

## 各論編 (3)

### Where Do I Learn This?:

#### The role of textbooks in shaping understanding of Buraku issues

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How do people learn about topics that are often not spoken about? What do young people know about Buraku issues, and how did they learn? To consider this, we examined the responses of 1537 students from six universities. What role does school have in teaching youth about the experiences of all members of society? In the following paper, we begin by exploring the knowledge foundation of eight major events in Buraku history. Following this, we consider a subset of 1109 respondents who have a knowledge of Buraku issues (removing the 433 respondents who had no knowledge of Buraku issues whatsoever). As we shall see, the information the respondents learned in school was framed in a specific way, one that centered discrimination as a core element of who the Burakumin are.

Contact theory suggests that part of what shapes people's (mis)understanding of others is fortified through a lack of knowledge or interaction with specific minority groups (Alport 1954; Herek and Capitanio 1996; Knepp 2022). Not knowing the experiences or historical positionality of other groups in society will, by definition, make a deeper understanding all but impossible. With deeper understandings and interactions, comes empathy, understanding, and a recognition of the harms of discrimination.

What is taught in all levels of education (from elementary through university) shapes how people view the experiences of themselves and others. What is highlighted in lessons and textbooks shapes people's understanding and knowledge of Buraku issues. As we found in our data, while 25.8% of the respondents did not have any knowledge of Buraku issues, for those who did have awareness, the three largest single sources of knowledge on buraku issues came when the respondents were in elementary school at 15.2%, junior high school at 21.3%, in high school at 16.7%.

Table 1: When did people learn of Buraku Issues

|                                 |     |       |
|---------------------------------|-----|-------|
| Elementary School               | 234 | 15.2% |
| Junior High                     | 327 | 21.3% |
| High School                     | 256 | 16.7% |
| University                      | 31  | 2%    |
| Don't recall when               | 53  | 3.4%  |
| Family                          | 127 | 8.3%  |
| Do not know about Buraku issues | 397 | 25.8% |

\*Other categories were lower and thus not included in this table.

Yet, as we look closer as to what component of buraku history and social contexts people have learned, a considerable gap emerges between being instructed on a particular topic and truly understanding the issue. For example, the knowledge of historical issues is quite limited, as Tables 2-4 indicate.

Table 2 demonstrates the knowledge of the Shibuzome Ikki (Shibuzome Uprising), an incident in the late Tokugawa period. This event was based on discriminatory rules on what outcastes were permitted to wear, and the uprising was a successful petitioning to the government against the rules. 145 of the respondents who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school were familiar, 213 for those who learned in junior high school, and 181 for those who learned in high school. Beyond that, 21 of those who were somewhat to very knowledgeable learned in university and 17 did not recall when they learned with 9 who did not learn in school but still described themselves as somewhat to very knowledgeable. 251 of the respondents who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school had limited to no knowledge, 465 of those who learned in junior high school, and 457 of those who learned in high school also had limited to no knowledge. For those who learned in university, the corresponding number was 62, and for those who do not recall, the number was 102. For those who did not learn in school, 48 responded with limited to no knowledge. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 33 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 400 claiming limited to no knowledge.

Table 2: Knowledge of Shibuzome Ikki

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 145 (36.4%)                    | 251 (63.6%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 213 (31.3%)                    | 465 (68.4%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 181 (28.3%)                    | 457 (71.4%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 21 (25.3%)                     | 62 (74.7%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 17 (14.3%)                     | 102 (85.7%)             | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 9 (15.8%)                      | 48 (84.2%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 33 (7.6%)                      | 400 (92.4%)             | 433   |

Perhaps the most important event in the Meiji period related to Buraku issues was the Emancipation Edict of 1871, where former outcastes were now categorized as commoners under the new Meiji state. 289 of the respondents who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school described themselves as somewhat to very knowledgeable on the Edict, while 452 of those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school described themselves in the same way. For those who learned in high school, 433 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable and that response for those who learned in university was 55. The respondents who did not recall when they learned 59

said they were somewhat to very knowledgeable, and for those who did not learn in school only 26 said they were somewhat to very knowledgeable. For those who learned about Buraku issues in elementary school, 109 described themselves as having limited to no knowledge, with a corresponding 227 of those who learned in junior high school responding in the same way. For those who learned in high school, 207 claimed limited to no knowledge. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 28 reported limited to no knowledge, and 60 of those who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues responded the same. For those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school, 31 claimed limited to no knowledge. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 141 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 292 claiming limited to no knowledge.

