

# **Students' Group Essays**

## GROUP ESSAY 1

### **Comfort Women Issue in Japanese History Textbooks: Implications from the Study of Textbook Screening System in Japan**

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#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The relationship between South Korea and Japan has been unfavorable for many years and shows little sign of improvement in the near future. The two countries share a complex history of wartime, which has been the main obstacle in their reconciliation. The long-brewing tension is also seen in the education sector, where both countries seem unable to agree on the meanings and implications of their common past transmitted to the younger generations through history education.

Before and during World War II, the Japanese Imperial Army institutionalized a system of 'comfort stations', where women and girls were forced to perform sexual labor without freedom of movement (Argibay, 2003). These women and girls who were coerced into sexual slavery, also known as comfort women, were brought from occupied countries of Japan, such as South Korea, China, and the Philippines (Soh, 2008). The comfort women issue is symbolic of Imperial Japan's war crimes and is considered one of the most compelling examples of sexual slavery in times of conflict, and of the denial of justice for victims in human history (International Amnesty, 2005).

The textbook controversy between South Korea and Japan is probably the most apparent example of the tension seen in the education sector. The main issue discussed here lies in what is perceived as the inadequate presentation of Japan's colonial and wartime past, principally, the non-coverage of Japanese wartime behavior in Japanese history textbooks (Schneider, 2008). The controversy over Japanese history textbooks first started in 1982, when South Korean and Chinese citizens showed strong opposition when it was reported that the Japanese Ministry of Education (MOE) had demanded a publisher to substitute the word "invasion (Shinryaku)" (from the phrase "invasion into China") with "advancement (Shinshutsu)" in a history textbook. Although MOE, after this incident, pledged to include the "Neighborhood Clause (Kinrin Shokoku Joku)" in syllabus guidelines to ease the tension, Japanese textbooks were criticized for downplaying Japan's wartime wrongdoings (Kimura, 2014). The controversy over the content of Japanese history textbooks was not resolved then, and similar discussions continued to reappear over time, which is how the history textbook controversy remained as an unsolved issue even today. It is Japan's approach to war memory and its representation in school textbooks that triggered intense political struggles at the international level, such as the erasure of comfort women in junior high school history textbooks.

There is no doubt that South Korea-Japan relations have been exacerbated over the past years, with problems emerging as recently as the 2019 South Korea-Japan trade disputes. However, this

paper looks at the long-standing textbook controversy, more specifically, at the erasure of the comfort women issue in Japanese junior high school history textbooks. This paper, therefore, aims to gain a better understanding of the textbook screening system introduced and implemented by MEXT, and in doing so, identify the aspects that have resulted in the obliteration of the comfort women issue in Japanese junior high school history textbooks. Moreover, it hopes to contribute to the field by providing an alternative perspective on the history textbook controversy.

This paper explains the following topics in each section: a background of the textbook controversy and the research question, the methodology used in this study, the findings of the study, the discussion, and lastly, the conclusion.

## **2. BACKGROUND**

Japanese history textbooks have long been criticized for having downplayed Japan's wartime wrongdoings. Despite efforts made by both South Korea and Japan to ease the tension and reach an agreement on this issue, the textbook controversy remains, even today, one of the most crucial issues the two countries face in their quest for reconciliation. This section, therefore, will 1) explain the the textbook policy in Japan to grasp the general context of this issue and 2) review studies on textbook controversy between South Korea and Japan, in order to gain insight on how and why Japanese history textbooks became an issue in itself and the cause of a dispute that has lasted for so many years.

### **2.1. Textbooks in Japan**

There exist various different policies and systems regarding schools' textbook use in the world. Japan adopts a screening system for all textbooks used in schools, which is regulated by the School Education Law. In this system, all books written and edited by private publishers are required to be screened by the Textbook Approval and Research Council appointed by MEXT before being used in schools. Through this system, MEXT attempts for there to be creativity and diversity in textbooks by allowing the private sector to create the textbooks, all the while ensuring their quality for use in classrooms by screening them beforehand. In this screening process, the council studies the books and submits a report to MEXT, based on which the ministry decides whether to authorize or deny the books. This council is put together by MEXT, consisting of around 14-16 members who range from school teachers to college professors (MEXT, n.d.). The screening process is done under the following four criteria: 1) compliance with the governmental course of study guidelines; 2) suitability with students' development; 3) objectivity, equity, and neutrality of the materials presented; and 4) correctness of contents. If MEXT considers that the content of the book does not conform to the criteria enumerated above, the book will be sent back to the publisher with a 'Statement of Reasons for Unauthorized Textbooks (Kentei Shinsa Fugoukaku Tonarubeki Riyusyo)', explaining why it cannot be authorized as a school textbook. However, should the book be sent back, publishers have the opportunity to modify the content of the book and resubmit it to MEXT. After MEXT approves and releases the list of textbooks that may be adopted for classroom use, schools then choose the textbooks that they will adopt. While private schools have the added privilege of selecting textbooks from the list themselves, it is the municipal boards of education who conduct the second round of selection of textbooks for public schools. Nonetheless, all textbooks to be used in Japan have to undergo the same uniform screening process by MEXT, and it is this process which has garnered much attention from the media and international community.

## 2.2. Textbook controversy

### 2.2.1. Civil society movements in South Korea

A turning point in history regarding the textbook controversy took place in the 1990s, when groups in civil society began taking ownership over the ‘history controversy’ and started getting involved in the issue. At the time, South Korea, Japan, and China all saw a sudden increase in civil society movements, and civil society groups in these countries began to pressure and lobby their respective governments and local school boards to review the contents of history textbooks. Although the governments of both South Korea and China have long been managing history related issues in a top-down manner, the impact that civil society movements had on textbook issues was pivotal in the two countries, and the bottom-up efforts of civil society pushed the government to take action regarding the textbook controversy (Schneider, 2008).

The economic growth and democratization South Korea experienced in the 1990s resulted in the empowerment of Korean citizens. Civil society movements, in accordance with the rise in citizens’ status in South Korea, started to gain more influence in Korean society and pressured the Korean government to review history textbooks and demand reparations from the Japanese government for its past aggression (Soh, 2003). Due to these movements, civil society's opinions about what should be included in history textbooks were substantially taken into consideration, and subsequently published in media reports. An example of the above is shown in the article from The Korean Times, “Korea set to unveil new history textbooks after years long controversy” (2020), where it was reported that the Ministry of Education of South Korea is expected to introduce a new history textbook in March 2020, following a debate within the country where the South Korean civil society sharply criticized the right-leaning values and distorted facts regarding their national history that were found in textbooks. Evident from the above, South Korea has displayed a change in the contents of its textbooks due to, among other factors, civil society’s intense pressure on the government. The new textbooks, therefore, include detailed facts of historical events such as the Korean War and increased references and depth regarding Japan's colonial rule of Korea and wartime atrocities (“Korea set to unveil,” 2020).

### 2.2.2. Right-leaning Japanese government

The situation in Japan has been different due to the strong relationship between the textbook controversy and Japan's domestic politics as well as the predominance that the conservative right-wing has in the debate. Textbooks have been a target of discussions between conservative groups, mainly represented by the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and progressive groups, composed primarily of left-leaning intellectuals, academics, and school teachers. Members of MEXT consider themselves neutral in these debates, however, MEXT generally sides with the conservative camp. Although there are progressive groups in Japan that aim to promote history textbooks with a self-critical Japanese image and national introspection, the dominant conservative agenda of Japan's politics seems to block these initiatives (Schneider, 2008).

The pressure exercised by international and domestic media has been another vital element in the evolution of the textbook controversy. Japan has been criticized in various press reports for failing to depict its historical events appropriately (e.g., “Japan will not bow to neighbors on textbook,” 2001; “What Japanese history lessons leave out,” 2013; “Japan’s Textbook Changes Get Failing Grade From Neighbors,” 2015). As a consequence, this has put more strain on Japan's

relations with neighbors such as South Korea. In some articles from international media, Japan is depicted as a country that does not yield to foreign pressure and as a 'non-apologist' actor ("Japan will not bow," 2001). Other reports note that the problem lies in the different perspectives and interpretations of the same events between Japan and South Korea (Oi, 2013). In addition to this, articles also refer to how the Japanese government constrains publishers to softening their descriptions of its wartime aggression, based on the argument that there is insufficient evidence to support claims regarding events such as that of comfort women (Hayashi, 2015).

Regarding the textbook screening system in Japan, some reports indicate that the screening process leaves schools without a real right to choose. In the case of public schools, questions have been raised concerning teachers' attitudes toward the textbook controversy, declaring that the falling authority of teachers' unions in Japan has allowed MEXT to make aggressive changes to the contents of history textbooks without having to face substantial opposition (Pollmann, 2015). In addition to this, private-sector publishers are expected to meet the criteria set by MEXT in order for their textbooks to be authorized for use in schools (Pollmann, 2015). This is indicative that effective dialogue between publishers and MEXT on the inclusion of controversial topics in textbooks might be insufficient (Nishino, 2008).

Other articles from Japanese media mention how the Japanese government had taken advantage of the small amount of documentary evidence, most of it having been destroyed at the end of the war, and the apparent inconsistencies in the testimonies of the survivors (O'dwyer, 2019). Furthermore, the reports show how nationalists have severely condemned Japanese scholars, journalists, and activists for defending the human rights viewpoint on the comfort women issue, and for laying international blame on Japan (O'dwyer, 2019).

On the other hand, articles in Japanese newspapers refer to how South Korea still holds anti-Japanese sentiments. According to these articles, Japanese politicians are indeed aware of Japan's responsibilities in the past. The above can be evidenced in acts like the economic cooperation package proposed by former Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone, the official apology for Japan's rule in South Korea, and the setting up of the Asian Women's Fund to compensate comfort women by former Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. Nevertheless, Japan's sincerity and their attempts at support have been questioned, "creating an undercurrent that later fed anti-Korea arguments and hate speech" (Iokibe, 2019, para. 5). The report concludes that "it is wrong for the people of Japan to ignore the past, but it is more wrong for the people of South Korea to continue to be controlled by the past" (Iokibe, 2019, para. 10).

Open discussions on the comfort women controversy did not take place until the late 1980s, when South Korea's democratization process started to allow for more critical discussion of the topic in the media. Japanese government-censored textbooks first became an international issue following feminist campaigns for women's rights, public testimonies from survivors, and several reports from Japanese and Korean journalists and feminists, that aroused the interest of the international public on the comfort women issue (O'dwyer, 2019). After the 2000s, the history textbook controversy was brought to light through international media, and much criticism was raised about the non-reference to comfort women in Japanese junior high school history textbooks. As interest in this topic increased at the international level, the Japanese government came under enormous pressure to investigate and adequately present the facts regarding what had been perpetrated in the past.

Despite the evident increase in both international and local media questioning the contents of Japanese history textbooks for their lack of reference to the comfort women issue, and in media

coverage regarding the Japanese government's decision-making and public policies concerning the history textbook issue, the number of comfort women references in textbooks has diminished. The government's ability to withstand international pressure has remained consistently high for decades. However, they also receive constant, heavy pressure from nationalist groups, who vehemently oppose the mention of those events in textbooks and their being taught in classrooms.

