

**Global Human Rights and Contextualised Civic Learning:
A Case Study of Human Rights Education in Japan**

Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Michaelmas 2017

Thomas Meyer
St Antony's College
University of Oxford

Supervisors
Professor Takehiko Kariya
Professor Susan James Relly

Abstract

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While global human rights knowledge has become a central facet of curricula used to shape multicultural societies and develop cosmopolitan citizenry, such knowledge is shaped by sociopolitical context. Japan has a long history of incorporating human rights concepts into its citizenship curriculum; however, this curriculum is produced in a political context where there is resistance to extending rights to minorities and the disadvantaged, and where there are renewed attempts to emphasise traditional Japanese cultural values through education. Potential tensions have been recognised, yet little has been written about educational knowledge as end product, or its role in informing learner and teacher understanding of human rights. Intentions to promote inclusivity and new communal identities notwithstanding, this work establishes that the recontextualising discourse of human rights within Japan's school curriculum, as a discourse that regulates identity and citizenship, portrays the rights of marginalised and non-Japanese identities as privileges extending beyond the norm of society, while at the same time implicitly denying ethnic Japanese individuals full access to rights language. Thus, while learners regard human rights of value, many are less receptive and empathetic to rights claims made by non-like others, and are likely to consider society as incapable of embracing diversity. Human rights concepts possess symbolic value and weight; however, their symbolic importance can be easily embedded within particularistic notions of identity and nationality to ends contrary to multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism, which for this research was witnessed in their transformation into tools for cultural and political legitimacy by the Japanese State.

This research arrives at these conclusions through a systemic, holistic analysis of human rights learning in Japan that ties official knowledge to instructional and learning outcomes. This research is first a mixed-method policy sociology utilising computer-based analytical techniques to examine the structure and content of human rights knowledge within upper-secondary social studies textbooks representing Japan's official curriculum. This is followed by a comparative case study of two upper-secondary institutional sites of human rights learning, an academic, public coeducational western Japan senior high school, and a private Tokyo girls' senior high school, the primary differentiation being that the western Japan school is an explicit site of human rights learning, applying its own content and pedagogic practice as part of a specialised human rights curriculum designed to supplement the official curriculum. This research not only has implications for Japan in yielding a greater understanding of how the curriculum engages and reproduces identities and to what end, but also potentially to understand how similar tensions and contradictions between universal and particular play out in other national, State-sponsored education contexts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks go to Professor Takehiko Kariya of the University of Oxford Nissan Institute of Japanese Studies and Professor Susan James Relly of the University of Oxford Department of Education for their advice and assistance in the completion of this dissertation. Thanks also go to the many others whose assistance was invaluable toward completing this work.

This work was supported by the Great Britain Sasakawa Foundation under Grant Application 4670 and the Japanese Government (Monbukagakushō) Scholarship Program under MEXT No. 060465.

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Abbreviations and Shortened Terms

Capital	Second Optional Protocol on the Elimination of the Death Penalty
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child
HRE	Human Rights Education
ICCPR	International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights
ICESCR	International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
ICERD	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination
KWIC	Keyword in context (search)
Ministry of Education (‘the Ministry’)	Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT)
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OCR	Optical Character Recognition (software)
SHS	Senior High School
School Curriculum	the Official, National School Curriculum of Japan
SGO	Semi-governmental organisation
Textbook Council	Textbook Authorization and Research Council
Torture Convention	Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNDHRE	United Nations Decade on Human Rights Education (1995-2004)
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
WPHRE	Worldwide Programme for Human Rights Education (2005-2014)

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Human Rights Education: Origins, Definitions and Issues

Human rights language has been utilised within curricula designed to shape multicultural societies and develop cosmopolitan citizenries (Starkey 2012). Human rights represent claims for fundamental goods or freedoms that are essential for human beings to live a dignified life, and are commonly thought of as inviolable legal or moral rights possessed by virtue of one's humanity (Tomuschat 2017: 23). Thus, they are also, in Gerard Delanty's words, 'prior to all social orders' and are considered universal (Delanty 2000: 71). Organisations, governments and individuals within the field of education have taken up the language of human rights both in terms of the type of socio-political issues and education taught within schools, and to serve as guiding principles for education opportunity and structure. In classrooms, as concepts based on a common humanity, the benefits of human rights education are often predicated on providing a culturally agnostic forum by which to address issues of social justice and multiculturalism in context (Adami 2014: 296). This research focuses on the teaching of human rights and human rights-related issues ('human rights education') within State-sponsored, compulsory education, where much instruction on human rights likely takes place. The research is a mixed-methods study of human rights education in Japan, involving first a policy sociology of official curricula as represented by upper-secondary school textbooks, utilising computer-assisted text analysis and more traditional qualitative, discursive analytical methods. This is followed by a comparative case study of upper-secondary institutional sites of human rights learning where human rights education is used to address issues of social exclusion and marginalisation.

The research takes as its basic premise the work of Basil Bernstein, who intimated through his notion of pedagogic discourse that no knowledge or social practice is taught in its original form, but is reconstituted by an explicit or implicit set of principles ('recontextualising discourse') that reorders knowledge or practice into a form suited for pedagogic practice (Bernstein 2000: 28, 33). Much learning in a classroom can only be virtual: students do not learn first-hand about the plight of the disadvantaged in their society, but instead learn about such topics in a form representative of actual social events, phenomena and practices. Despite the inevitability of recontextualisation, human rights education research and advocacy is often wielded as a form of critical theory, where it is assumed that human rights, less their Western origins, can be transmitted unmitigated by context, and where the transmission of human rights as a curricular goal is embedded with the expectation that concepts will take on contextual significance to learners (McGowan 2012; Zembylas 2016). As educational knowledge is a major regulator of learners' experiences, like Bernstein's premise, this research takes a broader critical approach to evaluating human rights education by asking how forms of 'identity and relation are evoked, maintained and changed' by the recontextualisation of human rights knowledge, and to what end (1975: 85). While aiming for social betterment, it is conceivable that human rights and the educational experiences they engender instead inculcate social conformity that helps maintain social inequality. This potential exists with human rights education embedded within official curricula, which commonly interfaces State aims to instil or regulate civic and national identities, establishing

tensions or conflicting knowledge sets between the universalism of human rights and the particularism of State-defined identities. The comparative frame utilised here thus intends to contrast human rights learning as embedded within Japan's official curriculum with a specialised human rights education programme parallel to the official curriculum. Through a comparative approach, what differences in instruction and learning that arise from the differences in social setting and attitudes and how they connect to the broader social practice of human rights can hopefully be illuminated.

Japan has long incorporated cosmopolitan values and human rights within education for citizenship within its curricula, having borrowed heavily from the newly emerged cosmopolitan framework established by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in formulating its national school curriculum (School Curriculum) at the end of World War II (Saito 2010: 130-133). Dating back to at least 1960, official curricular guidelines have had stated aims to impart learners with an understanding of human rights. In addition to Japan's rhetorical and legal embrace of the notion of universal human rights as defined by the United Nations (UN), in 1997, as part of its participation in the United Nations Decade on Human Rights Education (UN Decade, 1995-2004), the Cabinet Office announced a National Plan of Action on Human Rights Education (National Plan), requiring schools to incorporate human rights education into their curricula. Issues to be addressed included social integration, women, children, the elderly, the disabled, Ainu ethnicity, foreigners, HIV-positive persons and former prisoners. Instruction on human rights is said to place emphasis on inclusiveness as well as recognising individual uniqueness and capabilities to enable new individual and communal identities (Takeda 2012: 89). In various regions of the country, there has also been a long history of locally informed, independent education programmes and specialised curricula for public schooling aimed at addressing discrimination and social injustice in society, some of which build directly upon human rights concepts and which supplant the School Curriculum even today. In recent years however, many politicians and educationalists have sought to revise education practice and the School Curriculum, making them more 'Japanese,' while at the same time retaining the curriculum's historical cosmopolitan framing (Saito 2010: 138-142). These changes have included new discourses of national and cultural identity aimed to instil cultural pride and respect for the Japanese nation. New, potential tensions between the universal and particular have therefore arisen, yet little has been written about curricular knowledge and learning outcomes as products of these reforms and tensions. This research has implications for Japan in yielding a greater understanding of how the School Curriculum engages and reproduces identities, as well as to what end, but also potentially to understand how similar tensions and contradictions between universal and particular play out in other national, State-sponsored education contexts.

Outline of the Present Work

The present work is composed of eight chapters. This chapter begins with a historical outline of the development of human rights education from an international perspective and looks at relevant issues connected to defining and implementing human rights education within official curricula, particularly the tensions that arise between the universalism of human rights and the particularism of citizenship

education in terms of how they may engage or disengage specific identities. As abstract concepts that depend on domestic legal systems and social power for their implementation, it is also asserted that the practice of human rights education in a given social context cannot be analysed apart from the social processes that construct its ultimate meaning. Through a review of relevant research literature it will be shown that prior study has not often taken up a holistic, systemic accounting of human rights instruction and learning, and by design has also not often questioned the intrinsic value of human rights education itself. Most literature on human rights education has acted as a form of critical social research in that the value of human rights and human rights education is often uncritically assumed, with the success of human rights education programmes and curricula judged primarily by the degree to which their content and outcomes match accepted definitions of human rights and specific programme aims. Having examined the methodological complexities associated with studying human rights education from a sociological standpoint, the chapter then maps out a preliminary research framework. The end result of this discussion are research questions that frame the research and drive appropriate research methods.

The first aim of the second chapter, 'Japan as Case Study,' is to further clarify the choice of Japan as an appropriate case study in terms of its importance for the study of human rights education, as well as the importance of human rights education for Japan itself. The choice of Japan as a case study for this research project is partly based on the Japanese government's acceptance of human rights education principles and its participation in the United Nations Decade on Human Rights Education. In this chapter, the research project is also identified as timely: due to a number of domestic social and economic factors, including rising juvenile crime and violence in the last several decades, as well as a perceived breakdown of traditional culture in society as a whole, there has been an upswing of interest in research in Japan on citizenship and moral education, as well as on education that deals with issues of social justice. As well, despite its economic success, Japan remains an anomaly among post-industrial nations with regard to several issues of social justice and human rights, namely continued disparities in socioeconomic status, in comparison to the general population, for women, the poor, and minority populations. The chapter also looks at historical domestic practice of human rights and human rights education, first by exploring Japan's international and domestic human rights policies. The general features of the Japanese education system that will be important in discussing aspects of this research are detailed for the reader. Relevant sites for human rights learning, which engage the research aims of comparing explicit and implicit sites of human rights learning, are finally identified.

The third chapter, 'Social Networks, Position Practices and the Sociology of Curricula,' puts forth an argument for a specific conceptual framework to guide analysis and exploration of human rights education in Japan. The key sociological task of this research is not only how to capture and assess attitudes and beliefs toward human rights, but to cast these beliefs and attitudes as part of wider social, and especially educational, processes. Thus, the discussion will first be centered on the underlying theoretical perspective for empirical research, before moving to methodology. Although this research takes as its basic premise the concepts and theories of Basil Bernstein, it will be argued that Ira Cohen's and Rob Stone's concept of position practices, an extension of social network and structuration theories, is an appropriate methodological framework to analyse human rights education within a systemic context, extending their ideas to include teaching and learning in the classroom (Cohen 1989; Stones 2005, 2006). The use of position practices is argued

for by addressing the limitations of more traditional theoretical frameworks within the sociology of the curriculum, namely Basil Bernstein's concepts of recontextualisation, as well as classification and frame, which are then repositioned within a research framework driven by Cohen and Stone's position practices.

Having established a theoretical perspective, Chapter 3 also provides an overview of the research design, methodology and sampling frames employed in the present work. The overall research design is analytically divided into two parts: the first division relates to the greater social and structural context, which deals with the general features of the education system and the School Curriculum, and the second relates to the *in-situ* context of the school. The macro-structural portion of the research explores the content and pedagogy of the School Curriculum as represented by official upper-secondary social studies textbooks. Textbooks are sampled as Japan's Ministry of Education refers to the textbooks officially approved for school use as the primary means by which the national curriculum is disseminated across the country. The chapter makes an argument for a mixed methods approach utilising both traditional, qualitative forms of text analysis as well as quantitative text analysis, both aided by computer-assisted techniques borrowed from sociolinguistics and corpus linguistics. The *in-situ* or institutional context involves two independent case studies of upper secondary schools chosen on a 'maximal' variation-sampling frame: an academic, public coeducational senior high school in Hyōgo prefecture of western Japan, and a private girls' senior high school located in Tokyo. The primary differentiation of interest is that the western Japan high school is an explicit site of human rights learning, applying its own content and pedagogic practice as part of a specialised human rights curriculum designed to supplement learning on human rights and citizenship within the School Curriculum. In contrast, the Tokyo senior high school's institutional curriculum roughly adheres to the School Curriculum. The social positions and agent practices of both students and teachers are examined utilising semi-structured interviews and written questionnaires.

In the fourth chapter, or the first findings chapter, 'Human Rights in the School Curriculum,' quantitative analyses of text are used with a complete sample of official upper-secondary Contemporary Social Studies (*gendai-shakai*) textbooks. The chapter first describes how the textbook sample was digitised and transformed into a non-curated corpus for computer-assisted text analysis. Human rights content is then quantified, examining how key markers of human rights content are dispersed across the textbook sample as well as where this content is located thematically. Corpus specific lexicons, representing how words signifying human rights, identity and related issues are defined, arranged or utilized, are also assembled by aggregating collocations based on statistical strength scores, with Keyword-in-context (KWIC) searches used to root into sentences containing collocations to ascertain precise meanings. This allows for further understanding of the relationship between terms, and between specific terms and their context. The fifth chapter, 'The Discourse of Human Rights,' qualitatively examines what discourses are used to define and justify human rights to the reader as well as the discourses that are used to prompt political and social behavior and discourses that position human rights issues relative to discourses of identity. Analyses here included multiple readings and codings of text to look at structure, narrative, linkages between clauses and themes, and finally grammar and voice. Chapter 6, 'The Pedagogy of Social Studies,' surveys the pedagogy of human rights learning as represented by the textbook sample within the overall pedagogy of Contemporary Social Studies through mixed use of quantitative and qualitative methods. This chapter is concerned with how the pedagogic structure of

knowledge informs the manner in which students learn about and interact with subject contents, and how this structure potentially limits or enables what ultimately can be learned about human rights. This analysis is driven primarily by Bernstein's notion of frame, particularly his concepts of pacing, evaluation and sequence.

The final findings chapter, 'Human Rights Learning,' presents the results of empirical case study fieldwork with teachers and learners at both case study schools, and will reveal how both construct meaning around human rights concepts relative to their respective social positions, identities, dispositions and capabilities.

Questionnaire and focus group interview schedules draw directly upon Stones and Cohen's key concepts within position practices. While conclusions for each stage of the research design are summarised at the end of each findings chapter, the final chapter, 'Contextualised Human Rights Learning in Japan,' draws chapter findings together, and will first theorise how the various contexts of the Japanese education system overlap and combine to create contextualised instruction and meaning-making. The final chapter will also evaluate these social processes and outcomes in terms of the purported aims as set by Japan's Ministry of Education and other relevant institutions; however, attention will be given to evaluating contextualised human rights learning in Japan relative to the international practice of human rights education. Finally, the chapter also theorizes about the social import of the constructed meanings and outcomes within their respective social contexts and potential lessons that can be gleaned from them for Japan and other contexts.

Human Rights Education and Official Curricula

The modern history of human rights education is often said to originate in the non-binding Universal Declaration on Human Rights (1948, UDHR) of which Article 26, paragraph 2 states that:

Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.¹

In the immediate decades that followed the adoption of the UDHR however, little was done with the idea at UN institutions (Tibbitts 2014: 131). Although UNESCO was charged with responsibility for promoting human rights values within member states' education systems, it wasn't until nearly twenty years later that UNESCO promulgated its own resolution on the subject (Coysh 2014: 92).² The work of UNESCO and the UN up until the beginning of the 1990s to promote human rights education was thus largely symbolic, but NGOs, in particular Amnesty International, as well as academics and educationalists picked up on the idea and began the practical work of implementing human rights education, including acting as advocates for the integration of human rights concepts into school curricula, producing textbooks, as

¹ <http://www.un.org/en/universal-declaration-human-rights/index.html>. Last accessed 10 September 2017.

² Formally titled, Recommendation concerning Education for International Understanding, Co-operation and Peace and Education relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms, 1974. Seventy-six UN member states signed the document, yet as a recommendation it did not give UNESCO the power to regulate or mandate specific activities (MacNaughton 2015: 547).

well as organizing teacher training seminars and networks between human rights educators (Russell and Suárez 2017: 24).³

From the beginning of the 1990s, there was renewed UN interest in the idea of human rights education. In the final report of the Vienna Conference on Human Rights in 1993, delegates to the conference highlighted the considerable disparity between assent to the major human rights conventions, and the continued widespread lack of human rights implementation and consensus across the globe (UNGA A/CONF.157/23 1993).⁴ In order to close the gap between oratory and practice, the final report made several recommendations for human rights promotion, including the development of educational programs.⁵ In response to this, the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) initiated a decade long human rights education campaign in 1995 (Bajaj 2014: 57).⁶ Entitled the United Nations Decade on Human Rights Education (United Nations Decade), the project was based on human rights norms, concepts and values as established in international law and defined human rights education as:

... training, dissemination and information efforts aimed at the building of a universal culture of human rights through the imparting of knowledge and skills and the moulding of attitudes and directed to: (a) The strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms; (b) The full development of the human personality and the sense of its dignity; (c) The promotion of understanding, tolerance, gender equality and friendship among all nations, indigenous peoples and racial, national, ethnic, religious and linguistic groups; (d) The enabling of all persons to participate effectively in a free society; (e) The furtherance of the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace (UNGA A/51/506/Add. 1 1996; UNGA 49/184 1995: 5).

The objectives of the United Nations Decade included assessment of needs and the formulation of effective strategies for human rights education at all school levels, building and strengthening international, regional, national and local programmes and capacities, coordinated development of materials for human rights education, strengthening the role and capacity of the mass media to further human rights education as well as the global dissemination of the UDHR in the maximum number of languages possible (Coysh 2014: 93). Due to the belief that the various State-based human rights education projects had produced ‘far-reaching results,’ the campaign was extended by the UNGA in 2005 and renamed the Worldwide Programme for Human Rights Education (WPHRE, UNGA A/59/525/Rev.1 2005). This new campaign sought to further advance the idea of human rights education through a series of ongoing project phases.⁷

³ Suarez and Ramirez argue that the disinclination of the UN toward more concrete promotional measures was a situation brought about by the reluctance of member states themselves, especially the United States and the United Kingdom, to support such measures, as well as a lack of support among these same states for UNESCO itself, an organization that was often derided for promoting a leftist agenda (Suarez and Ramirez 2004: 4-5).

⁴ <http://www.un-documents.net/ac157-23.htm>. Last accessed 10 September 2017.

⁵ See UNGA A/CONF.157/23: Articles 78-82.

⁶ The 1993 UNESCO Montreal Declaration on Human Rights Education (The Montreal Declaration on Human Rights Education), or the UNESCO World Plan of Action on Education for Human Rights and Democracy, also served as a basis for the United Nations Decade. The Montreal Declaration on Human Rights Education was adopted by the International Congress in March 1993. The plan directs the subject of human rights education specifically toward the victims of human rights violations as well as the prevention of further violations and anchors human rights education in concepts of liberal democracy. At the same time, the plan acknowledges the key task confronting human rights education was how to enhance universality while embedding human rights in different cultural traditions. The empowerment of civil society and individuals is another key theme of the document (Monaghan and Spreen 2016: 45; Baxi 1994: 146-148).

⁷ The first phase (2005-2009) of the Worldwide Programme for Human Rights Education focused on human rights education for primary and secondary schools, beginning with an assessment of member states’ national curricular

Despite some advocates' call for an explicit form of education, complete with its own knowledge base and pedagogy, human rights education advocacy and practice has not yet led to a concrete, unified curriculum (Osler 2015: 260; Gerber 2017: 179). There are however commonalities in both advocacy and practice. For one, educationalists, scholars and organisations often equate human rights education with some form of empowerment; that human rights education should provide individuals with not only knowledge of human rights but also the skills necessary to act politically toward the implementation and safeguarding of human rights standards in their own communities (Bajaj 2014: 59). In terms of content, the UN Declaration on Human Rights Education and Training, adopted by the UNGA in 2011, asserts that human rights education should provide 'knowledge and understanding of human rights norms and principles, the values that underpin them and the mechanisms for their protection' (UNGA 66/137 2011; Tibbitts 2014: 130).⁸ In addition, the 2011 declaration called for the provision of a learning environment that 'respects the rights of both educators and learners,' as well as fosters personality development and the dignity of individuals (Struthers 2015: 58; Ramey 2012: 54). Paula Gerber (2013) writes that human rights education 'must make individuals aware of their own inherent worth, and of the human rights that accrue to them on this basis' (p. 18). Finally, active citizenship is equated with individual empowerment, to not only exercise rights but to defend and promote them. Human rights education literature points toward the ideal that this should be informed by real life examination of individual student experiences and events, such as bullying or stereotyping, through a 'human rights lens' (Struthers 2015: 60). This localisation of human rights education may explain the lack of a overarching curriculum and pedagogy; however, human rights education should ultimately aim for a human rights consciousness that includes skills to help individuals identify problems, evaluate responses and express themselves with confidence, including conflict resolution, critical thinking, and cooperation skills (Struthers 2015: 60; Tibbitts, 2014: 131). Given its purported transformative characteristics, human rights education may share much in common with what Michael Young (2010) refers to as powerful knowledge, particularly in that human rights learning is said to allow learners to see beyond their daily experience and suggest to them realistic alternatives to address issues of social justice.

Initial enthusiasm for human rights education in the 1990s appears predicated in part on the neoliberal idea that increasingly complex forms of global political and economic interdependence would lead to the creation of shared values among peoples worldwide. Suarez and Ramirez argued that the level of advocacy for human rights education was a result of a gradual worldwide homogenisation of culture through globalisation:

The rise and spread of human rights education reflects broad processes of cultural globalization over recent decades. Cultural globalization involves the worldwide spread of models or blueprints of progress and the networks of organizations and experts that transmit these logics of appropriateness to nation-states and other collectivities. The changing state of the world

policies. The aim of this phase was to ultimately 'propose a concrete strategy and practical ideas for implementing human rights education nationally.' The most recent phase of the Worldwide Programme (2015-2019) focused on 'human rights education for higher education and on human rights training programmes for teachers and educators, civil servants, law enforcement officials and military personnel.' The current phase focuses on strengthening the first two phases and promoting human rights training for media professionals and journalists. <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G14/099/55/PDF/G1409955.pdf?OpenElement>. Last accessed 10 September 2017.

⁸ <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/N11/467/04/PDF/N1146704.pdf?OpenElement>. Last accessed 10 September 2017.

and of national linkages to world society account for the rise in human rights education organizations and discourse. As cultural globalization continues, human rights concepts will become more prevalent in national curricula (2004: 2).

In other words, the idea of human rights to many had become the global standard for appropriate State behavior toward issues of basic needs, social justice and inequality, and it seemed only fitting that these concepts be taught as part of official curricula. Meyer et al. (2010), in analyzing human rights content in 465 public secondary school textbooks from 69 countries between 1970 and 2008, for instance did note an increasing topical emphasis on international human rights, especially since 1995 (pp. 111, 131). However, as critics have rightly pointed out, the notion of human rights education put forward by the United Nations and many advocates is one that does historically rest on Western, liberal concepts ‘of modernity and specifically humanist notions of ‘the human’ as an autonomous, rational and sovereign ‘individual’” (Zembylas 2017: 398). Not only does this potentially exclude non-Western and alternative interpretations and practices of ‘human rights,’ some of which predate the adoption of the UDHR, it infuses a particular definition of human rights with notions of objectivity, rationality and universality, some of which may be buoyed by the socioeconomic power and interests of Western countries (Coysh 2014: 94). Human rights education policymaking and practice within the UN system may also mirror the efficacy of the human rights regime itself: without regular, effective and overarching sanction, States whose human rights practice is less than ideal can show to the world commitment and sincerity to the human rights cause, even if they have no intention of following up on their international commitments (McCorquodale and Fairbrother 1999: 74; Ignatieff and Gutmann 2001: 6-7). It could be that much State interest in human rights education is tokenistic, and may as well be aimed at mitigating its impact in domestic contexts. The focus on the Western discourse of rights practice also suggests that nothing can be learned by similar practices or alternative forms of ‘human rights education’ originating from non-Western contexts.

For official curricula, there are inherent tensions between human rights as a universalist concept and the particularism of official citizenship education, where such learning is commonly embedded (Sleeter 2014: 89; Bowring 2012: 56). Citizenship education pertains more to national identity and needs of the State to strengthen, instill, maintain or regulate that identity through learning on social structures and history, patriotism, as well as the rights and responsibilities that stem from ‘legal’ citizen status (Davies et al. 2005: 75-76). For learners, supra or extra-national identity may serve little practical social usefulness, in addition to being secondary to identities based on common languages, interests and heritage that supra or extra-national identity interface with (Heater 2004: 235, 243, 365). Moreover, State-directed citizenship education often has been concerned with maintaining social cohesiveness and public order rather than inculcating active forms of citizenship (ibid. 266). While citizenship historically has often been synonymous with national identity, Davies et al. (2005) write, ‘... the establishment of a national structure is not the same as developing an inclusive framework that will promote equality,’ continuing, ‘the nation was forged on exclusiveness or a clearing defining of ‘the other’” (p. 68). In striving to teach of the excluded other, the embedded assumptions that human rights concepts are culturally agnostic, neutral, or ‘inherently good’ may work against inclusivity by accentuating or reinforcing otherness, as well as disengaging learners because it portrays certain prior established identities, values, cultures and religious faiths as ‘threats to universalism’ (Adami 2014: 293). This may be particularly the

case when applying human rights, a concept of Western origin, within non-Western contexts.

More broadly, there is also concern as to whether rights language is an appropriate framework to educate citizenries on issues of social justice. As an abstraction, a right established in law cannot resolve the claims that derive from that right. To do so requires for instance a working legal system with the power to sanction, subjecting the meaning of rights to, among other things, prior case history, competing rights claims and judicial or political discretion. The true social significance of a right therefore cannot be known until it is instantiated within particular social circumstances. As a result, individual learners may fall under the misconception that the possession of rights is the same as possessing the capacity of exercising them, or that said rights can be exercised in ways that individuals conceive of them. Embedded within official curricula, it seems unlikely that governments would portray themselves as human rights violators, and with the tendency to regulate active citizenship in the interest of public order, the teaching of rights may have the effect of assuaging the learner who thinks that as they ‘possess rights,’ they have the potential to fully act upon them or that society is absent of human rights issues. A common counterargument to this concedes this criticism but suggests that although there may be uncertainty as to the actual social meaning of rights, the use of rights and especially rights talk to frame social grievances is still important as it can initiate a social dialogue through which these grievances can ultimately be addressed. The sociological point here though is that the practice of human rights education in a given social context cannot be analysed apart from the social processes that give it its ultimate meaning, and that meaning is closely associated with social power. Likewise, analysing the ‘effect’ of an HRE curriculum also requires examining how it engages specific identities.

Prior Empirical Research on Human Rights Education

There is a shortage of direct empirical, systemic research on human rights education in formal educational settings, including what learners come to know or think about human rights as a result of instruction through official curricula. Most human rights research is analytically framed exclusively as either a curriculum or youth study; studies that do assess both curricula and learning outcomes however are typically framed as action research projects with researchers controlling content and pedagogy, often in programmes supplementary to official curricula. Some of this situation might be due to the difficulty of accomplishing broad-scale empirical investigation within public school settings, in some cases the controversial nature of topics perhaps limiting research access. As the United Nations Decade initially focused on assessing the state of national human rights education programmes and curricula, much published work from the mid-1990s to the late 2000s also appears expository, simply synthesizing documentary material at face value, although deficiencies in curricular contents were at times highlighted. These studies have been useful in outlining human rights education practices in many countries, including Austria (Lapayese 2004), Philippines (Soto 2001), South Africa (Cardenas 2005, Keet and Carrim 2006), China (Oud 2006), South Korea (Kang Soon-Won 2002), India (Panda 2000), Sri Lanka (Chandrasiri 2000, Yeban 2001), Japan (Nabeshima et al. 2000, Takeda 2012, Ikuta

2012), Thailand (Suwansathit 2001), Northern Ireland (Niens et al. 2006), and Pakistan (Bagum 2000).

By the late 2000s, many more critical, empirical research designs began to appear. The idea of being critical however has taken on several meanings, one of which has been to evaluate the extent to which curricular contents and learning outcomes are attuned to human rights concepts. In such research, rights are often cast as idealised, abstract and decontextualised concepts, with the mastery of these concepts and related messages assumed to hold significance with regard to learners' institutional and social contexts. A division of this critical research has also examined outcomes of human rights learning as a way to reflect upon how best to provide meaningful instruction to students. The results of this research in many cases point to the difficulty of presenting abstract human rights concepts in the classroom, arguing that curricula in particular should be made more context-specific; however, such research still assumes there is value in teaching human rights concepts even though contextualisation may render such concepts less than explicit. A final, smaller subset of critical research on human rights education examines how education programmes transform student identities and experiences, and which also may question the overall value of human rights instruction as part of their design. This research conforms more to the concerns raised in the previous section, although again much of this research is limited to action research designs. In reviewing human rights education research, one difficulty was in categorising programmes and curricula under investigation as human rights education; some highly contextualised human rights education programmes appear far removed from internationally defined human rights that they could best be labeled human rights inspired. Research on citizenship education may also indirectly touch upon human rights learning. As such, this literature review is limited to research on programmes and curricula that give reference to explicit human rights concepts as part of their research aims. Given the scope of the present research, the literature presented here will also be primarily limited to research on official secondary education.

Human rights education research underpinned by empirical investigation has often aimed to evaluate the quality and amount of human rights knowledge within curricula (Froman 2015, Bromley 2011). Maha Shuayb (2015) for instance looks at human rights and peace education textbooks as a product of Lebanon's 1997 curriculum and its emphasis on post-conflict reconciliation, operating with the assumption that human rights education should provide both awareness and individual empowerment (pp. 136, 148). Though utilising quantitative content analysis, Shuayb qualitatively coded textbook content for its depth of human rights content and the topical framing in which this content was discussed. The research also examined textbook pedagogy as defined as type of activities, instructions, documents, resources, pictures, and assessment (ibid. 139). Although human rights content was extensive, Shuayb argues that human rights content failed 'to acknowledge women's rights and the rights of disadvantaged groups, such as refugees, migrant workers, and people with disabilities,' and were not translated in a manner relevant to student lives (ibid. 141, 148). Pedagogies moreover were described as descriptive and lacking in analytical, critical thinking, and applied learning skills (ibid. 148). Burrige et al. (2014) similarly conducted a nationwide investigation into capacity of the Australian state and territory school system to provide 'opportunities to educate and motivate school students about human rights' through history curricula (p. 18). Australia is noted as having played a vital role in the UN Decade and Worldwide Programme on Human Rights (ibid. 21). Through an analysis of syllabi, curricula and policy

documents as well as roundtable discussions with 70 key educators, policymakers, and stakeholders concerned with human rights education, representing 43 different organizations, BurrIDGE et al. note that there were still limited opportunities to both explicitly and implicitly learn about human rights and related issues (ibid. 22-23, 25). Although illuminating in terms of their stated aims, uncovering biases and deficiencies, this research first does not reveal how human rights content interface other curricular aims and messages. While Shuyab's research for instance counts the frequency of human rights contents within textbook, reported counts are not normalised for textbook length, and the reader is not given a sense of what proportion human rights topics take within the textbooks, and thus what topical priority human rights might have been assigned relative to other thematic elements. Finally, as researcher-driven analyses by design, it is also unclear whether learners interpret curricular messages in the same way as researchers.

This evaluative form of critical research has included research that looks exclusively at student and teacher understanding of human rights, irrespective of curricular content, highlighting deficiencies and misunderstandings to be addressed in future curricula and training, or to advocate for certain programmes. As this research expects specific outcomes, the value of these expected outcomes however is still assumed. Mitja Sardoč (2006) for instance takes a look at learner outcomes from an OSCE pilot project on human rights education entitled *Our Rights*, which aimed to improve adolescent understanding of tolerance, human rights, reconciliation and peaceful coexistence within Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) member states.⁹ Sardoč interviewed teachers to determine the program's relevance in raising student awareness of human rights, whether the program was useful and effective, and finally, as to whether the program will have a lasting effect on students' understanding and awareness (Sardoč 2006: 14).¹⁰ In her findings she writes that the pilot project 'significantly contributed to the improvement in pupils' recognition of different forms of diversity and distinctiveness in their social environment and to their sensitivity to issues of children's rights' (ibid. 37). Rania Al-Nakib (2012) also looks at 10th and 12th grade year Kuwaiti students' perceptions of citizenship, human rights and democracy.¹¹ A 'Constitution and Human Rights' module was added to the Kuwaiti national secondary school curriculum in 2006 but was truncated shortly after implementation, allowing for a comparison between the 12th year cohort, which had been taught under the module, and the 10th year cohort, which had not (ibid. 100, 102, 107). Al-Nakib writes that the older cohort had become articulate in 'human rights discourse' and was able to draw connections between human rights and other curricular subject areas, such as history and Islamic studies, as well as current events in Kuwait and the world (ibid. 107). The younger cohort's awareness of human rights on the other hand lacked 'sophisticated discourse,' suggesting that the module's cancellation had had a negative impact on human rights perceptions (ibid.). Elsewhere, in a two-school case study of human rights education

⁹ The *Our Rights* project was initiated in 2005 by the Slovenian OSCE Chairmanship in 2005 to provide teachers in the OSCE region with a 'ready-made tool' to help children develop a better understanding of their rights. See http://www.mzz.gov.si/en/foreign_policy_and_international_law/slovenian_foreign_policy_and_human_rights/the_our_rights_project_human_rights_education/ (Last accessed 01 December 2017); Sardoč 2006: 37.

¹⁰ Sardoč's sample included 276 teachers from Albania, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Croatia, Macedonia, Germany, Ireland, Serbia and Montenegro, the Russian Federation, Slovenia and Turkey (2006: 14).

¹¹ The research methods employed included focus group interviews conducted over the course of three years with a sample included 60 students from Fatima Bint Asad Secondary School as part of a critical case study analysis. The purpose of the interviews was to track student perceptions of their learning on human rights, citizenship and democracy. The Fatima Bint Asad Secondary School was chosen as a unique case given that it is a member of the United Nations Associated Schools Project (Al-Nakib 2012: 101-102).

in Hong Kong, Leung et al. (2011) investigate the impact of an exploratory project of school-based civic education for human rights focusing on student attitudes towards and their understanding of human rights and the rule of law (p. 148, 150). The researchers found that the programme was ‘far from developing a critical human rights consciousness,’ but that ‘student awareness and an understanding of human rights and rule of law were strengthened’ (ibid. 159).¹² Fatima H. Eid (2014) examined to what extent Bahraini young people understand their rights in a stratified sample of 460 students aged 17-18 years of age utilizing a survey instrument consisting of closed questions, a further 22 students of which were randomly selected for semi-structured interviews. The results noted that while students regarded defending rights as an integral part of being ‘a good Bahraini citizen’ this would not necessarily translate into active citizenship as many were unaware of ‘who is responsible for protecting their rights as citizens’ (p. 21). Eid argues that the findings of the study ‘demonstrate the need for policy and curriculum developers to include the opinions of young people when formulating policies that affect them’ (ibid. 24).

Some research on learner and teacher interpretations has attempted to tie interpretations to at least immediate institutional and curricular contexts, either to suggest their significance or to suggest improvements in school environments and teaching in order to make them more conducive to human rights learning. Often this had led to calls for the establishment of rights-respecting and democratised school environments, which teachers often appear resistant to in light of their perceived need for institutional discipline. Charlotte Carter and Audrey Osler (2000) in an action research project, look at the operation of rights and identities in an English West Midlands boys’ school (p. 335).¹³ Based on Hugh Starkey’s basic conceptual outline of human rights, in which human rights concepts are broken down into four groupings of universality, individuality, reciprocity and solidarity, the researchers developed a teaching approach that ‘allow[ed] young people to see themselves as part of the total reality and, secondly, [sought] to make an interconnection between [Starkey’s] concepts and experience’ (ibid. 339).¹⁴ After data collection and analysis, the authors write that many students still developed — or had previously developed — ‘flawed and restricted images of what human right mean’ and that many of the boys perceived rights as ‘unmasculine and undesirable, as only held by the chosen few, and/or as synonyms for demands’ (ibid. 350). The researchers conclude that the rigid culture of the school, including forms of discipline and teacher control, prevented ‘good human rights practice’ and that any improvement in students’ understanding of human rights would require a drastic change in that culture (ibid. 354). Stemming from Hong

¹² Both schools in the case study were subsidised, co-educational secondary schools. The sample included 195 students in each school for questionnaires, although it is not quite clear how many students participated in individual and focus group interviews. Six teachers from both schools were also part of the sample. The researchers used semi-structured interviews with teachers as well as focus group interviews and questionnaires with students (Leung et al. 2011: 149).

¹³ Although the researchers aimed to enhance teaching practices at the school, efforts were made to record and assess students’ understanding of human rights through classroom observations, a questionnaire and journal writing activities which were conducted with a year cohort of 120 boys, aged 13-14 years by one of the researchers, who was also head teacher for the cohort (Carter and Osler 342-343). Later the project was expanded to include a form tutor and his class of 30 14-15-year-old students (ibid. 343).

¹⁴ Starkey’s ‘basic concepts of human rights’ emphasizes justice and peace as the foundation of participative democracy within which fundamental freedoms are then integrated. Considering that unrestricted freedom is a danger, he highlights the concepts of reciprocity, universality, indivisibility and solidarity, writing ‘They are reminders that the system is for all people (universality), that an attack on any part of the system is an attack on the whole system (indivisibility)... It is also a social system, and one which can only operate where there is a sense of mutual interdependence (reciprocity) and where people are prepared to take into account and, indeed, defend the rights of others (solidarity).’ (Starkey 1992: 127; Carter and Osler 2000: 338-339).

Kong's accession to the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC), and its obligation to direct children's towards developing respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, Lo et al. (2015) distributed questionnaires and conducted focal groups aimed to measure the extent to which the two sampled secondary institutions reflect 'a human rights friendly ethos' (p. 192). Questionnaires utilised likert scales and were randomly distributed to a sample of 260 students and 45 teachers, from which 37 students and nine teachers were selected for separate focal group interviews. The results found that the schools focused heavily on student responsibility and discipline to detriment of human rights, establishing contradictions in school ethos that may 'nurture cynicism, alienation, and apathy, all factors that contribute to the failure of [human rights education]' (ibid. 206). Such research confirms the importance of social and individual contexts in the construction of meaning around human rights; however, in practice within such research, context is often limited to the institution.

An often-noted aspect of findings stemming from evaluative research is how students and teachers struggle with the ambiguity of explicit human rights concepts (Cassidy et al. 2014, Çayır and Bağlı 2011). Rather than perhaps question the value of human rights education, researchers often stress the need to contextualise human rights concepts, either within other instructional frameworks or linked to immediate social context. In a qualitative case study of Philippine youth, Reynaldo Ty (2011) examines the efficacy of three models of human rights education: one where teachers as experts take the lead in providing knowledge on human rights to students; one that attempts to achieve cultural pluralism through teachers acting as facilitators in order that minority populations be allowed to discuss their social conditions, identities and problems within classrooms; and the last which Ty identifies as informal education, where students learn to question power and authority through active participation outside of the classroom (pp. 212-214). Examining the third model more closely through the Philippine Youth Leadership Program and the Philippine Minorities Programmes, both informal education programmes outside of official curricula where students design and participate in community projects, Ty argues that 'the ontology in teaching human rights must be inductively grounded in historical and social context rather than be based on deductive and abstract concepts,' concluding that abstract concepts make little sense to learners (p. 219). Kezban Kuran (2015) examines through semi-structured interviews how 31 secondary school teachers in Turkey conceptualise civic and human rights, and to what extent teachers think that the objectives of the civic and human rights education courses are met (p. 305). Kuran writes that teachers had trouble adopting pedagogic strategies outside of giving lectures and closed question evaluation, and often regarded human rights concepts as too abstract and students as being insufficiently mature to handle such topics, especially as they expressed concerns that teaching such concepts may disrupt the school environment (ibid. 309). However, if human rights cannot be taught as explicit concepts, and must be contextualised to obscure their abstract nature, there should be concerns as to at what point a contextualised programme ceases to be human rights education. Again, the call to contextualise human rights assumes value in teaching human rights concepts, but moreover assumes that this value can be similarly retained in making human rights more attuned to local contexts. The results of these studies also do imply that another difficulty in understanding human rights as abstract concepts is not in their relevancy to social lives but in what relevance they have to the form of evaluation that takes place in the classroom, whether or not or how students for instance might be evaluated on their acquisition of human rights concepts.

Other research has more thoroughly investigated contextual and individual factors that inform student understandings of human rights concepts, confirming the need for research that account not only for institutional and individual, but systemic contexts (Robinson 2017, de Wet et al. 2012). Keith Barton (2015) notes that several contextual factors play a significant role in student understanding of human rights, notably messages and experiences encountered outside of classrooms. Employing open-ended, semi-structured, task-based interviews in a non-representative sample of 116 adolescents aged 14-17 in Colombia, Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, and the United States, Barton noted the tendency of students from Ireland and the United States to correlate human rights issues with developing country contexts (2015: 65). Barton asserts that educators ‘need to account for the power of factors outside school, because students draw from these in constructing their framework for understanding society,’ in order for students to find relevance and meaning to human rights within local contexts (ibid. 65-66). Utilising open-ended questionnaires and focus group interviews in a research based on grounded theory, Christine Gervais (2011) looked at how 116 adolescent girls of displaced Quechua families in Bolivia engaged with human rights concepts through a pre-existing set of human rights workshops that were held at a women’s outreach center. Gervais concludes that the through the workshops the girls displayed renewed ‘enthusiasm, determination, and potential as actors, defenders, organizers, and citizens in pursuit of their rights’ (ibid. 212). However, while the workshops had improved the girls’ self-concept, Gervais writes that it was unclear as to how this would lead to transformative action within society, especially in light of the ‘patriarchal hegemony that is deeply embedded in Bolivian society’ (ibid. 211). Gervais’s research points to the difficulty in assessing learning outcomes in terms of action taken toward safeguarding human rights, especially as the adolescents of her study have yet to take up independent adult roles.

Methodologically, context and student understanding of human rights are unlikely to be accessed through structured-question survey research similar to Eid (2014) and Lo et al. (2015), as well as validated instruments such the one advocated by Ercan et al. (2015) to measure secondary school students’ attitudes towards human rights. Structured questionnaires are advantageous as a convenient means of describing the characteristics of a large population, and readily produces quantitative or quantifiable data for statistical analysis with the potential for strong external validity (Babbie 1998: 272; Bryman 2004: 42-43). Ercan et al.’s questionnaire itself uses structured questions along with a five-point Likert scale to gather adolescent opinions on a number of issues related to equality and fundamental rights, respect for individual rights, respect for the right to live, and political rights (2015: 231). However, one disadvantage is a lack of naturalism, foremost because the act of studying an attitude or perception may affect it (Babbie 1998: 274). As well, some indicators like those in Ercan’s instrument (eg. ‘The citizens of the strong states in the world must have more rights’) appear too abstract or ambiguous, and it is difficult to ascertain what is actually being measured, especially if responses hinge in this case on interviewees’ interpretation of the word ‘rights’ (ibid.). Identities invoked within student definitions of ‘rights’ and ‘citizens’ moreover remain obscured. Furthermore, as many of the indicators of this and other similar instruments can be seen as part of a social desirability response set, respondents may tend to agree with the indicators regardless of where their true feelings may lie because they view such responses as desired by society (Oppenheim, 1992: 181). While survey research of this scale may be useful in giving an overall general picture of attitudes and opinions, the limitations presented here suggest that this method may produce unreliable data or data lacking in

depth and that an investigation of contextualised human rights instruction and learning cannot rely on this method solely to produce substantive theory.¹⁵

There has been critical empirical research on how human rights education programmes transform student identities and experiences, and which aim to represent a much more holistic view of systemic, institutional, and individual factors in learning. A number of such studies have focused on primary education (Zembylas et al. 2016a, Zembylas et al. 2016b). With regard to secondary school, such studies are fewer in number and like the Carter and Osler research discussed previously, tend to be action research projects where researchers have focused on specific human rights issues and may have had considerable control over curriculum and pedagogy. This has included action-research projects in the United States (Bajaj et al. 2017, Dunkerly-Bean et al. 2014, Rodeheaver et al. 2014), India (Bajaj 2011a), and the United Kingdom (Covell et al. 2010). A notable exception is Monisha Bajaj's (2011b) research in India, where she adopts a 'vertical case study' to examine the impact of India's national plan of action to implement human rights education in schools by exploring policy and practice at several levels, which in Bajaj's words 'balance and link national-level studies with investigation at regional and local levels' (p. 6-7). Utilising a maximum-variation sampling frame of human rights education initiatives in existence for at least three years, Bajaj employs semi-structured interviews, focus groups, observations, school visits and participation observation, with 118 teachers, 625 students, 60 schools, 9 different NGOs operating in nine states, and 80 staff and policymakers (ibid. 7-8). Bajaj uncovered a wide range of contextualised education programmes and practices, mediated by location largely to ensure maximum participation of a 'wide variety of interests and stakeholders nation-wide' (ibid. 152). The most prominent role that human rights education played was in assisting marginalised youth and other agents to dismantle barriers based on social class, gender and religion by creating opportunities and capabilities for learners through their understanding of social barriers and necessary action to overcome them (ibid. 154). Bajaj warns however, that the contextualised approaches in India, dependent on participation from multiple parties each with their own agendas, some of which may be contrary to the intentions of particular projects, require analyses of 'the role of power, inequality, and ideology in driving content, pedagogy, and the desired outcome of distinct programs and policies' in order to understand project outcomes and better formulate human rights education programmes (ibid. 156). These concerns mirror those identified in the previous section with regard to human rights education within State-sponsored schooling.

Despite the increased use of human rights language in official curricula across the globe over the past twenty years, there still remains a lack of critical empirical research on human rights within official curricula as well as its impact on learners. Some exceptions aside, the position afforded human rights concepts in the research framework is often unquestioned. This body of research, as currently framed, thus functions much like a distinct form of critical social research in that it takes an explicit sociopolitical stance as part of its research aims in that a human rights understanding is a vital aim and good, primarily for rectifying situations of injustice and the promotion of peaceful, multicultural democratic societies (van Dijk 252; Fairclough 2001: 228-229). This stance is further defined by a belief that education can satisfactorily transmit a particular understanding of human rights that guides

¹⁵ By substantive theory, I mean the end results of empirical research.

individuals toward these ends.¹⁶ But by definition though, most research designs exclude any concerted effort to reflect critically on the ultimate social value or utility of human rights education as it is often effectively bracketed out of the research process.¹⁷ With limitations on instruction time and resources within most educational systems, it may not be enough to state that human rights concepts should be taught simply because they are nice or noble sentiments. In this and the previous section, it has been suggested that individuals do not necessarily identify with these concepts in a personally or socially meaningful way, that there might exist a substantial gulf between individual understandings of human rights concepts and the actual social practice of rights, and that it may be difficult to transmit faithfully through education a socially meaningful conceptualisation of human rights. Furthermore, competing education aims and social power may mediate the aims and content of human rights education— all of which suggest that human rights education may not in many instances be capable of realising its purported aims and benefits. Then again, the possibility that an understanding of human rights might provide some tangible benefit or serve some social purpose as of yet unknown that may be as important as, if not more than, economic security or the material resolution of social disputes and injustices, also still remains even if past research has been by design not entirely incapable of stating what that possibility is.

What is being proposed with this research then to analyse the social function, and ultimately the value, of human rights themselves with regards to assisting the resolution of issues of social justice.¹⁸ Such research may still be uncommon in the sociology of education, but the aim has been prevalent in the broader field of sociology. Anthony Woodiwiss, whose work aimed to lay the foundations for a ‘sociology of human rights,’ writes:

... human rights should not be seen as any sort of natural moral entity but simply as socially constructed discursive entities that either have or do not have the social effects that are claimed for them. ... For me, the sociology of human rights is concerned not with debates over their universality or otherwise, but rather with understanding and explaining the extent to which, as discursive entities, they have the social effects that are hoped for, (Woodiwiss 1998: 11)

Armatya Sen’s words in *Development as Freedom* (2004) echo a similar sentiment:

The case for basic freedoms and for the associated formulations in terms of rights rests on: 1.) their intrinsic importance, 2.) their consequential role in providing political incentives for economic security, [and] 3.) their constructive role in the genesis of values and priorities.

The research proposed here must reflect the heterogeneity of human rights understanding and human rights practice. Abstract and decontextualised work not

¹⁶ See Osler and Starkey 2003: 246; Kang 2002: 316. To be fair to these researchers, the position afforded to human rights and human rights education is in some part due to the fact that many works take as their cue already established curricular goals and guiding principles of particular educational systems and programmes, as well as the treaty obligations that states have set for themselves. Quite a few works use the adoption of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, UNGA 44/25 1989) as an underlying basis for their particular stance toward human rights education; See for example Kang 2002 and Niens et al. 2006; Society for the Advancement of Education 2000; Billimoria et al. 2000. Council of Europe guidelines also promote human rights education, stating that human rights education in the classroom should provide a place ‘where participation is encouraged, where views can be expressed openly and discussed, where there is freedom of expression for pupils and teachers, where there is fairness and justice’ (Carter and Osler 2000: 339-340).

¹⁷ The ideas behind this line of critique were drawn from Ahier 1988.

¹⁸ See for example Morris 2006; Woodiwiss 1998, 2005.

only makes assumptions about understandings of human rights concepts, it also treats the instruction of human rights concepts and curricula in a superficial manner that does not reflect the reality of schools and classroom. To ascertain a clearer picture of the educational processes surrounding human rights education and what understanding is constructed within these processes, the researcher must account for real practices of human rights education, letting subjects define processes and concepts for themselves before a clear sense of their purpose and value within their specified social contexts can be ascertained and critically evaluated. This is what Mark Cladis, building upon the thought of Durkheim, refers to as ‘internal social criticism’ whereby criticism ‘seeks to reform society by self-consciously working within its historically fashioned social inheritance, that is, its historically situated ideals, customs, beliefs, institutions, and practices’ (Cladis 1992: 227; Stones 2006: 140-141). The key sociological research task is therefore not only how to capture and assess attitudes and beliefs toward human rights, but to cast these beliefs and attitudes as part of wider social, and especially educational, processes.

Two research questions that reflect this research task will be taken up in the present research, asking first how human rights have been contextualised within Japan’s education system (Q1), and second, how learners construct meaning around human rights concepts (Q2). These two research questions link to the issues raised in previous sections, that human rights as concepts based on universalism may engage particular identities in unique ways, and that as abstract concepts human rights may be subject to competing interests and forms of social power. The research takes as its starting point human rights discourse and analyses how it is embedded in official curricula. This is a socio-historical process and what educational goals regarding human rights education are set forth for schools may not only be a product of the domestic education agenda for both the education itself system and for individual taught subjects, but also how human rights concepts interface with foreign and domestic policy goals regarding their implementation, all of which may reinforce or contradict human rights education aims. The research then moves to the incorporation of curricular human rights within institutional settings, particularly focusing on how students themselves construct meaning around human rights and the implications of that meaning. To be a teacher or student at a particular institution may be a result of the influence of systemic and institutional domains, but this research assumes that students and teachers also possess agency that allows them to further contextualise the goals and concepts set forth in official curricula. Not every aspect of an established curriculum may be taught, and some aspects may not be taught in the way that policymakers intended. Teachers for instance are assumed to be active agents who can mediate and transform educational material, selectively accepting and reinterpreting and rejecting ‘what counts as legitimate knowledge’ (Apple and Christain-Smith 1991: 14).¹⁹ By addressing students directly, the research as well assumes that learners are not simply vessels in which knowledge can be directly poured, but are active constructors of meaning, potentially accepting, interpreting, reinterpreting and rejecting what they are taught (see Christian-Smith 1991 15; 191; Apple 1993: 61). In conclusion, there is a need to understand how in socio-historical terms the immediate curricular and pedagogical context came to be as it is at the point of learning. It will also be necessary to possess the methodological tools to render an understanding of not only education structures in context, but also how that context interfaces with the active construction of meaning among learners. These methodological tools will also

¹⁹ See also Inoue 2001: 175; Apple 1993: 61.

need to provide the researcher with the means to gather data about and analyze this interface *in situ*.

