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Message from the journal staff

The Journal of International Liberal Arts, is published by the undergraduate students of Akita International University (AIU): The editors, designers, authors, and artists are all AIU undergraduates/graduates.

Since 2010, this journal has sought to provide an opportunity for AIU scholars to exchange academic, opinion, and creative writings amongst their peers and to the broader community, promoting dialogue in the International Liberal Arts.

This journal Volume 6 shares AIU scholars' academic, literature, and opinion papers on a variety of topics, from politics, history, and education to the environment, economics, sociology and more. In addition, this is our first attempt to incorporate a new design, such as including student photography for the section dividers.

We are ambitious in continuing our publications, and we cannot work without your support. The AIU journal team invites editors, designers, and AIU scholars to submit their paper for publication and to join our staff.

It is our pleasure to share the works of our AIU scholars and artists. We hope you will enjoy the journal.

Best regards,

Student Editors: Luis Daruiz and Mako Kato

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Faculty Advisor: Dr. Lee Friederich

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Academic Essays



PC: Mako Kato

Title: Discrimination towards *Kikokushijo* at Japanese Schools

Masaki Miyamura

Introduction

“Even though I am Japanese, they don’t see me as Japanese” (Participant A, personal communication, July 5, 2018).

The quote above was extracted from an interview with a Japanese student who lived in the United States from seven to nine years of age, discussing his concerns of being a *kikokushijo*. The Japanese term *kikokushijo* refers to Japanese students who lived overseas for several years, primarily due to their parent’s occupation. After sojourning to their host country, the country they resided in abroad, most of them return to Japan as their parents have completed their overseas assignment. As *kikokushijo* have lived in one or more countries other than Japan, they are excelled at viewing current issues from different philosophical and political perspectives, and being tolerant to cultures outside of Japan (Pollock and Reken, 2011). On the other hand, such students struggle in Japanese environments, especially at Japanese schools. Participant A is one of the *kikokushijo* who have been discriminated against by several Japanese non-returnee students, by being ignored, for example. Although the number of Japanese students living abroad increased from approximately 60,000 to 83,000 over the past decade (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 2018), and over 10,000 students have returned to Japan for over 30 consecutive years (E-Stat, 2018), the issue remains prevalent across Japan. This paper, therefore, attempts to investigate how

kikokushijo perceive the issue of discrimination towards them in Japanese environments, particularly at Japanese schools.

Literature review

Kikokushijo, or Japanese returnees in other words, are “students who return to Japan after a prolonged sojourn abroad” (Kanno, 2000). They are often the children of Japanese businessmen, primarily workers of small and medium-sized enterprises, and government personnels who are stationed abroad (Perez, 2016; Kanno, 2000). Prior to examining how Japanese returnees perceive the issue regarding why they are treated unfairly at Japanese schools, it is significant to identify several causes of the issue, including the school, peers, and *kikokushijo* themselves.

Kikokushijo are likely to be discriminated against at Japanese schools, as the institutions do not provide sufficient levels of support to the students. As *kikokushijo* return from an extended period of sojourn overseas, they are more familiar with their previously-resided-in- culture compared to Japanese culture (Oosterbeek and Webbink, 2011). Thus, Japanese schools, as a place that provides education to students, are expected to assist *kikokushijo* in order for them to adapt or readjust to Japanese culture. Many Japanese schools, however, do not fully provide sufficient support to develop the student’s weak points such as Japanese writing skills. In fact, the

school “systematically emphasizes *kikokushijo*’s ‘deficiencies’” (Kanno, 2000). The same author raises the English as a Second Language program (ESL) as one of the factors distinguishing Japanese returnees unfavorably from Japanese non-returnee students. ESL programs are implemented to develop the English skills of Japanese students significantly to make such language the second dominant language after Japanese. According to Kanno (2000), however, the label “ESL student” implies the student’s deficiency in their English proficiency. When *kikokushijo* enter such environments, particularly those who previously have lived in an English-speaking environment, they would come across a gap between their English abilities and the ESL program. *Kikokushijo* would be demotivated in studying for ESL, as they possess immensely higher English fluency, ultimately holding a sense of isolation from their peers (Perez, 2016). The lack of learning support and cultural support (Saito, Hara, and Himeno, 2015) has created physical and psychological barriers between *kikokushijo* and Japanese non-returnees.

Japanese non-returnees may discriminate against *kikokushijo* at Japanese schools because they psychologically recognize them as a different type of person to them. According to Yoshida et al. (2003), Japanese non-returnees perceive their differences with *kikokushijo* as a disadvantage. For instance, *kikokushijo* are “racially” Japanese but some are not able to speak Japanese like a native speaker. According to Takamori (2015), this produces a “cognitive dissonance” among students. Along with their directness, *kikokushijo* are consequently stereotyped as a “returnee” at Japanese schools (Yoshida et al., 2009).

Discrimination towards *kikokushijo* at Japanese schools also derives from *kikokushijo* themselves, as they are involuntarily relocated from the host country

to Japan. The principal reasons behind their sojourns are due to their parents’ job transfers (Kanno, 2000), not to the student. This may augment the stress level for the students, as they have to cope with the cultural and linguistic gaps against their own will. The involuntary relocation particularly affects the readjustment of those *kikokushijo* who are obliged to re-enter Japan chiefly due to the completion of their parents’ overseas job assignment. As some *kikokushijo* would have experienced a longer period of time living in the host country, they would feel dissatisfied for moving back to their home culture in Japan (Kanno, 2000). Oosterbeek and Webbink (2011) stated the longer the students live abroad, the probability they will eternally settle at the host country will increase. Students are also unable to transmit their intercultural sojourn to students who do not share similar experiences (Kartoshkina, 2015). Such concerns towards returning to the home country demotivates the *kikokushijo*, causing them to isolate themselves from Japanese communities where group harmony is valued (Saito, Hara, and Himeno, 2015). Treated dissimilarly to Japanese non-returnees, *kikokushijo* may be reluctant to participate in the society they are returning to.

Research method

In order to examine how *kikokushijo* are discriminated against by non-returnees at Japanese schools, the researcher collected and evaluated responses from six *kikokushijo* (three male and three female students) at Akita International University (AIU) who graduated from Japanese high schools. The guiding question to this study was: *What perspectives do a group of kikokushijo from Japanese high schools have on an issue of discrimination towards kikokushijo?* The research was based on an interview, comprising of twelve questions and lasting for an average of 20 minutes. The interview focused essentially on encouraging the participant to reflect his or

her experiences of being treated unfairly against Japanese non-returnees (see Appendix A). After asking for their gender, research participants were requested to indicate the places and ages they lived overseas. The question considers Perez's statement (2016) that those who lived abroad during their teenage years experienced a greater degree of issues when returning back home in comparison to those who lived abroad at a younger age. The following question engaged the respondents to list several positive aspects of being a *kikokushijo* in Japanese environments. As the research is focused towards the negative features of being a *kikokushijo*, this question intends to prevent the bias that being a *kikokushijo* is disadvantageous. The fourth question, "do you think *kikokushijo* in general are being discriminated against by Japanese non-returnees?" asked for the participants to discuss their views on the issue. The subsequent section encouraged the participants to reflect their experiences of being discriminated against by Japanese non-returnees during their readjustment phrase. The section is divided into three questions, each respectively requesting information about such events during elementary school, junior high (middle) school, and high school. Participants were then asked for several methods they used to readjust to the Japanese environment. The following question, similarly, sought respondents to determine whether they received any forms of support from outside sources such as schools and their parents. The penultimate question is intentionally the same as the fourth question, as I felt as though participants would give a deeper insight to the issue after discussing their own experiences. The final question motivated students to come up with feasible solutions for the issue.

Results

The interviews were conducted during a period of July 5th and 10th, 2018. The average length of participant's sojourn

was between three and twelve years of age. Out of five participants who lived in the United States, three had attended a *hoshuko*, a weekend Japanese supplementary school in the host country (Langager, 2002). Several participants mentioned high levels of English fluency and being capable of accepting cultural, racial, and social diversities as the advantages of being a *kikokushijo*. For the question seeking for the participant's view towards the issue of discrimination, two agreed, three disagreed, and one both agreed and disagreed. The degree of discrimination towards students who attended integrated junior and senior high schools decreased as they advanced from junior high school to high school. Although five out of six respondents noted that discrimination had existed, four participants interpreted the term "discrimination" as a positive remark as well. For instance, having a high level of English fluency were considered noble in *kokusai* (international courses in high school). Most people, surprisingly, were able to adapt or re-adjust to the Japanese environment instantly. Participant E, who did not attend a *hoshuko* back in the United States, struggled for a year as the customs and environments of Japanese schools were totally fresh for her (personal communication, July 9, 2018). Yet many participants used various methodologies and studied the Japanese culture during their readjustment phrase. All three female participants emphasized that they changed their appearances to fit into the Japanese environment. Parents were helpful, according to the participants, in terms of placing them in a *hoshuko*, and purchasing Chinese character handouts for them. On the other hand, teachers only provided psychological support, such as keeping a close watch on the students. Five out of six participants agreed that *kikokushijo* are discriminated against in general by Japanese non-returnees. Finally, participants suggested that teachers should not

differentiate *kikokushijo* with Japanese non-returnees in their class. Several respondents advised to allocate students into supplementary schools during their international sojourn. In addition, students recommended the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology to implement teacher training programs for *kikokushijo*.

Discussion

As the interview responses were collected and organized, several interesting trends were identified. Four participants who attended *hoshuko* during their international sojourn adapted to the Japanese environment immediately. Five out of six participants performed specific strategies for adjusting to the Japanese environment, as they feared being different from Japanese non-returnees. All six respondents praised their parents for readjusting them successfully to the Japanese community, and criticized the lack of support they received from teachers in Japan.

60% of the participants who sojourned to the United States and Participant C, who lived in Taiwan, attended *hoshuko* during the weekends. In addition, all the respondents who attended *hoshuko* in their host country had readjusted swiftly to the Japanese environment. These trends are significantly related to the similarities between *hoshuko* and the Japanese environment. According to Langager (2002), *hoshuko* enables students to nurture their Japanese-ness by developing their character, interacting with other Japanese expatriate students, and experiencing group harmony. The social context of such schools are also very similar to the school life in Japan, such as holding Japanese cultural rituals including the entrance ceremony, *undokai* (sports day), and evacuation drills (Langager, *ibid*). The same author also noted how the classroom routines of *hoshuko* consisted of 50 minute classes, each starting and ending with the ringing of a school bell unique to Japan. Although *hoshuko* do not

fully resemble the school life in Japan such as no shoe changing, they possess a significant role in developing the expatriate student's sense of being Japanese. Thus, most research participants were able to adjust to the Japanese environment as they comprehended the school life of students in Japan through *hoshuko*.

Apart from *hoshuko*, four out of six participants readjusted to the Japanese environment promptly by their own endeavors. Participant A attempted to mimic the personality of a typical Japanese person (personal communication, July 5, 2018); participant B focused on keeping in touch with the current Japanese trends in social media and music (personal communication, July 6, 2018); participant C imitated the appearances of Japanese students, and intentionally resisted using fluent English (personal communication, July 9, 2018); participant F changed her appearances to look like a typical Japanese student (personal communication, July 10, 2018). Participant C also explained how she was scared of discrimination by Japanese non-returnees (personal communication, July 9, 2018). Fear emerges from *kikokushijo* when readjusting to the Japanese community, as being "different" would cause them to be isolated from other Japanese students. Despite that *kikokushijo* have expanded worldviews based on encountering diverse cultures in their host country, they could simultaneously be confused with complex events concerning cultures and values (Pollock and Reken, 2011). As *kikokushijo* are comprised of multiple cultures, they would be portrayed as unpatriotic (Pollock and Reken, *ibid*) to both their home country and host countries. As a result, *kikokushijo* would be regarded negatively in Japan, where the society values uniformity and people dress accordingly to their hierarchy (Cambridge, 2011). Most participants have incorporated the characteristic of a typical Japanese non-returnee, as being different from

Japanese non-returnees would cause them to be discriminated against.

Parents of Japanese returnees take a significant role in re-modifying their children's behavior to return to Japanese culture. Parents of Participant E, for instance, prohibited the use of English at home during their international sojourn (personal communication, July 9, 2018). As parents are regularly close to their children, such closeness has helped cushion *kikokushijo* against the stresses of living overseas (Peterson and Plamondon, 2009). Such parents tend to display positive attitudes towards their children, which correlates to a rise in the children's balanced acculturation (Peterson and Plamondon, *ibid*). Participant D conveys his gratitude towards his parents for enabling him to smoothly transfer into a school in Japan (personal communication, July 9, 2018).

While all six respondents agreed with their parent's active support towards their readjustment to the Japanese environment, two respondents apparently received no forms of support from their teachers in Japan. The other four students also expressed how their teachers merely supported their readjustment phase to Japan. Participant E explained how her teacher only watched over her shoulders and did not provide any academic or social advice to her (personal communication, July 9, 2018). Teachers struggle with supporting *kikokushijo* who recently returned to Japan, as they have seldom or never encountered such students. As expatriate students returning to Japan have diverse backgrounds, teachers are expected to flexibly provide readjustment support for each student, such as language re-acquisition and re-acculturation to Japanese life. In reality, however, Japanese teachers do not possess sufficient amount of knowledge in receiving *kikokushijo* in his or her class (Saito, Hara, and Himeno, 2015). In addition, many teachers do not consider *kikokushijo*'s re-acculturation to Japanese

life as significant, despite that *kikokushijo* require such skills to be able to cope with Japanese culture. 42.8% of Japanese returnees advancing to high school consequently experience difficulties in comprehending the lesson contents (Prime Minister of Japan and His Cabinet, 2016), and tend to be differentiated from other Japanese non-returnees.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to explore the reasons why *kikokushijo* are discriminated against by Japanese non-returnees at Japanese schools. After collecting and analyzing the data from interviews with six *kikokushijo* at AIU who graduated from Japanese high schools, it could be concluded that the rate of discrimination towards *kikokushijo* decreased over time, because they were able to immediately conform to the Japanese environment. The existence of *hoshuko* and parental supports were the primary factors leading to the fall in discrimination. Yet two-thirds of the participants attempted to apply the characteristics of a typical Japanese student to themselves, as they feared of discrimination by Japanese non-returnees. The sense of fear towards being different might have reduced the rate of discrimination as well. Another finding was that the teachers could not provide sufficient level of support due to their deficiencies in dealing with *kikokushijo*. Overall, the level of *kikokushijo* being discriminated against by Japanese non-returnees vary depending on the support they received during their international sojourn, and the degree of dedication they have done to resemble a typical Japanese non-returnee. Although *kikokushijo* in Akita International University were interviewed, all six participants were at least a bilingual of Japanese and English. As those *kikokushijo* are excelled at English, they would perhaps be praised by Japanese non-returnees instead of being discriminated against. Thus, it might be appropriate to

investigate how *kikokushijo*, whose English is not their second language, perceive the

issue of discrimination towards them at Japanese schools.

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Appendix A: Questions from the Interview

1. What is your gender?
2. When and where did you live abroad (age and place)? For how long?
3. What do you believe are the positive aspects of being *kikokushijo*?
4. Do you think *kikokushijo* in general are being discriminated by Japanese non-returnees?
5. If applicable, did you receive any forms of discrimination during elementary school (*shōgakkō*)? If so, how? What do you think are the reasons behind this?
6. If applicable, did you receive any forms of discrimination during junior high school (*chūgakkō*)? If so, how? What do you think are the reasons behind this?
7. If applicable, did you receive any forms of discrimination during high school (*kōtōgakkō*)? If so, how? What do you think are the reasons behind this?
8. How long, in your opinion, did it take you to readjust to the Japanese environment?
9. What kind of efforts did you put in to readjust yourself to the environment?
10. To what extent did your parents or teachers, or other outside factors help you readjust to the Japanese environment?
11. Once again, do you think *kikokushijo* in general are being discriminated by Japanese non-returnees? How do you wish people to treat you?
12. If yes, what do you think teachers and schools should do to reduce the discrimination?

Global Education Policy Reform in the Japanese National Education System

Mako Kato

Introduction

Japan performs one of the highest levels of education in the world, regarding both quality and equity. For instance, they are continuously the top performers, well-rounded in most areas, observed from the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)'s Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA, 2015). However, Japan faces a critical situation due to the rapid and dynamic socio-demographic and economic changes, such as globalization, deindustrialization, and the decrease in the productive age population (MEXT, 2013). Correspondingly, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology-Japan (MEXT, 2008) launched the Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education and ESD (Education for Sustainable Development) and continues to reform and update this national basic plan for a future sustainable educational model.

This paper explores the power and limits of policy to improve the national education situation, in terms of both education equity and quality. It mainly draws out the Japanese Educational reform in the context of globalization by comparing the past and present education system. Thus, the research question

essentially is, to what extent is the Japanese national education system improving its quality and equity in an era of globalization.

This paper utilizes quantitative secondary research: Collecting literature by drawing peer-reviewed academic journal articles, book chapters, policy research organizations research reports, fact sheets/overviews, government agency documents, and popular literature.

Furthermore, this paper views the current situation of policy development from an Education Policy Analysis approach, namely the Bardach's Eightfold Path: "Define the Problem, Assemble Some Evidence, Construct the Alternatives, Select the Criteria, Project the Outcomes, Confront the Trade-Offs, Decide, and Tell Your Story." This theoretical framework does not make a rational/linear perspective, but rather a process-oriented perspective. In other words, the author agrees that policy-making does not necessarily follow steps to be taken in a systematic order, but varies depending on the involvement of policymakers and different policy perspectives.

Education System Background

OECD (2018) praises Japan's well-rounded "holistic education" model: Japan's education aims for the "whole-child education," emphasizing on the cognitive, social, emotional, and physical development of the students, not only within schools but also highly involves the support from the parents and community.

Equal opportunity for education is one of the principles of Japanese school education and continues the 6-3-3-4 year structure since 1947 (MEXT). All children at the age of 6 are required to attend six years of elementary school, which provides primary education. The students then follow three years of compulsory lower secondary school (age 12 to 15) and can choose to take the entrance examinations to continue upper secondary school and pursue further education.

Early childhood education (ECE before 6 years-old), upper secondary school, and higher education are not mandatory. However, the attendance rates are incredibly high and continues to grow. For instance, around 96% of four-year-olds have enrolled in pre-primary education in Japan (OECD, 2018). However, there is a high financial burden on families, where families have over 50% of funding for both ECE and tertiary education; shadow education, *juku* (cram-schools after regular school), also comes with a high cost (Kittaka, 2013). Indeed, Japan addresses the financial burden on families through the second basic plan, aiming to promote universal ECE for all children (MEXT, 2013). The Liberal Democratic Party has stated its high commitment to high quality and systematic equity since 2012.

Nevertheless, their total spending on educational institutions remains relatively low compared to its GDP, and unchanged for the past decade. In the status quo, the education funding

system is also an issue for teachers. They are concerned with their status in society and the equilibrium in education (OECD, 2018).

Moreover, the concept of social peace and democratic group identity are at the core values of Education (MEXT, 2006). To establish such aims and principles, MEXT sets consistent national curriculum standards, a broad set of standards that follow kindergarten up to upper secondary schools. In other words, the school education system in Japan is designed as a comprehensive single-track school system similar to the United States Model (OECD, 2018). Likewise, Japan's education system is also infamous for its "examination hell". The National Institute for Educational Policy Research (NIER, n.d.) claims that this is one illusion that the media created. However, this standardized entrance exam illustrates various issues in Japan's education system, including the emphasis of 'rote-learning' to pass both the upper secondary school and university entrance exams (Kobayashi, 2006). Not to mention, Japan's education system is producing the highest rate of over-qualified tertiary workers (OECD, 2018).

Education Policy History

After the end of the World War II, Japan was desperate to recover, with the significant influence from the United States (U.S.). Following the three underlying principles of the constitution (Sovereignty, Fundamental Human Rights, and Pacifist), the U.S. led a progressive education reform. For example, they introduced the regional education management system, a 6-3-3-4 school structure, humanities as a subject, and an experience-based curriculum, which continues to this day. Education was surely an essential tool for economic development. As Japan is poor in natural resources, one of the only ways to develop was through expanding and enriching its

human capital. Thus, introducing nine years of free education had such intentions, and successfully led Japan to one of the top economic countries (Kirita, 2010): This is the “manpower policy” or “theory of education investment.” Around 90% were already continuing into high school; thus, not only was the economic power great but also the education rate was extremely high (NIER, n.d.).

After 30 years, at the beginning of the 2000s, a more relaxed education policy, “*Yutori* [latitude],” was discussed to emphasize more on the lives of children and their families through the revision of primary and lower secondary school education (NIER, n.d.). *Yutori* introduced three objectives: enrich humanity, strengthen necessary skills and independent thinking, and provide an enjoyable meaningful school-life. Correspondingly, the ministry cut down instruction-days, hours, and course content. However, many critics argue that this “relaxed” education policy led to lowering international academic achievements (OECD, 2018). Kirita (2010) even says that this movement created a new phenomenon of double schooling, where there was an increase in shadow education. However, Novick (n.d) states that *Yutori* may not have been the reason for the decline in academic achievements in PISA, as the national curriculum cannot be compared with an international examination, as the initial aims of education are completely different. Moreover, others critique that the *Yutori* reform process itself was not entirely and well-conducted, with some limited change and scope (Bjork, 2003). Moreover, it is incredibly challenging to observe many educational results and draw conclusions in such a short period.

