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Multiculturalism and *Kyosei*: Towards a Comparative Approach

Gergely MOHÁCSI and Kiyoko IMAI

Abstract

Multiculturalism—both in a sociological and philosophical sense—is premised on and promotes a certain plurality of values. Whether this plurality extends to multiculturalism itself remains an open and politically loaded question. The diversification of popular criticism of multicultural policies in Canada, and the growing presence of the term *kyosei* (coexistence) in Japanese political discourse as an alternative to "Western" multiculturalism are but two examples of a widespread doubt concerning the universality of multicultural values. How can we deal with this "multiplicity of multiculturalisms" in theory and in action? To address this complex issue, this special issue will partly build on ongoing conversations among participants and organisers of a summer school in multicultural studies, a joint program between the University of Toronto and Osaka University. Rather than trying to explain the similarities and differences between multiculturalism and coexistence by taking their values for granted, the contributors of this special issue focus on how they hang together, shape and reshape each other through acts of comparison on various levels. The first part will look at how multiculturalism and coexistence have been shaped by cultural, social and educational policies in Canada and Japan; the second part will scale down the focus of comparison from the historical to the actual. Authors of this section report and examine an experimental exchange program of Japanese students of coexistence learning multiculturalism at the University of Toronto.

Neoliberal Multiculturalism and the Canadian Age of Apologies

Bonnie MᴄEʟʜɪɴɴʏ

Abstract

Political scientists have recently noted that we live in an "age of apologies", in which certain governments apologize for certain kinds of historical wrongs. This has been markedly true in Canada, with at least 10 major apologies since the late 1980s. The first of these, and one to which I give particular attention in the paper, is the apology to Japanese Canadians, for their internment during World War II, but there have also been apologies for the legacy of residential schools in Indigenous communities, for the forced relocation of Inuit to the High Arctic, for the head tax leveled on Chinese immigrants to Canada, for the razing of Africville, a predominantly Black neighborhood in Nova Scotia, and more. While these apologies are often considered separately, and in political terms, as movements towards national inclusion (for racialized or ethnic groups) or national sovereignty (for indigenous ones), in this paper I argue that it is important to consider them together. To do so helps illuminate some of the political economic dynamics shaping the rise in apologies and why and how this rise in apologies is co-extensive with significant neoliberal transformations in the Canadian state, and of Canadian ways of understanding diversity.

Limits and Possibilities of Multicultural Coexistence (*tabunka kyosei*) in Japan

Eisei Kᴜʀɪᴍᴏᴛᴏ

Abstract

The Japanese notion of *tabunka kyosei* (multicultural coexistence) first began to be used in the early 1990s and became popular after the Great Hanshin earthquake in 1995. Many local governments, schools and civil organizations have been making efforts to materialize the notion. As a result, ethnic minorities have become "visible" and the social space in which they live has expanded humanely. Indeed, it is a significant progress. In the 21ᵗʰ century, the notion was officially picked up by the government of Japan and a number of departments and courses under the banner of *tabunka kyosei* were set up in universities. In 2013 the Program for Leading Graduate Schools funded by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology adopted a new category of *tabunka kyosei*, and under that the Doctoral Program for Multicultural Innovation commenced. *Tabunka kyosei*, however, is not a rosy notion that makes coexistence between the majority and various minorities possible. The purpose of this article is to present a critical overview of the notion by analyzing the processes of de-politicization of culture and de-historicization of majority – minority relations. I believe that this work is useful in our endeavor to conceptualize and materialize a society in which majority and minorities existing in different spheres can live together. A starting point may be the recognition that a "multicultural, multilingual and multi-ethnic" situation is not something extraordinary as many Japanese think, but rather a normal order of things. The point is that by understanding a culture, a language or an ethnicity/nation not as an entity that is ahistorical and concrete, but a flexible and historically constructed notion, we may become capable of dealing with in a flexible and open way.

The Search for an Original Usage of *Kyosei*: Experiences of Social Movement and Practice by Korean Residents in Japan

Noriyuki WAKISAKA

Abstract

The usage of the term *kyosei* dates back to the early 20th century when it was used in the context of social organizations and schools etc. However, from the 1970s, intellectuals and social activists began to use *kyosei*, for instance, in relation to the social movements against discrimination and environmental destruction. Particularly, the term was utilized in relation to ethnic Koreans in Japan to describe solidarity action with Japanese activists or mutual understanding with Japanese local residents. This chapter examines the origin and development of recent usages of *kyosei* in social movement cases of ethnic Koreans. The first case is the social movement in Kawasaki city in Kanagawa Prefecture. An anti-discrimination movement by *Seikyu-sha* was started in a densely populated district by the local Koreans. Most of them were second generation Koreans, born in Japan. At first they sought to unite local Korean residents but in order to secure equal treatment, they tried to create harmonious relationships with Japanese neighbors by advocating the idea of *kyosei*. These actions and daily practices produced a successful outcome and drew much attention from similar ethnic movements all over Japan. The second case is the Korean's local movement in Yao city in Osaka Prefecture. In the 1970's the organization named *Tokkabi-Kodomo-Kai* started organizing events among Korean children. They worked for them to restore their ethnic dignity by opening an after-school club and teaching Korean culture. In the late 1980's when recently arrived Vietnamese began to live in the same area, they warmly accepted the newcomers children because they saw a similar fate in the difficult lives faced by the Vietnamese children. As the number of Vietnamese increased, they decided to shift their activities from Koreans to Vietnamese. This shift could not be possible without the spirit of *kyosei*. Multiculturalism became well known in the late 1980's and the term multicultural-kyosei became a popular term by combining the two terms later. It could be said that *kyosei* was really an active concept at that time through these historical movements.