### 2.3. Limitations of previous studies and research questions

As explained in the previous section, the former studies emphasized how Korean civil society and Japanese government contributed to intensifying the textbooks controversy. However, few looked at the actual process and regulations of MEXT's textbook screening system, as well as at the contents taught in actual school settings. Thus, this paper set its main research question as, "What are the factors that influence the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in junior high school history textbooks?" This question is followed by two sub research questions: "What reasons does MEXT give for the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in history textbooks?" and "What reasons do school teachers give for the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in history textbooks?"

## 3. METHODOLOGY

This section will explain the research methodologies this study has implemented, describing the research design, research methods, and data analysis.

### 3.1. Research Design

With the aim of answering the main research questions as well as the sub questions, this study adopted a qualitative research approach. The research questions of this study do not aim to generalize MEXT's or teachers' opinions, but attempt to gain insight on the different actors's views regarding the reference to comfort women in textbooks.

### 3.2. Research Methods

The specific research methods adopted in this study are document analysis and interviews. Document analysis was carried out to answer sub question one, which questions MEXT's reasoning which led to including or excluding content on comfort women in history textbooks. The document analyzed was the "Statement of Reasons for Unauthorized Textbooks (Kentei Shinsa Fugoukaku tonarubeki Riyusyo)" for *Tomoni Manabu Ningen no Rekishi*, the textbook published by Manabisha in 2014, which was available on MEXT's website at the time of writing (MEXT, 2014). The document was selected for two reasons: 1) "Statement of Reasons for Unauthorized Textbooks" was the only document identified containing MEXT's comments on specific contents of textbooks, and 2) Manabisha's textbook was the only junior high school textbook published in 2019 that had any reference to the comfort women issue. The original draft of Manabisha's textbook which had been submitted to MEXT was asked to be modified, particularly, the parts referencing the comfort women issue. Therefore, in order to find out what is being judged as inappropriate for history textbooks and why it is deemed as such by MEXT, this paper conducted a document analysis on the "Statement of Reasons for Unauthorized Textbooks" of Manabisha's textbook.

The second methodology implemented was the interviews with two junior high school history teachers. These interviews were conducted to gain insight from teachers regarding the textbook controversy, and in doing so, answer sub research question two. Both interviewees selected were history teachers teaching at two different junior high schools in Tokyo. Teacher A has been working at a public junior high school in Tokyo for 10 years. In this school, Teacher A uses a textbook that does not have any reference to the comfort women issue. The other teacher, Teacher B, has been working at a private junior high school in Tokyo for 15 years, and is currently the chief of the school's social studies division. The school Teacher B teaches at uses Manabisha's textbook which contains references to the comfort women issue. The interviews conducted were semi-structured. The authors prepared eight questions prior to the interviews, and additional questions were also asked during the interviews based on the answers of each interviewee. The interview with Teacher A was conducted in person, while the interview with Teacher B was conducted over the phone. Each interview lasted for around 40 minutes. The language used in the interviews was Japanese. The interviews were recorded with the consent of the interviewees and then transcribed.

### 3.3. Data analysis

This paper used a closed coding method according to the four criteria set by MEXT, namely, 1) compliance with the governmental course of study guideline, 2) suitability with the students' development, 3) objectivity, equity, neutrality of the materials, and 4) correctness of the contents.

## 4. FINDINGS

This section will organize the data gained through the research the authors conducted, as explained in the methodology section.

### 4.1. MEXT's opinions on the comfort women issue in textbooks

Through document analysis, it was concluded that the government commented on the comfort women issue in the Manabisha textbook, mainly based on three screening criteria: 1) suitability with students' development; 2) objectivity, equity, and neutrality of materials; and 3) correctness of contents.

Firstly, the government considers the graphic depiction of violence unsuitable for junior high school students. The first version of the Manabisha textbook included, for instance, the description of how 19-year-old Lin Mengjin was taken, and violated by Japanese soldiers:

In the summer of 1943, when 19-year-old Lin Mengjin was helping with the rice harvest, Japanese soldiers suddenly came and took her and three other girls to a Japanese military camp. They were put in separate thatched huts and assaulted. If they resisted even a little bit, the soldiers would punch and kick them, and burn their bodies with cigarettes. After that, they were forced to engage in sexual intercourse with many soldiers. (MEXT, 2014, p. 28)

MEXT's screening committee commented that the textbook, with its explicit depiction of the assault, lacks consideration for the healthy mental development of students. To explain its reticence, the government highlighted the use of some words and expressions such as "punch," "kick," "assault," "burn their bodies with cigarettes," as well as "put in thatched huts," and "forced to engage in sexual intercourse with many soldiers." In this regard, the content deemed unsuitable for junior high school students by the government is that of physical violence, such as punching and kicking, as well as sexual assault and human rights violations.



Secondly, the government is of the opinion that any content based on personal experiences should be avoided in textbooks for the sake of objectivity. The section on the comfort women issue in the original version of the Manabisha textbook revolved around the case of Lin Mengjin, who was forced to become a comfort woman by Japanese soldiers. However, the Japanese government was not in favor of using examples from individuals, as personal stories could hardly be corroborated by other sources of material, such as history textbooks or encyclopedias. The government was of the opinion that if textbooks include such stories that cannot be found in other places, students cannot further their study, as stated here: “Selection of the content leans towards specific events and lacks coherence. (The case is an individual case which is hardly addressed in encyclopedias or other historical materials, and students cannot understand or study)” (MEXT, 2014, p. 6).

Lastly, the government is hesitant to include content it does not recognize in textbooks. For instance, Manabisha’s textbook mentioned the number of ‘comfort stations’ that had been built on an island called Kainan-to, and how Korean and Taiwanese women were taken to battlefields against their will, to which the government responded that it was not in synchronization with its opinion of the events:

On Hainan Island, more than four military ‘comfort stations’ were created and many women were put in there. (MEXT, 2014, p. 29)

Kim Haksun’s testimony (all) (As well as the statement “On the other hand, there were Korean and Taiwanese women who were sent to the battlefield as “comfort women.” Women were forced to move along with the Japanese military and could not act on their own volition.” in a section called “Korean, Taiwanese people and Japan’s war” on page 237) (MEXT, 2014, p. 29)

Although the government was not precise about what they found incorrect about those statements, the above statements were declared potentially confusing for students, and not in line with the government’s opinions: “The description is not based on the agreed governmental view [in regard to the comfort women issue]” (MEXT, 2014, p. 29).

After receiving those comments from the government, the Manabisha publishing company edited each and every part related to the comfort women issue in their textbook. Instead of introducing personal stories of former comfort women, the post-screening and current version of the textbook focuses on how the Japanese government conducted research and later apologized over the issue, and how the government has yet to find any documents proving the enslavement of women by the Japanese military. Also, although the former version placed the comfort women issue in its main section, the present version only alludes to this issue in an aside, “column section,” of side notes.

Although the Japanese government eventually authorized Manabisha’s textbook, the contents regarding the comfort women issue were changed, resulting in dramatically different pre-screening and post-screening versions of the textbook. Through the analysis of governmental documents on textbook screening, sub research question one can be answered. The government does not allow the comfort women issue to be on junior high school textbooks if it does not suit the three criteria: 1) suitability with students’ development; 2) objectivity, equity, and neutrality of materials; and 3) correctness of contents.

#### 4.2. Teachers’ reactions

The data collected from the interviews with teachers did not fit with the criteria set by MEXT, thus this paper cannot answer sub research question two.



Teacher A, who works at a public junior high school, said that the textbook used in his class was published by Teikoku-Shoin publishing company and did not have any reference to the comfort women issue.

He stated that although his students showed interest whenever he mentioned the comfort women issue, he was hesitant to discuss it in class:

Because I have no particular view towards comfort women. If I were to talk about comfort women, I wouldn't do it just as a historical event, but in terms of why the problem has not been solved to this day. I want to tell the students that what is happening now will gradually turn into history (TEACHER A, personal communication, November 19, 2019).

When asked about the process of textbook adoption, he described his own experience of textbook adoption at public junior high schools:

I have been involved in the adoption of the textbook used in Koto-ku, Tokyo, and expressed my opinion on the textbook after its certification. About five teachers were called from the education board of the ward, but it is not clear whether our opinions were reflected or not, in deciding which textbook to be used by the ward. I think that the principals' opinion had already been reflected to some extent in the textbook since several principals of public school contributed in the textbook making process as writers (TEACHER A, personal communication, November 19, 2019).

With regard to the content of textbooks, he said that the influence of what the government wants to teach was stronger than what students want to learn. For example, in the case of territorial disputes, "an integral part of Japan's sovereign territory" is the term that is used for northern territories and Takeshima in textbooks. Those areas are known as ongoing disputes between Japan and other countries. In his opinion, this primarily reflected Prime Minister Abe's intentions, which painted Japan in a more positive light.

On the other hand, when asked about the importance of the contents of textbooks, Teacher A argued that it was not of the greatest importance, as he was given great autonomy in classrooms about what and how to teach his students. He stated that even if something was not in the textbook, he was able to use other resources to explain a certain subject, if necessary. In other words, the content covered in class depends on the teacher's own interests and background. Regarding his position as a teacher conducting classes, he said, "It's better to tell the facts, but I'll try to convey my opinion to the students by saying, 'I personally think.' I sometimes tell students an opinion opposite to theirs."

The other interviewee, Teacher B, who works at a private junior high school, said that his school used Manabisha's textbook, which referred to the comfort women issue. In his school, the purpose of the textbook was not rote memorization, but to discuss how events were described and help students learn that there are multiple perspectives toward the same historical events. Also, as part of their homework, students were asked which part of the textbook should be changed. Despite the textbook mentioning comfort women, he did not touch upon the comfort women issue in his class. Nevertheless, he said that at the beginning of his history classes, he told his students that the school had received a letter of protest against using Manabisha's textbook because of its controversial contents. Following this, he also asked his students, "How is the history education perceived by the public?" and, "Why study history?"

As chief of his school's social studies division, Teacher B stated that he held the responsibility of choosing which history textbook the school adopts. He explained the criteria for choosing textbooks as follows:

Textbooks that are easy to use for teachers should be used in class. I've heard that the adoption process of public schools' textbooks puts aside teachers' opinions, so I think it makes it more difficult to conduct classes for those teachers (TEACHER B, personal communication, November 20, 2019).

In his opinion, the issue of comfort women was often absent from history textbooks, partly due to the government's pressure on textbook publishers. He said that the comfort women issue was but one of many historical events, and it was odd for only the description of this topic in the textbook to be thought of as controversial. He argues that the contents of textbooks should be developed independently by the publisher:

If there is a public debate, teachers should act as a bridge between the public and the students by giving information to them, rather than hiding it. Teachers should tell the students about those debates. I want publishers and textbook writers to write freely rather than paying attention to the government. As long as textbooks are written based on facts, descriptions should be diverse" (TEACHER B, personal communication, November 20, 2019).