Research Ethics

As the researcher is a part of the social world that participants inhabit, reflexivity is an important facet of this research (Baert 2005). Being reflexive has typically involved researchers acknowledging and disclosing their role in the research process as the values that underlie the researcher's perceptions are an obstacle to understanding, and must be taken into account (Radnor, 2002: 30-32). But reflexivity does not just concern the researcher's interpretations, as even the researcher's presence affects the nature and depth of the data collected (Harvey 1990: 11; Cohen et al. 2000: 145). To first disclose my own role, my relationship to this research has been complicated by the fact that as a Caucasian American, I am naturally in appearance, experience, habit and language an outsider to Japanese culture, yet I do have the advantage of having lived in Japan for over a decade, serving as an instructor at both public and private upper secondary schools—although the schools used for case study sites do not have any previous relationship with me. My stay in Japan also included several years of study of the Japanese language at Waseda University in Tokyo and in my time in Japan I have gained a high degree of competency in both oral and written communication. There are still times when I feel less than competent in dealing with matters of culture and language, but when such situations arose I have made the effort to seek out knowledgeable advice from peers, colleagues and mentors both in the United Kingdom, and in Japan. A native Japanese speaking interrater was also utilised for some coding protocols. Although to a certain extent, I believe the demands of reflexivity are irreconcilable, as other researchers analyzing this research's data may arrive at markedly different conclusions, effort has been made to address reflexivity through methods and procedures designed to validate or offer greater explanatory power, namely methodological triangulation.

Finally, thinking about reflexivity leads to other ethical concerns with the present research. This research was approved by and adhered to the standards set by the University of Oxford's Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC), which aims to ensure that research involving human participants is conducted in a way that respects the dignity, rights, and welfare of participants, and minimises risk to participants. Particularly with adolescent participants and the fact that recruitment made use of head teachers and school settings, there was some concern that adolescent participants may have viewed participation requests as official school obligations or 'homework'—a possibility that undermines informed consent as well as the reliability of data. Voluntary consent forms and instructions to head teachers were thus aimed to make it clear that first, participation was voluntary, and that participants could withdraw from the study at any time. Although voluntary informed consent was the basic defining characteristic for participation in the study, I anticipated that due to the subject matter of the study, that it might produce anxiety and stress among its participants. This was first addressed by making sure participants were aware of the subject matter of the study and leaving the choice to them to participate. For adolescent participants in particular, it was of importance to discuss with schools the nature of the study and to have in place procedures to deal with problems as they arise, such as referring the matter to supervision, schools, parents or

outside assistance. No incentives or rewards were used for recruitment purposes. Anonymisation was also a key ethical component of the research that started first with removing major and personal identifying details and replacing them with numerical identifiers during transcription. In the case of adolescent participants, in addition to the use of identifiers, personal information, save for gender, school and school year, was not gathered. This minimised the risk of identities being revealed later in the dissertation or publication, but does not necessarily eliminate it. All of the concerns expressed here required constant yet flexible monitoring to not only ensure their minimization but also to be open to the need to respond to new, potential ethical issues that might have arisen and may yet arise during the course of the research.

Chapter 2
Japan as Case Study

There is no doubt that Japan as a society has achieved a tremendous level of economic and material success since the end of the Second World War. At first glance then, it is unclear why Japan would make an insightful case study for research on human rights education given the amount of material provision within the country and that the State is not seen as committing or allowing the commission of gross human rights violations at levels seen elsewhere in the world. Despite its economic success though, Japan remains an anomaly among post-industrial nations with regard to several issues of social justice and human rights, suggesting that economic provision alone does not necessarily lead to just and equal societies, nor rid societies of marginalisation and exclusion as effects of social power. For one, Japan is the only developed country not to see a corresponding rise in gender equality equivalent to its economic stature, the nation's gender equality ranking on the 2016 World Economic Forum Gender Gap Index is lower than a number of developing countries, many of which have an international image of being extremely inequitable in terms of gender (Lee 2010: 187).¹ Poverty typically bears a connection to gender: one in three single women between the ages of 20 and 50 live in poverty with the figure increasing to more than half for both single mothers of all ages and women aged over 65 (Abe 2012: 61). Although the status of some minority groups within the country has improved in the past few decades, many of these groups as well as recent immigrant minority populations still lag behind the majority population in terms of economic standing and legal equality (Befu 2010: 190-193, Kashiwazaki 2013: 33). There are compound effects for these groups as the overall socioeconomic standing for many in the general population has also declined: at the end of the twentieth century the predominant civic discourse of the country, that of a homogeneous, classless collective, has unraveled, revealing at times an often inhospitable society with new forms of exclusion, inequality and material deprivation (Abe 2017: 191, Kariya 2010: 11-12).² These problems moreover exist in a political context where political representatives continue to officially view society as one of equal opportunity and standing, at times because the constituencies that they represent continue to reject any discussion of difference between social groupings or individuals (Nabeshima 2010: 119-120, 128, Abe 2009: 5). A vocal faction moreover opposes rights for minorities and the disadvantaged, viewing this discussion as a zero-sum game where 'more rights for 'minorities' equal less rights for the 'majority'' (Morris-Suzuki 2015: 68).

These circumstances are striking for a country abundant in material wealth, and while education may not be an appropriate or viable solution for these issues, because of the level of economic development the potential of human rights education to address these issues can perhaps be isolated. Inclusiveness and recognition of difference appear to be the main aim for many human rights education programmes in the country, not only because they may foster new public discourses on social justice and inculcate new communal identities and citizenship values, but also because they may improve individual self-concept and hence the social, economic and educational achievement of those marginalised and excluded. Yoshiro Nabeshima (2010), writing

¹ <http://reports.weforum.org/global-gender-gap-report-2016/rankings/>. Last accessed 26 June 2017.

² See also Gordon and LeTendre 2010: 198, Suzuki et al. 2010: 513.

on Buraku discrimination, notes that ‘achievement and identity of minority peoples are closely related to each other, and both are vulnerable to the political and cultural atmosphere of the surrounding majority,’ noting the need for educational efforts to ‘raise minority achievement and self-esteem, as well as political and cultural efforts to respect diversity’ (p. 128, see also discussions in Gordon 2005: 53; Asano 2011: 107). As many other nations in East and Southeast Asia have shown similar demographic trends in the course of their development, as well as similarities to Japan in systemic education, there are also perhaps lessons that can be drawn for these social contexts. As well, through its economic stature and economic as well as social transactions with the rest of Asia, especially through its Official Development Assistance and international cooperation efforts, Japan has exerted and continues to exert a tremendous amount of influence in this part of world.

This chapter historically and conceptually maps out the social, political and education context in which human rights learning takes place, first by exploring international and domestic human rights policy. Next, I will examine the general features of the Japanese education system that will be of import in discussing this research and explore potential explicit and implicit sites for human rights learning. In the present research, I will focus primarily on upper-secondary education. The rationale for an upper-secondary education focus is two-fold: one is the greater likelihood in comparison to primary school, both in terms of the topical priority of the Japanese school curriculum as well as Japan's national plan on human rights education, that human rights will be explicitly addressed in the classroom. Second is that according to many scholars one of the main roles of secondary education in Japan is to shape individual character and identities of adolescents as they move into adulthood. Referred to as *seitoshido* or *seikatsushido*, this inculcation occurs not only within the classroom but also as part of the overall culture of secondary schools themselves (Bjork and Fukuzawa 2013: 50-51; Okano and Tsuchiya 1999: 62). While primary school has its own moral education and culture based on principles of cooperativeness and equality that may express similar sentiments to human rights concepts, it is at the secondary level that emerging adult identities and beliefs are more likely to be openly contested at school, and from a methodological perspective, more accessible to empirical research. The background material presented here was developed primarily through secondary sources and my own site-mapping interviews at the Ministry of Education, the Osaka Board of Education Human Rights Education Section, and with school administrators at a Hyōgo prefectural coed upper secondary school. Some primary source material, mainly statistical data and policy documents from Japan's central government, will be used to supplement this.

The Practice of Rights and Human Rights

Sociological scholarship on Japanese cultural and political interpretations of rights and human rights has historically followed two rather contradictory strands. On one hand is a theme of ‘exceptionalism,’ that Japan is a unique nation and culture where the concept and language of rights, whether citizenship or human rights, does not and need not matter to the general populace. An example of this is commonly presented from the work of Takeyoshi Kawashima, who argued in his seminal work *Nihonjin no hō ishiki* (Legal Consciousness of the Japanese, 1967), that Japanese people, through their preference for social harmony, generally do not conceive of their social

relationships in terms of universal standards of rights and duties, at least not to the extent that he believed Europeans and Americans do (1967: 127).³ Karel van Wolferen, in his treatise on Japanese society, wrote ‘traditional attitudes, reinforced by contemporary practice, obstruct the establishment of an unambiguous concept of rights’ (van Wolferen 1989: 211).⁴ Yet on the other hand, individuals and social groups have historically invoked, both rhetorically and in a more formal, legal sense, a concept of rights to address a number of domestic issues from patients’ rights, minority rights, free speech, privacy, workplace discrimination to environmental destruction. Despite scholarly remarks minimising the efficacy of rights in Japan, the historical trajectory of their social construction mirrors to some extent their contested and negotiated construction within Western societies.⁵ As the opening chapter suggested, the status of rights in the West is a constant process of mediation that renders them at times ambiguous and limited. This implies that the social practice of rights in Japan is not necessarily deficient as much as the negotiated social processes and powers that give rights their meaning and scope are distinct.

Historically, the origin of the usage of the word ‘right’ (*kenri*) within Japanese society dates to the mid-1800s of the Edo period (1603-1867) (Feldman 2000: 16-20). Some scholars also have noted the existence of cultural notions similar to rights much further back in Japan’s history, but the idea of *kenri* is the first time that an explicit concept similar to the Western notion of right appears in Japanese history (Steenstrup 1991). At the end of Japan’s feudalistic era, a constitutional monarchy was established under the Meiji Constitution of 1890, which enunciated civil and political rights; however, these rights were not considered rights in the sense of human rights, or perhaps even citizenship rights, as they were still beholden to Imperial prerogative and discretion (Haley 1994: 78).⁶ Later, as a consequence of its defeat in the Second World War, from 1945 to 1952, a multinational force under U.S. General Douglas MacArthur as Supreme Commander (the Occupation) that governed the nation began a program of nation-building, including reform of the law to better reflect American democratic principles (Woodiwiss 2005: 68). Whereas the Emperor held sovereignty in the Meiji Constitution, the preamble of the new Constitution of 1947, which remains the constitution of Japan today, declared that sovereignty would be ‘derived from the people, the powers of which are exercised by the representatives of the people, and the benefits of which are enjoyed by the people’ (Neary 2002: 18; Woodiwiss 2005: 68). ‘The people’ was defined as all Japanese, with special provision made to the status of women in Article 24, but was not extended to non-Japanese residents in the final adopted version (Neary 2002: 19-20). Chapter 3 of the Constitution listed out citizenship rights for the new nation, including civil liberties and social rights commonly thought of as citizenship rights in the modern sense (see Table 2.1). While such rights and the Constitution itself have often been derided in conservative political circles as a Western cultural artefact forced upon the State and populace, others view the Constitution as a continuation of liberal or socialist discourses that had existed prior to their suppression under the nationalist authoritarian regime of the 1930s (Kuromachi 2015: 251).

³ Some of the basis for exceptionalism was perhaps fostered by the dominance of the legal field in exploring the sociology of rights in Japan, with rights interpreted in their strict legal sense rather than their broader social and moral sense. As litigation rates in Japan have until more recently been low, legal rights themselves may not have been very appealing to the public. See Feldman 2000.

⁴ See also Norgren, 2001: 68 and Pharr, 1990: 27, 182-183.

⁵ Notably this process in Japan appears to be historically older than in some Western states. See Huntington 1993.

⁶ The degree of sovereign power that the Emperor held in pre-Second World War Japan is still a matter of disagreement. See discussion in Haley 1991: 78-79.

Table 2.1 **Individual Rights of the 1947 Constitution**

Article 13 Right to life, liberty and happiness	Article 27 Right to work
Article 14 Equality under the law	Article 28 Right of workers to organize
Article 15 Right to vote	Article 29 Right to own property
Article 16 Right of petition	Article 31 Protection of due process of law
Article 17 Right to legal redress	Article 32 Right of access to courts
Article 18 Freedom from slavery	Article 33 Protection from unlawful arrest
Article 19 Freedom of thought, conscience	Article 34 Freedom from unwarranted detention
Article 20 Freedom of religion	Article 35 Freedom from unlawful search and seizure
Article 21 Freedom of assembly, expression	Article 36 Prohibition on torture
Article 22 Freedom to choose residence and occupation	Article 37 Right to a trial
Article 23 Academic freedom	Article 38 Freedom from self-incrimination
Article 24 Equality of the sexes	Article 39 Freedom from ex post facto laws, double jeopardy
Article 25 Right to a minimum standard of living	Article 40 Right to criminal indemnity
Article 26 Right to education	

Like their contested nature in the West, previous scholarship on rights issues has ascribed the power to grant, ameliorate, define or invoke rights to specific social groupings; however, these groups have often been described as having characteristics that resemble familial relations, a metaphor that is often used to portray traditional Japanese society. Within such traditional groupings, loyalty and piety by members of the family are said to be exchanged for the ‘paternal’ benevolence of the ‘head of household,’ whether that be one’s parents, elders, place of employment, or the State itself (Woodiwiss 2005: 65; Woronoff 1997: 16-17). These sites, family, corporation and State, are collective sources of economic and social stability, which therefore possess the moral authority to determine the scope of rights, obligations, entitlements and privileges for the group (Suzuki et al. 2010: 515-516). Anthony Woodiwiss borrows Max Weber’s term *patriarchalism* to describe such a society:

... the situation where, within a group (household) which is usually organised on both an economic and kinship basis, a particular individual governs who is designated by a definite rule of inheritance. The decisive characteristic ... is the belief of the members that domination, even though it is an inherent right of the master, must definitely be exercised as a joint right in the interests of all members and is thus not freely appropriated by the incumbent. In order that this shall be maintained, it is crucial that in both cases there is a complete absence of personal (patrimonial) staff. Hence the master is still largely dependent on the willingness of the members to comply with his orders since he has no machinery to enforce them. Therefore the members are not really subjects (Weber, as quoted in Woodiwiss 1998: 2).⁷

The family metaphor thus often serves as reference for the nature of rights violations, exemplified by the continuing plight of those ‘outside the family,’ that of minorities and individuals who ‘come face to face with the State in antagonistic circumstances,’ and those who have been traditionally assigned specific subordinate roles ‘within the family,’ namely women and members of the former lower caste, the Buraku (Gordon and LeTendre 2010: 202).⁸ While it is important not to carry this metaphor to the point of cultural essentialism, scholars have used it to explain the character of rights violations in Japan as often affecting marginalised groups rather than widespread

⁷ The term *patriarchalism*, or adjective *patriarchalist*, is used by Weber and Woodiwiss to refer to any mode of domination that rests on familialist principles. (Woodiwiss 1998: 2).

⁸ See also Woodiwiss 1998: 63; Upham 1987: 140; Haley 1991: 114; Beer 1981: 439-440.

Table 2.2 **International Human Rights Conventions, Japan Ratification Status**

Treaty	Signature Date	Ratification Date
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment		29 Jun 1999 ^a
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	30 May 1978	21 Jun 1979
Convention for the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearance	06 Feb 2007	23 Jul 2009
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	17 Jul 1980	25 Jun 1985
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination		15 Dec 1995 ^a
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	30 May 1978	21 Jun 1979
Convention on the Rights of the Child	21 Sep 1990	22 Apr 1994
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of children in armed conflict	10 May 2002	02 Aug 2004
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the sale of children child prostitution and child pornography	10 May 2002	24 Jan 2005
Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities	28 Sep 2007	20 Jan 2014

^a Accession date. Source: Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Treaty.aspx?CountryID=87&Lang=EN. Last accessed 11 September 2017.

violations against the general populace: patriarchalist benevolence in the form of rights or privileges is bestowed on the mainstream and those that ‘belong to’ and ‘follow’ the rules of the group (Suzuki et al. 2010: 516; Takano and Osaka 1999: 313, 331). This does however suggest that human rights and social justice in Japan appear to be quite clearly bound with social and cultural issues of identity and citizenship.

While the social construction of rights at the domestic level has often followed its own course, Japan’s relationship with the international human rights regime since the Universal Declaration’s enactment in 1948 had until recently largely followed a separate trajectory. Long derided internationally as a reluctant participant in the United Nations’ human rights activities, Japan’s rapport with the international human rights regime grew more cooperative and conciliatory in the late 1970s, which included participation in the United Nations human rights regime and accession to major conventions (Fujioka 2003: 288). In the 1990s, this was epitomized in part by the national government’s declaration at the 1993 Bangkok Regional Human Rights Conference, and again at the 1993 Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, that the notion of human rights is universal in nature (Asia Watch 1993). The declarations by Japanese delegations were also an implied rejection of so-called Asian values, a doctrine that gained prominence in the 1990s that asserted an incompatibility between the international human rights regime and the Confucian-based value systems of many East Asian ethnic groups, nations and states.⁹ This new attitude towards the international human rights regime was followed by a more forthcoming attitude from the Japanese government in its reporting, especially regarding the status of minority populations, to the United Nations and other mechanisms (Neary 2002: 51-52, 67). By 1999, Japan had ratified all of the principal human rights conventions except the First Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which permits individual appeals to the Human Rights Committee (See Table 2.2).

⁹ Advocates of Asian values argue that human rights norms are too individual-oriented for East Asian cultures, where traditionally individual freedom has been forgone for the sake of social stability and prosperity. A more complete description of Asian values is found in Inoue 1999: 27-59. Opponents of Asian values from within the region argue that it is based on a misrepresentation of Asian culture (see generally Sen 1997).

Whether this commitment to the international human rights regime is entirely in line with the aims of international norms and processes, and to what extent this commitment has impacted the domestic practice of rights is of continued scholarly concern. Linked to this is also the question why at this juncture Japan's foreign policy towards the international human rights regime became much more amenable. Ian Neary (2002) writes that one reason may be the end of the Cold War: as security concerns were no longer paramount, the government desired to take more initiative in its foreign relations (p. 32-33). During the Cold War, foreign policy tended to follow the concerns and goals of United States foreign policy and the United States itself has been ambivalent toward the international human rights regime for most of the post-Second World War period. Another reason may be in part the government's long campaign to gain better international standing and legitimacy, especially a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council (Flowers 2016: 106). Others have noted that despite public enunciations of support that foreign policy since 1993 has been remarkably inconsistent, pointing out that Japan has still often sided with the ambivalent United States on human rights issues at the United Nations and that human rights language is rarely used in reference to other nations in the Asian region (Fujioka 2003: 301, Erdström 2003: 221). Some of this inconsistency may have been due to political change: in 1994, the Social Democratic Party, an ardent supporter of expanding human rights ideals in domestic law, interrupted nearly fifty continuous years of Liberal Democratic Party rule through the prime ministership of Tomiichi Murayama. Although deposed by the Liberal Democratic Party in elections a few years later, the Liberal Democratic Party continued to adhere to some of the Social Democratic Party's human rights commitments (Croydon 2017: 378). Foreign policy from the 2000s onward however has also taken up the language of human security at the expense of human rights. Human security is a concept that has a strong affiliation with human rights, but one which may allow the government to chart an independent foreign policy course on human rights without direct use of the language (Erdström 2003: 220-221; Kitaoka 2016: 35).

On the domestic side, State embrace of human rights norms does appear to have had an effect on the practice of rights in Japan, for which there are many illustrative examples. Campaigns and programs in the name of human rights have been largely characterised as the grass-roots efforts of non-governmental and non-profit organizations rather than government initiated—although networks and connections between government bureaucracy, especially at the local level, and these organizations suggest that to some extent a mediated human rights practice may be taking place (Aiden 2011: 213; Flowers 2016: 106). Appeals to global human rights norms and mechanisms by domestic Korean ethnic organizations have been cited for playing a role in elevating the status of resident Koreans, most of whose families had lived in Japan for several generations, with regard to eliminating fingerprinting, access to the national pension system and employment, and furthering the legitimacy and status of Korean schools within the education system (Tsutsui and Shin 2008: 401- 407; Kim 2008: 882). Human rights language has also been utilised in movements advocating for the rights of HIV patients as well as organ-donors (Feldman 2000). In the 1990s, the inclusion of human rights language into local policy concerning longstanding discrimination and exclusion against Buraku communities in western Japan and Ainu communities in Hokkaido, in some part due to the demands of organizations and activists acting on these groups' behalf, was said to have transformed policy from one of only direct economic provision towards providing greater attention to violations of individual rights (Amos 2011: 166). The

Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is noted as the basis for the central government's adoption of the 1985 Gender Equality in Employment Act and the 1999 Basic Law for Gender Equality, which established affirmative action targets for women in corporate management (Flowers 2016: 101).

A number of social and demographic changes over the past twenty years however portend significant change in the status of rights as understood now. After two decades of recession, declining birth rates and the pressures of a 'globalised' economy, much of the socioeconomic gains of the postwar era have withered, been lost or are at significant risk. Most evident of this is the significant rise in the general poverty rate within the last decade, 15.6% in 2015, with the rate of poverty for children also reaching a post-War high of 16.3% in 2012.¹⁰ Moreover, social and public welfare programmes designed to aid vulnerable peoples have been lacking, curtailed or cut due to lack of funds or political will, a serious development when many domestic corporations no longer provide job security or the social benefits they once did (Abe 2017: 191). With individual socioeconomic standing and welfare connected to employment in the private sector, Japan had consistently maintained low public welfare expenditures as a percentage of GDP compared with Europe and North America (Suzuki et al. 2010: 519; Takano and Osaka 1999: 331-332). In the course of the country's economic development, individual autonomy and self-realization was exchanged for the economic and social benefits of the private sector and it is no surprise then that the socioeconomic status of the average individual has fallen greatly with the collapse of this corporate system in the 1990s and rises in unemployment and underemployment (Suzuki et al. 2010: 519). It appears as if the 'benevolence' or the entitlements, rights and privileges that once belonged to being a 'citizen' of Japan have become less stable, with longstanding material privileges and liberties open to new forms of risk.

Some of the rise in poverty has also been attributed to the aging of the population, a serious problem that has constrained the tax base and put significant stress on financial resources. In 2000, both the United Nations and the Japanese government estimated an increasing shortfall of 600,000 workers per year, a predicament that some political circles assert invariably necessitates an influx of immigrant labor or at least the greater inclusion of women in the workforce (Imrohoroglu et al. 2017). Changes in the immigration control law were made partly to alleviate worker shortages, especially in employment sectors that are said to be no longer of interest to ordinary Japanese persons, and the country experienced a surge in 'newcomer' immigrants, mainly from China and Brazil, from the 1990s onward (Kashiwazaki 2013: 35; Takenoshita 2017: 567). Given their immigrant status, such persons may be automatically perceived as being outside the mainstream population and even official discussions concerning their status tends to ignore their humanity and societal integration in favor of solely discussing whether immigrants are of continued use to the economy. Most notably, Brazilian immigrants of Japanese descent were offered payments by the central government to assist their repatriation after the subprime mortgage recession of the late 2000s (Takenoshita 2017: 564). Multiculturalism as official State policy has shown preference for social harmony rather than granting socio-political rights, and has been lacking in intent to integrate new and old immigrant populations as new Japanese citizens (Nakamatsu 2014: 138;

¹⁰ <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/06-Seisakujouhou-11900000-Koyoukintoujidoukateikyoku/0000083805.pdf>; <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/k-tyosa/k-tyosa16/dl/03.pdf>. Last accessed 05 September 2017.

Kashiwazaki 2013: 31-32). Kashiwazaki (2013) writes that multicultural policy since the beginning of the 2000s has been to incorporate different ethnicities and cultures residing in Japan as foreigners hosted by Japan, rather than pushing the establishment Japanese identity or nationality as an overarching identity for a diversity of individuals (emphasis original, p. 31). Referred to as *tabunka kyōsei* (multicultural coexistence) in policy documents, emphasis is placed on creating a society where regardless of nationality or ethnicity individuals are expected to respect each other in communities and the workplace (ibid. 39). While maintaining an ‘us’ and ‘them’ dichotomy, the label of foreigner as applied to various ethnic groups and identities is said to have enabled these ethnicities and identities to band together as a mutual cause for the improvement of living conditions for non-Japanese (ibid 43). With specific regard to discrimination, the national government has repeatedly ignored the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination’s (CERD) repeated appeals to enact a domestic anti-discrimination law with a more comprehensive definition of racial discrimination, as well as a human rights protection bill to form an independent human rights commission in line with its treaty obligations.¹¹ Although an anti-hate speech law was adopted by the Diet in May 2016, the law does not criminalize discriminatory speech nor provide any mechanism for legal enforcement (Kotani 2017: 228). While non-governmental organizations, in conjunction with policy developments at the State level contributed to enhancing the protection of human rights domestically, the country faces unprecedented human rights issues as a result of socioeconomic changes within the last several decades.

Education in Japan

The aims, environments and functions of schooling in Japan are important explicit and implicit factors shaping the direction and form human rights education takes in the classroom. There is also the question of where human rights learning takes place, whether it has been given its own distinct course or programme, or whether it is integrated within established school subjects where it may be recontextualised within the curricular aims of those subjects. I will now provide an overview of Japan’s education system, as well as educational policymaking practices at the national level, before moving on to specific sites for human rights learning. The secondary school system is currently organized into lower secondary schools or middle schools (*chūtō gakkō*) that cover the 12 to 14-year old age range and represent the final stage of compulsory education in Japan, and upper-secondary schools or senior high schools (*kōtō gakkō*), that extend adolescent education for another three years (Okano and Tsuchiya 1999: 60). These schools represent mainstream schooling in Japan and although other types of schools and schooling exist my focus will be on these two types of institutions as they cover the broadest spectrum of students in Japan. Although education beyond lower secondary is not compulsory in Japan, the Ministry considers upper secondary schooling as a form of de facto compulsory education, given the high attrition rate from lower to upper secondary schools. In 2017, the attrition rate was 98.7%.¹² Ninety-two percent of middle school students attended

¹¹ http://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/TreatyBodyExternal/Countries.aspx?CountryCode=JPN&Lang=EN. Last accessed 04 September 2017.

¹² http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1383990.htm. Last accessed 05 September 2017.

government administered schools that same year.¹³ The primary purpose of middle schools is to prepare students for high school entrance exams and at this level there is no ability tracking and few if any elective subjects on offer. Students will however for the first time receive lessons from specialist teachers in Japanese, mathematics, science, English, music, art, physical education and social studies.

As of 2016, of the 4,939 upper secondary institutions in Japan, there were 3,634 public institutions (73%), including 15 national public institutions—for the most part schools affiliated with a university—and 1,320 private senior high institutions. The number of private institutions had been increasing since the 1980s, evidence to some that the system has lost its egalitarian structure; however, this number has changed little in the last ten years (Gordon and LeTendre 2010: 199).¹⁴ To progress to upper secondary school students must pass the examination of the school they wish to enter. While individual junior high schools are comparatively homogeneous in terms of their mixture of academic abilities among the student body as well as the curriculum and culture of individual schools, Japanese upper secondary schools can be loosely divided into categories of elite and general academic senior high schools, where the primary purpose of the school is help students enter four year universities, and vocational senior high schools, which include agricultural, commercial or industrial schools and whose students for the most part will be seeking to enter junior colleges, trade schools, or immediate employment after graduation (Nakayasu 2016: 142; Okano and Tsuchiya 1999: 62). A ‘disproportionately large number’ of students at vocational schools have historically come from lower socioeconomic family backgrounds, and vocational school students have been more likely to be of non-Japanese ethnicity (Yoneyama 2001: 35-36). These schools also have had much higher dropout rates.¹⁵ Regardless of type, within individual schools, there may also be offered specific curricular courses of study that students follow for the three-year duration and which focus student studies on subjects ranging from vocational skills to foreign languages. As of 2016, however, 72.93% of upper-secondary school students followed some type of normal, academic course designed to aid student entry into university study (Nakayasu 2016: 142).¹⁶ Although the Ministry of Education does not conduct school rankings, senior high schools are ranked by private organisations in terms of their purpose and their capacity to help students gain entry into specific universities, junior colleges or trade schools.¹⁷

The precise nature of education that a student will receive at upper secondary school thus will be dependent on several overlapping categories: school type or purpose, status or rank, the type of course followed at the school, and any other further differentiation owing to locale, the socio-economic status of an institution's student body as well as the school's status as a public or private institution. Descriptions of the curricular orientation of upper secondary school types generally suggest different pedagogic environments for each type of school. In a study of Aichi prefectural high schools, Mamoru Tsukada (2010), drawing on teacher narratives to form a typology of schools, writes that many upper-secondary schools with an orientation towards achievement on university entrance exams tend to have

¹³ http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1368900.htm. Last accessed 04 September 2017.

¹⁴ http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1368900.htm. Last accessed 04 September 2017.

¹⁵ See http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/29/10/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/10/26/1397646_002.pdf. Last accessed 12 December 2017.

¹⁶ http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/toukei/002/002b/1383990.htm. Last accessed 04 September 2017.

¹⁷ These rankings are widely known by the public but and are normally the calculations of private education institutions, such as cram schools, that aim to help students pass the entrance exams of upper-secondary and universities. Higher education institutions are also ranked in the same way.

‘systematic educational arrangement[s]’ that lack individual autonomy and initiative, whereas vocational and commercial schools allow a greater degree of learner autonomy and individuality, but also greater focus on providing ‘life guidance’ (p. 70-71). Academic high schools provide environments that are likely well suited toward the transmission of the hierarchical knowledge necessary to achieve high scores on university entrance exams. Vocational and commercial schools can potentially be viewed as spaces concerned with social regulation as students are made ‘more public’ within the school and personal dispositions and cognitive attributes are more open to evaluation. However, at some elite urban high schools, while the approach to knowledge acquisition is the same as in general academic schools, students may be given more independence in their learning, suggesting a potential societal advantage in that students not only receive necessary knowledge, but also receive lessons in how to learn autonomously (ibid. 71). Similar descriptions of student life in upper secondary education also appear in Okano and Tsuchiya (1999: 67-74), Rohlen (1983: 43-44), Yoneyama (2001: 34-35) and Sakai (2010: 88-89). Although public opinion continues to adhere to the belief that the education system is egalitarian, especially in terms of access to education, these descriptions suggest the partial but implicit role that upper-secondary school curricula and school ethos perhaps plays in the reproduction of established socioeconomic divisions.

With regard to the official national curriculum (School Curriculum), under the 1947 Fundamental Educational Law the Ministry is required to revise the School Curriculum once every ten years, but in reality, curricula undergo partial to full revisions approximately every three years. The process of drafting a School Curriculum for all grade levels is a two-stage progression involving the Central Education Council (Central Council, *chuō kyōiku shingi-kai*) and Office of Curriculum Planning (Curriculum Planning Office, *kyōiku katei-ka*), both of which are divisions of the national Ministry of Education and are accountable to the Minister of Education. The Central Council is for the most part responsible for determining the contents and thematic scope of the curriculum, referred to as the Commentary (*gakushū shidō yōryō kaisetsu*), its final statement becoming the core philosophy underpinning the main part of the School Curriculum, the *gakushū shidō yōryō*, or Official Guidance.¹⁸ The Central Council consists of four hundred persons, mostly educationalists and academics as well as practitioners such as principals and teachers, and is further divided into 20 Curriculum Sections (*kyōiku katei-bukai*), which each deal with an individual school subject within the overall School Curriculum. After the Commentary has been finalized, the Curriculum Planning Office then accepts the document and builds appropriate pedagogic guidance around its contents, specifying exactly what and how the curriculum is to be delivered by schools and teachers in the classroom. The Curriculum Planning Office itself consists of 25 general officers of the department and 40 subject examiners (*kyōka chōsa-kan*) who are responsible for individual subject areas. Like members of the Curriculum Sections within the Central Council, subject examiners come from a wide range of backgrounds. The role of the general officers on the other hand is to manage the official guidance development process and to serve as negotiators and liaisons between the subject examiners and members of the Central Council. The responsibility of both divisions to produce a School Curriculum is said to be a negotiated process rather than a clear-cut division of labor. The process is also said to be often divisive at first but that generally both sides come to agreement well before submitting final versions to the Minister of Education

¹⁸ Collectively I will refer to both the commentary (*gakushū shidō yōryō kaisetsu*) and official guidance (*shidō yōryō*) as the School Curriculum.

for approval, with Education Ministers themselves responsible for settling any lingering disputes over contents. As the School Curriculum is not considered law in Japan, a new national curriculum does not require parliamentary approval. Ruling parties, and to a lesser extent opposition parties, do try to influence curricular contents, especially as the Prime Minister holds the power to appoint the Minister of Education. Despite its non-legal status, however, all schools and their teaching staff, regardless of type or status, are required contractually to follow the School Curriculum set forth by the Ministry. While teachers are expected to understand and follow both the commentary and official guidance, the Ministry regards official guidance as the more important of the two policy documents.¹⁹ According to the Ministry itself, since its establishment, the Ministry has never used its statutory authority to discipline schools or districts that have strayed from the contents of the School Curriculum, particularly in the course of preparing students for entrance exams or vocational careers.

Beyond official guidance, the Ministry also regards the selection and use of textbooks as another if not primary means by which to implement the curriculum (Fujita 2010: 20). Once the School Curriculum has been issued, publishers begin to draft copy and submit finalised content to the Textbook Authorization Council (Textbook Council, *kyōkayōtoshō kentei chōsa shingi-kai*), the organization within the Ministry charged with authorising textbooks. The majority of the thirty-member Textbook Council is made up of university academics and school principles.²⁰ More will be stated about the textbook drafting process in Chapter 5; however, the end result is a set of textbooks from which local and prefectural boards of education as well as certain individual schools then choose to use for a particular academic year. In 2013 for example, seven textbooks were made available for use in junior high school civics, one of the core individual subjects of lower secondary social studies.²¹ Twelve textbooks were available for senior high school Contemporary Social Studies.²² However, the textbook publication process, from writing to authorization, can take almost two to three years time, meaning that with a three-year curricular revision cycle, ‘current’ textbooks may almost always be out-of-date in terms of their content. Pedagogic guidance for textbooks is also published to help teachers utilise a particular text in the classroom, yet publishers are responsible for such guidance and the Ministry plays no role in its publication. In contrast to its portrayal in Western academic literature, there is a great variety in schooling in Japan and given the Ministry’s means of implementing and enforcing the curriculum within schools, further variation in the education a student receives may also be the result of regional, local and individual institution contexts.²³

Human Rights Learning within Schools

¹⁹ Prior to the 1990s, official guidance or *gakushū shidō yōryo* itself was the School Curriculum. The current process undertaken by the Central Council was created in response to criticism by educationalists and politicians that guidance was not substantive enough and that the curriculum lacked a philosophical core.

²⁰ As of March 24, 2017. http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/tosho/106/shiryo/attach/1383604.htm. Last accessed 07 September 2017.

²¹ http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/mokuroku/25/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/04/26/133377702.pdf. Last accessed 05 September 2017.

²² http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/kyoukasho/mokuroku/25/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/04/26/133377703.pdf. Last accessed 05 September 2017.

²³ See So et al. 2010: 273.

From here I first wish to examine sites for human rights learning, specifically sites within the School Curriculum issued by Japan's Ministry of Education. Later I will look at alternate forms of human rights learning established by local boards of education and institutions. As stated in the opening chapter, secondary schooling has been explicitly declared by Japan's Ministry of Education as one of the primary education sites for human rights learning, yet it is not certain that developments in the Cabinet and Diet have had much impact on the content of subsequent curriculum revisions since 2000; the past decade for instance has not seen the development of a specific, self-contained human rights curricula or pedagogy within the School Curriculum. Human rights learning within Japan's official upper-secondary School Curriculum is primarily embedded in the course *gendai shakai* (Contemporary Social Studies), which resides within the field of *shakaika* (social studies). Social studies is an umbrella term used to refer to any of the following courses at the upper-secondary level: Geography (*chirigaku*), World History (*seikaishi*), Japanese History (*nihonshi*), and Contemporary Social Studies (*gendai shakai*). It is again important to note however that not all of these courses may be taught at every upper-secondary institution and even if they are, the content, sequencing and course hours for these courses may differ by education district, school and individual students' course of study.

The modern history of social studies begins with Japan's post-Second World War occupation and as a politically contested curriculum, the content and practice of social studies has undergone changes in the past seventy years. Initially created by the Ministry of Education under directives from the Occupation, the social studies curriculum in the immediate post-War era aimed to displace the pre-War curriculum of *shushin* (morals), which Kobayashi (1992) writes was seen by the Occupation as being too closely associated with the ultra-nationalistic and militaristic pre-war imperial order (p. 170). Thus, for a society in the midst of a democratic transition, *shakaika* was considered to be the primary means of educating adolescents of their new rights based on their status as individuals and citizens rather than Imperial subjects (Nomura 2017: 632). From this initial period onward, subsequent shifts in Japanese post-War education policy on *shakaika*, often mirroring shifts in general education policy, can be divided roughly into three periods: from the immediate end of the war to the mid-1960s, a period of democratisation and liberalisation; the 1960s to the 1980s, a period where the curriculum underwent a de-politicisation and emphasis was shifted toward the rote memorization of facts and figures; and the 1990s to the present, where *shakaika* is still focused on facts and figures, but where also there has been renewed emphasis in using the subject to provide practical skills for students to live as future members of adult society, address social and behavioral problems within schools, and inculcate specific individual and communal identities. In this last period, social studies has also been caught up in an ongoing political debate as to whether the education system should instil adolescents with a sense of national and cultural pride.

The pre-War education system had as its guiding document the Imperial Rescript on Education (1890), which was seen by the Occupation and some Japanese educationalists as having formed the basis of Japanese ultra-nationalism during the 1930s (Inoue 2001: 111, 147-148). The document urged subordination and sacrifice to the Imperial order. Inoue (2001) writes that the Occupation paid more attention to purging militarism and ultra-nationalism than democratic education, and although the directives for reform of the education system came directly from the Occupation, it was Japanese education leaders who actually undertook initiatives toward

democratising the education system, often without much Occupation oversight (p. 110-111). The Fundamental Law of Education for the new system was drafted in 1947 by the Ministry and approved by the Diet to guide education in the post-War era:

Preamble: Having established the Constitution of Japan, we have resolved to build a democratic and cultured nation and contribute to peace in the world. Realization of this ideal will depend fundamentally on the power of education.

We must aim at rearing people who value individual dignity (*kojin-no songen-o omonji*) and desire truth and peace, and the same time spread education that aims at creating a culture that is both universal and rich in individuality.

Article 1. Aim of Education. Education aims at perfecting *jinkaku* [individual character]. It has to be carried out to raise people who are healthy in mind and body and who, as members of the peaceful nation and society, love truth and justice, honor the value of the individual, value work and responsibility and are full of the spirit of voluntary initiative. (As translated by Inoue 2001: 141-142)

The new course of social studies mirrored the aims of the Fundamental Law of Education to instill democratic values and build individual dignity. In drafting the new curriculum, the Ministry borrowed from cosmopolitan values espoused by the newly established United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization to emphasise human welfare, human rights, world peace and a common humanity (Saito 2010: 133; Nomura 2017: 632). The curriculum for social studies at this time ‘adopted problem-solving methods, such as research and discussion, and taught about life and society in general’ (Ikeno 2005: 94; Kobayashi 1992: 172). Students were to develop skills and attitudes necessary for participation in a democratic society, although some have argued that this was tokenistic in practice, with little progress made in embedding individual rights and responsibilities (Asano 2011: 103; Ikeno 2005: 94).

A break from this initial period is said to have occurred from the late-1950s onward, roughly at the same time the domestic economy entered a period of rapid economic growth. Education policy on social studies shifted from democratic socialisation toward the primary education goal of developing human capital. Okano and Tsuchiya (1999) argue that democracy was judged by the government to have successfully taken root in Japanese society and priority was put on ‘the dissemination of knowledge and the selection of human resources to meet the emerging needs of the economy’ (p. 39, 49). The curricular content of social studies became both a product for and consequence of economic growth. As the Japanese economy continued to expand and as the country grew more affluent, ever rising numbers of Japanese youth were able to access education beyond the compulsory limit of lower middle school (Inoue 2001: 163). Increasing population levels and increased demand for higher education in turn led to greater competitive pressure in entrance examinations for upper secondary school and university places, especially as advancement into high-ranking upper secondary schools and universities was also increasingly seen as a means to differentiate oneself for a career, gain respect in society, and secure an overall better life (Inoue 2001: 163; Suzuki et al. 2010: 522; Nomura 2017: 634). Since competitive exams for entrance into both classes of institutions rely heavily on knowledge-retention and closed questioning, to prepare students for such exams it

became necessary to provide an educational environment that directly disseminated such knowledge and aided in knowledge retention.

Sakamoto and Yamamoto (1992), however, offer an additional explanation for changes to social studies during this period by suggesting that the Ministry had become concerned that democratic socialisation had preceded too far, and that the previous era's emphasis on practical knowledge was one of the direct causes of 'socially disruptive' student-led protests against the 1960 United States-Japan Security Treaty and later the Vietnam War in the 1960s and 1970s (pp. 220, 223-224, 228). In the early 1960s, student protests had been confined to college campuses, but by the late 1960s, student activism had spilled over into upper secondary schools (ibid. 225). The shift in emphasis from practical skills may therefore also be seen as part of a larger attempt to suppress political activity in schools, which included regulation of the political behavior of teachers, with punishment meted out to teachers who tolerated or encouraged students carrying out political activities (ibid. 226-227). It has also been argued by others that the private sector had gained significant influence in policy circles during this period to influence curricular content; distilling a sense of obedience, discipline and homogeneity through education would also hopefully provide diligent and dutiful workers to the private sector (Asano 2011: 105-106). Ikeno (2005) writes that during this era each school subject was reorganised into basic knowledge and skill set, with social studies providing knowledge of the nation and society through direct reference to geography, history and the social sciences; factual knowledge to be known rather than understood (p. 94).

In the 1980s and 1990s, after critics began to argue that education for human capital was conducted at the 'cost of a more wholesome and varied life for students with different abilities and talents,' changes again were made to the School Curriculum that have likely impacted the manner in which social studies is taught (Inoue 2001: 163). The School Curriculum was moreover accused of producing apathetic students who were incapable of taking on the role of true citizens within a democratic society (Sakamoto and Yamamoto 1992: 219-220). Competitive academic pressure was also linked to new behavioral problems at school, such as bullying, student refusal to attend classes, and other forms of juvenile delinquency and violence (Inoue 2001: 163; Nathan 2004: 31-32; Okano and Tsuchiya 1999: 194-210). Inoue and Ikeno both write that educational reform since the late 1980s and 1990s aimed at balancing competitive pressure with a strong curricular emphasis on individual dignity, respect of for individuality and by stressing the importance of interrelationships ('cooperation with diversity') (Asano 2011: 107). The culmination were new curriculum guidelines in 1998, referred to as *yutori kyōiku* or 'pressure-free' education, that cut curricular content substantially in order that teachers could reduce the pace of lessons and spend more time focused on individual students (Nomura 2017: 626). Another rationale for changes to the curriculum was the central government's concern from the 1970s and 1980s onward with the country's international image as being closed and indifferent to the rest of the world, despite its growing economic stature and clout in the global economy. The private sector as well was likely concerned with maintaining its global competitive advantage and the development of domestic corporations into multinational ones (Okano 2006: 474; Asano 2011: 106). It was felt that Japan as a nation as well as students as future workers should undergo a process of 'internationalisation' (*kokusaika*), being more amenable to the global—though it has been suggested that this has often been practiced at some education levels as exposure to 'foreignness' and a strengthening of national identity rather than the further, direct cultivation of cosmopolitan individuals

(Whitsed and Volet 2011: 147, Goodman 2007: 71-74). By the 2000s, however, conservative political factions began to reassert themselves in education policymaking. Having long derided the current Constitution and Fundamental Law of Education as foreign cultural artefacts imposed on the State, these factions called for the reintroduction of patriotic or traditional Japanese cultural values into the curriculum as well as greater legislative control over education policy (Boyd 2014: 47-48; Anzai 2015: 437; Takayama 2008: 138). Their reasoning was that the cosmopolitan post-War curriculum itself had played a significant role in developing adult citizens who are overly individualised, cynical and materialistic, rather than the exam competitiveness of the 1960s and 1970s (Takayama and Apple 2008: 293). Similarly, the government implicated the *yutori* reforms of the previous decade, particularly its Western child-centered ideology, as also contributing to morale decline as well as declines in student achievement, particularly as the *yutori* reforms were linked, albeit erroneously, to declines in Japan's ranking on international standardised testing (ibid. 290, 297). Curricular and institutional reforms have been enacted in recent years to rescind *yutori* reforms and to inculcate communal values, and respect for society and the nation, the most prominent symbol being the 2006 revision of the Fundamental Law of Education to include 'love for [the] country' as a curricular aim (Anzai 2015: 436; Nomura 2017: 626).

Despite the historical changes to general and subject curricula, as policy, the cosmopolitan values established within the curriculum of the immediate post-War era have not been at any point been displaced as curricular aims, the political tensions over the future direction of social studies potentially establishing conflicting knowledge sets (Saito 2010: 140-141). Social studies at the secondary level of the current period has two aims: to teach fundamental knowledge of geography, history and culture as well as to teach the individual to become self-reliant and actively engaged in society on a conscious and autonomous basis. According to official guidance for the 2009 School Curriculum, partially revised in 2014, the aim of *shakaika* for upper secondary schools is as follows:

Based on the spirit of scientific inquiry and respect for humanity, and from various perspectives, [the aim of social studies is to] deepen an understanding of society and humanity, foster the basics of an ability to consider about the way one ought to live as a human being together with an ability to judge fairly and think responsibly about basic problems within modern society, and to nurture the necessary abilities and attitudes of citizens with sound judgment.²⁴

Over the course of three years, upper secondary students will spend approximately 210 instruction hours on social studies related to civics (*kōminka*) out of 2590 total course hours spent in instruction.²⁵ At slightly less than ten percent of the total number of course hours, time spent in civic related education is quite low and learning on specific topics within the subject probably an even lower. Explicit reference to human rights as well as citizenship rights are made within official guidance for upper-secondary schooling, notably reference to subject content related to political participation and modern democracy: '[the aim of social studies is to] deepen understanding of the guarantee of human rights, the sovereignty of the people,

²⁴ http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/micro_detail/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/10/01/12820004.pdf. Last accessed 07 September 2017.

²⁵ One 'instruction hour' is equivalent to 50 minutes of instruction rather than a full hour of 60 minutes. Civic education includes modern society, politics, economics and ethics. Including history and geography, the total course hours of instruction for social studies is 840 course hours, approximately one-third of the total instruction hours. See http://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/youryou/kou/kou.pdf; Last accessed 07 September 2017.

pacifism and the security of our country.’²⁶ Further mention is made in reference to respect for individuals and the rule of law:

With respect for individuals as the foundation, [the aim of social studies is to] cultivate a better understanding of the guarantee of the rights of citizens, the rule of law and the purpose and meaning of norms and laws as well as the current justice system while connecting them to the Japanese Constitution along with deepening a self-awareness concerning the respect for life, civil liberties as well as duties and responsibilities, a respect for humanity, equality and the ethics to live with others.

A final reference to human rights is made in the context of globalisation and Japan’s role within international society, stating that the role of social studies education in this context is to foster students’ consideration for human rights.

One final factor that may affect the final selection and prioritization of topics within social studies classrooms is the nationwide university entrance examination held in January of each year, commonly referred to as the *sentā-shiken* (National Center Test for University Admissions). Many higher education institutions make their primary admission decisions based on the results of this examination, although students may be required to sit alternate or additional examinations internally drafted by a particular institution. Between 2012 and 2017, on average 550,000 students sat the *sentā-shiken*, with 547,892 candidates sitting the exam in 2017.²⁷ University candidates are tested on a range of subject areas that are chosen on the basis of the requirements set forth for a particular academic course or major by the institution the candidate intends to apply to. Contemporary Social Studies as a test subject belongs to a group of test subjects labeled ‘Civics,’ which also includes Ethics, Politics and Economics, and a combined Ethics, Politics and Economics subject test. Within this grouping, Contemporary Social Studies was the most commonly sat subject between 2012 and 2017 at 83,395 candidates average; however, the number of candidates generally declined during these years.²⁸ The Contemporary Social Studies consisted of 36 closed questions for each year between 2006 and 2017. Content-wise, the exam contains five main or broad content groupings from which questions are drawn, which were proportionately between 2006 and 2014, ‘current social issues’ (14.8%), ‘youth and society’ (15.7%), ‘politics and democracy’ (24.4%), ‘economics’ (23.1%) and ‘global issues’ (21.9%) (Kyōgakusha 2014: 21, 24-29). Within the same range of years, specific topics questioned have focused on global environmental issues, the family and aging society, adolescence, enterprise and business, finance and monetary policy, domestic human rights, the justice system, local autonomy, the United Nations, international economics and economic assistance to developing countries (ibid.). At least one question per test year has also been devoted to analytical thinking, where the candidate must refer to a chart or graph and draw the most relevant conclusion from its contents, although the student must choose an answer from a range of closed statements. Direct questioning on human rights on the examination has ranged between one and four questions per year between 2006 and 2016, or between 2 to 10% of the total number of problems per year.²⁹ There were no human rights related questions on the 2014 exam.

²⁶ http://www.mext.go.jp/component/a_menu/education/micro_detail/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2014/10/01/12820004.pdf. Last accessed 07 September 2017.

²⁷ National Center for University Entrance Examinations. See <http://www.dnc.ac.jp/sp/data/index.html>. Last accessed 11 September 2017.

²⁸ <http://www.dnc.ac.jp/sp/data/index.html>. Last accessed 11 September 2017.

²⁹ <http://www.dnc.ac.jp/sp/data/kakomondai.html>. Last accessed 11 September 2017.

Another legacy of the Occupation was provision of greater authority to local boards over the implementation of national education policies (Bondy 2014: 94-95). It was not until 1958 that Japan promulgated an official School Curriculum, before which Ministry curricula were viewed as guidelines (Nabeshima et al. 2000). Nor has the contractual standing of the School Curriculum impeded local governments and school districts, as well as individual schools and teachers from modifying or adding to its contents, or replacing subjects altogether (Aiden 2011: 213; Okano 2006: 481-486). This has allowed for variety in local education practice, particularly the creation of specialised, community-based programmes of instruction dealing with issues of social justice and inclusion. Officially recognised in 1965, Dōwa education for instance was established by teachers and interested local parties in western Japan to resolve lingering integration issues related to the country's former 'caste' system, referred to in English as the Buraku (Neary 2009). Although populations and communities of Buraku can be found across the country, the largest communities are in regions of western Japan, which explains to some extent why this specialised subject arose here. The 1969 Dōwa Special Measures Law, in addition to providing financial assistance for public works projects in areas designated as Buraku communities, identified many areas of education assistance in addition to the teaching of Buraku issues, such as scholarships for Buraku children and measures for improving high school enrollment rates as well as financial support for providing teachers to schools and the establishment of youth and child support facilities and tutors (Nabeshima 2010: 122). In and around the 1990s, Dōwa education began to be reshaped into Human Rights Education (*jinken kyōiku*), its remit expanded to issues of gender, disability and discrimination (Amos 2011: 164).

Diverse in practice, human rights education courses currently supplant Contemporary Social Studies in several regions. In its current form in Osaka, for instance, human rights education follows from three aims as devised by the Human Rights Education Planning Section (*jinkenkyōiku kikakuka*) within the Osaka Board of Education and other organizations including local non-governmental and non-profit organizations: the dissemination of general knowledge concerning human rights, improvement of the school environment so that all students' human rights are respected, and guaranteeing the right to education by providing public assistance to pupils in need, largely in the form of scholarships and tuition waivers. This at face value largely conforms to the international practice of human rights education save for further emphasis on active citizenship skills. Under the Municipal Basic Human Rights Education Policy of Osaka, these goals have been expanded to serve all disadvantaged schools and students, not just Buraku students and communities. The Human Rights Education Planning Section, to make the idea of human rights accessible and practical, communicates with schools concerning specific issues or problems and provides advice and teaching materials on human rights education that schools can then choose to use in their classrooms. In addition to regular instruction by human rights educators (*jinken buchō*) at each school, schools deemed as having problems are provided monies to hire additional human rights staff on a part-time basis, with specialist staff at schools spending 16 hours a week at a particular school, with ten hours or so spent on research and monitoring activities and six hours devoted to instruction. The practical nature of human rights education as a curriculum means that it often deals more with the specific behavioral problems at individual schools

rather than necessarily providing instruction for students to engage with a concept of active citizenship that in turn could lead to action outside of the school.