Kyosei as Education: In Absence of Multicultural Education

Yukari ENOI

Abstract

Japanese society has not dealt with "multicultural coexistence" (*tabunka kyosei*) as an educational issue historically. While many other countries with more liberal immigration policies have struggled with the difficulties of "multicultural education" (*tabunka kyoiku*), these problems have not been addressed adequately in Japan so far. This article builds on the experiences of students of the RESPECT program at Osaka University and the challenges of coexistence (*kyosei*) they encountered during their "practical training" at various sites in Osaka. Students were able to rethink the notion of *kyosei* through (1) their fieldwork in the depoliticized context of Japanese multiculturalism and (2) through their experience in Canada in a significantly different context. Although these comparative cycles came into existence in an accidental way through the development of the RESPECT curriculum, it may be said that they represent a very important factor when considering kyosei as an issue of education.

What is a Comparison? Translating Canadian Multiculturalism and Japanese *Kyosei*

Grant Jun OTSUKI and Shiho SATSUKA

Abstract

In this paper, we explore the possibilities and challenges of the method of "comparison" in understanding diversity issues. We begin by drawing an initial contrast between "Canadian" multiculturalism and "Japanese" *kyosei* as distinct ways of interpreting and managing human diversity to suggest that each is a form of comparison. Drawing upon critical discussions of cultural comparison in the discipline of anthropology and from our observations during the Osaka RESPECT Summer School program at the University of Toronto, we argue that any comparison, whether multiculturalism or *kyosei*, implies a common basis among humans upon which certain kinds of difference are recognized. Such bases are specific to the historical and cultural conditions in which they exist and are used. We then examine what happens when these forms of comparison are translated. Such translations can risk reducing one form of comparison into the terms of another— for example, we may interpret *kyosei* as an example of "Japanese culture" that exists within the framework of multiculturalism. However, such translations always include "gaps" between the things being compared. These gaps point to new kinds of differences and similarities among humans that are not fully encompassed by a given framework. Instead, they are found and bridged in specific concrete situations and interactions. We therefore argue that comparison is a dynamic, situated, and interactive process, through which actors continuously experiment with translating and comparing forms of difference. We then use this dynamic and processual notion of comparison to illustrate the new and unexpected relationships and interpretations produced between ostensibly "Canadian" and "Japanese" ways of interpreting diversity.

Ensuring Educational Opportunities for Children in Conflict-Affected Contexts: A Case Study of Syrian Refugee-Managed Schools in Turkey

Kaoru YAMAMOTO

Abstract

Refugee children, whose worldwide population is 9.95 million, are one of the most vulnerable groups to have access to education. Expanding educational opportunities for refugee children is critical in achieving the goals of "Education for All." Major actors responsible for refugee education have been shifting from governments to NGOs. Furthermore, there are some cases in which refugees themselves take the initiative for their children's educational needs.

Approximately 4 million Syrians have fled to foreign countries since the outbreak of the Syrian conflict in 2011. Turkey received the majority of Syrian refugees (1.81 million) and 90% of those live outside camps. There are some 500 schools which are autonomously run by refugees. The official school enrollment figure does not seem to reflect the reality of their schooling because it scarcely includes the children enrolled in these independent schools.

The main purpose of this study is to examine the schools for urban refugees operated by Syrians in Turkey, employing a qualitative approach. The fieldwork was conducted three times in 2013 and 2015 totaling a period of 9 weeks. Eight Syrian schools were selected from Hatay and Sanliurfa provinces in southern Turkey bordering on Syria.

This study reveals four aspects that have enabled the refugee-managed schools to become operational and functional in Turkey. (1) Curriculum and textbooks prepared and produced by Syrian refugee actors. (2) Connection between Syrian refugee actors and Turkish authorities. (3) Material and financial support from external donors. (4) Accreditation of diploma certificates supported by various authorities.

Under the current unstable school system, Syrian schools alone cannot meet all the educational needs of Syrian refugees, particularly for higher education. The Syrian teaching staff, however, are taking responsibility to help their children so as not to miss out on their educational opportunities even in the conflict-affected contexts. Their self-supporting activities play a key role in expanding educational opportunities among refugee children. It has become essential to do more research focusing on refugees' self-reliant and autonomous educational activities which are making substantial contributions to refugee education.