When asked about whether teachers should express their opinions or not, Teacher B said there was no need for teachers to be neutral. He said it was vital to discuss teachers' points of view and that of students' and consider them equal. He believed that by introducing topics that occur in the real world, whether included in textbooks or not, he could create classes students' interest was stimulated. He explained this, saying:

By reading textbooks critically, students will have a deeper understanding of history than passively reading textbooks. In order to do that, it is helpful to use a textbook that contains a lot of questions that students have to ask, stop, and think about (TEACHER B, personal communication, November 20, 2019).

For example, he said that it would be interesting to look at the textbook of a publishing company called Ikuho-sha, which is considered right-leaning, unlike Manabisha's textbook, which is considered left-leaning. He said when conducting classes, "No matter how good our textbooks are, we should not educate students in thinking that textbooks are unquestionable," (TEACHER B, personal communication, November 20, 2019).

#### 4.3. Summary of MEXT's and teachers' views on the comfort women issue

The two research methods this paper conducted tried to answer each sub question, leading up to the answer of the main research question. Although document analysis answered sub question one, this study was not able to answer sub question two. Therefore, the answer to the main research question, "What are the factors that influence the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in junior high school history textbooks?" is the same as that of sub question one: MEXT was reluctant to allow the comfort women issue to be published in junior high school textbooks based on the following three criteria: 1) suitability with students' development; 2) objectivity, equity, and neutrality of materials; and 3) correctness of contents.

## 5. DISCUSSION

This section will analyze the reasons for the obliteration of the comfort women issue in Japanese history textbooks based on the findings previously shown in this paper. Additionally, the limitations of this study will also be presented.

### 5.1. Influence of culture on education

The Japanese culture of avoiding discussion about sex-related topics in schools might be another way to explain MEXT's reluctance in including the comfort women issue in junior high school textbooks. As explained in the background section, previous studies discussed how the Japanese right-leaning government tried to instill patriotism in students by eliminating Japan's wrongdoings in textbooks, an example being the comfort women issue. However, document analysis in this study revealed that it was not only historical discrepancies or political neutrality that resulted in MEXT's aversion toward including the comfort women issue in textbooks. It was found that overly-graphic expressions were another factor leading MEXT to disagree with publishing content regarding comfort women. This finding suggests the possibility that the Japanese culture of avoiding explicit topics has an influence on the education sector, such as in the erasure of comfort women in textbooks. In fact, Japanese sex education is known to be underdeveloped (Fu, 2011). Fu (2011) states that Japanese people feel ambivalent towards sex education as many consider it as something that should be addressed in the private domain and not as something to be taught in schools. Hirose (2013) also studied the campaign against sex education in Japan that rose in recent years. As these studies show, the Japanese education has a tendency of avoiding the topic of sex, due to the shared feeling of ambivalence about state intervention in the private domain. This culture of avoiding sexual topics in schools may be another reason why MEXT was hesitant about including the comfort women issue in textbooks, as this issue in itself is about sexual assault. This paper, therefore, suggests the Japanese education culture, which tends to avoid sexual topics, is another factor that influences the inclusion of the comfort women issue in textbooks. However, as this study did not look deeply into the relation between Japanese culture and the teaching of comfort women issue, it is hoped that future research would also study the way culture affects education.

### 5.2. Differences in Teachers' Approaches to the Textbook

The interviews suggest the high autonomy of teachers in the classroom as a reason for influencing the inclusion of the comfort women in history textbooks. The teacher's remarks revealed that the contents of textbooks do not dictate what is taught in classrooms. The interviewed teachers said that although the textbooks are a crucial component of students' learning experience, the teachers' day-to-day teaching makes a significant difference in students' learning experience too. It is the role of each teacher to structure their lessons using the textbook. Teachers in the Japanese education system are crucial actors in students' learning process since they are given great autonomy in designing their lessons.

In fact, Kakuda (2008) wrote that in the field of history education, there is a lack of scrutiny on what kind of lessons to create with textbooks. According to Kusahara (2007), the ways teachers use textbooks in classrooms can be divided into three. The first way sees the lesson goals, content, and methods all following the lesson development as presented in the textbook. The second one is that while the content of each class is textbook-based, teachers are creative in their teaching methods, such as replacing materials according to students' interests. The third one is that the textbook is used only as a reference, and it is the teacher's responsibility to choose the knowledge and abilities that should be imparted to students. Kakuda (2008) said that in the case of a textbook-dependent lesson as described in the first pattern above, teachers tend to care about the content of the textbook because they believe that if the textbook's descriptions are not accurate, they will give misinformation to the students. He also states that when teachers creatively structure their lessons, as in the third pattern,

they are required to study the material in depth. They are tolerant of differences in textbook descriptions and accept them as diverse interpretations, considering that history is an interpretation, and nothing is infallible (Kakuda, 2008). Since each teacher has autonomy in terms of how they structure their classes, the dependence on and use of textbooks in class can vary significantly from teacher to teacher.

Therefore, this paper claims that the focus also needs to be on how teachers use the textbook and what they actually teach in classrooms, rather than solely looking at the contents of textbooks when discussing the textbook controversy. This offers new insight into history education, which emphasizes not only the textbook descriptions and interpretations, but also the contents of lessons. Due to the lack of data from the interviews, it was difficult to determine how schools and their teachers decide the contents of what they teach students. As such, future research should take into account not only the content of textbooks but also how they are used in the classroom and how those lessons are perceived by students.

### 5.3. Limitations of the study

As part of the limitations of this study, it was identified that there are attempts being made by MEXT to ensure transparency in the textbook screening system, such as in the provision of a defined screening criteria and explicit comments in response to its critics. However, it was observed that, despite doing so, the process remains “opaque” due to the fact that the degree to which information is being withheld cannot be discerned through document analysis alone. As such, it is hard to identify the full extent to which the screening system has been influenced by other factors, such as by the political leanings of the government.

## 6. CONCLUSION

This research paper tried to answer the research question, “What are the factors that influence the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in junior high school history textbooks?” and two sub questions, “What reasons does MEXT give in relation to the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in history textbooks?” and “What reasons do school teachers give in relation to the inclusion or exclusion of the comfort women issue in history textbooks?”

To do so, research was conducted through two methods, namely, the analysis of government documents, and interviews with history teachers of public and private schools. The findings revealed a tendency for MEXT to censor material considered overly explicit for students, in addition to claims that did not align with official statements on the matter, hindering the inclusion of the comfort women issue in textbooks. This was attributed to the deeply conservative nature of Japanese society, which has a reaching influence even on their education. Other findings showed that the contents of textbooks are secondary to what and how teachers choose to teach their students, and uncovered the various approaches educators are able to take when using textbooks in the classroom.

Teaching history in schools is of great importance in developing the critical thinking ability of students, which encourages younger generations to acquire skills required for them to take their own positions when it comes to controversial situations or opinions. Through historical knowledge, students discover how society can change and evolve, while learning from past mistakes so as not to repeat them. Gaining exposure to the history of their society helps students realize that the future is in their hands, thus promoting a greater understanding of the active roles and heavy responsibilities they may assume in their respective contexts.

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## Appendix A

### Interview Questions for Teachers

1. 歴史の授業でどのような教材を使用しているか？
2. その教材では慰安婦問題について言及しているか？
3. どのようにして慰安婦問題を教えているか？
4. これらのことを生徒たちに教えることは重要であると思うか？
5. 教科書採択のプロセスに教師や校長の意見が反映されるべきだと思うか？
6. 歴史問題を教えるときに教師は中立的な視点を持つべきだと思うか？
7. どうして多くの教科書に慰安婦問題が言及されていないと思うか？
8. 教科書の意義とは？

### English Translated

1. What materials do you use in your history classes?
2. Does the material mention the comfort women issue?
3. How do you teach the comfort women issue?
4. Do you think it's important to teach these things to your students?
5. Do you believe that the textbook screening and adoption process should reflect the views of teachers and principals?
6. Do you think that teachers should have a neutral perspective when teaching history issues?
7. Why do you think that the comfort women issue is not mentioned in many textbooks?
8. What is the significance of a textbook?



## **GROUP ESSAY 2**

### **Observed Changes in the Social Status Of Zainichi Koreans in Japan's Newspaper Coverage**

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#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

The current Zainichi Koreans' presence stems from Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910 and its subsequent colonial occupation of the country until the end of World War II in 1945 (Hanada, 2003). During that period, large numbers of Koreans both freely and forcibly emigrated to Japan where they performed mostly hard labor. More than 70 years have passed since World War II ended in 1945 and approximately 600,000 Koreans who chose to remain in Japan have since been facing and dealing with forms of discrimination in several social domains. As a developed industrial democracy, Japan is still facing an "immigrant problem" that spans across four generations (Chung, 2010). As a result, the social status of Zainichi Koreans in Japan has been the focus of social researchers.

As the daily newspaper has the social function in educating and informing the public (Schäfer, 2012), it was chosen as a platform to explore the temporal changes in the social status of Zainichi Koreans in Japan in this study. Within the scope of this study, prior findings on Zainichi Koreans' social status are aligned and compared with their representation in the coverage of a daily newspaper. This research approach contributes to the existing literature by offering a clearer view on how the mass media and journalists perceived and understood the status of Zainichi Koreans, which in return, can be influenced by and have an influence on the public perceptions of the issue. The Asahi Shimbun's archives were chosen for data analysis. Articles related to Zainichi Koreans from the 1950s until 2018 were re-visited and grouped into thematic issues. Results from the document analysis are expected to deepen understanding of critical shifts in the social status of Korean residents in Japan. To achieve these objectives, the study addresses the following question: "What significant changes regarding Zainichi Koreans' social status can be observed in news coverage throughout the decades? In what way are these changes presented?"

This paper is divided into 4 sections. The introduction provides general understanding of the issue concerning Zainichi Koreans' social status in Japan and the objectives of the research. The literature review synthesizes definitions of Zainichi Koreans in previous research and attempts to provide a historical review of their social status both in research and as depicted by the mass media. From the research gap formulated after reviewing related insight, the methodology section explains how the Asahi Shimbun's archival data were treated. The results were then presented and discussed in the last section.



## 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

### 2.1. Korean residents in Japan

#### 2.1.1. Defining “Zainichi Koreans”

According to Kashiwazaki (2009), the term “gaikokujin” (foreigners) in Japanese generally indicates the status of “outsiders.” A typical outsider/ foreigner in Japan would stand out because of his or her appearance, behavior and most importantly, the assumption that the person holds foreign nationality. In addition, based on the social identity theory, Kobayashi et al. (2015) posits that distinct language, practices and religion of immigrants foster xenophobic attitudes, which could be held accountable for different sentiments towards different groups of immigrants. Also, the effect of nationality, status and cultural adjustment does play a vital role in shaping these sentiments toward the process of naturalization (Kobayashi et al., 2015). Henceforth, the group of Korean residents in Japan appears to be more “acceptable” due to their long-term presence in Japan, not to mention the ongoing debate and struggle regarding their citizenship rights. In other words, the word “gaikokujin”, with its meaning in Japan, cannot be expected to capture the full image of today’s Zainichi Koreans. Meanwhile, the idea of “belongingness” when talking about Zainichi Koreans is complicated and unsettled.