Lastly, the third education policy movement is the current one: Education for the 21st century. One of the possible discourses that pushed the reform

movement is, namely, the 2003 OECD-PISA results, where Japan’s rankings dropped significantly (NIEL, n.d.). This phenomenon is also known as the “PISA shock” (OECD, n.d.), where the results send out a severe warning and drawing high anxiety among the public but also quickly acted upon policymakers. For instance, the newly promulgated Fundamental Law of Education added much more equity and quality content into the education law (MEXT, n.d.). Furthermore, this brought another dynamic transition from the limited scope of school education to a bigger picture of Life Long Learning and Education Liberation (Kirita, 2010; OECD, 2018). The three main perspectives towards the most recent education reform are 1. Individualism 2. Life long learning structure, and 3. Adaptation to the Global and Information and Technology society (MEXT, 2013); *Ikiru chikara manabi no sono saki e* [Going beyond the studies of *ikiru chikara*]. The government elected in 2012 also created the Education Rebuilding Council (MEXT, 2013; NIEL, n.d.), which led the formulation of global recommendations and development of the Second Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education 2013-17. Most recently, the central council of education has developed the Third Basic Plan for the Promotion of Education 2018-22, which supports individuals to prepare for 2030 (OECD, 2018). This latest plan emphasizes active learning, instruction improvement, and strengthening schools partnerships with the community and state of tertiary education. This reform is centralized around the ideas to achieve the 21st-century skills, *Ikiru-chikara* [‘competencies for positive living or zest for living’ (NIEL, n.d.)]. *Ikiru-chikara* has been Japan’s core for education policy since the beginning of the 2000s (MEXT, 2008), developed along-side *Yutori*. Nevertheless, the latest education reforms

only take the *Ikiru-chikara* as a critical competence for the 21st century, utilizing it as objectives for the new course of study, which starts in 2020.

Political Sociology of Education Policy

State and non-state actors influence the education policy agendas, often with top-down power (Fowler, n.d.). In Japan, the governmental actors, especially the central government MEXT, plays the most prominent role in identifying the problems and defines issues and proceeds with establishing the agendas. In particular, the central council for education (special committee composed of education experts, representatives from various stakeholder groups) creates the basic plan for the promotion of education. Thus, MEXT determines the national curriculum standards, a broad set of standards for all schools from kindergarten to upper secondary schools. These national curriculum standards, Course of Study (CoS), have been generally revised around once every ten years since 1951 (MEXT, n.d.).

At the regional level, each of the 47 prefectures takes charge of their upper secondary education and response for handing teaching material and has the authority to recruit and train teachers as well as allocate them to schools based on municipal reports and principal opinion. Likewise, the 1719 municipalities are responsible for the mandatory school-level (primary and lower-secondary) education. All of these actors, from prefectural education boards, municipal boards, to school boards and teachers, refer to the crucial principles from the national basic plan and formulate a basic education plan suited to their local circumstances. Therefore, the share of decision-making taken at the prefecture-level is well above the OECD country's average (OECD,

2018). Indeed, NIEL (n.d.) also highlighted the practice of autonomous school management' as one of the distinctive characteristics of Japanese education. However, as teacher workload is also the highest among all OECD countries (2018), with much extra work outside of teaching such as administration work, it is questionable how much flexibility, freedom, and validity this model has. Fowler (n.d.) states that the three ways of power are 1. explicit power exercises, 2. mobilization of bias, and 3. shaping of consciousness. Therefore, at one sight, it may seem that teachers and schools indeed have their freedom in teaching and executing ideas. Indeed, staff members hold meetings regularly and frequently where essential decisions are decided at each school (NIEL, n.d.).

Nevertheless, there have been numerous issues with the top-down education policy approach from the teachers' perspective. For instance, in response to the new CoS in elementary school, introducing English as a subject from Grade three, teachers' are not at all prepared for this (Machida & Walsh, 2014). Schoolteachers are only regarded as policy implementers, and were not involved in the policymaking process (Machida & Walsh, 2014). Such an example illustrates the lack of communication between practitioners and policy makers; thus, there is central policy and authoritative power in Japan's education system.

Moreover, MEXT is responsible for tertiary education, regulating standards for establishing both public and private universities. Universities function under autonomous management; however, they must conduct self-evaluations and undergo accreditation process by evaluation and accreditation organizations certified by MEXT, at least every seven years (MEXT, n.d.).

Furthermore, the homogeneous construction of Japanese population is gradually transforming into a more diverse one. Currently, there is a high sociopolitical climate, regarding the government's new immigration policy (Ministry of Justice, 2018), which aims to facilitate more for foreign workers into Japan. Indeed, this is the Japanese government's strategy to captivate its working force in an era of population decline. Although Japan's population is steadily declining, the number of foreigners is reaching its highest numbers (Okada, 2018). Similarly, the education sector also reacts to such globalization and opening up Japan to the world. For instance, MEXT initiated some global education programs in Japan. For example, the Super Global Highschool (SGH) initiative, as well as introducing the Top Global University System into Japan (MEXT, n.d.), to encourage Japanese students to become globally competent, as well as to attract talented international students and researchers to Japan.

Globalization of Education

Globalization is the de-terrorization of social, political, and economic relationships and the rapid integration of societies across territorial units and nation-states (Mundy et al., 2016). Notably, the highlight of globalization is the expansion of the global markets: global capitalism (Sen, 2016) and economic globalization. In addition, globalization is not necessarily led through Western dominance, but the west and east both influenced each other (Sen, 2016). The central issue regarding globalization is not whether it is good or bad, but the lacking use of the market as an institution of fair share and opportunity for potential benefits of global integration (Sen, 2016). Mundy (2016) introduces the three responses to globalization in education and training as competitiveness-driven reforms, finance-driven reforms, and

equity-driven reforms. In Japan, the competitiveness and equity-driven reforms are highly evident from the aims of the latest national basic plan. The finance-driven reform is, to some extent, visible also, as plans and debates regarding free ECE and higher education are always mentioned, and a slight increase in the number of scholarship and funds for those in need, but not close to efficient yet (OECD, 2018). In other words, globalization in education policy raises issues of fair distributions of opportunities and power.

Another debate is globalization and the cultural identity movement (Carnoy, 1999): globalization changes modern culture, and maintaining the state of nation-states in the context of globalization may be difficult. One of the objectives of education, in the Basic Act on Education, reads "fostering the value of respect for tradition and culture [...] as well as the value of respect for other countries and the desire to contribute to world peace and the development of the international community" (MEXT, 2006). Thus, it is a significant challenge in the education field to find a balance between the global economy, national identity, social cohesion, and individual personal development.

Mundy (2016) highlights two clear outcomes of globalization on education policy: 1. There is an increasing number of non-state actors who are influential in the construction of the new global education policies, and 2. There is an increasing emphasis on the international comparison of education systems, which are, in fact, the only proxy for economic competitiveness. Firstly, many agree to correspond to globalization, and there is a rapidly merging private authority in education policy, which includes private foundations and transnational corporations. Dale (2010) also points out that prominent non-governmental

organizations such as the World Bank and OECD are developing an orthodox response to the problems posed to rich countries by changing global economic circumstances to maintain their privileged position in the world economy. International organizations have evolved and coined “Neo-liberalism,” where the predisposition of governments increasingly favors market solutions over governmental intervention, and anchor global policy architecture and policy flows (Mundy et al., 2016).

Nevertheless, it is not only such a big international organization that reconstructs the education policy agenda, but corporate foundations also shape national education through significant amounts of investment (Bhanji, 2016). Indeed, in Japan, the central government has one of the worst debts. However, it is the wealthy Japanese industrial corporations, which cover up the gaps, by providing scholarships and grants.

Global Education Reform Movement (GERM)

Standardization

In line with globalization, education policy keeps transforming through the Global Education Reform Movement (GERM). Dale (2010) introduces an analytical tool that facilitates understanding of whether the national education policy is globalized: the features of GERM: Dissemination, Interdependence, Imposition, Standardization, and harmonization. These features are indeed visible in Japan’s education policy response to globalization, an especially strong emphasis on standardization in national examinations, a set curriculum, big class size and conducting style, and teacher standardization training. Standardization occurs due to several different reasons, such as to ensure quality, equity, and efficiency. Standards are kept at a

particular target level, where courses are taught, and tests are made accordingly. There was a recent attempt officially announced by MEXT to reform its standardized university entrance examinations by 2020 (MEXT, n.d.). However, they failed to practice this due to unpreparedness (Kyodo News, December 16, 2019). Sawa (2015) criticizes such flawed entrance exam reform, stating that it is utterly impossible to develop a fair assessment system, which evaluates not only the knowledge of students, but also their thinking, judging, expressing, and collaborating skills. It is challenging to develop a nation-scaled test that measures skills and quality components that are challenging to quantify or measure in standardized ways. Sawa (2015) states his anxiety that Japan’s examination reform movement is following the American examination system, which is not a good fit for Japan. This argument criticizes Japan’s dependence on the U.S. framework: Japan borrows ideas of other countries education system and reform, which may not exactly match.

Global Competition

In Japan, the PISA has undoubtedly become one standard indicator to measure achievement and to implement education reform. The Japanese government established the New Growth Strategy (2010), explicitly referring to PISA as one of the strategy goals by the year 2020 (Schleicher and Zoido, 2016). In other words, Japan is highly influenced by international comparisons and creates education policies around it. Schleicher and Zoido (2016) credit the PISA, that it has revealed the challenges harder to find without the test. Thus, it proves how international comparisons can be such a powerful instrument for policy reform and transformational change. However, this also illustrates the increasing focus on the global competition: for example, wanting to be better than their neighboring

countries. Sahlberg (2012) criticizes GERM upfront, arguing that education systems around the world are looking more similar due to GERM, and elements of GERM, such as standardization is the worst enemy of creativity and innovation. Therefore, there is undeniably a contradiction between Japan's education goal and its current education policies. Japan's most updated CoS aims to nurture knowledge, humanity, thinking skills. However, chasing global competition and continuing or even enhancing standardized testing is not enriching the quality elements. When chasing too much on Egalitarianism and group consciousness, schools may contribute to the high standardization of student achievements, but at the same time, hamper the development of individuality and creativity.

School Choice

Due to GERM, there are also increasing school choices. Schools and teachers are held accountable, rated by inside but also outside stakeholders (Lingard and Lewis, n.d.). Even in Japan, schools are not publically rated, however, one researcher Kuwata designed a quantifiable rating system Hensachi in the 1960s, to schools and decide their prestige according to standard deviation (ability to enter that school by what score for the exam), in which is now is utilized everywhere (Saito, 2010). Thus, to attract more students, schools construct a more market mind-set and seek high performativity to be held high in the mode of accountability.

Nevertheless, from the government side, there are not too many commands regarding accountability. However, every school implements the PDCA (plan, doing, checking, and taking action) cycle, and the local education boards monitor the schools' progress annually as well as make judgments about teachers' effectiveness. This PDCA data is gathered nationally,

before curriculum revision every 10 years (OECD, 2018). Lingard and Lewis (n.d.), warn that this accountability measure needs a balance: if used well, it can be effective; if not, it can even damage the profession or reputation of the school.

Privatization

Last but not least, shadow education 'juku' is pervasive in Japan. Verger et al. (2017) introduce the six paths to the privatization of education, and Japan fits well with the "scaling through school choice." The expansion in school choice subsequently followed the increase in the decentralization of education and the relaxed Yutori education, which created a higher demand for private education institutions (Kittaka, 2010; Kirita, 2010). Additionally, for higher education, more than the majority of schools are privately led schools, and these numbers continue to increase (MEXT, n.d.).

Throughout history, Japanese education has always followed global trends and situations. Thus, one can state that GERM has been the driving force of Japan's education policy making.

Impact of Global Education Reform

From PISA reports, it is evident that Japan is performing relatively well with its education performance and education standards with low equity issues. It was also evident that Japan holds an international mindset, and tends to chase after such international trends and benchmarks. However, the most prominent issues lie in education quality: especially regarding the teacher and student satisfaction towards school (OECD, 2018). For instance, at all levels of education, teachers work longer hours and are required to participate in tasks other than teaching. Teacher salaries vary little for the given level of experience. Furushou (2009) critiques that the schools and parents are causing severe issues with

lowering the children/student's self-esteem. Japanese schools' rigidity is sometimes critiqued, that there is an imposition of excessive control over children's behavior, consequently leaving psychological stress on both children, parents, and even teachers. Contents and methods of compulsory education are therefore debatable, questioning whether memorization is good or bad because no one wants to force-feed children the spirit of inquiry and creative thinking.

Another issue of GERM and national education policy reform is the clash of cultural and educational ideologies. Throughout history, Japan is trying to modernize together with respecting spiritual unity by strengthening people's national morals and virtues of patriotism. Nevertheless, in contemporary society, this is not argued nor taken into consideration. GERM is automatically accepted both by the Japanese government and MEXT, as well as from the Japanese media. Therefore, one can say that GERM is a factor that encourages the deconstruction of maintaining the uniqueness of national education systems — introducing new values such as global competition into the field of education.

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper drew a brief overview of the Japanese national education system and its reforms, especially in the context of globalization. Slowly but steadily, the Japanese national

education system has been making reforms aiming to improve both its quality and equity in response to globalization. It was clear that Japan is indeed globally competitive and aims for better performance results on the PISA, and reforms education policies if the results are not desirable. Nevertheless, these time-to-time trial-and-error policies seem not to be working as desired. Teachers, students, and parents are not satisfied with the current quality and equity of education in Japan. This low satisfaction is due to the lack of structural and quality support on critical educational issues. Some examples of complaints are, teachers do not know how they can implement the new CoS, what are the good practices, how to nurture students to find meaning in schooling and studying, and how to nurture their students' thinking skills such as critical thinking and problem-solving. GERM is one issue, but also the top-down policymaking process and the centralized power structure is also another issue. Therefore, the author now questions, if GERM education reform is not improving national education systems, how can countries improve their education policies, and raise the satisfaction of their teachers, students, and meet the needs of the society. In the future, the researcher seeks to expand her study by including more academic debates and specific policy examples to find policy gaps and suggest policymakers some recommendations.

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Sexual Harassment in Japan – More Than Just a Criminal Issue

Olga Latysheva

Introduction to the Sex Crimes in Japan

Sexual abuse is a crime that does not need any introduction. Many have heard about it on the news or read about it on the internet; some have heard horrific stories from their friends or acquaintances, or experienced it themselves. Despite different personal meanings and knowledge, most would agree that it is a crime that violates the dignity and physical and moral integrity of a human. It has an impact not only on the victim, but on a victim's family and friends as well. Consequences of sexual assault include psychological, emotional, and physical effects, as well as potential problems with socialization and the economic well-being of a victim (Institut National de Santé Publique du Québec, 2009).

According to the World Population Review, Japan has one of the lowest rape rates in the world (2019). This statistic is based on the number of sexual violence cases that are reported to the police each year. However, taking into consideration a survey by the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, around 97% of sexual abuse incidents in Japan go underreported to the police, which makes it challenging to count the exact number of crimes and measure the true extent of the problem (2018, p. 9). Despite the government's long-term awareness of the persistent issue with underreporting sexual abuse, not much has been done. One of the

reasons for the inaction is culture. Japanese society is a complex body with a certain set of features that define the behavioral patterns of most citizens. In this essay, the analysis of concepts of silence, honor, and shame will be introduced in order to understand the deep roots of the issue and its challenges.

Japan, as well as other countries in the world, punishes sex-related crimes according to criminal law. However, the law is unfair, outdated, and impractical when it comes to protecting victims from their attackers (Reuters, 2019). For example, the first revision of the law in the Japanese Penal Code was conducted only in 2017, almost 100 years since its initial enactment. Articles 176 on forcible indecency, 177 on rape and 178 on quasi-forcible indecency and quasi-rape are supposed to punish sex-related crimes, but in reality due to its vague formulation, stand as a heavy burden for justice. One of the research points of this essay is to conduct a linguistic analysis on the articles of the Penal Code and understand its relation to the low level of reports, as well as its questionable applicability.

With the worldwide emergence of the Me Too movement, the creation of local groups like “Women in Media Network Japan” or marches like the “Flower Demo” show that the need for change is desperate. Despite the responsibility to protect its citizens from crimes of any kind, the Japanese

government remains inactive. Then, why is the Japanese government's preference to overlook something so obvious for so long such an acute failure not only for women but for the state as well? This research aims to break down the historical and cultural preconditions that led to the formation of definite gender roles in Japan, analyze the problematics of current criminal law, and discuss what future Japan has if it keeps ignoring the issue of sexual harassment and assault.

History of Women in Japan

The history of the image of a female in Japan goes back to the ancient religion, where the highest figure of Japanese Shintoism is a goddess of the sun, Amaterasu Omikami, who is believed to be a mother to the Japanese nation, and whose descendants are the rulers of the imperial line (Ramos & Pilar, 2005). In ancient times, women were considered as holders of "a special supernatural power, with which men were not endowed, to communicate with the divine" (Iwao, 1995, p. 4–5). Female participation in politics was widespread during the Nara period, and until the Muromachi period, Japan was characterized as a matriarchal-led society (Ramos & Pilar, 2005, p. 224-225). With the introduction of Buddhism in Japan, matriarchal power began to weaken. The growing influence of the new religion began to push the restoration of patriarchal traditions, and in the Meiji period, in the doctrine Good Wife, Wise Mother, the desirable place for women in society was defined (Ramos & Pilar, 2005, p. 226). After that, the governments in the Taisho and Showa periods continued to re-establish 'traditional' norms of the society, eventually accentuating only the expectation for them to be "perfect housewives and mothers." Despite the reforms of Abe Shinzo's government to attempt to promote 'womenomics,' the heavy influence of religion, obedience to

the belief of a male superiority made it impossible to get rid of the old-fashioned, misogynist views on women and their place in society.

Interview with Kaeko Chiba, Professor at Akita International University

The aim of this research paper is to address a theoretical issue of the Japanese government's reluctance on matters regarding sexual harassment and gender. For a better understanding of the possible causes of the government's omission, gaining in-depth insight into the Japanese culture, as well as better contextualizing the effect of it on the political level, I decided to conduct an interview with an expert in this field – Dr. Kaeko Chiba. She is an associate professor at Akita International University and teaches courses on Japanese society, gender studies, and traditional Japanese arts. The interviewee was informed about the research topic, the purpose of the interview, the general content of questions, and ways the information is going to be utilized in the paper.

To begin the conversation about gender in Japan, I asked Dr. Chiba, "What do you think are the main issues of gender in Japan?" She answered that "Japan has clear gender roles, that, for example, women should be at home, and men should be at work; clear gender roles have been taken for granted for a long period of time; it is an old perception, which has become kind of a trigger, which does not give further process to gender equality". I proceeded to ask Dr. Chiba if she recognizes sexual harassment as one of the issues in Japan and why this issue is so "unpopular" in Japan. She said that is one of the issues, and surprisingly, disagreed to a certain extent with the "unpopularity" of the issue noting that in "the recent couple of years," people have "become very aware" of sexual harassment, adding that

compared “to the other societies, it is still very late.” She proceeded to explain that under “this old perception” of women and men, “that men are superior, and women being taken for granted...Japanese society does not have a concept of a right, and Japanese women never question that they can claim it.”

Next, we continued to discuss the perception of sexual harassment, fear of people to come forward with the issue and actions of the government. In the next question, I brought the statistics, where national surveys stated that less than 5% of women report sexual abuse to the police, asking, “What do you think about it? Why do women prefer to stay silent?”. Dr. Chiba noted that this is relevant to the previous conversation about rights, where “Japanese people, including men, do not have a concept of a right. Even if they are being harassed, or in a bad state, they do not think ‘Oh, I should do something.’” Other reasons that Dr. Chiba brought up are concepts of honor and shame, stating that “Honor and shame have always been in Japanese society. They [victims] think that being harassed or being sexually abused is an embarrassing thing. They do not want to share their experience”, concluding that “... these two concepts” are important components of “the current issues”. Another factual statement was based on the recent legislation changes, where, for example, the Domestic Violence Law was introduced only in 2002, or the first revision of the Meiji era law on sex crime happened almost 100 years after its inaction, in 2017. The following question was, “Do you think it [slow legislative process] characterizes the Japanese government as reluctant to address gender issues?”. Dr. Chiba agreed, saying that “They are not aware of gender equality. They are not aware of minority rights. They are making it slow,” keeping things at a very “low level”.

Lastly, we discussed possible solutions to political, legislative, and social issues. When asked about possible solutions to the existing issues, Chiba said that “If you think of the political field, women's participation in politics is meager. So that is why the woman's voice is not being heard. I think if we bring some quota system” or “bring more voices of women to the political field that will change the law, that will give more rights to women.” Moving to the raising awareness in the society, she said that “As a grassroots level, we can alert women of their rights. For example, on the university level, emphasize on gender studies, emphasize on women's voice. So that kind of little gathering might change some of the movement at the grassroots level” and provide “opportunities to share women's thoughts. We tend to be quiet and not to bring our own opinions. If you change that attitude, that might also change the women's rights in Japanese society.”

Japanese Culture: Honor and Shame

Cultural background plays an important role in the formation of a person's mindset. As mentioned previously, Japanese culture is a complex body with various aspects and customs that are unique to the country. Traditionally, Japanese culture has strict rules on etiquette for social behavior and interactions with people, one of which is concepts of honor and shame. In contrast to Western cultures, which are characterized as 'guilt cultures,' Japan is a 'shame culture' (Benedict, 1954). According to Keiichi Sakuta, “shame is experienced when one receives the scrutiny of others, whether real or imagined” and one of the reasons why embarrassment appears is due to our “fear of the exposure of inferior aspects of ourselves, which we hope to keep hidden” (1986, p.32- 33). There are three main

reasons why the Japanese are affected by shame. Firstly, it is a fear of mistakes and becoming different from other people, which relates to the firm idea of collectivism in society. Secondly, the history of the 'shame' concept has deep roots. For example, in Bushido, if a samurai warrior brought shame to himself, he needed to perform a ritual suicide, *seppuku*. The concept of shame was so extreme that nowadays, it is strongly related to suicide. Finally, Japanese people strongly rely on silence, when ashamed, meaning that these reasons have a strong influence on people's ability to share shaming, embarrassing, and unlawful things with others.