The transition to Human Rights Education in local areas in western Japan did follow efforts by the central government to raise the country's international political standing, which included participation in the United Nations human rights regime. Additionally, some of this transition coincided with the 2002 expiration of the Dōwa Special Measures Law, which had been renewed periodically since its inception. The law was left to expire because among other reasons the economic provisions of the law were deemed to have been a success. The intersection of government policy and changes in these local initiatives however remains uncertain. Amos (2011) has suggested that with material deprivation resolved, the Buraku Liberation League (*buraku kaihō dōmei*), a main proponent of Dōwa education, favoured the transition to human rights education, as it allowed for greater focus on social discrimination (pp. 167-168). Invoking newly signed treaty language was a symbolic means of applying pressure on the central government to deal with discrimination (ibid. 165). However, as noted earlier, multiculturalism as government policy has favoured promoting social harmony over granting sociopolitical rights, meaning the State may view human rights education as a means to depoliticise Dōwa issues and reassign narrative control of human rights to the central government. Understanding the State's view of human rights through official curricula thus may have implications for comprehending local education practice.

Conclusions

While domestic progress on human rights issues since the end of the Second World War has been made, there still seems to be a unclear connection between official policy and domestic human rights practice, where grass-roots efforts have largely stepped in to fill the void in operationalising human rights norms into domestic practice, although these organizations do sometimes often appear to be beholden to State benevolence and influence.³⁰ It is not clear whether this is because there is ambivalence at the national policy level toward human rights practice or whether there is a deliberate intent to let domestic organizations fill the void left by the State, often with the State then intending to manage their activities and causes. This is perhaps consistent with other recent policies aimed at reshaping national-local government connections through political decentralization. In terms of issues, the country now however is one unrecognizable to itself twenty to thirty years earlier; a country that for a long time struggled with its own unique issues of social justice and human rights, and in many cases was working to address those problems, but one that now faces a whole new set of issues brought on by changing social conditions. Examining the recontextualisation of human rights discourse within official curricula may not only be useful in determining what exactly the government itself 'officially' means by human rights, but also how the government intends to use education as a tool to partially address these issues and how official policy may be shaping its

³⁰ Many non-governmental and non-profit organizations for one seem dependent on local government financing, and have seen their existence threatened through expenditure cuts. See for example discussion at <http://www.hurights.or.jp/asia-pacific/052/focus52.pdf>, Last accessed 04 September 2017.

practice in local contexts, particularly if schools with specialised programmes are contrasted with ordinary schooling under the School Curriculum.

In terms of learning however, there may be an extreme discrepancy between the School Curriculum, as a portrait of what knowledge should look like, and knowledge as it is actually taught and practiced. While official knowledge is determined by the Ministry, if in fact curricular guidance and textbooks are the only authority structures within the system to enforce implementation of the curriculum, then the system has always probably been much more a diffuse network than the image of a top-down, hierarchical structure by which it is sometimes portrayed in the literature. The previous discussion ultimately suggests that local districts, individual schools and especially teachers themselves may be the main loci for operationalising and recontextualising human rights concepts in addition to the School Curriculum, and this has to be taken into account when assessing how students eventually construct meaning around knowledge in the School Curriculum. The one area where larger structural context may still have a tremendous effect on *in situ* practices is the higher education exam system itself, which prioritises rote memorization of specific knowledge sets for closed test questions, and the orientation of academic-focused schools towards this system. While the Ministry has asserted that the exam system is in the course of being replaced by alternative application procedures—prospective high school students for example can now apply to universities through recommendations and essays in a similar manner to North America—and therefore the problem of undue attention paid to competitive exams in schools is a problem that may work itself out on its own, alternate routes to higher education are still not widely accepted or practised. On the other side are the disadvantaged at non-academic schools, for whom the same educational messages transmitted by the Ministry may have a different resonance, embedded as they are within the pedagogic discourse of life guidance.

Finally, Contemporary Social Studies as part of the larger field of social studies has been identified as the likely subject to transmit human rights knowledge. Social studies began life based upon cosmopolitan values borrowed at the end of the Second World War. While cosmopolitan values remain embedded in the curriculum, renewed emphasis on the particularism of Japanese identity and cultivating a new love and respect for the Japanese nation, culture and traditions has the potential to create tensions and contradictions within the curriculum, and it will be of interest to explore how these two aims are juxtaposed, as well as how human rights knowledge in the curriculum engages both Japanese and non-Japanese identities. Likewise, it will be of interest to investigate how specialised programmes relate to human rights knowledge in the curriculum, whether they take a completely independent course, or seek to interrelate with human rights knowledge within the School Curriculum. Contrasting student construction of meaning around human rights in both ordinary and specialized, local contexts will also be of use in understanding the potential impact of both forms of human rights learning.

Chapter 3
**Social Networks, Position Practices and the
Sociology of Curricula**

In this chapter I will make a case for a specific conceptual framework to guide my analysis and exploration of contextualized human rights education in Japan. The key sociological task of my research is not only how to capture and assess attitudes and beliefs toward human rights, but to cast these beliefs and attitudes as part of wider social, and especially educational, processes.¹ Thus initially the discussion in this chapter will be centered on the underlying theoretical perspective for empirical research, before moving to methodology, and I will test Ira Cohen's and Rob Stone's concept of position practices as an apt means to analyze contextualized human rights norms, extending their ideas to include teaching and learning in the classroom (Cohen 1989; Stones 2005, 2006).² Rob Stones notes that serious commentators on rights must acknowledge that they are always embedded and relational, and writes that position practices:

...with its concern with how both external and social conditions and internal creativity combine within the phenomenological mind and body of the agent, provides a clear basis for locating the ideals of autonomy in actual social and personal conditions (Stones 2006: 139, 136).

From the outset, I must qualify my use of social theory as a tool not to state something substantive about human rights education but as a means to provide a transparent and organized thoroughness to the research framework. Nicos Mouzelis writes that the use of social theory in this sense:

... tries to elaborate a set of conceptual tools, which rather than telling us anything substantive about social systems, simply suggest ways of looking at them. It provides conceptual means that allow us, for instance, to ask systematic, comparatively oriented questions about social wholes, ranging from work groups to formal organizations or whole communities (Mouzelis 1995: 2).

This means that my use of social theory is pragmatic, but in my opinion researchers must still make a case for the appropriateness of a particular theory and acknowledge shortcomings in terms of that theory's tendency to bracket out certain possibilities of substantive theory. I will begin first with a critique of a more traditional theoretical framework within the sociology of the curriculum, Bernstein's concept of pedagogic discourse. I have chosen to explore Bernstein because his theories discuss the construction of curricular knowledge and connect this knowledge to pedagogic practice, an interesting frame to discuss the contextualisation of human rights in education.³ I will then explore the potential of

¹ As set out in the opening chapter, my research will deal with two questions for empirical research: 1.) How are human rights contextualized within Japan's educational system?; and 2.) How do Japanese teachers and adolescents construct meaning around the notion of human rights?

² 'Position practices' is based on Giddens' theory of structuration and Bhaskar's position practices in critical realism. There are strong similarities between position practices and actor-network theory (Latour 2005, Law and Hassard 1999), Archer's morphogenetic approach (Archer 1995b), Bhaskar's own notion of position practices (Bhaskar 1979) and to a lesser extent Bourdieu's notions of habitus and field (Bourdieu 1990, 1993). It is not the purpose of this chapter to discuss the differences between these theories.

³ By contextualisation I refer to the transfer of concepts, information and practices originating in a particular social context to a new context, and the subsequent change that occurs as the 'original' is mediated by the 'new.' This process of change is contextualisation.

position practices in rectifying some of the deficiencies of Bernstein's theories while at same time repositioning his theories' importance. Finally, in this chapter I will explain how the theoretical framework informs methodology through an overview of this work's research design.

Bernstein's Sociology of the Curriculum

Beginning with the work of Michael F. D. Young and Basil Bernstein, sociologists in the field of education began to look at curriculum not just as the organization of school knowledge, but as an 'organized and codified reflection of societal and ideological interests' (Sadovnik 1995: 3, Moore 2013: 335-336, Edwards 2014: 167-168). This work was subsequently labeled the 'new sociology of education.' The basis of the new sociology of education was the belief that knowledge is socially and ideologically constructed and that the 'sociology of education is no longer conceived as the area of inquiry distinct from the sociology of knowledge' (Young 1971: 3). Rendered as such, curricula came to be seen not as something value neutral, but as contested and problematic, which in turn meant curricula could be lent to critical and ideological analysis (Sadovnik 1995: 4). Although a number of researchers began working within this new sociology, Wexler writes that the common ground underlying all research is that 'ideology, reproduction and resistance are simultaneously organizing themes of the new sociology discourse' (1987: 5). The initial research interests of this new movement in both the United States and Britain were related to cultural reproduction and especially how students resist modes of ideological domination. Further areas of inquiry included reproduction of the inequality of social classes and the understanding of the relationship between social class and academic achievement (Hurn 1993).

Basil Bernstein's work in particular has been central to a number of new sociological approaches to the study of curricula (Sadovnik 1995: 4). Bernstein's early work on code theory raised crucial questions about the relationships between the division of labour, the family, and the school, and explored how these relationships affected differences in learning among social classes. His later work attempted to connect macro-social structures with micro-educational processes of the school, promising to connect societal, institutional, interactional and internal psychological levels of sociological analysis (ibid. 7). In my own research I have felt the need to map out socially relevant actors as a means of tracing how the idea of human rights moves through the education system from pedagogy to practice as a means to determine not only what is being taught about human rights but also to place into context the potential effect of human rights learning. Initially it would appear that Bernstein's ideas would be suitable for my study as he provides a concrete and developed vocabulary to describe the contextualisation and transmission of educational knowledge, and the limitations these place on what can and cannot be known in the learning process. This has both advantages and disadvantages, but first I wish to provide an overview of Bernstein's key ideas.

Central to Bernstein's ideas is his concept of *pedagogic discourse*, which he defines as thus:

Pedagogic discourse ... is a principle which removes a discourse from its substantive practice and context, and relocates that discourse according to its own principle of selective reordering and focusing. In this process of delocation and relocation of the original discourse the social bias of its practice, including

its power relations, is removed ... [T]he original discourse is ... transform[ed] from an actual practice to a virtual or imaginary practice. Pedagogic discourse creates imaginary subjects ... It is a *recontextualizing* principle which selectively appropriates, relocates, refocuses, and relates other discourses to constitute its own order and orderings ... In this sense it has no discourse of its own, other than a recontextualizing discourse. (emphasis mine, 2000: 1984)

Bernstein, especially from *Class, Codes and Control* (1975) onward, is interested in how society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, and attempts to show that educational knowledge is a reflection of both the distribution of power within society and represents attempts by those with power toward social control (p. 85). He argues that educational knowledge is a major regulator of learners' experiences and asks, 'how are forms of experience, identity and relation evoked, maintained and changed by the formal transmission of educational knowledge and sensitivities?' (ibid.). Curriculum defines what counts as official knowledge, and pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge (ibid.). In this sense, it seems reasonable to expect that a conceptual research framework based upon Bernstein's theories could provide a language with which to analyze the establishment, transmission and likely effect of a human rights curriculum.

According to his definition of pedagogic discourse, no knowledge or social practice is ever taught in its original or manifest form, but is reconstituted by an explicit or inexplicit set of principles (pedagogic discourse) that reorders knowledge or social practice into a form that is suited for pedagogic practice. Students in a classroom do not learn directly about the plight of the disadvantaged in their society, for instance, but instead inevitably learn about such a topic in a form that is denuded of its original context and an abstraction of actual social events, phenomena and practices. Note that this does not mean, in my opinion, that Bernstein is stating that knowledge is always consciously and deliberately manipulated to suit certain social, political or even pedagogic ends, but that limitations of physical existence and learning, necessitate that much of what is taught or learned in an educational system or classroom can only be imaginary or virtual.⁴ At the same time, whether consciously or not, because knowledge has been reconstituted for pedagogic practice, its reconstituted form carries with it inherent, and often invisible, limitations about what can be discerned from or stated about that knowledge, especially in comparison to its original form (Bernstein 2000: 28, 33).⁵ This idea of pedagogic discourse concurs with my concern as to whether learning about human rights can obfuscate the actual social practice of human rights. In some sense a human rights curriculum, as an approximation of actual social, human rights practice, will always fall short of reality.

Although he does not ascribe to having an explicit model of recontextualisation, Bernstein's writings do point to a framework for pointing out critical junctures for empirical research. At the macro-level, there is almost always a site of knowledge production, a context where pedagogic and curricular ideas or discourse are selected, created, modified or deleted, and a recontextualisation site, where selected knowledge is then transformed into its eventual form for transmission.⁶ The knowledge

⁴ This is reminiscent of Hägerstrand's idea of time-geography. See Pred 1977.

⁵ These limitations according to Bernstein are often reflections of the prevailing social order or context (2000: 32). Even knowledge that in and of itself is seemingly neutral, knowledge that stresses skills or competencies, such as that of math or chemistry, will be subject to such limitations (ibid.).

⁶ Corollary to the idea of a site of knowledge production is Bernstein's theory of knowledge structures in which he divides knowledge produced within this field into specialized knowledge, or *vertical discourses* (eg. chemistry, physics), and ordinary, non-specialized knowledge, or *horizontal discourses* (eg. social studies) (2000: 158-165).

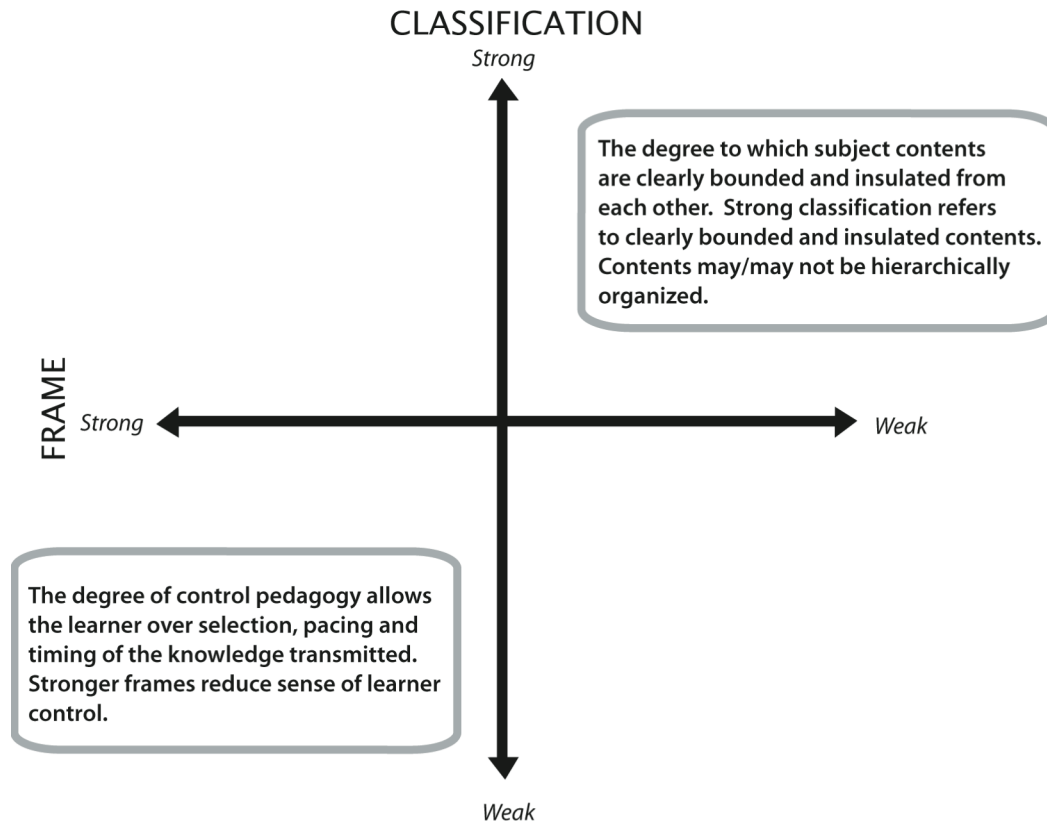
production context, according to Bernstein, is constituted by historical and *in situ* social positions, practices and relations arising from the production of pedagogic discourse itself. Those that regulate the process and are charged with distributing such knowledge in effect delineate it into permissible and impermissible, thinkable and unthinkable forms.⁷ Bernstein divides the recontextualizing context into two specialized contexts: the first is the official recontextualizing field (ORF), which typically consists of the state along with relevant ministries, agencies and institutions both national and local (Bernstein 2000: 33). The second he refers to as the pedagogic recontextualizing field (PRF), which includes institutions and persons of a more academic character including education departments at colleges and universities as well as educational research institutions and specialized journals (*ibid.*). What is important to remember is that the recontextualizing field is variable and that there is ‘struggle over pedagogic discourse and its practices’ and this may include interests outside the PRF or ORF (*ibid.*).⁸ Particularly as a new curriculum and one that may be being fostered upon more traditional modes of instruction, there is a critical need to discern the negotiation process that led up to the implementation of human rights education into the school context, especially including junctures of resistance and the ameliorative effects of competing interests, traditions and aims.

At the micro-level of educational practice is Bernstein’s notion of classification and frame (1975: 7). Bernstein first describes two basic, extreme forms that a curriculum can take: either a *collection-type* curriculum, where the subjects stand in ‘closed relation’ to one another, and an *integrated-type* curriculum, where the contents stand in ‘open relation’ to one another (*ibid.* 87). *Classification* refers to strength of the boundaries between contents, or the degree to which there are clear-cut boundaries between curriculum contents (closed relation) or the contents blur into each other (open relation) (Bernstein 1975: 88; Bernstein 1971: 89). Strong classification (a collection-type curriculum) for example reduces the power of the teacher over what he or she transmits, as the teacher may not cross the boundary between contents (Bernstein 1975: 88). In this system, the learner is ‘required to collect a group of favored contents in order to satisfy some criteria of evaluation’ (Walford 2002: 414). Bernstein also introduces the concept of *frame*, from weak frames to strong frames, which refers to ‘the degree of control teacher and pupil possess over the selection, organization, pacing and timing of the knowledge transmitted and received in the pedagogical relationship’ (Bernstein 1975: 89). Strong frames, he notes, reduce the power of the pupil over what, when or how he or she can receive knowledge, but increases the teacher’s power in the pedagogical relationship (*ibid.* 90). In sum, Bernstein writes that ‘classification tells us something fundamental about the

⁷ This context is constituted by actors in certain social positions charged with such duties, such as intellectuals at universities or persons at government educational institutions. (Bernstein 1990: 191; 1996: 42-45). It is not clear in my mind why selection and recontextualisation need to be separate processes and in my opinion this separation is analytical rather than necessarily real.

⁸ An example of this process is presented by classroom textbook design and selection, which are often subject to political, ideological and economic considerations and often end up as the product of negotiation and compromise between various aims and interests (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991: 9-10; Apple 1993: 51; Apple 1986). Textbooks for one are economic commodities with a limited shelf life, and may be designed and written with the intent of securing sales from large buyers in a competitive market (Flynn 1986: 74-75). To secure sales with schools or boards of education, textbooks may be written to avoid courting political controversy and in a way that they can be easily understood and mastered by a wide range of learners (Apple 1993: 68).

Figure 3.1. **Bernstein's Classification and Frame**



relationships between categories which create the context of the school' and framing refers to 'changes in the modality of control' (Bernstein 1975: 176–9; Grace 2008: 210).

The strength of the classification and the frame within a particular curriculum can vary independently of each other and differing combinations of weak/strong classification and frames correspond to differing forms of knowledge transmission and social control (see Figure 3.1; Bernstein 1975: 89). In curriculum settings of strong classification and strong frames, knowledge is highly regulated and is distributed through 'well insulated hierarchies' (ibid. 90). Such a system places emphasis on states of knowing rather than ways of knowing, and knowledge becomes something to be earned rather than seen as the right of the pupil (ibid. 98). At the opposite end of the spectrum, a system of weak classification and weak frames, not only are the boundaries between subjects weakened, but also the boundary of what may or may not be taught in the classroom (ibid. 102). Teachers and pupils gain prominence in the pedagogical frame, increasing the rights of the taught and potentially providing a more egalitarian form of education because it allows for a greater diversity of thought, views and opinions (ibid. 102, 110). As bounded knowledge systems receive less prominence, however, evaluation of students may shift from tests of knowledge to tests of personal disposition or personal cognitive attributes. The danger here is that a weak classification and framing will 'encourage more of the pupil to be made public; more of his thoughts, feelings and values' (ibid. 109, 111).

Gerald Grace (2008) for instance applies classification and frame to construct a theorized account of the socio-political context of education in Britain over the last sixty years, focusing specifically on modes of governance in education as well as changes in the constructs and practice of educational leadership (p. 209-210).⁹ His analysis shows that classification and framing relationships in British schooling have changed fundamentally since the 1950s, specifically that the educational discourse common in the past, as represented by particular forms of curricula contents, modes of pedagogy, spiritual, religious, moral and aesthetic values and traditional assessment procedures, has now become subject to external dominance from the State and markets (ibid. 218-219). He writes, '[t]he contemporary voice of the schooling system is increasingly a discourse of measurable outputs required by the state and a discourse of various forms of enterprise culture required by the market' (ibid. 219). Kelly Coate (2006) makes use of Bernstein's ideas to analyze women's studies curricula in the context of the British higher education system. Drawing upon archival research and interviews with academics and students from several university case studies, she looks at how 'invisible pedagogies can enable a surveillance of individual behaviors' (p. 419). While relevant to examining historical curricular and policy developments, none of these works are very explicit in how exactly Bernstein's work has been applied to empirical data and as such his ideas appear simply to have been used as a sensitizing device for analyzing policy and curricula rather than a concrete method of analysis.¹⁰ However, such research shows the potential of Bernstein's ideas to determine the underlying rules and resources of an human rights education curriculum over varying periods of time, and to suggest how the curricula and its embedded knowledge determine who can learn exactly what.

Limitations and Issues

Besides the question of how to apply Bernstein's theories to empirical data, there are in my opinion however other deficiencies in the theories themselves that limit their applicability for certain forms of empirical research. First, Bernstein's theories appear to be highly structuralist in that like other structuralist theories they represent holistic theories of invariant social structures that may not be readily observable to individual agents (Baert 1998: 9-10). Structuralists also tend to acknowledge and prioritize the constraining nature of social structures.¹¹ Common criticism of structuralism has tended toward this characteristic in that it implies determinism; the sense that there is little agents can do to resist social structure. This criticism is somewhat unfairly and uniformly applied to all structuralist theories yet not all structuralists equate their theories with determinism and many instead leave open the question of how agents interact with social structures as a separate but unanswered empirical question (ibid. 11). But this is an important question: in my many years as a teacher I am almost always constantly surprised by students' ability to completely undo the educational messages of particular lessons and have thoughts that are seemingly outside of the

⁹ From his own notes, it appears that Grace's sample consisted mostly of secondary sources. See generally Grace 2008.

¹⁰ Other recent empirical examples of Bernstein-informed work for example include Walford (2002), Sleeter and Stillman (2005), Koustourakis (2007), Beck (2005), Thobani (2010), Sriprakash (2013), and Donnelly (2016).

¹¹ Structure is typically seen as the fixed and longstanding features of the social landscape. It is often described as limiting or influencing the choices and opportunities available to individuals or agents. See Stones 2005, Barker 2005.

bounds of what a curriculum deems acceptable to think or know.¹² This is probably not because agency is an unbridled force that can resist all the delimiting effects of structure but that in addition students' own ability to conceive of ideas, students bring with them their own set of dispositions, habits, identities and skills. While Bernsteinian theory suggests that the knowledge embedded in a curriculum shapes the limits of acceptable thought there is every possibility to think that these limits are sometimes transgressed and that in a study of the probable effect of a curriculum, when possible, an investigation of agency needs to be a vital component of the research process. The fact that Bernstein's theories lack a direct assessment of agency is acceptable if the goal is to investigate a curriculum itself, and not necessarily how agents draw upon it. But for studies where an analysis of agency and social interaction is empirically accessible it would seem odd to completely defer to structure at the expense of knowing more about agency, regardless of how limited it might actually be.¹³

It is not my intention here to detract from Bernstein's contributions to the sociology of education, but I think that this lack of agency as well as other assumptions tend to skew some of his concepts in and of themselves such that if they are read too strictly by the researcher there is a risk of turning them into tacit ontologies. In other words, his work sometimes tends to assume too much about the way the world works and thus the use of his concepts as the starting point for a conceptual research framework may result in substantive theories that will tend to explain recontextualisation in like terms as the assumptions that underlie the conceptual research framework itself.¹⁴ In a Bernsteinian analysis of a human rights curriculum, any limitations in students' conceptual thinking toward human rights will tend to be explained in terms of how of pedagogic discourse itself limits thinking, ignoring the possibility of these limitations being explained in other terms. This includes not only the internal disposition of agents but also agents in other contexts that are not necessarily part of the educational process. Moreover, after a curriculum and the knowledge it contains has been recontextualized and implemented within an educational system it appears disembodied from other social contexts of agent interaction and immune from modification, transformation and more importantly resistance by agents in those contexts.¹⁵ This is a serious deficiency in a theory that tries to explain how education serves dominant class interests and reproduces or is reflective of social inequalities. The point that is being made here is that while it may be desirable to use Bernstein's theories to analytically separate and research curricula, it is important not to assume that curricula itself is in reality distinct and separate from other social and material networks.

¹² I define agency here as an individual or agent's ability to act or refrain from action, even if they are not fully aware of the possibilities of action or do not intend to act in a particular way. See Shilling 1992: 81-82, Giddens 1984: 14-15.

¹³ See discussion in Shilling 1992: 71.

¹⁴ Such a charge could be directed at any social theory but as I feel that position practices as I have conceived of them in the coming section have less particular and substantive things to say about the actual contents of society or agents' individual lives, the chances are that empirical data can be gathered to provide a more well-rounded description of those contents, more specifically a description of educational knowledge, pedagogic practice and the effect of both upon students' thinking in an in-situ context.

¹⁵ Reading Sleeter and Stillman's (2005) Bernstein-informed work I feel that it is not just the curriculum itself that limits instruction, but that limits and opportunities are also supported through greater social networks formed through agent interaction—for instance institutional rules affecting hiring and firing, administrative oversight of teaching practice, school culture or even outside influences such as parent-teacher or community organizations. Particularly with regard to institutional rules, in a regimented and hierarchical system, teachers will probably ignore a curriculum at their own peril, but where educational authority is much more loosely organized, curricula may be modified at several points even before it reaches the classroom.

Similarly, although he admits that recontextualising fields may be variable, Bernstein's emphasis on fixed, hierarchical relationships between the three contexts of production, recontextualisation and reproduction as well as the social groups that make up these contexts—notably in his idea of official and pedagogic recontextualising fields—seems well poised to describe and analyze recontextualisation of knowledge within traditional Western systems of governance and educational practice, especially Britain, which is the subject of most of his research (Archer 1995a: 233).¹⁶ While for many societies this may be how recontextualisation works from an empirical perspective, these relationships may not exist or function in the ways that Bernstein describes them in all Western contexts, let alone non-Western contexts. What Bernstein appears to have written seems sometimes more like a substantive theory about the recontextualisation of educational knowledge in Britain rather than a universal theory that can be applied to any context.¹⁷ But I still think that if the researcher can implement his concepts in a transparent manner, recognizing their limits, Bernstein's approach to pedagogy can be useful to describe the rules and resources behind academic knowledge itself even if it cannot completely and accurately describe what exactly becomes of a curriculum once it has left the realm of policy-making, especially how situated agents draw upon and possibly modify elements of that curriculum.

Systems, Social Networks and Position Practices

To bring agency into the sociology of curricula, not only does the researcher have to empirically investigate and analyze the particular dispositions, actions and interactions of situated agents but also how these relate to the social whole. In such circumstances, Ira Cohen in particular sees the need for three forms of analysis: first-order analyses that are 'tied to agents' awareness of the practices and circumstances implicated in their participation in the constitution of social life, and second-order analyses that identify and study aspects of the external structures that agents readily access in their daily lives, but of which they may not be aware of (1989: 203-204). Third-order analyses however are also needed to identify and study the 'spatio-temporal patterning and the structural properties of social systems,' measures that also 'treat structural properties as if they have no relation in social contexts reproduced across time-space' (ibid. 206). Similarly, Rob Stones writes that conceptual research frameworks that investigate contextualisation will by definition require a combination of 'hermeneutics and structural diagnostics' (2005: 81). Bracketing by social position is the means by which I will empirically explore how notions of human rights and human rights education are contextualized in a school context as well as how they are tied to potential learning outcomes.

Cohen begins his discussion on position practices by reasserting that 'structure [itself] does not produce patterns and nor does it actively coordinate and control social systems' (1989: 199). Cohen sees social roles and positions, as well as corresponding social networks, as significant aspects of the creation and pre-existence of social

¹⁶ These hierarchical arrangements are unlikely to characterize Western systems of educational governance today. Most nations have experienced drastic alteration of their governance structures, with the opening of the education sector to markets and the introduction of new forms of providers, as well as the introduction of new forms of accountability and evaluation that extend from outside of State authority (Robertson 2005: 153).

¹⁷ This concern is shared in Wong and Apple 2002: 184; See also Archer 1995a.

Figure 3.2. Stones' Quadripartite Nature of Agent Position Practices

(1) External Structures	Situated Agents (2) Internal Structures		(3) Active Agency/Agent Practices	(4) Outcomes
<i>Abstract</i> <i>Substantive</i> <i>Autonomous</i> <i>Acknowledged/</i> <i>Unacknowledged</i> <i>Conditions of</i> <i>Action</i>	(A) Knowledge	(B) Dispositions		<i>External structures may be changed, preserved, reinforced.</i> <i>Consequences may be intended or unintended. Agents may be facilitated or frustrated.</i>
	<i>Knowledge of external structures relative to role or position</i>	<i>Skills</i> <i>Disposition</i> <i>World-views</i> <i>Principles</i> <i>Typification (things, peoples, networks)</i> <i>Cultural schema</i> <i>Locations</i> <i>Time</i>		

Adapted from Stones 2005: 85.

institutions and systems in general. Building upon Giddens' idea of social positions and Bhaskar's notion of position practices, positional identities, and a sense of the prerogatives and obligations and the practices they pre-suppose, once established will pre-exist the particular human agents that subsequently 'inhabit, reproduce or transform these position practices' (Stones 2005: 62).¹⁸ Cohen provides an illustration of position practices from the automotive industry. Networked position practices exist to varying degrees for example between groups of workers, those that assemble the vehicles and those that manufacture parts; between the workers who produce the vehicles and other agents that purchase them; and between workers and the bureaucracies of the state by virtue of regulations and taxes (Cohen 1989: 212). But more importantly, 'to speak of a ... Chief Executive Officer,' he writes, 'is not only to refer to a positional identity, but also to a set of structured practices which position-incumbents can and do perform whether the incumbent chooses to act as expected or to do otherwise' (ibid. 210). In a study of schools this may mean investigating and understanding the perceptions of incumbents within for example positions of teacher, administrator, student and the way in which they act, interact and network.

Rob Stones remarks that the 'concept of position practices and their relations can provide not only a guide for empirical studies, but also a contextualizing frame for them' (2005: 83). Stones sees four distinct but interrelated aspects to position practices (see Figure 3.2): structures external to the agent as conditions of action (1), internal structures which are taken to include the agent's general disposition and specific knowledge of external structures (2a and 2b), the actual practices committed by agents (3) and finally the outcomes of those actions (4) (Stones 2005: 84-85; Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 209).¹⁹ External structures (1) to Stones are the actual structures that agents draw up in a particular context for action, structures that are sometimes acknowledged or unacknowledged and which may be the basis for both intended and

¹⁸ Bhaskar and Cohen's idea of position practices are similar save for Bhaskar's assertion that positions are akin to slots into which actors are placed. Cohen argues that this ignores the fact that agents can take, modify and abandon roles rather than simply acting according to the roles assigned to them (Cohen 1989: 209; Jack and Kholeif 2007a).

¹⁹ Stones arrives at this by synthesizing critiques of structuration by Archer (1995b), Thompson (1984), Mouzelis (1995) and Sewell (1992).

unintended consequences of action (ibid. 109). These structures should be seen as both enabling and constraining, and include what Stone labels 'independent casual influences,' which refers to 'external structures that are constituted, reproduced or changed entirely independently of the agent-in-focus, without her compliance, irrespective of her wants, and even when they directly affect her life' (ibid. 111). As well, Stones writes of 'irresistible casual forces,' which refers to situations where agents may actually have the physical ability to resist the influence of external structures, but may 'in phenomenological terms feel that they do not have the ability to resist' (ibid.). Here researchers might ask themselves, what capacity do teachers actually have relative to the capacity they feel they have to organize their classrooms and modify official curricula?

Stones divides 'internal structures' into two components, knowledge structures (2a) and general dispositional structures (2b). Knowledge structures relate to the role or position occupied by an agent or cluster of agents and it is here that virtual structures of legitimation/norms and domination/power come into play (Giddens 1984: 24; Stones 2005: 89; Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 215).²⁰ Stones explains dispositional structures as something the agent draws upon unconsciously when interacting with external structures and include:

...transposable skills and dispositions, including generalized world-views and cultural schemas, classifications, typifications of things, peoples and networks, principles of action, typified recipes of action, deep binary frameworks of signification, associative chains and connotations of discourse, habits of speech and gesture, and methodologies for adapting this range of particular practices in particular locations in time and space (2005: 88).

The position of teacher, for instance, as maintained by incumbent agents and their relationship to other agents may have a very direct role in the way that a human rights curriculum is carried out. This much is suggested in an action research project conducted by Carter and Osler (2000): instructors, and especially those in administrative positions, had been reluctant to teach human rights as it might embolden certain undesirable forms of student behavior and interfere with the perceived obligation of instructors to maintain discipline within the school (p. 340, 349).²¹ Thus, although teachers were charged with implementing a human rights framework as a means to deconstruct and challenge masculine identities, the actual teaching of human rights was mollified by dispositions as well as perceived positional obligations and prerogatives to transform the ideas of human rights into claims less realizable for students and thus less practical (ibid. 349-350). Moreover, teachers who interpreted their role relative toward human rights education in a way that ran counter to others, especially those in more authoritative roles, felt slighted by their colleagues (ibid. 350).

The internal and external shape the course of action and both are reconstituted or modified as a result of action. The third and fourth components (3 and 4) active agency and the results of that active agency, where structures may be changed or preserved, consequences may be intended or unintended and the agent may have been facilitated or frustrated (Stones 2005: 85). What Stones and Cohen are describing then

²⁰ Stones renames Giddens' idea of rules and resources as the broader 'agent context' (Stones 2005: 84-85).

²¹ Carter and Audrey Osler (2000) look at the operation of rights and identities in an English West Midlands boys' school (p. 335). Although the researchers aimed to enhance teaching practices at the school, efforts were made to record and assess students' understanding of human rights: classroom observations, a questionnaire and journal writing activities were conducted with a year cohort of 120 boys, aged 13-14 years by one of the researchers, who was also head teacher for the cohort (ibid. 342-343). Later the project was expanded to include a form tutor and his class of 30 14-15-year-old students (ibid. 343). This research was not explicitly informed by position practices.

is not so much the functionalist notion of roles, where roles are supplied by society and agents adapt to them, but reproduced practices that in turn reproduce certain structural rules and resources (Jack and Kholeif 2007a). An agent may practice more than one position at a time and besides not being fixed or immutable, the set of positions that an agent occupies may contain contradictions, tensions and ambiguities within and between positions. This is pointed out in Chris Shilling's (1992) review of academic literature on the legacy of the 1988 Educational Reform Act in Britain, in that teachers had difficulty coping with 'a highly bureaucratized national curriculum, with its attendant assessment requirements, and responding to the demands of school governing committees and the local management of schools' (p. 81). These tensions, as well as lack of training to deal with the changes rendered by the 1988 Educational Reform Act, had an effect on the capacity of teachers to do their jobs (*ibid.*). For human rights education, there may be inherent tensions for teacher incumbents produced for instance by the relationship between human rights as a globalist form of civic education newly imposed over more traditional, ethnically or nationality-bound forms of civic education—although in Japan this has historically been reversed, with a globalist or cosmopolitan form of civic education established in the late 1940s having to incorporate more nationality-bound content in recent years (Saito 2010: 141).²² As Shilling points out, examining the social position of teachers allows the researcher to separate practices and obligations officially associated with the job of teacher from the actual practices undertaken by teachers (Shilling 1992: 81).

In the process of creating a conceptual research framework based on position practices, the researcher first needs a 'sufficiently discriminating, austere delimiting focus of attention on a restricted number of germane points on the historical and geographical landscape' within which patterns of action and structure may be drawn out and raised for inspection (Stones 1996: 82; Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 211). From there the researcher could begin a 'first-order analysis' by putting agents into focus through empirically exploring the internal, especially perceptions of the external terrain and other agents within their network (Stones 2005: 123). The researcher may for one try to gain an understanding of how students for instance draw upon their own status and awareness of other students when they engage with the notion of human rights.²³ Following this the researcher could then begin a 'second-order analysis' by mapping out the network as a means to identify relevant external structures and the authority and resources that come as part of them, determining the degree to which these structures are modifiable by individual agents and thus whether they are independent or irresistible (Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 215). Finally, the researcher could examine the outcomes teaching and learning, whether these outcomes were intended or unintended and whether such outcomes have any value to the agents in focus.

Methodologically, there appears to be no precise limits as to how empirical data could be obtained other than that the conceptual research framework and instruments themselves must meet standards of reliability and validity and that researchers must acknowledge the assumptions behind and limitations of the design and

²² In Japan, there are certainly tensions between official requirements to implement and teach the contents of the national curriculum and the 'institutional logic' of many academic upper secondary schools to deliver content needed by students to pass university entrance exams. See for example Tsukada 2010.

²³ In certain school settings, students may be acutely aware that they are being evaluated on the amount of knowledge they can recall, meaning that they come away from the learning process with a knowledge of human rights but not necessarily an understanding. Carter and Osler also note in their study that some students' perceptions of themselves relative to their peers and their peers' opinion toward human rights had a great effect on how some students themselves came to view human rights (2000: 346-347).

instrumentation employed.²⁴ Internal validity, the extent to which findings describe the phenomena being researched, will depend greatly on the instruments or combination of instruments employed (Cohen et al. 2000: 107; Bryman 2004: 43). External validity, the ability to generalize findings to a greater whole, may be quite weak given the emphasis on the particulars of a chosen context (ibid). There is however nothing to preclude the triangulation of data sources to provide analytical depth or to aid the validity of empirical measures (Neuman 2006: 150; Kelle 2001; Yin 2000: 91-93).²⁵ Whatever the methods employed, the researcher will need to frame questions and observations based on the concepts of knowledge and dispositions to elicit appropriate responses in order to build up 'a very visual, spatial image of the networks and patterns of action involved' in educational processes (Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 216).

Through position practices I believe that the researcher can aptly show how external structures and the internal structures of situated agents combine to create contextualised teaching and learning within a school context, helping to explain how particular viewpoints on human rights and human rights education came to be in the first place as well as guiding the researcher toward what would need to change in order for these viewpoints to change. Moreover, the researcher can gain an understanding of how agents perceive their world as well as the internal relationships that exist between different aspects of that worldview, including the value attached to these various aspects and especially the place and value of human rights and human rights education.²⁶ That said, I am still a bit concerned however that Stones' notion of position practices leaves underdeveloped Cohen's idea of analyses of spatio-temporal patterning and the structural properties of social systems. On the one hand, what can be understood from Stones' idea of position practices are the ways in which agents draw upon greater structures in the course of action and possibly the relationship between the immediate context of action and greater social structures, but at the same time I feel that nothing can be concretely inferred about the nature of these greater social structures themselves, including the rules and resources that led to their coalescence and continue with their reproduction.²⁷ Even if position practices is applied to policy-making, would there be any advantage to substantive theory regarding the in-situ context through an understanding of the minutiae of agent interaction in policy-making circles over the last thirty years? Possibly and possibly not, but instead I believe what I am really interested in here are the features, or embedded rules and resources, of these structures themselves and how they intersect the in-situ context. I therefore suggest that Bernstein's theories might still help to describe and analyze greater social structures in a way that in turn may lead to a greater understanding of immediate and localized contexts.

²⁴ The empirical examples that Giddens' utilized to illustrate aspects of structuration theory employed a wide range of methodologies and methods, including ethnography, surveys and interviews (Jack and Kholeif 2007b: 216). Stones (2005) himself uses research drawn from ethnography and historical research to exemplify his theoretical points.

²⁵ Like critical theory projects, however, I feel that reflexivity will have to be employed: the researcher will also need be aware of their own context and conduct in understanding the actions of subjects and analyzing structure (Radnor, 2002: 30-32). The use of reflexivity is a departure from the theoretical perspective of critical realism. See discussion in Baert 2005.

²⁶ See Stones 2005: 117.

²⁷ Stones admits these difficulties in suggesting that position practices may not be appropriate for analyzing large historical or geographical swaths (2005: 127).

Research Design and Methodology

Having established a theoretical perspective, I will now provide an overview of the research design, methodology and sampling frames employed in the present work. The overall research design was analytically divided into two parts: the first division related to the *in-situ* context of the school and the second related to the greater social and structural context, which dealt primarily with the general features of the educational system and curricula (See Diagram 3.1). The present research focuses on upper secondary school education as this level likely marks a move away from factual learning, and learning to increase students' awareness of society and the world, to learning that specifically deals with critical thinking skills and monitors how students think and interact with the outside world. The *in-situ* or school context involved two independent case studies of upper secondary schools chosen on a maximal variation-sampling frame: an academic, public coeducational senior high school in Hyōgo prefecture of western Japan, and a private girls' senior high school located in Tokyo.²⁸ The primary differentiation of interest was that the western Japan high school is an explicit site of human rights learning, applying its own content and pedagogic practice as part of a specialised human rights curriculum designed to replace Contemporary Social Studies (*gendai shakai*) and citizenship learning within the School Curriculum. The Tokyo senior high school's institutional curriculum on the other hand roughly adheres to the School Curriculum. The human rights education programme of the western Japan school is a student-run programme that involves a number of themes and special activity days conducted throughout the school year and over the three years of students' academic careers. The programme deals with historical and current social issues related primarily to marginalisation and exclusion in the surrounding community. Access was granted to this school through the assistance of my supervisor at Oxford and the Hyōgo Prefectural Board of Education. In contrast, the Tokyo private girls' high school has a Catholic religious affiliation but does not provide any specialised programmes or instruction on human rights. Access to this school was obtained through my own professional relations with Tokyo area teachers and the permission of the school's principal.

In each school context, I examined the social positions and agent practices of both teachers and students. First, individual semi-structured interviews were conducted with social studies teachers and human rights educators at each school. Semi-structured interviews were utilised to allow for a probing of responses to the pre-configured question schedule (May 2001: 123). For the Tokyo based school, digitally recorded interviews were conducted with all five of the teachers on the social studies (*shakaika*) teaching staff, four male and one female. As the western Japan school does not teach traditional Contemporary Social Studies within its institutional curriculum, and human rights education programmes were administered largely by students, digitally recorded teacher interviews only involved the school's head of human rights education (*jinken-buchō*) and a Japanese language teacher of the school who had been involved in designing Hyōgo prefecture's human rights education curriculum and teaching materials. Both of these teachers were male. Interviews with teachers lasted one to two hours. With regard to students, first an open-ended, written questionnaire was prepared for students of the second-year grade level at each school. The overall purpose of this instrument was to assess the degree to which adolescents at each

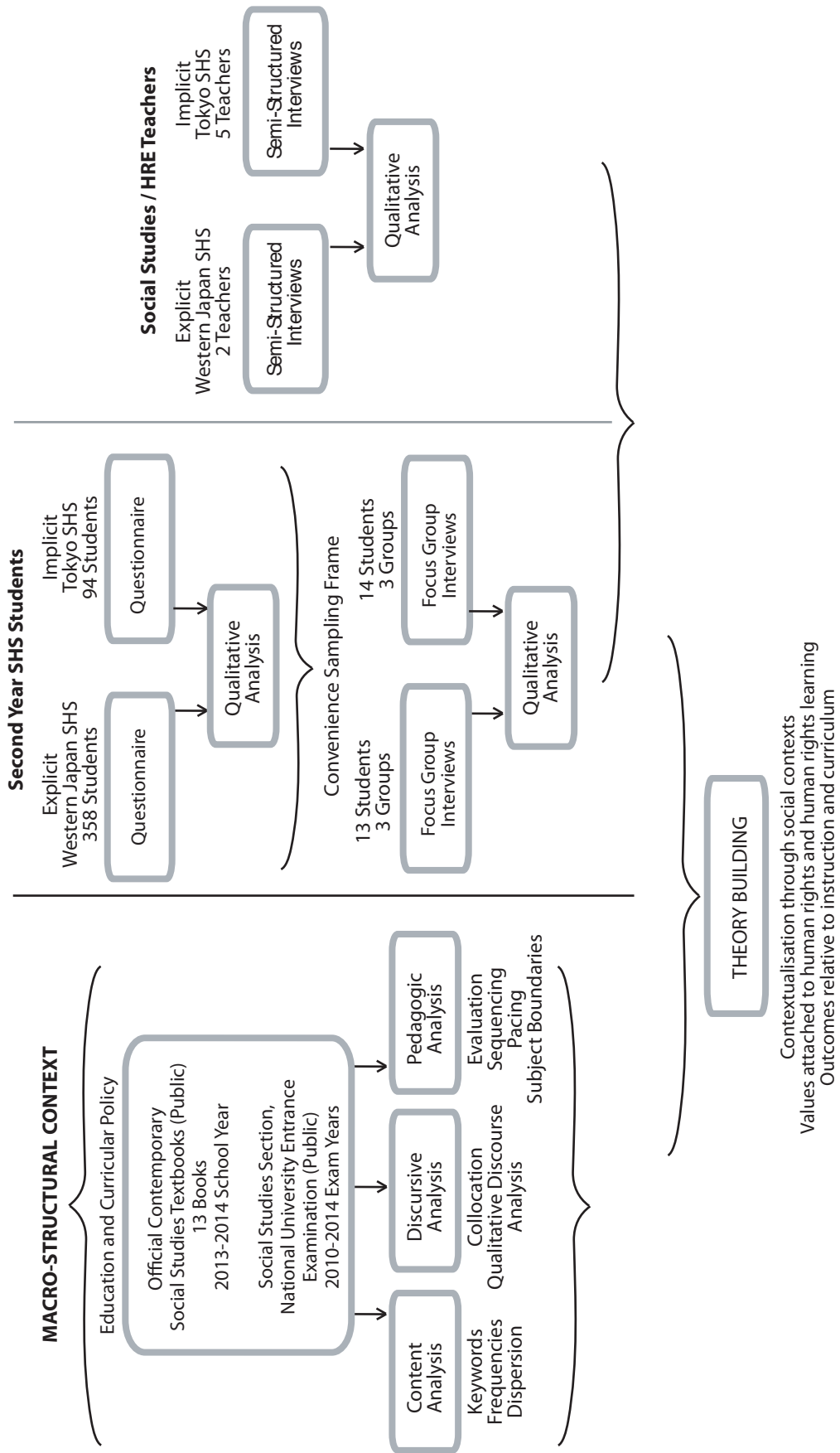
²⁸ As part of purposeful sampling, where the researcher intentionally selects individuals or sites, maximal variation sampling is a strategy in which the researcher selects the sample based on differing dimensions, for example a characteristic or trait. Creswell 2008: 214.

Diagram 3.1

Research Design

RQ1. How are human rights contextualised with Japan's education system?

RQ2. How do Japan's teachers and adolescents construct meaning around the notion of human rights?



school can and do use human rights language and concepts to discuss related social issues, and to gain an initial understanding of their perceptions of such concepts and issues. The questionnaire form contained one question dealing with the respondent's perception of human rights, or human rights related issues, and two pages for a written response (See Appendix).²⁹ However, in conducting the research, the prepared written questionnaire was utilised only with students at the Tokyo school. The western Japan high school annually conducts its own, similar survey and administrators at the Hyōgo Prefectural Board of Education and the school felt that a duplication of the survey would place too much inconvenience on teachers and students. Instead, results gathered from a survey administered earlier in the school year were utilised despite some differences in format and content. Surveys at both schools were distributed as homework or conducted in-class under the supervision of students' homeroom teachers. This did likely introduce some bias into the results in that students might have felt compelled to complete the survey, or students may have completed the survey through extrinsic motivation; however, it was possible to attain a larger sample size and response rate. In sum, 94 students at the Tokyo school and 358 at the western Japan school returned completed survey forms for a response rate of approximately 75% and 99% respectively. After the survey, focus group interviews were employed with smaller groups of students drawn on a convenience-sampling frame from within the sample that had completed the initial survey. A focus group format was selected so that additional insight could be gained into the school context and in particular the ways in which students related to their peers. With focus groups, three groups of 14 students, all female, were interviewed at the Tokyo school and three groups of 13 students were interviewed at the western Japan school. The western Japan focus group interviews included nine boys and four girls. Focus group interviews were also digitally recorded and lasted approximately one to one and a half hours each. For each interview stage with teachers and students, I utilised Stone's theoretical perspective of agent position practices to guide interview schedules and analysis, further details of which are provided in Chapter 5 (See Appendix).

Although in many ways the greater structural context of Japanese educational practices can be assessed through its interface with the *in-situ* context, the research design also aimed to provide direct insight into this context. In particular, the macro-structural portion of the research explored the content and pedagogy of Japan's official national School Curriculum. While not necessarily limited to such means, Japan's Ministry of Education considers the national curricular guidelines (*shidō-yōryō*) discussed within the previous chapter, as well as official textbooks approved for classroom use, as the primary means by which the School Curriculum is to be distributed and implemented within upper-secondary schools across the country. The curricular guidelines themselves do not provide much in terms of content other than setting out broad curricular goals and rules, and thus for this research an analysis of a complete sample of senior high school textbooks approved for use in the 2013-2014 school year was conducted to determine how officially-selected knowledge and pedagogy may inform learning in the classroom.³⁰ Textbooks were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively in terms of the content levels as well as discursive and

²⁹ This format was employed not only because it yielded richer data unconstrained by predetermined categories and assumptions in piloting, but also because in my experience Japanese students tend to be more expressive when they feel they are not being observed by their peers or a person of a higher social position.

³⁰ As admission to university is the primary *raison d'être* for many upper secondary schools, a more limited analysis of the modern social studies and ethics sections of the National University Entrance Examination, commonly known in Japanese at the *centre test* (*sentā-shiken*), was also conducted with test content sampled from previous exams in the years 2010 to 2014. See Okano and Tsuchiya 1999: 62-64.

pedagogic form, not only from the perspective of human rights learning, but also with regard to social studies as a complete curriculum. By deconstructing the knowledge structures of the texts the aim was to determine what powers and interests shape the recontextualizing discourse of educational knowledge in Japan, particularly as they relate to identity, citizenship and human rights learning.

Textbook content was first analysed quantitatively, both as an exploratory and later as a validation measure, drawing upon analytical techniques in the field of quantitative content analysis. Traditionally, quantitative content analysis (content analysis) is an empiricist measure that typically refers to, in the words of Bernard R. Berelson, ‘research for the objective, systematic, quantitative description of manifest content of communication’ (Berelson 1952: 18). Kimberly Neuendorf (2002) similarly defines content analysis as the ‘systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics’ and continues that the goal is to produce a numerical summary of a chosen message set by counting key categories and other variables’ (p. 1, 14).³¹ Content analysis leans toward the post-positivist sciences by adhering strictly to the demands of objectivity, validity, reliability, as well as demands for a clear statement of the research’s sample for the purposes of representation and generalisation. Such research must also be conducted in a manner that can be easily replicated by other researchers (Krippendorff 1980: 21, 28; Neuendorf 2002: 1). Quantitative methods have been used to measure the features of text or communication in terms of *frequency* and *space*: one can quantify for instance the frequency of names, places or dates across a particular sample (ibid. 13). Such an analysis may allow the researcher to uncover the central themes or emphasised topics within the communication, especially if also analyzed in conjunction with their *location* within a particular sample (Borg and Gall 1989: 520; MacDonald 2003: 205-206). Similarly, content analysis can be used to assess the *absence* or *presence* of words, themes or even images (Pingel 1999: 45; Nicholls 2003: 13; Reinhartz 1992: 146). Patterns of location, space, frequency, presence and absence can suggest which messages have been selected or prioritized for transmission. Overall, the strength of content analysis is its ability to produce a description of a particular ‘message pool in archival fashion’ (Neuendorf 2002: 54). As with other fields of social research that employ quantitative methods, content analysis is of ideal use when analyzing large samples, and especially large samples that cover an expanse of time (Nicholls 2003: 13).³²

In recent years there has been an increasing overlap between content analyses of text in the social sciences and analytical techniques utilised within the field of applied linguistics, especially corpus linguistics and sociolinguistics (Pollach 2012: 263-264). To take advantage of these analytical techniques, the use of computer-assisted forms of analysis becomes an imperative. Computer-assisted text analysis potentially represents a much more reliable and accurate means to calculate the frequencies of common and purposively selected words and phrases within certain thematic locations as well as map out frequencies of collocates, or common words and phrases that appear proximate to these words and phrases. The dispersion of frequent and selected terms can be statistically analysed and compared, providing clear linkages between these terms and their surrounding thematic context (Gries 2008: 403-406).

³¹ Content analysis has roots in journalism and dates back to the beginning of the twentieth century when newspaper companies utilised it to measure volumes of print by subject matter category (Krippendorff 1980: 21).