The word “zainichi” emerged in a complicated context, and different typologies are assigned to the term “Zainichi Korean” itself. Chung (2010) stated that the concept of “zainichi” emerged in opposition to the repatriation ideology (*kikoku shugi*), which is associated with the first-generation Korean residents in Japan. Accordingly, while the first-generation of Zainichi Koreans were more connected with their homeland politics, the second-generation began to question their connections with their roots (Chung, 2010). It is from the second generation that Zainichi Koreans realized they were treated as foreigners in both their supposed “home” country and Japan, and hence, they adopted the identity of “zainichi”. The word “zainichi”, at this moment, literally means “resident living in Japan” or being present in Japan (Chung, 2010; Lee, 2012).

In finding out a working definition for Zainichi Koreans, there are two postulations. The first one refers to Zainichi Koreans as the “ethnic Korean population of Japan” (Ryang, 2004; Tai, 2014) and the second one is “Korean minority in Japan” (Wickstrum, 2016). The latter is concerned more with the legal perspective and defines Zainichi Koreans as “Japanese nationals of Koreans ancestry” (Chung, 2010). Either way, the meaning of the word is constantly surrounded in controversies. With the notion of “zainichi” as an ethnic group, the term appears to carry the notion of “group solidarity” rather than a foreigners’ social category (Kashiwazaki, 2009). At the same time, the term also bears a different perceived value compared to other Japanese ethnic minorities because, clearly, attitudes toward Zainichi Koreans are not the same as those toward the Ainu or Ryukyuan peoples. Even among the Zainichi Korean communities, there is a division of groups of Zainichi Koreans based on their nationalities, i.e., North Koreans (*chosen-jin* or *chosen-seki*), South Koreans (*kankoku-seki*) and Japanese (*nihon-seki*) (Gwan-ja, 2015). Regarding Zainichi Koreans citizenship, it has been constantly changing according to different circumstances inherent to different groups and generations of Zainichi Koreans.

In 1991, Zainichi Koreans were granted the status of “special permanent residents” (*tokubetsu eiju*) by the Japanese government, which is a critical change signaling a turning point for the community as it further established the hybridity of their identity (Chapman, 2004). This hybridity, also mentioned in Lee’s (2012) study, conveys the message that, while the Zainichi Korean

community have been through the process of assimilation, they are still marginalized and treated as foreigners in Japan. According to Gwan-ja (2015), this “Korean-Japanese” identity is nowadays shared among the third and fourth generation of Zainichi Koreans, which is further explained through the historical review of changes in the social status of the community.

#### 2.1.2. A historical review of Zainichi Koreans’ social status

According to Jasso (2001), status plays a vital part in social life in shaping the structure of groups and societies. As for Berger et al. (1980, as cited in Jasso, 2001), status encompasses characteristics such as “age, gender, sex, race, ethnicity, education, occupation, physical attractiveness, intelligence...” around which evaluations of and beliefs about them come to be organized. To Arita (2017), it is the work-related and personal factors that determine one's social status. More specifically, Chan (2010) articulated that social status is conceived through “cultural consumption,” based on which we have the notions of highbrow and lowbrow societies. Also, according to Chan (2010, p. 29), in modern societies, occupations are considered one of the “principal positional characteristics” to which status attaches. Mathews (2019) supports the same view with the assertion that social status can be measured through variations on a “status scale” that differs across countries and societies. The criteria that appear on the status scale could include education attainment, occupation, marriage, friendship, etc. All in all, social status is an overarching concept that would often be their starting point for studying the prejudices and discrimination that an ethnic or social minority is facing.

Arita’s (2017) study in Japan, South Korea and Taiwan underscores that social contexts shape social stratification. Accordingly, different historical and social circumstances have shaped Zainichi Koreans' experiences across generations and situated them in the social context of Japan (Lee, 2012). In this paper, the process of Zainichi Koreans for social status attainment is divided into four periods: (1) the colonial period (1910-1945), (2) the post-war period (1945-1950s), (3) the high-growth period (mid-1950s-1970s), and (4) the economic bubble and its aftermath (1980s-2000s) (Kim, 2011). Respectively connected to these four periods are four generations of diverse legal and residential categories of Koreans living in Japan. The first generation migrated to Japan when Korea was colonized in 1910 and faced discriminations due to their citizenship. The second generation was born in Japan and was excluded from equal social participation involving education and occupation. It was the third generation who were born amid the Japanese civil rights movements that voiced their concerns regarding equal rights as a Japanese citizen. It is nowadays, seen in both the third and fourth generation, major changes in the social status of the Zainichi Korean community (Gwanja, 2015).

Kim’s (2011) article reveals that the socio-economic status of Zainichi Koreans has improved greatly in recent years. In this regard, two in-group trends have been observed. On the one hand, the socio-economic gap between Zainichi Koreans and the general population has been decreasing, while on the other hand, the gap among Zainichi Koreans has been increasing. According to Chung (2010), the citizenship of Zainichi Koreans has long been a critical issue. Nowadays, Korean residents, with their status as “special permanent residents,” are more likely to hide their ethnic identity in order to be accepted into Japanese society. For instance, there is a common belief that Zainichi Koreans are more or less accepted as part of the Japanese society, especially if they are using a Japanese name.

In her work on immigration and citizenship in Japan, Chung (2010) refers to Zainichi Koreans as “colonial subjects,” meaning that they belong to a different category of minorities in Japan other than the urban poor, peasants, burakumin, Okinawans or Ainu. They are considered as part of the

“outer circle,” as second-class citizens, a race apart from the rest of the population. Lack of political and social visibility in Japan is one of the largest factors that hinders Zainichi Koreans from improving their social status. Hence, there have been Korean activists across generations attempting to tackle this issue by mobilizing the Zainichi Korean community in different social movements.

Tracing back to the 1970s, Korean activists started the civil rights movement to obtain the right to vote as well as the right to run for public offices. The 1970s witnessed a number of critical changes for the Zainichi Korean community, some of which are the phenomenon of “third way” Zainichi Koreans (Kim, 1988, as cited in Chapman, 2004), and the public reaction to the hate speech (Hatano, 2018). Both examples reflect the evolution of the struggles Zainichi Koreans have had in generating and establishing their social status in the Japanese society, both internally and externally, both individually and collectively.

First of all, there have been several changes in the perception of “Zainichi identity”, which is referred to by Kim (1988, as cited in Chapman, 2004) as the “sense of belonging” to Japan, without being either Korean or Japanese. The author calls this the “third way” to separate it from the notion of identity linked to the ideology of the “self” versus the “other” held by first-generation Zainichi-Koreans. This thinking pathway reflects the intra-community agency of the second and third generations, both in a temporal and spatial way. Also, later generations of Zainichi Koreans are referred to as “roaming generations” due to their manifold roles. On the one hand, they try to harmonize both their individual and collective agency within the Zainichi community. On the other hand, they have to face the possibility of marginalization were they to choose not to go through the naturalization process.

Besides the intra-group changes regarding Zainichi Koreans' social status, there was also proactive action coming from Japan's society in how the government reacted to the hate speech phenomenon. Hatano (2018) defines the social phenomenon of hate speech as discriminatory expressions and behaviors aimed at specific ethnic groups or nationalities. This phenomenon became particularly visible in 2013 when large “nationalist groups” (e.g. Zaitokukai, the Association of Citizens against the Special Privileges of Zainichi Koreans) marched in the streets of major cities to express their anger and hatred towards Koreans residing in Japan. According to the Japanese Ministry of Justice, there were 1152 hate-based demonstrations that took place from April 2012 to September 2015 (Hatano, 2018). In May 2016, Japan enacted its first law against hate speech, the “Act on the Promotion of Efforts to Eliminate Unfair Discriminatory Speech and Behavior Against Persons Originating from Outside Japan.” Up to this point, there are certain actions coming from both within and outside the Zainichi Korean community, and thus these actions do have impact on various aspects of the community.

## 2.2. Representations of Zainichi Koreans in Japanese mass media

### 2.2.1. Newspapers in Japan

After World War II, four types of mass media, i.e., newspapers, magazines, television and radio, became widely consumed by the Japanese society (Leo, 2008). Though the digitalization of the mass media has brought about a decline in newspaper circulation, newspapers have always been a powerful component of the mass media (Kumpis, 2015). Nowadays, it is still popular in Japan for newspapers to be home-delivered through distribution agents. Japan's two major newspapers, the Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun, with an estimated distribution of about ten and eight million copies respectively, are giant news media unparalleled in the world (Leo, 2008).

According to Glynn et al. (2018), the press acts as an indirect representation of the environment by supplying the public with pictures and stories about events, issues, and social situations. Newspapers, as part of the mass media, have a critical role in informing the public sphere. The newspaper also spreads myths, stereotypes and information. It keeps readers up to date with the latest events. In times of crisis or conflicts, it is the newspaper, especially national newspapers, that receives and attracts the attention from citizens. In the Japanese society, newspapers hold an educational and social function that has been established since the pre-war era (Schäfer, 2012).

According to Fujiwara (as cited in Schäfer, 2012), the news is potentially interesting for all kinds of people because of its publicity and universality. Henceforth, it can function as a tool for governments to exert social control. However, the newspaper is not without its limited power. According to sociologist Joseph Klapper (in Glynn et al., 2018), the press has had to deal with the “psychological barrier” of its readership, that is, the readers’ own predispositions based on their personal beliefs, attitudes, and behaviors. Even though newspapers have the social function of providing trustworthy news content, they are not alone in shaping people’s perceptions. Yet it is not deniable that newspapers have been a critical witness to significant social change in the country.

#### 2.2.2. Previous studies on the representations of Zainichi Koreans in Japanese mass media

Several past scholars have attempted to shed light on the experiences and representation of the Zainichi Korean community in Japan. In his research on the representation of Zainichi Koreans through Japanese 1960s films, Dew (2016) analyzed the issues arising from the practices and discourses surrounding Koreans, arguing that the Korea-in-Japan film culture has been pervasive and led to the coinage of “Zainichi Cinema”, a practise of producing, curating, exhibiting, viewing and critiquing film images of Koreans-in-Japan. However, the depiction of Zainichi Koreans went rather negative. During the 1960s, films portraying the adventures of the criminal underworld often had actresses play the role of Zainichi Korean women as hostesses who danced and sung in bars or clubs to accompany yakuza men (Kim-Wachutka, 2019). The characters’ ethnicity was visibly conveyed to the audience by having performers wearing traditional Korean dresses, known as *chima chogori*, and dance to the beat of traditional folk songs. Not only does this place a strong impression on Japanese audience that Zainichi Koreans are associated with the criminal underworld, but it also manages to undermine Zainichi Korean culture by fetishizing the historical representation of traditional Korean wear. Another instance was addressed by Kim-Wachutka (2019) when she analyzed the image of second-generation Zainichi Korean women in the 1976’s film *Yakuza’s graveyard: Jasmine’s flower*. The *chima chogori*, once again, appeared in the women’s everyday lives, indicating a non-existence of differences between the first and second generation of Zainichi Koreans. Furthermore, this also disregards the possibility of second generation Zainichi Koreans becoming a part of Japanese society.