Literature review: The Cultural Significance of Silence in Japanese Communication

Ability to stand one's ground is a crucial part of challenging sexual harassment or abuse. However, due to the reasons discussed here, such as historical oppression, the culture of belittling women, and concepts of honor and shame, Japanese women have a hard time speaking out on issues. Another element that caught my attention is the concept of silence. It is an unusual element when it comes to the analysis of women's issues. However, as do the concepts of honor and shame, silence plays a crucial role in the formation of a person's belief system and personal philosophy, which in turn, influences decisions and behavior in critical situations like sexual harassment. Silence, in everyday interactions, is a vital form of non-verbal communication. As well as speech, it helps to display emotions, express feelings, create conflicts, and even pass verbal messages. According to *The Cultural Significance of Silence in Japanese Communication*, silence, as an essential aspect of Japanese culture, originated in Zen Buddhism, where it had a crucial role for the

achievement of the enlightenment (Lebra, 2009, p. 346). The condemnation of sharing the inner-self was often integrated into various literature, poems, and proverbs, which helped to encourage silence and develop it as a significant character of an enlightened person. Takie Lebra identifies four dimensions of Japanese silence – truthfulness, social discretion, embarrassment, and defiance (2009, p. 345-350). Truthfulness, for example, is viewed as an equivalent to honesty and loyalty to the inner-self, which, as mentioned, is a crucial goal for the enlightenment, and to reach the goal, a believer needs to keep negativity away by staying silent (Lebra, 2009, p. 345-346). Social discretion is referred to by the author as a "necessary or desirable to gain social acceptance or to avoid a social penalty," which, together with the collective intelligence idea, explains why Japanese society tends to conceal their discontent and dissatisfaction from the public (Lebra, 2009, p. 347-348). Embarrassment and defiance can be described as dimensions that utilize silence instead of expressing negative emotions like shame, disgrace, or anger (Lebra, 2009, p. 349-350). An overview of 'culture of silence' makes it evidential that the Japanese strongly rely on it as a tool for emotional expression in communication. In my opinion, the overuse of silence leads to obvious communication problems, like an inability to understand the real intentions or feelings of a person. Another problematic aspect is the formation of a specific ideology, where speaking up and sharing feelings directly with words is viewed as social disruption, and silence, on the contrary, as a tool for maintaining society's harmony and balance.

The Role of the Japanese Government in the Issue of Sexual Harassment

The significance of historical and cultural background is crucial for women. However, in a situation when a person is unable to resist a crime, it is logical to think that the government would take a step to protect that person. Indeed, Japan has laws on sex-related crimes; however, as said previously, those also pose as a huge burden for victims. There are two reasons for that: first is the absurd actions of the police in investigations, second is the vague formulation of Articles 176, 177, and 178 of the Penal Code.

Complicated investigative procedures and the unwillingness of the officials to proceed with the prosecution of perpetrators cause only half of the sexual abuse cases to end up in courts (Yamamoto, Adelstein, 2017). Furthermore, even if a perpetrator was found guilty, they still have a chance to make a settlement with the victim, dismiss the case, and walk record-free (Yamamoto, Adelstein, 2017). The most notable public case of rape in Japan is a case of Shiori Ito. Ito, who became the face of the Me Too movement in Japan, brought public allegations against influential TV journalist Noriyuki Yamaguchi (Ito, 2018). The Japanese court also dismissed her criminal case. She was extensively bullied in the media for her decision, eventually fleeing Japan and publishing a book 'Black Box,' which, as well, focuses on her experiences during investigation and aftermath of it. Ito criticized the reluctance of officers to recognize the crime, numerous long-lasting questionings and interviews, a necessity to return to the crime scene, and re-enactment of the assault with the mannequin on top of the victim. Ito described the investigator's work as a humiliating and hurting process, which victims would not want to experience when they come forward with

already quite painful experience to the police. The case of Shiori Ito caused a national outrage on the media, which forced the government to begin making changes to the law.

In 2017, the new sex crime law came into effect. The revision of the Penal Code was the first-ever, after more than a century of initial enactment of the criminal laws. The revision aimed to define the meaning and expand the acts that constitute rape. Previously, the Penal Code defined rape as a forced vaginal penetration by a penis, but now, forced anal and oral sex are included, meaning men can be rape victims as well (Sieg & Miyazaki, 2017). Minimum sentence was increased from three years to five, and authorities now can prosecute offenses such as rape and indecency without a formal complaint of a victim. The revision also affected rape cases, where an adult takes advantage of their children under the age of 18. The prosecution in such cases will be exempt from establishing a prerequisite of violence and intimidation to charges of rape and indecent assault (Sieg & Miyazaki, 2017). Even though the Penal Code had a major revision to the sex law, civil groups that were campaigning for the legal changes are unsatisfied, since the exemption of "violence and intimidation" in rape cases was not removed for all victims (Sieg & Miyazaki, 2017). Unfortunately, the current formulation of the law charges for rape only if "a person who, through assault or intimidation, forcibly commits sexual intercourse," meaning that the lack of physical resistance from a victim indicates that sexual act was consensual (Japanese Penal Code, 1907). Minori Kitahara, when interviewed for the *Japan Times* about the burden that the Penal Code poses on victims, said, "Discussing sexual violence from the victim's viewpoint is a world trend, and it is time to reform the Japanese legal system, and society that cannot do

that" (Sieg, 2019). As was also mentioned in the interview with Kaeko Chiba, the Japanese government is not aware of minority rights, delaying changes, creating a terrible situation for women. However, by sweeping this "uncomfortable situation" under the rug, ignoring the necessity of gender equality, Japan poses a risk not only for women but for the future of the whole country.

The Economic Danger of the Persisting Issue

Elimination of discrimination and sexual violence is one of the goals on the way to gender equality. It is a common misconception that it is a personal issue of women, which cannot affect anything from a global perspective. However, the adverse effects of inequality on one social group, in this case –women, expands from the individual to the general level, meaning it endangers the development of the state, where such imbalance exists. Economic growth is one example of a crucial impacted issue in Japan due to the continuous deflation and recession of the economy. Economic growth contributes to the national income, influences the level of employment, and enhances living standards, as well as stimulates tax revenues, creating extra income for the government. Economic growth is usually defined by five factors: human resources, natural resources, capital formation, technological development, and socio-political factors (Zelder & Western Michigan University, Department Of Economics, 1968). For understanding the correlation between gender equality and economic growth, we need to look into two crucial factors: human resources and socio-political factors. Human resources are one of the most important factors when it comes to the determination of economic growth in a state. The amount of available human resources and their quality directly affects the development of the economy.

The quality of human resources is defined by educational background, professional training, creative abilities, and general skills. If humans are well-educated and trained, their contribution and output to economic development will be high. Another factor that highly contributes to economic growth is socio-political factors. Political factors involve the participation of the government in the formulation and implementation of policies, laws, and guidelines. Such a factor can be sabotaged by, for example, the underrepresentation of one group and overrepresentation of another. Social factors involve customs, traditions, values, and beliefs, which can contribute to the development in positive or negative ways. For example, Japanese society has a strong conservative idea of gender separation, leading to slower economic growth. Based on these criteria, it is safe to say that sexual harassment and abuse, or ignorance of it, affect the gender equality of a state, which in turn, directly influences tempo of economic growth, sabotaging the development of the economy.

Conclusion

Japan has a huge issue not only with sexual harassment and abuse but with a perception of women and gender equality. Historical and cultural aspects play a significant role in the formation of societal goals, meaning that Japan, as a male-oriented society, prioritizes and creates benefits for men mostly, which leads to the developmental imbalance for women. Those strong cultural beliefs also drastically affect society's perception of sex crimes, victims, and perpetrators. Such circumstances lead to the creation of an unsafe environment for women, making them vulnerable, taking away their ability to speak out on the issues, as well as restraining them from any political and social processes that influence legislation. With the recent changes to the Penal Code, it is evident that the Japanese government

has begun to change, but for a progressive democratic state, it is not enough. The government needs to take the initiative and responsibility for its mistakes by raising the iron curtain that covers this issue. It is necessary to revise the Penal Code again, accurately define consent and sexual acts in legislation, as well as to monitor the

application of the laws in such authoritative bodies like police and courts. It is crucial for the government to pursue gender equality and secure the safety of women because it will not only help a major part of society but will benefit the development of the state.

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The Power of Narrative and Memeki Community

Takashi Kogoma

Introduction

In any Japanese local community, people have local narratives and stories that have been passed down from generation to generation. These local narratives are often created, based upon the unique features and the histories of the local community, which embody indigenous values collectively upheld by people living there. Such local narratives and stories can have several functions such as providing guidance for appropriate human conduct and strengthening the community bond by fostering one's attachment to the community. Such story-based sources of wisdom can lead to better collective management of the community because local narratives can serve as a basis for shared knowledge to shape one's identity as a member.

In Yuwa Memeki —one of the communities in Akita City located in the Northern part of Japan— also has their own local narratives. For instance, there is a legendary story called *The Legend of Yashaki*. Moreover, a narrative about the story of Ishi Rogetsu, a poet from the community is also prevalent in the community. The local narratives in the Memeki community have greatly shaped the minds of the community members. Throughout this semester, a series of discussions with my colleagues and local guides has given me a hunch that there are significant roles that the local

narrative can play in the community. Therefore, throughout this research paper, I was incentivized to investigate the following research question: *what roles can the narratives in the community play in the Memeki community?*

In the first section, I will conduct a literature review in order to construct an analytical framework on how local narratives potentially operate in a community. The analytical frameworks can help to narrow down the focus of this research. The following part of the research is to demonstrate the research method for which I opted. In the third part of the paper, I will illustrate the results of the interview and fieldwork and show the details of narratives prevalent in the Memeki community. At the part of the analysis, I will attempt to apply the theoretical frameworks to the case of the Memeki community, by making reference to the field data that I obtained.

Literature Review –Three Roles of Narrative–

The purpose of the literature review is to construct analytical frameworks on roles that local narratives can fulfill. Needless to say, narratives are not mere stories but have cultural power that shape people's behaviors and moral values. The three main pieces of literature drawn from here, namely, are

papers by Toyoda (2017), by Hendry (2012), and by Cetinkaya (2009). My literature review finds that there are mainly three roles that local narratives can fulfill: (1) narrative as a guidance for one's behavior, (2) narrative as deepening and strengthening the community bond, (3) narrative as maintaining traditional knowledge. In the section of the analysis, these three powers of narratives are the main focus that will be looked into.

Narrative as a Guidance for one's Behavior

Firstly, Toyoda (2017) argues that “[narratives] contain important implications concerning how we should live in accordance with the natural world around us” (p. 184). The implication deduced from her argument is that narratives can be ethical guidance for people and cultivate one's sense of how they should behave as a member of the community. Moreover, since such narratives are shared within the community, they can entail a communally-shared standard for one's behavior, which can facilitate a collective action in the community.

Narrative as Deepening and Strengthening the Community Bond

Secondly, narratives have cultural power to strengthen the community bond. Hendry (2012) argues that “local activities have also provided for local people with a new identity and a sense of pride in their neighbourhood” (p.76). Hendry's observation provides the implication that activities to interact with local narratives can also cultivate the sense of pride and their identity as a member of the community. By identifying oneself as a member of the community and having a shared identity with their neighbors, they can foster the sense of belonging in the community, and thus the community bonds are

further deepened.

Narrative as a Tool to Maintain Traditional Knowledge

Thirdly, narratives can operate as a tool to maintain *traditional knowledge*, which leads to human well-being of the community members. According to Cetinkaya (2009), the “[c]haracteristics of ...[traditional knowledge] include information about a variety of components of ... [satoyama] ecosystems” (p. 28). Here, traditional knowledge refers to not only knowledge about indigenous practices in the community but also its history. The researcher also argues that interaction with traditional knowledge allows the members of the community to re-recognize the values of where they live and to enhance their attachment to the place. Moreover, Cetinkaya (2009) argues that traditional knowledge has “strong influences on health” since it affects “spiritual, inspirational, aesthetic, and recreational opportunities, and these in turn affect both physical and emotional states of people”(p. 34). Therefore, the maintenance of traditional knowledge is indeed significant in terms of community management. Here, local narratives can perform as a tool to pass down and maintain traditional knowledge because they often reflect unique features of the community.

Methodology

Overview of the Methodology

As to the methodology of this research, two series of fieldwork and interviews with Yuwa Guide Volunteer members were conducted. The two sets of fieldwork and interviews were conducted in Yuwa Memeki, Akita Prefecture in Japan on September 28 and November 16, 2019. The purpose of the fieldwork was to collect qualitative field data from people living in Memeki Community.

First Fieldwork

In the first part of the first fieldwork, local guides gave us an explanation on Mt. Takao, a mountain located in Yuwa. After the explanation, we took the hiking route A with the local guide volunteers to collect data regarding cultures, religions, and traditions of the mountain and the community. After the hiking, the local guides served us with rice balls made of newly-harvested rice for lunch. During this lunchtime, we had plenty of time to discuss with the local guides regarding the issues that Memeki community now faces. Afterwards, Mr. Kishi, one of the local guides, gave a presentation regarding the history of the community as well as the details of the unique features of Mt. Takao. After the presentation session, we conducted a two-hour interview with three local guides. For the questions asked in the interview in this fieldwork, please refer to the Appendix A.

Second Fieldwork

The first part of the second fieldwork was to visit Gyokuryuji temple where a summer local festival is held. Inside the Gyokuryuji, we had a discussion with Mr. Kyogoku, a priest living in the Memeki community. Also, during the walkabout in Gyokuryuji temple, we observed the statue of *Shichi ko shin*. After the visit to the temple, we visited Rogetsu Ishi's house preserved by his descendants. Here, Mr. Kyogoku explained Rogetsu Ishi's lifetime and how he is currently perceived in the community. After we visited Memeki Community Center, Mr. Kishi gave us a presentation about the seasonal events held in the Memeki community. We had a chance to listen to the talk offered by Mr. Fujiwara, a community leader. After the talk, a two-hour interview with two local guide volunteers was conducted to

ask questions prepared beforehand. For the questions asked in the interview in this fieldwork, please refer to the Appendix B.

Results of Field Work

The Narratives of Mt. Takao

It was observed that Mt. Takao has a legendary folk narrative called *The Legend of Yashaki*. In Mt. Takao, there is a board explaining this legendary story. Here, the efforts of the community to remember this legend were seen. The abstract of the narrative is as follows: once upon a time, Yashaki, a demon running away from the Horoha mountain, and a beautiful woman Yoneko got married and had a son, Otakimaru. Then Yashaki had swayed over the place near Mt. Takao. However, when Sakanoueno Tamuramaro invaded Ezo—a place currently called the Tohoku area, Yashaki and Otakimaru ran away to the Oga peninsula, and Yoneko was killed by the invader. According to the local guide, this story can be interpreted in two ways, one from the point of the central government and the other from the perspective of Ezo. From the central government's point of view, since Yashaki and Otakimaru were necessary evils, their banishment of them to the peninsula is delineated as a *victorious* story. However, from the point of Emishi, those who lived in Ezo, given their positive perception toward Yashaki and Otakimaru, the story is indeed about the *invasion* of the central government. Moreover, not only does the narrative represent the unique history of Mt. Takao, the local legend also captures physical and environmental features of the mountain. One of the hills in Mt. Takao is featured as a place for Yashaki and Yoneko to take sumo wrestling with his son, Otakimaru. Moreover, a slope in the mountain is also featured in the legend in a way that the place is where Yoneko was killed by

Sakanoueno Tamuramaro. Thus, the slope has been named after the local narrative and is now called *Akasaka* (red slope), meaning the redness of her blood.

Furthermore, there is another narrative found as a result of the interview with the volunteers. Amaterasu, the goddess of the sun and the universe, once had a bad temper and ensconced herself into a cave, and days of no lights lasted. In order to bring back the goddess of the sun, people attempted to attract her attention by having a spree and party. Once she took a peek at it, strong, muscular guys brought her out. In fact, this story indicates that the local narrative has a connection with the nation-wide legends. It is because Amaterasu is one of the characters in national legendary stories included in the *Manyoshu* and *Nihon-shoki*, the collections of classic Japanese poets.

The Narratives of Rogetsu Ishi

Rogetsu Ishi is known as a poet who was born in 1873 in Memeki Yuwa. After leaving Akita middle high school, he went to Tokyo and apprenticed himself to Shiki Masaoka, one of the greatest names in the history of Japanese poetry, to learn skills of poetry. After he came back to Yuwa in Akita, he passed a national examination for doctors and became a private doctor in Memeki. He gained support from people in the community and eventually became a politician in charge of Tomekawa Village. Aside from being a doctor and a politician, he wrote poets about Chinese legends. In the concluding years of his life, his poems often attempt to delineate the existence of a life in supernatural phenomena.

Collective efforts to preserve the memory of Rogetsu Ishi are made in such a way that there is a stone statue on which a poetry written by Rogetsu Ishi in Mt. Takao and the preservation of Rogetsu's house. Moreover, respecting

Rogetsu's poems, the community holds poetry competitions. According to the interview, the competitions are held for the purpose of strengthening the community bonds and remembering the greatness of the Rogetsu Ishi.

Rogetsu Ishi receives tremendous respect by local people. For instance, Mr. Kyogoku responded to our interview during in the fieldwork: "to be proud of Rogetsu is to be proud of the Memeki community as a whole", "To talk about Rogetsu is to share the culture of Memeki", and "Rogetsu is a role model for Memeki values". Such words from Mr. Kyogoku represent the respect of Rogetsu Ishi by the Memeki community.

According to the interview, it was observed that Rogetsu Ishi is indeed perceived as a role model in the community. For instance, one of the local guides that we interviewed said that Rogetsu Ishi's efforts to establish a youth association exemplify a lesson for the local community to put emphasis on the education of youth. The local guides argued that such lessons from him are widely shared in the community.

Analysis

Narrative as a Guidance for one's Behavior

The elaboration of the argument offered by Toyoda (2017) shows that narrative can operate as a guidance for one's behavior in the community. In the interview, it was revealed that local people in Memeki learn a lesson from the local narrative on the efforts of Rogetsu to establish a youth association. Here, such a narrative cultivates a collective ethics that the community should not undervalue youth education and should pay special attention to it. Moreover, as Mr. Kyogoku argues, "Rogetsu is a role model for Memeki values", because the narrative on what Rogetsu did in his lifetime can also shape individuals' normative idea on

what individuals in the community should do. In this line of reasoning, the narrative on Rogetsu Ishi indeed performs as a guidance for one's behavior as a community member.

Moreover, the narratives in Mt. Takao such as the Yashaki legend also work as guidance for one's behavior in the community. The fieldwork reveals that the story of Yasuaki and Yoneko captures many physical and environmental features of Mt. Takao. The significance of incorporating such geographical and environmental features of the community into the narrative is that understanding the environment through the local narrative allows the members of the community to attach a meaning and importance to the environment that surrounds them. Such attachment or the sense of care about nature cultivated through the interaction with local narratives can prevent unnecessary exploitation of the environment. The local guide volunteers mentioned during the interview, "we cherish the hill and slope of the mountain because they are important for the members of the community in passing down the narrative to the next generation". As Toyoda (2017) argues that "[i]ndigenous narratives, full of metaphors and analogies, teach us how to acclimate ourselves to surrounding environments" (p. 179); the local narrative fosters the sense of care toward nature.

Narrative as Deepening and Strengthening the Community Bond

A paper by Hendry (2012) implies that local narrative shared by the members of the community can further solidify the communal bonds in the community. Through the fieldwork, some efforts to remember narrative are seen. For instance, to show respect to Rogetsu Ishi, a local poetry competition is held in the Memeki community.

Moreover, in Mt. Takao, there are statues on which a poem by Rogetsu Ishi is inscribed. Regarding such efforts, Mr. Kyogoku said, "efforts to not to forget Rogetsu is a mission that all of the members in the community share". Here, undertaking the collective task of remembering the narrative can shape one's identity as a member of the community as Hendry (2012) argues that the involvement of activities can reinforce the sense of belonging to the community. In the process of involving local activities to preserve local narrative, the community bond in the Memeki community can be further strengthened.

Moreover, through the local narratives, their feelings of pride of Rogetsu also reinforces individuals' identity and community bond. Mr. Kyogoku's words "to be proud of Rogetsu is to be proud of [the] Memeki community as a whole". His words imply that people in Memeki conceptually link Rogetsu Ishi with the community and that the sense of respect toward Rogetsu Ishi is expanded to the level of the community. Therefore, it can be argued that the narrative on Rogetsu Ishi cultivates the sense of local pride and attachment to the community to which they belong. Thus, having a narrative on Rogetsu Ishi results in deepening the community bond.

Furthermore, the legend of Amaterasu can also cultivate the local pride as a member of the community and further solidify the community bonds. The appearance of Amaterasu—goddess in the national legend—in the local legend can imply the conceptual link of the local community to the national level. Such a link can also stimulate one's sense of local pride because they, through the local legend, can appeal to the connection of the community to the larger entity. In this line of thinking,

local narratives on such local legends can reinforce the sense of communal pride and further enhance the attachment to the Memeki community, which leads to solidifying the community bonds.