³² Studies of textbooks that have utilised content analysis in conjunction with other qualitative methods include Osler (1994), Fleming (1997), Shuayb (2015), Tsuneyoshi (2007), and Jones et al. (1997). The textbook is still a main instrument for instruction in the classroom, having been devised originally to lessen the teachers’ burden of having to come up with original lesson plans on a daily basis (Apple and Christian-Smith 1991: 8; Apple 1993: 56).

The relative strength of collocations can likewise be statistically calculated and analysed, not only presenting a sense of thematic context, but also providing a means to greater generalisability and reliability in sorting random associations from clear patterns (Barnbrook et al. 2013: 64-79). For instance, it was possible in the present research to locate human rights discourse across the sample, and examine thematic connections to ‘human rights’ as well as conjoined words and phrases. Mathew Jockers writes further that ‘computation provides access to information in texts that we simply cannot gather using our traditionally qualitative methods of close reading and human synthesis’ (2013: vii). Computer-assisted analysis permits analytical procedures to be used with large-scale samples of text data that would be beyond the scope of any human researcher to utilise or analyse. By comparing large samples of a written language, word frequencies and themes of purposively selected samples of text can be thrown into sharp relief, providing a sense of what is unique to the vocabulary, themes and messages of that sampled body of text. A keyword analysis for instance is an analytical technique that compares the text under study with a reference sample of text, usually a large general sample of a language, to determine which words (‘keywords’) appear more or less frequently in the target corpus than in the general language. Keywords are seen as a reliable means of determining the topical, thematic and linguistic features of the text under study (Pollach 2011: 269). Overall, computer-assisted text analysis can lessen researcher bias, at least in the conduct of specific analytical procedures, and analyses of text become inherently more transparent and reproducible. There are however both limitations inherent in computer-assisted text analysis as well as within the use of specific analytical techniques: for one, the present merger of content analysis and analytical techniques from linguistics has not yet produced a concise field, methodology or even a set of analytical protocols (ibid. 265). The use of specific computer-assisted text analytical techniques will require continued transparency and justification on the part of researchers; however, for the present research, computer-assisted analyses were an important step in the overall analysis of social studies textbook content, much of which will be explained further in the following chapter (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2006: 56).

Quantitative analyses of text, whether assisted by computer or not, also do not necessarily offer a complete portrait of a sample of text. Content analysis itself is said to often offer breadth at the expense of depth (Nicholls 2003: 13; Apple and Christian-Smith 1991: 2; Luke 1988: 30; MacDonald 2003: 205-206). Pingel claims that content analysis can tell the researcher ‘a great deal about where the emphasis lies, about selection criteria, but nothing [in themselves] about values and interpretation’ (Pingel 1999: 45). Pingel discusses the task of quantifying the word *nation* within his own research sample: although the frequent use of such a word might suggest that it is an important concept, frequency does not necessarily give the researcher a clear idea as to how the word is being used or interpreted, whether for example the concept of nation is a ‘natural entity, inherited in a people, or inborn in individuals’ (ibid. 38). The form that discussions on ‘nation’ take is not addressed by simply quantifying its appearance. Nor does the statistically determined strength of a collocation provide a clear picture of the relationship between two words; the strong collocation scores between the term *human rights* (*jinken*) and *constitution* (*kenpō*) in my own textbook sample do not in themselves provide a description of how the two terms are juxtaposed or conjoined.³³ A methodology that offers greater depth of

³³ See the following chapter for precise collocation strength scores.

analysis is likewise important in an age where politically and socially contentious messages are often hidden in the text or presented in a nuanced manner. Few, if any, textbooks in recent years are likely to overtly express racist or discriminatory messages. Thus, interpretive analyses of text, including qualitative discourse analysis, were carried out as a secondary analytical step within the overall analysis of the textbook sample.

Discourse analysis is a method of analysis that is conducted in accordance with the theoretical perspective within which is framed. Blommaert and Blommaert (2000) write that the purpose of discourse analysis within critical theory for instance has been to analyze 'opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language' (p. 448).³⁴ Earlier though I explained my opposition to formulating this research within traditional critical theory perspectives as they consider human rights from a limited standpoint that do not fully recognise dimensions of social power and which are likely to place undue limits on potential substantive theory. Thus, for this research my use of discourse analysis was conducted within a loose interpretation of post-structuralism, which appeared to be more contiguous with the central idea of exploring contextualisation.³⁵ With this theoretical underpinning, I examined the discourses used to define and justify human rights to the reader, to prompt political and social behavior, as well as to position human rights issues relative to discourses of identity. Discursive analyses included multiple readings and codings of the text to look at the structure of the text and its narrative, linkages between clauses and themes, and finally grammar and voice (see Fairclough 2001: 242).

One of the figures most commonly associated with post-structuralism and discourse is Michel Foucault, who defined discourse as 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1972: 49). Foucault in his early work sought to develop a basis for what makes knowledge possible ('archaeology'); a system of ordered procedures for producing, distributing, circulating and operating statements as truth (Rainbow 1984: 74; Fox 1998: 417). Later he came to see statements of truth as linked to systems of power, with 'discourse and language at the center of social practices and processes' (Fairclough 1992: 49). His 'genealogy of the relationship of power to knowledge' was conducted by mapping the changing relationship between discourse and the non-discursive over time (Fox 1998: 420-421). Discourses not only define what is possible to say, know or do, but also establish boundaries for the person one is entitled or obliged to be (MacLure 2003: 176; Fairclough 1992: 44-45). Foucault speaks of individuals as 'fabricated' into society, that is that it is impossible to speak without speaking as a person who is constituted by one discourse or another (Foucault 1979: 217; MacLure 2003: 176; Fairclough 1992: 44-45). Why this is the case is down to power, yet Foucault was critical of theories, namely Marxism, which consider power as 'sovereign' or a 'unitary and centralised construct' (Fox 1998: 416; Foucault 1980: 39, 115). Power is seen also not

³⁴ Discourse analysis as part of critical theory has been informed by theoretical and political perspectives such as Marxism and neo-Marxism, not only the work of Marx, but also the work of the Frankfurt School, Jurgen Habermas, Stuart Hall, Gramsci and Pêcheux among others.

³⁵ Post-structuralism is often defined in opposition to the rationalist, humanist worldview that arose from the Enlightenment of the 17th century, and rejects faith in reason 'as the faculty that regulates the social and moral order' (MacLure 2003: 174). Post-structuralist theorists deny the idea of objective knowledge and universal truth as determined by reason and instead claim that truth is always partial and knowledge situated, and that it is 'produced by and for particular interests in particular circumstances, at particular times' (MacLure 2003: 175; Fairclough 1992: 44).

just as repressive, but also productive and enabling (MacLure 2003: 177).³⁶ Looking at research on textbooks as an example of the potential use of post-structuralism, John Ahier (1988) utilises this outlook to underpin the examination of a sample of over 200 history and geography textbooks from between 1880 and 1960 (pp. 187-195).³⁷ Working from the charge that the negative portrayal of industrial society in textbooks was a factor in the decline of British industry in the 1980s, Ahier explores the portrayal of rural and industrial life in the textbooks (ibid. 1-3, 8). Ahier rejects grounding his study in any particular ideological or political perspective because such perspectives bias the text in such a way that restricts possible understanding of the text and its interpretation by readers (ibid. 47). Research grounded in ideological or political perspectives such as Marxism:

... move too directly to what the text means as opposed to how different meanings are produced. ... This must be the resulting effect of either taking texts as reflections or expressions of a reality elsewhere ... or as part of an enterprise which has its functions determined by the essence of a whole which it is part (ibid. 47)

Indeed, Ahier's view of post-structuralism is close to my own, and is best summarised by Stephen J. Ball when he wrote that post-structuralism allows the researcher to serve as 'a cultural critic offering perspective rather than truth' (Ball 1995: 268).

It may appear as though computer-assisted text analysis would be incompatible with interpretative theoretical perspectives, let alone post-structuralism, but even here the computer is useful in terms of assisting thorough readings and codings of texts beyond those that are merely researcher-driven. Looking across the sum of collocations for words in the sample it becomes possible to assemble corpus-specific lexicons that represents how specific words or concepts are defined, arranged or utilised within the corpus (McEnery and Gabrielatos 2006: 41). As an example of this from the present research, analysing and understanding the precise meaning of the concept of *citizenship* in the texts was an important step in exploring the relationship between human rights and identity, a step that was difficult due to the array of seemingly ill-defined and vague terms used to represent citizenship. Typically, the texts presented at least three terms that potentially described inclusive membership in society in terms of citizenship: *shimin* (*citizen*), *kokumin* (*national*), and *jūmin* (*resident*). However, by analysing the collocates of these terms it became possible to reveal clearer definitions of each term in accordance with how they are actually used within the texts.³⁸ Once a preliminary nexus of collocates was established, it was then possible to root into sentences containing these collocates through the use of keyword-in-context (KWIC) searches.³⁹ KWIC searches display the sentences or passages within which specific words or collocates are found and allow further analysis by the researcher to understand and analyse not only meaning of such terms, but also the surrounding context (Jockers 2013: 75). Following this, researcher-driven discursive analysis was conducted with these sentences and surrounding tracts of text to ascertain precise meanings and context (Pollach 2011:

³⁶ I do agree with Fairclough's (1992) assessment that Foucault's work often focuses excessively on the negative aspects of social power, and caution must therefore taken when applying his ideas.

³⁷ Regarding textbooks, a post-structuralist perspective is taken up by Brindle and Arnot (1999) in their examination of women in a sample of 12 textbooks from the immediate post-Second World War era as well as Maw's (1991) examination of the portrayal of the Soviet Union in 16 English history textbooks, as a precursor to examining how teachers dealt with ethnocentrism in the classroom.

³⁸ I have presented the literal meaning of these words in English.

³⁹ The term keyword-in-context refers to the words that are unique to a given sample and are derived from statistical comparison with a reference corpus (Pollach 2012: 282).

269, 271). As will be shown in the following chapter, the Japanese term *kokumin* is the term most commonly adopted when discussing the present-day idea of being a citizen in Japan, both in terms of civic rights and duties, and moreover likely signifies Japanese ethnic identity. Having established a within-sample definition of *kokumin*, it was then also possible to return to quantitative measures and examine the frequency and location of the term within thematic spaces of the sample, adding yet a further layer of analysis.

Finally, that certain contents have been selected for learning does not reveal much about the arrangement of such contents for pedagogic practice. The last step in the analysis of the textbook content was then to look at how the structure of knowledge within the texts informs the manner in which students potentially learn about and interact with the content of the texts, and how this structure potentially limits or enables what can be ultimately learned about human rights. It may be the case, for instance, that human rights is well covered and presented in a positive light in the texts, but that the pedagogic structure of the textbook attempts to control what is ultimately learnt or does not allow the learner to engage with human rights in a meaningful way. It is here that I have applied Bernstein's concepts of classification and frame, utilising again both quantitative and qualitative techniques. This portion of the research focused particularly on the concept of frame as it was seen as the foundation of textbook classification, or the strength of boundaries between textbook subjects, themes and concepts (Hoadley 2006: 17). Analytical techniques for instance were developed to examine how the textbooks evaluate learner progress, the sequence of themes and topics, as well the pacing of each textbook, or the likely degree of control the learner has over how fast or slow content is covered (Morais 2010: 560-561). The study of textbook classification and frame included not only analyses of text, but also analyses of format and supplementary material provided outside of the main narrative of each textbook. A much more detailed discussion of these analyses will be provided in the following chapter.

Once analyses centered on the *in-situ* and the greater structural context are complete, the final stage of analysis focused on theorizing as to how the various contexts of the study interact or influence the other, especially within each of the school case studies. Particular attention was paid to the movement and transformation of human rights concepts within each context and between contexts as well as how these concepts are ultimately drawn upon and modified for instruction and learning. Emphasis was also placed on explaining how particular viewpoints on human rights and human rights education came to be in the first place as well what would need to change in order for these viewpoints to change. Another task of theorisation was to determine the place and value of human rights relative to agents' perceived worldview, including the internal relationships inherent in that worldview and the value attached to specific aspects within the worldview. The final stage addresses whether human rights come to have any practical value to agents themselves as well as compare the outcomes of human rights learning relative to the original intent of instruction and the curriculum.

Some researchers might object to this odd combination of theoretical perspectives, some of which are inherently contradictory in their ontological and epistemological stances, but I think this objection is valid only if the researcher holds too much value in the objective truth of such theories rather than seeing them as Nicos Mouzelis does, as conceptual tools for saying something about the world. Throughout this chapter I have tried to recognise the limitations of each theoretical perspective, arguing for their suitability and place within this study as well as combining strengths

to alleviate weaknesses in order to be better able to drive analytical methods and incorporate the aims of this study. Fundamentally, this research is an *in-situ* study of contextualised teaching and learning on human rights that takes up Stones' and Cohen's concept of position practices to analyze how networked agents within a school setting go about their educational practices and the outcomes that are a result of those practices. Where position practices is weak, I have suggested merging them with theoretical perspectives and analytical methods that look directly at greater structural contexts. Conversely, on their own, perspectives and methods that look only at structure may have a strong deterministic element that appears sometimes to say too much about the way agents in the social world may or may not actually behave. This is not to say that these theories are invalid but that they are incomplete in that they lack an understanding of agency, agency that is added by converging them with position practices. If particular curricula and pedagogies do have an overriding effect on agency, this will hopefully be demonstrated empirically rather than assumed. As stated earlier, through a thorough use of these combined theoretical perspectives, it may be possible to explain why certain outcomes have occurred and what must be done for them to be any different. I believe this design also concurs with both Anthony Woodiwiss's and Amartya Sen's concern that the sociological study of human rights should focus on their intrinsic importance, their consequential role in providing incentives for socially beneficial forms of action and thought, and their constructive role in the genesis of values and priorities. While the results of this study may relate only to the research sample as well as Japan's socio-historical and cultural context, no doubt some of the results of this research may be useful in inferring ways to develop human rights education in a suitable manner for other contexts. I turn now to the results of my analysis of Japan's social studies curricula and human rights' place within it.

Human Rights Content in the School Curriculum

The Ministry of Education of Japan refers to the textbooks officially approved for school use as the primary means by which the national curriculum is implemented across the country. An analysis of textbook content and form can therefore potentially provide much insight into the selection and prioritisation of knowledge within the social studies curriculum, in particular how discourses of human rights connect to and are shaped by other knowledge structures within the textbooks. In this and the following two chapters, I intend to take up both quantitative and qualitative analyses of textbook content, discursive frames, and pedagogy of a complete sample of official upper-secondary contemporary social studies textbooks. The goal of this chapter is to illuminate the greater structural features of the curriculum by which to ultimately understand within what macro-structural context teaching and learning on human rights take place. This is also an important task as the recontextualisation of knowledge for textbook design has not historically been a very transparent process in Japan, and even at this writing is still an unknown quality. By deconstructing the knowledge structures of the texts, and comparing this deconstruction with current policy debates concerning the scope and direction of citizenship and social studies education, it can be perhaps discerned as to what powers and interests do indeed shape the recontextualising discourse of educational knowledge in Japan.

The Ministry has typically characterized the lack of transparency surrounding the approval process as a need to safeguard against the politicisation of textbook contents. Much evidence however does suggest a highly contested selection process in terms of educational knowledge. For one, the Ministry's authority to approve textbooks has been challenged in court numerous times over the last half century under the premise that the screening process is tantamount to censorship. Examining court documents from these challenges, Nozaki and Inokuchi (2001) write that historically the textbook screening process appears to be an 'arbitrary process, one rife with abuses of power' (p. 111, See also Nozaki and Selden 2009). On the other hand, some commentators have suggested a more staid, conservative process, at least from the point of view of publishers, suggesting that publishers are known for 'preferring tradition and orthodoxy,' striving to reproduce textbooks that are already on the market as these textbooks have already been deemed acceptable (Abiko 2009: 125, Barnard 2003: 15). The approval process, as far as it is known, is initially overseen by the Ministry, which examines the contents of prospective textbooks from publishers, making sure that they conform to the school curriculum for each grade level. The Textbook Authorization and Research Council (Textbook Council), whose members are appointees, then officially approves textbooks. The Ministry itself does reserve the final authority to accept or reject a particular textbook (Nozaki and Selden 2009). The process has become marginally more transparent since 2008: the names of Textbook Council members are now publicly known and Council members can now directly discuss content matters with publishers if necessary, which apparently helps publishers to deal with the inevitable request for revisions to textbook contents from the Council (Abiko 2010: 125, Nozaki and Selden: 2009). In terms of which textbooks are actually used within individual education districts and schools, for primary and lower secondary education levels, local boards of education generally choose from the list of authorized textbooks for schools under their jurisdiction.

Upper secondary schools as well as private and national institutions usually make the choice for themselves. Teachers are obliged to use the authorised texts but are permitted to supplement instruction with other materials (Nozaki and Selden 2009).

For the 2013 to 2014 school year, the Ministry had sanctioned twelve contemporary social studies education textbooks for possible use in upper secondary school classrooms. All twelve books have been included in the sample analysed here with the addition of one textbook from the previous school year. In Table 4.1 I have listed the title of each upper-secondary book in both English and Japanese, the certification code that the Ministry uses to identify each book, the main author(s), as well as the publication date and date of Ministry certification. Each textbook will be referred to by publisher name and code (e.g. T₃₀₇ refers to the text published by *Teikoku Shoin*). The general public through select bookstores can purchase the approved textbooks and the sampled textbooks for this research were purchased privately from the textbook supplier *Daiichi Kyōkasho* in Tokyo periodically throughout 2013 and 2014. Sampled texts were then prepared for computer-assisted analysis as a non-curated corpus. First, the textbooks were scanned into PDF with scanned images fed through optical character recognition (OCR) software to produce selectable text that was then copied and saved in .txt format. Compiled text included only the main body text and headings within the textbooks.¹ For analysis, it was necessary to parse the text in order that the software used to carry out statistical testing could recognize token ('word' or 'item')² boundaries (McEnery and Wilson 2001: 82). This is difficult with Japanese for one because the language does not have clearly visible boundaries between tokens and tokens themselves 'often have variation in orthography,' meaning that words of the same pronunciation can vary in meaning according to which Chinese characters are used to represent their pronunciation (Den et al. 2008: 1019).³ Specialist parsing tools are therefore necessary to recognise token boundaries and for this research the parsing tool *Chasen* was utilised through the freeware software program *KH Coder*⁴ to parse the text. Finally, complete token lists were then generated for each textbook to review the parsing process and to correct any data entry errors. After pre-processing, quantification of text and subsequent statistical testing were carried out through a variety of commercial and freeware software programs, use of which will be described in more detail in the following sections: *SPSS*, *KH Coder*, *Antconc*⁵, *Sketch Engine*⁶, and *Microsoft Excel*. For some statistical testing, the curated Balanced Corpus of Contemporary Written Japanese (BCCWJ)⁷, created by the National Institute for Japanese Language and Linguistics, and *Sketch Engine*'s 10.3 billion-word *jpTenTen11* corpus were utilised as reference corpora to produce keywords.

Before describing specific analytical procedures and corresponding results, some limitations to this research must be noted from the outset. As they are part of a burgeoning use of technology, it should be noted that the sociolinguistic techniques employed in this research are still in some cases under development and in many

¹ Sidebars, graphs and illustrations were also catalogued for pedagogic analysis.

² Although linguists use the term 'token' to refer to the term 'word,' in this chapter I will for the most part use the term word to maintain readability.

³ In English, for instance, spaces are used to separate tokens. However, this is not the case with Japanese.

⁴ <http://khc.sourceforge.net/en/> (Last accessed 1 December 2017) *KH Coder* was chosen for the processing stage on the basis of its ease of use in terms of its ability to naturally handle the Japanese language.

⁵ http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/antconc_index.html (Last accessed 1 December 2017)

⁶ <http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/> (Last accessed 1 December 2017)

⁷ See <http://www.ninjal.ac.jp/database/> (Last accessed 1 December 2017) For *Sketch Engine* statistical work, text data was parsed through *MeCab* respectively instead of *Chasen*.

Table 4.1. Upper-Secondary Contemporary Social Studies Textbook Sample

Ref	English Title	Japanese Title	Size	Pages	Author(s)	Publisher	Certification ^a	Publication
017	New Contemporary Social Studies	新現代社会 (現社 017) ^c	B5	208	Kawai et al.	Kyōiku Shuppan A ^b	2006	2013
301	Contemporary Social Studies	現代社会 (現社 301)	B5	214	Mamiya et al.	Tokyo Shoseki	2012	2013
302	High School Contemporary Social Studies	高校現代社会 (現社 302)	A5	310	Ito et al.	Jikkyo Shuppan A	2012	2013
303	Current Contemporary Social Studies	最新現代社会 (現社 303)	B5	221	Awaji et al.	Jikkyo Shuppan B	2012	2013
304	Current Contemporary Social Studies	最新現代社会 (現社 304)	B5	192	Kawai et al.	Kyōiku Shuppan B	2012	2013
305	High School Contemporary Social Studies (Current Edition)	高等学校現代社会最新版 (現社 305)	B5	216	Fujita et al.	Shimizu Shoin A	2012	2013
306	High School New Contemporary Social Studies (Current Edition)	高等学校新現代社会最新版 (現社 306)	A5	322	Ikeda et al.	Shimizu Shoin B	2012	2013
307	High School New Contemporary Social Studies	高等学校新現代社会 (現社 307)	B5	214	Asako et al.	Teikoku Shoin	2012	2013
308	Contemporary Social Studies	現代社会 (現社 308)	B5	188	Tamai et al.	Yamakawa Shuppansha	2012	2013
309	Contemporary Social Studies (A)	現代社会 (現社 309)	A5	326	Watanabe et al.	Sūken Shuppan A	2012	2013
310	High School Contemporary Social Studies	高等学校現代社会 (現社 310)	B5	230	Watanabe et al.	Sūken Shuppan B	2012	2013
311	High School Contemporary Social Studies	高等学校現代社会 (現社 311)	A5	302	Yatabe et al.	Daiichi Gakushusha A	2012	2013
312	High School New Contemporary Social Studies	高等学校新現代社会 (現社 312)	B5	200	Yatabe et al.	Daiichi Gakushusha B	2012	2013

^a Refers to year officially sanctioned for use by Ministry of Education. ^b Research reference to distinguish between textbooks with the same publisher. ^c Ministry of Education textbook reference code.

cases there is no definitive test to be applied in a given research situation. With statistical results, different software and technologies may even yield varied results with simple word counts, much of which underpins further statistical testing (Gries 2006: 112). Particularly as this research is not well positioned to assess the validity of individual analytical techniques, I have therefore tried to maintain several principles to govern the tenuous situation, first with trying to be as transparent as possible in my analytical methods, such that they can be replicated, but also to infer why a particular method reveals a particular result. Likewise, I have strived to employ manual methods of data manipulation over automated techniques that may be available with software, and where software has been employed in just such a fashion, I explain the processes and calculations employed behind the software. Finally, borrowing from the sociological tradition of triangulation, I have tried to employ as many analytical means as possible to explore the data and confirm results, even at the risk of contradiction, and have to strived to maintain a central tenet that in most cases the results of this research offer perspectives rather statements of fact.

Regarding analytical results in general, this research is an analysis of text in and of itself and no assumptions are made as to how the texts are utilised in the classroom nor how situated agents such as teachers and students construct meaning around the knowledge structures found in the text. While the Ministry considers textbooks to be the main means of implementing the School Curriculum, this research does not consider the possibility of other explicit or implicit means of implementation, including means that may ameliorate the implementation of curricular policy through the textbooks. Such other means may include for example institutional, systemic and individual educational practices, and many of these will be discussed further in Chapter 7. This research also borrows concepts from the early work of Basil Bernstein, in particular his concepts of classification and frame from his sociology of knowledge. As a research that is driven by these concepts, it is also beyond the scope of the present research to empirically validate Bernstein's concepts. Instead I am utilizing these concepts to suggest ways of looking at knowledge within the texts and how these structures complete a pedagogy of the text, which then may also explicitly or implicitly limit or enable how or what can be learned from them. All translations from Japanese to English are my own unless otherwise noted. I begin first in this chapter by discussing the general contours of the social studies curriculum, and human rights' place within it as examined through quantitative analysis, before looking qualitatively at human rights discourse within the texts in Chapter 5. Finally, in Chapter 6 I will analyse the texts as to how their intended pedagogic form affects educational messages within the text. I will end each findings chapter with a brief summary of that chapter's findings, and discuss further implications of these results in Chapter 8.

Human Rights Content in the Curriculum

Here I wish to discuss the general topical context that frames the social studies curriculum as represented by the textbooks and within which discussions of human rights are embedded. I will also provide an initial discussion on the human rights content levels found within this context. The senior high school textbook sample (SHS Textbook Corpus) formed a corpus of slightly over 760, 000 words, with the thirteen textbooks varying greatly in length, ranging from 42, 016 (s₃₁₂) to 84, 284

words (s₃₀₂) (See Table 4.3). Utilising textbook section and chapter headings, contents of the sample can be analytically divided into five sub-corpora ('subjects') reflecting key topical areas: 'Current Issues,' 'Youth-Society,' 'Politics,' 'Economics' and 'Global Issues.' Although there is some variation, the subjects are for the most part ordered within each textbook as listed above. Current Issues (12% of the entire corpus) opens each text and generally focuses on the following topics, although included topics vary from textbook to textbook: environmental issues, including issues of environmental destruction, global warming, energy, food and water resource scarcity and overpopulation; life science and ethics, including biotechnology, cloning and organ transplants as well as the individual right to self-determination; and finally information technology and its effect on society. A keyword analysis of the sub-corpus confirms that much of this section focuses on environmental issues and medical technologies affecting life and death, as well as quality of life (see Table 4.2).⁸ Youth-Society (15%) mainly deals with the features of modern society and the definition and significance of adolescence, including topics on careers, social participation, gender roles, self-actualization, realization and reliance, as well as youth culture. Further topics deal more closely with society and its betterment: philosophy, religion, modern scientific thinking, Japanese traditional culture, ideas and thinking, and the relationship between 'foreign' thought, global society and Japanese identity. It is in this subject area that the textbook appears to be addressing familiar topics intimately connected to the readers' daily lives, and given the predominance of 'adolescence' in the keyword analysis, may be attempting to regulate individual reader identities. Yet surprisingly, the keyword analysis does suggest that a great amount of discourse has been given over to general philosophy and religion.

Over half (54%) of the corpus is taken up by the subjects of Politics (26%) and Economics (28%). Politics generally covers concepts of democratic governance, fundamental ideas and concepts with Japan's current constitution, the functions of Japan's political and legal system as well as political participation and the relationship between the individual and the State, much of which appears to be confirmed by keyword analysis. Democratic governance topics are comprised of a comparison of world political systems and an overview of the establishment of democratic governance and human rights in Japan. Human rights as a theme is picked up again in overviews of the Constitution, which also incorporates topics on citizenship rights under the Constitution in addition to discussions on discrimination and equality as well as pacifism and the country's military security in relation to Article 9 of the Constitution.⁹ Last, the subject includes topics related to the political system itself: the organization and purpose of government ministries and administration, the Diet and the legislative process, local governance, political parties and interest groups, the electoral system and political participation. Economics on the other hand presents fundamental concepts on the structure of the economy, modern enterprise and business, markets, finance, economic growth, and the role of the government,

⁸ A *keyword analysis* is a comparison between the corpus under study (target corpus) and a reference corpus, usually a large, general sample of a language, to determine which words appear more or less frequently in the target corpus. Keywords are seen as a reliable means of determining the topical and linguistic features of the target corpus. See Pollach 2012: 269.

⁹ Article 9 of Japan's Constitution is considered to be its 'peace clause' and states: '[a]spir[ing] sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. (2) To accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized.' See Port 2005.

Table 4.2. Selected Keywords by Subject Corpus (SHS Corpus)

1. Current Issues	Information technology (293.03)	Cloning (201.77)
Ozone layer (501.38) ^a	Adoption, selection (264.4)	Kyoto Protocol (193.29)
Desertification (487.32)	Organ transplant (261.15)	Right of self-determination (192.03)
Acid rain (427.4)	Brain death (257.75)	Organ transplant law (180.99)
Global environment issues (322.52)	Tropical forest (249.47)	Advanced medical technology (177.14)
Highly information-oriented society (20.55)	Fossil fuel (234.94)	Euthanasia (175.02)
Developing country (294.91)	Death with dignity (232.48)	Deforestation (173.86)
	Greenhouse gas (213.89)	Global warming (168.7)
	Computer (204.57)	
2. Youth-Society	Modern Science (182.82)	Good (141.5)
Adolescence (1150.95)	Neo-Confucianism (167.680)	Self-organisation (140.63)
Mass society (291.32)	Democratic society (163.75)	Moratorium (127.26)
Socrates (238.88)	Rene Descartes (162.93)	Purpose in life (126.84)
Development issues (233.32)	Idea (161.5)	Western thought (124.2)
Preach (219.58)	Confucianism (161.35)	Things (123.85)
Defense mechanism (192.62)	Self-actualisation (157.57)	Human relations (120.82)
Awakening (186.6)	Islam (155.27)	
	Utilitarianism (150.64)	
3. Politics	Parliamentary system (337.59)	Separation of powers (275.61)
Japanese Constitution (639.05)	Cabinet Ministry (337.01)	Judicial power (262.3)
Democratic politics (623.67)	Pacifism (334.37)	Local public body (259.5)
Fundamental human rights (534.53)	Human rights guarantee (331.31)	Prime Minister (258.19)
Meiji Constitution (464.68)	Supreme Court (317.62)	Party politics (257.23)
Popular sovereignty (385.94)	Executive authority (300.42)	Respect (241.46)
Local autonomy (359.37)	House of Representatives (281.38)	Constitution (235.4)
Civil liberties (341.94)	Guarantee (278.64)	Electoral system (233.39)
Social rights (340.26)		
4. Economics	Profit (240.02)	Public debt (188.75)
Taxes (370.31)	Indirect tax (236.98)	Production (173.83)
Capitalist economy (342.82)	Enactment (236.88)	Annual revenue (172.33)
Social security system (278.96)	Rapid economic growth (222.87)	Transaction (167.56)
Business fluctuation (278.51)	Public goods (214.41)	Industrial structure (159.03)
Pollution (275.01)	Market economy (201.81)	Liberalisation (157.2)
Economic activity (263.36)	Bank of Japan (201.8)	Labor issue (154.53)
National income (247.98)	Consumerism issue (198.4)	Bubble economy (152.35)
Economic entity (244.36)		
5. Global Issues	Post-Second World War (348.6)	Disarmament (273.94)
Developing country (544.04)	International community (346.14)	UN Security Council (273.41)
American-Soviet (422.22)	International balance of payments (343.29)	Trade (264.75)
GATT (421.31)	International law (333.62)	United Nations (<i>kokusai rengō</i>) (259.39)
United Nations (<i>kokuren</i>) (404.07)	Cold War (316.21)	End of the Cold War (251.38)
Sovereign nation (399.58)	Nuclear weapons (297.59)	International division of labour (236.43)
League of Nations (377.81)	North-South problem (280.94)	Capital account balance (228.17)
International economy (371.64)	Collective security (279.7)	Cross-national (226.77)
Free trade (354.28)		

^a Keyword values determined through a comparison with Japanese reference corpus jpTenTen11 ($s_{\text{ref}} = 10,321,875,664$) available through Sketch Engine (<http://www.sketchengine.co.uk/>). Values are the normalised frequency of a word per one million words in the focus corpus, plus a simple maths parameter ($f_{\text{pmfocus}} + n$, $n = 1$) divided by the same word's normalised frequency per million plus the parameter in the reference corpus ($f_{\text{pmref}} + n$, $n = 1$). The simple maths parameter used here was 1. Subject corpora for the most part ordered within each textbook as listed.

including public finance, budgeting and taxes. The textbooks present discussions on the history of the changing domestic economy in the post-World War II era, covering economic reconstruction in the post-Second World War aftermath, the high-speed growth era beginning in the 1960s, the post-bubble economy from the early 1990s onward, and changes in domestic industrial structure due to globalisation. Finally, the subject incorporates more detailed issues and topics connected to the current state of the domestic economy: medium and small size companies, domestic agriculture, consumers and consumerism, employment and labor issues, the function of social welfare, and environmental protection as it relates to the private sector. The keyword analysis suggests a prominent focus on finance and money (taxes, national income, profit, indirect tax, annual revenue) as well as economic related issues (social security, pollution, consumerism, public debt, labour issues).

The final subject within the textbooks, Global Issues, represents 18% of the curriculum and for most textbooks is presented as a separate section at the end of the text. Generally, the subject takes up the two broad themes of international economics and international politics and society. For some textbooks, each of these sub-sections is split between the economics and the politics and democracy subjects, the international economics strand following directly after Economics, and the international politics-society section following Politics. For analytical purposes, these follow-on sections were excised and made part of a complete Global Issues corpus. Within global issues, the international economics theme deals with the structure of the international economy and current trends, including topics on trade, foreign exchange, balance of payments, the history of the world economy from the end of the Second World War onward, international development, regional economic integration and the effect of globalisation on Japan's economy. The second theme is generally comprised of topics related to international confrontation, arms reduction, international human rights, international law, the United Nations, national security, politics in the Cold War and post-Cold War eras, and global environmental issues. The keyword analysis suggests a priority on economic issues of international concern (GATT, international economy, free trade, international balance of payments, trade, international division of labor, capital account balance) as well as the history of international relations (American-Soviet, League of Nations, post-Second World War, Cold War), security issues (nuclear weapons, disarmament, collective security) and development (developing country, North-South problem).

The senior high school social studies textbooks on the whole do contain numerous references to human rights although the degree and shape of that discussion varies greatly across subject areas. Certain subjects and topics do appear to be largely excluded from the human rights discussion, meaning that human rights is not necessarily an overarching theme to the curriculum and its importance appears to be firmly attached to certain select topics. Here I use the term manifest human rights content to refer to explicit use of the term 'human rights' (*jinken*) within the textbooks, the normalized frequency of which within the SHS Textbook Corpus rates at 1.133 words per 1000 words of text (See Table 4.3). The normalized frequencies for individual textbooks do vary, ranging from 0.788 ($f_{\text{norm}310}$) to 1.675 ($f_{\text{norm}306}$) words per 1000 words of text. Despite accounting for only 28% of the SHS Textbook Corpus length, the Politics contained 75% of manifest frequencies. This represented a normalized frequency of 3.041 words per 1000, a rate that is slightly over 2.5 times the rate of the SHS Textbook Corpus as a whole, and 76 times higher than the lowest recorded subject frequency, the economics subject area at 0.04 words per 1000.

Table 4.3. **Human Rights Frequencies by Subject Corpus^a** (SHS Textbook Corpus)

Subject Area	Corpus Totals		Manifest Content		Latent Content	
	Tokens (s)	%	f_{norm}	%	f_{norm}	%
Current Issues	93297	12.25	0.182	1.97	0.933	5.13
Youth-Society	116650	15.31	0.146	1.97	0.231	1.59
Politics and Democracy	213096	26.17	3.041	75.09	6.147	77.29
Economics	199336	27.98	0.040	0.93	0.938	11.03
Global Issues	139338	18.29	1.242	20.05	0.603	4.96
	761717	100.00	1.133	100.00	2.225	100.00

^aNormalised values per 1000 tokens.

Normalised per one million words, the frequency of human rights in the politics subject area is 13.8 times greater than in the general language itself as represented by the *jpTenTen11* corpus. Politics was followed in normalized frequency by Global Issues at 1.242, which is approximately 40% the rate of the democracy and politics subject area, but still 31 times the lowest rate of the economics subject area. The frequency of human rights in the global issues subject area is 4.6 times greater than in the general language.

As suggested by these figures, manifest human rights content is unevenly dispersed across individual subject fields within individual textbooks, although there were variations in the degree of unevenness between textbooks. Dispersion of human rights references as measured by Gries' normalised DP (DP_{norm})¹⁰ spanned from the relatively uneven at 0.670 ($DP_{\text{norm}309}$) to middle of the range at 0.516 ($DP_{\text{norm}307}$), with values closer to one representing uneven distribution (See Table 4.4). Comparing individual subject divisions within each textbook, all textbook log-likelihood (G^2) values for between subject dispersions within individual textbooks were highly significant, showing a probable strong association between subject area and manifest frequency. The lowest and highest log-likelihood values were correspondingly for *Teikoku Shoin* (T_{307}) at $G^2(4) = 57.06$, $p < .001$, and *Shimizu Shoin B* (T_{306}) at $G^2(4) = 148.12$, $p < .001$. There is thus a high degree of direct discursive activity within the textbooks related to human rights, but this activity is largely relegated to the discussion of Politics, suggesting again that human rights have been framed largely as legal and political concepts within the curriculum. Second to this, there is a fair amount of discursive activity on human rights within the context of the discussion on Global Issues, but almost little or no direct discussion within the remaining three subject areas. The focus on human rights as a political and legal concept is not surprising given that, as stated earlier, human rights implementation has historically been largely seen as depending on domestic legal and political systems, yet the exclusion of human rights from other subject areas may well suggest the limits of human rights as an applied or practical concept within the social studies curriculum as well as an underlying idea of citizenship in general. Particularly disconcerting is an apparent lack of connection between human rights and aspects of Japanese culture in the youth and society subject.

¹⁰ Gries' *DP* is calculated by comparing the expected number of references of a particular term with the actual observed frequency within two or more corpus parts, which also do not need to be of equal size. This results in a *DP* statistic with 0 representing a relatively even dispersion of the term over the whole text, and 1 representing a high concentration of tokens in a particular corpus or section of the text (Gries 2008: 415).

Table 4.4. **Dispersion of Manifest and Latent Human Rights Content, Individual SHS Textbooks**

No	Textbook Publisher	Token Length (s)	Manifest Human Rights Frequencies			Latent Human Rights Frequencies		
			f_{norm}	DP _{norm}	G ²	f_{norm}	DP _{norm}	G ²
017	Kyōiku Shuppan A	57042	0.859	0.580	63.42***	0.859	0.984	144.85***
301	Tokyo Shoseki	52420	1.507	0.627	131.19***	2.175	0.496	117.21***
302	Jikkyo Shuppan A	84284	1.127	0.544	123.10***	1.946	0.524	166.74***
303	Jikkyo Shuppan B	47014	1.085	0.616	70.84***	2.531	0.673	184.37***
304	Kyōiku Shuppan B	48377	1.282	0.496	77.80***	2.129	0.542	120.13***
305	Shimizu Shoin A	48567	1.338	0.540	75.08***	1.338	0.892	138.47***
306	Shimizu Shoin B	67455	1.675	0.536	148.12***	1.675	0.622	163.30***
307	Teikoku Shoin	46564	1.074	0.516	57.06***	2.491	0.512	144.99***
308	Yamakawa Shuppansha	58587	0.939	0.521	70.58***	2.321	0.555	161.33***
309	Sūken Shuppan A	80193	0.860	0.670	127.81***	2.731	0.475	208.77***
310	Sūken Shuppan B	67285	0.788	0.557	62.61***	2.556	0.478	138.47***
311	Daiichi Gakushusha A	61913	1.147	0.614	104.65***	1.954	0.653	188.12***
312	Daiichi Gakushusha B	42016	1.166	0.653	97.23***	2.071	0.653	135.04***

DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution. Log likelihood values at $df = 4$, **p < .01, ***p < .001. Normalised values per 1000 tokens.

Explicit reference to human rights or a lack thereof does not preclude the possibility of human rights related discussions taking place in other form. Especially as the dispersion of human rights correlates highly with Politics, and as the Ministry declared that human rights were to be contextualised as citizenship rights under the Constitution, it can be inferred that human rights concepts have been primarily contextualised as the rights of citizenship under Japan's Constitution, and therefore it is misleading to analyze human rights content solely on its manifest frequency. In other words, there might be a latent human rights vocabulary in which human rights concepts are implied through other terms, or where other wordings serve as proxies. A 'basket' of rights and rights-related terms, excluding the term human rights, and connected to Japan's Constitution was therefore compiled manually from the SHS Textbook Corpus and analysed in terms of frequency (See Appendix).¹¹ While some of the rights terms included on the list only possess the status of Constitutional rights, others do have international normative status in addition to their status under Japan's Constitution. Overall, frequencies of latent human rights terms amounted to a higher normalized frequency of 2.225 words per 1000 words; however, the frequency of rights-related latent terms again served to highlight the disparity of rights and human rights-related language between individual subjects: the highest normalized frequency was again observed in the Politics subject area ($f_{\text{normN3}} = 6.174$ words per 1000) (See Table 4.3).

There were some differences in the overall dispersion however: unlike the manifest human rights analysis, the Economics sub-corpus frequency was the second highest in normalized terms ($f_{\text{normN4}} = 0.938$), while Youth-Society displayed the lowest frequency at 0.231 words per 1000; which to some extent may confirm the status of economic rights in Japan but again suggests a disassociation between rights language and broader Japanese culture as well as the development of younger citizens. As well, Global Issues, which contained the second highest amount of manifest content, was the second lowest in latent content, perhaps owing to the latent terms' relationship to domestic law and politics over any possible connection to their possible status as international norms. The human rights discussion of Global Issues subject area therefore appears distinct from discussions taking place in the other four subject areas. Looking at the dispersion of terms across subject areas but within individual textbooks, highly uneven token dispersions were found in *Kyōiku Shuppan A* ($DP_{\text{norm017}} = 0.984$) and *Shimizu Shoin A* ($DP_{\text{norm305}} = 0.892$) (See Table 4.4). Similar to the manifest analysis, all textbook log-likelihood (G^2) values for between subject dispersions within individual textbooks were highly significant, showing a strong association between individual subjects and the frequency of latent terms. Minus manifest human rights content, general rights discourse itself is the domain of Politics. There is not much rights discourse associated with Global Issues, again suggesting that human rights discourse within this subject is detached from the contextualisation of rights within the other subjects, and especially the definition of human rights embedded within Politics. Despite textbook content that addresses future adult members of society, there is little discursive activity within Youth-Society, once more suggesting the limitedness of rights language with regard to topics of adolescence and culture. Human rights or rights in general may not be seen as something implicitly endemic to Japan, at least not in any moral or cultural sense.

¹¹ Some caution must be expressed with utilising a basket of terms as part of a frequency analysis as the analysis will invariably treat each word as equivalent to one another. As such, the analysis cannot state which specific words occur where within which subject corpora and in what amount, and moreover which terms tend to co-occur with others.

Table 4.5. **Human Rights Issue Frequency by Subject Area** (SHS Corpus)

Issue (f_{norm})	Subject Area					DP_{norm}	G^2
	Current Issues	Youth-Society	Economics	Politics	Global Issues		
Ainu (0.028)	0.000	0.026	0.000	0.080	0.014	0.570	31.169***
Koreans (0.030)	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.110	0.000	0.792	54.958***
Foreigners (0.137)	0.160	0.051	0.103	0.276	0.043	0.329	44.430***
Disabled (0.177)	0.383	0.026	0.267	0.181	0.022	0.332	80.068***
Gender (0.425)	0.160	0.977	0.300	0.462	0.280	0.252	98.303***
HIV (0.011)	0.011	0.000	0.005	0.010	0.029	0.364	6.291
Buraku (0.041)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.156	0.000	0.841	83.116***
Seniors (0.155)	0.192	0.137	0.366	0.025	0.007	0.469	113.794***

Normalised values per 1000 tokens. DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution. Log likelihood values at $df=4$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Table 4.6. **International Human Rights Frequency by Subject Area** (SHS Corpus)

Document (f_{norm})	Subject Area					DP_{norm}	G^2
	Current Issues	Youth-Society	Economics	Politics	Global Issues		
UDHR (0.063)	0.000	0.017	0.009	0.166	0.079	0.538	55.883***
Women (0.016)	0.000	0.017	0.000	0.030	0.029	0.458	12.908*
Race (0.012)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.035	0.014	0.633	16.028**
Children (0.013)	0.011	0.000	0.000	0.015	0.043	0.519	14.668**
Capital (0.004)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.015	0.000	0.841	8.043
Genocide (0.005)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.029	0.931	13.589**
ICESCR (0.003)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.010	0.000	0.841	5.362
ICCPR (0.001)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.005	0.000	0.841	2.681
French (0.017)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.060	0.000	0.754	28.520***
American (0.011)	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.035	0.007	0.699	5.362

Normalised values per 1000 tokens. DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution. Log likelihood values at $df=4$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The original national plan of action on human rights education sets out issues pertaining to discrimination against social groups as an educational priority: women, resident foreigners, special-ability persons, HIV patients, Koreans, the Burakumin, and the Ainu. Within-textbook frequencies of manifest content of these issues suggest that with regard to main narratives, not all textbooks provide the same amount of content or at least do not provide issues-related content in the same narrative or pedagogic space (See Appendix).¹² Discussion of resident Korean issues was noticeably absent from the main narrative of *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄) and *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅). *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅) also provided no content in the same space on Ainu issues. Overall, aggregate normalised frequencies of terms related to human rights issues displayed a range of 2.016 (T₀₁₇ *Kyōiku Shuppan A*) at one end to 0.614 (T₃₁₁ *Daiichi Gakushusha A*) per 1000 words at the other. The frequency analysis of manifest content related to these issues also suggests further qualifications to the relationship between human rights content and textbook subject areas (See Table

¹² See Appendix for terms used to tabulate frequencies.

4.5). For one, issues related to marginal or non-Japanese citizens ('otherness')¹³ were most often positioned as political and legal issues: discursive activity related to resident foreigners and Koreans, as well as the Ainu ethnic minority and former Buraku caste members was embedded primarily in Politics. Dispersion of manifest content for the Buraku ($DP_{norm} = 0.841$) and Koreans ($DP_{norm} = 0.792$) in particular was highly skewed, and almost no discussion on these issues took place outside of the politics subject area, *Sūken Shuppan A* and *B*'s (T_{309} - T_{310}) brief mentioning of resident Koreans (*zainichi korian*) as part of a multicultural Japan within Youth-Society being the only notable exception.

In contrast, issues that did not directly involve national and ethnic identity showed different dispersal characteristics. Most discussions on senior citizens took place in Youth-Society and Economics, the latter a curious pairing, but one that may link the issue to the increasing financial cost of providing welfare to Japan's rapidly aging population. The keyword analysis did suggest a high degree of discursive activity with regard to Japan's welfare system and public finances in the economics subject area. Higher frequencies of terms signaling gender issues were found in Youth-Society ($f_{norm} = 0.977$), but were at the same time well dispersed across subject areas ($DP_{norm} = 0.252$). The only issue that appears to have been largely omitted from the main narrative was that of HIV patients: eight of the thirteen textbooks had no content on HIV issues at all. The HIV issue displayed relatively even dispersion ($DP_{norm} = 0.364$) across subject areas simply because there were few if any references overall. There was however some minimal discussion of the issue within Global Issues ($f_{norm} = 0.029$). While the precise discursive linkages between issues and their embedded contexts will be investigated in more detail in the following section, issues of national or ethnic identity in particular appear open to rights-talk but isolated from direct discussions of Japanese culture and identity. The segregation of other issues from rights talk may limit the applicability of rights and human rights discourse to those issues and it will be of interest to investigate further the linkages and points of disjuncture across subject areas.

There is the final question of how much the contextualisation of human rights draws upon or overlaps international human rights discourse as represented by historical documents as well as United Nations language and treaty law. This is now a more interesting question given that the analysis of latent and manifest human rights content suggested a division between the Global Issues and other subjects. This question was investigated through normalised frequency counts of major human rights conventions, including the following: the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, 'Women'), Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD, 'Race'), Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC, 'Children'), Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment ('Torture' Convention), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) as well as the Second Optional Protocol on the Elimination of the Death Penalty ('Capital'), a protocol to the covenant on civil and political rights. In addition, two historical documents were also later included as a result of the frequency of the term 'declaration' (*sengen*) in the collocation analysis:

¹³ By the term marginality I refer to persons residing within Japan who possess quasi-Japanese ethnicity and/or quasi-legal status as Japanese citizens. The term otherness refers to persons who are not of Japanese ethnicity and/or do not possess full legal citizenship in Japan.

the French Declaration on the Rights of Man and of the Citizen ('French'), and the American Declaration of Independence ('American').

The textbooks themselves make little overall reference to international human rights conventions other than the Universal Declaration of Human Rights ($f_{\text{norm}} = 0.063$) and overall reference to international conventions is primarily limited to Politics (See Table 4.6). Besides the Universal Declaration, the only other treaties or documents to be referenced in the main narrative outside of these two subject areas were the Women's Rights Convention, which was referenced in Youth-Society, and the Child Rights Convention, which was referenced in Current Issues. After the Universal Declaration, the most commonly referenced 'human rights document' was the French Declaration on the Rights of Man, alluding to the philosophical and natural rights origin of human rights concepts in the West. Although the Torture Convention was not referenced in any of the texts, it should be noted that the issue of torture was discussed, albeit in the context of Article 36 of the Constitution prohibiting torture and cruel treatment, but this confirms the impression that the overall discussion of human rights issues tends to eschew any direct reference to international human rights and likely favors a more contextualised approach. Moreover, the sequencing of international human rights discussions likely supports the primacy of contextualised rights talk in that outside of the Universal Declaration, most discussions on international human rights take place in Global Issues, which is predominantly the last section of each text.

Human Rights Lexicon

Quantitative analyses were also conducted as a preliminary investigation of the language that human rights is embedded in. While not as precise in determining exact meaning as traditional qualitative measures, quantitative analyses can be useful in extracting broad themes as well as recognising the scope and use of vocabulary connected to human rights and related issues, knowledge which can then further guide qualitative investigation (See generally Pollach 2012, Jockers 2013). In the previous section, the results of the content analysis suggested a differentiation between contextualised human rights practise and globalised discourses, the latter an apparent facet of the global issues subject area. Likewise, the content analysis suggested a further differentiation in discussions of human rights relative to identity, particularly that issues involving marginal identity or otherness are positioned differently within the text. Here I also looked at the vocabulary of identity and multiculturalism. Finally, I wished to investigate to what extent human rights language was used to discuss related social issues, particularly the issues set forth in the national plan of action. With these conclusions and aims in mind, analyses of frequently appearing collocates of the term human rights as well as other related key vocabulary were conducted. Collocates were categorised by part-of-speech (POS) tags and KWIC searches were also utilised to manually determine precise collocate definitions.¹⁴ In this way a

¹⁴ Collocation frequencies were tabulated on a range of five tokens to the left and right of the node. Since there is natural covariance between certain tokens, the strength of each human rights collocate was tested through mutual information (MI) scores, z -scores and the G^2 (log-likelihood) statistic (Barnbrook et al. 2013: 64-70; Pollach 2012: 270). The occurrence of highly occurring collocates were tabulated through the concordance function in *KH Coder*, with strength scores calculated in *Excel*. With software developments made during the writing of this chapter, later strength scores could be calculated and confirmed directly in *KH Coder*. Some priority was given to z -scores and

network of terms associated with human rights was assembled, with their positioning within the text determined by further use of dispersion analysis. I begin first with an exploratory analysis of general human rights discourse before moving on to terms reflecting identity and issues.

An analysis of collocates of the term *human rights* (*jinken*) as node¹⁵ across all text subject areas confirmed the distinct boundary between Politics and Global Issues, subject areas where the highest frequency of discursive activity related to human rights is located (See Table 4.7). Looking first at Politics, the words *guarantee* (*hoshō*; ‘Article 11 of the Constitution of Japan explicitly provides for the *guarantee* of fundamental human rights ...’; T₃₀₁: 62) and *fundamental* (*kihon*, as in *kihon-teki jinken* or *fundamental* human rights) were highest in terms of raw frequency and collocation strength. Specific terms referencing the domestic context were prevalent in count and strength, particularly *constitution* (*kenpō*) and *national* or *the people* (*kokumin*; ‘The power of the courts to adjudicate constitutionality holds an important significance in protecting the fundamental human rights of the people (*kokumin*) from violations ...’; T₃₀₂: 131).¹⁶ Still, some terms potentially indicative of human rights’ Western and international status remained among the stronger collocations, notably *international* (*kokusai*), used particularly to describe the internationalisation (*kokusaika*) of human rights with the establishment of the United Nations system; and *declaration* (*sengen*), as in the French Declaration on the Rights of Man (*furansu-jinken-sengen*), the American Declaration of Independence (*amerika-dokuritsu-sengen*), as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (*sekai-jinken-sengen*). Similarly, many of the proper noun collocates also acknowledged the Western origins of human rights: France, the Americas, the United States and Western Europe were strong collocates by z-score as well as log-likelihood. The referencing of the West in the discussion of human rights within Politics might suggest that the contextualisation of human rights draws more from the development of rights in Western philosophy and history; however, prominent references to the present international human rights regime do exist. On the whole though, collocations within Politics were indicative of their connection to the domestic side of human rights.