Table 3: Knowledge of Emancipation Edict (Kaihō Rei)

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 289 (72.6%)                    | 109 (27.4%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 452 (66.6%)                    | 227 (33.4%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 433 (67.6%)                    | 207 (32.4%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 55 (66.3)                      | 28 (33.7%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 59 (49.6%)                     | 60 (50.4%)              | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 26 (45.6)                      | 31 (54.4%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 141 (32.6%)                    | 292 (67.4%)             | 433   |

The final prewar event in the knowledge of Buraku history was the awareness of the Suiheisha Declaration, often described as Japan's first human rights declaration. We see a growing awareness here, as 111 of those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school described themselves as somewhat to very knowledgeable about it, and 173 and 147 people of those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school respectively said the same. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 26 were somewhat to very knowledgeable, close to the 28 who responded the same, but do not recall when they learned of Buraku issues. Finally, only 8 respondents who did not learn of Buraku issues in school were somewhat to very knowledgeable about the Declaration. Only 49 of those who learned about Buraku issues in elementary school claimed little to no knowledge, with a corresponding 118 and 110 for those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school respectively. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, only 16 claimed little to no knowledge, while for those who do not recall when they learned of Buraku issues, 42 responded with limited to no knowledge, with 26 of those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school stating the same. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 187 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 246 claiming limited to no knowledge.



Table 4: Knowledge of Suiheisha Declaration

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 349 (87.7%)                    | 49 (12.3%)              | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 561 (82.6%)                    | 118 (17.4%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 530 (82.8%)                    | 110 (17.2%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 67 (80.7%)                     | 16 (19.3%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 77 (64.7%)                     | 42 (35.3%)              | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 31 (54.4%)                     | 26 (45.6%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 187 (43.2%)                    | 246 (56.8%)             | 433   |

While the vast majority of the events that we asked the respondents about were historical to their own experiences, for the sake of analysis, we have separated the historical periods to pre and post war. As we move to the post war period for Tables 5-8, we can still find a gap in knowledge.

Table 5: Knowledge of Sayama Incident

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 111 (27.9%)                    | 287 (72.1%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 173 (25.5%)                    | 506 (74.5%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 147 (23.0%)                    | 493 (77.0%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 26 (31.3%)                     | 57 (68.7%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 28 (23.5%)                     | 91(76.5%)               | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 8 (14.0%)                      | 49 (86.0%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 55 (12.7%)                     | 376 (87.3%)             | 433   |

Table 5 highlights knowledge of the Sayama Incident. The Sayama Incident is a well-known case of institutional discrimination, false confessions and Buraku discrimination that centers on a kidnapping and murder case in 1963. Of those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 111 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, and 173 and 147 of those who learned in junior high school and high school respectively responded the same. For those who learned in university, 26 said they were somewhat to very knowledgeable and for those who do not recall when they learned, 28 said they were somewhat to very aware, a number for those who did not learn in school, 8 said they were as knowledgeable. 287 of the respondents who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school described themselves as having limited to no knowledge of the incident, and for those who learned about Buraku issues in junior high school and high school, those numbers were 506 and 493 respectively. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 57 respondents claimed little to no knowledge, and for those who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues in school, 91 claimed little to no knowledge, and for those

who learned elsewhere, 49 described themselves in the same way. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 55 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 376 claiming limited to no knowledge.

Table 6: Knowledge of Dōwa Law (1969)

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 119 (29.9%)                    | 279 (70.1%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 176 (25.9%)                    | 503 (74.1%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 169 (26.4%)                    | 471 (73.6%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 23 (27.7%)                     | 60 (72.3%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 10 (8.4%)                      | 109 (91.6%)             | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 5 (8.8%)                       | 52 (91.2%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 12 (2.8%)                      | 421 (97.2%)             | 433   |

Arguably the most important postwar change surrounding Buraku issues was the establishment of the Dōwa Laws, begun in 1969, and lasting through 2002. Yet we see limited awareness here as well. Of those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 119 claimed to be somewhat to very knowledgeable, with the responses for those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school being 176 and 169 respectively. For those who learned in university, 23 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, and 10 responding the same of those who do not recall when they learned of Buraku issues. For those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school, only 5 claimed to be very or somewhat knowledgeable. 279 of the respondents who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school claimed limited to no knowledge, with 503 and 471 respectively, of those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 60 suggested limited to no knowledge, and for those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues, 109 answered they had limited to no knowledge, and for those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school, 52 claimed limited to no knowledge. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 33 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 400 claiming limited to no knowledge.