The cinematic world is not the only platform where negative depiction of the social world of Zainichi Koreans is rampant. The Japan Times, one of Japan’s oldest, and its largest English daily newspapers, has been reporting on Zainichi Koreans since 1987 from a rather international, liberating perspective (Kumpis, 2015). Although its coverage contributes towards increasing awareness of Zainichi Koreans related issues to English readers, Kumpis (2015) argues that it portrays Zainichi Koreans from a negative perspective and have continuously covered topics such as discrimination,

hate speeches, protests, demonstration, restriction in education, and various grievances from the historical perspective. For an online-platform, it is suggested that negative pieces of news are

considered to be more popular and intriguing than positive ones and reach the general Japanese public. In addition, there is also a possibility that the perspectives given in this type of newspaper may not even come from a Japanese point of view since the journalists are not always Japanese.

All in all, although previous studies focused on changes in historical issues, identity, legal status, and ethnic education pertaining to Zainichi Koreans, a shift and the reason why there is a shift in the social status of Zainichi Koreans throughout the decades after World War II remains unclear. The data collected when analyzing the newspaper coverage in this research, therefore contribute to the existing literature and hold the potential to inform further research on Zainichi Koreans.

### 2.3. Research question

The following research question is to address the gap and fulfill the aims of the study: “What significant changes regarding Zainichi Koreans’ social status can be observed in news coverage throughout the decades? In what way are these changes presented?”

## 3. METHODOLOGY

The research applied content analysis to the archival texts of the Asahi Shimbun, one of Japan’s leading daily newspapers. The newspaper was selected to analyze how Zainichi Koreans have been portrayed to the Japanese public over the last seven decades from 1950 to 2018. According to Rozman (1992), the Asahi Shimbun is nationally recognized as one of the top 3 major newspapers in Japan that provide a homogenous distribution of information on contested topics. For instance, in 2016, the newspaper began a series of articles titled “The Divided World” (*bundan sekai*) which presented issues of social and economic inequality in Japan, promoting natives’ interests over those of immigrants (*haigaishugi*). The Asahi Shimbun was chosen for this study also for it reaches the wide readership of general Japanese public and substantially affects their opinions on Zainichi Korean's social status.

As for the data collection process, first of all, three search terms (in Japanese) related to Zainichi Koreans were selected, i.e., “Zainichi Chosenjin”, “Zainichi Kankokujin” and “Zainichi Korian”. The terms Zainichi Chosenjin and Zainichi Kankokujin refer to North and South Koreans, respectively, who are currently residing in Japan. Meanwhile, the term Zainichi Korian refers to Koreans as an ethnic group living in Japan, which conveys a sense of neutrality. All three terms used during the process of studying the newspaper’s archives have also appeared in previous research papers.

Secondly, the archive analysis was divided into six periods spanning over six decades from 1950 to 2018 (1950-1959, 1960-1969, 1970-1979, 1980-1989, 1990-1999, 2000-2009, 2010-2018).

For the content analysis, the Asahi Shimbun’s archives were accessed through the ICU-International Christian University library using the search terms aforementioned. The total number of related articles was to be counted according to each decade and categorized initially by the search term used. From there, repeated terms were recorded for further analysis.

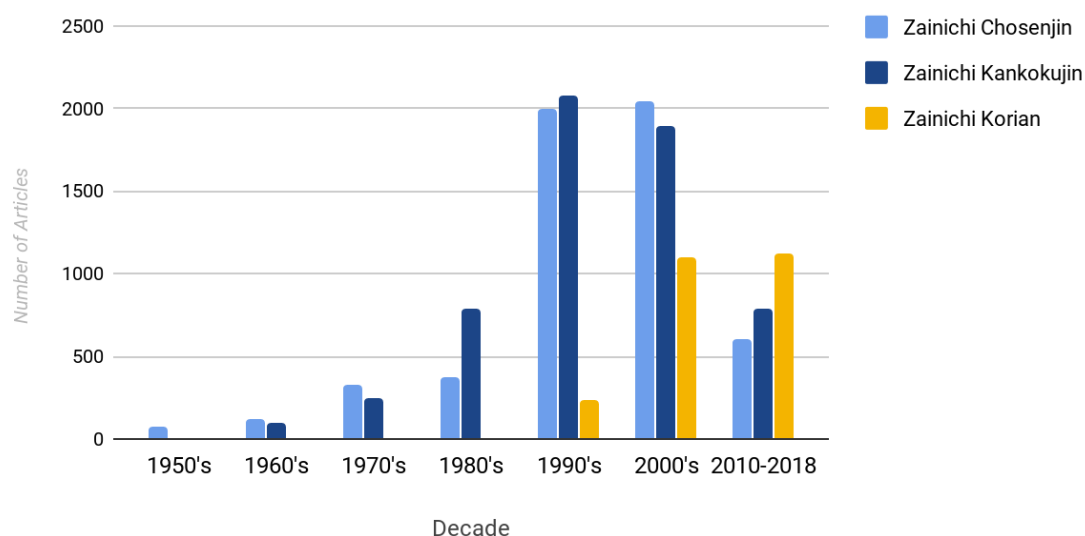
Once the data was collected and synthesized, an analysis was conducted in order to reveal any alignment or similar patterns as shown in the newspaper's archives and previous literature. The amount of articles concerning Zainichi Koreans is presented in Figure 1, how which search term

generates most results and which years there were the most articles about Zainichi Koreans. The next step was to generate themes or topics that were the center of attention during each decade. The connection and the temporal shift of the events in the Asahi Shimbun's archives serves as a platform for analyzing the changes that shape the current Zainichi Koreans' social status.

#### 4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

##### 4.1. Findings

Articles in Asahi Shimbun pertaining to Zainichi Koreans by Search Term



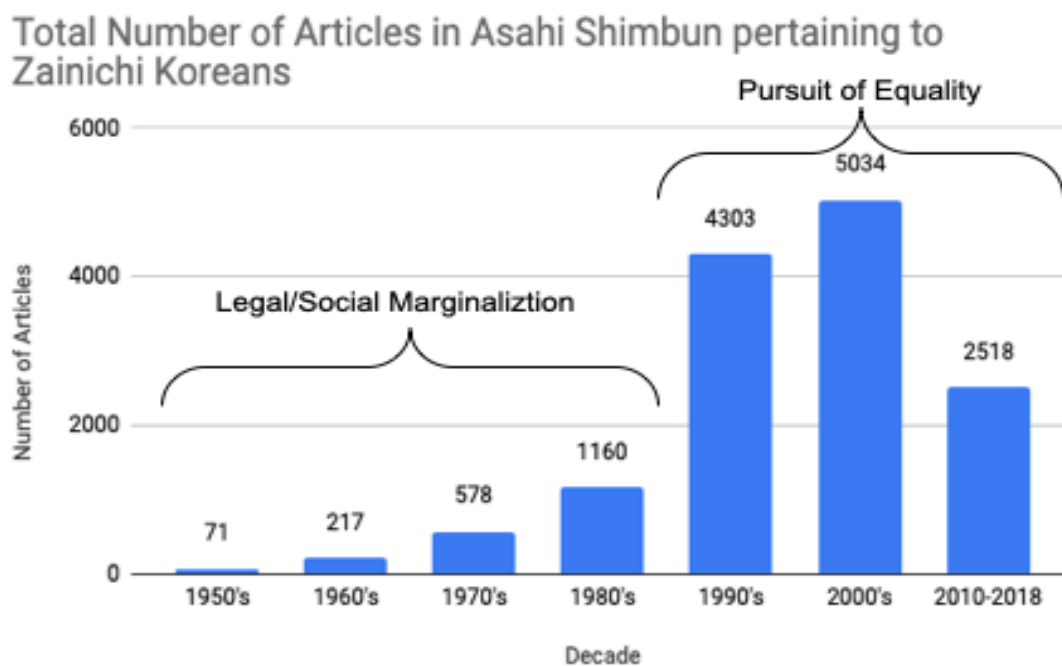
**Figure 1.** The total number of articles in Asahi Shimbun by date and search term.

Figure 1 represents the number of articles released by Asahi Shimbun which contained any of the search terms used for this study and then separated accordingly. Starting from the 1950's, because the Korean Peninsula was still referred to as the Joseon Peninsula (*Chosen Hantou* in Japanese) with Koreans still referred to as Chosenjin, and South Korea (*Daikan Minkoku* in Japanese) had not yet been established, the only existing term then to refer to Zainichi Koreans was Zainichi Chosenjin. This lack of another term is reflected in the 0 articles which included Zainichi Kankokujin and Zainichi Korian. However, after the establishment of South Korea perhaps a new term was considered necessary so as to not construe misunderstandings between those affiliated with the North and South, which may be the reason 97 of the total 217 articles, already nearly half, written in the 1960's used Zainichi Kankokujin over Zainichi Chosenjin. The most noticeable jump in the number of articles can be seen from the 1980's to the 1990's, skyrocketing from a total of 1160 articles to 4303 respectively. This jump coincides with what the study will later describe in the increasing agency of Zainichi Koreans, alongside trends in Japanese society which aimed for more expressions of individuality, as well as perhaps some international focus with the Nagano Olympics in 1998. From the 90's also comes a trend in the usage of the term Zainichi Korian, a term birthed as almost a kind of go-between for those who don't feel affiliated with either existing term, instead now opting to



use the English word Korean. Though initially there may have been some doubts surrounding the term given it lacks a connection to the North or South represented by just 233 of the 5034 articles written using the term. However, by the 2000's the new term seemed to have picked up steam, leaping up to 1098 articles in the 2000's, and even being the most used term between 2010-2018. Perhaps the ambiguity initially met with caution now is its strength, allowing for articles to use a term without the possibility of affiliation.

Keywords such as “illegal Chosenjin (*fuhou chosenjin*)” and “deportation (*soukan*)” in the 1950's, “repatriations (*kikan*)” in the 60's up to “discrimination (*sabetsu*)” and “suffrage (*senkyoken*)” in the 90's, each relating to a larger overall theme, continued to reappear in many articles. Noticeably, each theme never strayed too far from its time period. The closer to modern times, the more the themes became similar in nature. Therefore, it is possible to characterize each decade with a certain topic of interest to the Japanese public pertaining to Zainichi Koreans. These themes persisted as follows: 1950-1959, the illegal residency of Zainichi Koreans; 1960-1969, the repatriation to the Korean Peninsula; 1970-1979, lawsuits by Zainichi Koreans; 1980-1989, human rights for Zainichi Koreans; 1990-1999, the movement towards equality for Zainichi Koreans; 2000-2009, the treatment of Zainichi Koreans as foreigners in Japan and the Special Permanent Residency; 2010-2018, the fight against racism.