Narrative as a Tool to Maintain Traditional Knowledge

Thirdly, narratives can operate as a tool to maintain traditional knowledge. As Cetinkaya (2009) argues, it is significant to maintain traditional knowledge because it leads to human well-being of the community members. As a result of the fieldwork, it was revealed that the Yashaki legend incorporates the history of Memeki, such as the invasion of Sakanoueno Tamuramaro. Here, the local narrative operates as a tool to remember the history of the community. In this line of thinking, the local narrative in the community can serve to maintain traditional knowledge. Moreover, the Yashaki legend can also preserve the knowledge of local practices. For instance, the legend features one of the important local activities, Sumo wrestling, in the community. Here, the legend can play a role in putting emphasis on the importance of this traditional activity in the Memeki community. In such a way, the traditional knowledge is maintained through the narratives in the Memeki community.

Research Implication and Limitations

The academic significance of this research is to contextualize the theoretical frameworks constructed upon the previous research conducted by Toyoda (2017), by Hendry (2012) and by Cetinkaya (2009) in the case of the Memeki community. However, the limitation of this research paper is that I

conducted only two series of fieldwork. Moreover, this fieldwork was not individually conducted but was a group work with those who have different research interests. Therefore, there can be a lack of data resources that my paper can refer to. For the future research, to overcome these limitations, additional fieldwork with a single research objective can improve the quality of the research.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have investigated the roles of the narrative in the Memeki community. Research by Toyoda (2017), by Hendry (2012) and by Cetinkaya (2009) provides theoretical frameworks in investigating this research question. Regarding the power of narrative to inform the members of the community about guidance for their behavior, narratives on Rogetsu can exemplify the role model in the community. Moreover, values of Memeki's natural environment attached through the local narrative can cultivate one's sense of care about the environment and nature. Regarding the second power—narrative as deepening and strengthening the community—collective actions to remember local narratives strengthen the communal bonds. The sense of pride cultivated through the interactions with narrative also solidifies the community cohesion. Furthermore, the narratives in which the local history and indigenous practices are reflected can function to maintain traditional knowledge. As to the academic significance of this research, this paper contextualized the previous research and provided a new insight to this academic realm. Moreover, for the future research, this paper recommends additional fieldworks with a single research objective.

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Appendix A

1. Why were women not allowed into the inner shrine of Mt Takao?
 2. How did the god/gods of Mt Takao come into being?
 3. How do people treat the god/gods of Mt Takao?
 4. What narratives/stories have they heard about Mt. Takao?
 5. Are these stories related to the legends in the *Kojiki* or *Nihon-shoki*?
 6. Do people still feel that Akita is a land of exile?
 7. Are there other mountains which have the same spiritual significance as Mt. Takao? If yes or no, why?
 8. Does Takao Jinja have a unique god?
 9. How does Buddhism relate to the spiritual beliefs attached to Mt Takao?
 10. Is there a significance to the name 'Takao' 高尾, which thus leads to many mountains being named 'Takao' as well?
 11. What has been/can be done to promote tourism in Mt. Takao?
 12. How do Japanese people from urban areas view Mt Takao?
 13. How do the young people living around Mt Takao view it?
 14. How do foreign tourists perceive Mt Takao (if any)?
 15. How is Mt Takao's environment important to the spiritual practices and beliefs surrounding it?
1. なぜ女性は高尾神社に入ることかできないのか?
 2. どうやって高尾山の神話は生まれたのか。
 3. どのように人々は高尾山にいる神を祀っているのか。
 4. どのように人々は高尾山にいる神を奉っているのか。
 5. 高尾山の神話について、どのようなことを聞いたことがあるか。
 6. 高尾山の神話は古事記や日本書紀に関係があるか。
 7. 秋田の人々は未だ秋田を「追放の地」と感じているか。
 8. 他の山にまつわる話に、高尾山と似たような神話が見られるか。
 9. 高尾神社には神社特有の神がいると言われているか。
 10. 高尾山の神話が仏教と関係しているか。
 11. 高尾山は日本各地にあります、高尾と言う名前にはどんな意味が込められているのか。
 12. 高尾山を観光地として広めるためにどんな取り組みをしているか？/何ができると思うか。
 13. 都会からきた人は高尾山をどのように見ているのか。

14. 高尾付近に住んでいる若い人たちはどのように高尾山を見ているのか。
15. 海外からの旅行客はどのように高尾山を見ているのか。
16. 高尾山の環境（天気など）が高尾山の神話と関係があると思うか。

Appendix B

1. Have you experienced anything supernatural before in this area like kami, ghosts or *yokai*?
 2. Why is there a festival for sumo wrestling up in the mountains specifically? (Why must it be in the mountains? Why must there be sumo?)
 3. Are there any other festivals that take place in this village?
 4. Have you experienced any natural disasters or very bad weather in this village before? Please describe your experience with us.
 5. Are there any other folk tales or narratives that you can share with us besides the Yashaki tale? (Maybe share with us some ghost or *yokai*-related stories.)
 6. How is traditional knowledge of the environment acquired?
 7. Is the younger generation still interested in these narratives or do they ignore them completely?
 8. What do you think life would be like in this village if it did not have any local narratives (such as Yashaki and Yoneko story)?
 9. When going up to the shrine, do people walk the long way or just drive a car up the road?
 10. How much time do people spend in the woods here (to walk around)?
 11. How important is Buddhism to the lives of people in the village? (Is Buddhism used for burial rites like in other parts of Japan? Is there a distinction between Shinto and Buddhism?)
 12. What does ‘*satoyama* landscape’ mean to you?
 13. How does *satoyama* landscape (the physical environment) shape and influence local narratives?
 14. Do you see Rogetsu Ishii’s poetry in the same way as folk narratives? (If not, how are they different?)
-
1. 何か超常現象のようなもの（例えば神や幽霊や妖怪のようなもの）を経験したことはありますか。
 2. 相撲の大会を高尾山でやるのは何故ですか。
 3. 相撲の大会のほかにお祭りがありますか。
 4. 自然災害をこの村で経験したことはありますか。
 5. 夜叉鬼伝説の他にも何か伝説がありますか。
 6. どのように文化的知識を得るのか。
 7. 若い人たちも夜叉鬼伝説に興味を持っていますか。
 8. もし夜叉鬼伝説がなければどのような暮らしになっていたと思いますか。
 9. 奥宮に行く時、歩いて行きますか、車で行きますか。
 10. どのくらいの時間を高尾山で過ごしていますか。
 11. どのくらい仏教は人々の生活に深く関わっていますか。
 12. 里山とは何だと思いますか。
 13. 里山がどのように民話に影響を及ぼしていると考えますか。
 14. 石井露月のお話を民話として捉えていますか。

Take a Risk?: Investor Behavior in Akita

Wataru Matsusho

Introduction

Recently, financial education is attracting a large amount of attention from many educators. However, in developed countries, Japan has been notorious for insufficient financial literacy. According to Finte (2012), Japanese students go through financial education for only 1 hour and 3 hours in junior high school and high school, respectively. It is also said that financial education in Japan mostly focuses on consumer-related issues, whereas Western nations tend to emphasize what money is all about and even how to deal with it, such as cutting expenses or means of investment (Japan Securities Dealers Association, 2014). In general, there are three ways of dealing with cash money — consume, hold, or invest. However, imbalanced and insufficient education made Japanese people save their money in such a way that they think is most “secured,” that is, putting most of the cash assets into bank accounts. According to Trading Economics (2020), the personal saving rate in Japan was 59.2% in 2019, which is significantly higher than other nations — e.g., 5.5% in the UK, 7.9% in the United States at the same period. A saving rate is often quoted to acquire suggestions of how much people engage in investment activities because people keeping individual financial assets as savings are considered less likely to take a risk for investment. Thus, this data suggests that fewer people engage in investment in Japan.

This paper aims to find the behavioral tendency toward the financial assets of residents in Akita, a prefecture located in northern Japan, with the research question: how do people in Akita save money? This research is worth careful reading because it refers to a close relationship between ignorance and loss.

Literature Review

The Current Situation of Financial Education in the World

Financial education, or financial literacy, is an educational method to provide lessons on how to deal with money as a member of society. There are various definitions, but it is much more than calculating cash flow. A lack of financial literacy even results in hindering economic development. Some countries experienced devastating situations of financial education in the past. For instance, over 80 percent of adults in the US could not calculate compound interest on \$100 after five years at an interest rate of 20% (Annamaria et al., 2007). However, in recent years, those countries have taken their original countermeasures against a lack of financial literacy. As such, in 2004, the UK government made financial education a statutory requirement of the British national curriculum for secondary schools (Roberts, 2018).

Nonetheless, some nations are still struggling with finding a proper solution to these issues — the US is one of them. Along with the study mentioned above, another survey was conducted to 27,564 American adults and found that two-thirds of them failed a basic financial literacy test (FINRA Investor Education Foundation, 2018). To make things worse, a decreasing number of participants have gotten the correct answers in the past ten years. Here, Japan is also facing the same kind of problems. They even saw the absence of financial education until it was first incorporated into the government-made education curriculum in 2016 (Solarz, 2017). Solarz emphasizes the importance of financial education in the early stage of life, which helps people to live a financially better life.

Financial Literacy: Income Level and Saving Rate

One study found that there is a correlation between financial literacy and individual saving rate. Bayar et al. (2017) surveyed faculty members in a college to see that those who had limited financial knowledge possessed less cash savings. The researchers concluded that financial education makes people recognize the risk of investments, which made them lose aversion and then encouraged them to hold financial assets in a "secured" way. This study indeed has a limitation due to the limited distribution of participants' socio-economic segments, but the result found has still meaningful implications for financial knowledge. And also, another piece of research in Japan proved a positive connection between income level and the necessity to hold stocks. Sugita (2010) found that those who have large incomes are prone to feeling the necessity of investing in stocks. In his research, 53.5% of participants with savings income above 1 million yen or around 9k US dollar answered they need to engage in stock trading, whereas 26% of subjects whose annual income were 200k to 300k yen, roughly 2k US Dollar did. Those

two pieces of research imply the following sequence: that is, proper financial knowledge first encourages people to secure their assets, but as they grow the savings, they become aware of the necessity to invest in stocks.

Geographical Factors that Affect Perception

Generally, Japanese people tend to hold individual monetary assets only in their savings accounts, not in securities such as bonds or stocks. For example, only 18.2% of Japanese adults have valuable papers, while more than half of Americans do (Sugita, 2010). The research shows that more than 90% of Japanese adults are afraid of investment. Those studies imply that this risk-averse tendency is quite typical in a Japanese context. Moreover, this tendency is particularly strong in Akita, where the population decline seems unstoppable.

As Kam (2006) stated, people residing in rural areas tend to be conservative and, therefore, avoid risk more than those in urban regions. This statement suggests that people in Akita should be less engaged in investment activities. In 2016, the amount of personal savings in Akita was ranked 42nd out of all 47 prefectures of Japan (Statistics Bureau, 2016). The number of liabilities in Akita prefecture was 7 million yen at that time, which was the worst in Japan. It is important to answer the research question because it may help solve the financial difficulties that small cities such as Akita are experiencing in Japan.

Methods

Guiding Questions

To find people's perceptions and actual investment behavior in Akita, the researcher investigated university students and local residents in Akita. The guiding question to this survey was: *How do people in Akita construct financial portfolios, and why?* This question constructed the basis of this study, which leads to finding the general perception and activities of investment.

Setting and Participants

There were a total of 32 subjects in this study — 29 for online survey study and 3 for face-to-face interview research, respectively. For the research on the Internet, all 29 participants were undergraduate students in a small, prefecture-funded university in Akita prefecture. They voluntarily took part in this study without any rewards and were completely anonymous. Twenty-four of the online participants answered they were from Japan, three from other Asian nations, one from North American nations, and one person from European nations. Their nationality is the only personal information acquired in this study.

On the other hand, for the interview, the researcher conducted a random interview with three anonymous subjects. It took place in a shopping mall within one day. The researcher spoke to three people who looked 40-50 years old to investigate their perception toward investment with their disposable income. After the researcher revealed the purpose of this study and acquired the permission of participation, all of the three participants expressed themselves as Japanese females, and the age was 41, 46, and 51, respectively. They were all from a local city in Akita prefecture the same as the mall located. They were all married and had an annual income of around 400-600 thousand yen, although none of them did specify the exact amount. Then the researcher wrote down all of their answers on separate pieces of paper.

Data Collection

In order to answer the research question of the study, the researcher made an online questionnaire with eight questions and a questionnaire for a face-to-face interview with three questions. For the online research, the researcher posted it on a Facebook page in which many students of the target university enrolled. It was assumed to collect more data by conducting

this study on Facebook, rather than doing so in person or other forms because many students of the university actively used Facebook. There were eight questions. Six of them were multiple-choice questions and one of them was open-ended where participants were encouraged to write as long as necessary about reasons for one of the multiple-choice questions. The other was a linear scale question asking about the quality of financial education in their home country. Before the distribution of the questionnaire, the researcher surveyed one person for the sake of revision, because revision and feedback are mentioned as part of the crucial factors to increase the credibility of the research, as Jin et al. (2014) noted. The information collected in the pre-survey, such as opinion on the preferred order of questions, was used to revise the questions. For the interview session, the researcher asked a set of three closed questions addressing their interest and perception in investment to only one subject for each session, and every session took about 5 minutes. The interview was carried out in Japanese, so all the contents were duly translated into English by the researcher during the analysis procedure.

Data Analysis

As for the online research, the researchers received 29 responses in total after three weeks and two days passed since the researcher made the questionnaire public online. Then, the researchers finished collecting data and moved to the data analysis period. For analysis on open-ended questions such as “Have you ever thought that more knowledge of investment is necessary for yourself? (Q.7),” the researcher used a systematic methodology called Grounded Theory. As Cho et al. (2014) states, Grounded Theory encourages researchers to find a pattern from qualitative data and assign codes to each piece of data. The researcher categorized responses by realizing common trends, which is called the

coding process, and then converted the acquired answers to quantitative data.

On the other hand, the researcher began analyzing responses of the face-to-face interview right after it was done. There were a total of three participants in total. Here the researcher used the same method as for analysis of the online survey by finding a general pattern in responses to convert quantitative data to a qualitative one.

Discussion

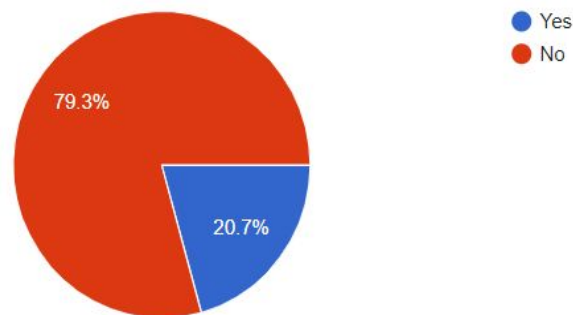


Figure 1. The results of whether the respondents invested money in financial assets.

This ratio is higher than in the UK and lower than Finland, according to Hietanen (2017). Hietanen explored university students' attitudes towards investing in the United Kingdom and Finland to find that 46% of Finnish students invested in financial markets, while only 11% of undergraduates in the UK did. In another question, as for what money was invested to, three of them once invested in Bitcoin, and there were two subjects with an experience of equity investment and mutual

Financial Knowledge: Is Saving the Safest Way to Hold Cash?

One question asked participants whether they had any experience of investment before and if yes, what kind of investment they experienced. The result shows that 20.7% of the overall subjects had invested their money on financial assets (Fig.1).

funds, respectively (Figure 2). However, savings were the most popular among the participants, and all of those who had savings were Japanese students. It makes sense because the Japanese individual saving rate is among the highest in the world — it was even more than ten percent higher than in the United States (Hayashi, 1986). Why do so many of them invest in savings accounts? It is most likely because they believe it is the safest way to lay their money.

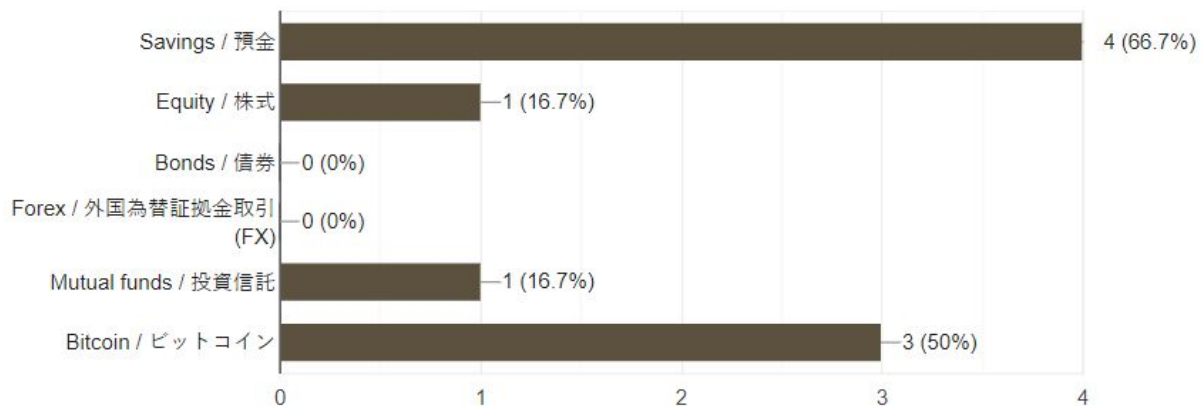


Figure 2. Means of investments subjects experienced before.

According to Figure 3, 64.3% of research participants answered that they thought saving has the least risk. Those participants were all from Japan and stated reasons for that belief, such as "There is no risk of losing money" or "there is zero possibility where an investor will lose their money." At the same time, no exchange students from abroad answered this kind of misconception. Yes, there is undoubtedly a risk of losing money even in the savings accounts. Meanwhile, three out of four participants in the individual interview expressed the same opinion as well. These statements show many participants firmly believed that their bank's perfectly secured money probably because they were not aware of inflation. The above-mentioned statements above are not true because currency depreciates by economic growth. In a society under capitalism, its economy is assumed to keep growing, as prices increase

as well. For example, the Japanese economy has grown in the past few decades, and the inflation rate in 2014 was predicted to be approximately 1.4% (Andolfatto & Li, 2014). Andolfatto et al. stated inflation expectations in Japan even rose above their historical average. And if inflation is going forward, you may need more money than before to purchase the same thing because prices are also going higher. In other words, if you just leave your money in a savings account, you are technically losing cash by the effect of inflation; again, inflation decreases the value of money. This is why saving is not necessarily the least risky way to hold cash. Financial knowledge like this is not well-taught in Japan, so it has resulted in making Japanese people have mythical beliefs. In this case, an insufficient amount of financial education may lead to people's actual loss in financial assets.

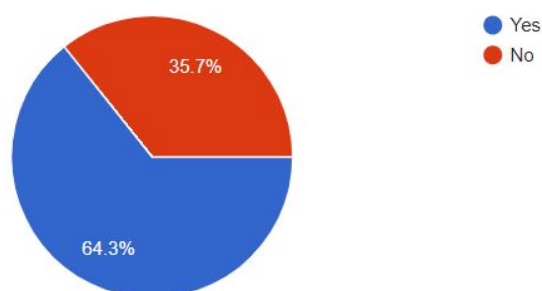


Figure 3. Do you think saving money is the safest way to hold cash?

Familiarity to Investment: Situation of Young People and Housewives

In the question about the safest way of holding money, some subjects answered it was by saving. These results reflect a lack of financial literacy, as explained in the previous paragraph. Then, what do they think about this issue? One question revealed the unfamiliarity of the participants with financial-related talks in daily life. The research shows that 55.2% of the participants did so (Fig.4). Many researchers have shown that familiarity is a closely related issue to investment — Pool et al. (2012) is one of them. They addressed professional portfolio managers in mutual funds and found a surprising result: that is, they over-emphasized stocks from their home states by generally 12% compared to those from other areas. Managers put more emphasis on local equities because they felt more familiar with the home stocks. This phenomenon is called home bias in behavioral finance and often cited as an example of people's irrational investing behavior since it violates profits derived from diversification in their portfolio. The possible explanations for home bias are found in a study by French et al. (1991). That is, home bias shows excessive optimism about prospects of the domestic

market or comfort-seeking. As this study implies, less familiarity may result in little encouragement for investment. In the individual interview, all of the four participants were completely risk-averse. That is, they answered they have zero interest in investment due to fear of losing money and stated that they had almost no conversation on investment with family at home. These unfamiliarities seem to be an obstacle to engaging in investment, especially in the town where this study was conducted. As a result, all of the participants in the interview saved money in the bank, either a savings account or term deposit. It was also almost true of the participants in the online survey, considering savings were the most popular way to save money among them (Fig.2).

Moreover, the researcher noticed the participants showed fearful faces during the individual interview while talking about investment. This reaction may be derived from unfamiliarity with investment or financial literacy: several studies have shown a strong relationship between unfamiliarity and fear. Kagan (2006) found that infants who saw unfamiliar objects tended to feel fear more frequently than others.

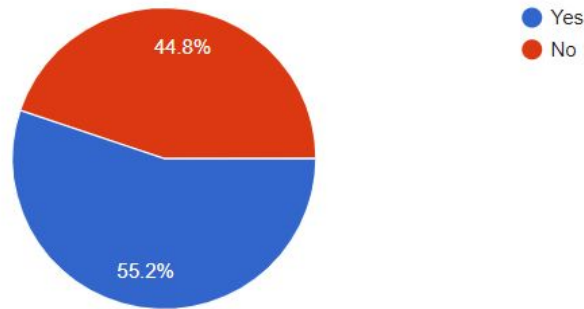


Figure 4. Have you talked about investment with your family or friends?