In contrast, among the most frequent collocations in Global Issues there was an absence of terms indicating the domestic context, the most frequent and strong collocates being *international* (*kokusai*); *United Nations* (*kokuren*)¹⁷; *global* (*sekai*); as well as *convention* (*kiyaku*, ‘In order to realise the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international human rights conventions (*kokusai jinken kiyaku*) were adopted in 1966’; T₃₀₆: 239). Further collocates presented human rights discourse as potentially more bound by the discussion of specific global human rights issues: *violation* (*shingai*, ‘In the world there are people vulnerable to human rights violations’; T₀₁₇: 167); *issue* (*mondai*, ‘human rights issues (*jinken mondai*) as a result of one-party rule by the Communist party ... [is a Chinese domestic issue]’; T₃₀₉: 195); *the environment* (*kankyō*); and *oppression* (*yokuatsu*). Similarly, there are strong references to international organisations when looking specifically at proper nouns and many other collocations were indicative of the names of international organisations, including the adjective *kōtō* (high class) as in the United Nations High

the G² statistic as MI scores as expected tended to overemphasize the least frequent collocates. See Pollach 2012: 270.

¹⁵ When a word is examined for other words it co-occurs with, the former is referred to as the *node* and the latter as *collocate(s)*. Pollach 2012: 270.

¹⁶ The strongest collocation of human rights as measured by mutual information (MI) score was the suffix *hō* (‘law’), and the word *kenri* (‘right’) also appeared among the higher ranked of the MI scores.

¹⁷ The alternate term in Japanese for United Nations, *kokusai rengō*, was also prevalent.

Commissioner for Refugees (*kokuren nanmin kōtō-benmukan jimusho*) and Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (*kokuren jinken kōtō-benmukan*); and *riji* (administration), as in the United Nations Security Council (*anzenhoshō-rijikai*). Compared to the politics subject area, notable differences were likewise found in the relative weakness of common politics subject area collocations such as *guarantee* (*hoshō*) and *national* (*kokumin*). While overall the textbooks contain a mixture of human rights discourse that is both contextualised and international, the collocation analysis confirmed a semantic and topical variation across two major subject areas: *global* human rights within Global Issues, grounded in the term's international status and which deals to some extent with issues of international concern. Then there is *contextualised* human rights in Politics, which acknowledges the Western origin of human rights, but presents human rights as linked to the Constitution and domestic democratic practise.

As the positioning of human rights issues has been linked to identity it is likewise important to establish the key terms that are used to refer to individuals and social groups, as well as their definitions and scope. This is also important for exploring the nature of citizenship in Japan in general, particularly the linkages between terms of inclusiveness (i.e. legal citizens), marginal citizenship and otherness. Like most societies, the meaning of citizenship in Japan extends beyond legal terms and carries with it notions of identity, race, culture and language (Siddle 2003: 447). Nationality conferring full legal citizenship in Japan is granted *jus sanguinis* (nationality by descent) and not by territorial birthright (*jus soli*)—something that no text explicitly discusses; but naturalisation is possible for non-Japanese—although dual citizenship is not permitted.¹⁸ However, to be identified and accepted as a Japanese national or citizen may also likely mean demonstrating the cultural and physical characteristics of the majority ethnic Japanese population (Yamashiro 2013: 150). Complicating this is a varied and inconsistent vocabulary used within the texts, which in their literal translations, could potentially refer to citizens and citizenship, including the use of voice in the first person plural pronoun *we* (*watashi-tachi*). Based on their status as strong corpus-wide collocates to rights (*kenri*) and human rights (*jinken*), the texts present at least three terms that potentially describe inclusive membership in society in terms of citizenship: *shimin* (*citizen*), *kokumin* (*national*), and *jūmin* (*resident*).¹⁹ While these three terms themselves share many of the same strong collocations, further analysis suggests that *jūmin* represents the weakest link to citizenship, the term referring most commonly to people who reside in a particular location or locality, for which the texts primarily associate *jūmin* with recent developments in the devolution of centralised government power in Japan and strengthening regional autonomy. While a strong collocate of *rights* (*kenri*), the term

¹⁸ That citizenship is derived *jus sanguinis* is implied in some discussions of the 1985 revision of Japan's Nationality Act (*kokuseki-hō*) in which citizenship was revised from patrilineal *jus sanguinis* to bilineal *jus sanguinis* (Surak 2008: 560; Chapman 2011: 10-11); See for example *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 79). In 2014, 9, 277 persons, or 82% of the naturalisation applications submitted, received citizenship. Approximately 42% of approved applications came from Korean nationals, 27% from Chinese nationals, with the nationality of the remaining 31% not reported by the Ministry of Justice. Nationals of other nations must renounce their current nationality to gain Japanese nationality. http://www.moj.go.jp/MINJI/toukei_t_minj03.html. Last accessed 20 April 2015.

¹⁹ I have presented each term along with its common English translation, ignoring for a moment how the use of each term within the text provides it with a unique definition. *Shimin* in its general sense also carries the meaning of someone who is a legal resident of specific municipality. As collocates of the term rights (*kenri*), collocation strength scores based on z-score and log-likelihood were *shimin* (4.632; 66.797), *kokumin* (16.842; 600.401), and *jūmin* (3.023; 45.703). As collocates of human rights (*jinken*), collocation scores were respectively *shimin* (2.813; 37.054), and *kokumin* (8.490; 268.058). The term *shimin* thus has weak z-score.

Table 4.7. **Selected Human Rights Collocations by Part of Speech (POS)^a**

Verbs	<i>Corpus</i>	violate (17.38; 114.65 ^b), protect (10.63; 140.61), look hard (9.525; 13.67), be protected (9.525; 13.67), decline (9.53; 13.67), trample (9.421; 21.80), give birth to (6.66; 10.90), perpetrate (6.52; 18.35), seize (6.12; 17.82), broaden (5.79; 50.46), follow (a precedent) (5.76; 17.35), be (on the verge) (5.38; 9.85), compare, liken (5.38; 9.85), come near (4.61; 9.18), express (4.52; 21.16), respond (4.52; 21.16), prevent (4.43; 20.97), be concerned with (4.29; 48.30).
	<i>Politics and Democracy</i>	violate (10.24; 92.74), extend (8.43; 62.03), protect (5.64; 86.79), surround (5.63; 11.65), look hard (5.634; 11.65), overcome (5.634; 11.65), decline (5.63; 11.65), enumerate (5.63; 11.65), shift (5.634; 11.65), perceive (5.46; 17.77), serve (a purpose) (5.462; 17.77), perpetrate (4.32; 15.69), follow, conform (4.32; 15.69), line up (3.862; 8.88), trample (3.86; 8.88), sprout (3.862; 8.88), adopt (3.86; 8.88), incorporate (3.86; 8.88), express (3.67; 19.59), guide (3.62; 14.39).
	<i>Global Issues</i>	protect (10.04; 45.47), come near (9.53; 13.68), rescue (9.53; 13.68), be protected (9.53; 13.68), encourage (6.67; 10.91), trample (6.67; 17.37), cause (5.77; 17.37), receive (4.03; 29.83), spread, propagate (3.37; 7.95).
Proper Nouns	<i>Corpus</i>	the Americas (14.24; 2.33), France (12.27; 13.92), Europe (8.96; 4.80), United Nations (8.02; 14.63), Japan (<i>nihonkoku</i>) (7.28; 4.97), United States (6.58; 0.70).
	<i>Politics and Democracy</i>	France (10.35; 110.20), the Americas (5.63; 11.65), United States (4.96; 22.78), Western Europe (4.32; 15.69), Latin America (3.86; 8.88), Europe (3.86; 8.88), Japan (<i>nihonkoku</i>) (2.53; 78.31)
	<i>Global Issues</i>	United Nations Human Rights Council (UNHRC) (43.05; 48.47), United Nations (29.29; 101.32), Europe (25.60; 27.04), Myanmar (17.54; 13.64), United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (14.23; 9.82), Communist Party (6.67; 8.68), France (5.12; 13.01).
Nouns	<i>Corpus</i>	foundation (84.71; 2505.59), guarantee (56.10; 1925.12), violation (48.13; 701.21), respect (38.35; 639.24), declaration (36.61; 611.66), convention (33.56; 240.43), inviolability (24.15; 133.87), protection (23.59; 132.35), possession (19.05; 54.68), fascism (17; 75.01), adoption (16.58; 309.92), perpetuity (16.53; 112.04), international (15.01; 481.06), endowment (14.24; 36.51), restraint (12.74;), constitution (12.68;), expansion (11.25;), universal (10.03;), intellectual (9.53;).
	<i>Politics and Democracy</i>	foundation (60.80; 2147.82), guarantee (37.79; 1451.27), respect (23.86; 484.13), declaration (21.59; 377.78), violation (20.25; 329.93), adoption (16.65; 148.57), international (16.49; 274.47), inviolability (15.69; 117.1), convention (11.24; 78.72), fascism (11.1; 58.5), perpetuity (9.64; 89.9), possession (7.97; 23.3), inclusion (7.97; 23.3), protection (7.72; 35.55), consciousness (7.38; 58), extension (7.23; 34.28), guarantee (7.16; 82.49), other people (6.81; 65.95), humankind (6.60; 119.4).
	<i>Global Issues</i>	violation (40.80; 271.63), protocol (28.49; 146.9), universal (22.07; 59.27), protection (21.58; 79.49), movement (19.17; 30.13), restraint, oppression (16.35; 81.85), guarantee (16.20; 235.68), reorganisation (15.48; 47.14), the environment (12.34; 123.47), foundation (11.66; 76.84), declaration (11.43; 101.32), democracy (10.31; 59.73), committee member (9.61; 57.84), commemoration (9.53; 13.68), respect (9.23; 80.61), protection (9.22; 36.8), court (8.87; 49.49), international (8.45; 240.38), discrimination (7.67; 52.13), relief (7.64; 27.04).
Adjectives	<i>Corpus</i>	new (<i>atarashii</i>) (30.67; 490.61), mainstream (6.66; 10.9), illegal (6.66; 10.9), peaceful (6.33; 115.5), certain (6.00; 24.14), unjust (5.82; 40.54), equal (5.78; 82.12), thoughtless (4.61; 9.18), new (<i>arata</i>) (4.08; 43.12), high (class) (3.73; 14.17), light (3.68; 8.27), reliable (3.61; 16.06), urgent (3.09; 12.98).
	<i>Politics and Democracy</i>	new (<i>atarashii</i>) (33.68; 548.24), definite (7.41; 28.24), new (<i>arata</i>) (6.62; 49.68), illegal (5.63; 11.65), unjust (3.97; 34.55), sound (3.83; 20.01), fast (3.05; 7.84),
	<i>Global Issues</i>	mainstream (9.53; 13.68), problematic (5.70; 100), light (5.38; 9.86), urgent (4.61; 9.18), high (class) (3.97; 14.61), easy to (3.62; 14), rapid (3.37; 7.95), serious (3.01; 17.56).

^a Collocations ranked by z-score. ^b Log-likelihood value. Strength scores calculated through *Excel* and *KH Coder*.

jūmin is also not closely associated with human rights (*jinken*), as the texts primarily detail the rights of local authorities and residents that exist within the Constitution to limit central government authority over local jurisdiction.²⁰

The word *shimin* on the other hand appears more firmly connected to the portrayal of the historical idea of citizenship, particularly in the Western popular revolutions and citizen movements that embodied the turn toward liberal democracy in the 17th and 18th centuries. This is reflected in strong collocates including nouns such as *revolution* (*kakumei*), *bourgeoisie* (*burujowaji*—), *monarchy* (*ōkoku*) and *upper class* (*jōsō*); as well as the verbs *to fight* (*tatakau*, ‘[the people] carried out a popular revolution (*shimin-kakumei*) by fighting the monarchy to claim political and economic freedoms and rights,’ T₃₁₀: 69) and *to undergo* or *experience* (*heru*; ‘having experienced popular revolutions (*shimin-kakumei*) in places such as France in 1789, ...’ T₃₁₁: 116) (See Appendix). Likewise, frequent collocations as proper nouns also reflect this historical dimension, principally *Athens*, *France*, and Britain’s *King James I*. Even the collocation *shimin-shakai* (civil society) carries its more traditional meaning as the elements of democratic society, including social contract theory, rather than its more recent usage to refer to the third sector of society outside of private business and government (Cohen and Arato 1994: ix). Not all uses of *shimin* have a historical frame of reference as the collocation *shimin-undō* (*popular* or *citizens movement*) is used to refer to activities broadly associated with recent civic and political activity, including the activities of non-profit organisations (T₃₀₁: 87), peace and disarmament, including movements opposed to maintaining United States armed forces in Okinawa (T₃₀₃: 113, T₃₀₈: 48), women’s rights (T₃₀₃: 113), as well as sometimes regional political issues and devolution (T₃₀₉: 165).

The idea of a person as a *national* (*kokumin*) however most strongly carries a general as well as contextualised representation of civic practice within society or the nation as bound by the State, being more common in terms of normalised frequency than *shimin* and skewed toward the Politics subject area.²¹ When describing civic participation in Japan, as well as in describing the subject of rights and human rights, the texts will thus tend to use the word *kokumin*, which is also the common translation of ‘the people’ within the English language version of the Constitution. The term *kokumin* is closely associated with the general concept of sovereignty (*shuken*), particularly in conjunction with verbs such as *to reside in*, *exist* (*sonsuru*, ‘The preamble of the Constitution states that sovereignty resides with the people (*kokumin*),’ T₃₀₉: 125); and *to choose, select* (*erabu*; ‘indirect democracy came to be adopted whereby politics are conducted through representatives chosen by the people (*kokumin*)’ T₃₁₁: 60). The term *kokumin* appears as the contextualised idea of citizenship as represented by the word *shimin*, divesting citizenship of its Western origin and making it wholly Japanese. The terms *Japanese nation* (*nihonkoku*) and *Japan* (*nihon*) are the strongest proper noun collocates of the term *kokumin* in terms of z-score and log-likelihood.²² *Shimin* subsequently can be defined as a symbolic or

²⁰ Specific articles within the Constitution that protect local authority include Articles 93 and 95. See for example *Jikkō Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 107), *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁: 105-106).

²¹ The term *kokumin* appears at a normalised frequency of 2.99 per 1000 words and is dispersed across subject areas at $DP_{\text{norm}} = .417$, and $G^2(4) = 1478.798$, $p < .001$. By comparison, *shimin* appears at a normalised frequency of 0.378 per 1000 words. Like *kokumin*, *shimin* is skewed toward the politics subject area but is slightly more evenly distributed across subject areas at $DP_{\text{norm}} = .354$, at $G^2(4) = 138.747$, $p < .001$. The term *shimin* has a higher normalised frequency in the Youth-Society subject area, which would suggest greater proximity to Japanese identity; however, this is more likely due to the fact that some texts do provide a lot of exposition on Western philosophy in this subject area.

²² The terms *nihonkoku* and *nihon* had log-likelihood scores of 208.667 and 182.871 respectively. The term *nihonkoku* was also a strong collocate in terms of z-score at 9.518.

idealised form of citizenship found in depictions of resistance and the struggle for rights and political claims. But given its proximity to the Western ideal of citizenship, and its positioning and frequency across the texts, citizenship as *shimin* may also be seen as civic or political activity that is external or extraordinary to society, especially when compared with civic participation as represented by the idea of *kokumin*.

Terms potentially representative of marginality and otherness however have a more tenuous relationship with human rights and rights. Across the corpus and within subject areas there are few discursive markers of marginality and otherness related to human rights and rights. The only reference to marginality and otherness as a strong collocate of human rights was found in the term *foreign* (*gaikoku* as in *gaikoku-rōdōsha* or *foreigner labourer*). With the node *rights* (*kenri*), the only strong collocate was *aborigine* (*sen-jūmin*), referring to Ainu ethnic populations.²³ Using the human rights issues listed within the national plan of action on human rights education as pre-selected nodes of marginality and otherness, almost none of these issues possess the terms *rights* or *human rights* as strong collocates. The terms *rights* (*kenri*) and *human rights* (*jinken*) were collocates of the node *foreign* (*gaikoku*), but their strength scores were negligible. Thus, even within the Politics subject, a subject that focuses primarily on rights and human rights, discussions of marginality, otherness and human rights are conceivably occurring in distinct discursive spaces, raising the question of what if any linkages there are between the discourse of each.

Looking more broadly at the collocates of the issues listed in the national plan, all of these issues are, to varying degrees of strength, collocations of one another, suggesting that the texts tend to discuss these issues within a relatively narrow discursive space. Topical priority appears to be given to equality and discrimination; the word *sabetsu* (discrimination) is a common collocate and appears to conjoin several distinct issues. Across all subject areas, except for HIV patients and senior citizens, *sabetsu* appears as a strong collocate of the individual issues under the national plan for human rights education.²⁴ The reverse is also true: the terms *Buraku*, *Ainu*, *josei* (women), *minzoku* (ethnicity), *gaikoku* (again as in foreigners or *gaikokujin*), *shōgai* (the disabled), *zainichi* (literally ‘present within Japan’; used as in ‘resident (*zainichi*) Korean’ or ‘resident foreigner’) and *Korea* (*chōsen*) are strong collocates of the term *sabetsu*. Collocates of *sabetsu* also include references to a few issues outside of the national plan’s remit, notably *homosexuality* (*dōseiai*) and persons of *African descent* (*kokujin*, literally Black person), although the latter term appears connected to racial issues in the United States and elsewhere in the world.²⁵ Similarly, *prejudice* (*henken*) conjoins several issues although these are notably issues of marginal identity and otherness: *ethnicity*, *minority*, *Ainu*, *Buraku*, *race* and *foreigners*. Notably absent is any collocation of *prejudice* denoting Korean ethnicity, but *homosexuality* was a strong collocate.

Although the issue of discrimination appears to predominate the discussion of these issues, there is however a disjunction between this discussion and discussions on multiculturalism and diversity within Japan. First, key markers of multiculturalism are

²³ Strength scores for the term *gaikoku* as a collocate of human rights (*jinken*) were 5.544 (z-score) and 10.966 (log-likelihood). The term *sen-jūmin* (aborigine) as a collocate of rights (*kenri*) scored a z-score of 12.235 and log-likelihood score of 64.954.

²⁴ The term *sabetsu* as a collocate of human rights issues recorded strength scores by z-score and log-likelihood respectively as follows: *Buraku* (24.050; 477.902), *Ainu* (3.317; 107.995), *josei* (27.433; 244.134), *minzoku* (17.400; 194.584), *gaikoku* (11.583; 118.040), *shōgai* (2.950; 75.229), *zainichi* (3.150; 69.442) and *chōsen* (11.418; 61.414).

²⁵ The term *kokujin* for one is highly skewed toward the Global Issues subject area at $DP_{\text{norm}} = 0.724$, at $G^2(4) = 49.731$, $p < .001$.

found primarily within Youth-Society, away from discussion of these issues. Thus, multiculturalism is a distinct part of some definitions of Japanese identity; however, this definition is differentiated from issues that could be theoretically linked to multiculturalism.²⁶ Moreover, given the arrangement of subjects within the texts, learning about prejudice and discrimination can be seen as an extension of multicultural learning rather than as a precursor to or justification of the necessity of multicultural learning. Finally, no human rights issue when analysed as a node, especially those reflecting marginality and otherness, possess markers of inclusiveness as strong collocations, particularly *kokumin*, which had been identified previously as having a close connection with Japanese national and civic identity. Conversely, no inclusive term as a node, *shimin*, *kokumin*, or *jūmin*, has any collocate that is suggestive of otherness or marginality, or any other human rights issue. The term *Korean* as represented by *kankoku* has *kokumin* as a collocate, though strength scores were weak and its usage was not linked to ethnic Koreans residing in Japan. This first suggests that within the politics subject area, marginality and otherness are not necessarily directly conjoined to inclusivity as represented by *shimin*, *kokumin* and *jūmin*. Issues where Japanese national identity is assumed, for instance gender, are also unconnected to civic identity and citizenship, in addition to not being generally framed as issues of political or civic concern for the individual learner given their positioning outside of the Politics subject area.

Conclusions

Through quantitative analysis, it was demonstrated that although there is prominent discursive activity associated with human rights, this activity does not occupy an overarching curricular position. Both manifest and latent discursive markers appear predominantly within Politics, yet few markers appear alongside discussions on Japanese identity within Youth-Society. Human rights are treated primarily as political and legal concepts, with the recontextualising frame likely being Japan's Constitution itself given that latent human rights content is more extensive than manifest content. With the issues elaborated in the National Plan, issues assuming Japanese identity are assigned to Youth-Society, whereas markers connected to marginal and non-Japanese identities are prevalent within Politics. The discussion on domestic human rights thus appears to be tiered on questions of identity. Utilising collocations, the term *kokumin* signifies citizenship and Japanese identity. *Kokumin* however has no markers of marginality and otherness as strong collocations. Multiculturalism markers connect to discussions of Japanese identity within Youth-Society but are absent in reference to marginality and otherness. Marginality and otherness are linked closely to discrimination (*sabetsu*) and prejudice (*henken*), but with markers being strong collocations of one another, they are discussed within narrow discursive spaces. Finally, human rights are not closely associated with these identities, despite being juxtaposed within the narrative space of Politics. The final significant feature of recontextualised human rights is that there does appear to be a

²⁶ Indicators of multiculturalism selected included *tabunka*, *tabunka-shugi* and *maruchikaruchurazumu* (multicultural(ism)), *ibunka* (intercultural), *bunka-sōtai-shugi* (cultural relativism), *tabunka-kyōsei* (multicultural coexistence), and *kyōsei-shakai* and *tayōnabunka-ga kyōsei dekiru shakai* (diverse society). Two-thirds of indicator frequencies were found in the youth and society subject area and indicators were dispersed unevenly at $DP_{\text{norm}} = 0.617$, at $G^2(4) = 107.807$, $p < .001$.

strong separation between domestic human rights from international or global human rights, with distinct strands of human rights discourse for Politics and Global Issues respectively.

The Discourse of Human Rights

The frequency of human rights and related terminology says little about the actual discourses in which they are embedded and which set the dimensions of their ultimate meaning. This chapter will present the results of the qualitative, discursive analysis of human rights, which was carried out as a secondary analytical step for both validation and analytical depth. From my earlier discussion on locating human rights discourse within education, and given the results of the quantitative analysis, I have framed this analysis along the following themes: first, I wish to examine what discourses are used to define and justify human rights to the reader. Later I engage with the discourses that are used to prompt political and social behavior as well as ones that position human rights issues relative to discourses of identity. As an analysis of recontextualising discourse, the purpose here again is not necessarily to evaluate the texts in terms of their truthfulness or proximity to reality as much as it is to examine what knowledge has been selected, prioritised, and arranged for pedagogic purposes relative to the broader range of discussion that could have taken place. Qualitative discursive analyses conducted included multiple readings and codings of the text to look at the structure of the text and its narrative, linkages between clauses and themes, and finally grammar and voice (See Fairclough 2001: 242).¹ Given the scope of the dataset and space limitations, data display is presented in somewhat truncated form, with a few examples provided from the textbooks to illustrate key points.

Definitions, Origins and Justifications

The definition of human rights provided by textbook main narratives typically mirrors its definition within the international human rights regime and is described both in abstract terms as well as contextualised form through reference to specific articles and provisions of the 1947 Constitution. Human rights are first stated to be endowed on the basis of a common humanity, recognising their universality, with this concept often extended to incorporate the Western philosophical idea of natural rights (*shizen-ken*).² That said, the texts do for the most part view human rights as social constructs in that they continue to evolve, represented by discussions on the development of so-called ‘new human rights’ (*atarashii jinken*) beyond traditional *civil liberties* (*jiyū-ken*) and *social rights* (*shakai-ken*).³ Human rights are finally considered to be prior to the State and thus are inviolable:

¹ These analyses were primarily conducted with the assistance of *Nvivo*.

² The concept of natural rights is primarily discussed within the politics subject area and within the context of discussions on the philosophies of John Locke, Thomas Hobbes and Jean-Jacques Rousseau. See for instance discussions in *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂: 90); *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 73); *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆: 86); *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇: 54); *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 70); *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 42).

³ Adjectives such as *atarashii* and *arata*, meaning ‘new’ appeared as strong collocates of the word human rights in the Politics subject. New human rights are represented by discussions on environmental rights (*kankyō-ken*), the right to privacy (*puraibashii-no-kenri*), the right to self-determination (*jiko-kettei-ken*), and the right to know (access information, *shiru-kenri*). See for instance discussions in *Kyōiku Shuppan B B* (T₃₀₄: 54-55) and *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉: 138-141).

Basic human rights are inherent rights that human beings have since birth, as well as being also universal, without discrimination toward any person, and are inviolable rights that can never be infringed. They were established over a long history and are important assets of humanity. (T₃₀₅: 50)

These concepts are firmly tied to specific articles of the 1947 Constitution:

It is said that human beings have rights from birth and these rights are endowed naturally because of our humanity. In order that human beings live humanely in society certain rights have to be recognised. These inviolable rights for a humane existence are fundamental human rights. These fundamental human rights must be guaranteed as ‘inviolable and eternal rights’ as in Articles 11 and 97. (T₃₀₂: 91)

Within the politics subject, most textbooks begin by defining democracy and constitutionalism as well as their development in Western history, in which legally defined human rights or rights are portrayed as claims against the State or as limits to State authority and power, particularly with regard to civil and political rights. For instance, *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) states:

Based on the feudalism of medieval times and the absolutism of early modern times, many restrictions were placed on individuals by the power of the State. Hence the protection of human rights in modern constitutions means the protection of individual rights that abate interference by the power of the State. The contents of fundamental human rights historically are derived from the realisation of freedom and equality from the State. (p. 127)⁴

From this it can be said that human rights are recognised as primarily Western cultural artefacts, but as suggested by the exploratory analysis, the texts do acknowledge that human rights have internationalised or globalised. The globalisation of human rights is seen as arising as a result of the atrocities of the Second World War, although this claim principally pertains to events in Europe:

The guarantee of human rights has come to be seen as connecting citizenship and the State. However, entering the 20th century there have been two world wars, and especially during the Second World War, the human rights violations by Nazism and fascist countries shocked many people. From this experience, the movement to internationally guarantee human rights gained momentum. (T₃₀₅: 44)⁵

With these definitions and linkages to the international human rights regime, it can be possibly said that from the outset that the textbooks initially present the basis for strong cosmopolitan vision of citizenship.

Textbook narratives of the social construction of human rights domestically begin primarily with the enactment of the 1947 Constitution. While the Meiji Constitution is noted as Japan’s first domestic foray into constitutional governance and rights, the texts for the most part describe the social construction of modern human rights in Japan as a superimposed process rather than one endemically rising from within the country. It is a portrayal that is also largely devoid of names and detailed case studies from within the country, and descriptions of the social change brought about by the Constitution assign agency for that change largely to the

⁴ More on the sequencing of contents in individual textbooks is presented in Chapter 6.

⁵ This connection between the events of the Second World War and the internationalization of human rights likely explains the strength of human rights collocate z-score values for ‘fascism’ (11.096) within Politics.

document itself. With the social construction of human rights being of external origin, the texts thus spend comparatively more space explicating the social construction of rights and human rights in Western history and philosophy as a pretext, reaching back as far as medieval times to describe how rights were established as a means to limit the power the State through popular sovereignty. This is often accomplished by listing numerous Western historical documents, often with little or no explanation:

Human beings, born in freedom and equality, brought about through popular revolution declarations of human rights founded on the idea that there are rights that no nation or State can violate. This includes the English Petition of Rights in 1628 and Bill of Rights in 1689; the Virginia Declaration of Rights and the American Declaration of Independence in 1776; the French Declaration of the Rights of Man in 1789. (T₃₀₂: 91-92)⁶

The Constitution as harbinger of human rights is also described as an abrupt historical disjuncture rather than as a continuation of any social movement that might have existed in the country prior to the Second World War, or which might of played a role influencing the shape of politics in post-war Japan. General Headquarters (GHQ) is presented as the sole author of the post-war Constitution in its final form, which although debatable, does not acknowledge much of a participatory or supportive role from within Japan.⁷ On the other hand, points of resistance to change from the preceding social order are acknowledged, some texts making note that the initial draft of a revised post-war constitution (the Matsumoto draft), written by the Imperial Diet during the Occupation, was rejected by GHQ as providing little substantive difference from the Meiji Constitution (T₃₁₀: 77).⁸ This resistance to change in turn led GHQ to usurp the constitutional revision process after the war. In adhering to the Potsdam Declaration, which declared Japan's terms for surrender and included provisions requiring the removal of military rule and the establishment of democracy, *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇) writes that:

GHQ desired revision of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan to complete democratization; however, the government of Japan at that time stuck to upholding the national polity. Thinking that the Japanese government could not be relied on, GHQ, on their own and in a short time, made a draft constitution that completely changed the character of the Meiji Constitution. (T₀₁₇: 110)

The texts thus present a view of the social construction of human rights that strongly links them to Western liberal thinking and the events of the immediate post-war era. Although politically and legally relevant for the ensuing discussion on the social construction of human rights in Japan in the post-war era, the initial impression of the Constitution is of a document somewhat isolated from its own social and cultural context.

⁶ *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂) does present a visual on the same page presenting excerpts from the American Declaration of Independence and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man; however, no additional information is presented on the English Petition of Rights and Bill of Rights, or the Virginia Declaration of Rights (pp. 91-92).

⁷ Boyd (2014) notes that while final authority to decide the contents and language of the Constitution was firmly with GHQ, there are many examples of GHQ acceding to Cabinet and Diet requests for changes to the wording of the initial GHQ draft, including changes that affected the definition of citizenship and the rights of foreigners, freedom of religion, the right to education, and women's rights (pp. 52-54).

⁸ See references in *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁: 61); *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂: 104); *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 81); *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅: 46); *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆: 90); *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈: 34); *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉: 124); *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 7); *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁: 65); *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 48).

The primary justification for the social construction of human rights in Japan is that the Imperial Constitution of Japan, or Meiji Constitution, had been deficient in its guarantee of human rights. The 1947 Constitution is distinguished from the pre-war Meiji Constitution by the texts stating first that the present Constitution established legal equality, especially by legally abolishing social rank and privilege, as well as the patriarchal elements of pre-war Japanese society:

Arising from reflections on male domination and occupational discrimination as well as ethnic discrimination under the Imperial or Meiji Constitution, the Japanese Constitution guarantees individual dignity and no citizen (*kokumin*) can be discriminated against on the basis of 'race, belief, gender, social position or lineage.' These concepts have historically been considered to be the roots that have given rise to typical forms of discrimination. (T₃₀₄: 56)

Second, it is stated the 'rights of subjects' (*shinmin-no-kenri*) limited by Imperial prerogative were replaced by inviolable human rights as represented by the extensive civil liberties under the Constitution. In addition, limitations on State power were acknowledged. The suppression of human rights in pre-War Japan was thereby ended:

The Constitution provides respect for fundamental human rights or 'inviolable and eternal rights' in Articles 11 and 97. The legal restrictions recognised by the Meiji Constitution were removed, and the range of civil liberties was widened along with the new addition of social rights such as the right to life. Fundamental human rights are essentially rights prior to the State, and the scope of the law under the Meiji Constitution was unacceptable. (T₃₀₉: 125)

Human beings have rights from birth referred to as the right to live freely and civil liberties in order to not receive unjust interference and violations from the power of State. Given that under the Meiji Constitution civil liberties were greatly suppressed, the Constitution of Japan extensively guarantees civil liberties. (T₃₁₂: 55)

A final point of differentiation is made with regard to Article 9, which prohibits the nation's sovereign right to wage war. With Article 9, Japan is also said to contribute to an international order that safeguards fundamental human rights both domestically and abroad.⁹ In sum, rapid, positive social change for human rights is inferred to have taken place through the enactment of the 1947 Constitution.

By ascribing sole agency for social change to a legal document however, many of the details of the country's pre-war history are excised from the texts, including details of pre-War social movements and alternate views that might have portrayed Imperial Japan as much more of a failed democracy than a State that never assuredly guaranteed rights in the first place (See for instance Takenaka 2014). Likewise, assigning cause and effect to legal documents obfuscates social power; particularly the forms of social power that gave rise to the suppression of rights in Japan in the first place. The depiction of the social construction of rights as it stands within the texts for instance excises the probable motivation behind the Potsdam Declaration as well as GHQ in pushing for constitutional revision in the first place: that the previous regime had been culpable of perpetrating gross violations of human rights against

⁹ See for instance *Kyōiku Shuppan B B* (T₃₀₄: 70-71); *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈: 46-47); *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 86-87).

various peoples in Asia as well as its own citizens. The texts do often acknowledge the existence of these violations, but do not necessarily provide much substance and do not necessarily connect them to the social construction of human rights, save perhaps for the peace clause embedded in Article 9:

It is said that conflict is the greatest of human rights violations, and thus to sufficiently safeguard human rights, peace is necessary. In Japan during the Second World War, many people were victims through such events as the Battle of Okinawa, the dropping of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and air raids. In addition, from acts of aggression by Japan, people, especially in Asia, received great injury and suffering. (T₃₁₀: 86)

The selection and exclusion of particular ideas or narratives portrays the social construction of human rights in Japan, especially as embodied in the 1947 Constitution, as foreign and the document all-encompassing in terms of domestic human rights implementation. With no clearly annunciated endemic roots in Japanese society, history or culture, rights and human rights in Japan are exclusively connected to the Constitution. As noted earlier, particularly as some political factions have long derided the current Constitution as an imposition on the State that does not reflect Japanese identity and culture, and as discussions of reform have increasingly become more open in recent years, the present fortune of contextualised human rights may rest solely on the fate and esteem of the present Constitution (Boyd 2014: 50; Repeta 2013). Perhaps more importantly, in learning terms, the distance between culture and human rights also creates distance between the learner and human rights, and may fail to provide the learner with strong endemic justifications for their existence.

Citizen, Society and the State

In this section I will look more closely at the relationship between human rights, society and citizenship, here predominantly represented by the inclusive term *kokumin*. Civic participation is a concept highly regulated by the texts and intimately connected to civic order and social cohesiveness, especially as action to safeguard human rights is often depicted as duty rather than as citizens taking a proactive role in society. The potential for active citizenship is likewise discouraged in the texts by admonitions against individualism leading to socially divisive forms of political behavior. The texts instead position State authority as the main arbiter to define and resolve human rights issues, through depictions of individual civic action as secondary to State action, as well as in the texts' avoidance of discomfiting statements on human rights issues that may serve as prompts for social action by citizens. As the State takes the prerogative in resolving human rights issues, it can sometimes be inferred from the texts that the failure of State measures is in part the failing of citizens to adhere to or internalise State discourse on human rights. The discourse of volunteerism (*borantia-katsudo*) on the other hand, which somewhat mirrors the discourse of civic participation, appears to be the preferred discourse for social participation more broadly, with differences in content and voice signaling greater intent toward learner internalisation of text discourse. While the aim of volunteerism is social betterment, volunteerism is also predicated on individual self-improvement and is generally devoid of political connotations.

Within the politics subject area, civic participation is primarily equated with duty and rule following. The texts first frame citizenship as civic duty stemming from the ‘three great obligations’ of the Constitution (*kokumin-no-sandai-gimu*): the obligation of children to receive a normal education, as well as the obligation of adult citizens to work and pay taxes. This theme is consistent across almost all of the texts.¹⁰ Quoting Article 12 of the Constitution, which states that freedom and rights ‘shall be maintained by the constant endeavor of the people,’ *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈) for instance calls on citizens to make routine efforts (*nichijō-doryoku*) toward safeguarding human rights, extolling citizens not to let ‘human rights become empty tokens’ (p. 43). Yet the textbook then segues directly into a discussion on the concrete obligations of citizens as follows:

In addition, the Constitution specifies the three great obligations of citizens, namely the obligation of children to receive a normal education, the obligation to work, and the obligation to pay taxes. Within this, the obligation of children to receive a normal education corresponds to the right of children to receive an education, and is an obligation imposed on their guardians. ... Finally, the obligation to pay taxes refers to citizens bearing responsibility for paying taxes in order to cover the necessary expenses for the management of public organisations and the nation. (ibid.)

Beyond this, the textbooks discuss other legally prescribed means of civic participation with regard to social justice, acknowledging for instance that the constitutionally recognised right to vote ‘is the right of citizens to individually participate in politics in order to protect fundamental human rights’ (T₃₀₉: 136). Similarly, when fundamental human rights are violated, citizens have the right to petition the government for redress, which includes taking such demands to court (T₃₀₇: 69). Civic participation connected to human rights is therefore principally framed in narrow legal terms and appears initially to be synonymous with duty.

Outside of these prescribed duties and means of redress the textbooks do call on the reader to actively participate in society with the aim of safeguarding human rights, particularly with regard to issues of discrimination. However, these messages are often dictated without any detail as to the exact role citizens are to play. Slogan-like phrases such as the need to create a *society in which everyone lives together* (*tomoni-ikiru-shakai*), or that the resolution of social issues requires *persistent effort* (*fudan-no-doryoku*) on the part of citizens, appear without corresponding examples of courses of action for the reader to adopt. Civic participation thus aligns more with the idea of social conformity, rather than serving as prompts for individual action.

Writing on discrimination, *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁) notes:

... That this problem be promptly resolved is a national obligation and a matter for every citizen (*kokumin*). In order that a society materialises where people don’t discriminate, are not discriminated against, and where discrimination is not tolerated, *our cumulative persistent efforts* are important. (emphasis added, p. 84)

Through the omission of details of individual action, along with addressing the reader in the first-person plural (*watashi-tachi*), the texts establish a sense of solidarity that

¹⁰ The obligation of children to receive a normal education is found in Article 26.2 of the Constitution; the obligation of adult citizens to work and pay taxes are found in Articles 27.1 and 30 respectively. See *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁: 65); *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂: 117); *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 93); *Kyōiku Shuppan B B* (T₃₀₄: 61); *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅: 53); *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆: 97); *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇: 69); *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈: 43); *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉: 137); *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 79).

at the same time obscures the individual citizen as a political actor. As the texts appear not to acknowledge individuals as having distinct political identities, it can seem as if citizens are collectively being called upon simply to normalise their own behavior to the social values presented in the textbooks.

Contrasting discourses of individualism that express distrust of individuals as political actors also assist the regulation of civic participation. The reader is often reminded that society is the pretext for an individual's social existence and capacity to act through forbidding descriptions of individuals isolated from society, or at the mercy of a society of individuals. *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁) for instance writes about the pitfalls of modern mass society, with its attendant equality and freedom, stating that although people in modern society 'are not bound to custom and tradition and one's way of life can be chosen,' freedom places an extreme burden on the individual in terms of responsibility, especially as the individual 'has to take responsibility on their own' (p. 89). The text then writes of the potential dangers arising from these circumstances:

For that reason, this may have the opposite effect where our freedoms are relinquished as we seek strong authority to direct us. From this, fascism is born. As well, if other people's estimation is of too much concern, there is a tendency to develop an allotropic way of thinking where we always conform to others. Such a way of thinking becomes the basis of dictatorship, an aspect of which is also an oppressive society. (ibid.)

The same text subsequently urges political consensus and conformity, cautioning readers of political activity that could be considered socially disruptive:

In recent years what has come to be a problem is the phenomenon of populism, where concerning complex political issues, groups engage in simple confrontational schemes, gathering political support by attacking particular groups as if they are the source of evil. (ibid.)

The texts thus express mistrust of the individual as a political actor, and particularly without the binding force of society as defined by the texts, individuals in general are perceived of as politically weak-minded and prone to radicalism. Therefore, it is implied that society and the rule of law must remain paramount in terms of implementing and safeguarding human rights, within which the individual citizen only plays a limited ancillary role.

Members of society are expected to participate in society for its betterment, but perhaps not as political actors. A more general but compelling call to individual social participation is found in the discourse of *volunteerism* or *volunteer activities* (*borantia-katsudo*), which bears similarity to civic participation but, due to its location within the curriculum, is disconnected from direct discussions of human rights and social justice.¹¹ Instilling what Ogawa (2009) calls a 'volunteer subjectivity' through all levels of the school curricula was a major tenet of proposed education reform in the early 2000s, and the aim of imparting a 'subjectivity focused toward civic-engagement' was made an official tenet of the Fundamental Law of Education in its 2006 revision by the National Diet (pp. 95, 105-112). While volunteerism is generally advanced for the betterment of society, within the texts the main purpose of volunteerism is also expressed as building community ties as well as developing individual self-actualisation and self-fulfillment. Volunteerism appears as a direct response to perceptions that members of Japanese society in recent decades have

¹¹ The distribution of volunteerism is skewed toward Youth-Society at $DP_{\text{norm}} = .494$; $G^2(4) = 49.17$, $p < .001$.

become cynical, materialistic, as well as overly individualised and detached from society, sometimes referred to by conservative politicians as a ‘spiritual emptiness’ (Takayama and Apple 2008: 293; See for instance T₃₀₄: 35). In addition, many politicians and academics consider the current young generation to be socially withdrawn and apathetic, with no clear life goals or aspirations. Volunteerism thus aims to motivate learners toward spontaneous and self-directed actions within society (Norasakkunkit et al. 2012: 367; Ogawa 2009: 95).¹²

As an example of this, *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃), paraphrasing Aristotle, states that human beings are by nature ‘social animals,’ by which the textbook asserts that not only do people live in societies by nature, but that people also ‘exist to create society’ (p. 48). This in turn requires its members to ‘be positively engaged with society’ (ibid.). By volunteering and building stronger ties between individual members of the community, these same members can find fulfillment and a sense of community belonging:

People come across new worlds and learn many things by participating in social activities such as volunteering. Human beings live with many other people and when we realize human solidarity through social activities, we may find self-realisation and a purpose in life. (ibid.)

Reading the sections on volunteerism, one senses the importance placed on the topic: unlike the discourse of civic participation, the discourse of volunteerism is able to draw upon real examples of individuals and case studies within the main narrative, and texts often directly address the reader, bringing a sense of closer proximity between reader and text. *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄), in emphasizing the social benefits of volunteer activities, relates a high school student’s personal impression of volunteering in a welfare facility: ‘a person using the facility talked to me and told me that ‘when I see your smile, it brings tears of joy’ and I was very happy’ (p. 35). The same textbook goes on to describe German, and later French theologian Albert Schweitzer’s medical work for the poor in Africa, connecting this to finding self-fulfillment for the purpose of community building and social cohesion (ibid.). In describing his story, the text directly addresses the reader, attempting to instill an internal dialogue of self-discipline and intrinsic motivation:

Have you ever had an experience where you devoted yourself to something hard and spent substantial time? Or do you remember when you obtained something through hardship and it filled your heart with joy? We can obtain the joy of living and hope by having a purpose in life. ... People earn a purpose in life when developing one’s ability or when receiving recognition from other people. It is said that a person with a purpose in life is tolerant of other people. For enriching your life, let’s think about a purpose in life. (ibid.)

However, here as with elsewhere within the discourse, individual self-realisation and fulfillment do appear subordinate to the individual’s place within society. *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆) likewise states that by working selflessly for the benefit of others the reader ‘can realize that they were brought up within society’ (T₃₀₆: 54). In some texts, the discourse of volunteerism is also tied to emerging adult identities and youth

¹² Particularly as the idea of volunteerism appears relatively recent within general society, elements more critical of the State’s push toward creating a volunteer subjectivity through education claim that these future volunteers may replace some functions of the State, especially as the State moves to cut or downsize social services. See Ogawa 2009: 94.

culture (*wakamono-no-bunka*) within the context of self-realisation, with perhaps the aim of providing further intrinsic motivation:

On the one hand, within the modern-day adolescent society blessed with objects and money, the number of adolescents progressing through high school and university has not only increased but also the number of adolescents who stand out by going on an energetic process of self-discovery through study abroad and long-term overseas trips, internships at corporations, and volunteer activities both in Japan and abroad. In addition, the spirit of freedom unique to adolescence brings forth independent youth culture. (T₃₀₈: 133)

Through direct appeals, the discourse of volunteerism becomes a discourse of personal transformation that provides a stronger, more direct call to social participation than civic participation, which beyond prescribed legal means, remains abstract. However, the discourse of volunteerism is devoid of any prompts to engage with issues of social injustice, both in terms of inherent content as well as in the relative absence of volunteerism from other subject areas of the texts. The discourse though presents an odd juxtaposition in that the texts assert society as a precondition for the individual while at the same time urging learners to become capable and unique individuals, so long as individual behavior serves society and has no political connotations.¹³

Society, according to the texts, is the precondition for the existence of the individual. The primacy of society itself is first stressed through discussions on the limitations of human rights, which likewise serve to elevate the status of the State in resolving human rights issues and further consign civic participation to passive, secondary roles. Here as well, important themes to be internalised by the reader are signaled by changes in textbook content and voice. Although human rights are stated from the outset as being inviolable, the texts never suggest that they are absolute in their scope, and accordingly limitations are set out on their exercise. Human rights are described as not being ‘unilateral claims’ solely for the individual’s own benefit, and the first limitation on their use is established as the point where the exercise of one’s individual rights infringes on another individual’s rights. (T₃₀₃: 92). *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂) states:

The inviolability of human rights does not mean that no matter the situation they are unlimited. In society, the exercise of each right collides with another person's right giving rise to violations of other people's rights. ... In such situations, one-sided claims for your own rights are abuses of rights and cannot be permitted. (p. 115)

While discussing limitations in this sense, at times the texts engage the position of the reader, using familiar examples from everyday life for illustration. *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁), in addressing human rights and public welfare, asks the reader to imagine a person riding a bicycle while listening to a music player or using a cell phone, and the trouble such a person is likely ‘giving the people around them’ (p. 48). From this example, the text reminds the reader that individuals ‘do not live alone’ but within

¹³ Ogawa’s (2009) research on volunteers in the non-profit sector also suggested a definition of volunteerism that was not in any way associated with anti-establishment or negative activism (pp. 111-112).

‘various societies such as family, neighborhood, company and nation,’ stating that laws and social conventions ‘are promises that everyone must follow’ (ibid.). Limitations are placed on rights and human rights when they conflict, but limitations also exist in the general need for individuals to adhere to society’s laws and conventions.

The texts’ emphasis on society as a prior condition to the individual is additionally embedded in the concept of ‘public welfare’ (*kōkyō-no-fukushi*). As human beings have a ‘social existence,’ human rights can be limited by the State in the interest of public welfare, although caution is expressed that rights are not unduly suppressed for this purpose (T₃₀₃: 92). This limitation placed on human rights is also given weight through its connection to the Constitution; however, concrete examples as to what constitutes a reasonable concern for public welfare that would limit the exercise of rights are vaguely drawn if not absent:

Article 11 ... guarantees human rights as inviolable rights. However, regardless of the circumstances, this does mean that human rights have no limit at all. ... Article 12 ... sets out that citizens cannot misuse human rights and must use them ‘for the public welfare.’ However, it is necessary to be careful that public welfare respects everyone’s rights evenly, that there is a principle to make equitable adjustments and that benefits for all never surpass the individual. (ibid.)

The role of the State in reconciling conflicts of rights and managing public welfare is also an important part of the definition of politics itself, which helps define the State’s status in society. In discussing how human rights are implemented, *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅) for instance states:

We exist in communal living and are living in the society we make. In social life, the opinions of people may differ and conflicts of interest may be born. In such instances it becomes necessary to coordinate everyone’s interests and resolve conflicts. This work is called politics. (p. 42)

Kyōiku Shuppan A (T₀₁₇) poses the question of how to safeguard human rights directly to the individual reader, providing an answer that lies with the State and outside the power and influence of individuals and the reader:

Thus, if it were up to you, how would you make human rights a reality? One of the answers to this question is a modern constitution based on the theory of the social contract. A modern constitution is an announcement in writing of a contract to make a nation for the reason that reasonable people understand the desire to mutually respect human rights. Additionally, a modern constitution represents fundamental laws of a nation to establish appropriate administrative organisations and activities for this aim. (p. 109)

Even though the texts claim that the State is a product of popular sovereignty, they do create a clear delineation between the domains of State and citizen. By placing the resolution and administration of human rights issues clearly with the State and the concept of politics, the learner as prospective citizen may come to feel as though there is no role for them to play within society in this regard as the State appears as the only or primary institution capable of providing solutions to human rights issues.

Although human rights are initially posited in the texts as having derived from historical claims against the State, within the discussion of limitations, more often the State is positioned as mediator between competing rights claims made by individuals

and groups within society. Moreover, political power, the endemic authority of the State to enforce political decision making, is differentiated from social power, which signifies the threat to human rights, especially the human rights of ‘vulnerable individuals’ from the power and influence of other individuals and groups in society (T₃₀₉: 127). This is emphasised through the varied use of examples of individual or inter-group conflict, for instance concerning freedom of expression (‘there are cases when one person’s expression may damage another person’s reputation,’ T₃₀₃: 92); the right to privacy (‘[l]ooking at another person’s private life or the media reporting information without a justifiable reason are violations of the right to privacy,’ T₃₁₂: 58); as well as private business and labour unions (‘[c]ases have increased where ‘strong individuals’ who possess tremendous social power, such as a big business, labor unions and the press, have infringed on personal rights,’ T₃₀₉: 127). Even though the texts previously affirmed that the current Constitution effectively limits the political power wielded by the State, the texts head off any antagonism between the individual and the State through omission of contextualised examples of individual-State conflict, positioning human rights squarely between individuals within society by way of inference from the limited examples presented.

Underscoring the advancement of State prerogative further is the contrast between vague calls for civic participation by individuals against clearer, more concrete examples of action taken by the State toward resolving human rights issues. The State is depicted as having the resolution of various social issues at hand, allowing participation from individual citizens to appear superfluous or as an appendage to State prerogative. *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂), first linking the 1979 United Nations Women’s Rights Convention with the Diet legislated 1985 Gender Equality in Employment Act, and noting continued discrimination within society, appends its discussion with the statement, ‘[t]o move toward a resolution of these issues requires the persistent cooperation of the nation and citizens (*kokumin*)’ (p. 54). Simple listings of resolutions taken by the State to address human rights issues are commonplace, with details of the contents of these resolutions, if any, relegated to surrounding footnotes. *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀) for instance writes:

Government has advanced the following initiatives toward resolving these issues of discrimination. A few examples include: based on the Cabinet Dōwa Policy Council in 1965, a series of assimilation projects (*dōwa taisaku jigyo*); the enactment of the Disabled Employment Promotion Act (*shōgaisha-koyōsokushinhō*) in 1960 and the Disabled Persons Basic Law (*shōgaisha-kihō*) in 1993; the acceptance of the equality of both parents with regard to the acquisition of nationality with the revision of the Japanese Nationality Act in 1984; the 1985 Gender Equality in Employment Act and the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society in 1999. However, there are limits to only legislative oversight and administrative initiatives and at the level of the individual it is also necessary to raise human rights awareness and endeavour towards a society in which everyone lives together (*tomoni-ikiru-shakai*). (p. 79)¹⁴

In some cases, the unwarranted nature of civic participation is spelled out precisely and the texts appear to explicitly blunt individual self-initiative. In asking a rhetorical question of what can be done to eradicate discrimination in society, *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇) answers accordingly:

¹⁴ *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀) provides only basic information in its footnotes on the Disabled Employment Promotion Act, 1985 Equal Opportunity Act, and the Basic Law for a Gender-Equal Society (p. 79).

In order that discrimination does not come about, saying ‘treat everyone equally’ is natural, but as discrimination is a problem of hidden consciousness within individual minds, enlightenment activities (*keihatsu-katsudo*) to eliminate this problem must be carried out. In addition, at the same time as this, national and regional public bodies as well as private business are expected to proactively implement measures and policies to eliminate discrimination. (p. 116)

This again reinforces the impression that individual citizens have little capacity or role with regard to addressing human rights concerns. Elevating the status of the State and politics in this manner likewise appears to absolve the individual of any sense of responsibility toward resolving human rights issues other than adhering to or accepting State prerogative.

Within direct discussion of human rights issues, the prevalence of State discourse becomes all-encompassing as the texts not only limit the permissible discursive scope of each issue, but also set out the State’s concept of resolution with the expectation that members of society will simply abide or conform. There is moreover a lack of critical or realistic tone: it is not often questioned whether State resolution has been successful or even appropriate, or whether individuals have the capacity to act toward expectations set out in the texts. This is readily apparent with the issue of gender, which primarily resides outside the Politics subject and is not embedded in rights or human rights language. Within the youth and society subject, the texts present the issue of gender as the need to realise a gender equal society in terms of expected social roles by challenging the traditional attitude that ‘men work, women do housework and raise children’ (*otoko-wa shigoto, josei-wa kaji, ikuji*) (T₃₀₃: 48). It is stated that society should reach the ideal where ‘it is sufficient to display one’s ability and individuality unconnected to gender’ (T₃₀₄: 24). Although the texts introduce the idea of equal participation in social roles broadly for both genders, the ensuing discussion focuses on gender equality primarily as it relates to employment and the household, especially the continued decline in the proportion of working women aged thirty and onward; the lack of work-life balance for employees in Japan in general; the need for men to take a greater role in the household; and finally the lack of men taking paternity leave from their workplace.¹⁵ This excludes other gender-related issues such as reproductive rights, various forms of gender-related violence in the home and society, as well as discrimination in marriage and divorce.¹⁶ As positioned in the Youth-Culture subject area, there is very little rights or human rights language in the discussion, except that the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) is noted as the basis for the government’s adoption of the 1985 Gender Equality in Employment Act in the Youth-Society subject area of *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄: 24), a point sometimes made in the Politics subject of other textbooks.¹⁷

In promoting a gender equal society, the State is again stationed as the primary impetus for positive social change. *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇) implicitly suggests linguistic

¹⁵ See for instance *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄: 25); *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅: 31).

