.c) | . |

Note:

“NA” indicates “No Answer”. “. (dot)” indicates that it was dropped out from the analysis.

Question: Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority’s Culture

Some people say that it is better for society if different racial and ethnic groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions. Others say that it is better if these groups adapt and blend into the larger society. Which of these views comes closer to your own?

| Answer | Code | |
|---|-------------------|--------------|
| | Original Variable | New Variable |
| It is better for society if groups maintain their distinct customs and traditions | 1 | 0 |
| It is better if groups adapt and blend into the larger society | 2 | 1 |
| Can’t choose | 8 (.b) | . |
| NA, refused | 9 (.c) | . |

Note:

“NA” indicates “No Answer”. “. (dot)” indicates that it was dropped out from the analysis.

Socioeconomic Factors (Control Variables of Logistic Regression Analysis in Chapter 4)

| Original Variable | | New Variable | |
|-------------------|-------|--------------|------|
| Label | Code | Label | Code |
| Age | | | |
| age | | age_group | |
| under 35 | 15/35 | under 35 | 1 |
| 36/55 | 36/55 | 36/55 | 2 |
| 56/98 | 56/98 | 56/98 | 3 |
| Na, refused | (.b) | Na, refused | (.) |

Gender

| | sex | | gender |
|-------------|-----|--|--------|
| Male | 1 | | 0 |
| Female | 2 | | 1 |
| NA, refused | | | (.) |

Employment Status

| | wrkst | | employment |
|--------------------------|-------|--------------------|------------|
| Employed | 1 | Employed | 1 |
| | 2 | | |
| | 3 | | |
| Unemployed | 5 | Unemployed | 2 |
| Housewife | 4 | Housewife, Helping | 3 |
| Helping Family | 8 | family | |
| Student | 6 | | 4 |
| Disabled | 9 | | 5 |
| Not in the Labour Market | 10 | | |
| Retired | 7 | | 6 |
| NA, refused, DK | (.a) | | (.) |
| | (.c) | | |

Residential Area

| | urbrural | | residencial_are a |
|-------------------|----------|------------|----------------------|
| Urban | 1 | Urban | 1 |
| City | 2 | City, Town | |
| Town | 3 | | 2 |
| Country | 4 | Country | 3 |
| | 5 | | |
| Not Available, NA | (.a) | | (.) |
| | (.b) | | (.) |

Education(2)

| | degree | | education |
|-------------------------|--------|-------------------------|-----------|
| No Formal Qualification | 0 | No Formal Qualification | 1 |

| | | | |
|------------------------------|-----------|------------------------------|-----|
| Lowest Formal Qualification | 1 | Lowest Formal Qualification | 2 |
| Above Lowest Qualification | 2 | Above Lowest Qualification | 3 |
| Higher Secondary Completed | 3 | Higher Secondary Completed | 4 |
| Above Higher Secondary Level | 4 | Above Higher Secondary Level | 5 |
| University Degree Completed | 5 | University Degree Completed | 6 |
| Other Education | 7 | Other Education | (.) |
| NA, DK | (.a) (.b) | NA, DK | (.) |

Notes: (1) "NA" indicates "No Answer". "DK" indicates, "Don't know". ". (dot)" indicates that it was dropped out from the analysis.

(2) The variables of education for each country is summarised below.

Appendix B: Additional Information to Chapter 2

B-1. Survey Questions Translated into Japanese

Question: National Identity (A)

ある人を本当に日本人であると思なすためには、下記の a～h のようなことが「重要だ」という意見と「重要でない」という意見があります。あなたは、どの程度「重要だ」と思いますか。それぞれについて1つだけお答えください。

| | (ア) | (イ) | (ウ) | (エ) | (オ) | 無 回 答 |
|------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| a. 日本で生まれたこと | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| b. 日本の国籍を持っていること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| c. 人生の大部分を日本で暮らしていること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| d. 仏教または神道の信者であること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| f. 日本の政治制度や法律を尊重していること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| g. 自分自身を日本人だと思っていること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| h. 先祖が日本人であること | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Question: National Identity (B)

下記のような意見を、あなたはどう思いますか。

| | (ア) | (イ) | (ウ) | (エ) | (オ) | 無 回 答 |
|-------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| 本当の日本人になるためには、日本の慣習や伝統を身につけなければならない | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

Question: Attitude toward the Ethnic Minority's Culture

1つの国に2つ以上の人種や民族がいる場合、「それぞれが固有の慣習や伝統を守っていくのがよい」という意見と、「数の多いほうのグループに合わせるのがよい」という意見があります。下記から、あなたの考えに近いものを1つだけお答えください。

- | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------|--------------|-----|
| (ア) 固有の慣習や伝統を守っ ていくのがよい | (イ) 数の多いグループにあわ せるのがよい | (ウ) わからない | 無回答 |

B-2. Letter of a Request for Interview (Japanese)

〇〇小学校

校長先生

拝啓 時下、益々ご清祥のこととお喜び申し上げます。

私は、イギリスのオックスフォード大学大学院社会学研究科博士課程に在籍中の高橋史子（たかはしふみこ）と申します。現在、博士論文の執筆にあたり、日本の外国籍児童教育からみるナショナリズムについて研究を進めております。この研究において、外国籍児童の教育に携わっておられる先生方の異文化に対する意識についてぜひうかがいたいと考えております。

今後、外国人労働者をはじめとして諸外国の人々が日本で長期的に生活することは増えていくことが考えられます。そのような状況を踏まえ、日本社会および日本人の外国人に対する意識はどのように変化していくのかを探るため、外国籍の子どもたちが比較的多く通い、教育実践を蓄積されている貴校の先生方の貴重なご経験について伺いたく存じます。

つきましては、貴校の外国籍児童の担任教員の方、国際教室または日本語学級の担当教員の方にインタビューをさせて頂けないでしょうか。自己紹介と調査の概要につきまして別紙にまとめました。別紙をお読み頂き、調査にご協力頂ける場合は、下記連絡先またはHPよりご返信頂けましたら幸いです。

ご多忙中大変恐れ入りますが、何卒よろしく願いいたします。

敬具

2013年2月22日

オックスフォード大学社会学研究科
博士課程
高橋 史子

CONTACT ADDRESS OMITTED

HP : <http://goo.gl/dTFSo> (パスワード : tabunka)

CV OMITTED

調査の概要

調査の目的

- ・ 本調査は、「外国籍児童／生徒の教育に携わる教員の異文化に対する意識」を探ることを意図しておこないます。
- ・ 論文全体のテーマは、日本の「多文化共生」に関するものです。その中で、特に教育分野に注目をして、外国籍児童・生徒をはじめとする文化的に多様な子供たちに日々接していらっしゃる先生方のご意見や文化に関する意識についてまとめる章を書きたいと思っております。
- ・ 本論文は、オックスフォード大学大学院社会学研究科のアンソニー・ヒース教授および荻谷剛彦教授の指導の下、博士論文としてまとめるためのものです。

方法

- ・ 外国籍児童／生徒の教育に携わる教員の方々へのインタビュー
国際学級／日本語学級の担当をされている方、外国籍生徒の在籍するクラスの担任の方に、異文化への意識等についておうかがいします。
貴校にてお話を伺わせて頂きたいと存じます。所要時間はおよそ 45～60 分程度の予定です。
 - ▶ 質問例 外国籍の生徒の母語や母文化は維持されるべきだと思いますか など

調査日程

- ・ お忙しいところ大変恐れ入りますが、2 月または 3 月中でご都合の良い日時を下記連絡先までお知らせ頂ければ幸いです。

調査にご協力頂ける場合は、

- 学校名
- ご連絡頂きました先生のお名前
- ご協力頂ける先生方のお名前（未定の場合は省略でも構いません）
- ご都合の良い日時（特定の日付でなく、曜日・時間帯だけでも結構です）を、下記連絡先または HP のフォームよりご返信頂きましたら幸いです。

連絡先

CONTACT ADDRESS OMITTED

HP : <http://goo.gl/dTFSo> (パスワード : tabunka)

何卒よろしく申し上げます。

B-3. Interview Questions (Japanese)

インタビュー

イントロダクション:

- 外国籍の子どもが多く学んでいる貴校でのご経験をもとに、先生のお考えをお聞かせ願いたいと考えております。
- 先生方のご経験やお考えをおうかがいするという趣旨ですので、「正解」があるような質問ではありません。
- インタビュー内容は匿名で書き起こし、書き起したデータは基本的に、私以外の人の目に触れないように保管します。録音は研究終了後、破棄します。
- 論文中、インタビュー内容を引用する場合がありますが、匿名かつ個人が特定されないよう留意します。
- 答えたくない質問があれば遠慮なくその旨お伝え下さい。

0. 始める前に...