Conclusion & Future Study

This study aimed to focus on individual perception and actual behavior regarding investment in Akita Prefecture, Japan. The researcher addressed the topic by using two research methods: an online survey to local university students and individual interview research to local housewives. There are two remarkable findings yielded here: 1) people in the town have some misconceptions about financial literacy, 2) this insufficiency seems an obstacle to investment for them. First of all, local people in Akita have less accurate financial knowledge compared to those from other nations, as explained in the previous section. That was not their fault since Japanese compulsory education allocates a little amount of time on financial literacy. Finte (2012) states that Japanese students experience financial education for a very limited time. What is more, most of their time is spent on learning consumer protection, rights, and duties while the Western schooling system provides opportunities to access broad topics regarding how to deal with money. Statistics showed that 58% of Japanese teachers think they do not spend enough time on these things (Finte, 2012). And, this insufficiency led to misconception and excessive fear of investment. As mentioned, all four housewives participants answered they were afraid of investment and did not want to take a risk at all. As a result, they saved money

all in bank accounts and did not experience any means of investment. Savings were the most popular means of investment among the participants of the online research — that was how people in Akita built a financial portfolio.

On the other hand, for local university students, almost 80% of them had no experience of investment, which is a relatively higher ratio than other developed countries. The insufficient financial education resulted in making fear of investment as well and even distracts them from being interested in investment. However, it is not beneficial for people because investment gives practical experience to them. Vedder (2018) insists investment is better than internships for young students in terms of learning financial knowledge. A group of private investors provided funds for a student-led association at Pennsylvania State University — they invested in around 65 equities and made a profit of \$4 million in 13 years. Similar models are found at Michigan State University, where students earned \$5 million in 15 years. These real-world experiences helped the students get jobs at famous investment firms. As Vedder suggests, excessive fear by ignorance can be a loss for everyone. This study implies ignorance can lead to disadvantages due to lack of opportunities for earning gains; this is why we have to care about these results.

However, this study has a limitation to be addressed. It is a geographical limitation; the study was conducted in a city in Akita Prefecture at both a university and shopping mall, so there might be some deviation in perception or socioeconomic status. For example, Firebaugh (2003) states geographical location is one of the strongest factors affecting income equality due to a different amount of access to job opportunities and educational resources. The participants of individual interviews stated almost the same level of their annual income, which means it can be concluded that they were in a similar economic status. Hence this study may show biased perceptions of the participants and should be

done in several different cities in the prefecture.

What is more, the credibility of this study can be increased if the size of the research sample was larger. There were only 32 participants in this study due to time constraints. Kotrlík et al. (2001) state it is commonly accepted to conduct survey research at the 0.05 level of significance, which means there is a 5% chance that the study is rejecting the true null hypothesis. Considering the population of Akita being around 10 million, there should be 384 samples in this study. For future research, researchers have to consider those points above.

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Marching Arts: Fostering Grit and Quality of Experience

Anju Kinoshita

After learning at school, what skills should people have to thrive in this diverse and unpredictable society? Traditionally, people have measured cognitive skills such as mental process of understanding or problem-solving ability to predict students' success, using IQ or standardized tests. However, test scores and IQ only predict a small variation of a person's lifetime outcome (Bjorklund-Young, 2016). To predict varieties of life outcomes including academic achievement, employment, financial stability, or health, educators and psychologists have been focusing on so-called non-cognitive skills. Non-cognitive skills are classified slightly differently in the fields of study, yet broadly defined as personality traits. There are several characteristics within the category of non-cognitive ability such as creativity, perseverance, or social competencies (UNESCO, 2016). Duckworth et al. (2007) found that one of the crucial non-cognitive abilities that individuals achieve more than others of equal intelligences is *grit*.

Duckworth et al. (2007) defined grit as "perseverance and passion for long-term goals" (p. 1087). For instance, you can see the character of the people who exceptionally keep their commitment to their ambition. Grit entails maintaining interest for long years and effort toward challenges. Gritty individuals do not mean they are

'gifted' or 'talented'; they approach their goal as a marathon. Even though most non-cognitive skills are not easily scaled, some (including grit) can be accurately and meaningfully used as a measurement.

Duckworth et al. (2007) conducted 6 studies to invent the Grit scale as a predictor of high-achieving individuals: 2 large samples of adults aged 25 years or older (Study 1 and 2), elite university students (Study 3), 2 cases of West Point students (The United Military Academy) (Study 4 and 5), and National Spelling Bee participants (Study 6). Study 1 and 2 found that grittier people had experienced higher education than less gritty peers. Also, the research suggests that grit will change with life span; older individuals tend to have higher level of grit. Study 3 indicates that grittier college students have higher GPAs than their peers, whereas lower SAT scores. In Study 4 and 5, grit was a better predictor of summer retention among West Point students, than either self-control or other measurements. Study 6 suggested that grittier children work harder and longer than their peers, and thus perform extraordinary at National Spelling Bee. Duckworth and Quinn (2009) replicated the research for the better validation of their Short Grit Scale (Grit-S).

Grit-S was reported as shorter and psychometrically stronger

measurement, and thus widely used for other studies. For example, using Grit-S, the research found that gritter individuals are more likely keep their job, graduate high schools, or stay married (Eskreis-Winkler et al., 2014). Since original Grit research (Duckworth et al., 2007; Duckworth and Quinn, 2009) involved highly selective institutions and competitive environments, Broghammer (2017) conducted research on a sample of college freshmen at a regional research university. His research found that Grit-S was a consistent predictor for first year GPA, but not for retention. Moreover, Nishikawa et al. (2015) and Arco-Tirado et al. (2018) invested the Japanese version and Spanish version of Grit-S respectively, which allows further study in the international context.

As authors of one of the previous studies on grit, Ueno et al. (2018) reported that the impact of grits on Japanese athletes will depend on the athletic event. The consistency of interest was slightly associated with competitive levels in closed-skills sports in a positive way, but not open-skills sports. In closed-skills sports (i.e. track and field, swimming, or gymnastics), athletes must have consistent actions and self-motivation. On the other hand, open-skills sports (i.e. baseball, basketball, or football) require continuous attention to unpredictable situations; therefore, researchers assume the grit corresponds differently in two types of sports. Park et al. (2018) studied the relationship between school goal-structure and fostering grit. In-school environment, a mastery goal orientation, such as “focuses on acquiring and improving new skills for their own sake” (p. 121), helps students more likely to demonstrate grit, whereas a performance goal orientation which encourages demonstrating ability in

relation to others were less. Hence, literature found that Grit-S has relationships with closed-skill sports and mastery goal environments.

Considering the literature above, Credé, Tynan, and Harms (2017) concluded that the validity of grit is in question and needs greater rigor in development. Particularly, their Meta-analytic review pointed out the limitation of grit research, social desirability, and range restriction. Grit studies relied on self-reports which may have reflected social desirability. Participants may not be aware of their true level of grit or unintentionally exaggerate the level. Also, sample selections from previous research may create some range restriction on grit. For instance, Duckworth et al. (2007) studied the US Military Academy at West Point a population that likely has extraordinary academic performance in high school. This may cause the sample to have smaller numbers of low grit level samples than the general population.

Even though the validity of grit scale is under development, the concept of grit itself would be crucial in education. As Laursen (2015) argues, learners should have the opportunity to foster ability beyond academic competence for surviving the world’s growing complexity. He supported the promotion of opportunities in which students can develop their long-term goal to strengthen grit. However, little is known about how people can encourage or discourage grit. This paper suggests that marching arts activity would be the great opportunity to foster grit because of its characteristics.

Marching arts are known as both an athletic and artistic activity, which requires performers’ active commitment. Marching arts include 2 types of activity: outdoor and indoor. Outdoor activities would be high school

marching band, college band, drum and bugle corps (often called ‘drum corps’), where performances often happen on the football field. Indoor includes winter guard and indoor drumline, usually active during winter season using inside facilities (Levy et al., 2011). Marching artists are usually in charge of one section such as brass, color guard, drum, or front ensemble. Gilley (2018) describes the tremendous impact on youth from marching arts: “teamwork, perseverance, commitment, and leadership are all life skills that are gained by participating in marching.” His comment indicates that there is “something special” which marching artists will bring back. As a pinnacle of marching arts competition, Drum Corps International (DCI) is the widely known non-profit organization which arranges the biggest and the most competitive summer championships every year from 1971 (DCI, 2019).

Historically, drum corps originated from boy scouts or local parades’ marching bands. Until recently, two major organizations have existed as an all-male corps in the United States, Madison Scouts and The Cavaliers (Madison Scouts, 2019; The Cavaliers, 2019). Considering the history, marching arts were a male-dominated activity. However, since activism for gender equality is happening in the drum corps world as well, the majority of corps are gender inclusive these days. As an example, Madison Scouts officially announced that they will take female performers from 2020 (DCI, 2019; Chadwick, 2018). Thus, drum corps can be considered a gender-inclusive activity.

On the DCI website, currently 23 World class drum corps and 24 Open class drum corps are registered as competitive groups (DCI, 2019). As a huge non-profit youth-focused

organization, DCI advocates “excellence in performance and in life” (DCI, 2019) for more than 7.2 million youth, ages 13 to 22. DCI performers are from all over the United States and foreign countries. DCI rules regulate that each corps compete with no more than 154 members (word class) or minimum 30 up to 154 for open class (DCI 2019). All members were chosen by designers and instructional staff at the audition, often during winter. The World class corps requires higher excellence in performance skills than open class, so that auditioning for the world class corps is generally more competitive than that of open class.

Not only the performing members, but also people involved in design, instruction, volunteers, and parents value this activity as highly educational. Chavez et al. (2016) described the toughness and beauty of drum corps:

In terms of drum corps, members spend a total of nearly three months on the road together. Living on buses and sleeping on gym floors (when they are lucky), a corps and its members truly become a family, building greater bonds than fraternities, sororities, and teams claim to create. In many ways, drum corps members get an experience similar to being deployed in the military. They become what warriors call a ‘bond of brothers.’ Living together in tough and cramped conditions causes one to gain emotional intelligence rather quickly. (Chavez et al., 2016, p. 42).

Considering previous literature, characteristics of drum corps experience would lead to higher grit levels among players. For example, closed skills are necessary for marching arts players who aim for the excellence of a 12-minute production. Also, marching arts performers would seek mastery goal-oriented goals for better

performance. To my knowledge, however, no studies have been done for Grit-S research on marching arts in psychological research. There are several studies related to marching arts: positive influence on physical health, social and educational factors, and less Musical Performance Anxiety (MPA). For example, Cumberledge (2017) discussed that college marching bands foster students' disciplined mindset, physical health, social interaction, and self-expression. Vance (2014) specifically argued about DCI experience which provides opportunities for students to learn professionalism and build their identities. Furthermore, DCI performers have relatively lower MPA compared with young-adult performers in other arts forms (Levy, 2011). He suggested factors that the DCI environment would impact low performance stress (MPA), such as to rehearse 8 to 12 hours every day, and to experience 25 to 30 competitions which require high levels of excellence during the season. Those intense environments would decrease the MPA.

As an example of well-clarified research, Chavez et al. (2016) specifically analyzed the life satisfaction with the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) of marching band alumni. The research found that marching band alumni have greater SWLS than their non-marching peers, yet the relationship was weak. One of the proposed reasons for the conflicting findings is that Chavez et al. (2016) studied a less diverse population. For instance, his participants were heavily dominated by Caucasian subjects, and the majority were members of a brass section, whereas color guard and percussion players were the smaller number of participants. Since marching arts players are demographically diverse, further study needs to be more diverse.

Employing Grit-S measurement from Duckworth and Quinn (2009), this paper will focus on the sample of marching artists who were involved in DCI. The research collected diverse demographics, such as age, gender, ethnicity, years of experience, level of competition, section, leadership experience, financial status. Using an online survey, the study investigates the grit score of 115 marching arts performers in the United States. The research hypothesizes that marching arts experience will have positive correlation with higher grit level.

Method

Participants

A total of 115 participants in the United States who experienced drum corps voluntarily participated in this study. All participants have at least 1 year of DCI experience. They are in a wide age range (16 to 56 years old) with various tenure of marching arts. Demographic data (age, gender, ethnicity, years of experience, level of competition, section, leadership experience, financial status) was collected. The last question asked, 'what makes your drum corps experience special for you?' to discover the unique point of the DCI experience. As this was an online survey, consent was requested and obtained before beginning the questionnaire. Participants were not compensated for completing the survey.

Materials

In order to compare the level of Grit in marching arts performers with the general population, Grit-S by Duckworth and Quinn (2009) was utilized. Grit level was assessed using Grit-S (Short Grit Scale). There are 8 questions, and each question includes 5 items; responses ranged from "Very much like me" to "Not like me at all". A few examples of items from the scale are "Setbacks don't

discourage me” and “I am a hard worker”. The full questionnaire is found in Appendix 1. Question number 1, 3, 5, and 6 scores “Very much like me” as 1 to “Not like me at all” as 5. Question 2, 4, 7, and 8 were reversed. Final score was calculated by adding up all the points and dividing by 8. On the second page, the survey collected demographic data; for example, “how old are you?” or with “which ethnicities are you identified?” The full questionnaire is found in Appendix 2. The survey was completed using an online form, which makes possible for participants to answer by using a smartphone or laptop computer. Analysis was conducted in SPSS. The picture image (see Appendix 3) was created by WordArt.com service.

Procedure

Data was collected on Social Networking Service (SNS) such as Facebook and Instagram via an online survey. Participants respond to the survey and provide their responses on an online form, using their smartphone,

tablet, or laptop computer. Scores were entered into a spreadsheet first, and analyzed on the SPSS database. To analyze frequently used words, answers were entered in the WordArt.com sheet, and created the image.

Results

Using t-test and ANOVA, the purpose of this study was to analyze the data and find the relationship between DCI experience and Grit level. The study also aims to analyze if there are casual significance of each group (age, gender, ethnicity, and years of experience, level of competition, section, leadership position, finance). As qualitative data, the research finds the unique characteristics of drum corps experience from the last question. The analysis thus will use t-test and ANOVA to examine whether demographics moderate the relationship between drum corps experience and grit level.

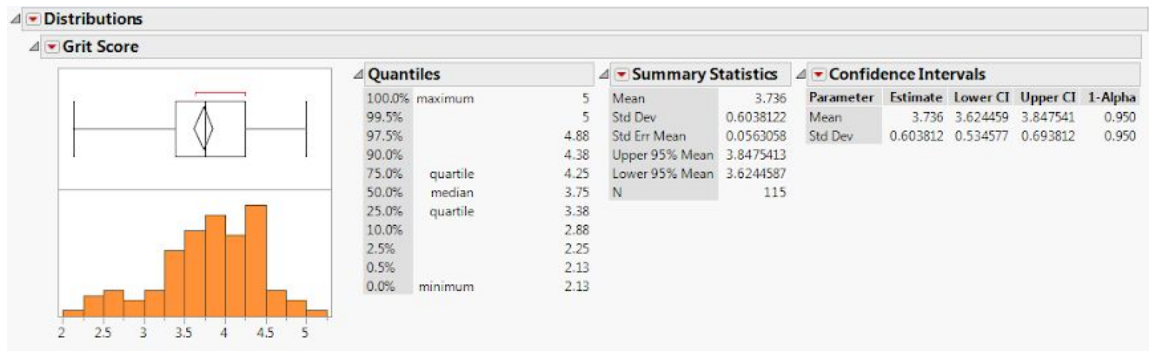


Figure 1. Grit results summary of the sample (experienced drum corps).

From Figure 1 above, the result can be more than 95% confident that the true mean of the grit score of all the individuals that have marched drum corps is somewhere between 3.62 and 3.84 ($Mean = 3.736$, $SD = .6038$). Because of the empirical rule, the research can claim that there are no real outliers in the sample distribution. The

individual that claimed to have perfect grit might be a potential outlier; however, it is not detrimentally skewing our data to the right as the mean and median are within .014 of each other.

For the analysis, this study compared the mean of Study 2 by Duckworth and Quinn (2009) (M_1 , the sample of general population) and

Broghammer (2017) (M_2 , the sample of college freshman) to the mean of Figure 1 (M_3). This paper hypothesized that there is a significant positive correlation between drum corps experience and grit level (H_a). Thus, H_0 (Null hypothesis) would be ‘there is no significant correlation between Marching arts experience and Grit level’. To determine the significance, this paper compared respective mean (M_1 , M_2 , and M_3) [$H_0: M_1 = M_3, M_2 = M_3; H_a: M_1 < M_3, M_2 < M_3$]. From study 2 (Duckworth and

Quinn, 2009), the Mean of Grit-S is 3.4 ($SD = .7, n = 1,554$) among the age 25 to 65 or older general population. Among college freshmen in Broghammer’s research (2017), mean was almost the same as 3.48 ($SD = .57, n = 544$). Comparing the two results from respective research to the drum corps study, this paper can be more than 95% confident that we will not make a type 1 error when we claim that the difference between the population means is significant and reject the null hypothesis.

Table 1
Grit-S score summary

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
Marching Arts	3.736	.6038	115
General population	3.4	.7	1,554
College freshmen	3.48	.57	544

Demographics

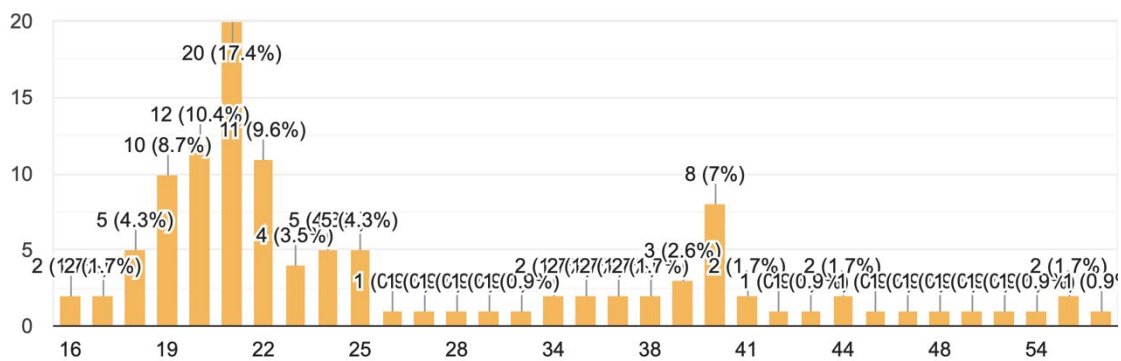


Figure 2. Age of participants

Total of 115 people voluntarily participated in this research. Age range is from 16 to 56 years old ($Mean = 27.57, Median = 22, SD = 10.50$). Since the teenagers and early 20s population was large, this research categorized the population as under 24 years old, 25 to

33, 34 to 42, and over 43 years old to make as the equal number as possible in each group for further analysis.

Table 2
Gender of participants

Gender	N	%
Woman	58	50.4%
Man	57	49.6%
Total	115	100%

In the gender section, 57 people (49.6%) identified as Man, 58 people (50.4%) answered Woman. No one identified himself as either Trans Woman, Trans Man, or Genderqueer or non-binary even though the choices were given. As the number shows, the gender distribution is well distributed.

Table 3
Ethnicity of participants

Ethnicity	n	%
African American / Black	1	0.9%
Asian / Pacific Islander	12	10.4%
Caucasian / White	90	78.3%
Hispanic / Latino	11	9.6%
Other	1	0.9%
Total	115	100%

Note. Participants could answer other nationalities or mixed ethnicities. In this research, no one participated outside of the United States.

In the ethnicity section, 78.3% of participants ($n = 90$) identified themselves as Caucasian / White. The second biggest section is 10.4% of Asian / Pacific Islander ($n = 12$), and next is 9.6% of Hispanic / Latino ($n = 11$). In this research, only 1 participant (0.9 %) answered as African American / Black or Mixed (Asian and White) respectively.

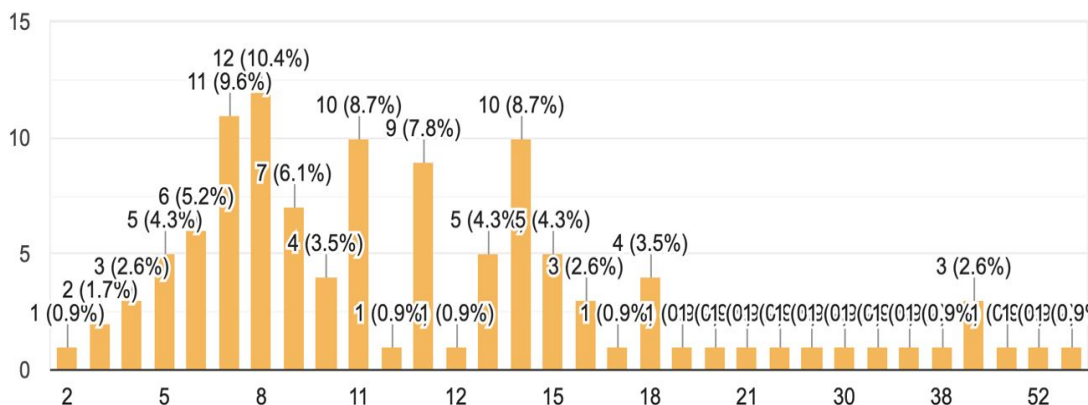


Figure 3. Numbers of seasons for marching arts (Indoor and Outdoor)

In this question, the researcher gathered how many seasons of marching arts activity the participants experienced, both Indoor and Outdoor activities. The minimum number is 2 to the maximum is 60 (*Mean* = 13.29, *Median* = 11, *SD* = 9.85). As the chart shows, the number of season participants experienced were varied.