¹⁶ Reproductive rights are touched upon within some textbooks within the context of the ethics of biotechnology in the Current Issues subject. See for instance *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇: 24); *Jikkō Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 30); *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅: 14-15).

¹⁷ See *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁: 67); *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈: 38-39); *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 54).

changes as evidence of greater social awareness of gender issues as a result of legislation:

There have been big changes [to society] since the implementation of the Gender Equality in Employment Act in 1985. In accordance with this act, popular [professional] titles are changing, such as *kangofu* (nurse, feminine) has changed to *kangoshi* (nurse, gender neutral), *hobo* (childcare worker, feminine) to *hoikushi* (childcare worker, gender neutral). In such a way, within practical activities of society, sexual discrimination has continued to lessen. (p. 36)

Jikkyo Shuppan B (T₃₀₃) presents a more active depiction, with the sense that issues of gender in employment are on their way to being rectified:

Today, there is the aim for the realisation of a society unrestricted by gender. For example, in workplaces, fixed numbers in the ratio of female employees have been established, with the adoption of obligatory work quotas to realise this, as well as the introduction of affirmative action. (p. 48)

Daiichi Gakushusha B (T₃₁₂) similarly reports that the 1999 Basic Law for Gender Equality sets out a target of 30% for the proportion of women in leading roles in each field by 2020 (p. 35). The initial impression garnered though is that in addition to being dealt with, gender equality in employment hails from the State's benevolence and not necessarily from any legitimate claim to equality or equal treatment as an individual that a citizen may have against the State, private institution or other individual member of society.

This lack of regard for the individual materialises even further as social cohesiveness and tradition remain key embedded elements in the discussion, particularly in the underlying assumption that legally married parents of mixed gender head all families. There is otherwise no alternate depiction of the family provided within the texts nor any discussion of issues connected to non-traditional arrangements, ignoring linkages for instance between single motherhood and poverty, particularly as women often are forced to become the sole financial providers and caregivers of children following divorce (Abe 2012: 61). Similarly, there is an embedded subtext that women's primary social role, if not obligation, is to marry and bear children as many of the texts recognise a connection between the declining birthrate and women's social advancement, presumably because workplace environments force women to choose between continued employment and giving up on bearing and raising children (T₃₁₂: 35). *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇) writes:

However, in reality the situation is that sexual harassment occurs in the workplace and women do not continue to work for the purpose of childbirth and childrearing. In such situations, opportunities for the social advancement of women are not only inhibited, working women give up on childbirth and childrearing, producing the serious demerit of an acceleration in the declining birthrate. (p. 36)

However, the connection between the low birthrate and gender discrimination is not always clearly expressed in the texts, which may indirectly lend credence to the alternate view of some political circles that women's social advancement in general has been a contributing factor in the nation's declining population growth (Shirahase 2000: 47). In perhaps an attempt to remain balanced on the issue, *Kyōiku Shuppan B*

(T₃₀₄) presents similar, common critiques of the 1999 Basic Law for a Gender Equal Society, without specifically addressing their validity or dispelling them:

There are various opinions and judgments about the development of such a policy on gender equality. There is the opinion that questions whether the realisation of a gender equal society is something that does not in fact deny masculinity and femininity. The criticism has been put forth as to whether, with women having jobs and everyone working outside the home, this will destroy the family, and moreover whether this is connected to disdain for full-time housewives. (p. 25)

While suggesting that all individuals should have the capacity to reach their full social potential and 'exhibit their personalities,' this message is subtly undone by the embedded subtext that the correct lifestyle choice for women appears to be bearing children within the confines of traditional marriage (T₃₀₄: 25). Most appeals for the realisation of a gender equal society aim in that direction, and individual choice and self-realisation ultimately appear subordinate to the needs and values of society as defined by the texts.

As there is a narrow range of detail presented, often accompanied by obscure logic, social power is masked, which then can mediate the discourses of the text. As with the discussion on civic participation in general, learners as citizens are often given no concrete prescription as to how to become proactive on issues outside of the narrow bounds set by the narrative. Stating that targets have been set and that affirmative action has been implemented is not the same thing as explicating exact courses of action for individuals or even social processes and functions. Although there have been a number of high profile incidents and lawsuits taken by individuals regarding gender and employment in Japan over the last decade, no such cases are presented within the texts. Elsewhere, the texts claim that sexual harassment continues to be an issue in the workplace without ever defining or exemplifying what may constitute sexual harassment, giving the learner no future grounds or support for making claims against such behavior or policy, or at least a basis for recognising themselves in such behaviours and attitudes, and thereby leading them to refrain from similar acts. In a similar vein, *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇) laments that 'although [paternity leave] is institutionally guaranteed, in reality the percentage of men taking childcare leave is extremely low,' without delving into the power dynamics of the workplace, and why desire for paternity leave is not necessarily consistent with an individual's perceived or actual capacity to take leave (p. 36). Nor within this context is the lack of work-life balance among employees ever expressed in terms of a pressing financial issue for many households, or a reflection of power differentials between management and subordinates, with failure to take on one's workload a possible cause for workplace harassment and a hindrance to career progression for both genders (Nemoto 2013: 514).¹⁸ Again, shifts in textbook voice signal the importance placed on the issue of gender and the greater pedagogic effort on the part of the texts to internalise specific messages. *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃) for instance reads:

Currently, in spite of the various laws that have been put into place the wages of women as ordinary employees is approximately 70% of men's wages, and the ratio of women in irregular employment has remained extremely high.

¹⁸ Nemoto indeed suggests that public and private work-life balance policies have had little effect on reducing working hours or allowing women to maintain both a career and family (2013: 514). See also Watts 2009, Wood and Newton 2006.

Can a just society be realised if things remain as they are? ... In order that individuals exhibit their personalities, is it correct to limit professions and roles evaluated solely on characteristics based on whether a person is male or female? Let's think about it. (p. 25)

However, signaling the individual's close involvement and responsibility with regard to the issue of gender in employment may imply that if citizens fail to reach the ideals set forth in the texts, or take advantage of the opportunities bestowed by the State, responsibility for that failure is placed on the shoulders of individuals even though the power to do otherwise may well not be within the individual's perceived or actual capacity. This implied message appears unfair placed as it is within a context where the individual citizen has been given no language, or otherwise prescription or example, to assert themselves or likewise organise for the purpose of resolving grievances with regard to gender-related issues.

Maintaining the status of the State within the texts is assisted by the global discourse of human rights, which serves almost to distract the reader from domestic human rights issues. This is seen particularly in the way the topic of human rights violations is distinctively embedded within domestic and global discourse.¹⁹ The world of *global* human rights is primarily a world of disorder, oppression and human rights abuses. In contrast, the concept of violations in the Politics subject is posited as something from which citizens are presently safeguarded, such that *domestic* human rights is not as closely associated with ongoing violations as it is with their absence, prohibition or likely resolution through the present political and legal system. *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇) writes for instance that the present Constitution is a document that 'respects fundamental human rights and is the basis of a sovereign and peaceful nation,' continuing later, '... to avoid *violations*, sovereignty of the people is made possible by politics grounded in prudent debate through the disclosure of appropriate information and freedom' (p. 110). *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁) takes up a similar sentiment in its discussion of constitutionalism, stating '... human rights *violations* are to be denounced, but first rights have to be guaranteed,' requiring the rule of law and a written constitution, of which the 1947 Constitution becomes the prime example. Past violations under the Meiji Constitution are contrasted with guaranteed rights and a secure social order in the postwar era. *Jikkō Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃) writes that 'based on the experience of *violations* under the Meiji Constitution,' the present Constitution was 'enriched with provisions for the purpose of guaranteeing human rights' (p. 82). The Constitution provides civil liberties that 'eliminate unjust interference from and *violations* by the power of the State,' with redress provided for and governed by the rule of law:

The Constitution, as well acknowledging the right to vote and other rights, also acknowledges the Supreme Court's power of judicial review under Article 79, the right to local referendums on occasions when special laws are adopted to create exclusive local public entities under Article 95, as well as national referendums on constitutional amendments under Article 96. In order that basic human rights are to be realized, a right to seek remedy for human rights *violations*, the right to petition the State, must be guaranteed.

¹⁹ The term *violation*, or *infringement*, is represented primarily by the noun *shingai* and the verb *okasu*, the latter often utilised within phrases referring the 'inviolability' of human rights, as strong collocates of human rights.

(T₃₁₁: 78, 82)

While the texts admit that Japan's society is far from being free of human rights issues, they position modern day Japan as a political and social order that protects human rights, and moreover depict a State that no longer actively violates human rights, especially as it is capable of providing adequate legal means of redress. In terms of domestic human rights, Japanese society is largely presented as an ideal.

The discourse of violations in the Politics section however stands in contrast to the Global Issues subject, where the outside world is described as a malaise of unresolved human rights issues. The global discourse of human rights in general, alongside discussions on international development, provides a foundation for further discussion of the Japanese government's official development assistance (ODA) projects, which presents a positive image of the country's place in the world.²⁰ However, the discussion of violations as they occur outside of Japan are presented in a far more stark and visceral form, lending a sense that not only do domestic violations pale in comparison to international human rights issues, but also the sense that the concept of international human rights is compromised and unable to fulfill its embedded ideals. *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇), writing on apartheid in South Africa, presents a grim picture:

Yet, although legalised discrimination such as in South Africa is no more, there are countries overwhelmed with disparities in wealth and educational standards, where beset by lawlessness, public order accordingly deteriorates, countries where AIDs is widespread, and countries strained by growing numbers of unemployed. The cost of ethnic discrimination and human rights *violations* is too great. (p. 177)

In the global context, discussions of greater range and depth on human rights issues become permissible, even for issues previously discussed within the domestic context. The remit within the global discourse for one allows a broader range of issues connected to gender to be presented, as well as a more direct connection to human rights concepts and language. *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇) writes that CEDAW protects women from discrimination in marriage and divorce as well as protecting them from 'bodily injury and their lives being taken by tradition or customs' (p. 167). The global discourse of human rights also allows discussion of issues that exist in Japan but are otherwise ignored by texts as domestic issues. Even though child abuse and sex trafficking are rarely touched upon as domestic issues, *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇) makes reference to them from an international perspective:

Although child abuse is a problem in developed countries, there are some children who cannot enter school, were forced to perform harsh labor, and were made into child soldiers by forced participation in the armed forces. In addition, children who lose their parents become street children and the object of trafficking in children, particularly in developing countries. Even if these infringed human rights are for the profit of adults, children cannot sufficiently speak up for themselves. (ibid.)

The adjudication of refugee status and asylum under Japan's Ministry of Justice has long been a source of complaint from the United High Commissioner for Refugees and non-governmental organisations as the Ministry grants refugee status to only a small percentage of asylum-seekers compared to other countries (Kondo 2015: 161).

²⁰ See for example *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 97); *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆: 265); *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁: 227).

Asylum-seekers may have to wait up to two years to have their cases decided, which places them on temporary visas with limitations on work and access to public services (ibid.). *Kyoiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄) writes of the harshness of refugee lives in the global context, stating that the human rights of refugees are ‘often treated very lightly’ (p. 151); while *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆) writes that signatory nations of the Refugee Convention are obligated ‘to protect safeguard refugees staying in their country and to guarantee their rights equal to their own citizens’ (p. 240). Neither textbook makes reference to the domestic issue of refugee status.²¹ Arguably, the texts are not necessarily glossing over human rights violations in Japan as much as there is a greater level of permissiveness in the discussion of global human rights issues. The global discourse of human rights however may in turn refocus the learner’s sympathy and gaze, and ultimately concern, away from domestic issues to those of the global. The global discourse again extends deference to the Japanese State, as the only perceived difference in the status of human rights between the global and domestic discourse may be the perceived role of the Japanese State and society in safeguarding human rights. Despite all its faults, the political and social order of Japan is preferable to the outside world and the learner may uncritically accept their own country in its present state because it is comparatively not all that bad.

Marginality and Otherness

As established in the quantitative analyses, human rights issues involving marginal identities and otherness are generally positioned within Politics and thematically conjoined as issues of prejudice and discrimination. Unlike the views of some politicians and academics, the texts do not view Japan as completely homogeneous and mono-ethnic, asserting that Japan is now home to relative diversity in terms of ethnicity and cultural practice (Tai 2004: 378; Siddle 2003: 449).²² However, this does not mean that Japanese identity has necessarily subsumed what have historically been seen as marginal or non-Japanese identities, but instead that the predominant Japanese ethnic identity of the country is urged to acknowledge and coexist on equal terms with other ethnic and social groups. The placement of marginality and otherness within a subject area preoccupied with human rights talk may implicitly recognise these issues as human rights issues; but as with gender, the discussion is highly regulated, the texts often avoiding detailed and critical explorations in terms of human rights that may make it not only difficult for the reader to identify such issues as human rights issues, but to also empathise with them as such. Especially with the texts’ reliance on common social terms to refer to difference, many of the texts appear to do little to challenge the attitudes and perceptions of difference embedded in such terms, making the pedagogic aim of mitigating discrimination and prejudice appear somewhat contrived. As with the discussion in the previous section, the discourse of State prerogative takes precedence to the exclusion of an active role for citizens, and unlike the discussion of other issues, there are few shifts in textbook voice or

²¹ See also for instance discussions in *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂: 180) and *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁: 138). The Ministry of Justice would likely argue that persons not given access to employment and social services are asylum-seekers who have not yet been granted refugee status by the Ministry. It is generally agreed that international law demands access to social services even to those awaiting adjudication of their refugee status (Hall 2006: 109-110; Kondo 2015: 161-162). The term *refugee* (*nanmin*) is highly skewed toward the global subject issues subject area at $DP_{\text{norm}} = 0.842$, at $G^2(4) = 302.458$, $p < .001$.

²² See for example *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉: 95).

presentations of familiar analogies for the reader that may signal the need for the reader to internalise textbook messages. Instead, the reader as learner and prospective citizen is simply exhorted not to discriminate, and with a weak connection between human rights, citizenship and difference, this may in turn build resentment among learners who may feel admonished and who may come to see equality as a privilege given to persons and social groups only on account of their difference. In this sense, the texts may lack true respect for individuals as expressed by the concept of human rights.

All of the texts assert that discrimination and prejudice remain issues within Japan, but the texts do not necessarily present a sufficient enough level of detail as part of their narratives for the reader to identify issues of marginality and otherness as human rights issues other than in name only. This is due in part to the benign, sometimes matter-of-fact manner in which these issues are sometimes treated within the texts, especially when contrasted against the treatment of issues in other subject areas. For one, as suggested by the exploratory analysis, there is a tendency in the discussion of discrimination (*sabetsu*) to amalgamate disparate issues without supplementary detail such that the depiction of discrimination emerges in monolithic form, with one issue seemingly interchangeable and indistinguishable from another. *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀) for instance states:

In the real world, there are problems with discrimination such as Buraku discrimination, as well as discrimination against the disabled, women, Ainu people, Koreans, especially resident Koreans, Asian and Central and South American labourers. As well, there is a lot of discrimination facing primarily minority persons. (p. 79)

Daiichi Gakushusha B (T₃₁₂) offers another instance of a conflation of issues:

Regarding gender discrimination ... in reality discrimination can be seen in employment, salary and promotion. Furthermore, discrimination against resident Koreans and Korean nationals, Ainu peoples, foreigners, and the disabled are also problems. (p. 54)

The degree of detail provided on a particular issue does vary to some extent by individual text; however, even when greater depth is provided, the reader is still often left with statements that do not necessarily underscore the severity or extent of the issue, or that provide critical reflection on the success of policy solutions or the continued state of such issues. Through such omission, the State's status with regard to providing resolution to these issues is again elevated. In discussing the aboriginal Ainu, who were officially recognised as an indigenous population by the National Diet in 2008, *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃) as one example, states:

The Ainu ethnic minority living in Hokkaido came to receive persecution and discrimination and pressure to assimilate from the expanding numbers of Japanese from early modern times onward. With the Meiji period came restrictions under the Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act (1899; *Hokkaido-kyūdojin-hogohō*) but in 1997 the act was abolished and the Ainu Culture Law (*Ainu-bunka-shinkōhō*) was established. (p. 87; Yamashiro 2013: 152)

Teikoku Shoin (T₃₀₇) similarly writes:

Prejudice against Ainu peoples is also deeply rooted, and although their traditional culture had been denied, at last in 1997 the Hokkaido Former

Aborigine Protection Act was repealed and the Ainu Cultural Archive established. (p. 63)

Neither *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 86-87) nor *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇: 62-63) provide any further information on these acts and laws in their narratives or respective footnotes. The texts thus avoid potentially unsettling statements, subsequently providing almost no discussion on what historical attempts at the assimilation of Ainu populations precisely entailed. Howell (2004) for instance writes that the Aborigine Protection Act of 1899 attempted to provide 'support' for Ainu populations through an attempt to divest them of their then current livelihoods as fishers, lumberjacks, and construction workers by integrating them into the mainstream agrarian population through land grants, land however which was often not viable for farming (p. 7). Little more is stated about the purpose and effect of various recent legislation and policies. The main narratives do not provide much detail as to what being recognised as an indigenous population in Japan means in social or political terms, or why indigenous status should equate to resolution. Beyond simply connecting the issue of the Ainu to discrimination, it may be hard for the learner to see how the issue is to be identified as such, or even why it remains a human rights issue in the first place given the implementation of State policy. In presenting an issue in such an amorphous manner, the texts by default merely seem to be emphasising the fact that such persons are culturally and ethnically distinct.

Concerning the historical circumstances of Korean populations living in Japan, Lie (2008) writes that ethnic Koreans were 'enmeshed in, and suffered from the Japanese war effort,' with between 700,000 and 800,000 Koreans forced to work in Japan in factories and mines, the pretext for this forced migration being low regard for Korean culture (p. 5). Although ethnic Korean populations were likely considered to be Japanese subjects prior to the end of the Second World War, under the ruling authority of the Occupation, the remaining population of ethnic Koreans who did not repatriate to the Korean peninsula after the war was legally declared to be non-Japanese nationals (Tai 2004: 358).²³ Many decades later, ethnic Korean populations were granted access to the welfare and public employment, and likewise granted special residence status in lieu of some populations having rejected the legal option of naturalised citizenship.²⁴ Special residence status allowed for permanent residency. As of 2013, there are approximately 600,000 ethnic Koreans with special residence status and another 280,000 naturalised Japanese citizens of Korean descent (Yamashiro 2013: 150, 155). Again, there is a tendency to avoid detail that the reader might find discomfiting: although almost all texts state loosely that discrimination continues against ethnic Korean populations in Japan without precisely defining what discrimination represents, and only five of the texts make direct reference to Japan's colonisation of the Korean peninsula within the context of discussing discrimination against resident Koreans. Even fewer make reference to historical policies toward Koreans stemming from perceived racial superiority. In the course of discussing the internationalisation of Japanese society within Youth-Society, *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) likely provides the most detail to the reader amongst the texts:

Once in Japan, policies were taken to compel people from the Korean peninsula and Ainu people to assimilate with Japanese culture.

²³ Kashiwazaki (2013) writes that Korean populations at the time might have accepted this, as there were discursive advantages in reestablishing Korean ethnic identity through the rejection of Japanese citizenship (p. 37).

²⁴ Some Koreans residing in Japan reject naturalisation as they viewed it as akin to surrendering ethnic identity (Kashiwazaki 2013: 37).

Simultaneously as well, there was a period enmeshed in ethnocentrism where pride was taken in the superiority of Japanese ethnicity over Asian nations, a rejection and derision toward the culture of other ethnic groups. (p. 95)

The omission of detail likewise extends to the discussion of Buraku issues. Although the idea of social outcaste as represented by the term Buraku, either as a label used to describe others or as a self-referential title, has historically encompassed an inconsistent but varying group of persons, locales and professions deemed as alien or outside the bounds of normal society, the texts do not for the most part provide a definition of Buraku or even address the common, prevalent narrative of Buraku as being descendants of ‘premodern outcaste groups, who engaged primarily in tanning and leatherwork’ (Amos 2011: 211). In terms of defining the people considered to be Buraku, *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄) probably provides the closest definition to the common narrative:

In the Edo period farmers, townspeople, workers and merchants were distinguished from one another, the people who were discriminated against, even after the Meiji government abolished the class system, were what were called ‘new commoners’ (*shinheimin*) who, concerning such things as employment, marriage and residence, came to face real discrimination. (p. 57)

In another example, *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆) writes only that Buraku discrimination, utilising the term *hisabetsu-buraku* (literally ‘discriminated hamlet’), is ‘based on the class divisions that formed in history’ (p. 95). The facets of discrimination faced by the Buraku are often glossed over: even though several texts write that discrimination can be seen in employment, residence and marriage, no further detail as to what this has entailed or how such discrimination has been perpetuated is given.²⁵ The only notable exception is *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄), which notes that during the Meiji era leaflets were distributed describing the location of ‘areas experiencing Buraku discrimination’ (p. 57). Other texts simply note that discrimination ‘occurs’ or exists ‘even now’ without stating much beyond that.²⁶ Neary (2009) writes that the State had not been historically inclined to address the issue of the Buraku, particularly through legal measures, yet despite this the focus of the Buraku discussion is how the State, based particularly on the 1965 Cabinet Dowa Policy Council report, has advanced many measures on behalf of Buraku peoples, and that these measures along with the formation and activities of Buraku Liberation Movement (*buraku-kaiho-undō*) has led to improvement in issues of discrimination (pp. 73, 76; T₃₁₂: 54). Even though the issue remains ‘an urgent issue of concern for citizens (*kokumin*),’ what is represented by such measures and activities, and what remains to be accomplished however remains largely undefined by the texts (T₃₀₆: 95). No space furthermore is given to regional measures regarding the issue, such as the 1969 *Dōwa* Special Measure Law in Osaka.

In addressing marginality and otherness, the texts take up variations of common terminology utilised outside the classroom. Especially as the texts are lacking in detail, the recontextualising discourse of difference draws almost by default from the reader’s internal knowledge of difference, itself in part a product of the learner’s surroundings outside of the learning context. The textbooks however do not necessarily attempt to reorganise or redirect knowledge in such a way as to broaden or

²⁵ See *Jikkō Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 87) and *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 54).

²⁶ See for example *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅: 94); *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉: 129).

challenge the implicit assumptions within that knowledge. A case in point is the terminology used to refer to ethnic Koreans and the Buraku. To refer to ethnic Korean populations living in Japan, most of the texts affix the prefix *zainichi* (literally ‘present in Japan’) to the term *kankokujin*, typically used to refer to ethnic Koreans in Japan that had historically maintained strong affiliation with South Korea, and *chōsenjin*, referring to those that have strong affiliation with the north. Both *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) and *B* (T₃₁₀) take up the term *zainichi korian* in the narratives of their youth and society sections, the word *korian* a syllabic representation of the English *Korean* in Japanese. However, these texts position Korean ethnicity as part of the term *zainichi-gaikokujin* (*resident foreigners*) in the Politics subject (T₃₀₉: 129, 141; T₃₁₀: 79, 85). *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄) eschews any reference to ethnic Koreans in its main narrative, utilising only the term *zainichi-gaikokujin* (pp. 56-57). Although the broader social use of *zainichi* may represent the special permanent resident status of ethnic Koreans within Japan, its use within the texts does not serve as a direct reference to citizenship as the texts make almost no distinction in their use of the term *zainichi* between ethnic Koreans who have naturalised or ethnic Koreans who have taken up special permanent residence. All ethnic Koreans in Japan, as well as likely all non-Japanese ethnic populations living in Japan, are *zainichi*. While the term *zainichi* is used as a term of self-identification by ethnic Koreans as well as by other ethnic and non-Japanese national populations in Japan, the texts themselves refuse to break the implied bond between ethnicity and citizenship as *kokumin*, in other words that citizenship in Japan indicates primarily Japanese ethnicity. Although *kokumin* are directed not to discriminate, no text makes direct reference to ethnic Koreans in Japan as *kokumin*, and no text directly invokes the potential idea of possessing both an ethnicity and legal citizenship concurrently, of being for instance Korean-Japanese, or a Japanese citizen of Korean ethnic descent. In other words, the texts have the potential to reorder knowledge for the aim of greater inclusivity and respect for individuals, ideals that the texts assert are important, but instead the texts order knowledge in ways that may simply reinforce the divide between ethnic Japanese and otherness.

The texts utilise the Japanese term *hisabetsu-buraku* to refer to Buraku discrimination, the common politically correct term by which society identifies such persons (Amos 2011: 8). *Hisabetsu-buraku* is also a term of self-identification (Neary 2009: 65). As established previously, the texts do not often clearly state what *hisabetsu-buraku* represents, lending credence to the common narrative, at least among members of society even aware of the issue, that *hisabetsu-buraku* represents discrimination against persons whose lineage can be traced to outcastes of the Edo period, deemed so because their professions were considered unclean (Neary 2009: 59, 61). However, scholarship over the last few decades suggests that this narrative is incomplete if not inaccurate, first that the definition of outcaste has shifted over time, which has at times included not only persons associated with unclean professions but also many of the working poor (ibid. 62). Moreover, being labeled an outcaste did not represent a fixed or contiguous identity in that for various reasons and circumstances persons could be ensnared in as well as escape or be rehabilitated from outcaste status (ibid.). *Buraku* is additionally a term of self-identification that was reclaimed by those suffering discrimination as a form of symbolic power to resist what Amos (2011) calls ‘the discourse of estrangement’ (p. 212). The discrimination faced by people labeled as outcaste being real, the conclusion to be drawn is that as a social construct the meaning of Buraku has temporal dimensions that reflect society’s changing

perceptions of difference and subsequent alienation of difference based on those perceptions.

Like with other issues connected to questions of identity, within the texts there are no vocal shifts to directly address the reader and likewise no familiar language or analogies to conjoin the reader's perspective with an issue like the Buraku. Perhaps the authors of the texts found it difficult to address the reader in such a manner because what it means to be Buraku may have been assumed to be something that the reader could not readily identify with or relate to. However, with the discussion of the issue, one senses a missed pedagogic opportunity to construct a broader narrative of the way any society, through social power, can dehumanise or deligitimise an individual's identity and humanity on the basis of perceived difference, as well as the historical ways in which Japanese society itself has maligned difference. Particularly as the domestic discourse of human rights depicts a State that actively works to secure or has actively secured human rights for *kokumin*, the reader never develops a sense of their own vulnerability as potential victims in the narrative and consequently also the possibility of needing to avail themselves of the protection of the State or society. In reality, infused with social power and interests, not all rights claims may be legitimate, but in a basic sense the texts fail to adequately explain why some groups and individuals do attempt to harness the symbolic power of rights and human rights. The textbooks simply identify the victims of ethnic discrimination as the other and ask that the reader, most likely being ethnic Japanese, not to discriminate, even though what constitutes discrimination is never fully explained. In other words, like elsewhere, the texts reduce Buraku discrimination to paternalistic sloganeering and civic duty becomes an indefinite form of rule following. The texts assert that human rights are based on a common humanity and a respect for individuals, but do not appear to pedagogically build toward such a concept in a comprehensive manner. The reader is always external to the discourse of human rights as it plays out in the discussion of issues of marginality and otherness, and as such it has the potential to maintain the physical and perceived separation with those deemed different, as well as build resentment against what may be seen as special treatment for others simply on the basis of that difference.

Conclusions

Discursively, *kokumin* as a signifier of citizenship represents duty to society, with emphasis on consensus and social conformity. Overall, the texts deny distinct political identities to individuals or social groups, and express mistrust of the individual political actor. Likewise, although individuals are expected to participate in society towards its betterment through volunteer activities, such participation is to be apolitical. Details on active citizenship to promote human rights are generally lacking, especially as the prerogative to address human rights issues is tacitly ascribed to the State. Deference to society is expected of citizens as they exercise their rights, and society is asserted as the prior condition for the safeguard of human rights, especially as society and State are depicted as preventing abuses of social power as wielded by individuals. Statements that imply that the power of the Japanese state itself is presently complicit in the violation of rights are non-existent. The status of the State and reverence for society are additionally constructed through contrasting discourses of domestic and global human rights, the latter of which is depicted as a world of

disorder, oppression and human rights abuses. Regarding specific issues, the texts delineate each within a narrow permissible discursive scope that excludes critical details to assist learner comprehension of severity or scope, or assist the learner with narrating their own lives within human rights discussions. Finally, discussions on human rights issues are likely congruent to prevalent social attitudes toward those issues and learners' pre-conceived notions. The end result is a human rights discourse that limits prompts for social activism, inculcates socio-cultural pride of readers of Japanese ethnic identity, and does not readily challenge prevalent social beliefs concerning marginal and non-Japanese identities.

The Pedagogy of Social Studies

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the pedagogy of human rights learning as represented by the textbook sample within the overall pedagogy of Contemporary Social Studies. As I put forth in the methodology chapter, Bernstein states that curriculum defines what counts as official knowledge, and pedagogy defines what counts as valid transmission of knowledge, and having quantified and qualified curricular contents, this section examines how content is organised for pedagogic purposes, borrowing liberally from Bernstein's concepts of classification and frame (1975: 85). Here the concern is how the pedagogic structure of knowledge informs the manner in which students learn about and interact with the subject contents, and how this structure potentially limits or enables what ultimately can be learned about human rights. It should be noted again this is not an analysis of how textbooks are actually used in the classroom, or what learners ultimately take away from them, but as part of the overall educational context of social studies, an analysis of textbook pedagogy can also be a means to ascertain curricular priorities and partially explain certain classroom outcomes. For Japan in particular, the Ministry's attempts to move past traditional rote-learning classrooms with regard to the social studies curriculum over the last few decades have been seen as a crucial part of the aim of regulating identities, in particular reestablishing a sense of civic and individual responsibility, thereby fashioning conscientious and socially 'active' citizens, as well as reengaging socially recalcitrant learners (Takayama 2007: 423, 431). Thus, pedagogy has been identified as a critical element of curricular reform in Japan.

Bernstein describes in part the relationship between pedagogy and situated agents through the concepts of classification and frame. Classification again refers to the strength of the boundaries between contents, or the degree to which there are clear-cut boundaries between curriculum contents (closed relation) or the contents blur into each other (open relation) (Bernstein 1975: 88; Bernstein 1971: 89). Strong classification (a collection-type curriculum) for example likely reduces the power of the teacher over what he or she transmits, as the teacher or learner may not cross the boundaries between contents, establishing a system where the learner is required to master an arrangement of preferred contents, typically in order to satisfy criteria of evaluation (Walford 2002: 414, Bernstein 1975: 88). Classification not only refers to the boundaries between subject areas, but also the boundary between curricula and the internal knowledge and dispositions of situated agents, particularly learners themselves (Hoadley 2006: 17). Therefore, for instances of weak classification, by allowing greater input of 'everyday knowledge' in the pedagogic relationship, there may be greater transformative or regulative power with regard to shaping learner identities (*ibid.*). Frame again refers to the ability of teachers and the taught to control what is transmitted and received in the context of the pedagogical relationship, control that is according to Bernstein in part established through the curriculum itself. For textbooks as a specific pedagogic device, this can possibly be seen in how textbooks regulate progression and transmission of their contents, particularly whether these criteria address the content of the textbook or the ideas of the student. Textbook frame may also be seen in the degree of control learners have over the ordering of contents, as well as how fast or slow contents are covered, which along with evaluating the degree or type acquired knowledge, may become the primary means of sustaining

textbook classification (ibid.). Most importantly, it is frame that for better or worse animates curricular boundaries, or classification, potentially contesting power relations inherent in textbooks, or delimiting an otherwise transformative set of contents by drawing learner attention only to select facets of the text (Hoadley 2008: 65). Given this fundamental role in maintaining classification, I will focus most of my inquiry into pedagogic structure on textbook frame before suggesting how framing establishes particular boundaries between subject contents.

Bernstein's idea of frame as utilised in this chapter will be comprised of three main facets: evaluation, sequence and pacing. Evaluation first refers to the criteria by which the acquirer 'is expected to take over and explore and evaluate the behavior of themselves and relevant others' (Hoadley 2006: 117). Strong evaluation in terms of textbook contents may attempt to keep learners firmly focused on mastering textbook contents as they are arranged within the texts, and may further delimit textbook content by keeping learners focused on particular select contents. Weak evaluation on the other hand may not only represent far less strict evaluation of whether learners have mastered textbook contents precisely, but also allow greater learner interpretation of textbook content, especially through input of learners' own internal dispositions and knowledge (ibid. 22). Sequencing rules on the other hand refer to the order in which the transmission of knowledge takes place, as well as the degree of control that the learner has over the order in which contents are learned (Bernstein 1975: 117). In a curriculum, weak sequencing could be a situation where the learner goes about choosing topics to be learned according to their own wishes; however, it will be assumed, unless suggested otherwise, that this aspect sequencing is a function of the pedagogic relationship between instructors, institutions and learners. Finally, pacing refers to the degree of control the learner has over how fast or slow the content is covered, whether for instance the learner is given adequate control over the allotment of time for acquisition as well as adequate time to reflect over newly acquired contents as well as contents previously learned (Morais 2010: 560-561; Bernstein 1975: 118-199). Bernstein argued that successful transmission and mastering of contents are often associated with weaker pacing (ibid. 560). Bernstein's concept of frame does also include the concept of selection, which represents the degree of control learners have over the selection of content (Hoadley 2006: 22). Like with aspects of sequencing, it was assumed however that as the texts represent a predetermined set of contents, learners' ability to select topics and contents for study would be a facet of the classroom environment, not the text itself, and therefore selection will likely be addressed in the following chapter. I turn now to a general discussion of how the textbooks are formatted and paced before moving to a discussion on textbook evaluation, and then finally sequencing of curricular contents.

Formats and Pacing

Within individual textbooks, a varying amount of visual and textual supplementary material appears as part of the formatting around main narratives. This supplementary material was initially coded into several mutually exclusive categories, starting with codes for *photographs*, *illustrations* and *maps*.¹ Other codes were created to record

¹ Many textbooks presented units, usually at the end of the textbook, to teach general skills on critical thinking and reading, debate, reporting information and making presentations. Often though these units were presented as

Table 6.1. **Frequency of Supplementary Material by Subject**

Subject	Photos	Illustrations	Notes	Activities	Charts	Maps	Aggregate
Current Issues	3.526	0.407	8.039	2.626	3.505	0.311	18.414
Youth-Society	2.726	1.723	9.113	1.843	1.972	0.163	17.540
Politics	1.685	0.629	8.095	1.436	2.755	0.056	14.655
Economics	1.520	0.251	8.197	1.595	3.958	0.025	15.547
Global Issues	2.820	0.172	9.222	1.744	3.100	0.962	18.021
Aggregate	2.234	0.587	8.477	1.742	3.105	0.261	16.406
DP	0.152	0.317	0.028	0.071	0.088	0.514	0.0436
DP_{norm}	0.174	0.361	0.031	0.081	0.100	0.585	0.0497
G²	173.583	279.945	22.036	51.561	111.832	281.122	102.884

Normalised values per 1000 tokens. DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution. All log likelihood values at $df=4$, $p < .001$.

diagrams, which included any type of chart, table, graph, or schematic, and *notes*, taking the form of definitions, explanations or histories for key vocabulary and terms found within the main narrative, as well as sometimes providing parallel topics and discussions. A final code was given to the *activities* found within the text, including discussion, presentation and written tasks as well as question and answer sections. In addition to type, the page number and the embedded subject area of each case were also recorded. *Notes* were the most common among all the material outside of the main narrative at slightly over 50% of all recorded cases. Normalised per 1000 words of text, within-textbook frequencies of notes ranged between 5.735 (*Yamakawa Shuppan* T₃₀₈) to 14.709 (*Daiichi Gakushusha B* T₃₁₂). Dispersion across subject areas was highly balanced for notes, photos, activities, and charts.² Maps (DP_{norm} = 0.511) and illustrations (DP_{norm} = 0.361) however were more unevenly distributed across subject areas, with maps skewed toward Global Issues, where the topical concern often resides geographically outside of Japan. Illustrations were skewed toward Youth-History, a subject area that is predominated by historical topics that predate the advent of photography.

A chi-square test was conducted to determine what if any of the supplementary material was predominant in a particular subject area or textbook. Codes for photographs, illustrations, diagram and maps were compiled into a single code labeled *visual elements* to aid coherency of the test. Looking at the standardised residuals, there were noticeable differences between Current Issues, where there were lower than expected counts of notes and higher than expected counts of activities, and other subject areas. For Economics, there were fewer activities than expected. In the Pearson Chi-square test, the association between subject and type of supplementary material was highly significant at $\chi^2(8) = 75.524$, $p < .001$. This initially suggested that Current Issues, as a theme that focuses on specific ethical and global problems rather than more general knowledge of society, may be more amenable to learner-text interaction through a more inviting, interactive and less academic format. Initial

detached from any particular topic or subject area, and as such were not included in the analysis of supplementary material. From the discussion in Chapter 7 on teacher use of textbooks in the classroom, it may be the case that supplementary material goes unused at least in regular classrooms.

² Normalised DP values were as follows: notes (0.026), photos (0.131), activities (0.081), and charts (0.129).

Table 6.2. **Frequency of Supplementary Material by Textbook**

No.	Text	Photos	Illustrations	Notes	Activities	Charts	Maps	Aggregate
017	Kyōiku Shuppan A	1.578	0.754	7.065	0.579	3.383	0.298	13.674
301	Tokyo Shoseki	2.575	0.839	11.541	0.649	3.853	0.229	21.480
302	Jikkyo Shuppan A	0.819	0.297	6.229	0.107	2.005	0.166	10.227
303	Jikkyo Shuppan B	4.488	1.425	13.528	0.915	5.339	0.468	27.354
304	Kyōiku Shuppan B	1.261	0.496	10.501	0.827	3.369	0.145	16.268
305	Shimizu Shoin A	4.365	0.721	7.907	0.947	3.480	0.453	18.881
306	Shimizu Shoin B	1.660	0.371	7.086	0.652	2.372	0.222	12.942
307	Teikoku Shoin	4.295	0.558	8.912	1.997	5.734	0.150	22.270
308	Yamakawa Shuppan	1.587	0.119	5.735	1.639	1.946	0.154	10.309
309	Sūken Shuppan A	0.835	0.337	6.547	0.249	1.085	0.100	12.607
310	Sūken Shuppan B	1.783	0.223	8.248	0.773	3.270	0.208	16.021
311	Daiichi Gakushusha A	2.245	0.598	9.982	0.436	2.633	0.501	15.247
312	Daiichi Gakushusha B	4.593	1.714	14.709	0.976	3.879	0.738	28.346
	Aggregate	2.234	0.587	8.673	0.759	3.047	0.274	16.405

Normalised values per 1000 tokens.

results of a Chi-square comparison of supplementary material to individual textbooks detected differences between levels of visual elements, notes and activities that were roughly related to a textbook's size. To test this further, textbooks were coded by size and a Chi-square test was again conducted to compare size with amounts of supplementary material present. Looking again at standardised residuals, larger-sized textbooks (B5) contained fewer notes and more activities than expected. For their smaller-sized (A5) counterparts, there were fewer visual elements and activities than expected, but more notes. In the Pearson Chi-square test, the association between textbook size and type of supplementary material was highly significant at $\chi^2(2) = 80.120, p < .001$. While a larger size may allow for layouts with more visual information, combined with data on activities and notes, it may be the case that certain textbooks orient themselves in different ways for different prospective learning environments and learners. Having more visuals and activities, as well as fewer notes, might make some texts appear less intimidating and more inviting to certain learners. Conversely, smaller texts, may feel more academic and serious in tone given the sparseness of visual material and wealth of auxiliary content.

Another facet supporting the hypothesis that select textbooks are oriented toward certain learning levels may be each textbook's written style, although further investigation is required. Textbooks with the same publisher and publication date tend to be more homogeneous in terms of content, and generally, by comparing keyword lists in *Sketch Engine*, there is little separation between each textbook in terms of content, suggesting that no textbook has its own explicit theme or message. Looking at the word lists, what little separation exists between textbooks was often orthographical choice in writing style: *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₀₉) for instance utilised far more Chinese characters for verbs and nouns that were largely written in *hiragana*, ordinary Japanese syllabic script, in *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₁₀). *Shimizu Shoin A* (T₃₀₅) and *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇), which appeared to be the most differentiated in terms of content as analysed in *Sketch Engine*, varied largely on orthography, suggesting that generally the overall substantive difference between any two textbooks was largely

written style rather than any thematic difference, although this analysis does not account for thematic sequence. It is unclear what pedagogic purpose the lower usage of Chinese characters in some textbooks might serve, if any, especially if it is assumed that upper-secondary students are expected to have previously mastered all of the official Chinese characters (*jōyō-kanji*) used within upper-secondary textbooks. While hiragana can be seen as a more simplified writing system, the use of hiragana in the place of Chinese characters does not necessarily make the language easier to read. Although not specifically analysed for this study, many of the textbooks do also appear to have varying degrees of *rubi* (or *ruby*), annotative glosses written above Chinese characters to show the pronunciation of those characters. Although pronunciation references are typically provided in written Japanese for rare or difficult to pronounce words, particularly when difficult Chinese characters first appear in a text, a number of textbooks provide pronunciation glosses for many quite common words in the language, and often consistently across the text for every appearance of a particular word. While comparatively, textbook content appears to vary little, with orthographic variation and annotative glosses, there does appear to be a deliberate attempt to differentiate texts for different reading levels as well as student motivation levels, perhaps by making the textbook contents seem less arduous to read.

Pacing was assumed to be connected to text layouts in that weaker pacing would be represented by text that is broken into smaller segments, centered on a particular learning concept or theme, or broken up by questions or activities, which would allow the learner to spend more time on what he or she has just taken in. Stronger pacing was then characterised by text that is structured into long passages with little to break up the text. The relative degree of pacing for each textbook was calculated by coding the number of sectional or thematic breaks within each textbook, and dividing the relevant word count by this number. Separate calculations were also made for each textbook subject area. The results revealed that the degree of pacing was considerably inconsistent across the textbook sample, ranging from a low of 636.61 words per section for *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂) to a high of 1547.83 words for *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁). Textbook size was again the most relevant factor in pacing, with more compact texts presenting longer stretches of text with fewer breaks. With the *Daiichi Gakushusha* published series, even though the content of the larger *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂) was organized in nearly the same content sequence as the compact *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁), *Daiichi Gakushusha A* displayed on average more than twice the number of words per content section. Looking at subject areas within textbooks, individual textbook subject areas with stronger pacing were again typically found within compact texts: *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₁) had the highest overall words per section for the Current Issues, Youth-Society, and Politics subjects; *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) displayed the strongest pacing for the Economics subject; and *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂) displayed the strongest pacing for the Global Issues. While it is difficult to state what effect a specific degree of pacing would have on learner interaction with the texts, it is clear again that some textbooks may be aiming for greater accessibility and reflection on their contents through the brevity of their sections. Weaker pacing, Bernstein asserts, allows for greater opportunity for the learner to master or acquire textbook contents, especially among students who typically have trouble keeping up with stronger paced classroom environments. At the same time, given a greater number of pauses away from focusing directly on textbook contents, again there may be opportunity for internal dispositions and prior knowledge among learners to be drawn out in the classroom environment, opening them to greater overall regulation.

Evaluation Rules

The evaluation rules that the textbooks establish to regulate progression and transmission of their contents is a vital element of framing, which in the sample was represented by the *activities* code. For analysis, criteria of evaluation that represent *strong* frame were considered to be activities that aim to keep teacher-student thought and attention firmly fixed on the content of the textbooks. Instances of *weak* frame on the other hand are those criteria for which thought and output are not strictly bound to the contents of the text. Weak frame might also be oriented to produce internal reflection or classroom discussion, and again instances of particularly weak frame can also be seen where the question or task asks the student to draw upon knowledge outside the immediate classroom topic. Here textbook activities were recoded as closed or open, with instances of strong frame represented by activities that were ‘closed,’ in other words these criteria have answers that are right or wrong, or don't allow for independent thought. This is most commonly because they check mastery of the knowledge presented in the text, for instance:

What are the activities of non-governmental organisations? (T₃₀₂: 285)

What is the definition of a social contract? (T₃₀₇: 55).

Evaluative criteria were coded as closed particularly if there was a clear answer to a question or activity available within the text from which learners could draw upon. Instances of weak frame were instead represented by activities that are ‘open.’ In other words, the activity has no right or wrong answer and in many cases learners in forming their answers or output may be allowed to form their own opinions drawing upon internal knowledge, for instance:

Let's think about what can be done to protect the rights of children.

(T₃₀₃: 171).

Why is it necessary to promote initiatives that protect international human rights? (T₃₀₉: 141).³

Evaluative criteria were coded as open particularly if no clear answer was provided in the text. The analytical concern here is the overall frequency of such criteria, whether a particular text or subject area is predominantly open or closed, as well as the distribution of open-closed criteria across subject areas within a particular text as a whole. Finally, there is interest in determining whether any human rights related activities are predominantly open or closed, and where such activities are positioned within the texts. Normalised frequencies of activities within each textbook ranged from the relatively scarce 0.107 activities per 1000 words of text for *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂) to 1.997 for *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇), or nearly twenty times the rate of *Jikkyo*

³ There remains the potential of instructors to add their own interpretation as to whether a specific question or activity is ultimately open or closed. After my initial coding, evaluative criteria were also coded separately by a native-Japanese speaking inter-rater. Any discrepancies in coding were resolved through consultation. It should be noted that there were methodological issues in determining exactly what could be coded as an activity and later whether an activity should be coded as open or closed. While some activities are clearly marked as such, many texts presented questions as sub-headers to chapter titles that may be activities only in a nominal sense. These activities were coded as such but excluded from the frequency statistics and analysis of evaluation criteria.

Table 6.3. **Frequency of Activities by Subject**

Subject	Tokens (s)	Open	Closed	Total	Open _{norm}	Closed _{norm}	Total _{norm}
Current Issues	93297	173	12	185	1.854	0.129	1.983
Youth-Society	116650	83	7	90	0.712	0.060	0.772
Politics	213096	100	24	124	0.469	0.113	0.582
Economics	199336	77	9	86	0.386	0.045	0.431
Global Issues	139338	84	9	93	0.603	0.065	0.667
Aggregate	761717	517	61	578	0.679	0.080	0.759

Normalised values per 1000 tokens. DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution. All log likelihood values at $df=4$, $p < .001$.

Shuppan A. Thus, immediately some texts present a much different form of interaction with the learner, with some texts providing little overall interactive, evaluative or regulatory pedagogy. Again, the total count of activities appeared relative to a textbook's size, with smaller sized texts having fewer activities. Of the four smaller sized A5 textbooks in the sample, all appeared within the top six in terms of the lowest normalised frequencies of activities.⁴

The overwhelming majority of activities across the sample were open at a normalised frequency of 0.679 for every 1000 words of text compared to a normalised frequency of 0.080 for closed activities. Log-likelihood values comparing textbook size to normalised counts of activities were significant for total counts that included both activity types ($G^2(1) = 123.95$, $p < .001$) and open activities ($G^2(1) = 116.33$, $p < .001$), with larger textbooks providing more activities. Closed activities were less significant at $G^2(1) = 8.531$, $p < .01$. Subject-wise, Current Issues displayed the highest normalised frequency of both total activities ($f_{a_norm} = 1.983$) and open activities ($f_{a_norm} = 1.854$). Economics contained the lowest normalised frequency of activities (0.431); however, the subject area contained predominantly open activities at a normalised frequency of 0.386 per 1000 words compared to 0.045 in closed activities. Comparing subjects by log-likelihood value, subject area differences in activity counts were highly significant for total counts ($G^2(4) = 171.59$, $p < .001$) and open activity counts ($G^2(4) = 175.05$, $p < .001$). Counts for closed activities were less significant at $G^2(4) = 9.52$, $p < .05$. Thus, the Current Issues subject area, which opens most textbooks, displays a weak evaluative frame and may offer a more interactive pedagogy that likely deemphasizes the boundary between knowledge and learner; however, beyond this, while still displaying primarily open frames, other subjects appear to have less evaluative pedagogy overall, even more so when taking format of the text into account. In extreme cases, such as with *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂), a compact textbook, the structuring of knowledge presents almost no clear expression of evaluative pedagogy to the learner.

⁴ The top three in terms of lowest normative frequencies were *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (0.107), *Sūken Shuppan A* (0.249) and *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (0.436), all smaller sized A5 textbooks, followed by B5-sized *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (0.579) and B (0.649), and finally the A5-sized *Shimizu Shoin B* (0.652). Despite almost similar main narratives and being published by the same press, *Sūken Shuppan A* and *B* differed greatly in terms of activity counts, with *Sūken Shuppan A* having a smaller format and fewer normalised activities.

Table 6.4. **Frequency of Activities by Textbook**

No.	Text	Tokens (s)	Open	Closed	Total	Open _{norm}	Closed _{norm}	Total _{norm}
017	Kyōiku Shuppan A	57042	31	2	33	0.5435	0.035	0.579
301	Tokyo Shoseki	52420	31	3	34	0.5914	0.057	0.649
302	Jikkyo Shuppan A	84284	6	3	9	0.0712	0.036	0.107
303	Jikkyo Shuppan B	47014	41	2	43	0.8721	0.043	0.915
304	Kyōiku Shuppan B	48377	28	12	40	0.5788	0.248	0.827
305	Shimizu Shoin A	48567	44	2	46	0.9060	0.041	0.947
306	Shimizu Shoin B	67455	34	10	44	0.5040	0.148	0.652
307	Teikoku Shoin	46564	86	7	93	1.8469	0.150	1.997
308	Yamakawa Shuppan	58587	96	0	96	1.6386	0.000	1.639
309	Sūken Shuppan A	80193	20	0	20	0.2494	0.000	0.249
310	Sūken Shuppan B	67285	42	10	52	0.6242	0.149	0.773
311	Daiichi Gakushusha A	61913	27	0	27	0.4361	0.000	0.436
312	Daiichi Gakushusha B	42016	31	10	41	0.7378	0.238	0.976

Normalised values per 1000 tokens.

In terms of manifest human rights content, less than three percent of all activities touch directly upon human rights and all of these activities are open.⁵ Subject-wise, most manifest activities were in Politics (53%), with the second highest count found in the Current Issues section (33%), where students were often asked to discuss the issues of organ donation and privacy within the context of human rights; surprising given that the concept of human rights is in nearly all textbooks not clearly defined until later chapters. There were no manifest activities linked to human rights within the Youth-Society subject. Several texts have no activities based on manifest human rights content and overall only a few manifest human rights activities are clearly related to the social context of Japan.⁶ *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆: 158) asks learners to discuss the relationship between the meanings of constitutional terms ‘the people’ (*kokumin*) and ‘everyone,’ and both terms’ relationship to human rights concepts found in the present Constitution. *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 78) and *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 60) both ask students to discuss the relationship between human rights and common welfare (*kokyō-no-fukushi*), in other words to discuss the limits of human rights; and finally, *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁) asks students to consider whether their ‘human rights have been violated in their daily lives’ (p. 77). There are thus few evaluative criteria that touch upon human rights directly and even fewer that address Japan’s domestic sociopolitical context. Utilising the latent human rights terms from the content analysis, there were only slightly more activities (4.3%) associated with latent vocabulary, and 84% of activities were open activities. Subject-wise, slightly under half of the activities were associated with Politics, while Current Issues again displayed the second highest normalised frequency; however, all of the Current Issues situated activities were found within books of the same publisher, with activities concerned with individual rights to information and privacy in the digital

⁵ Manifest content again refers to explicit use of the term *jinken* (human rights).

⁶ There are no manifest human rights activities in *Kyōiku Shuppan A* (T₀₁₇); *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂); *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃); *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄); *Shimizu Shoin B* (T₃₀₆); and *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇).

age (T₃₀₉: 25; T₃₁₀: 21). A few open, latent human rights activities did appear in Youth-Society concerning Japan's aging society (T₀₁₇: 60) and the protection of rights under the law (T₃₁₂: 38). Although slightly more extensive across the range of textbooks than manifest human rights activities, there are very few evaluative criteria that address even latent human rights.⁷ The compact textbooks *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂) and *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁) moreover did not contain any latent based activities.