Table 7: Knowledge of Chimeisōkan (a listing of Buraku district names)

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 58 (14.6%)                     | 340 (85.4%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 82 (12.1%)                     | 597 (87.9%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 67 (10.5%)                     | 573 (89.5%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 9 (10.8%)                      | 74 (89.2%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 7 (5.9%)                       | 112 (94.1%)             | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 5 (8.8%)                       | 52 (91.2%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 7 (1.6%)                       | 426 (98.4%)             | 433   |

In the early 1970s, several companies were found to have purchased a listing of Buraku district names through which they attempted to identify background of (potential) employees. Of those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, only 58 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, while for those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school, those numbers were 82 and 67 respectively. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, only 9 described themselves as being somewhat to very knowledgeable. The numbers is even lower for those who do not recall when they learned or did not learn in school, at 7 and 5 respectively. Correspondingly, for those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 340 claimed little to no knowledge, with 597 and 573 of those who learned in junior high school and high respectively claiming the same. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 74 responded as having little to no knowledge, and 112 of those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues answering the same. For those who did not learn in school, 52 responded as having limited to no knowledge. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 7 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 426 claiming limited to no knowledge.

Table 8: Knowledge of 2016 Buraku Law (Act to Promote the Eliminate of Buraku Discrimination)

|                            | Somewhat to very knowledgeable | Limited to no knowledge | Total |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| Elementary School          | 119 (29.9%)                    | 279 (70.1%)             | 398   |
| Junior high school         | 182 (26.8%)                    | 497 (73.2%)             | 679   |
| High school                | 161 (25.2%)                    | 479 (74.8%)             | 640   |
| University                 | 23 (27.7%)                     | 60 (72.3%)              | 83    |
| Don't Recall               | 18 (15.1%)                     | 101 (84.9%)             | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school     | 7 (12.3%)                      | 50 (87.7%)              | 57    |
| No answer for when learned | 26 (6.0%)                      | 407 (94.0%)             | 433   |

The most recent Buraku related question we asked centered on the 2016 “Act to Promote the Eliminate of Buraku Discrimination.” This law went into effect during the time period when the respondents would have been in junior high school to high school, and thus one would expect a greater degree of knowledge. Yet of those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 119 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 182 and 161 responding the same for junior high school and high school learners respectively. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 23 answered as being somewhat to very knowledgeable and 18 answered the same for those who did not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues. For those who did not learn in school, only 7 claimed to being somewhat to very knowledgeable. Claiming limited to no knowledge, 279 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, with a corresponding 497 and 479 responding the same for those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school respectively. For those who learned in university, 60 claimed to have limited to no knowledge, and 101 of those who did not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues answering the same. Of those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school, 50 claimed to have little to no knowledge. Finally, for those who did not answer when they learned, 26 responded as being somewhat to very knowledgeable, with 407 claiming limited to no knowledge.

While Tables 2-8 centered on historical events and policies, how do we evaluate the outcomes of this knowledge? Learning Buraku history is one way to raise awareness of discrimination that Burakumin face in contemporary Japan. However, to better understand this knowledge, we considered the awareness of various forms of discrimination and when respondents learned of Buraku issues. We found that even with limited historical knowledge of Buraku experiences, there was a greater awareness of the discrimination Burakumin face in contemporary Japan. The following three tables are based on the respondents who claimed knowledge of Buraku issues, so the number of respondents is 1109, rather than the 1537 that made up the above tables.