Table 4
Numbers of seasons for DCI

Years	<i>n</i>	%
One year	23	20%
Two years	27	23.5%
Three years	28	24.3%
Four years	22	19.1%
Five or more years	15	13%
Total	115	100%

This question was for the information specifically about DCI experience. The most frequent answer was 3 seasons (*n* = 28, 24.3 %), and 2 seasons (*n* = 27, 23.5 %), 1 season (*n* = 23, 20 %) followed. 19.1 % (*n* = 22) of people experienced 4 seasons, and 13 % (*n* = 15) did 5 or more years.

Table 5
Highest level of competition

Level	<i>n</i>	%
A class	0	0%
Open class	2	1.7%
World class	113	98.3%
Total	115	100%

This question asked what the highest competition level the participants experienced. Most of the participants marched in the World class Drum Corps (*n* = 113, 98.3 %). Only 1.7 % (*n* = 2) marched Open class Drum Corps as the highest-level competition.

Table 6
Section

Section	<i>n</i>	%
Brass	3	29.6
	4	%
Color Guard	7	65.2
	5	%
Drum Major	4	3.5%
Front ensemble / Drum line	1	8.7%
	0	

This question asked which sections the participants experienced. Multiple choices were accepted. 65.2 % of participants (*n* = 75) marched in the Color Guard section. The second largest population was the Brass section of 29.6 % (*n* = 34), and then Front ensemble / drum line (8.7 %, *n* = 10). Only 3.5 % (*n*

= 4) have experience as a Drum Major. Some people experienced multiple sections such as Brass and Front ensemble / drum line, Color Guard and Drum Major.

Table 7
Were You in a Leadership Role in Your Corps?

Answer	n	%
Yes	26	22.6%
No	89	77.4%
Total	115	100%

77.4 % ($n = 89$) were not in the leadership position when they marched Drum Corps. Some of the examples of the leadership positions were section leader (brass, color guard, drum line), drum major, or instructional staff. Some participants had multiple titles.

Table 8
How Did You Pay for Drum Corps?

Method	n	%
Fundraising	4	38.6
	4	%
Parents / Relatives	8	77.2
	8	%
Personal money (Part-time job etc.)	7	65.8
	5	%

Note. Participants could choose multiple methods.

Since drum corps are often expensive to participate in, performers sometimes struggle with how to prepare the membership fee for the tour. This

research gave three items and multiple choices were accepted. 77.2% of people ($n = 88$) relied on parents or relatives to pay their membership fee at some point. 36 people chose only “Parents / Relatives”, yet 52 people chose other items such as fundraising or personal money. 26 people (22.6 %) selected items which would require personal efforts (fundraising or part-time job etc.) (excluding samples choosing all three items). The researcher assumed the classification of items which drop Grit.

Analysis with demographics

Table 9
Grit with age variance (One-way ANOVA)

Age	n	M	SD
24 or younger	71	3.65	.597
Between 25 and 33	10	3.49	.598
Between 34 and 42	22	4.04	.630
43 or older	12	3.86	.389

In this analysis, the research divided age groups as under 24 years old, between 25 and 33, 34 and 42, and 43 years old or older (see Table 10 below), making as much equal distribution as possible within a group. According to Levene’s test, the variance is equal across groups. Overall analysis calculated $F(3,111) = 3.237$, $p = .025$. Computing mean differences, 24 or younger and between 34 and 42 had meaningful difference ($p = .038$). Hence, ‘between 34 and 42’ ($Mean = 4.04$) is significantly higher than ‘24 or younger’ ($Mean = 3.65$).

Table 10*Cumulative frequency for age*

Age	F	%	Cum %
24 or younger	7	61.7	61.7
	1	7	
Between 25 and 33	1	8.7	70.4
	0		
Between 34 and 42	2	19.1	89.6
	2	1	
43 or more	1	10.4	100.0
	2	4	

Table 11*Grit with gender variance (t-test)*

Gender	n	M	SD
Woman	58	3.89	.570
Man	57	3.57	.596

According to Levene's test, the variance is equal in two groups. As $p = .003$ is smaller than $.05$, there is a meaningful difference between the mean score of women and men.

Table 12*Grit with ethnicity variance (One-way ANOVA)*

Ethnicity	n	M	SD
African American / Black	1*	3.7	.5
Asian / Pacific Islander	1	3.7	.70
	1	6	0
Caucasian / White	9	3.7	.59
	0	5	0
Hispanic	1	3.7	.39
	1	8	1
Mix	1*	2.3	.8
	*	8	

Note. * Groups with only one case are ignored in computing the test of homogeneity of variance for grit.

Since this study had only one case of African American / Black and mixed races respectively, those two groups were ignored for computations. According to Levene's test, the variance is equal across groups. $F(2, 110) = .790$, $p = .790$ indicates that there is no significant differences across groups.

Table 13*Grit with the number of DCI experience (One-way ANOVA)*

Years	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
One year	23	3.71	.598
Two years	27	3.77	.494
Three years	28	3.74	.655
Four years	22	3.61	.650
Five or more years	15	3.83	.673

According to Levene's test, the variance is equal across groups. $F(4, 110) = .349$, $p = .844$ means that there is no meaningful difference across groups.

Table 14*Grit with section (One-sample statistics)*

Section	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Brass	2	3.4	.58
	9	4	2
Color Guard	7	3.8	.57
	2	4	6
Front ensemble / Drum line	8	3.6	.79
	2	2	6
Multiple	6	3.9	.27
	1	1	0

In this analysis, the research strictly divided participants who experienced only one section of brass, color guard, percussion respectively, and experienced multiple sections. For instance, the combinations of multiple sections were 'brass and color guard' or 'color guard and drum major'.

According to Levene's test, the variance is equal across groups. $F(3, 111) = 3.570$, $p = .016$ means there is a significant difference across groups. Specifically, mean score of 'Color Guard' and 'Brass' sections had significant difference ($p = .011$).

Table 15*Grit with leadership (t-test)*

Answer	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Yes	26	3.795	.117
No	89	3.718	.064

According to Levene's test, the variance is equal between two groups. $p = .571$ shows that there is no meaningful difference between two groups.

Table 16*Grit with financial (One-sample statistics)*

Method	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Combination	83	3.759	.619
Only parents	32	3.674	.565

This research divided participants who paid a membership fee for drum corps with parents, fundraising, or personal money. Since drum corps costs a large amount of money, this paper draws the method of how participants paid for DCI. Since the majority of participants ($n = 83$) used multiple methods, this research compared people who paid with multiple methods to those who paid only out of parents' funding ($n = 32$). According to

Levene's test, the variance is equal between two groups. $p = .499$ indicates that there is no significant difference between groups.

Lastly, this paper could find several important terms to describe DCI experience from the last question. The most frequent words were "people", and "work", "hard", "love", or "drum corps" followed. See the created image on Appendix 3.

Discussion

The results from this research reject null hypothesis, and support previous studies which discuss the benefits of marching arts activity (Chavez et al. 2016; Cumberledge, 2017; Levy, 2011; Vance, 2014). Although each study addresses positive outcomes after the experience of college marching band, DCI, or other marching-related activities, they did not specifically measure with Duckworth and Quinn's Grit-S scale (2009) in respective studies. This study, therefore, is expected to prove there is a positive correlation between DCI experience and Grit.

Quantitative analysis disclosed that marching artists have high grit scores regardless of ethnicity, leadership, the number of seasons. Subcategories of age, gender, and section had meaningful difference. Since most of the participants answered their highest level of competition was in World class, this research could not analyze the grit-score difference in competition class. Also, two ethnicities (African American and Mixed Race) were ignored in computation due to the lack of sample numbers. However, those minority groups would be the interesting subject in future research.

As the most important finding from this research, marching artists had a significantly high grit score. Compared to the results from wide age range

(Study 2 from Duckworth and Quinn, 2009) and college students (Broghammer, 2017), marching artists were marked by a higher grit score. Since this paper sampled people who experienced DCI (a pinnacle of the marching arts) at least one year, the characteristics of marching arts activity would strongly reflect the effect of marching arts on individuals' grit level.

As the previous literature claimed (Duckworth et al. 2007), this research concluded older participants have a higher grit score. Analysis found that there is a significant difference between "24 or younger" ($Mean = 3.65$) and "between 43 and 42" ($Mean = 4.04$) ($p=.038$). Since the samples' age range was mainly 24 or younger in this research, other age sections might have shown weaker correlations. Overall, this research supports Duckworth et al. (2007).

Contrary to previous literature, this paper found gender difference in the grit score. Women ($Mean = 3.89$) scored significantly higher than Men ($Mean = 3.57$), which was statistically meaningful ($p = .003$). This paper suggests that DCI's history might have an impact on this result. As the literature showed, most drum corps started as boys scouts and were a heavily male-dominated activity. In such an environment, women would foster their grit through the activity or grittier women joined drum corps as a pioneer. This research cannot determine the factor from the data, yet it is a remarkable finding that would require further research.

Within ethnicity, no significant difference was calculated in this research. This result supports the previous literature by Broghammer (2017), who concluded that ethnicity (Caucasian, Asian / Pacific Islander, African American, Hispanic) does not have an impact on grit level. However,

this paper suggests that future research should consider mixed ethnicity. In this research, there was one participant who identified mixed, which made it impossible to calculate statistically. Yet mixed ethnicities and identities are growing in the global context. Considering current US society and globalizing DCI populations, marching arts research should consider various ethnicities.

Section indicated significant difference between color guard and brass sections; the grit score of people who experienced color guard (*Mean* = 3.84) was meaningfully higher than the grit of brass (*Mean* = 3.44). This paper did not expect there is a section difference because all sections equally contribute to marching arts activity. However, considering the results, those two sections should have different characteristics. This paper would suggest that the reason would be the level of physical activity. Color guard section has stronger physical characteristics than brass section. The main role of brass section is to play music while marching. Their physical demand is strong due to marching all over the football field, yet more is demanded of the color guard section. Marching artists in the color guard section need to not only march but also run, dance, and perform on a field with various equipment. As a visual ensemble, the color guard sometimes needs to carry huge props all over a field as well. Such characteristics in section activity would impact on their grit level.

Analysis on the leadership position was against the researcher's expectation. This paper hypothesized that people who had a leadership role have higher grit level, because a leadership position requires responsibility. Yet, there was no significant difference between the two groups. This result would indicate that

regardless of leadership position or not, marching artists' grit level can be high. As an inclusive and collective activity, this finding supports the value of marching arts education.

Similar to the analysis of leadership experience, the number of DCI seasons did not show a difference in grit score. This research expected that the more seasons of DCI participants have, the higher grit score will be. However, there is no meaningful difference among years. Thus, this paper would indicate even one season of DCI experience would have positive impact on marching artists' grit score.

Although the majority of participants used multiple methods to pay membership dues, this research compared a sample of who paid only out of their parents' pocket to those who paid in other ways. The research hypothesized people who relied on their parents, without their own effort such as working (personal money) or doing fundraising, would have lower grit scale. However, there was no significant difference between the two groups. The reason might be that the majority of participants used the combination of items to earn their membership fee, which made the sample size small in this study. Although there is a limitation, this result might indicate that income level does not relate to grit level.

Lastly, as a qualitative research question, this paper examined what characteristics people who experienced DCI consider as unique dimensions. Frequently used words in the answer were 'people', 'friends', 'love', or 'goal'. One of the answers said: It's a family of people who dedicated to the same goal. They all support each other, help each other, love each other and all help push each other to the final goal. (sample answer from the survey)

This quote shows that how strong marching artists' unity is over the summer. Moreover, member relationships and social interaction are crucial factors in their experience. DCI activity requires hard work for excellence that will never be achieved, and communication with others deeply during an intense time period. Those characteristics would have impact on the grit score. This paper cannot conclude whether there is causation from marching arts experience to the grit score, yet there is a positive correlation. Future research is needed to find further relationships.

In this study, the researcher may have limitations on measurements: Grit-S scale itself, sample size, and targeted sample. Since the Grit-S scale is a self-reported measurement (measuring the perception), the researcher needs to doubt the social desirability in participants. Also, the sample size of this paper was relatively smaller than other psychological studies. As a sample of marching artists, this research targeted only people who have experience in

DCI, which might have an impact on the results. Further study, thus, will need to consider collecting data from a larger size of population of marching artists to generalize the research in society. This research and further studies would disclose the value of marching arts activity as an educational opportunity.

In conclusion, this paper suggests that educators inside and outside school should acknowledge the value of marching arts education. In this unpredictable world, people tend to focus more on cognitive abilities such as IQ or science skills. Yet, through drum corps experience, the artists fostered an essential non-cognitive skill for their life, grit. As the qualitative question reveals, a strong sense of unity within the corps would be the key to fostering grit. Marching arts, therefore, must be encouraged as an educational opportunity for more people to flourish in their lives. This research discovers a significant correlation between marching arts activities and grit level. Thus, this paper will contribute to further interest in educational research in the future.

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Table 17

Demographics of participants summary.

	Category	<i>n</i>	%
The number of participants		115	100
Age range	16-56		N/A
Gender	Woman		50.4%
	Man		49.6%
Ethnicity	Caucasian / White	<i>n</i> = 90	78.3%
	Asian / Pacific Islander	<i>n</i> = 12	10.4%

	Hispanic / Latino	$n = 11$	9.6%
	African American / Black	$n = 1$	0.9 %
	Mixed (Asian and White)	Respectively	Respectively
The number of seasons (Indoor and Outdoor)	2 – 60 seasons		
The number of seasons in DCI	1 season	$n = 23$	20 %
	2 seasons	$n = 27$	23.5 %
	3 seasons	$n = 28$	24.3 %
	4 seasons	$n = 22$	19.1 %
	5 or more years	$n = 15$	13 %
The highest level of DCI	A class	0	0%
	Open class	$n = 2$	1.7 %
	World class	$n = 113$	98.3 %
Section	Blass	$n = 34$	29.6 %
	Color Guard	$n = 75$	65.2 %
	Drum Major	$n = 4$	3.5 %
	Front ensemble/drum line	$n = 10$	8.7 %
Leadership position i.e.) section leader (Brass, Color Guard, Drum line), drum major, or instructional staff	No	$n = 89$	77.4 %
	Yes	$n = 26$	22.6 %
Finance (Multiple answers accepted)	Parents / Relatives		77.2%
	Personal money		65.8%
	Fundraising		38.6%

Appendix 1. Short Grit Scale (Duckworth & Quinn, 2009)

Questionnaire

Directions for taking the Grit Scale: Here are a number of statements that may or may not apply to you. For the most accurate score, when responding, think of how you compare to most people -- not just the people you know well, but most people in the world. There are no right or wrong answers, so just answer honestly!

1. New ideas and projects sometimes distract me from previous ones.*
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

2. Setbacks don't discourage me.
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

3. I have been obsessed with a certain idea or project for a short time but later lost interest.*
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

4. I am a hard worker.
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

5. I often set a goal but later choose to pursue a different one.*
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

6. I have difficulty maintaining my focus on projects that take more than a few months to complete. *
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

7. I finish whatever I begin.
 - Very much like me
 - Mostly like me
 - Somewhat like me
 - Not much like me
 - Not like me at all

8. I am diligent.

- Very much like me
- Mostly like me
- Somewhat like me
- Not much like me
- Not like me at all

Scoring:

1. For questions 2, 4, 7 and 8 assign the following points:

- 5 = Very much like me
- 4 = Mostly like me
- 3 = Somewhat like me
- 2 = Not much like me
- 1 = Not like me at all

2. For questions 1, 3, 5 and 6 assign the following points:

- 1 = Very much like me
- 2 = Mostly like me
- 3 = Somewhat like me
- 4 = Not much like me
- 5 = Not like me at all

Add up all the points and divide by 8. The maximum score on this scale is 5 (extremely gritty), and the lowest score on this scale is 1 (not at all gritty).

Appendix 2. Survey Demographic Questions

- A. How old are you? : Please put the number (i.e. 20, 30)
- B. What is your gender? : Woman, Man, Trans Woman, Trans man, Genderqueer /non-binary, Other
- C. Which ethnicities are you identified? : African American / Black, Asian / Pacific Islander, Caucasian / White, Hispanic / Latino, Other [include other nationalities]
- D. How many seasons did you experience marching arts related activity? Please put the number. (Both Indoor and Outdoor); number
- E. How many seasons did you compete in DCI? : 1 season – 5 or more seasons
- F. Highest level you marched : A class, Open class, World class
- G. Which section did you participate? : Brass, Color Guard, Front ensemble / drumline, Drum Major
- H. Were you in a leadership role in your corps? If Yes, please state your title in the "other" column : No, Other [specific name]
- I. How did you pay for Drum Corps? : Parents / Relatives, Fundrasing, Personal money (part-time job etc.)

Literature in Review: A Tale of Two Futons



PC: Satoshi Nakao

Letters that Accelerated Tokio's Feelings

Meei Kato

The power of a letter is truly marvelous. Only a sheet of paper with words on it, a letter allows us to imagine the tone and atmosphere of the writer. Even when you are alone, a letter can create an illusion that the sender is with you. The time I realized the value of letters was when I was studying abroad for a year when I was in high school. I was neither allowed to take my cell phone nor use social media to contact my family and friends in Japan. The only way to contact them was to send letters. When I was having a hard time adjusting to the environment, or whenever I was missing my parents, the letters lessened my loneliness. My mother's writing seemed as if she was gently talking to me. There is a figure from one of the texts we read in class who was caught within this marvelous power of letters. That is Tokio from *The Quilt* by Tayama Katai. Yoshiko sent multiple letters written in a colloquial style to Tokio, and these letters had a considerable influence on their relationship. In fact, if the *genbun itchi* movement did not occur, and Yoshiko did not send letters written in a colloquial style, Tokio may have never ended up loving Yoshiko so deeply. In this essay, I would like to compare and analyze the main letters sent from Yoshiko to Tokio, including the effect that the *genbun itchi* movement may

have had on the impact of those letters.

The relationship between Tokio and Yoshiko started with the letters that Yoshiko sent to Tokio. Tokio was in his mid-thirties and was tired of the monotonous everyday life. Nothing brought joy to his life, except for one thing: beautiful young women. Every time he encountered a beautiful woman, he would imagine himself being in love with her. This was when he received three letters from Yoshiko, asking to become his pupil. Tokio first did not intend to respond to it. However, seeing her surprisingly skilled expression, her passion for becoming his pupil, and her smooth handwriting, he could not help but react to it. Her skilled expression must have implied how cultured she was, and the smooth handwriting reflected her intelligence. These letters determined his first impression of her: a sophisticated girl. He became interested in her, took out a map, and looked up where she lived. Interestingly, he somehow "felt familiarly attracted to the place and looked carefully at the hills, rivers, and other features of the area" (40). It is unusual how he showed this much of an interest in her because usually, he does not reply to the letters from his devotees and admirers. It was this young girl's writing that made this not-unknown writer become attracted to her. After that, they exchanged some

letters and realized he was looking forward to receiving her letters. He must have already become attracted to Yoshiko. Even though he thinks that “she was sure to be physically plain” (40), as Tokio was a daydreamer, he surely had some delusions of what could happen between them. These letters that determined her first impression made Tokio’s anticipations grow bigger and bigger and enlarged his excitement when he found out Yoshiko is a beautiful woman.

The decision of Tokio accepting her to become his pupil is interesting if we consider his view of women. In response to Yoshiko’s letter, he explained: “the impudence of a woman getting involved in literature, the need for a woman to fulfill her biological role of motherhood” (39), and “the risk involved in a girl becoming a writer” (39). Despite his belief that women are not suitable for becoming writers and raising children should be prioritized, Yoshiko’s writings made Tokio seek possibilities in her future of living as a writer, regardless of her gender. He was first seeing her as a young girl, but as he reads the letters from her, he started to view her as a potential writer. This was possible as a result of the *genbun itchi* movement. Writing in colloquial style allowed writers to express their words with more various nuances and made it possible for Yoshiko to articulate her passion and determination for becoming a writer. She “repeated over and over again how she hoped he would not abandon her but make [her] his pupil, and how [...] she hoped to [...] faithfully and wholeheartedly study literature” (40). Tokio felt that she seemed to know everything, while “even in Tokyo the graduates from the girls’ school didn’t understand the value of literature” (40). Yoshiko presented her

resolve in the letters so strongly that they made Tokio focus less on his preconception of women.

When Yoshiko told Tanaka, her boyfriend, that Tokio found out that they were dating, Tanaka became so worried about Yoshiko that he came to Tokyo to see her. At this time, Yoshiko was staying at Tokio’s sister’s house, but she wrote to Tokio telling him that he has come to Tokyo. Yoshiko seems to have sent this letter because Tokio is their supervisor, and he is supposed to know what is happening between them. However, she was overly sensitive in making Tokio believe that their relationship is pure, as it actually is not. In the letter, she repeatedly asks Tokio to forgive her for her actions and weakness, shows how they appreciate him for becoming “the witness and protector” (51) of their “pure and sincere love” (51), overly emphasizing the innocence of themselves and implies how deeply in love they are.