Finally, in terms of the issues listed out under the national plan of action, there were comparatively few activities (2.5%), although again most were open (73%). One-third of issue-based activities dealt with gender followed by lesser frequencies dealing with discrimination against foreigners (*gaikokujin* or *zainichi gaikokujin*), disabled persons, persons with illness, and senior citizens. There were no references to specific minority and ethnic groups residing in Japan within evaluative criteria. Activities that dealt with discrimination did so only from only a generalised perspective: *Daiichi Gakushusha B* for instance asked students to discuss ways of resolving discrimination and prejudice after citing examples from their daily lives (T₃₁₂: 54). Most issues-based activities were situated within Politics, although a number of activities related to gender appeared in Youth-Society (T₃₀₄: 25; T₃₀₇: 37). Discrimination against women and foreigners in the workplace also did feature in a few textbooks' Economics subject areas (T₃₀₃: 154; T₃₀₇: 141). In conclusion, most evaluative criteria connected to human rights, rights and related issues are open, meaning that these questions do not address specifically how well learners have acquired textbook knowledge, but rather if learners can form opinions around textbook contents; however, despite the large amount of content connected to human rights topics, the overall evaluative frame for human rights is close to non-existent, suggesting that acquiring or internalising the human rights discourses of the texts are not necessarily a high priority. Dispersions of evaluative criteria linked to human rights moreover mirror the dispersion of human rights content, meaning that the evaluation of human rights content is, some exceptions notwithstanding, closely linked to the location of human rights content, and thus as evaluative criteria, human rights concepts are not applied to other subject areas through the use of activities.

Sequencing Rules

In terms of sequencing, the majority of textbooks present human rights learning in a similar order, suggesting strong frame in that human rights are intended to be acquired in a specific order (See Diagram 4.1). There were a few notable exceptions to this, as will be discussed later in the section. Analysing textbook sequence was a qualitative process that involved multiple readings and codings of the sampled texts to reveal patterns in the arrangement of textbook contents. All texts first place learning on Japanese culture and identity within Youth-Society prior to learning on human rights; however, within the Politics sections that follow, where human rights are principally defined and discussed, domestic human rights practice, as well as the

⁷ There are only three evaluative frames that directly reference public welfare as *kokyō-no-fukushi*: *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀: 78), *Daiichi Gakushusha B* (T₃₁₂: 60), and *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁: 24), which asks students to consider solutions to the issue of abandoned bicycles parked at train stations from the viewpoint of public welfare and utilitarianism.

social construction of rights in Japan, is to be understood as an extension of Western practices of governance. From initial discussions on Western history and the philosophy of liberalism, most texts discuss the origins of the current Constitution where it is implied that the main deficiency of the Meiji Constitution was that it resembled a limited constitutional monarchy rather than a constitution based on popular sovereignty (e.g. T₃₀₃: 80; T₃₀₈: 33). As discussed in Chapter 5, this discussion largely excludes any significant detail of the historical period governed by the Meiji Constitution, including rights violations, excising possible endemic justifications that might culturally or socially underpin the present Constitution. Not only does this sequence assist in maintaining the foreignness of rights and human rights, it may implicitly disparage or render traditional Japanese culture as being fundamentally and historically incompatible with the realisation of human rights.⁸ The lack of detail regarding human rights violations in the Second World War era and before may be explained as a way of avoiding direct discussion of a particularly contentious and disagreeable part of Japan's history; however, the arrangement of contents does mirror to some extent policy debates over citizenship education, especially the tension between globalist educationalist supporters of human rights and conservative elements who assert that citizenship education should instill national pride, and who believe in the incompatibility between the Western notion of rights and Japanese culture. This tension, according to Saito (2010), has led to an impasse as well as contradictions in the aims of curricular policy for social studies and citizenship education (p. 141). By asserting their proximity to Western values though, the learner comes to know of human rights and their origins, but at the same time they are presumably kept to some extent from connecting rights and human rights concepts and language with their own civic, national or cultural identities.

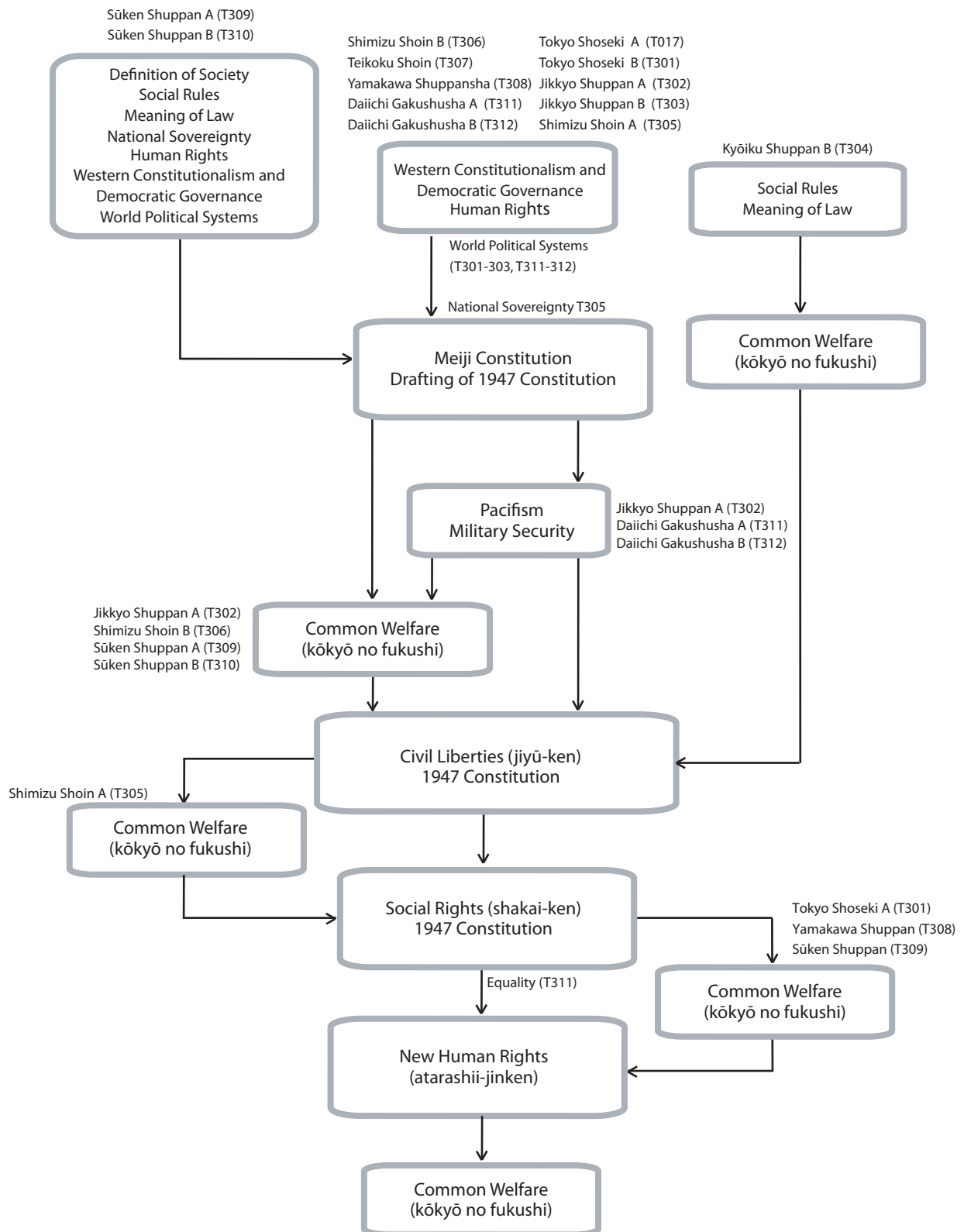
Yet unintended or not, the focus on the social construction of rights in the West does implicitly establish a primacy of individual rights over collective and socioeconomic rights. This may be reinforced by the fact that in sequential terms the textbooks assert an understanding of civil liberties prior to an understanding of social rights. The only exceptions to this sequence are the *Daiichi Gakushusha* series (T₃₁₁₋₃₁₂) and *Jikkyo Shuppan A* (T₃₀₂), which discuss pacifism and military security prior to beginning discussions on civil liberties (p. 115; T₃₁₁: 67-75; T₃₁₂: 50-51). Typically, fundamental civil liberties are identified as the right to equality—within which discrimination is commonly discussed—freedom of thought and conscience, personal liberty, and the freedom to engage in economic activity. To this, *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇) adds freedom of religion and academic freedom. With social rights, the rights to life, receive an education, and work are discussed within every textbook, which suggests that the implementation of social rights are facets of individual self-determination rather than rights to a set standard of living that would necessarily include rights to healthcare and public welfare. This theme is firmly stated by *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈), which writes that dependency on government assistance may limit the freedom of individuals and therefore that compromise is required between civil liberties and social rights (p. 41). Some textbooks do also discuss political participation ('rights to guarantee human rights,' T₃₁₂: 57) as part of discussions on social rights.⁹

⁸ As noted in the discursive analysis, this again appears especially the case as the textbook's note that initial attempts by Japanese authorities to redraft the Meiji Constitution in the immediate post-war era resulted in a draft constitution that was not substantially different from the Meiji Constitution itself (e.g. T₃₀₆: 90; T₃₀₇: 60; T₃₁₀: 76).

⁹ Political participation as part of the discussion of social rights includes *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁: 64); *Jikkyo Shuppan B* (T₃₀₃: 89); *Teikoku Shoin* (T₃₀₇: 69). *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈: 42-43) places its political participation into its section discussing common welfare.

Diagram 6.1

Human Rights Sequencing, Politics Sub-corpus



Finally, the textbooks explore the ongoing construction of ‘new human rights’ (*atarashii jinken*), which typically includes environmental rights, the right to free access of information (*shiru-kenri*), and the right to privacy. Some textbook human rights sections end with a discussion on the globalisation of human rights, as well as the status and effect of international human rights law on domestic law—particularly the Women’s Convention (CEDAW), which Japan signed in 1980 (e.g. T₃₀₅: 57). Unlike other rights discussions, with the discussion on new human rights, there is a greater appearance of detailed contextualised examples: *Yamakawa Shuppan* (T₃₀₈) for instance discusses the *Utage-no-ato* and *Ishi-ni oyogu sakana* court cases regarding privacy rights (p. 45)¹⁰; *Tokyo Shoseki* (T₃₀₁) discusses the rights of citizens to know how politicians spend their political funds (p. 67); and *Daiichi Gakushusha A* (T₃₁₁) discusses court cases related to environmental rights that took place during the country’s period of high economic growth after 1950 (pp. 85-86). All of the textbooks finally append their discussions of rights and human rights with the expectation that rights can be reasonably and justifiably curtailed within the context of common welfare (*kokyō-no-fukushi*). Additional discussions of common welfare are sometimes placed directly prior to the discussion on civil liberties (T₃₀₂, T₃₀₆), after the discussion of civil liberties (T₃₀₅), or directly after the discussion on social rights (T₃₀₁, T₃₀₈). To conclude, in terms of sequence, most textbooks do appear to be asking learners to become specialists in a Western, classical 19th century conception of rights and human rights, one that emphasises individual liberty over socioeconomic welfare even if this specialization is held in check by textbook pedagogy and other contents of the textbooks. Although whether instructors or learners can modify this sequence is more a matter of the framing involved with classroom instruction, that most textbooks follow the same sequence suggests that textbook contents are expected to be learned in this set order.

There are however two alternative sequences, one presented by *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄), which explains to the learner that society and the individual’s place within it are based upon rules. This becomes the basis for conferring the purpose and meaning of the law (pp. 48-49). *Kyōiku Shuppan B* moreover avoids any discussion of the Meiji Constitution or the enactment of the 1947 Constitution, moving directly to a discussion on common welfare before explaining civil liberties, social rights, and new human rights. Like a few other texts, *Kyōiku Shuppan B* begins and ends its discussion on contextualised rights with reminders of the importance of common welfare. Finally, both *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) and *B* (T₃₁₀) begin with the definition of society as a series of interrelated groups (‘family, community, country’) and the message that there are expectations and rules for individual members within such groupings that limit their capacity to act only in their self-interest (T₃₁₀: 64). As with *Kyōiku Shuppan B*, this discussion is then used to explain the purpose and meaning of the law. *Sūken Shuppan A* and *B* both then follow with the same sequence as the majority of textbooks, with the one further exception that again like *Kyōiku Shuppan B*, *Sūken Shuppan A* and *B* provide discussions on common welfare both before and

¹⁰ The politician Hachiro Arita sued the writer Yukio Mishima, claiming the publication of his book *Utage-no-ato* (After the Banquet) violated his privacy. The Tokyo District Court found in favor of Arita on 28 September 1964, Japan’s first judicial recognition of the right to privacy. The Supreme Court upheld a lower court ruling that the novel, *Ishi ni Oyogu Sakana* (The Fish Swimming in the Stone), by writer Yu Miri had infringed upon the privacy of a woman in the story, and ordered Yu and Shinchosha Co. to pay the woman 1.3 million yen in damages and to abandon a plan to publish a paperback edition of the novel. This was the first case in the nation in which the Supreme Court had approved the suspension of the publication of a book due to the infringement of an individual’s privacy.

after their discussions of contextualised human rights. The main message implied by these alternative sequences appears to be that human rights are subordinate to if not an intricate component of the social rules that govern and protect society.

Conclusions

It has been shown that there are significant variations in pedagogic form among the textbooks of the sample. Overall, pedagogic form relates mostly to the size of the textbook, with smaller texts providing stronger frames: longer blocks of text or strong pacing, less visual information, more ancillary notations and fewer evaluative criteria, even if most criteria are open. At the extreme end, some texts provide a ‘zero pedagogy’ in terms of evaluation. Given the predominance of open content, while students are expected to form opinions around textbook content, there are few evaluative rules that pertain to human rights, meaning that overall little priority may be being given to learner acquisition. Evaluative frames remain in close topical proximity to their relative contents, and this establishes strongly bound contents, as there is little cross sharing of at least human rights contents. Human rights content and evaluative rules remain primarily the domain of Politics. Rarely in an activity, open or closed, do the texts ask students to evaluate non-human rights content through the lens of human rights. Human rights concepts are not typically applied to issues in Japan or the specific sociocultural contexts of situated learners. Only Current Issues applies or cross-references the contents of other subject areas, but this learning in most textbooks takes place prior to the learning of other subjects, and thus does not utilise acquired knowledge from the curriculum. Sequentially, students learn of the historical origin of Western rights and governance, and topical priority is given to individual rights over social rights. The texts in all cases do remind students of the primacy of society, and that even human rights can be limited if warranting situations arise. Several texts do adopt alternate sequences, placing greater emphasis on society as a precondition for individual rights, or suggesting that the function of human rights is mainly for the preservation of social harmony. However, given few evaluative rules, as well as the strong pacing of many of the textbooks, this likely means that while human rights concepts can be known, they are not necessarily to be internalised or applied outside of their immediate learning contexts.

Human Rights Learning in Context

This chapter focuses on how learners construct meaning around human rights concepts and the factors that have led to such construction. The *in-situ* context of human rights learning is explored by analyses of agent practices and context, presented here as the results of interviews and questionnaires conducted with students and teachers within two case study senior high schools, one in Tokyo and the other in Hyōgo prefecture. There are some broad commonalities and differences between the two cases. Both schools style themselves as academic high schools where the primary aim for students is entry into higher education. The Hyōgo school is a coeducational public institution that ranks highest in its prefecture in terms of its attrition into high status universities. As a private women's institution, the Tokyo institution also aims to place students into university; this is its main selling point to parents who would otherwise send their children to public schooling.¹ However, both schools are highly differentiated regarding teaching content and pedagogy related to human rights. The Hyōgo school eschews Contemporary Social Studies as part of its curriculum. The core component of the school's human rights education programme is its regular 'human rights homeroom' (*jinken ho-mu-ru-mu*), which involves class debates and discussions concerning human rights-related issues and is administered by the all-student Human Rights Committee (*jinken seito-kai*) under guidance of the human rights educator (*jinken buchō*), a full-time staff member of the school. This several decades-old programme is unique in the region, as human rights education in other schools is taught principally in lecture format. The institutional curriculum of the Tokyo institution on the other hand roughly adheres to the School Curriculum as analysed in the previous chapters.

Appropriate and effective case study designs demand that subjects, locales or situations be pertinent to the aims of the study (Yin 2000: 13). At a basic level it could be said that the two cases studies represent differences in learning *about* human rights in the Tokyo case, as the School Curriculum offers much human rights content but few prompts for active citizenship, and learning *for* human rights in the Hyōgo case, especially its education programme, like many in the region, is an extension of former Dōwa education programmes, which aimed to address historical and present injustices within society. Thus the intersection between universal and particularism is also distinct in both cases, the Hyōgo case interfacing more directly with its surrounding community, and the Tokyo case following the interface set forth in the School Curriculum. However, in reality this is an oversimplification as other external and dispositional factors may mediate instruction and learning. As a women's institution with a Catholic affiliation, the institutional ethos may itself contest or mediate curricula both broadly with regard to human rights as well as particular issues such as gender. Private schools in Japan also typically regard themselves as having greater latitude in implementing the School Curriculum. Moreover, the school is the Tokyo branch of a senior high originally established in Nagasaki, which was rebuilt after the destruction of the atomic bomb. Due to this history, one of the school's guiding education philosophies centers on peaceful coexistence. With the Hyōgo case,

¹ In addition to providing entry to students directly to the three-year upper-secondary school, the school also provides a combined, six-year lower and upper secondary course.

as its human rights programme is presented as a curriculum parallel to the School Curriculum, the programme and its curriculum are still likely negotiated within the demands of university entrance exam preparation, especially institutional constraints on time and instructional purposes, as well as a potential lack of student motivation to participate in a programme that does little to aid students in their immediate and future academic goals. Thus the cases studies presented in this chapter offer two unique instances of how human rights education is instituted, mediated and negotiated *in situ* within official settings.

As noted in Chapter 3, this uniqueness also extends to the sampling frames and research methods employed within each case, which may make generalisation and comparison of results difficult. Questionnaires were first administered with students in both case studies, the overall purpose to assess the degree to which adolescents at each school can and do use human rights language and concepts to discuss related issues, and to gain an initial understanding of their perceptions of such concepts and issues. With the Tokyo school, the open-ended, written questionnaire was distributed as homework or conducted in class under the supervision of students' homeroom teachers.² At the Hyōgo case study school, as the open-ended questionnaire was seen as duplicating the institution's own research efforts, a questionnaire designed and administered by the school itself earlier in the academic year was utilised for this research. This questionnaire was conducted solely in class under the supervision of students' homeroom teachers. In sum, 94 students at the Tokyo school completed the questionnaire for a 75% response rate, while 358 students at the western Japan school completed survey forms for a response rate of approximately 99%.³

As a secondary measure aimed to provide greater analytical depth, particularly with regard to contextual factors, focus groups with students were also conducted at both schools. For both cases, students were drawn on a convenience sampling frame. At the Tokyo school, a few months after the initial survey, social studies teachers at the school solicited volunteer students from within the sample that had completed the survey. Fourteen students, all female, volunteered and were divided into three focus groups.⁴ All of these students had been admitted as junior high school students, and were now in their third and final year of senior high school study. Most importantly, all students belonged to the school's humanities course, meaning that Contemporary Social Studies was a required component of their high school curriculum. For the Hyōgo cohort, students were asked to volunteer by the human rights educator of the school. Thirteen students, nine male and four female, volunteered and were divided into three focus groups.⁵ All students were nearing the end of their second year at school, and many participants were members of the Human Rights Student Committee. Administration of questionnaires in both cases therefore did likely introduce bias into the results in that students might have felt compelled to complete the survey, or through a sense of extrinsic motivation; however, it was possible to

² Each survey form came enclosed with a letter of introduction to the research and statement that participation in the research was voluntary. Students returned completed survey forms in provided envelopes marked only with a unique identifier to protect student anonymity. Informed consent for focus group interviews were confirmed orally and recorded.

³ Individual responses in the Hyōgo questionnaire were not tracked for gender.

⁴ Pseudonyms were used to identify respective students. Focus groups for the Tokyo cohort were organised as follows: Aiko, Chie, Emiko, Fumika, and Hiroko (Focus Group 1); Junko, Kaori, Manami, and Natsumi (Focus Group 2); Rie, Sachie, Terumi, Wakako, and Yukari (Focus Group 3). Unique pseudonyms were also used to identify each questionnaire respondent.

⁵ Pseudonyms were used to identify respective students. Focus groups for the Hyōgo cohort were organised as follows: Atsushi, Eiji, Azusa, Chiho, Hirokyu (Focus Group 1); Hiroki, Junichiro, Kazuhiko (Focus Group 2); Kotaro, Masahiro, Naoya, Emiri, Haruhi (Focus Group 3).

attain large sample sizes and response rates. With focus groups, and in particular the Hyōgo cohort, further bias was introduced given that students disinterested in the topic were unlikely to have volunteered for interview sessions.

Given to some extent the sensitive nature of the research topic, the Hyōgo Prefectural Board of Education set conditions on access to students, first asking to vet the focus group question schedule in advance. Before submitting the schedule, questions related specifically to the study of Contemporary Social Studies (*gendai shakai*) were excised, as this course is not administered within the institution's curriculum. Most remaining questions of the original schedule were allowed after further explanation to the Board; however, the overall number of questions was paired down after the Board expressed concerns over running time. This involved removing topically overlapping questions designed to view particular topics from differing perspectives. Focus group interviews for both institutions were conducted in small meeting rooms near the main entrance of each school around a set of narrow tables arranged so students could face each other and me. Focus group sessions in all cases lasted approximately one hour and were digitally recorded. The Hyōgo school requested to have an instructor present during focus group sessions. This caused some hesitation in student responses in the first few minutes of each focus group session; yet, as the monitoring instructor did not actively participate in sessions, students appeared to ignore the instructor's presence over time and this hesitancy dissipated. However, given sampling frames and modifications to the research design, the research outcomes may be distinct with regard to each individual case.

Finally, concurrent to student interviews, individual semi-structured interviews were also conducted with teachers at both schools. The goal of these interviews again was to gain insight into teacher knowledge and dispositions, that when combined with the external structures of the school and community, contributed to student construction of meaning around human rights concepts and teaching practices in the classroom. For the Tokyo case study, six full-time teachers of the school's social studies department were interviewed: Ishikawa⁶ (female, World History), Suzuki (female, junior high school Economics), Sakaguchi (male, Geography at both senior and junior high levels), Motegi (male, Japanese History and junior high school Civics), Yamada (male, World History and Geography), and Kitamura (male, Contemporary Social Studies). All teachers had majored in their respective subjects of instruction in higher education, and all except for one held a graduate degree in their respective field. Only two teachers were interviewed at the Hyōgo school, the human rights educator and another teacher active in the school's human rights education programme. This second teacher, who taught *kokugo* (Japanese) at the school, was also involved in developing curricular materials for the prefecture. Requests to interview other members of the social studies staff were declined, as it was felt that as the school did not teach Contemporary Social Studies, other taught social studies subjects did not overlap with human rights learning. All individual teacher interviews lasted about an hour and were digitally recorded. Interviews with both students and teachers were transcribed and translated in English, followed by a selective coding developed from Stones and Cohen's notion of position practices, before further open coding within selective coding and axial coding to determine and test relationships between codes (Robson 2002: 494). Coding was assisted with use of *Nvivo*. From here I will discuss the results of research, first focusing on institutional contexts before moving on to student understandings of human rights and their significance.

⁶ All names are pseudonyms.

Like the previous findings chapter, I will present an overview of the findings for this research before presenting a full discussion in the conclusions. All translations from Japanese to English are my own unless otherwise noted.

Knowledge Hierarchies, Pedagogic Frames

Human rights learning within the Tokyo school is integrated within a learning context oriented toward university entrance. Preparation for university entrance exams was a significant concern for high school students in both case studies, but none more than the students of the Tokyo cohort, who were in their final academic year. Exam pressure was an external fixture of students' surroundings as parents and teachers constantly reminded them of the importance of revising for entrance exams. Thus while social studies (*shakaika*) was agreed upon by teachers and students alike as providing important applied knowledge for future adult lives, students themselves admitted to being pragmatic: social studies learning could not be prioritised as no student intended to sit the subject for their university exams. Hiroko's statement best encapsulated this:

I think it's too idealistic of [teachers and parents] to say study [a subject] hard if you don't use it for entrance examinations. After all, if we study a subject we are not going to use for entrance examinations very hard, in the end, we cannot do what we should do.

By default, this limited the importance attached both individually and institutionally to human rights learning within the Tokyo cohort. Moreover, especially when combined with rote learning of probable exam contents, the context also limited learning opportunities to view human rights as an applied concept to other curricular and non-curricular subjects, and helped exclude the possibility of integrating student dispositions and viewpoints into classroom learning.

Tokyo school teachers did aim to transmit social studies content as something more than just repurposing knowledge for entrance examinations. There was consensus among the teachers that the purpose of social studies is to impart general knowledge of society, and promote interest in society and the world. Teachers also aimed to instil a sense of mutual interdependency or coexistence, defined by the term *kyōsei*, among students, and a respect for Japanese culture and traditions, all of which are also key elements of the School Curriculum itself. It was hoped that this would inculcate specific student internal dispositions:

What principals and teachers often say is that becoming a helpful person in society is essential. We appreciate our lives when we feel needed or help each other. We have a word *kyōsei*, which means 'coexistence.' I want to raise students who have a sense of conscience. To be that kind of person, students need to study at school to gain necessary knowledge. That is my general idea about the aim of teaching social studies and civics. (Kitamura)

In developing their courses, to make lessons more practical and engaging, instructors sought content outside of the School Curriculum. Supplementation of content was also a means to address perceived inadequacies in the School Curriculum as represented by textbooks, although some of this had more to do with the limitations of

textbooks as pedagogic devices rather than any specific content. In Sakaguchi's case, the use of multimedia provided his students 'the opportunity for students to realize that the issues written in a textbook are closer to their lives and concerns; it is better than just giving a lecture or following a textbook.' Motegi likewise stated, 'Students should realize that what they study through textbooks is connected to real society.' In Motegi's case, geography textbooks typically presented case studies on only a few countries, and so he supplemented textbook information with additional material. All teachers derived their supplemental materials from news media or library materials. Selection of knowledge, while at the discretion of each instructor, thus was premised on connecting textbook knowledge to the 'real world' as well as serving the purpose of preparing students for university entrance exams, as entrance exams also habitually tested knowledge of recent events, or knowledge subsequent to the publication of textbook content, as Motegi noted, 'the textbook cannot cover [certain issues] as they are too timely events to predict.' For Kitamura, while he tended to use textbooks as the 'base' of his classes, and noting that students must learn concepts not necessarily tested on examinations, curricular contents would typically be omitted or selected depending on their likelihood of being tested on university exams. While admitting that the aims of social studies instruction were often antithetical to test success, Kitamura admitted that 'we must offer them lessons that address entrance exams for colleges.'

The school's religious affiliation and history was also put forth by teachers as assisting the development of student dispositions beyond curricular aims. Christian values emphasised peaceful coexistence, and offered teachers another mode to discuss multiculturalism and human rights. As Motegi explained, 'Religion can more gently clarify why such fundamental rules exist, not in ethical terms but human terms.' Of the school's history, Yamada stated:

This school, which was rebuilt after the war ... to oppose war and promote peace is one of its missions; it is a very important philosophical construct of the school, I think. And we are social studies teachers ... we need to pass down to students that these things are important when studying history.

However, students made little reference to this history or religion in discussing their school environment, and the school's religious foundations were perceived by students as having little recognisable effect on teaching, personal values and school life. Students did label the school environment as 'strict' (*kibishii*) and 'traditional' (*dentō-teki, mukashi-no-kanji*), with students rationalising school rigidity as for their own welfare and safety. Some students described the school's religious features as 'inconspicuously familiar,' while others did suggest that the school's religious leanings might yet have had an indirect influence on their mindset. Yet no student could provide specific examples. The religious context, as well as being a single-sex institution, did contribute to a sense of solidarity and insularity among students that was said to provide psychological and physical safety, especially in contrast to their impression of public institutions, where students were perceived to be more delinquent. Although bullying, an issue often linked human rights education, was viewed as common at other schools, students reported little in the way of bullying at the senior high school level. Ostracism of classmates for their behavior was noted to have occurred from time to time as a way to normalise classmates' behavior, but was not equated in their minds with bullying, which was seen as more akin to acts of physical violence and destruction of personal property.

Despite personal and institutional aims to teach social studies and human rights as applied knowledge, intuitional aims and corresponding pedagogic structures limited the ability of classrooms to transmit knowledge in such manner. Most instructors noted that their classes were primarily structured around lectures utilising both classroom blackboards and handouts. At the same time, many also noted that such a classroom was prone to student disengagement, and would not foster independent thinking. Motegi for one stated, 'I know that teacher is just talking and giving lectures is not fun, and it does hinder students to think by themselves'; thus teachers supplemented their teaching practices by allowing for whole class and small group discussions on topics, debates, as well as simulations, such as mock jury trials. In more limited cases, multimedia was also utilised to generate student interest, as Sakaguchi stated, 'For students, it's tough for them and they may be bored with taking notes. So, to make a class more interesting, I ask students questions, and give students tasks. And we sometimes watch movies.' To address environmental issues, Sakaguchi's class had been viewing the film 'An Inconvenient Truth.'

Ultimately however, evaluation and pacing of classrooms was driven through the teachers' professed need for students to prepare for university entrance exams. In addition to prioritising exam knowledge, with classroom testing oriented toward the reproduction of acquired knowledge rather than assessing critical or independent thinking skills, student workloads and grading were lessened with regard to social studies' place within the curricular hierarchy. The strong pacing associated with exam preparation was an active facet of course planning. Course and textbook subjects were often dropped or rendered optional for students if they were seen as not meeting exam requirements, or fitting time limitations. For all teachers, preparation of materials and selection of contents was seen as an ongoing process, typically as classrooms tended to fall behind the pace of their scheduled contents. This was most commonly the case where teachers perceived their students as not comprehending or recalling course contents. Motegi stated of his own classroom evaluation, 'Well, high school students also have to study for entrance exams in addition to studying a lot in school; quizzes are kind of just checking their knowledge and understanding.' Sakaguchi added, 'I don't give students extra quizzes. As students have math and English quizzes almost every week, they may feel stressed out studying for more quizzes.' Ishikawa as well noted that fewer homework assignments allowed 'students [to] become more proactive in their study for entrance exams.' Students for their part described interaction within the social studies classroom as unilateral and teacher-led, with evaluation closed and perfunctory. Fumika stated of her course, 'The teacher makes handouts with blanks based on the content of the textbook. We fill in the blanks ourselves, and then, the teacher checks our answers in class.' Natsumi added, 'I feel that in class, all the teacher says is something already written in the textbook.' Some students did note the use of essay exams in class, potentially allowing greater open evaluation, but often students like Natsumi felt 'forced to write only what the teacher has explained in class,' even if her interpretation of class material differed. Moreover, open evaluation signified that the transmitted knowledge held lower value, and thus could be given less priority. Sachie observed that students were unlikely to receive 'failing grades' (*akaten*) on essay exams. Rie additionally stated that essay exams do not require much preparation, affording time to memorise material for more important subjects.

Exam pressure weighed heavily on student motivation to learn. While admission into a high-level university was a priority, there were misgivings toward this purpose. Students often felt that their teachers and parents could not adequately

explain the necessity of exam preparation: Hiroko for instance doubted whether university entry should be the 'sole purpose of learning.' Fumika was concerned that students 'may not necessarily get a good job even if we enter university.' Faced with 'severe' exam pressure but the supposed ease by which students can attain a degree after entrance, others wondered of the exact value of the education they were receiving. Aiko declared that 'students are tempted to be lazy in such a system.' Opportunities for self-actualisation and realisation within the immediate institutional context appeared limited, and the Tokyo cohort was weak in intrinsic motivation to study. Knowledge furthermore appeared transient if not disposable, despite students declared regard for subject matter. Sachie stated of in-class examinations in her social studies class, 'after exams we smoothly forget and it feels like, 'yeah, we learned that'.' Human rights knowledge within this context thus is learned for verbatim reproduction: students know of human rights but such knowledge does not necessarily convey any social know-how and may have little transformative effect on student identities and dispositions. Yet compared to their Hyōgo counterparts, the students of the Tokyo school were more apt to provide a concrete definition of human rights consistent with instructional definitions.

Exam knowledge was also prioritised within the Hyōgo context. It is probable that many students of the school viewed human rights education, a differentiated curriculum running parallel to the School Curriculum, as superfluous to aim of higher education entry. However, while strong, institutional pedagogic frames were generally prevalent, especially given the school's elite academic status, the overall institutional context was viewed as affording greater student control and responsibility with regard to learning, which was consistent with the arrangement of student-directed human rights homeroom sessions. Students referred to their school as student-centered (*seito-shutai*) and one of personal freedom (*jiyū*), as well as allowing individual students some discretion over contents and pacing. School rules do exist, and though some students regarded them as strict, students also stated that they were entrusted to exercise good judgment with regard to their behavior and studies. Masahiro for one stated, 'Compared with other schools, my school puts more trust in students to do things by themselves. Also, our parents trust us that we can do such things.' This aspect of the school was said to have been a long part of the school's tradition, but also overlapped with the student self-perceptions as elite students:

Well, other schools seem to regulate students through school rules. Comparing this aspect, my school has allowed students to flexibly distinguish right from wrong by ourselves, and respect our judgments, for a long time as a tradition. ... Well, we have to recognize we are students at a top-level high school, so we have an unspoken understanding that we do not behave badly in town in order not to damage the school's reputation and bring shame on ourselves (Kazuhiko).

Like others, Kazuhiko had been encouraged to enter the school by his parents, as it was 'the best place to study independently and learn a lot more, as you like.' The Hyōgo school appeared to exert less overt pressure to study with the expectation that students should already be self-motivated and responsible for their own behaviour and academic achievement.

A few students did acknowledge the challenge of such an atmosphere, and students found it sometimes difficult to find motivation to study without direct encouragement. Moreover, although students were asked to be self-motivated and disciplined, this did not translate into an open curriculum where students could

exercise complete control over subject contents or pacing. As an academic high school, core subjects necessary for entrance exams were still given priority. Kazuhiko acknowledged that, ‘... this kind of tendency provides a boring curriculum in contrast with a flexible curriculum where we can be independent.’ All students however described themselves as highly motivated to study, though individual aspects of motivation were distinct and varied. Hiroyuki discussed his motivation in terms of fulfillment through his academic progress, while Eiji stated that study gave him a sense of clarity. Emiri indicated that she studied out of ‘intellectual curiosity’ (*chiteki-kōkishin*). Successful study also held additional extrinsic rewards. Hiroyuki acknowledged that he couldn’t ‘participate in [other school] activities if [his] academic performance is not good.’ Chiho likewise stated that she thinks of school activities, such as the annual school field trip (*shūgaku-ryokō*), as her motivation to study. Finally, the general school atmosphere itself provided various forms of reinforcement to student motivation. Kotaro noted he was motivated out of a sense of competition. Azusa stated that her friends were very encouraging of her in her studies, and this encouraged her to ‘study harder a bit more.’ Student motivation with the Hyōgo sample was thus more varied, with greater intrinsic motivation.

As a parallel curriculum, human rights learning was freed of exam preparation-like evaluative constraints and pedagogy, allowing a greater interface between learning, external social contexts and internal student dispositions. Human rights education could also be seen as touching more closely upon individual student identity. No grades or course credits were afforded to sessions, and monitoring teachers simply ensured that discussions did not go off topic, or noted overlooked prejudiced comments to student participants. Teachers typically also provided feedback and critique at the end of sessions. Members of the student Human Rights Committee are responsible for setting the annual agenda and topics for sessions, and training student facilitators (*shikai*), specially designated students within each homeroom of each grade year, to lead each class’s homeroom. This appealed to students, who compared sessions to their primary and lower secondary classrooms, where lessons on human rights felt somewhat patronising. Eiji, Atsushi and Junichiro all related stories of teachers simply informing them that discrimination must be stopped, or that discrimination against the Buraku is something wrong. Particularly as the current human rights homeroom did not interface a fixed knowledge set, and was not embedded within strong frames, sessions provided space for students to narrate their own identities within their learning, incorporating knowledge and experiences from outside the institutional context. This facet provided additional motivation for the students of the focus group sessions. As a result of this context however, human rights perceptions diverged quite significantly from the School Curriculum, as well as their status as Western cultural artifacts or as facets of the domestic legal system—in discussing human rights, no student in the Hyōgo cohort made reference to the Constitution, or any other Western or international human rights document or instrument. This contrasted with the Tokyo cohort, where human rights were viewed more in line with curricular definitions.

Human Rights, Society and Self

To the Tokyo cohort, human rights signified identities and issues external to Japan and the daily lives of students. This association was in part the result of the interface

of student positional identities with instruction that both implicitly and explicitly narrated human rights issues as external to Japan, and which did not incorporate individual student identities within learning. As curricular human rights discourse pertains mostly to issues of discrimination, students did acknowledge discrimination as existing in Japan to a 'certain degree,' while others recalled having 'heard of discrimination.' However, many also claimed that discrimination had lessened over time or no longer existed, and a minority doubted whether discrimination continues to exist in Japan despite instruction that it does. Some perceptions were directly due to the relative affluence of student lives, and perceived living standards within Tokyo and Japan. Discrimination was something that occurred in less affluent countries, and students found it difficult to comprehend or empathise with societal members who continue to make rights claims based on discrimination. Sachie for instance remarked that, '... people are becoming all equal in Tokyo, so honestly we cannot understand the feelings those whose human rights are abused,' later adding, 'yet there is discrimination and prejudice in other countries.' The other contributing dispositional factor was that discrimination was not seen as a direct concern to student lives; however, such comments did suggest student concern that the reality of discrimination in society might be much harsher than what was portrayed at school, and student perceptions that there was not much discrimination in Japan related to their lives at present rather than perceived future adult lives. Kumiko wrote, 'I actually don't know what discrimination or prejudice is because I am still a high school student.' However, as an adult member of society Kumiko felt it would be '... difficult to spend a life without being discriminated or being looked at with prejudiced eyes.' Only then, she argued, would she be able to understand discrimination. This disposition also connected to the sheltered environment of the school, of which Aiko observed that students had yet to experience the 'hardships of life.'

Classroom instruction did not appear to challenge these dispositions, and likely reinforced them, particularly as human rights learning was embedded within an instructional context designed to inculcate Japanese identity and cultural pride. Human rights were primarily defined by students as basic needs indispensable for individuals to survive and lead a dignified life and were often expressed by students as a summation of related issues. Miki for one defined human rights as: '... being educated, eating enough to survive, express our thoughts, from the most basic amenities, and such things which make your life better' Within student descriptions of lessons, there was a notable focus on basic needs and developing country contexts consistent with student perceptions. The association between human rights and developing country contexts heightened student appreciation of their own affluence and security:

I listened to the representative from [the NGO] and it made me think about human rights seriously. The speech was about child prostitution. Children were forced to be prostitutes, and are younger than I am. They need to make money by prostitution and are sexually abused. It reminded me how happy I am. (Momoko)

Once I heard about the story of people in backward countries are employed with low wages at cacao farms and forced physical labor. ... From children to adults, they need to work through morning to night only because they are Black. Watching the documentary broke my heart. The most shocking thing was the children who work at the cacao farm had never eaten chocolate. (Rumi)

Issues that might be of immediate concern to the community or individual student lives, particularly as young women, did not appear as a topical priority within the classroom. Asked to identify specific discriminated groups and individuals, common answers referenced racial discrimination tied to the 1960s United States civil rights movement, as many students had at school memorised portions of Martin Luther King's 'I have a Dream' speech within English language classrooms. Some students did acknowledge that domestic instances of discrimination might exist against foreigners, ethnic Koreans (*chōsen-jin*), differentially-abled persons, the Ainu, the Buraku (*eta hinin*), but such examples were far less in number. Linked to basic needs and extreme material deprivation, human rights learning not only accentuated student appreciation of their own affluence, but human rights concepts themselves were deemed of little pertinence to Japan as an advanced economic country.

As stated by teachers, the aims of social studies were to communicate vital knowledge of society as well as inculcate a respect for society and Japanese traditions and culture. Fulfillment of human rights as a facet of post-War economic success and affluence in Japan, especially in contrast with pre-War conditions, was exemplified as one basis of socio-cultural pride. Aiko noted that the general lack of discrimination within her surroundings had been learned as 'a cultural accomplishment.' Students described memorising articles of the Constitution, with one student describing her education on human rights, 'The teacher didn't explain it with examples, but the teacher said, 'In general, human rights were not guaranteed before the War, but the new Constitution has guaranteed them.' Emphasis on human rights as a socio-cultural achievement further lessened their relevance to Japan as ongoing social processes. Another basis for cultural pride linked to human rights was Japan's foreign relations with developing countries through Official Development Assistance (ODA). Miki for instance wrote:

When we think about human-rights issues, we tend to think of developing countries' issues, like gaps between rich and poor ... or the issue of child prostitution and the problem of education. ... I think that advanced countries need to be responsible for helping developing countries to solve these problems. Japan has done a great job with helping these countries and I am proud of it.

Much discussion on ODA again highlighted the need for students to be mindful of their own affluence. Satomi added that it was the responsibility of advanced countries such as Japan to aid developing countries, observing 'I think we Japanese need to know that we are too privileged and we can help poor people.'

Social studies, in the teacher's own words, also aims to develop a sense of respect for society through an understanding of mutual interdependency, or *kyōsei*. *Kyōsei* however does not represent the interdependency of individuals within society, but as related in interviews instead signified Japanese collective identity and was defined in relation to the global. While teacher definitions of *kyōsei* may be a reflection of personal and professional dispositions that automatically assumed that classrooms are homogeneous, and that individual student identities cannot or should not deviate from an expected norm, *kyōsei* was mostly considered within the need to define Japanese identity in the face of perceived threats from globalisation. Yamada for instance stated that 'to teach world history and geography ... is to learn widely the history of people up to today and the situations of those who are living in a different world from us.' However, he continued:

When you get to know these things, you can feel sympathy for these people you do not know in an area, and when you feel sympathy, you could become more tolerant of people different *from us* ... And this is connected to peace and international collaboration.’ (emphasis added)

Kyōsei subsequently overlapped with respect and pride in Japanese culture and traditions. Suzuki stated, ‘... we need to get confident about Japan, to be Japanese rather than focusing on the Western world; if each of us does not think well about what we will do with our own country, Japan could go in the wrong direction, again, so to be able to think well about Japan is national pride.’ Embedded within this instructional aim, this often meant that to speak of possessing human rights was to invoke a collective cultural identity, establishing a binary of ‘us,’ within which human rights are expressed as fulfilled, and an external ‘them,’ where human rights are in contrast denied. Compared to the Hyōgo cohort, the universalism of human rights was also more likely to be rejected on cultural terms as well. Sachiko noted that she thought ‘each country has a different definition of human rights,’ while Mieko claimed that there was no need for a universal definition of human rights, declaring that it was not right to ‘bind all people by the word human rights.’ While human rights as embedded within *kyōsei* imparts the need of people to be able to live together harmoniously, it typically invoked Japanese collective identity, which in turn sparked a defensiveness within some student responses.

With the Hyōgo cohort, teachers and students defined human rights as a set of concepts governing social relations. These concepts included the right to an identity, the recognition of the mutual interdependency of individuals within society, and active citizenship represented by communication skill development. While several students alluded to aspects of normative and curricular human rights definitions, including their inviolability, possible natural rights origins, and representation of basic human needs, definitions extended beyond material provision. Recognising the right to one’s own and well as others’ identity was a critical element, particularly as narrating one’s identity with others was seen as preventing students from disassociating the presence of others not like themselves:

[Students] can get along with friends and have fun with them; however, they hide important facets of their identity, the fact that they are a minority for instance, as if they don’t have such a specific identity. I think this is because they are afraid to be discriminated against by their friends, and so they don’t talk about it. ... So, my hope in human rights class is that through discussion and talking with each other, they can open their mind and share their identity with their friends (Hyōgo schoolteacher).

Haruhi stated, ‘Human rights include an attitude to realize other’s feelings, to respect others, or to identify themselves as an individual.’ Although the term *kyōsei* was not utilised during discussions, mutual interdependency was described by the Hyōgo sample as representing a society composed of individuals with distinct identities. Society was still the pretext for safeguarding human rights, but respect for individual identities was maintained as an important feature of society. An oft-repeated phrase in focus group sessions was that ‘if there was only one person in the world, there would be no human rights’ (*sekaini hitoridakeshika-inakattara, sokoni jinkenmo nai*). Eiji explained this by remarking that the concept of equality necessitates not only esteem for an individual’s worth, but also that such esteem is generated within a social context, stating, ‘We take it for granted that equality is a fundamental human right but that can only be said if there is an individual as well as others.’

Human rights homeroom sessions focused exclusively on local community issues. Topics for every first year cohort began with discussions on Buraku issues, resident foreigners, particularly resident Koreans, and finally the issue of bullying at school (*ijime-mondai*). For the sample, further discussions on Buraku issues as well as discrimination in marriage (*kekkon-sabetsu*) had been conducted in the second year; in the third year, students would discuss discrimination in employment and employee recruitment. Typically around the middle of the school year in July, a guest speaker was also invited to talk to each grade year. That year the speaker addressed issues specific to marriage and the Buraku. Familiarising students on community issues was asserted as a key function of homeroom sessions:

Well, no one thinks about the human rights problems on the way home. Thus, as you are living your normal life, you don't have any chance to think about it. Therefore, I am glad to have the homeroom to make us think about it on purpose. (Masahiro)

In contrast to the Tokyo cohort, human rights were described as an ongoing process within the immediate community, requiring active civic participation and vigilance on the part of individuals. While it was assumed that a society free of human rights issues was desirable, human rights were thought of as a process rather than a goal:

[Human rights] must be taken into account throughout your lifetime. Discriminatory words might be difficult to eliminate no matter how hard we work on it, in my opinion. But I think we can make it close to zero. Learning how to make it close to zero is human rights. (Atsushi)

To this end, the development of communication skills was seen as critical to establish the capacity for active citizenship later in students' adult lives. Communication skills were something not typically fostered in other subject classrooms:

So general classes, such as Contemporary Social Studies, Japanese, and English, are much easier classes because they have textbooks. And students must attend and listen lectures, and memorise [course contents] regardless of their interest level because they have quizzes and exams. On the contrary, human rights are not what students should memorise, but must think of; think of by themselves and share ideas through peer discussion. This is what generally Japanese are bad at. Japanese don't like arguing, saying what they think, and discussion. (Human Rights Educator)

Students of the focal groups recognised such aims. Kazuhiko stated, 'The homeroom is a great opportunity to develop self-awareness and train students in the skill to convey one's thought to one other.' Masahiro added that addressing others' prejudices through dialogue was difficult: 'if you say to someone that you do not have to discriminate against such an individual, that statement itself hurts the person who is discriminating ... so we have to be careful with wording in the discussion.' He added, 'This is not a discussion where we can use any kind of expression.'

Homeroom sessions were often divisive and disorderly. Student leaders expressed that it was often difficult to bring classmates on-topic once the discussion had gone astray, and deliberately antagonistic statements at times marred discussions. Yet interviewees frequently admitted that the disarray of sessions was actually a means to an objective, as this promoted the development of communication skills

within divisive contexts and helped elicit normally hidden opinions and thoughts, making them open to reflection and discussion:

I believe that there is a reason why the school has continued this homeroom traditionally. I heard from the teacher who started this homeroom and who is now teaching at this school that the purpose of this homeroom is not to understand the subject but to think about yourself and to look at yourself. (Kazuhiko)

Addressing prejudices was difficult but necessary. Haruhi explained that, 'The homeroom is a place where every student can relate various ideas. Also, we can share different views. So the homeroom is a good opportunity to make us grow up.' In sum, the students described human rights as an active set of principles and skills guiding individuals within society and governing their interactions with each other rather than expressing human rights as an explicit concept. This was largely a product of the format and knowledge represented by homeroom sessions.

Empathy, Vulnerability and the Other

Instructional context and student dispositions had an effect on how students in each cohort viewed their own identity on its own or in contrast with non-like others. For the Hyōgo cohort, emphasis on self-narration through communication skill building established a greater sense of shared identity and empathy, particularly through recognising their own as well as others' vulnerability within society. Rather than admonish students for discriminatory or prejudicial behaviors and attitudes, sessions allowed students to come upon the conclusion that such capacity existed within all individuals, and were not exclusive to particular identities. Haruhi stated that, 'Everyone has had thoughts to bully or looking down on someone at least once.' Self-expression and communication skills were identified as a key factor in coming to this realisation:

The feeling of the recipient can be changed by an expression. So, when you say that you hate something, if you carefully explain the reason why you thought so, the recipient may accept your opinion and you may not hurt them.... no student need hesitate to oppose another's opinion. Then, for myself, what I was thinking was changed by another's opinion; but it did not mean mine was wrong. (Naoya)

Teachers and students viewed session dialogues as preventing students from disengaging from human rights learning on the basis of their own identity and disposition, that human rights issues did not pertain to them. While the Hyōgo cohort also recognised and respected their own material status, they regarded their affluence and security as not necessarily permanent. Atsushi conceded that given the wealth of Japanese society many would never personally face a serious human rights issue in their lifetime. Yet he referred to the aftermath of the Great Eastern earthquake in 2011, which in his view had given rise to 'new problems with discrimination,' concluding that it was odd to suggest that human rights issues do not exist in Japan, or cannot arise in the future. Failure to acknowledge individual vulnerability was ascribed to not only a lack of awareness or experience, but also willful ignorance. Being fortunate and lacking direct experience, Hiroki noted that he felt many in

society are ‘happy in their ignorance and really don’t care or know [about human rights issues].’

Active citizenship to safeguard rights, or at least its suggestion, became an integral part of student identities and vocabulary. First, the resolution of communal issues was a matter of individual responsibility that could not be abdicated to the State:

Some people think they can say that the Buraku problem or the problem of Korean residents is not connected to human rights for each individual but rather should be dealt with as a social problem. So they might think it must be solved within the framework of society, and not as an individual matter. ... Thus, I thought there are some people who do not think there are human rights problem in Japan. (Kazuhiko)

Another student wrote that adults in present society had yet to solve discrimination, proposing that ‘we future adults should come up with ideas and solve them for a better future.’ Active citizenship as a facet of student identities was seen as both part of a historical continuum as well as a disjuncture from previous generations. The fulfillment of human rights was not viewed as simply the result of post-War prosperity. Kazuhiko for instance argued that human rights in Japan dated to the ‘cultural enlightenment of the Meiji era.’ Given that the history of human rights in Japan is a short experience, Kazuhiko stated, in order to settle human rights issues within the next generation, ‘Education must be improved for all of us to get to know about [human rights] better.’ Hiroki on the other hand related the experience of his own family:

My grandmother was born in 1945. I heard she would be opposed to something because it came from the Buraku. In that period, this perspective was natural. ‘Don’t marry Buraku’ was often said and that was kind of tradition. As one Buraku person said, it was surely difficult to change it. Over 60 years, my 70-year-old grandma cannot change her perspective because she believed her thoughts for a long time. So changing our elders’ minds is not effective. Rather than that, it is more important for us to say ‘no’ from our generation because our generation was educated about it. When we face a problem such as marriage with a Buraku, we should start changing society from that. From these chances, we take action.

Haruhi also stated that discriminatory thinking toward the Buraku extended to the generation of her grandparents, but noted, ‘We have proper knowledge about the Buraku now so we have an ability to deal with it with adequate confidence.’ While no student displayed activism outside of the school context, and it could not be predicted whether students how active students would be toward safeguarding human rights as adults, voices for active citizenship were prevalent in discussions.

With the Tokyo cohort, given the affluence of their lives as well as a learned appreciation of material fulfillment as a product of post-War prosperity, in which a fundamental respect for basic human rights played a vital role, students were likely to view rights claimants with suspicion, and viewed a multicultural Japan based on rights as infeasible. The collective identity constructed in social studies classrooms, combined with student dispositions, established a defensiveness, in which threats to society and established human rights were seen as most likely arising from non-conformity, especially from non-like others. Several students noted that the lack of

discrimination in Japan could be attributed to the country's homogeneity, as Fumiko stated, 'I think there is no discrimination and prejudice in Japan because generally speaking, Japanese people speak the same language and we don't see differences in appearance.' Chieko wrote that she had heard that 'there are much less racial discrimination in Japan because there are few ethnic groups in Japan,' adding, 'I learnt that Ainu people are treated differently though I have no idea what it is like.' Sachie likewise stated:

Japan is an island and is a country with only one ethnicity, though there are some minorities such as the Ainu. So we Japanese unconsciously distinguish people who came from different countries as forever being foreigners, despite the fact some of them have Japanese nationality. What causes this problem is our underlying mind.

Discrimination appeared inevitable in that the physical and cultural differences of non-Japanese would irrevocably separate these 'others' from Japanese ethnic identity and society. As well, discrimination itself was again solely associated between Japanese identity and an imagined external other.

Despite strong curricular associations between human rights and discrimination, rights claims and their resolution in general were regarded as a zero-sum game disruptive of social relations, and claimants were often regarded as self-interested. Protecting society and social order was in the students' view to be given priority. Human rights did enable individuals to act freely within private spheres as long as their actions did not impinge on society. Momoka for instance wrote that human rights meant being able to do what whatever one wants 'if we don't bother others.' However, safeguarding communities and social harmony itself was sufficient to resolve human rights issues, and did not require further claims or activism, which students like Sanae equated to 'a selfishness capable of destroying communities.' Legal or political resolution of human rights issues by default involves the violation of others' rights, which intrudes on social harmony:

Fumika: There is discrimination against women, so only women are held up, and only women are said to be important. ... So, it is said that this can be discrimination against men. Nowadays, in fact, it is said that there is discrimination against men ...