Table 9 highlights the relation of the foundation of knowledge and an awareness of discrimination faced by Burakumin in daily life. For those who learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 154 described Burakumin facing as somewhat to clear discrimination in daily life, with the corresponding numbers for those who learned of Buraku issues in junior high school and high school being 259 and 255 respectively. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 31 responded with Burakumin facing somewhat to clear discrimination in everyday life. For those who do not recall when in school they learned about Buraku issues, 40 suggested there was somewhat to clear discrimination Burakumin faced in everyday life, while for those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school, 28 answered the same. For those who claimed there was little to no discrimination faced by Burakumin in everyday life, 229 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 354 in junior high school and 329 in high school. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 44 said the Burakumin faced little to no discrimination in everyday life, while those who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues, 62 claimed that Burakumin faced little to no discrimination, with 22 who did not learn of Buraku issues in school answering the same. For those responding that they did not know if Burakumin faced discrimination in everyday life, 39

learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 62 in junior high school, 53 in high school and 8 in university. Of those who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues in school, 15 said they did not know if Burakumin faced discrimination in everyday life, and 15 of those who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues responded the same.

Table 9: Relation of knowledge and awareness of discrimination in daily life

|                        | Somewhat to clear discrimination | Little to no discrimination | Do not know | No answer | Total |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Elementary School      | 154 (38.7%)                      | 202 (50.7%)                 | 39 (9.8%)   | 3 (0.8%)  | 398   |
| Junior high school     | 259 (38.1%)                      | 354 (52.1%)                 | 62 (9.1%)   | 4 (0.6%)  | 679   |
| High school            | 255 (39.8%)                      | 329 (51.4%)                 | 53 (8.3%)   | 3 (0.5%)  | 640   |
| University             | 31 (37.3%)                       | 44 (53.0%)                  | 8 (9.6%)    | 0 (0%)    | 83    |
| Don't Recall           | 40 (33.6%)                       | 62 (52.1%)                  | 15 (12.6%)  | 2 (1.7%)  | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school | 28 (49.1%)                       | 22 (38.6%)                  | 6 (10.5%)   | 1 (1.8%)  | 57    |
| No answer              | 1 (20%)                          | 3 (60%)                     | 1 (20%)     | 0         | 5     |

The primary area where people encounter those outside their family in everyday life is through employment. When we asked about the perspectives on work discrimination faced by Burakumin, those who claimed that there was somewhat to clear discrimination based on employment, 233 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 411 learned in junior high school and 408 learned in high school. For those who learned in university, 52 claimed that Burakumin faced somewhat to clear discrimination in work, while those do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues, 52 responded in the affirmative that there was somewhat to clear discrimination faced by Burakumin in work. For those who did not learn in school 38 answered that there was somewhat to clear discrimination the Burakumin face in employment. However, for those who claimed the Burakumin face little to no discrimination in employment, 117 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 191 in junior high school and 166 learned in high school. For those who learned of Buraku issues in university, 20 responded that the Burakumin face little to no discrimination in work, with 37 of those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues responding the same. The final category, those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school 14 responded that the Burkakumin face little to no employment discrimination. Those replying that they did not know if Burakumin face discrimination in employment, 46 learned in elementary school, 74 in junior high school 63 in high school and 11 in university. 16 of the respondents who did not recall when they learned of Buraku issues said they did not know if Burakumin faced discrimination at work, and 4 who did not learn in school responded the same.

Table 10: Relation of Knowledge and Work Discrimination

|                        | Somewhat to clear discrimination | Little to no discrimination | Do not know | No answer | Total |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Elementary School      | 233 (58.5%)                      | 117 (29.4%)                 | 46 (11.6%)  | 2 (0.5%)  | 398   |
| Junior high school     | 411 (60.5%)                      | 191 (28.1%)                 | 74 (10.9%)  | 3 (0.4%)  | 679   |
| High school            | 408 (63.8%)                      | 166 (26.0%)                 | 63 (9.8%)   | 3 (0.5%)  | 640   |
| University             | 52 (62.7%)                       | 20 (24.0%)                  | 11 (13.3%)  | 0         | 83    |
| Don't Recall           | 64 (53.8%)                       | 37 (31.1%)                  | 16 (13.4%)  | 2 (1.7%)  | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school | 38 (66.7%)                       | 14 (24.6%)                  | 4 (7.0%)    | 1 (1.8%)  | 57    |
| No answer              | 4 (80%)                          | 1 (20%)                     | 0           | 0         | 5     |