The Repetition of Candles as the Symbolic Representation of Spreading Fire: the Relationship between Reconstruction and Fading Memories, and Mourning in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake

Kohei TAKAHARA

Abstract

This paper analyzes the relationship between the concept of Reconstruction in relation to the gradual loss of memories of a disaster (Fading/ Oblivion), and Mourning in the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake. With the help of Psychoanalysis, the discussion of the relationship reveals the difference in the sense of time. While the narrative of Reconstruction in relation to Fading/ Oblivion are based on the sense of the time that lapses from the moment of the disaster, Mourning is the phenomena of Repetition in that the survivors wait and pray for the anniversary thus maintaining a communal memory. The analysis also suggests that many strategies have been mobilized in the public narratives in order to conceal the difference between Reconstruction in relation to Fading/ Oblivion and Mourning.

Meaning of Orphans' Schooling in Malawi's Secondary Education: A Focus on Mutual Support of People in Vulnerable Situations

Hikaru KUSAKABE

Abstract

The purpose of this study was to examine the will of orphans in Malawi to continue with their secondary education through understanding what their schooling meant to them. The fieldwork conducted for this study uncovered some findings. Twenty-six orphans were interviewed utilizing the life story method. The study discovered that when orphans from needy households enter secondary school education, which is not free, there are conflicts and tensions in their families because of the financial demands put upon them to meet school fees. Despite facing these challenges, some orphans still get financial, material, moral, physical and psychological support from other well-wishers such as relatives and neighbors, teachers and other community members to enable them to continue with their schooling. Through these life experiences, orphans learn that vulnerable situations can be overcome through people's support, which empowers the orphans to respond positively in other vulnerable situations. This kind of interaction between them effectively stimulates a desire for schooling and establishes a mindset to support the schooling of other needy people including siblings, relatives, neighbors and other orphans whenever it may become affordable in the future, thus developing a spirit of mutual support in all vulnerable situations. On what schooling means to them, many orphans indicated that continuing schooling on to secondary education was a way of showing gratitude to the people who supported them. Their hope was to get good and stable employment with a good payment package after completing their education. Many of them had a strong desire to be in the position of providing support to some people someday.

Compound Identities and Potential for Solidarity of Sexual Minorities: Centralizing Personal Experiences and Narratives Viewed from Narrative Analysis

Arisa KOBA

Abstract

  This study investigates what kind of exclusions or hierarchies are made amongst sexual minorities and what kind of factors exist, presupposing they can be the subject as well as the object of exclusion or ranking hierarchically. The focus was centered on sexual minorities' identities and narratives, because exclusion and differentiation which involves sexual minorities can be seen to have a link to one's identity and it can be elicited in many facets of the interaction. In order to reveal these, I conducted interviews with sexual minority people and analyzed data from the point of view of narrative analysis and discourse analysis. I also presupposed the views of studies on identity. There are two types of identities that are related to the sociolinguistic interview: 1) Identity which is related to the situation or setting of the interaction; 2) Identity which is related to social position, affiliation, status or social categories such as class, gender, age or ethnicity. These two can intersect in the process of interaction. The study reveals that sexual minorities constructed their compound identities in the narratives born out of the interactions and exclusions they experienced. There was also the potential for solidarity within sexual minorities. However, such solidarity cannot necessarily solve the problems, because it has the tendency to ignore each member's individual needs and values by creating a norm and homogeneity. For evidence of a solidarity which does not make each sexual minority's diversity invisible, observations of more diverse people's narratives, and identities constructed within them, are required.

How Did the Land Reform Influence Male Intergenerational Mobility in Postwar Japan? : A Tentative Approach Using Extended Spatial Autoregressive Models.

Ichiro HIRAO

Abstract

  The main theme of intergenerational mobility research in sociology is to understand the cause of the occurrence of social inequality, which is rather more of a classic theme than that of "Mirai Kyosei," which is a field dedicated to realizing "new models for multicultural coexistence." When thinking of "new models for multicultural coexistence," the research can support the realization of the models. However, intergenerational mobility research has a statistically methodological problem. According to the view of spatial statistics, intergenerational mobility tables intrinsically have temporal spatial interdependence. Previous researchers of intergenerational mobility were not aware of them. Therefore, the researchers could not advance the theoretical and institutional recognition related to intergenerational mobility. To cope with this methodological problem, I fitted extended spatial autoregressive models on to intergenerational mobility tables of males in postwar Japan. The data used is "the national survey of social stratification and social mobility (SSM research)" of 1985, 1995 and 2005, and the variables used are the "father's main job" and the "respondent's first job." I utilized seven categories that reduced the categories of "SSM General Occupational Classification" as a classification, and created six intergenerational mobility tables, from the 1940's to 1990's, according to the cohort-driven method. My research question is how the Japanese Land Reform in 1947 influenced the intergenerational mobility of males in postwar Japan. In relation to this question, I made the following three hypotheses: firstly, "the hypothesis of the equalizing of opportunity" supposes that the equality of opportunity was promoted in postwar Japan; secondly, "the hypothesis of stable inequality of opportunity" supposes that stable inequality of opportunity exists in Japanese society; thirdly, "the hypothesis of the changing inequality of opportunity" supposes that the inequality of opportunity is changing with time. As a result of the analysis, "the equalizing of opportunity hypothesis" is adopted.