Emiko: So, if the human rights [of discriminated persons] are exaggerated too much, on the contrary, we lose balance ...

I think that here are winners and losers in judicial contests, right? ... I think that the human rights of those who have won a lawsuit can be preserved, but what will become of the human rights of those who have lost the lawsuit, shouldn't we think about that? (Emiko)

Many students argued that human rights claims were too commonly made within society and often represented personal self-interest. Emiko stated that while human rights were not pertinent to her own life:

... [those who make human rights claims] treat human rights too easily, I wonder... Whenever they speak, they utter 'human rights are such,' 'this is a human right.' Without careful consideration, human rights become problems.

Sachie added that ‘People tend to argue for human rights more than needed, and such people argue only for their human rights,’ commenting, ‘Such people are too much and should pursue their duty.’ Rie concluded, ‘Though we say human rights, people are likely to care about their rights.’ With the Tokyo cohort, there was thus a general distrust of and a lack of empathy toward rights claimants, who were often viewed as self-interested and not showing due deference to society. To fulfill the promise of human rights, what is required is the maintenance of the present state of society.

For the Tokyo cohort, resolving human rights issues remained the sole interest of those whose identities and experiences transcended the norm. Respondents who expressed a greater amount of knowledge of, thought or empathy toward issues of discrimination tended to have had explicit first and secondhand experiences with discrimination, often outside the classroom. Natsumi, who openly acknowledged in her questionnaire response that she is wheelchair-bound, and who later volunteered for focus group sessions, described her life spent mostly in a hospital bed, which had at times prevented her from going to school. Natsumi explained that while she felt society to be relatively barrier free for differentially-abled persons, what disconcerted her most was the general absence of others in similar situations to her in everyday society. Feeling isolated and less than ordinary, as well as given her general, past resentment toward her own circumstances, she questioned what being normal actually meant, leading her to conclude that normalcy is a social construct. Of her classmates she wrote:

I do not want to believe that when people get together, they then create a definition of what it means to be normal and try to eliminate others who are different from them, even a little bit. My friends would never do that kind of thing to me and I would never want to do that either. Maybe, discrimination and prejudices are the vestiges of our human instinct to protect ourselves.

Saori wrote in her questionnaire response of being familiar with Buraku (*eta-hinin*) issues, relating stories her father had told her of his childhood where he would bring cows for slaughter to a village well-known as *eta-hinin*. Her grandmother, she wrote, always had harsh words for the people of the village:

I was surprised by the story. People who work at those farms look pretty normal [now], but they are descendants of *eta-hinin*. ... I thought the case of *eta-hinin* is a case of discrimination where human rights have been ignored. What difference does it make if your ancestors are *eta-hinin*? I think those people did not even do anything wrong. What is called *eta-hinin* is just a story of the past. What we can do is to accept others no matter their past.

Asami wrote of her mother’s family’s difficulty in dealing with her uncle, who has Down syndrome. Her family opened up a bakery with an emphasis on hiring people with disabilities, noting that community support can be a means to address some forms of discrimination. Some student responses thus tended to be more forthright in discussing domestic instances of discrimination, responses that deviated from the majority of their peers, but the personal experiences and dispositions driving these sentiments set them out from the norm and largely originated outside the learning context.

Conclusions

In the Tokyo context, pedagogic frames focusing on evaluation for entrance examinations in all likelihood prevented human rights from being learned other than as factual information. Students had acquired and could express an understanding of human rights concepts largely consistent with how they are conceptualised in instruction and in the School Curriculum. Although teachers of the Tokyo context expressed a desire to convey social studies and human rights knowledge in a practical way as to affect student dispositions and connect curricular contents to events and communities outside the school, in the end the teachers felt limited by the overriding institutional and instructional aim of preparing students to enter high education. Even if educational messages had been different, it is unlikely that students would have attended to them given students' pragmatic focus on exam preparation. Moreover, given this pragmatism within their positional identity, as well as a sense of affluence attributed to their individual lives, human rights appeared to be of little immediate relevance. This was strengthened by instruction that focused on human rights issues external to Japan.

Instruction in the Tokyo context was also concerned with inculcating communal Japanese identity, an aspect of which is pride and respect toward human rights as a significant sociocultural achievement of the post-War era. This, along with instruction that externalised human rights issues, held several consequences. While students sympathised with the plight of others outside of Japan, especially within developing country contexts, there was an inherent lack of empathy and understanding toward human rights claims originating within society, which were viewed as potential disruptive threats to society. In some cases, students expressed fatalism toward preventing discrimination and the inevitability of being discriminated against in some form. However, to utilise the symbolic power of rights to address discrimination would likely represent an affront to Japan's post-War socioeconomic achievements, in other words, to defend society and the status quo is in itself sufficient to defend human rights. Students described human rights claims as zero-sum games that disrupt societal harmony and social relations. Non-conforming and non-Japanese identities are excised within curricular definitions of mutual interdependency as *kyōsei*, and particularly because students are not assigned individual identities within their learning, the duty to safeguard society represents a duty that non-Japanese are unlikely to comprehend. Thus a multicultural Japan was often deemed infeasible. The only variation in these views came from students whose experiences and identities were against the norm, and thus these students felt either a need for or relevancy to human rights concepts in their own lives.

With the Hyōgo cohort, there was greater emphasis on incorporating individual identities within the learning frame and addressing topics of communal concern. Student displayed little awareness or knowledge of human rights concepts within their international or domestic frames, and human rights were rarely discussed as universal concepts touching upon human identity; learning instead focused on communication skills and awareness designed to aid individuals' ability to mutually coexist within society. Like the Tokyo institution, emphasis was placed on exam preparation, yet outside the curricular and pedagogic limits of the institution, human rights homeroom provided pedagogic space for students to narrate individual identities hidden or excised in other instructional and social contexts. Confidence was accrued as students were chiefly in charge of their own human rights learning, a facet consistent with a school ethos that generally allowed students to take more responsibility for their own learning. Human rights learning in the Hyōgo context did not necessarily disrupt the

idea that society and social harmony should be fundamental in individual lives, but redefined it as inclusive and safeguarding of individual identities. With this, students recognised their own vulnerability within society and thus were better able to empathise with the plight of vulnerable others within their own within society. While it is difficult to predict as to how or whether such learning would transform into active citizenship, it is unlikely that learning would lead to civil disobedience or negative activism as students still possessed an extreme deference for society. What instead was fostered were empathy and future opportunities for dialogue within divisive contexts, as well as a greater sense of mutual interdependency because students themselves felt included regardless individual differences they may possess.

Contextualised Human Rights Learning in Japan

This research has examined the practice of human rights education in Japan, from curriculum to eventual learning outcomes, a research design premised on the necessity of a systemic, holistic portrayal of education to comprehend the context, meaning, and ultimate value and purpose of human rights education within official curricula. The primary research concern has been to identify the recontextualising discourse of human rights within official curricula and link this discourse to specific instances of teaching and learning, particularly focusing on the manner in which education inculcates identity and mitigates issues of social justice and multiculturalism. Of particular concern have been the tensions likely to arise between the particularism of civic education and the universalism of human rights, how these tensions construct, engage or disengage differing identities, and how human rights education interfaces the signature facet of citizenship education to regulate civic participation and social order. The aim of this research therefore was not simply to suggest the overall success or failure of human rights education in Japan, but to assess the likely contextual and ultimate value of teaching human rights in public schools, and the issues that arise in instruction on human rights concepts through official curricula. The results of this research do have to be approached with a certain amount of caution in that instruction and learning outcomes are bound by temporality and context, both social and individual, and similarly limited in scale. The application of methods and sampling frames also likely introduced bias, primarily in that respondents were likely to be predisposed toward human rights. As such, this research represents a partial view of the practice of human rights education in Japan as well as the role that curriculum and instruction take in reproducing identity and views on rights.

As established in the discursive analysis of human rights, the definition of human rights provided by the School Curriculum is consistent with its definition within the international human rights regime and is detailed both in abstract terms and linked to a contextualised form through reference to specific articles and provisions of the 1947 Constitution. However, these concepts as embedded are first bound within an interpretation of multiculturalism that mirrors national policy aims to maintain separate but harmonious divisions between Japanese ethnic identity and non-Japanese and marginalised identities, rather than the construction of a multiethnic or diverse constituency under an umbrella of Japanese nationality. Second, human rights concepts interface curricular aims to inculcate pride and respect for society and Japanese ethnic identity, particularly as the fulfillment of human rights norms is established as a post-War cultural achievement integral to this identity. From this standpoint, there is little tension between universal and particular in human rights concepts as they engage and enable Japanese identity. However, the recontextualising discourse of human rights, both in official content and pedagogy, is fundamentally a discourse of social regulation, one that fails to exemplify active citizenship to safeguard rights and excises discomfiting information on issues, conceivably to limit prompts for social activism and maintain State prerogative regarding the resolution of domestic social issues. To the extent that instruction transmits these curricular messages, instruction in the Tokyo context was concerned primarily with defining Japanese identity in relation to the global, invoking an identity that reaffirms what it

means to be Japanese in the face of external challenges and opportunities. Both curriculum and instruction in the Tokyo context addressed Japanese identity as an indivisible and homogeneous whole that does not acknowledge potential for individual difference, and which equates Japanese civic identity with Japanese ethnic identity. As will be discussed further, the end result for most mainstream schooling is likely a curricular and learning context that not only establishes contradictions that undermine the value and meaning of human rights concepts broadly for individuals, but which also establishes them as active tools in the regulation of identity, social behavior and citizenship.

Human rights education in the Hyōgo context in contrast focused on the development of individual character and skills to manage interpersonal relationships. The idea of mutual coexistence was not built upon ethnic identity, but instead was constructed upon recognising and esteeming individual identities, as well as recognising a shared sense of individual vulnerability within society. The realisation of this learning stemmed not only from segregating human rights learning from official curricula, but also placing students in a more prominent role within learning frames. In contrast to the Tokyo context, where curriculum and instruction reduce student agency, learning in the Hyōgo context is participatory, aiming to engage and motivate students to take ownership of their own learning, and emphasises topics of student dispositional and communal concern. As an apparent direct result, students of the Hyōgo institution came to recognise their own vulnerability within society on their own accord and thus were better able to empathise with the plight of vulnerable others within their own within society. Learning however did not directly draw from an established knowledge set, and maintained only a tentative relationship with internationally defined human rights. Furthermore, although learning did not overtly attempt to politicise human rights issues, it also did not directly aim to encourage active citizenship beyond the development of interpersonal and communication skills and engaging individual student self-concept and worth.

It is clear from this research that human rights concepts carry with them a tremendous degree of symbolic or discursive power, but that power is inherently malleable toward various aims, meaning that instead of fostering greater respect for individual rights and inculcating tolerance and multicultural values, human rights concepts can indeed be readily drawn upon to maintain the status quo and instill discipline. In the Tokyo context, particularly as curricular messages of post-War human rights achievements largely conformed with students own perceived affluence, alternate depictions of domestic human rights and related struggles for social justice were largely regarded as either external to Japan or adverse to society and post-War prosperity. While the results of the Hyōgo case study demonstrate that it is possible to inform curricular contents with messages to inculcate greater respect for difference on the basis of individual identity while at the same time inculcating respect for society, from the Tokyo case study it is also clear that in mainstream schooling such messages may not be received as intended given the pedagogic framing of institutional and systemic contexts, especially if pedagogic and systemic arrangements limit the rights and power of students over their own learning. Thus, although the teaching of human rights might be incompatible with the traditional aims of citizenship education with official curricula, it is clear that simply incorporating appropriate contents and pedagogies may be insufficient in itself for human rights education to achieve its desired aims. This research reaffirms that consideration of how human rights learning interfaces institutional and systemic contexts must also be considered in the implementation of human rights education programmes.

Human Rights Education and Multiculturalism

National government policy on multiculturalism since at the least the mid-2000s, under the framework of *tabunka kyōsei* (*kyōsei*, mutual coexistence or liberally, multiculturalism), is said to represent multiculturalism as a society where differing nationalities and ethnicities ‘live together as members of one community, in mutual acceptance of each other’s cultural differences and making efforts toward building an equal relationship’ (Nakamatsu 2014: 141).¹ Critics of this policy have claimed that *kyōsei* seeks only to regulate non-Japanese residents in the interest of promoting harmonious but orderly communities, transforming non-Japanese residents into ‘law-abiding, locally functioning, well-adjusted residents’ rather than empowering them (ibid. 151). Whether due to a lack of political priority or the deferral of policy implementation to local governments, the implications of *kyōsei* as national policy remain ambiguous. Implementation of multicultural policy at the local level has taken on different forms, some of which aspire towards pluralism and are said to afford to ‘foreign residents’ the same rights as ordinary citizens in terms of access to services (Aiden 2011: 217; Kashiwazaki 2013: 39). As policy, *kyōsei* is also said to retain as its underpinnings past national ‘multicultural’ initiatives known collectively as *kokusaika* (internationalisation). *Kokusaika* however originally aimed to advance international cross-cultural goodwill between Japan and other nationalities, and was framed as such to assist the promotion of foreign policy and economic interests given the nation’s greater economic prominence in the 1970s. The policy also aimed to address the country’s image of being insular and exclusionary toward non-Japanese identities domestically (Kashiwazaki 2013: 38). While its implementation through local government institutions has also varied form, *kokusaika* is said to generally represent cultural interaction, exchange and consumption by persons of Japanese ethnicity that would enable an understanding of other cultures, and better interaction and interrelationships with non-Japanese (Flowers 2012: 528).

Human rights instruction as part of official curricula is expected to overlap with national multicultural policy as its stated aims are said to emphasise inclusiveness, individual uniqueness, and the enablement of new individual and communal identities (Takeda 2012: 89). Accordingly, this research sought to pinpoint the interrelationship between citizenship, identity and human rights in the curriculum and in instruction. Human rights discourse within the School Curriculum, as established through quantitative content analysis, is predominated by discussions on domestic discrimination (*sabetsu*) and prejudice (*henken*). However, while the School Curriculum aims for harmonious and orderly social relationships between all members of society through its regulation of citizenship and identity, it does at the same time compartmentalise differing identities as distinct archetypes. This depiction of identity likely accentuates the otherliness of non-Japanese identities, externalises marginalised identities with full claims to citizenship, and inhibits human rights discourse from becoming a language of recourse for multicultural issues. As

¹ Some caution must be expressed in that the School Curriculum utilises a variety of terms potentially expressing multiculturalism or mutual coexistence, including *tabunka*, *tabunka-shugi* and *maruchikaruchurizumu* (multicultural(ism)), *ibunka* (intercultural), *bunka-sōtai-shugi* (cultural relativism), *tabunka-kyōsei* (multicultural coexistence), and *kyōsei-shakai* and *tayōnabunka-ga kyōsei dekiru shakai* (diverse society). This research has not precisely analysed how these terms are precisely defined or utilised within the sampled texts.

established through collocation analysis, strict distinctions between Japanese ethnic identity ('us') and non-Japanese ethnic identities ('them') are first maintained through civic identity defined as *kokumin*, which is closely aligned to Japanese ethnic identity. Furthermore, references to a multicultural Japan are embedded within definitions of Japanese identity and society, but the term *kokumin* itself does not invoke the idea of a multiethnic citizenry. The findings of the discursive analysis also denote that the term *zainichi* is often used to signal the identities of non-Japanese residents, yet its use does not make any distinction between naturalised citizens of non-Japanese ethnic descent and temporary non-Japanese residents, suggesting a temporariness to all non-Japanese persons' lives within Japan. The quantitative analysis finally established that references to Japanese civic identity are also absented in direct discussions of issues connected to marginality and non-Japanese identities, which are embedded within discourse regulating human rights practice. Thus, discussions on the meaning of multiculturalism are segregated from the issues that arise out of the concept of multiculturalism. As a consequence, multiculturalism as defined by the School Curriculum appears to share much in common with *kokusaika* in that it is a concept oriented toward Japanese ethnicity intended to ameliorate behavior and attitudes toward non-Japanese residents. However, issues connected to marginalised identities such as the Buraku or Ainu, whose citizenship status or nationality bears little doubt, may effectively be rendered invisible as they are neither true citizens corresponding to Japanese ethnic identity nor completely 'foreigners' as defined by the texts.

The findings of the discursive analysis also established that the notion of ongoing human rights issues itself is assigned to abstract others external to Japan. This further distantiates and externalises human rights issues as issues primarily connected to non-Japanese identity. Domestic human rights discourse is differentiated from global human rights discourse, which possesses a greater remit to divulge detail on social issues. The likely effect here is a refocusing of learner sympathy, concern and gaze away from domestic issues to those of the global. Ethnic discord, domestic violence, child abuse, discrimination against women in marriage and divorce, and the treatment of refugees and immigrants are all pertinent issues to some degree in Japan, but are none are broached in much detail as ongoing domestic social or human rights issues. In discussing developing country contexts, such detail is presented alongside vivid descriptions of failed states, lawlessness and disease. The global discourse extends deference and legitimacy to Japanese society and especially the State, as the only perceived difference in the status of human rights between global and domestic discourses may be the perceived role of the State and society in safeguarding human rights. Society may be imperfect, but the current political and social order is preferable to the malaise of the world external to Japan. Through this, the learner comes to recognise their own affluence and fortune as well as their dependency on society.

Instruction in the Tokyo context was primarily concerned with inculcating Japanese identity, an aspect of which is pride and respect towards a society that protects human rights. While promoting mutual coexistence, teachers often addressed their students as if there was little possibility that any student would not themselves identify in the manner expected by instruction. Similar to *kokusaika*, *kyōsei* was defined by instructors as facilitating interpersonal relationships between Japanese and non-Japanese; however, learning on Japanese identity in this regard was expressed as the need to prepare students to interact with non-like others in a globalised world rather than a domestic society of diverse identities. Instruction also focused on global human rights issues rather than domestic issues. Likely as a result of instruction and

curricular content, which again distantiates and externalises human rights issues, many students thus claimed that there was little discrimination against marginalised and non-Japanese identities within society at present, although this can also partially be explained by students having had little contact with such persons in their daily lives. The descriptiveness of global human rights issues, especially in classroom instruction, also meant that while students were able to sympathise with the plight of others outside of Japan, there was an inherent lack of empathy and understanding toward human rights claims originating within society. Regarded as potential threats to social order, to utilise the symbolic power of rights to address discrimination represented an affront to Japan's post-War socioeconomic achievements. Defending society in itself infers defending human rights, the obligation to safeguard society, sustained as it is through Japanese ethnic identity in the textbooks, was viewed by students as an obligation non-Japanese are unlikely to comprehend. On this basis, a multicultural Japan was often deemed infeasible. The only variation in these views came from students whose experiences and identities were against the norm, from which these students felt a relevancy to human rights concepts by connecting them to their own lives.

Instruction in the Hyōgo context broke with the School Curriculum in providing an individual foundation for human rights as well as content that reflected issues within the local community. While instruction did not seek to promote active citizenship, it did intend to impart skills deemed necessary for active citizenship. Freed of the curricular constraints of the School Curriculum and institutional aims, instruction also did not have to adhere to specific pedagogic arrangements aimed at assisting knowledge retention. Human rights homeroom provided pedagogic space for students to narrate individual identities likely hidden or excised in other instructional and social contexts. As explicit learning on human rights was not part of human rights homerooms, students did display little awareness or knowledge of human rights concepts within their international or domestic frames, and human rights were rarely discussed as universal concepts touching upon human or supranational identity. Learning instead focused on fostering confidence in and respect for individual identities, communication skills, and awareness of local issues, all of which were deemed necessary to aid mutual coexistence. Accordingly, students reported that their self-concept and self-confidence accrued, especially in their ability to express themselves within divisive contexts. Human rights learning in the Hyōgo context did not necessarily unsettle the idea that society and social harmony should be fundamental in individual lives, but redefined it as inclusive and safeguarding of individual identities. With this, students recognised their own vulnerability and thus were better able to empathise with the plight of vulnerable others within their own within society. Students themselves reported a great sense of belonging to society, regardless of the individual differences they may possess. While it is difficult to predict as to how or whether such learning would transform into active citizenship, it is unlikely that learning would lead to civil disobedience or negative activism as students still possessed a strong deference for society. In this sense, human rights knowledge was transmitted in a manner that possessed transformative capacity, but not necessarily in a manner consistent with international definitions of human rights education to impart explicit knowledge on human rights.

Elite Knowledge and Discipline

The sociology of the curriculum throughout its history has been concerned with the use of knowledge as a form of discipline or domination used to sustain established power structures within society or promote the interests of society's powerful (Beck 2012, Sadovnik 1995, Moore 2013). Human rights knowledge and education has been described as a potential transformative or disruptive force, its characteristics sharing much in common with what Michael Young (2010) refers to as powerful knowledge, particularly in that human rights learning is said to allow learners to see beyond their daily experience and suggest to them realistic alternatives to address issues of social justice. This idea of transformative potential has been explicitly argued for by Drèze and Sen (1995), Baxi (1997) and Tibbitts (2014), as well as implied in the work of Nussbaum (1997, 2006). However, human rights education's transformative properties may be ambiguous at best, as its practice has also been critiqued by others as being capable of inculcating social conformity that maintains social inequality, becoming a form of discipline rather than transformative learning (Heater 2004, Sleeter 2014, Adami 2014). The recontextualising discourse of the School Curriculum does seek to regulate or delimit the transformative properties of human rights instruction, excising or masking this potential through a lack of discomfiting information likely to serve as prompts for active citizenship, didactic reminders on the importance of society, and a pedagogy that inhibits internalisation of human rights concepts. Yet such knowledge appears also to be recontextualised in different ways to suit different learners, potentially serving as elite, culturally symbolic artefacts for one set of learners and acting as more a form of discipline for others.

Transformative potential is actively regulated through pedagogy and content within the School Curriculum. It is also inhibited as a by-product of the systemic aims of upper-secondary education that reduce learner agency within classrooms. As established in the pedagogic analysis, that Japanese citizens possess rights or that domestically there reside populations that identify differently from mainstream Japanese ethnicity is to be learned simply as fact. The Tokyo case study also demonstrated that learning on human rights and social studies is likely not to be prioritised by teachers and students as it often holds no intrinsic value toward progression into higher education. Although the pedagogic analysis suggested that the School Curriculum does attempt to engage learner dispositions through open evaluative framing broadly, evaluative framing referencing human rights topics is either absent or lacking in contextualisation specific to Japan. Academic texts, as defined as texts oriented toward students aiming for university entrance, have almost no evaluative framing, suggesting that open pedagogies may be viewed as a detriment to knowledge retention in classrooms. Regardless, the transmission of knowledge within the regular classrooms of both case studies was for this research predominantly closed as transmission serves the aim of academic progression that at present demands verbatim reproduction of acquired knowledge. In this aim, the education system can perform remarkably well. Students in the Tokyo institution were able to recall knowledge almost precisely in line with received instruction. While active citizenship may be inhibited systemically, both the discursive and pedagogic analyses demonstrated that not much in the way of practical skills for citizenship is broached in the School Curriculum, and civic responsibility to safeguard human rights is encapsulated as civic duty obliged to protect society. This countermands the original aim of national policy on human rights instruction to provide learners with a consciousness and skills to take action on human rights issues within society (Ikuta 2012: 90).

Human rights and rights in Japan themselves are conceptualised in the School Curriculum as stemming from Western, liberal forms of governance that were an outgrowth of popular revolutions and citizen movements in the West during the 17th and 18th centuries. As indicated in terms of content, discourse and sequence, this definition is segregated from direct discussion on Japanese ethnic identity. The findings of the discursive analysis demonstrated that much of the country's pre-War history is excised from the texts, including details of social justice movements during the Meiji Restoration, violations of rights both domestically and abroad during the Second World War, and historical accomplishments in democratic governance that could provide native examples of the social construction of rights. The main rationale for the enactment of the 1947 Constitution is that the pre-War Meiji Constitution had been deficient in establishing an unambiguous guarantee of citizenship rights. Significant progress in human rights implementation is therefore inferred to have taken place simply through the enactment of the 1947 Constitution, a view which was concurrent with instruction in the Tokyo case study. However, the curriculum also infers that the document was imposed on the nation. This creates a curious circumstance of the Western conceptualisation of human rights having no overt practicality or relevance within modern Japanese society and identity except to be symbolic of post-War socioeconomic progress. This was mirrored in responses from the Tokyo cohort that both asserted the importance of human rights, especially with regards to Japanese identity, but which also was more likely to question their relevance to present-day society and Japanese identity. The refusal of the School Curriculum to provide further historical or current detail on domestic human rights issues may be due to the expressed aim of the curriculum to inculcate pride in Japanese ethnic identity and respect for society and the State, much of what might be undermined by explicit discussion on human rights abuses. By excising discomfiting details on domestic issues, and distancing human rights concepts from Japanese identity, it is likely more difficult for human rights learning to become a prompt for social activism.

Another potential rationale for prioritising the Western depiction of rights within the curriculum is that it has been harnessed as a form of sociocultural legitimacy. Beck (2013) writes that one permutation of knowledge designed to maintain hierarchical power structures defines and delimits access to symbolic forms of legitimacy, that once acquired, confer ‘‘distinction’’ on its possessors, marking them off as members of an exclusive, difficult-to-enter elite or set of interlocking elites’ (p. 182). Referencing Bourdieu’s notion of high culture, Beck writes that this elite knowledge has no intrinsic status, but acquires its status through power distributions within society, with some concepts or objects conferred with elite status and others not (ibid. 183). Japan as a nation is said to hold a certain reverence for Western culture and ideals, using them as a lens to view the nation’s own perceived inferiority vis-à-vis its perceptions of Western power both during the course of the country’s economic development from the late 19th century onward, and later in its reconstruction after the Second World War (Reischauer and Jansen 1995, Kariya 2010). The need to assert Japanese identity through education, as well as the historical rise of nationalist movements, has been often said to derive from this perceived inferiority (Zarakol 2010, Iida 2002). Teachers of the Tokyo cohort did for instance feel a desire to instill a sense Japanese ethnic identity among students in order that they remain confidently Japanese in an increasingly globalised world. In the School Curriculum, through the Western view of rights and liberal democratic governance, the State and as well as Japanese identity acquires cultural cachet.

However, the pedagogic structuring of the texts means that the Western view of human rights is often made more explicit to higher level learners, and thus human rights discourse in the School Curriculum may not only disseminate cultural legitimacy but likely symbolic forms of hierarchy and subordination within Japanese identity as well. Although this research did not account for the actual institutions in which certain textbooks are used, especially with regards to social class and academic achievement, to be a student at a high-ranking upper-secondary institution is likely not only to be provided knowledge in a form that supports further academic progress, it is also to gain access to learning that communicates knowledge, skills, and responsibilities designed to match certain societal expectations and perceptions of high academic achievers. The variation in framing between academic texts and texts for lower level achievers suggests that students deemed as lower ability may be encountering texts with greater amounts of framing designed to inculcate messages on the importance of duty and common welfare by placing student dispositions in greater prominence within learning frames. There are also nonconformist textbooks such as *Kyōiku Shuppan B* (T₃₀₄), a textbook that appears oriented to appeal to less motivated learners, which completely expunges details on Western liberal governance, instead focusing its discussion on rights as dependent on common welfare. The lower-ability focused *Sūken Shuppan A* (T₃₀₉) along with its more academic counterpart, *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀), also places greater emphasis on societal interrelationships that act as limitations on individuals to act in their own self-interest. *Sūken Shuppan B* (T₃₁₀), however, has far less evaluative framing.

The dimensions of elite symbolism and discipline also played out to some degree within both case studies' instructional framework for human rights. On the one hand, as the highest ranked academic institution in the prefecture, students at the Hyōgo institution are given authority and responsibility to manage human rights homeroom sessions on their own, a form of learning that appears to mirror an institutional ethos that viewed students of being capable, autonomous learners. Students themselves were acutely aware of this ethos, which appeared to improve self-concept and provided varied intrinsic motivation to learn. From student responses, not all of the Hyōgo teaching staff appeared to be on board with homeroom sessions, concerned that sessions would disturb exam preparation, but it is of note that student-led human rights learning was only administered at this one institution in the prefecture, with other schools utilising lectures and textbooks to a greater degree. In both samples, positive regard for learning was expressed by students often as appreciation of their learning environment, most often its warm human relationships and sense of security; however, learning itself, especially in preparation for examinations, was commonly referred to in demoralising and demotivating terms. Students at the Hyōgo institution moreover found previous lecture-style instruction on human rights in middle schools to be patronising. Borrowing from the work of Bourdieu and Paseron, Beck notes that education that confers hierarchical legitimacy, whether explicitly or implicitly, often wields destructive force against the self-concept of underprivileged families and youth, causing them to see 'themselves lacking the lacking the capacities and gifts needed for educational success, and leading them, in most cases, to define themselves out of the educational competition' (2013: 183). For underprivileged or ostracised students in Japan, not only are they deprived of messages on social justice that would likely resonate, any such message may also be delivered within a curricular and pedagogic context that is preoccupied with discipline and regulating identities rather than fostering confidence and self-concept that could

lead to higher achievement and better lives. This validity of this prospect however remains a concern for future research.

Reproducing Rights as Privileges

The notion of collectivity has served much research as a means to explain the practice of human rights in Japan (Woodiwiss 1998, 2005, Suzuki et al. 2010, Gordon and LeTendre 2010). Viewing society as a collective, rights are seen as privileges extending from a benign authority that acts in the interest of all members of the collective rather than as explicit claims held by individuals against authority as embodied for instance by the State. In exchange for these privileges, individual members of society are expected to adhere to civic obligations and restrictions on their autonomy as set by authority. While again it is important not to carry this metaphor to the point of cultural essentialism, Woodiwiss (2012) argues that this practice of human rights, which he labels enforced benevolence, to be an acceptable, alternative practice of rights for many societies where there is resistance to acquiesce to notions of individual autonomy common in Western societies, and which may better match long held historical traditions aimed at respecting the dignity and welfare of populations (ibid. 969). Critics have argued that the notion of enforced benevolence may render rights as beholden to the discretion of authority; however, this research has made that argument that even in Western societies the ultimate meaning and value of rights is often itself bound to power and interests. For Woodiwiss as well, rights practice in countries such as Japan has become far less ambiguous than in the past as the exercise of power is now more conditional through greater implementation and effect of the rule of law (ibid. 972). If a form of human rights practice, Woodiwiss argues, respects human dignity and protects individuals from abuses of power, such practice can be considered legitimate human rights practice.

Like Woodiwiss's definition of enforced benevolence, human rights practice as depicted in the School Curriculum is strongly bound to forms of identity, with a clear demarcation between identities. As revealed through discursive analysis, the School Curriculum likewise assigns primary authority to address human rights issues to society and the State, which in its benevolence works to alleviate human rights issues on behalf of its resident population. The State bestows rights in the form of privileges with the expectation that citizens (*kokumin*) and non-like residents of Japan will adhere to their civic duties and show due deference toward State authority and society. Individualism and individual identities are little discussed except when addressing the individual is necessary to regulate social behavior with regard to the use of such privileges, or in promoting pro-social behavior, as exemplified by volunteerism. The key sociological question therefore has been whether this depiction of human rights and its dissemination through official curricula adequately respects human dignity, and whether learning on human rights is likely to lead to a consciousness that allows individuals to live better in community with others and act toward the safeguard of human rights within their own communities. In this research, the main issue revealed with regard to the School Curriculum has been that benevolence and duty play out in different ways with regard to different social groupings and identities. The recontextualising discourse of human rights within the School Curriculum portrays the rights of marginalised and non-Japanese identities as

privileges extending beyond the norm of society, while at the same time implicitly denying ethnic Japanese individuals full access to rights language.

The results of the discursive analysis demonstrate that although citizens as *kokumin* are said to possess rights, discussion of domestic human rights issues that touch primarily upon ethnic Japanese concern are treated in narrow terms if not superficially, and are isolated from direct discussions on rights. However, only *kokumin* are given a duty to safeguard rights, but as the term *kokumin* does not necessarily extend to marginal or non-Japanese identities, not only is inclusiveness and shared responsibility toward society undermined, there may be resentment as select persons appear to be assigned seemingly advantageous treatment in the form of entitlements from the majority, treatment that the majority itself seems not to receive. This is exacerbated by the lack of explicit detail on issues connected to otherness and by a subtext that issues have already been resolved by the State, which implies that marginal and non-Japanese persons are warranted rights solely by the fact that they are different. The cumulative effect is that although the texts assert that human rights are based on a common humanity and a respect for individuals, with differing discourses for different identities, the curriculum does not appear to discursively build toward respect for the individual in a comprehensive manner. Particularly as the domestic discourse of human rights depicts a nation that actively works to secure human rights, the reader never obtains the sense of themselves as potential victims in the narrative and why they themselves may need to avail themselves of the protection of the State or society through the concept of human rights. The reader, being most likely ethnic Japanese, is always external in the recontextualising discourse of human rights as it plays out in the discussion of related issues, which has the potential to maintain a perceived separation with those deemed different as well as enhance that perception that rights are simply privileges of a select and undeserving few. The difference in outcomes in learning between the two cases suggest that this may well be the case. With the Tokyo institution, while students regard human rights of value, students were less receptive and empathetic to rights claims made by non-like others, were less likely to consider the potential of society to embrace diversity, and found rights claims to be an affront to their established identities. For the Hyōgo cohort, with instruction having established that learners have a right to their own individual identity, students were better able to comprehend why non-like others may make rights claims because they themselves felt respected and integrated within their community and understood how society itself protects their fundamental vulnerability.

Recommendations and Implications

Although this research overviews a limited example of human rights education practice, it is fair to finally ask what implications there might be for human rights education and human rights education embedded within official curricula, for Japan and in general, in terms of both future research and implementation. In the opening discussion, it was asserted that there is much resistance to the idea of human education based as it is on what appear to be Western notions of autonomous individuals that run counter to societies that identify more as a collective. The Hyōgo case not only underscores the value in promoting the esteem and identity of individuals, but also that such an esteem is not mutually exclusive of inculcating a regard for and duty to society, even within ‘collective’ societies. The results of this

case study also demonstrate that universality does not have to represent the mutual exclusion of national or ethnic identity, or represent an appeal to supranational identity, often objected to because it is conflated with Western influence and individualism, but that it instead can reference individual identity as the least common denominator between members of society. Without an appeal to value one's own identity and respect others' individual identities, as well as the assumption that it is possible for individuals to assume multiple identities at a given time, human rights education, no matter how well intentioned, may often lead to tribalistic perceptions of rights that pit social groups and identities against one another, and which do indeed disengage certain learners, as has been suggested in the works of Adami (2014), Davies et al. (2005) and Zembylas (2016a). Like with the homeroom sessions of the Hyōgo school, greater esteem for learners as individuals and a pedagogic frame by which to express that identity may also prevent collective identities from being inappropriately represented and appropriated within learning, giving learners more discretion as to what is shared in the name of their identity, particularly as the identities of members within any one social group are rarely uniform. The relationship between human rights education programmes and improvements in self-concept that lead to not only better personal interrelationships, but also higher academic achievement, is also one area of research that also could be explored more fully.

As indicated in prior research, this research affirms the tremendous role the learning environment plays in how education messages are transmitted and received, not only in terms of classrooms and institutional ethos, but also the manner in which human rights instruction and teacher identities are mediated by systemic logics and ideologies, context that must be accounted for in both research and implementation (Bajaj 2011b, Leung et al. 2011, Lo et al. 2015b, Osler and Starkey 2010). Lo et al. (2015b) write as a result of their investigation into the institutional ethos of Hong Kong schools that if what is taught about human rights in class is not what is actually being practiced in school, the perceived contradiction may nurture cynicism, alienation, and apathy, all factors that may contributed to the failure of human rights education programmes (p. 193). As this research reasserts, students can be acutely aware of such contradictions. Establishing appropriate institutional environments begins first with a clear respect for individual identity as well as access to meaningful forms of education that not only shows appropriate regard for individual learners, but also provides them the means to reach their full individual and academic potential. Given curricular reform and issues with public finances since the mid-2000s, it has been clear to many researchers that knowledge in Japan has been increasingly transmitted as a form of academic triage, establishing deliberate social stratification through 'advanced professional training for elite students,' while those deemed academically unacceptable are to be trained in 'academic basics, docility and work ethics' (Takayama 2008: 136, Kariya 2010). Thus, while it may be possible to reform education in terms of curricula and institutional ethos, such changes are likely to encounter systemic constraints. With regard to teachers' role in schools and classrooms, while this research has suggested that teachers feel constrained in terms of content and pedagogy within school environments, it is clear from this research and the research of others that still much more could be known about how teachers understand multiculturalism and human rights, and how teacher training in higher education imparts an understanding multiculturalism and human rights and pedagogies oriented toward inclusion (Forlin et al. 2013, Yoshida 2017, Song 2016).

Human rights concepts carry with them clear symbolic forms of legitimacy and value; however, these symbols are far from uncomplicated and easily can become

enmeshed in particularistic notions of identity and nationality, which for this research was witnessed in their transformation into tools for collective cultural and political legitimacy by the Japanese State. As demonstrated by this research as well as others, students in classrooms as well already carry with them prior dispositions toward such concepts that may not be in line with intended messages (Barton 2015, Eid 2014), and much research has suggested that learners do not find explicit human rights concepts to be of much value (Cassidy et al. 2014, Çayir and Bağlı 2011, Kuran 2015). Simply ‘correcting’ these misconceptions toward human rights and the rights of others through instruction may not only come off as patronising and demoralising, an affront to prior established identities, especially if students have no prior experience of interacting with non-like others within their own communities. This suggests, as was the case with the Hyōgo institution, that it may be necessary to divest human rights education of explicit references to international human rights, with programs in certain education and institutional settings at best becoming ‘human rights inspired,’ with programmes best judged by what outcomes are produced rather than whether human rights concepts are being explicitly or correctly expressed within curricula or in learning outcomes.

Topic Areas for Semi-Structured Teacher Interviews

Knowledge Tied to External Structures

Descriptions of school setting

Personal views of curriculum and education system

Dispositions

Background

Training

Skills

Personal definitions of human rights

Personal views of subject knowledge

Personal views on identities

Knowledge Tied to Practices

Description of teaching practices

Description of assessment procedures

Description of classroom management

Knowledge Tied to Outcomes

Reflections on teaching success

Reflections on personal change as teacher

Reflections on future professional needs

Teacher Question Schedule (Question/⇒Probe)

Q1. Describe your personal background.

Q2. Why did you choose to become a social studies teacher?

Q3. Describe the educational training you have received.

⇒Recent training

Q4. How would you describe your school setting?

Q5. What is your personal definition of citizenship?

Q6. What is your personal definition of human rights?

⇒Personal relevance of human rights

Q7. What do you view as the goals of the Japanese social studies/civics curriculum?

⇒Importance of human rights

⇒Framing of human rights

Q8. How often do you consult with official teaching guidelines concerning your subject?

Q9. How often do you use the textbook?

⇒Usefulness

Q10. What do you think the curriculum is trying to say about human rights?

Q11. Within the context of instruction at your school, how important do you view instruction on social studies/civic education?

⇒Importance of human rights

Q12. Describe a human right that you think students should know about.

Q13. If you could change one thing about the curriculum or the way it is taught, what would you change?

Q14. Describe your classroom teaching practices.

⇒Consultation of curricular guidelines

⇒Handouts/other classroom material

- Q15. Describe your class planning process.
- Q16. What do you expect of your students with regard to the material being taught?
- Q17. What kind of problems do you have in the classroom?
- Q18. How do you assess students understanding?
- ⇒Tests or quizzes
 - ⇒Written assignments
- Q19. What kind of topics or issues do you discuss or debate in class?
- Q20. What effect do you think you have on students' thinking?
- ⇒Perception of success.
- Q21. How has students' understanding of classroom material affected the way you teach?
- Q22. How has your teaching changed over the course of your teaching career?

Appendix 3.2. Student Question Schedules

Student Questionnaire Schedule

Q1.

Discrimination and prejudice are problems in many societies. Do you think that discrimination and prejudice are problems in Japan? Why do you think this way? If it is a problem, is there anything we can do about it?

Q2.

You have probably heard of the term human rights. Are human rights important to you? What is your personal definition of human rights? Can you give me any examples to help explain your definition?

Q3.

Are there any human rights problems in Japan? Tell me about a human rights problem in Japan and what people can do about it. If there are no human rights problems in Japan, tell me why this is so.

Student Focus Group Schedule (Question/⇒Probe)

Q1. What is your motivation to study?

Q2. What kind of occupation would you like to do in the future?

Q3. How would you describe your current school?

Probes: How about your homeroom? Why did you decide to enter this school?

Q4. Please tell me about your daily routine at school.

⇒ Are you too busy? What is the most difficult aspect of school life?

Q5. Is there something you would like to change about your high school?

Q6. At this school, how were human rights defined for you?

Q7. At this school, how did you feel about learning about human rights?

Q8. Please define human rights in your own words.

⇒ Define their importance.

Q9. Please discuss a human rights issue.

⇒ Are there any human rights issues at school?

Q10. What kinds of human rights issues did you learn about in class?

Q11. What is an example of a serious social issue here in Japan?

Q12. There are some people who believe that Japan has no human rights problems. Do you agree with their belief?

Q13. What do you think people of the same generation as you think about human rights?

Q14. If you could change one thing about society, what would you change?

Q15. In what way did you change after learning about human rights?

Q16. How do you think your instructors feel about human rights?

Appendix 4.1. Key Terms for Frequency and Distribution Analyses

Latent Human Rights Terms

権利
自由権
身体の自由
奴隷的拘束および苦役からの自由
奴隷的拘束や苦役からの自由
移動の自由
令状によらない逮捕の禁止
不当な逮捕
集会の自由
集会、結社、表現の自由
集会、結社の自由
言論、出版、集会、結社など表現の自由
結社の自由
精神の自由
精神的自由
表現の自由
言論、思想、表現の自由
言論の自由
財産の保障
思想の自由
思想、良心の自由
良心の自由
信教の自由
学問の自由
経済活動の自由
職業を選択する自由
団結権
団体交渉権
団体行動権
存在権
生命と自由
生命の尊重
拷問などによる人身の自由
拷問、残虐刑が禁止
拷問及び残虐な刑罰の禁止
拷問の禁止
教育を受ける権利
平等権
参政権
被選挙権
選挙権
投票権

	裁判を受ける権利 請願権 請求権 賠償請求権 刑事補償請求権 プライバシー権 知る権利 環境権 知的財産権 自己決定権
Human Rights Issues Terms	外国人 障害者 障がい者 在日韓国人 朝鮮人 在日コリアン 部落(民) 同和 ジェンダー 男女 女性 性別 高齢者 お年寄り HIV エイズ
International Human Rights Search Terms	子どもの権利条約 人種差別撤廃条約 女性差別撤廃条約 世界人権宣言 ジェノサイド条約 集団殺害防止条約 拷問禁止条約 市民的及び政治的権利に関する国際規約 経済的、社会的および文化的権利に関する国際規約 死刑廃止条約 市民的及び政治的権利に関する国際規約の第2選択議定書 フランス人権宣言 アメリカ独立宣言

Appendix 4.2. **Frequencies of Manifest and Latent Human Rights Content, Within-Individual SHS Textbooks**

No	Title	Manifest					Latent						
		Current Issues	Youth-Society	Politics	Economics	Global Issues	Aggregate	Current Issues	Youth-Society	Politics	Economics	Global Issues	Aggregate
017	Kyōiku Shuppan A	0.105	0.119	2.255	0.000	1.285	0.859	0.210	0.000	5.669	0.301	0.680	1.508
301	Tokyo Shoseki	0.172	0.000	3.725	0.000	3.047	1.507	0.515	0.000	5.952	1.048	0.871	2.175
302	Jikkyo Shuppan A	0.211	0.126	3.270	0.098	1.104	1.127	1.163	0.252	5.797	0.607	1.046	1.946
303	Jikkyo Shuppan B	0.000	0.000	2.692	0.164	1.886	1.085	0.565	0.000	8.213	1.029	0.252	2.531
304	Kyōiku Shuppan B	0.000	0.000	2.791	0.000	1.858	1.282	0.000	0.251	5.836	0.501	1.131	2.129
305	Shimizu Shoin A	0.486	0.374	3.117	0.000	0.503	1.380	2.189	0.000	9.374	0.269	0.101	2.347
306	Shimizu Shoin B	0.171	0.082	4.252	0.059	2.100	1.675	1.368	0.082	6.656	0.622	0.825	2.135
307	Teikoku Shoin	0.000	0.305	2.260	0.000	1.717	1.074	0.000	0.000	7.937	2.041	0.303	2.491
308	Yamakawa Shuppansha	0.328	0.000	2.246	0.000	0.636	0.939	0.656	0.000	6.887	0.439	0.454	2.321
309	Sūken Shuppan A	0.209	0.066	3.171	0.073	1.248	0.860	1.530	0.395	5.297	2.152	1.426	2.731
310	Sūken Shuppan B	0.410	0.112	2.189	0.056	0.561	0.788	1.743	1.228	6.615	1.149	0.401	2.556
311	Daiichi Gakushusha A	0.150	0.596	3.483	0.000	0.383	1.147	0.599	0.170	7.482	0.600	0.153	1.954
312	Daiichi Gakushusha B	0.000	0.000	4.033	0.000	1.042	1.166	0.641	0.265	6.321	0.907	0.232	2.071

Normalised values per 1000 tokens.

Appendix 4.3. **Within-Textbook Human Rights Related Issue Frequencies (Manifest Content, SHS Textbook Corpus)**

No	Title	Tokens (s)	Ainu	Koreans	Foreigners	Disabled	Gender	HIV	Buraku	Seniors
017	Kyōiku Shuppan A	57042	0.018	0.018	0.298	0.280	0.929	0.000	0.018	0.456
301	Tokyo Shoseki	52420	0.019	0.038	0.210	0.153	0.286	0.019	0.019	0.153
302	Jikkyo Shuppan A	84284	0.012	0.024	0.119	0.131	0.285	0.000	0.012	0.166
303	Jikkyo Shuppan B	47014	0.064	0.043	0.149	0.213	0.468	0.000	0.085	0.106
304	Kyōiku Shuppan B	48377	0.062	0.000	0.145	0.186	0.641	0.000	0.145	0.145
305	Shimizu Shoin A	48567	0.000	0.000	0.041	0.144	0.432	0.000	0.021	0.165
306	Shimizu Shoin B	67455	0.030	0.030	0.104	0.104	0.341	0.030	0.044	0.104
307	Teikoku Shoin	46564	0.064	0.043	0.215	0.365	0.687	0.043	0.043	0.107
308	Yamakawa Shuppansha	58587	0.017	0.085	0.017	0.154	0.461	0.000	0.051	0.154
309	Sūken Shuppan A	80193	0.012	0.012	0.150	0.150	0.387	0.012	0.037	0.150
310	Sūken Shuppan B	67285	0.045	0.030	0.089	0.163	0.401	0.030	0.030	0.089
311	Daichi Gakushusha A	61913	0.016	0.032	0.145	0.162	0.113	0.000	0.032	0.113
312	Daichi Gakushusha B	42016	0.024	0.048	0.119	0.190	0.262	0.000	0.024	0.095

Normalised values per 1000 tokens; highest and lowest values in bold. DP_{norm} values fall within a range of 0 to 1, with 0 or close to 0 representing even distribution; values of 1 or close to 1 representing uneven distribution.

Appendix 4.4. Comparison of Selected ‘Citizen’ Collocations by Part of Speech (POS)

Verbs	<i>shimin</i> (citizen)	fight (19.194), undergo (16.971), participate (11.733), defeat (10.962), be party to (9.545), engulf (9.545), establish (9.545), bear (9.338), overcome (8.236), enter (8.236), attach (7.624), separate (7.34), be added to (6.386), involve (6.158), miss (6.158), purchase (5.739), ask (5.739), live (5.565), carry through (5.391), support (5.391), behave (5.096), take over (5.096), rise (5.071), raise (5.053).
	<i>kokumin</i> (national)	exist (28.678), choose (15.516), be based on (15.274), love (12.896), compare (9.559), subtract (9.559), carry out (8.939), participate (8.275), close (6.759), broaden (6.759), labour (6.759), harvest (6.759), connect (6.759), complete (6.759), support (6.759), shift (6.615), cultivate (6.615), know (5.813), lead (5.704), raise (5.509), torment (5.282), dedicate (5.209), inform (4.836), reveal (4.836), demonstrate (4.817).
	<i>jūmin</i> (resident)	undermine (16.45), cease (11.589), to know (9.428), listen to (8.134), rise (8.134), ask (7.498), choose (7.013), live (6.504), support (5.92), be born (4.777), divide (4.556), threaten (4.186), be based on (3.858), dedicate (3.236), contain (2.918), change (2.863), raise (2.798), reply (2.576), follow (2.526), begin (2.305), restore (2.305), cause (2.191), conduct (2.159), admit (2.155), match (2.024), obligate (1.935), send (1.907), continue (1.898).
Proper Nouns	<i>shimin</i> (citizen)	Athens (2.6), Europe (1.033), France (0.7), United Kingdom (0.4), James I (0.2).
	<i>kokumin</i> (national)	Japan (<i>nihonkoku</i>) (9.518), Supreme Court (<i>saikosaibansho</i>) (8.463), Fukuzawa Yukichi (7.846), Himalaya Mountains (6.759), Social Democratic Party (6.759), Taisho Era (3.484), Hatoyama Yukio (2.464), Sweden (2.226), Supreme Court (<i>saikosai</i>) (1.725), Northern Europe (1.393), Lower House (1.307), Upper House (1.303), Japan (<i>nihon</i>) (1.234).
	<i>jūmin</i> (resident)	Niigata Prefecture (5.030), Islam (4.361), Arab (2.999), East Asia (2.683), Palestine (2.087).
Nouns	<i>shimin</i> (citizen)	revolution (71.979), class (29.684), movement (26.664), level (20.243), bourgeoisie (19.194), wisdom (16.652), participation (<i>sanyo</i>) (16.652), community (16.593), global (16.23), general (15.554), modern (13.781), participation (<i>sanka</i>) (13.154), monarchy (12.475), awakening (12.475), oneself (11.733), upper class (11.733), tone (11.733), assembly (11.293), elimination (10.626), commoner (9.545), vocation (9.545), revolt (9.545), society (9.291), interaction (9.131).
	<i>kokumin</i> (national)	sovereignty (71.326), income (42.559), representative (27.975), pension (26.056), consensus (21.422), voting (21.348), purpose (21.304), fidelity (19.192), double (17.977), inspection (17.154), right (16.842), persistency (16.681), principle (15.42), symbol (15.368), participation (14.979), politics (14.427), election (14.255), equivalence (14.236), livelihood (14.224), constitution (14.066), national (13.716), indicator (13.402), duty (13.282), insurance (12.467).
	<i>jūmin</i> (resident)	autonomy (46.4), voting (37.083), region (<i>chiiki</i>) (26.017), movement (22.45), region (<i>chiho</i>) (14.717), participation (13.15), livelihood (9.65), foundation (8.833), politics (7.083), organisation (7.067), purpose (6.583), regulation (5.617), oneself (5), right (4.283), service (4.25), account (4.2), welfare (4), municipality (3.95), surroundings (3.833), election (3.583), enactment (3.383), constituent (2.9), public (2.833), national (2.75).
Adjectives	<i>shimin</i> (citizen)	wealthy (16.652), tenacious (10.962), steady (9.545), equal (<i>dōtō</i>) (6.676), free (5.229), equal (<i>taitō</i>) (4.522), convenient (4.419), vigorous (4.333), prestigious (3.685), indifferent (2.517), private (2.426), weighty (2.302), natural (2.291), predominant (2.058), reasonable (1.886), simple (1.716), varied (1.666), equal (<i>byōdō</i>) (1.561), difficult (1.261), valid (1.108).
	<i>kokumin</i> (national)	grave (17.884), healthy (13.999), equivalent (13.664), competent (9.559), fortunate (6.759), extensive (4.978), just (4.798), happy (4.341), peaceful (4.283), equal (<i>hitoshii</i>) (4.268), safe (3.735), diverse (3.722), precise (3.529), affluent (3.435), sensibility (3.308), equal (<i>kintō</i>) (3.162), enormous (3.162), borderless (2.764), vigorous (2.764), futile (2.764), inferior (2.764), clear (2.532), courteous (2.464), sufficient (2.458), suitable (2.185).
	<i>jūmin</i> (resident)	negligent (16.45), near (13.167), inconvenient (9.428), special (7.991), direct (4.777), far (4.186), popular (3.635), active (3.421), accurate (3.421), clear (3.124), healthy (3.01), desirable (2.683), questionable (2.485), original (2.351), different (1.166), insecurity (1.034), vigorous (1.012), distant (1.012).

Collocations ranked by z-score.

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