Of course, reading this letter, Tokio did not remain calm. Since finding out about Tanaka, he has already been upset because his “beloved pupil added beautiful color to his bleak existence and gave him a sort of limitless strength” (48) and was snatched by some other man. His mind was now overflowing with doubts and worries reading the letter. He was doubtful that Yoshiko might be telling lies, worried whether they have held hands, and suffered from the thought of them being in the travel lodge alone. While letters can present facts, they cannot help him visualize what happened, so it was all up to Tokio how he would interpret this letter. He could believe that Yoshiko is telling the truth, but he could also doubt that there are hidden intentions for writing such a letter. Tokio only had a piece of a paper presenting the fact as she chose to

portray them, and Yoshiko was not there to answer questions or stop Tokio from getting lost in delusions.

If this letter were not written in “the new colloquial style, the penmanship flowing and excellent” (50), Tokio may not have hurried to his sister’s house to make sure Yoshiko is not with Tanaka. Tokio, in the past, said, “for who could remain unmoved when a beautiful, modern, sophisticated girl pupil respectfully calls him Sensei as though he were a man of great standing in the world?” (42) so every time she wrote “Sensei” in the letters, that must have reminded him of her voice and beautiful face talking to him. Every time he read the words “Sensei, please forgive me” (50), “Please forgive my weakness” (50) and “Please forgive me, Sensei” (50), he would have pictured her with an earnest expression. When he knew that Yoshiko and Tanaka had been together in the travel lodge, Tokio’s heart must have been

filled with frustration of having his girl stolen as though possessed by his responsibility as a supervisor.

The relationship between Tokio and Yoshiko started from exchanging letters. After becoming a teacher and a pupil, Yoshiko often wrote letters to him, which made Tokio become even more absorbed to her. With Tokio’s habit of having a delusion and Yoshiko’s flowing writing, Tokio’s mind was often occupied by Yoshiko. The new colloquial style of writing allowed Yoshiko to maintain the closeness with Tokio even in the letters; therefore, she could express her honest feelings using her skilled expression. If Yoshiko wrote all the letters in the classic style, I feel that Tokio would not have ended up adoring Yoshiko so deeply. They would have maintained a moderate distance every time she wrote to him, and Tokio would not have started to grow his feelings, which accelerated at high speed.

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Tayama, Katai. “The Quilt.” *The Quilt and Other Stories by Tayama Katai*. Trans. Kenneth G. Henshall. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1981. 35-96.

What is Tayama Katai's Real Purpose for Writing "The Quilt"?

Ryo Kamada

In *The Quilt*, Tayama Katai exposes slyness and unpleasantness of Tokio, who secretly has a romantic interest in his female pupil, Yoshiko. The author dares to disclose his own personal experience without disguise in an attempt to provoke a strong reaction from readers and make the protagonist the target for criticism. He appears to try to attract attention through arousing the reader's antipathy to Tokio, who is believed to be modeled after the author himself. While Tayama willingly sacrifices his own reputation and public image in exchange for public attention to his novel, the protagonist, Tokio, seems to try to elicit sympathy through various means. He pretends to be a victim by crying, and acts like a tragic hero by identifying himself with characters in overseas literature such as Johannes Vockerat in Hauptmann's *Lonely people* and Turgenev's "superfluous man." By doing so, he overstates his sorrow and justifies his sexual desire to Yoshiko. This should be considered as the author's intention to exhibit Tokio's deviousness and evasiveness. Given that Tayama is an I-novelist, this story can be read as the author's search for self, so he might keep as much of his real experience intact as possible. The author purposely evokes an antagonism toward the protagonist by exposing negative aspects of his own personality.

Although it has often been

suggested that an I-novel makes readers sympathize with its protagonist and author, there is some evidence that Tayama intentionally describes Tokio as cruel and obnoxious. Firstly, Tokio imagines and hopes that his wife "suddenly died of complication in the birth, and then if afterwards he were to make the other woman his new wife" (39). Despite the fact that his wife is pregnant, he wishes for her death, expecting that a sensual romantic relationship with a younger woman can enliven his monotonous and forlorn life. In this scene, he is obviously depicted as the last person who can elicit sympathy. It is also worth attention that this vicious idea comes to him before he gets acquainted with Yoshiko; that is, this cruelty is his intrinsic character and does not necessarily result from Yoshiko's attraction. Additionally, as he has the bottled-up frustration at being recognized as "kind-hearted guardian" of Tanaka and Yoshiko's love, he "take(s) his anger out on his innocent wife...and kick(s) the table away" (73). Here, the author's intention to show Tokio's obnoxious behavior is apparent in the adjective "innocent." By accentuating the wife's innocence, he highlights the unreasonableness of Tokio's violence. Moreover, Tokio is also an inept father: "He hugged and kissed his five-year-old son with a great show of fondness, but then got angry when the child started to cry and slapped his behind furiously" (48, 49). When he is drunk, he

becomes emotionally unstable and abuses his child to dispel his displeasure. He falls into a vicious cycle; he is sick of his family life and seeks stimulation; however, since his desire for Yoshiko is not fulfilled, he throws a tantrum to his family. Thus, he is depicted as neither a good husband nor a good father.

Another piece of evidence that shows how deliberately the author displays Tokio's sly, unpleasant, and jealous disposition lies in his attitude toward Yoshiko. Once it turns out that Yoshiko has had a sexual relationship with Tanaka, Tokio suddenly takes a tough line against her. He thinks "there was no need for him to respect her chastity as a virgin" and he should have "[made] a bold move and...[satisfied] his sexual desire" (87). He also begins to think of her "as some sort of prostitute" and "contemptible" (87). He expresses her as "soiled" and imagines that he can "exploit her weakness to make her his own" (87). These descriptions clearly show the author's intention to uncover a negative image of Tokio as he really is. Tokio is written as a man who should be criticized for looking down on a woman and trying to misuse his position as a teacher to fulfill his lust. From the sentence, "At least, your having trusted me as your teacher is nothing to be ashamed of as a new Meiji woman" (89), it turns out that Tokio tries to exploit Yoshiko under the pretext of teaching a new way of thinking. Although he is supposed to teach her a progressive idea, change in the character of women at that time is too drastic for him to keep up with and accept: "When it comes to seeing this new-style sophistication actually put into practice, he couldn't help showing a certain consternation" (62). At a glance, he seems to have an enlightened attitude to a new type of women, but he in fact suppresses it when it is inconvenient for him and competes against the notion of a female archetype he clings to. Furthermore, the

last scene where Tokio sniffs Yoshiko's ribbon and quilt shows the depth of his depravity. Although looks impulsive as he sniffs her ribbon, he undoubtedly takes a sniff of the quilt in a deliberate fashion because it takes him a certain amount of time and steps to sniff the quilt. First, he "opened the sliding partition" and "drew them [a mattress and a quilt] out" (96, 97). He takes aim at the edging of the quilt that is dirty and then "presses his face to it" (97). Further, he "spread out the mattress, lay the quilt out on it, and wept as he buried his face" against the edging (97). This has to be called a premeditated act and never an accident out of a whim. He could have reconsidered and stifled his sexual urge in the process. This proves that he is unwilling and unable to follow his own conscience.

In sum, the author bares the unpleasantness in Tokio's personality and willfully degrades him through describing his abominable attitude toward other characters. Perhaps, the author believes that evil aspect of humanity can contribute more to the quality of the story rather than illustrating moral virtue, and that immorality is more likely to stimulate reader's curiosity. While the author provokes antipathy from readers, he also expects readers to understand Tokio's moral incapacity. He attempts to find the truth of human nature in the evil side of the individual by denying glorification of this fact in storytelling. Otherwise, Tayama Katai possibly wants to be punished by the public. He exposes his own experience in real life and accepts a social stigma in expiation for the forbidden love he had for a female disciple, feeling a pang of conscience. In *Shojobyou (Girl Syndrome)* that Tayama Katai released shortly before *The Quilt*, the author depicts a man who seems to reflect the author's personality in a similar way as Tokio. Although the protagonist dies a tragic death in a shocking way and the story sounds more

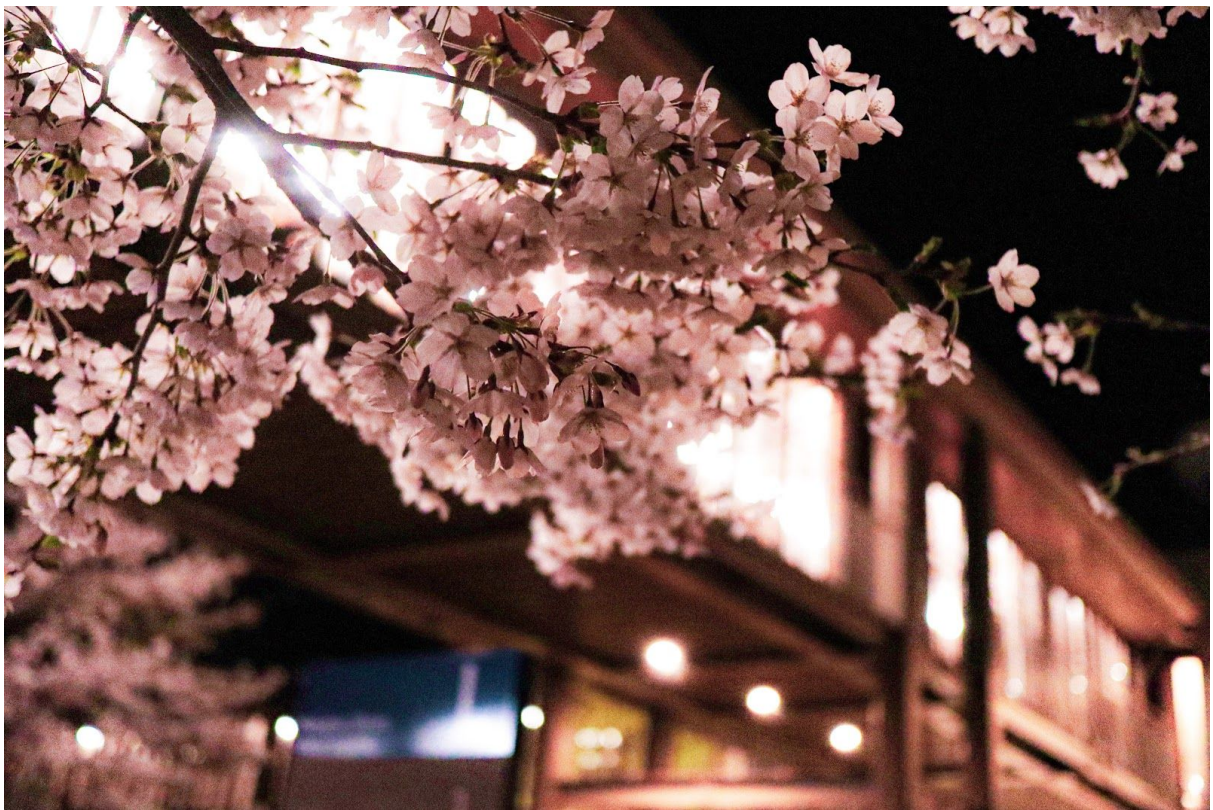
fictional, I assume that *Shojobyou* can be classified as an I-novel alongside of *The Quilt*. This man secretly loves many unspecified girls and is killed by a coming train at the end of the story. He is accidentally pushed out of the crowded train when he gazes admiringly at a beautiful girl on the train, and is run over by another train. The crowded train can be

regarded as a metaphor of the prescriptive framework of the decent society which consists of the majority of people who conform to the existing standard rules and values. His death represents the result of his deviation from such society. Tayama Katai seems to try to penalize himself in his novels.

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Tayama, Katai. "The Quilt." Trans. Kenneth G. Henshall. *THE QUILT and Other Stories by Tayama Katai*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1981. Print.

Opinion Pieces



PC: Rino Miyamoto

We are still on the threshold of change

Nanako Furuse

Does Japan move forward to the solution to its gender problems? Masanori Yamaguchi approaches gender problems from men's point of view in "Men on the Threshold of Change" written in 1995. He claims that since the feminist movement exercises its power more than ever before, men were forced to change their view on women. Some men even started questioning their way of life, mostly how men could be ending up with *karoshi* or being a nuisance at home. In order to change the situation, some men's group appeal to men to be actively involved in childcare and housework. Yamaguchi argues that these men are the "important source for change in Japanese society" (p. 254). Even though Yamaguchi constructs his argument from men's point of view, which was innovative at that time, Japanese society has not moved forward to gender equality because of two main reasons, men's motivation for changes and the lack of awareness among leaders such as bureaucrats or executives.

"Men on the Threshold of Change" was inventive in 1995 when it was published in the sense that it was written from the men's point of view, but Yamaguchi's expectation for gender equality has not been achieved even now. In the article, Yamaguchi argues that men should be involved in housework or childcare more actively. By doing so, men will be able to find their place in society outside of the workplace and will be able

to have a meaningful life. At the time the article was written, men who had the idea that Yamaguchi argued were few. According to the Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office (2015), in 1997, two years after the article was written, about 65% of men were thinking that men should work outside while women do housekeeping. In 2014, about 47% of men, or less than half of them, think that way. As data shows, more than half or the majority of men, believed in a social norm that men do not have to do housework in 1997. That means that when the article was written, Yamaguchi challenged the prevailing social standard and made a statement that the majority of men did not believe. In that sense, publishing the idea that men should also do housework or childcare from men's perspective was groundbreaking at that time, comparing to publishing it now. Although Yamaguchi introduces the new idea to society, his opinion is not successfully reflected in Japanese society even now. In reality, the situation of both women and men had not so much changed since the essay was written. Yamaguchi states that more and more men are doing housework and childcare, leading to change Japanese society that the gender roles take root in. However, even now men's participation in housework and childcare is not enough for women to pursue their career or dream. Furthermore, according to the Global Gender Gap Report (2017), which measures the gender

gap from economic, health, education, and political point of views, Japan ranks 114 out of 140. These cases show that even now the idea that men should work outside while women do housekeeping is prevailing, and Japan does not move forward to gender equality. A question now arises. Why does the gender problem remain with little improvement even now? Why does the society keep staying on the threshold of change? Superficial change in men's consciousness and absence of leaders who have enough understanding of gender issues are the main two reasons.

Firstly, men have only undergone superficial changes in their consciousness. In the article, Yamaguchi describes the situation where expansion of feminism movement and changes in men's view on women have occurred by using the words "forced" or "external pressure" (p. 249). These words imply that men were not willingly changing their perceptions of the problems or even if they change their perceptions, that is not for women but for themselves. The situation has not changed since 1995, when the article was written. In 2011, The Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training (2011) surveyed companies to ask the reasons why they took positive action, actively dealing with the problem of a gender gap between workers such as the number of managers between men and women. This survey allowed multiple answers. It showed that 50% of responded companies took positive action, and all of them answered that they wanted to utilize the female worker's ability and recruit highly talented workers. However, at the same time, 53% of companies answered that they took positive action to reflect the Equal Employment Opportunity Law, and 50% of companies answered to improve the company's image. Since about 80% of workers in the responded companies were male, this survey highly reflected the male's opinion (para. 16). This data shows

that the incentive for men to change their insight may not be fully based on justice or belief that women and men should be treated equally and should be free from immoral or unfair treatment. Men's incentives to take positive action also include a fear of being against the law or a desire to keep a good social reputation. That means that somewhere in the men's mind, there are thoughts that women can be used to ensure men's profit. Because of these slight changes, Japan still has gender problems to solve. In order to fundamentally change the unequal situation between men and women, it is essential to promote changes in the consciousness of men. It is necessary that men share the idea that women are not the means to follow the rules or gain a positive social reputation, but their equality as individuals.

The second reason is that leaders, the critical part of society for change, have a severe lack of awareness toward gender problem and have little motivation to change the unequal situation. In the article, Yamaguchi shows the examples of groups that encourage men to reexamine their lives. According to his case, these groups consist of "business-men, civil service employees, teachers," and those who are in the twenties to forties (p. 251). This example indicates that men-centered groups are taking action not based on a command of leaders, but by themselves. It is true that each plays a crucial part to raise awareness of gender issues. However, leaders of the country or companies such as bureaucrats or executives are the most important actors who lead the movement and have the authority actually to bring about the changes in the communities. The society will not change unless these leaders break the silence and promote the movement for gender equality. LIXIL, one of the dominant Japanese housing service companies, is one of the examples of how a leader successfully makes changes

toward a fair working environment. LIXIL decided on a plan called Women Empowerment in the Diversified Organization, a plan that enabled women to exercise their abilities by participating in leadership training and flexible working even after giving birth. Due to this plan, the proportion of women in managerial posts in 2016 increased to 8 times that in 2012 (LIXIL, 2016, paras. 3-5). This example shows that the action of leaders can generate more drastic changes and how well conscious leaders can utilize their authority that gives explicit and adequate directions to employees to work on urgent gender issues. However, in reality, companies that actively solve the gender gap like LIXIL are few. According to a survey conducted by The Japan Institute for Labor Policy and Training (2011), 50% of responding companies have never taken positive action, and among those companies, about 96% of companies answered that they did not have a plan to take positive action or did not know whether they would implement it or not (para. 20). Moreover, some politicians who are supposed to lead gender equality show their nonchalant attitude with gender issues. One of the executive heads of a political party describes the situation that female candidates of the party is less than 10 % by saying “it is not a big problem because it is the course of nature” (Yamazaki, 2017, para. 4). As these

examples demonstrate, Japanese society does not have enough leaders that actively solve the gender gap. Even if we let out our voices for equality, our leaders will not take the problem seriously. It is essential that leaders listen to workers or citizens voices and utilize their power to change the situation in society so that both women and men are treated fairly.

In conclusion, Yamaguchi’s article “Men on the Threshold of Change” objects to widespread gender roles and brings out a new perspective that men should also participate in childcare and housework. However, Japanese society has failed to reflect Yamaguchi’s idea since 1995. Nothing has significantly changed after 23 years of this movement. Japan is left behind from the world regarding gender equality. In order to overcome a deadlock in gender issues, society needs drastic reform in individual mindset toward gender problems and top-down changes. More and more men should recognize that women are not a convenient means to get advantages, but are as equal as or as significant as the existence of men. Japan also needs leaders that make use of their power to provide an equal environment for both women and men. Unless Japanese society reexamines and actively takes action to solve gender problems, we will keep staying on the threshold of change.

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Women's Social Advancement: Improving the Childcare system and Solving the Problem of Childcare Waiting List

Miri Matsuo

“Womenomics is Abenomics”, said Ivanka Trump in August 2017 at the World Assembly for Women. Since 2017, the Japanese government led by prime minister Abe has been implementing *Womenomics*, considered as one of three fundamental policies of Abenomics. The purpose of *Womenomics* is to encourage women's social advancement and participation in the workforce by reinstating the social security system such as childcare, which will create the suitable working environment for women (Gender Equality Bureau Cabinet Office, 2017). However, despite the purpose of *Womenomics*, “Japan was placed at 114th in the World Economic Forum's global gender equality rankings for 2017,” which means the social security system, including childcare, which is supposed to help out women, is not improved (“Japan drops by three to 114th in gender equality rankings by World Economic Forum,” 2017). Although Prime Minister Abe has been focusing on the policy called *Womenomics*, the female work force participation rate is decreasing from 2014, which highlights the existence of the gender struggle in the society. Therefore, the government should improve the childcare system and solve the problem

such as childcare waiting list in Japan in order to create the most suitable environment for women where women's social advancement is supported.

To begin with, consider the connections between factors such as *Womenomics*, social advancement, and finance. As I mentioned in the first paragraph, the government policy for the childcare system, *Womenomics*, is not as effective as it advertises itself to be. This is caused by low budget and also the lack of childcare facilities. Moreover, this relates to the consequences of decreasing the number of childcare nurses and childcare facilities, which caused the problem of childcare waiting lists. Because of the number of children who are rejected to attend any nursery school, women cannot start working although they want to. Therefore, the suitable environment for women is not established yet, which goes back to the point that women are not working. This cycle is problematic. In order to achieve *Womenomics*, there is a necessity of breaking this cycle.

According to Prime Minister Abe and His Cabinet (2017), the government is working out countermeasures for eliminating childcare waiting lists, which can apply to all the childcare facilities in

Japan. For example, financial support such as the decrease of the fixed assets tax for renting land of childcare facilities will be provided to all childcare facilities in Japan. Another example is that the government is planning to reuse the closed schools for new childcare facilities. From this support from the government, childcare facilities could use the extra money to develop the quality of childcare facilities for children like building safety devices or buying more playthings. Additionally, the maximum number of children that the childcare facilities allow entering will increase and because of the change in the quantity of the childcare facilities, more numbers of children on the waiting list can enter the kindergarten or pre-schools.

However, although this policy might help to solve the problem of childcare waiting lists slightly since the government promises to provide equal support to all the cities, towns, and villages regardless of economic strength in each area, the policy will not work for eliminating children waiting lists. First of all, according to the Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare (2016), about 70% of children on the waiting list are from main prefectures and cities where a majority of huge companies are located (p.15). In other words, childcare facilities who need more support from the government are mainly from urban areas, not from rural areas. If there is the capacity of supplying sufficient money for all childcare facilities in Japan, it is better to focus on the areas like Kanto and give more financial support to them. Moreover, the idea of reusing the closed facilities such as schools and nursing homes can be less helpful in the rural areas. As seen by the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare (2016), the number of population in rural areas is less than the population in urban areas (p.20), which means the closed facilities due to the lack of children tend to occur in rural areas. Therefore, reuse of closing facilities

will not help to decrease the number of children on waiting lists in urban areas because there are less closed facilities that can be used for new childcare facilities in those areas. The government should determine where and why the problem of childcare waiting lists occurs.