- 0-1. お名前
- 0-2. ご担当の教科
- 0-3. 先生としての経歴は何年（くらい）ですか。
- 0-4. この学校に来られて、どれくらい（期間）ですか。
- 0-5. ご指導なさっている生徒／児童の人数と文化的背景を教えてください。

1. 「日本人らしさ」と民族間に関する質問（国際調査 ISSP2003 からの引用）

- 1-1. 1つの国に2つ以上の人種や民族がいる場合、「それぞれが固有の慣習や伝統を守っていくのがよい」という意見と、「数の多いほうのグループに合わせるのがよい」という意見があります。【カード①】を参考に、先生のお考えをお聞かせください。

【カード①】

- (ア) 固有の慣習や伝統を守っていくのがよい

- (イ)数の多いグループに合わせるのがよい
- (ウ)上記以外、または「～～の場合はア、～～の場合はイ」等のご意見（詳しくお聞かせください。）
- (エ)わからない／無回答

1-2. 上記質問の答えについて、なぜそのように思われますか。

1-3. ある人を（本当に）日本人であると思なすためには、下記のア～クのようなことが「重要だ」という意見と「重要でない」という意見があります。先生は、どの程度「重要だ」と思われますか。それぞれについて1つずつお答えください。

- (ア)日本で生まれたこと
- (イ)日本の国籍を持っていること
- (ウ)人生の大部分を日本で暮らしていること
- (エ)日本語が話せること
- (オ)仏教または神道の信者であること
- (カ)日本の政治制度や法律を尊重していること
- (キ)自分自身を日本人だと思っていること
- (ク)先祖が日本人であること

【選択肢】

- (1) とても重要だ
- (2) まあ重要だ
- (3) あまり重要でない
- (4) まったく重要でない
- (5) わからない
- (6) 無回答

1-4. (ア)～(ク)の答えについてなぜそのように思われますか。

2. 外国籍児童・生徒の言語・文化・アイデンティティーについて

2-1. 外国籍の子供たちは将来、日本語と母語の両方を話せた方が良いと思いますか。

2-2.それはなぜですか？

2-3.外国籍の子供たちの母語は学校で教えた方が良いと思いますか。（*実際、制度上、時間的制約等を考えると実施はなかなか難しいと思います。ただ、「公教育で母語を教えるべきだ」という考え方、反対に「公教育では母語は教えるべきではない」という考え方があるかと思しますので、あくまで個人的なご意見・ご感想で結構です。）

2-4.それはなぜですか？

2-5.外国籍の子供たちには出身国の歴史などを学校で教えた方が良いと思いますか。（*2-3と同様）

2-6.それはなぜですか？

2-7.外国籍の子供たちには出身国の習慣などを学校で教えた方が良いと思いますか。（*2-3と同様）

2-8.それはなぜですか？

2-9.外国籍の子供たち、国際結婚の両親を持つ子供たちに、将来どのようなアイデンティティーを持って欲しいと思いますか。（*下記に例をあげましたが、お考えをご自由にお聞かせください）

例（【カード③】）

- 「日本人」として生きて欲しい
- 「〇〇（出身国など）人」として生きて欲しい
- ダブル（ハーフ）として生きて欲しい
 - 「在日〇〇人」という感覚
 - 「〇〇系日本人」という感覚
- 「アイデンティティーについては特に考えないで欲しい
- 各家庭が考えることなので、学校や教員は考えるべきではない など。

2-10.それはなぜですか？

2-11. 上記の質問に取り上げた「在日〇〇人」(例 在日中国人、在日フィリピン人など)という表現は一般的ですが、「〇〇系日本人」(例 中国系日本人、フィリピン系日本人)は今のところあまり浸透している表現ではないようです。「〇〇系日本人」という表現について、先生はどのようにお考えになりますか。(＊下記に例をあげましたが、お考えをご自由にお聞かせください)

例 (【カード④】)

- 「在日〇〇人」という表現が適切で、「〇〇系日本人」という表現は不適切だ
- 「〇〇系日本人」というアイデンティティーを持つ人がいるなら、それは構わない
- 積極的に「〇〇系日本人」というアイデンティティーや表現が広がるように、日本国籍をとりやすくする等の法律や制度の変更を含めた動きが必要だ
- どちらでもよい など。

3. 「多文化共生」に関する質問

3-1. 「多文化共生」という言葉については、外国籍児童の教育で意識されていますか。

3-2. どのように意識されていますか。

3-3. 「多文化共生」について、良いと思うところ、あまり良くないと思うことはありますか。それぞれどのようなところですか。

3-4. それはなぜですか？

4. その他

4-1. 外国籍児童の教育、アイデンティティー・文化に関連して、おうかがいした内容に何か補足したいことや本研究に関するご質問はありますか。

ご協力ありがとうございました。

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