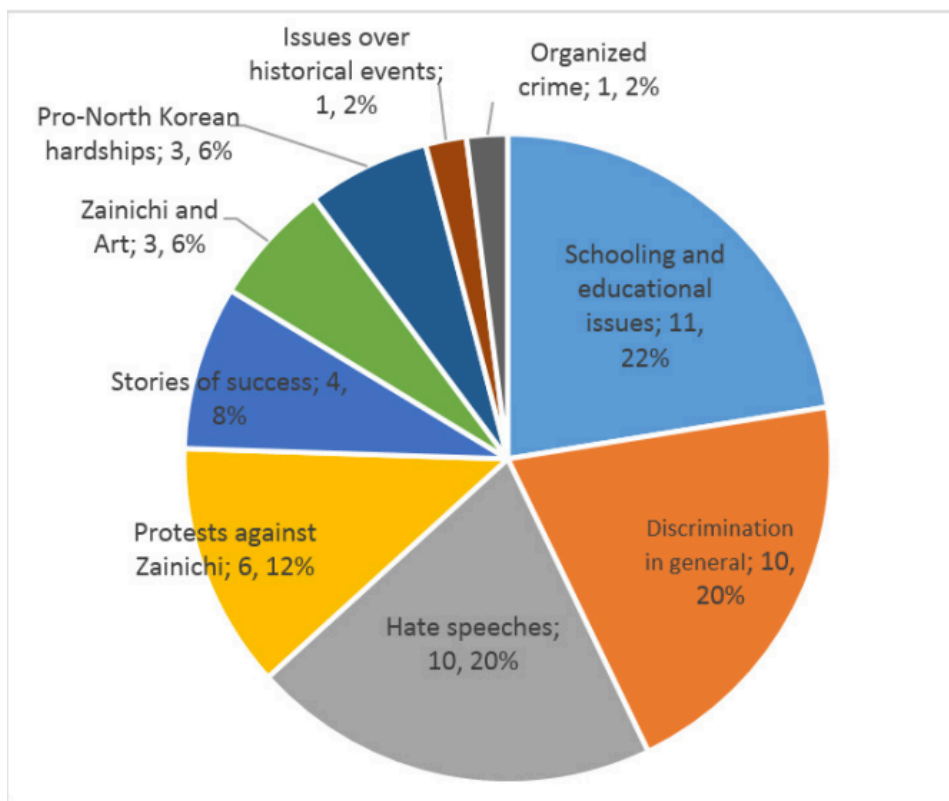


**Figure 2.** Total number of articles pertaining to Zainichi Koreans in the Asahi Shimbun

After characterizing each decade by the themes portrayed in the newspaper, the aforementioned themes were grouped into larger, more overarching shifts in the social status of Zainichi Koreans. Multiple cross-decade, recurring themes began to emerge. From the 1950s to roughly the 1980s, headlines such as “Ministry of Justice names 3-4000 as [harmful to public safety], to speed up measures on illegal Zainichi Koreans”, “Government tells them to change it back to



Korean” give the implication of the legal and social marginalization that Zainichi Koreans faced. This is not to say that from the 1980s onwards, there was some sudden shift in status, but rather the subject began to take root and grew larger throughout that previous 30 year period. From the 1990s onwards, the focus on the Zainichi Koreans’ pursuit for equality came into full swing. Discourse over topics of previous decades such as job discrimination and the fingerprint issue was brought to the forefront, and the dialogue over equal rights between the Japanese public and Zainichi Koreans was on full display. This shift in focus can also be seen in other newspapers such as the *Japan Times* shown in Figure 3 and will be discussed further in the discussion section.



**Figure 3.** Topics regarding Zainichi Koreans issues with percentage of coverage. (Kumpis, 2015)

In more recent times, alongside the Zainichi Koreans’ pursuit for equality, news articles also portrayed their fight against racism. Headlines such as “Japan's Korean residents endure a climate of hate” (Brasor, 2016) reveal that although the overarching discourse surrounds the Zainichi Koreans’ pursuit for equality, the concern over racism against Zainichi Koreans has also grown. As Japan deals with an ever increasing population of foreigners, more attention is being placed on race-related hate speech and xenophobia as a whole. In December of 2019, the city of Kawasaki was reported to be the first in Japan to pass an ordinance against hate speech with criminal punishment, a fine of up to 500,000 yen. This ordinance was reported to be mostly aimed at racist remarks against Zainichi Koreans living in the city, among others of foreign descent who have faced multiple instances of such remarks over the years.

## 4.2 Discussion

As presented in the findings, comparing the news coverage by decades revealed that there was a critical “shift” around the 1980s in terms of the themes and topics on Zainichi Koreans’ social status. In order to deepen understanding of the factors behind the shift, previous studies are, again, brought back to the discussion of Zainichi Koreans in the pursuit of equality.

The first reason for a critical shift in the representation of Zainichi Koreans by the 1980s could be put down to their self-agency in seeking equality. The pursuit of equality was first featured majorly in news articles surrounding job hunting discrimination in the 1970s featuring the law-suit case of a Japanese company named Hitachi. This case was about a Zainichi Korean addressing his experience with discrimination against his ethnicity for using his Korean name. For Zainichi Koreans, their use of Korean names has been a complex issue while usages of Japanese names instead of their ethnic names has become more common. However, this widely-covered news seemed to help invoke a debate on re-viewing the expression of their own identity within the Zainichi Korean community, and lead to later movements for their civil rights such as voting, job-hunting, and most importantly for a recognition as “Korean resident in Japan.” Kim’s (2012) research also recognizes this phenomenon, stating that “zainichi” has begun to carry a more significant meaning than just “Korean.” This altogether signifies a willingness for permanent settlement in Japan and inclusion in the Japanese society. Therefore, this particular case could be held as an example representing both a watershed moment of the shift of Zainichi Koreans’ public image and their own perceptions of identity.

The aforementioned event also indicates that later generations of Zainichi Koreans have since begun to think and act differently. The later generations in the Zainichi Korean communities themselves, as well as the emergence of the positive portrayal of Koreans in Japanese society and international politics between Japan and Korea could be held as critical dynamics underpinning this shift. In other words, there have been various internal and external factors influencing their group dynamics.

Another factor that comes from the Zainichi Korean community is the alternation of generations. The 1970s was the time when the majority of the third generation of Zainichi Koreans were in their 20s, implying the gradual shift of representation within the community. As introduced in the literature review section earlier in this paper, it was the third generation who were born in the middle of the civil rights movements and became the ones to voice their concerns on equal rights as a Japanese citizen (Gwanja, 2015). Around the same time, Japanese society was also experiencing several notable phenomena that relates to the awareness of “Koreans” in Japan. Starting from the 1990s, the Hallyu wave, as represented in the huge popularity of the Korean melo-drama “Winter in Sonata”, introduced to the Japanese society different features about Korean pop culture. This contributes to a more positive image for “Korean” in general. (Osaka et al., 2007). Not only that, due to the legal change in Korea, the number of so-called “newcomers” from Korea increased. Newcomers are also considered to be one of the major factors influencing the history of international relations between Japan and Korea (Yamashita, 2016). It suggests that there is a grey area between Zainichi and Newcomers. These two significant changes that Japanese society experienced could have partially influenced other Japanese to cast aside negative views on Korea.

Lastly, on national level, there were also several historical events in international relations between Japan and Korea from the 1970s onward. In 1984, South Korea’s former President Chun Doo-hwan officially paid a visit to Japan for the first time after the independence of Korea. The then

Emperor of Japan and Prime Minister Nakasone greeted him and expressed a sense of regret to what had been done in Korea during the colonial period, indicating that “it is indeed regrettable that there was an unfortunate past between us for a period in this century” and asserted that it would never be repeated (Kim, 1987). Efforts to introduce a new chapter to the Japan-South Korea relationship was made on the Japan’s side as the Japanese government by President Nakasone was “willing to support the simultaneous entry of North and South Korea into the United Nations as well as the cross recognition of the two Koreas by major powers” (Kim, 1987). These events were deemed meaningful as they presented a critical impact on the Zainichi Korean community in particular and the Japanese society in general. In a nutshell, positive patterns in the political world could supposedly be held accountable for the shift in Zainichi Koreans’ social status as well.

## **5. CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The current investigation into the newspaper archives aims to reflect part of the Japanese media and its coverage of Zainichi Koreans over the years. The investigation was done by analysing the Asahi Shimbun newspaper and its articles pertaining to Zainichi Koreans from the 1950s to 2018. From the initial analysis, specific themes emerged from each decade which would go on to characterize the main subjects of news coverage by the newspaper. Besides, two larger, overarching cross-decade themes (pursuit for equality and the fight against racism), and a critical shift in public coverage on Zainichi Koreans during the 1980s and the 1990s are also identified. Through this shift in themes, the shift in Zainichi Koreans’ social status also appears through such coverage. The two aforementioned themes, i.e., the pursuit for equality and the fight against racism, have prompted a recognition of agency, the driving force underpinning internal changes within the Zainichi Korean community. Here, this agency refers to the collective and self-agency of Zainichi Koreans in pursuitment of their own equality with Japanese citizens.

The study is not without its limitations. As a compromise for the lack of time, this paper focuses only on one newspaper’s archives for analysis. Furthermore, the time constraint restricted the investigation from performing a complete discourse analysis, thus resulting in sub-optimal analyses and findings. Future research could focus on discourse analysis or build a corpus regarding this set of articles that we have collected. This way, more attitudinal analyses can be done and certain emerging, intentional contents can be detected as well.

Though newspapers give a full chronological order to the topic at hand, with its continuous coverage into the present day, it is now just one source out of many used in social discourse. Consequently, relying on a single form of media, regardless of its variety (such as another major newspaper) would not be sufficient to capture the nature of modern news coverage with the expansion of domestic foreign-language mediums and digital forms of media. These restrictions thus call for further, more rigorous research to be done not only in newspapers, but other forms of media as well.

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## GROUP ESSAY 3

### Promoting Ethno-Empathy in Japan: The Case of the School Field Trips

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#### 1. INTRODUCTION

##### 1.1 Background

The relationship between Japan and South Korea has not been stable, despite their strong economic ties. The conflict over WWII issues, such as the comfort women issue, still remains unsolved (Hahm, 2019). As they are neighboring countries that need to cooperate to tackle other foreign policy issues, it is desirable that these historical conflicts be resolved both at the governmental level and the grass-root level.

Peace education is successful for conflict reconciliation when ethno-empathy is developed in students. Ethno-empathy is the ability to empathize with an ethnic group other than one's own. In Japan, school field trips play a significant role in peace education in Japanese schools. Given that, school field trips must be designed in a way that facilitates the development of ethno-empathy in students.