Table 11: Relation of Knowledge and Marriage Discrimination

|                        | Somewhat to clear discrimination | Little to no discrimination | Do not know | No answer | Total |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Elementary School      | 269 (67.6%)                      | 101(25.4%)                  | 28 (7.0%)   | 0         | 398   |
| Junior high school     | 467 (68.8%)                      | 171 (25.2%)                 | 41 (6.0%)   | 0         | 679   |
| High school            | 454 (70.1%)                      | 148 (23.1%)                 | 36 (5.6%)   | 2 (0.3%)  | 640   |
| University             | 62 (74.7%)                       | 14 (16.9%)                  | 7 (8.4%)    | 0         | 83    |
| Don't Recall           | 77 (64.7%)                       | 30 (25.2%)                  | 11 (9.2%)   | 1 (0.8%)  | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school | 38 (66.7%)                       | 11 (19.3%)                  | 7 (12.3%)   | 1 (1.8%)  | 57    |
| No answer              | 5 (100%)                         | 0                           | 0           | 0         | 5     |

While employment is one area of discrimination against Burakumin, the more personal area of discrimination centers on marriage. For those who answered that Burakumin face somewhat to clear marriage discrimination, 269 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 467 in junior high school, 454 in high school and 62 in university. 77 of those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues answered the same, as did 38 who did not learn of Buraku issues in school. For those who claimed that Burakumin face little to no discrimination in marriage, 101 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school 171 in junior high school, 148 in high school and 14 in university. 30 of those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues answered the same, and 11 of those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school responded that Burakumin face little to no discrimination in marriage. Of those responding they did not know if Burakumin faced discrimination in marriage, 28 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 41 in junior high school, 36 in high school and 7 in university. 11 of those who do not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues said they did not know if Burakumin face discrimination in marriage and 7 who did not learn of these issues in school responded the same.

Finally, we asked about discrimination related to areas of geographic area, a longstanding marker of who is thought to be Burakumin. Of those who responded that there is somewhat to clear discrimination based on geographic area, 230 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 403 in junior high school, 402 in high school and 58 in university. Those who did not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues, 57 claimed there was somewhat to clear discrimination based on geographic area and 38 of those who did not learn of Buraku issues in school answered the same. Arguing that there is little to no discrimination based on geographic area, 121 of the respondents learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, with 206, 183 and 17 answering the same from learning in junior high school, high school and university respectively. Those who did not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues, 43 said there was little to no discrimination and for those who learned of Buraku issues outside of school, that number was 13. Replying that they did not know if Burakumin faced discrimination based on geographic area, 43 learned of Buraku issues in elementary school, 66 in junior high school, 52 in high school and 8 who learned in university said the same. 17 of those who did not recall when in school they learned of Buraku issues said they did not know if Burakuin faced discrimination based on geographic area, as did 5 who did not learn about Buraku issues in school.

Table 12: Relation of Discrimination and Geographic area

|                        | Somewhat to clear discrimination | Little to no discrimination | Do not know | No answer | Total |
|------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------|-------|
| Elementary School      | 230 (57.8%)                      | 121 (30.4%)                 | 43 (10.8%)  | 4 (1.0%)  | 398   |
| Junior high school     | 403 (59.4%)                      | 206 (30.3%)                 | 66 (9.7%)   | 4 (0.6%)  | 679   |
| High school            | 402 (62.8%)                      | 183 (28.6%)                 | 52 (8.1%)   | 3 (0.5%)  | 640   |
| University             | 58 (69.9%)                       | 17 (20.5%)                  | 8 (9.6%)    | 0         | 83    |
| Don't Recall           | 57 (47.9%)                       | 43 (36.1%)                  | 17 (14.3%)  | 2 (1.7%)  | 119   |
| Didn't learn in school | 38 (66.7%)                       | 13 (22.8%)                  | 5 (8.8%)    | 1 (1.8%)  | 57    |
| No answer              | 3 (60%)                          | 1 (20%)                     | 1 (20%)     | 0         | 5     |

These gaps in knowledge can be traced to what is taught in schools. While we cannot explore every classroom that the respondents went through, we do have one tool at our disposal to consider how they were taught – textbooks. Because the Ministry of Education (MEXT) has a clearly set policy on how textbooks are selected (Saito 1995; Nishino 2008; Fukuoka 2011) nationally, we can look at how these textbooks address buraku issues to understand the way knowledge is imparted.