In addition to the improvement of policy for childcare facilities, it is recommended to create childcare facilities in companies where children can go when mothers go to work and children can go back home when mothers do. It helps working mothers to manage their time and keep the work-life balance, not be bothered by the time of sending or picking up children at the childcare facilities. Moreover, as seen by Kalil and Deleire (2004), parents are playing the important role of “assisting [children] in problem-solving” (p.14) since children have less ability to deal with information and to decide an appropriate choice for them. Parents need to use their time and energy fully in order to “[suit] their children’s requirements and environment” (p.13). Thus, removing unnecessary time for parents supports working women to become both a good mother and worker. If companies start this project, working mothers can visit to see their children easily during their breaks since children are in the same company. Therefore, building the childcare facilities in the company is beneficial for both parents, especially working mothers and children.

Furthermore, according to Matsuura, Kamiji, and Minagawa (2016), the bad working condition of nursery teachers in Japan causes the shortage of nursery teachers and decreases the number of children who can be accepted by childcare facilities (p.135). This is not because fewer people who have a nursery teacher license, but because of the reality that many nursery teachers have decided to do early job-leaving. As Matsuura, Kamiji, and Minagawa (2016) noted, 35 % of

nursery teachers who have a license are actually working and the rest of them called potential nursery teachers who are qualified to work as a nursery teacher are not working because of the reality of their experienced while they worked (p. 135): An average monthly salary of nursery teachers in Japan is “¥210,000 – less than half the amount of a veteran elementary school teacher and considerably less than some cram school teachers” (“Raise nursery school salaries,” 2015).

However, this pay does not value the amount of work that nursery teachers do. They are required “to be knowledgeable and experienced at working with very young children” (“Raise nursery school salaries,” 2015). They also have to put a huge effort to become a model for children, to be a good worker for their childcare facilities, and to become a good teacher for parents. Being a nursery teacher is stressful for them to continue, especially for those who just started working. They do not get enough personal time since they “are forced to face too many responsibilities and documents to work on as well as complicated relationships” (Matsuura, Kamiji, and Minagawa, 2016, p.138). Therefore, the government should implement and improve the working condition of nursery teachers as soon as possible in order to decrease the number of “potential” nursery teachers. The salary should be increased and the flexible working time management should be introduced.

Moreover, for an alternative solution, Jones (2017) suggests increasing the number of childcare and nursing home facilities called “share care facilities” where children and elderly people live and spend time together. This provides more opportunities to interact with children who

make elderly people happy, enhancing communication between children and elderly people. Children are also able to “enjoy and increase attention too,” along with “more opportunities to develop their social and emotional skills” (Jones, 2017). Additionally, since this is a shared facility, the cost of rent and the staff for each user is reduced, which means the single parent or low-income family can also afford to pay.

However, despite the fact that shared care facilities are favorable for the care of elderly people and the education of children, it is unrealistic in Japan because of the shortage of workers. Since both elderly people and children who need physical support live together, facilities workers need the ability to take care of them together at the same time. Although elderly people might know how to do childcare, they do not have enough physical strength to play with or help children when they are in danger during playing time. Children are also too small to take elderly people to a bathroom. Therefore, skillful workers are needed; otherwise, share care facilities do not work.

In conclusion, the government should focus on eliminating the childcare waiting list by increasing the number of childcare facilities and advancing the working condition for nursery teachers in Japan. The creation of suitable working environments for working mothers will help to encourage women’s social advancement. However, only promoting *Womenomics* will not help to achieve the goals of the policy. The government has to see the reality of the childcare system and figure out the real consequences of the declining number of females participating in the workforce.

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American “Benevolent Assimilation” in the Philippines

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There is a resounding agreement among scholars on liberal democracy's place as the moral high ground in government systems around the world. Some even argue that we have reached "the end of history" and that there is no longer contestation over the best form of government (Fukuyama, 1992). Huntington (1991), in his book *The Third Wave*, presents an optimistic view of global democratization, concluding his argument by suggesting that "when skilled and determined leaders push, [history] moves forward" (p. 316). Such enthusiasm for democratic expansion reinforced the West's moral duty to civilize the world with their ideal form of government—An ideology that had been prevalent for centuries. At the end of the 19th century, the young nation of the United States took to the Pacific island nation of the Philippines to claim its first share of The White Man's Burden (Go, 2008). Enduring wars with the territory's former conquerors, the Spanish, and subsequently, with native revolutionaries, the United States succeeded with the annexation of the Philippines in 1902. This win thus marks the beginning of "benevolent assimilation" efforts in the Pacific islands (Go, 2008; Hutchcroft, 2000; Kusaka, 2017; Rafael, 1993). This mission was deemed a success upon the new state's declaration of independence in 1946. Henceforth, the Philippines has become the model case for U.S. civilizing endeavors abroad. Despite subsequent missions in Vietnam being largely unsuccessful, the

United States maintains that its success in the Philippines proves the promise of liberating missions in Iraq (Sanger, 2003). The "success" they boast of, however, is not without question. Benedict Anderson (1988) argues that the Americans have fostered a "Cacique Democracy" – a system founded on feudal relations between local elites and the mass – in the Philippines. This essay supports Anderson's claim pointing to the Americans' ethnocentric ideals and ulterior motives in democratization that hindered the successful implementation of democracy in the Philippines.

During the four decades of American tutelage, admittedly, there were significant civil progressions in comparison to four centuries of Spanish subjugation. The American colonial government put much effort into educating not only the local elites but also the civilians. Unifying the Philippines had been a matter of difficulty during the Spanish era as only individuals of affluence received Spanish education whilst most of the Filipinos only communicated with their regional languages. In hopes of fostering hegemony, the Americans installed a universal school system at the start of their occupation (Kusaka, 2017). With lessons being primarily in English, they have provided Filipinos of all demographics access to political knowledge and communicative abilities. By the 1940s, the Philippines had the highest literacy rate in Southeast Asia (Anderson, 1988). Manglapus (1960) credits the economic

developments of the country to the Americans' encouragement of agricultural expansion and participation in free trade. Though the Americans were able to impose some changes in the Philippines, there were notable inconsistencies that proved detrimental to their goal of democratization.

Not much attention is given to the prior existence of the first Philippine Republic established by native revolutionaries in 1898 called the Malolos government. With partially elected members, the Malolos government was able to form a system that recognizes the separation of church and state and the necessity for power dispersion among the executive, legislature, and judiciary. The members of Congress were able to write a sophisticated constitution, arguably, one that is the most refined in Asia at the time (Malcolm, 1921). The Malolos constitution, however, is by no means an original conception. The articles are said to have stemmed from the revolutionary government of the Katipunan (KKK), which was active during the Spanish insurgency. Understandably, the Malolos government had numerous misgivings; lack of financial resources and exhaustive taxation produced friction among different sectors of the Philippines (Escalante, 1998).

Nevertheless, had the Americans' goals been to democratize the Philippines, the foreign power already had a foundation, albeit an unstable one, manifested in the Malolos government. Just as William Cameron Forbes claims, who later came to be Governor-General of the colony, American tutelage aimed "uproot or modify all impediments to democratic institutions" (Go, 2008, p. 53). U.S. victory in the Philippine-American war then produced a party allegiance among elites who ceded to the American's agenda called the "Federalistas" and appointed them to central government positions in the colonial Philippines (Go, 2008, p. 159). The American intervention on rather than

support of a budding native democracy demonstrates the narrow description of proper democracy that destiny manifests the United States to pursue abroad.

In efforts to implement "benevolent assimilation," the Americans have forgone understanding of the difference in cultural background and understandings of democracy, denouncing this contrast as merely a lack in development on the Filipinos' civility (Go, 2008; Rafael, 1993). Having observed the revolutionary government's spats with local elites, the American colonizers were quick to place blame on the inheritance of power centralization from the former imperial rulers (Escalante, 1998; Go, 2008; Hutchcroft, 2000). William Taft, the first Governor-General of the Philippines, decided that the best way to pacify the people is to execute a devolution of power (Anderson, 1988; Hutchcroft, 2000). This misconception guided the whole of American rule, not realizing the distinctly decentralized nature of the Spanish colonial Philippines (Go, 2008). Anderson (1988) explains that the creation of a Congress-style bicameral legislature proved to be ideal for fortifying the elites' authority in their respective districts. Reinforced traditional patron-client relations between wealthy representatives and constituents fostered a ground for more bribery, political coercion, and corruption still present in Philippine politics today (Go, 2008; Jackson, 2014; Kusaka, 2017). In substance, the United States commissioners merely provided a greatly expanded political stage for long-standing economic elites in the Philippines.

Questions of motive also plague their mission, especially when special regards are paid to the Americans' actions following the declaration of Philippine sovereignty. Upon the formal statehood of the Philippines, the United States coordinated with Manila to devise a trade agreement to benefit both states. The

U.S.-Philippine Trade Agreement entailed eight years of free trade and, subsequently, a gradual introduction of tariffs in the span of twenty years (Shalom, 1980). Ultimately preserving their economic control of the new state, the United States implemented quotas on entering Philippines goods while restraining the former colony from applying any quota on U.S. goods. Even more controversial is the debate on the "parity" clause of the Bell Trade Act of 1946. This article gave Americans equal access to the Philippines' natural resources and state services. Shalom (1980) describes the initial acceptance of this clause to be a symptom of "manipulative democracy." Americans had supported the most likely candidate to agree with their terms, Manuel Roxas, in his campaign for the presidency. Eager to please the former colonists, President Roxas took radical measures to assure that the bill is passed through Congress by removing opposing politicians from their Congressional seats. This infringement was, according to Shalom (1980), done with the knowledge but without the intervention of the United States.

More evidence of the United States' selectivity in the implementation of 'the rule of law' can be presented in their support of former Philippine dictator Ferdinand Marcos. Hailed "Manila's Louis Napoleon" (Anderson, 1988, p. 20), Marcos utilized state wealth for his wife's luxuries and more importantly, for legitimacy and support from the U.S. Having rented mercenaries to Lyndon Johnson in support of the Vietnam War and contributing funds to Richard Nixon's presidential campaigns, Marcos had secured the loyalty of significant figures of

the former colonial power (Anderson, 1988). He formed such a bond with the United States that the U.S. government proceeded to present military equipment and procure a structural adjustment loan for the regime even at a time of blatant corruption and abuse of power (Hawes, 1986). These gestures allowed the Marcos regime to induce further violent infringements on democratic proceedings and increase the clan's riches. The United States intervened only when global pressures made it unavoidable (Hawes, 1986).

The Philippines, today, rests in the administration of President Rodrigo Duterte, who openly supports the former dictator and his descendants' political endeavors. With the Duterte Administration mimicking tendencies from the Marcos era claims of successful American democratization must be accepted with skepticism (Curato, 2017). The benevolence for a state's motivation for democratization endeavors abroad must be reevaluated as externally-implemented democracy can only be "successful" to the extent to which it is beneficial to the people being democratized. Questions on who benefits from the projects also need to be raised; challenging the presumed benevolence attributed to democratization. Democracy may be the least worst form of government, but there must be reconsiderations in the means and goals of global democratization. Lest the West recognizes the consequences of attempts at "benevolent assimilation," the world may not realize their own form of liberal democracy that is of proper fit to their nations' respective heritage and culture.

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Customs and Identity: Analysis of Ainu's Land Use

Chiharu Morimoto

Indigenous ethnic groups such as Aborigine in Australia, Maori in New Zealand and Native Americans have been fighting for acquisition of their indigenous rights such as land and resource rights so that they can keep their traditional ways of living, which are sometimes essential to maintain their collective identities. Accordingly, with the support of the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) in 2007 and raising awareness of these peoples' rights, admitting indigenous rights is becoming the current international trend.

However, in Japan, Ainu are facing difficulties to get the indigenous rights even after the Japanese government enacted a "Resolution for Promoting Measures for the Actualisation of the Ethnic Pride of the Ainu People" (Uzawa, 2019, p.170) that recognizes Ainu as an indigenous minority people (Murakami, 2019). Ainu is an ethnic minority group who is an aboriginal people in northern Japan, mainly in Hokkaido with different cultures, languages, and religion from those of *Wajin*, or "non-Ainu ethnic majority" (Uzawa, 2019, p. 178) in Japan, ("Ainu," 2017). The reason for their suffering might be associated with a simple Japanese domestic political issue between the government and a minority ethnic group. Nevertheless, what makes the situation complicated could be the difference of understanding cultural or spiritual factors of Ainu cultures between

the government and Ainu.

From a cultural perspective, this author will argue that for their Ainu policies, the Japanese government should consider Ainu's cultural values, which "provide the anchoring points to which we attach meanings and significance to our complex identities" (Ting-Toomey & Chung, 2012, p.40). To support the argument, analysis of one event where an Ainu man fished salmon without permission will be conducted. This essay consists of three sections. The first section is about the historical overview of the relations between the Japanese government and Ainu and Japanese Ainu policies. From the second part, the essay will explain the event and the importance of fishing salmon, and the analysis comes last. The author believes that the essay contributes to providing opportunities to *Wajin* to understand cultural values of Ainu. They have been underrepresented in Japanese society and still tend to be regarded as "people in the textbooks" ("I am not "one in the textbook," 2019). Accordingly, knowing the cultural value behind the issue could be helpful to make Ainu exist in the world, outside of textbooks.

Japanese Ainu policies have been shifting from assimilation to protection of culture. After the Meiji Restoration, the Japanese government started directly controlling Hokkaido and sending *Wajin* there in order to make the island politically

a part of Japanese territory (Advisory Council for Future Ainu Policy, 2009; as cited in Nagano, 2019). The government considered Ainu nomadic cultures and customs to be barbaric, a distinct ethnic group that should be assimilated to *Wajin* culture (Ohtsuka, 2004). Therefore, Ainu was prohibited or limited in practicing their cultural manners such as fishing and hunting (Ohtsuka, 2004; Nagano, 2019) and forced to be engaged in farming, which the government assumed was more sophisticated and progressive (Ohtsuka, 2004). Also, for a long time, Japan has been obsessed with its monoethnic myth (Asano, 1993), which ignored the existence of Ainu and accelerated assimilation process because the government avoided recognizing the Ainu as a minority, but “Japanese” because of their official Japanese nationality (Japan Science Council, 2011). Thus, the Ainu were forced to follow *Wajin* styles (Ohtsuka, 2004), and have been suffering from deculturation. In 1997, “Act on Ainu Culture, and Dissemination and Enlightenment of Knowledge about Ainu Tradition, etc” (Nagai, 2019) was enacted to abolish assimilation (Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 1997; Nagai, 2019) and discrimination. This law aims to preserve and promote Ainu culture so that their ethnic pride would be respected (Ainu Association of Hokkaido, 1997; Nagai, 2019). However, as Nagai (2019) argues, this law was engaged in only promotion of Ainu culture for profits and excludes indigenous rights. Even after Ainu ethnicity is officially noted as an indigenous people by Ainu new law in 2019, their rights of land and resources are still not admitted (Tokyo Shimbun, 2019, September 17).

Under these circumstances, on September 1st in 2019, an Ainu man fished for salmon in the river in Monbetsu in the northeastern part of Hokkaido, without permission of the local government for the

traditional Ainu rituals. Due to the regulation of freshwater fishing (Hossain, et.al., 2018; Hokkaido, 2019), his action was regarded to be illegal. He was arrested and his house was searched by the police. He claimed that Ainu’s fishing for their traditional rituals should be allowed because of indigenous rights, which the Japanese government does not legislate (“Asking for indigenous rights,” 2019).

For Ainu people, fishing and hunting are not only the way to gain food but also firmly associated with their spiritual world. Ainu people have been seeking for their indigenous rights, especially for use of land and natural resources because fishing and hunting are a huge part of their collective identity (Hossain et al., 2018; Sato, & Watabe, 1998). Salmon is especially crucial for Ainu culture. Salmon is the traditional staple food for Ainu, which were the main energy source (Sato, & Watabe, 1998). Since salmon is spiritually significant for Ainu, there are many rituals and taboos related to fishing salmon (Sato & Watanabe, 1998). In many ways, Ainu people are requesting their indigenous rights as a means of keeping and strengthening their unique holy relationship with nature (Ohtake, 2010).

On the other hand, the Japanese government just applied the law that forbids freshwater fishing and made fishing an illegal action. This law varies from one prefecture to another according to each situation. The Hokkaido local government strictly prohibits fishing salmon and trout regardless of the purpose (Hokkaido, 2019). For Ainu rituals, if they are permitted by the government, fishing salmon and trout can be accepted. Since the government might not take the holy meaning of the Ainu fishing into consideration, the law was automatically imposed and the fishing was regarded as violation of the law.

This gap of attitudes between the

Ainu people and the government is the key to this issue. For the Ainu man, catching salmon is a crucial ritual that would form his Ainu identity (Hossain et al., 2018) while the government views his behavior to be illegal. One of the main reasons why the Ainu and Japanese government do not seem to understand each other may be that the Japanese government tends to ignore the cultural values of the Ainu behind fishing salmon as their spiritual practice. Although the Japanese government tries to promote Ainu culture, these activities are more likely to focus on the material world such as their traditional dancing, clothing, and handcrafts (Kantei, 2018). The government's attitudes towards Ainu would provoke Ainu's dissatisfaction when they feel that they are not fully understood and accepted by the authorities.

Even though the Japanese government is shifting their Ainu policy from assimilating Ainu to *Wajin* culture to protecting and promoting Ainu culture, their actions seem still distant from Ainu's cultural core values. The Japanese government plans to construct the place to facilitate and conserve Ainu culture as a symbol of multiethnicity, which includes running a national Ainu museum and Ainu cultural experiences (Kantei, 2018). However, the exhibition will be mainly about their daily lives, languages and jobs as well as cultural experience programs, which will feature more superficial cultural elements such as traditional sawing, food, or playing musical instruments (Kantei, 2018). The government plan barely addresses how to exhibit Ainu's cultural values based on their spiritual rituals (Kantei, 2018).

This lack of emphasis on cultural values might be because these aspects of cultures are much more intangible than behaviors. As Hall's (1977) cultural iceberg model shows, a culture has both visible and invisible parts. Most of the

behaviors and a portion of beliefs are observable while core cultural values which determine the behaviors and beliefs in the culture are unobservable (Hall, 1977). Hannerz's (1992;1996) global ecumene hypothesis demonstrates that when a person or a society accepts a different culture, they are likely to adopt only simple and visible aspects of the culture because invisible parts are difficult to both import and export. This idea corresponds with the current Ainu situation in Japan. The series of exhibitions and museums can convey what and how they do things, which does not always allow visitors to expose themselves to invisible parts of cultures. Therefore, it would be safe to say that the strategy could work to give visitors knowledge about Ainu cultures but the knowledge might still be something like in a textbook.

In addition to the property of the cultural values, the monoethnic myth prevailing in Japan might prevent the government from considering Ainu's cultural values. This myth is an ideology that Japanese citizens consist only of ethnically Japanese people (Asano, 1993), or *Wajin*, and denies ethnic and cultural diversity in Japan (Kurimoto, 2016). Since Japan is a highly ethnically and culturally homogeneous country, ethnic and cultural minorities are more likely to be underrepresented or even neglected (Okamoto, 2011; Kurimoto, 2016). Also, Okamoto (2011) points out an idea that Japan is a melting pot of ethnicities, in which all ethnicities in Japan are mixed up completely and are unified as Japanese. Although the monoethnic myth might be considered as just a myth nowadays, Japanese people would confuse Japanese national and Japanese ethnicity and would not realize their differences due to the racial and cultural homogeneity (Okamoto, 2011). Accordingly, even after Ainu policies stopped assimilation to *Wajin*, the government might unconsciously expect

that Ainu are supposed to be the same as *Wajin*. This mindset would be one of the obstacles for the government to recognize and support Ainu cultural values, which are not the same as *Wajin* values.

It might be impossible for the Japanese government to fully understand and accept Ainu cultural values in order to enact more inclusive Ainu policies. However, showing respect for Ainu's cultural values is crucial so that the government can take the right way (Throsby, 2012). For example, the Australian government officially returned Uluru to the original owners of Anangu, one of the Aborigine groups, and has finally forbidden climbing Ayers Rock from the end of October in 2019 (Readfearn, & Allan, 2019). Uluru has been one of the most famous sightseeing spots attracting international tourists for a long time. Apparently, the profits of the tourism industry there will fall because of the change. However, this decision was made so as to respect cultural values of the Anangu, as Uluru is an emotionally and spiritually important place for them as the foundation of their identity (Matsu, et. al. 2015). Like this, the Japanese government might be required to consider the difference of cultural values and set some exceptions for Ainu policies. In order to do so, the Japanese government and society could start from recognizing their cultural and ethnic diversity in their country.

To conclude, Ainu people have their own cultural values that should be protected and respected. The ignorance of the cultural values of Ainu would motivate the Ainu people to take the action of fishing without permission. Although this issue seems political because the Ainu people are requesting the government to recognize their indigenous right to the land and resources, what Ainu people are seeking for is not the right itself but respect for their cultural values behind their traditional customs and rituals. Even with the improvement of Ainu policies in Japan compared to the past, the Japanese government may not understand what Ainu people truly want. This situation would be because the cultural values, the basis of behaviors and belief, are the invisible aspects of the culture (Hall, 1977). Moreover, due to the homogeneity of Japanese society (Asano, 1993), the Japanese government and society might assume that all Japanese nationals would share the same cultural values as Japanese citizens. Thus, the Japanese government would tend to avoid taking cultural and ethnic differences into consideration (Kurimoto, 2016). Nonetheless, in reality, Ainu people obviously have a different cultural identity from *Wajin*. Therefore, the Japanese government and society would be required to accept cultural diversity so that minorities' cultural values can be officially recognized as one of the Japanese cultures.

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