However, the reality seems to be the opposite; schools in Japan are avoiding visiting South Korea due to political uneasiness between Tokyo and Seoul. According to Kyoiku-Ryokou Nenpou (2019), 13.7% of high schools and 4.6% of junior high schools go abroad for school field trips. The most popular destination for those schools is Taiwan with 20.4% of schools that choose to visit the island. On the other hand, only 2.8% of schools visit Japan's closest neighbor, South Korea. Wada (2019) points out that this is because many Japanese have a positive impression on Taiwan in terms of politics, history, and culture.

In order to facilitate more Korea-Japan engagement among students through school field trips, this paper proposes a possible research method to measure the psychological influence of school field trips on ethno-empathy.

##### 1.2 Purpose of Research

To analyze the effects of students visiting places like South Korea for school field trips, a research method to qualitatively analyze the impact of school field trips in Japan is crucial. In this paper, a tool to qualitatively analyze the students' ethno-empathy is examined and proposed. The purpose of this research is to propose a method to measure the effectiveness of school field trips conducted in Japanese schools in terms of ethno-empathy.

##### 1.3 Research Question

How do we measure the impact of school field trips on students' ethno-empathy?



## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **2.1 Peace education in Japan**

#### **2.1.1 The aim of Japan's peace education**

Since the end of WWII, Japan has had a long history of peace education which primarily focuses on war education (Takeuchi, 2011). There have been efforts to let the younger generations understand war as an immoral act that must not be repeated ever again, both at the state and local level. This is evident in the country's constitution and the *Basic Act on Education 2006*, which serves as a fundamental principle for peace education in Japan (Murakami, 2009). The former is a pacifist constitution that states the renunciation of war. The latter states that education must cultivate "people who make up a peaceful and democratic nation and society." Education is recognized as a means to bring peace at the state level. At the same time, peace education has developed locally, especially in areas such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, cities bombed with nuclear weapons at the end of WWII. Local teachers have created original curriculums and learning materials (Moody, 2006). Peace education in Japan has aimed and still attempts today at creating a generation of peacemakers who believe that war is a tragedy.

#### **2.1.2 Peace education in Japanese classrooms**

In practical terms, peace education in Japanese classrooms has not been successful. Peace education itself does not stand as a formal subject in schools but is rather expected to be taught through school subjects like social studies (*shakai*) or literature (*kokugo*). However, both middle school and high school students and teachers are concerned about the entrance exams for the next educational institutions. They usually do not have the time nor the energy to conduct an effective peace education program in the classroom. Meanwhile, school activities such as sports festivals and school field trips also play a significant role in students learning about peacebuilding. In 1998, Japan's Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (from hereon referred to as MEXT) pointed out that Hiroshima Board of Education did not put appropriate education into practice. Though MEXT took corrective actions, it was not clear in detail. There were possible reasons for the above; the lack of the neutrality of education and the possibility of interference with the law. Hiroshima Institute for Peace Education revealed that about 70.7% of schools in Hiroshima thought that peace education receded after this MEXT's advice. For example, the number of schools in Hiroshima, made the curriculum related to peace education for a year, has decreased from 95% in 1997 to 23.7% in 2004. Given these situations, it is not easy to say that peace education in classrooms in Hiroshima has been conducted successfully. It also proves the places, which are expected that peace education should be ongoing from past experiences, do not satisfy the goal as well as other Japanese schools.

### **2.2 Peace education and school field trips in Japan**

As mentioned above, peace education in classrooms has still not been established systematically. On the other hand, school field trips have been considered as an effective way to learn about peace education as a part of school excursions for a long time. In this part, we will make sure of that, and figure out the relationship between peace education and school field trips from the background.

#### **2.2.1 School field trip in education.** School field trips are described as school excursions with an educational purpose where students leave the classroom to get some experiential knowledge. By doing so they get the opportunity to observe and investigate subjects of interest in their real



environment. Field trips have a long tradition in the history of education, which underlines their relevance as valuable teaching instruments (Tal & Morag, 2009). Field trips are considered as experiential learning. This type of learning increases students' interest, knowledge, and motivation (Paxton, 2015).

2.2.2 School field trips in Japan. School field trips are a unique culture in Japan that plays a significant role in school education. The first school field trip was conducted in 1886, and the purpose of the field trip focused on broadening students' perspectives and improving students' teamwork skills (Fujiwara, 2002). After MEXT decided to include school field trips in the curriculum's guidelines in 1958, a growing number of schools have taken students on field trips as a way to educate them. In fact, 98.7% of middle schools and 97.7% of high schools in Japan conducted school field trips (Assn. of School Field Trips in Japan, 2019). These trips, often three to four-day trips outside of their local prefecture, are one of the most significant school events that students in Japan experience.

2.2.3 Peace education and school field trips. School field trips have a significant impact on high school students in terms of peace education in Japan. High schools that conducted domestic school field trips were asked to list the top three activities that the trip focused on, and about half the schools included peace education (Table 1).

Table 1  
Activity that the school field trip focused on

Rank		Activity	High schools that included the specific activity	
2017	2018			percentage
1	1	History education	489	48.5%
2	2	Peace education	454	45.5%
4	3	Skiing	171	17.0%

Note: Data taken from a total of 2,457 high schools in Japan. The original data is from Kyoiku Ryokou Nenpo Databook (Annual Report on School Field Trips).

Popular destinations of the trips also suggest that school field trips and peace education are strongly related. According to Kyoiku-Ryokou Nenpou (2019), Okinawa is the most popular destination for high schools, and the sixth for junior high schools. In Okinawa, students visit museums related to peace such as Himeyuri Peace Museum and Okinawa Memorial Park to learn about the Battle of Okinawa. Hiroshima and Nagasaki are also two of the top ten most popular destinations which offer museums and other learning facilities to learn about war.

Junior high schools, on the other hand, primarily focus on history education. Kyoto is the most popular destination for junior high school students, and they visit historical places such as temples

and shrines. From this data, peace education not only affects their choices but school field trips thus play a significant role in peace education.

### 2.3 ETHNO-EMPATHY IN PEACE EDUCATION

As mentioned in 2.2 School field trips play an important role in education and represent a significant experiential learning for students. Moreover, school field trips students increase tolerance and empathy which is a key element in peace education. Therefore, this section aims to explain the relationship between school field trips and empathy and the importance of empathy in peace education.

#### 2.3.1 The importance of empathy in schools

Socio-emotional skills are a fundamental part of teaching peace education. Fostering empathy has proven to reduce violence in schools, impacting children and youth's lives in school environments and beyond. Empathetic students are tolerant, understanding, and caring individuals that can become responsible citizens of our interconnected world (Salgado, 2016). Teaching a sense of empathy and care develops a strong personal characteristic that is vital in a societal setup. As we see the world disputes becoming more violent in the coming ages, Martinez Salgado (2016) explains, the development of socio-emotional skills like empathy and understanding is not optional, it is a crucial necessity, since students cannot learn without such skills. In order to fulfill our commitment to the holistic education of students, there is a need to develop in them skills of understanding, respect and proactive action in order to foster a culture of peace in schools and in society in general.

#### 2.3.2 Definition of empathy and ethno-empathy

Ethno-empathy is defined as the ability of a person or a group to experience what the other ethnic group feels and thinks. Empathy is an effective response that stems from the apprehension or comprehension of another's emotional state or condition and is similar to what the other is feeling or could be expected to feel. According to Bar-Tal (2009), empathy involves two interactive components: a) cognitive empathy entails cognitive awareness of another's person's thoughts, feelings, perceptions and intentions, and b) effective empathy is the vicarious affective response to another person, meaning the ability to vicariously experience what the other feels.

One of the most promising routes for promoting ethno-empathy is fostering the development of perspective-taking, which means putting oneself in the other's place and seeing the world through the other's eyes, feeling the other's emotions and behaving as the other would behave in a particular situation. Moreover, empathy enables the ability to see members of other groups as human individuals who can be trusted and have legitimate needs. Bar-Tal (2009) provides impressive evidence of how schools can develop social awareness toward other group members. This learning highlights the meaning of the conflict and promotes understanding and cooperation among different groups (Bar-Tal, 2009).

The researchers who recognize the value of cultural and ethnic components have established a new empathy concept called ethnocultural empathy. This ability is also known as cultural competence, cultural empathy and trans-cultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003). Wang et al. (2003) explains the construct of ethnocultural empathy as a composition of intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and the communication of those two. Cultural empathy goes beyond general empathy and

includes understanding and acceptance of another's culture. It is stated that cultural empathy "involves a deepening of the human empathic response to permit a sense of mutuality and understanding across the great differences in value and expectation that cross-cultural interchange often involves" (Wang et al., 2003).

### 2.3.3 The role of empathy in conflict transformation: the conflict triangle

The ABC triangle was developed by Galtung (Figure.1). The three components of the triangle are: the attitude (A) of the actors involved, their behavior (B), and the contradiction (C). The three components are interrelated and any one of them may be the starting point for the development of a conflict. An incompatibility in goals, for example over a territory, may lead to a hostile attitude, then behavior. It is also the case that a hostile behavior can lead to a hostile attitude and create an incompatibility of goals. Likewise, hostile attitudes between actors can result in behavior that creates an incompatibility of goals. (Galtung & Fischer, 2013)

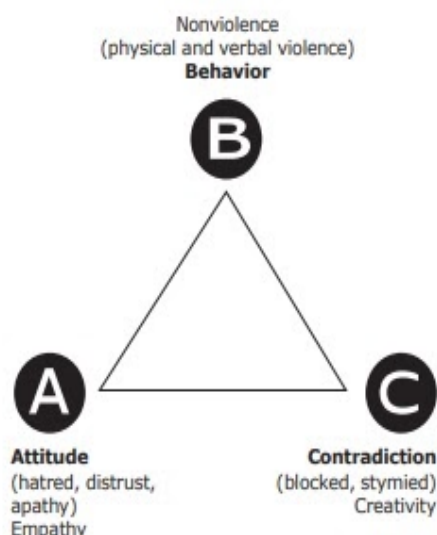


Figure. 1 ABC triangle (Galtung & Fischer, 2013)

## 2.4. Ethno-empathy and peace education: Can school field trips develop students' empathy

Considering the importance of school field trips and empathy in peace education respectively, it is necessary to develop analytical tools which can explain the relationship between empathy and school field trip. Therefore, this section explains the gaps in the existing literature reviews examined and the importance of the research.

### 2.4.1 Gap in analyzing ethno-empathy in peace education

The literature examined covers peace education and the purpose of peace education in Japan. Moreover, most of the studies have been focused on the importance of empathy in conflict transformation and the effectiveness of the school field trip in education. Galtung & Fischer believe that in order for people to transform conflicts peacefully, they must bring out three main qualities,

namely an attitude of empathy, a behavior committed to nonviolence, and the capacity to handle the contradictions (Galtung & Fischer, 2013).

In the field of education, one of the major benefits of field trips is that they allow a group of students to gain a shared experience. The instructor is able to join this experience and make contributions, particularly by establishing the connection between the field trip and theoretical in-class lessons. Dewitt, J., & Storksdieck, M. (2008) compared different types of experiential learning, including volunteer internships and field trips, and found evidence that students participating in their study rated field trips as being most beneficial for their learning outcomes. (Dewitt, J., & Storksdieck, M., 2008).