Here, we considered seven third-year Junior High school Civics (公民) textbooks from 2012 to examine how Buraku issues were addressed in order to consider the foundations of the knowledge the respondents had. We used junior high school textbooks, as this was the end of compulsory education, to better understand the foundational understanding the students had. While Buraku issues are typically addressed in history texts (and as the larger

knowledge of historical events shows), we used the civics texts based on a desire to understand two areas: one to better understand the contemporary issues faced by Burakumin, and two, to understand how policies governmental policies are discussed. The seven textbooks, the publishers and the lines of text that deal with Buraku Issues are as follows.

Table 13: Junior High School Textbooks and Buraku Issues

| Textbook            | Date | Publisher | lines on Buraku Issues |
|---------------------|------|-----------|------------------------|
| 中学社会 公民<br>ともに生きる   | 2012 | 教育出版      | 14                     |
| 中学社会 新しい公民教科書       | 2012 | 自由社       | 16                     |
| 中学社会 公民的分野          | 2012 | 日本文教出版    | 13                     |
| 新中学校 公民<br>日本の社会と世界 | 2012 | 清水書院      | 25                     |
| 社会科 中学生の公民          | 2012 | 帝国書院      | none                   |
| 中学社会<br>新しいみんなの公民   | 2012 | 育鵬社       | 11                     |
| 新しい社会 公民            | 2012 | 東京書籍      | 11                     |

While the numbers of lines does not tell us about the topics that were covered, it does give us an indication of the relative import given to these issues. Nevertheless, to gain a better understanding of the materials in the texts, it is necessary to examine what was covered in these texts. In Table 14, we explore the six textbooks that contain material on Buraku issues.

Table 14: Detailed Buraku material in textbooks

○= Discussion of topic in textbooks

| TEXT   | Shibu zone | Edict | Sueiheisha | Sayama | Dōwa | Chimei sōkan | River | Employment | Marriage | Geographic Area |
|--------|------------|-------|------------|--------|------|--------------|-------|------------|----------|-----------------|
| 教育出版   |            |       |            |        | ○    |              |       | ○          | ○        | ○               |
| 自由社    |            | ○     |            |        | ○    |              |       | ○          | ○        | ○               |
| 日本文教出版 |            |       | ○          |        | ○    |              |       | ○          | ○        | ○               |
| 清水書院   |            |       |            |        |      |              |       | ○          | ○        | ○               |
| 育鵬社    |            |       | ○          |        | ○    |              |       |            | ○        |                 |
| 東京書籍   |            | ○     |            |        | ○    |              |       | ○          | ○        | ○               |

As Table 14 shows, the textbooks reviewed were most likely to highlight issues of discrimination (employment, marriage and geographic area) and in areas of historical significance, the Dōwa laws. As we see in Tables 10-12,

the understanding of discrimination based on employment, marriage and residence were lessons that clearly were learned by the respondents. The other topic that came up most in textbooks was related to the Dōwa laws, yet as Table 6 indicated, of those who learned about Buraku issues in junior high school, only 74 were somewhat to very knowledgeable about Dōwa Laws, and 253 describing limited or no knowledge. For those who learned about Buraku issues in high school we see a corresponding 66 who were somewhat to very knowledgeable and 190 with limited to no knowledge.

What we see then is that history is known, and policies are not. Historical issues can be framed in a way that suggests issues have been resolved. Policies are, by definition, much more politicized in everyday life. Teachers may be more comfortable talking about areas where students or their parents would have had no direct experiences, and that likely is not the case for those policies that were in place in the 21<sup>st</sup> century (even if they were implemented in the 20<sup>th</sup>).

The question may be raised as to why this lack of deeper engagement with Buraku issues or the comparative lack of understanding of the history of Buraku experiences matters. The limited engagement with Buraku issues in the classroom leads to real world outcomes for all, regardless of background. Just as we would not want to imagine a world whereby students are not taught mathematics or science, we should not allow such gaps in what is taught about the experiences of people, especially those who are on the margins of society.

One of the telling outcomes of the materials in the school textbooks is that Buraku experiences are most commonly framed and understood as an experience through discrimination. The respondents who learned about Buraku issues in junior high school or high school indicated their knowledge of Buraku issues were overwhelmingly presented not as active, affirming actors, but rather as passive, voiceless people who are defined by the discrimination they face in society. Such representations remove any discussion of agency, which events such as the Shibuzome Ikki and the creation of the Suiheisha demonstrate. Buraku history is replete with deep contributions to Japanese history and culture. Ignoring this does a disservice to youth who are educated in Japan about Buraku experiences.

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