However, none of the literature examined provides tools on how to measure ethnocultural empathy in students and how school field trips can increase or decrease ethno-empathy in a certain group of individuals. Moreover, there is no research that measures the impact of field trips on ethno-empathy and its development/increase. Therefore, the present research aims to propose how to quantitatively measure if school field trips to the sites of memory can be a vehicle to increase ethno-empathy in the context of Japan-Korea.

Josai Junior & Senior High School, a private middle and high school in Tokyo, exemplifies this situation; school field trips are not analyzed in the context of ethno-empathy. In 2007, students visited South Korea or China for their school field trips, according to their choices. Goto (2007) states that the purpose of having South Korea as an option was for students to learn the history of the relationship between Korea and Japan, and to form peace-building friendships across borders. Participants' voices after the field trip were reported as evidence that school field trips have a significant impact on the students' worldview and lead to self-discovery. However, that research has limitations: the analysis of these reflection papers does not take into account the possibility of students submitting socially acceptable content to teachers which contradicts their actual thinking. The concept of ethno-empathy was not mentioned in that context. Also, it is unclear if and how the influence of that trip as a peace education strategy can be measured.

Given all above, we decided to research and find the appropriate measure for analyzing the effects of field trips to ethno-empathy.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

The purpose of this section is to explain in detail the research methods and the methodology implemented for this qualitative study regarding the measurement of empathy in students. The research design and procedures are primary components of this chapter

#### **3.1. Research design**

Qualitative method was chosen to find a scale for ethno-empathy. Previous studies on the effect of field trips abroad were found online and on paper, and its methodology's appropriateness was examined based on three points: anonymity, exemption of other variables, and understanding the complex concept of ethno-empathy.

Anonymity of the participant's data was first taken into account when examining the methodology. Korea-Japan relationships are often sensitive topics in Japan, and it is presumed that when the names of the field trip participants are presented on the data, or the content is for the teacher to see, the likely outcome is what the participants present socially acceptable answers instead

of their honest thoughts. When examining the effects of field trips to ethno-empathy, it is important that the data collected guarantees anonymity.

The second point considered was the exemption of other variables. It is important to make sure that the only thing measured is the effect of field trips, nothing more. The tool for measuring must be controllable so that other possible factors that may influence the ethno-empathy level in students such as study abroad experience, encountering foreigners, and so on do not affect the result of the research.

The scale also must cover all the important key concepts of ethno-empathy. Not only should the general concept of empathy must be covered, but also the ability to feel empathy towards a group that is culturally distinct from one's own.

### 3.2. Procedures

Using these three points, we 1) referred to previous studies on school field trips abroad and 2) searched for possible scales to measure ethno-empathy in areas outside of education, such as psychology, and 3) created an original scale for the measurement of ethno-empathy.

## 4. FINDINGS

Given the lack of data on connections between field trips as a peace education strategy and ethno-empathy, we decided to analyze the possibilities for its empirical measurement. After a thorough analysis of short narratives provided by previous field trip participants, we came to the conclusion that qualitative data do not give enough valid evidence for empathy measurement.

Empathy as a psychological concept has been analyzed and measured in various ways, while different scales and tests have been developed over time. Since ethno-empathy is quite a new concept, especially in social psychology, there aren't many validated instruments for its measurement. Upon a detailed literature review, we decided that the Ethno-cultural Empathy Scale proposed by Wang et al. (2003) provides the most comprehensive measurement of ethno-empathy.

It can be concluded that ethno-empathy is the most important indicator that can be used in order to measure the effectiveness of field trips as a peace education strategy; as well as to propose the most adequate methods and instruments for its measurement.

The researchers who recognize the value of cultural and ethnic components have established a new empathy concept called ethnocultural empathy (Wang et al., 2003). In order to develop ethno-empathy scale, Wang et al first operationalized the concept in the following way(s):

the construct of ethnocultural empathy as a composition of intellectual empathy, empathic emotions, and the communication of those two. (p.222)

According to Wang et al, intellectual empathy is the capacity to understand the inside of the person, especially thinking, in ethnically, racially different groups. In addition, it is also the ability to see the world from his/her point of view. Similarly, the empathic emotions focus on the feelings. On the other hand, communicative empathy, which is the communication of above, is the expression of empathy through actions and words. It means these kinds of ethno-empathy mutually depend on each other.

The statements in each subscale have been modified assuming that Korean students will be participants and that the field trip will be organized to Korea.

Even though scale showed good psychometric characteristics of validity and reliability according to previous research, due to the fact that it has been adopted to the context and slightly modified in order to fit our case the additional actions need to be undertaken prior to its application and possible adoption (standardization on the larger sample of Japanese).

However, given the purpose to propose a tool on how to measure the impact of field trips on ethno-empathy; therefore, the scale proposed, once standardize, may be given to Japanese student before the field trip, and after the trip in order for the possible statistically significant changes in the level of ethno-empathy to be identified.

Intellectual empathy is the ability to understand a racially or ethnically different person's thinking and/or feeling. It is also the ability to perceive the world as the other person does; that is, racial or ethnic perspective-taking. The empathic emotions component of ethnocultural empathy is attention to the feeling of a person or persons from another ethnocultural group to the degree that one is able to feel the other's emotional condition from the point of view of that person's racial or ethnic culture. In addition, it refers to a person's emotional response to the emotional display of a person or persons from another ethnocultural group. The communicative empathy component is the expression of ethnocultural empathic thoughts (intellectual empathy) and feelings (empathic emotions) toward members of racial and ethnic groups different from one's own. This component can be expressed through words or actions.

Wang proposed a scale that consists of 4 subscales. Since the scale cannot be used in the way it was originally designed by Wang, the research team first proposed its slight modification in terms of language and rewording to fit to the purpose of the analysis. However, the scale must be translated in Japanese before its application. The 4 subscales and its definition are listed below:

- a) Empathic Feeling and Expression;
- b) Empathic Prospective thinking;
- c) Acceptance of cultural differences;
- d) Empathic awareness.

The third scale, Acceptance of Cultural Differences, includes items that center on the understanding, acceptance, and valuing of cultural traditions and customs of individuals from different racial and ethnic groups. Finally, the fourth scale, Empathic Awareness, includes items that appear to focus on the awareness or knowledge that one has about the experiences of people from racial or ethnic groups different from one's own. The first scale, Empathic Feeling and Expression, includes items that pertain to concern about the communication of discriminatory or prejudiced attitudes or beliefs as well as items that focus on emotional or affective responses to the emotions and/or experiences of people from racial or ethnic groups different from one's own (Wang et al, 2003).

a) The second scale, Empathic Perspective Taking, is composed of items that indicate an effort to understand the experiences and emotions of people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds by trying to take their perspective in viewing the world (Wang et al.2003).

b) The third scale, Acceptance of Cultural Differences, includes items that center on the understanding, acceptance, and valuing of cultural traditions and customs of individuals from differing racial and ethnic groups (Wang et al.2003).

c) Finally, the fourth scale, Empathic Awareness, includes items that appear to focus on the awareness or knowledge that one has about the experiences of people from racial or ethnic groups



different from one's own. (Wang et al, 2003). This is related to experience of discrimination or unequal treatment from the others.

## **5. DISCUSSION**

The idea of a scale of ethno-empathy can analyze how to measure the impact of school field trips on ethno-empathy and suggest the effectiveness based on that. Each section is created in order to reveal the participants' attitude, understanding, and awareness towards different ethnic groups. In particular, asking Japanese students these measurements lead to clearing the degree of their ethno-empathy towards Korean people. From this, we find that this tool makes it possible to complement the lack of qualitative data, and school field trips can be effective for building peace. Yet, at the same time, school field trips are no more than a first step to identify one's values from the objective point of view. To realize interactive peacebuilding between groups, it is essential to put oneself in someone's shoes on the other side and to open a dialogue with them.

The study conducted by Wang et al. (2003) on the initial validity and reliability of the Scale of Ethnocultural Empathy (SEE) identified factors which are correlated to ethno-empathy. One of the results shown that intergroup contact and social influence are strongly associated with greater understanding of differences between groups (Wang et al., 2003)

In addition, a study conducted Tutkun (2019) on 434 preservice classroom teachers studying in Primary School Education Programme in the Department of Elementary Education at Çanakkale Onsekiz Mart University in the academic year of 2017-2018 in Turkey identified three factors which had significant influence on ethno-empathy: 'being experienced in multicultural environments', 'grade level' and 'being in the majority group'. (Tuktun T., 2019)

Both studies agreed on the correlation between experiencing multi-cultural context and ethno-empathy.

## **6. CONCLUSION**

Peace education is successful for conflict reconciliation when ethno-empathy is developed in students. School field trips must be designed in a way that facilitates the development of ethno-empathy in students because school field trips play a significant role in peace education in Japanese schools. However, only 2.8% of schools visit South Korea, which has historical conflicts between Japan that should be resolved both at the governmental level and the grassroots level.

In order to facilitate more Korea-Japan engagement among students through school field trips, this paper proposed a research method to measure the psychological influence of school field trips on ethno-empathy.

In conclusion, qualitative data do not give enough valid evidence for empathy measurement. The Ethno-cultural Empathy Scale proposed by Wang et al (2003) provides the most comprehensive measurement of ethno-empathy.

Japanese schools need to introduce this measurement as a research method to measure the psychological influence of school field trips on ethno-empathy. Introducing this measurement will help people to conduct school field trips which can increase ethno-empathy in students.

In the past 10 years, the number of Japanese high school students who have visited South Korea on school trips has dropped precipitously, with one cause believed to be the complicated relations between the neighboring countries. Seeing as how Taiwan enjoys friendly relations with

Japan while South Korea and China have at times been at odds with the island nation, particularly in regards to historical transgressions such as comfort women, the possibility that foreign affairs played a part in Japanese students looking elsewhere for trips has been raised. If these records continue, it would be difficult for both the states to encourage and promote ethno empathy.

By analysing peace education strategies and conflict resolution methods throughout the world, we conclude that the young population is the most effective source of change in the community. Young people visiting the state and realizing the similarities rather than the differences will change the perspective with which they see South Korea today. Having a strong tradition of school field trips, it is essential for Japanese schools to reconsider their destinations according to the need of the new society.

As the lack of research on the measurement aspect of ethno-empathy, we found a route to find an adequate method to measure and analyze the effect of an effort made towards promoting ethno-empathy between two states having social and ethnic issues. However, at the same time, our measurement is not enough to motivate the participants ethno-empathy in the long run. As a further suggestion, it would be better to add the future-oriented items to connect a scale of ethno-empathy with their behavior such as 'I will try to study Korean to communicate with them,' and 'I will go to South Korea to deepen my understanding about their history.' If it will be possible to put these into practice, students can recognize school field trips as the first step, then they should take actions by themselves in the future. It means measurements will be more effective and more meaningful for participants.

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