Course No. 3507/3508



Lecture No. 4

Mono-Japan, Multi-Japan 日本:単一民族? 多民族社会?

Edwin O. Reischauer



1910-1990

The Japanese

"Whatever their origins, the Japanese today are the most thoroughly unified and culturally homogeneous large bloc of people in the whole world, with the possible exception of the North Chinese."

--- Edwin Reischauer, *The Japanese*, 1977, p. 34.

"Race looms large in the selfimage of the Japanese, who pride themselves on the 'purity' of their blood." (p. 396) 「血液の「純粋さ」を自慢にする 日本人の自画像には民族性 が大きな意味を持つ。」(ギル 17)

• Edwin O. Reischauer, The Japanese Today: Change and Continuity (1988) エドウィン・0. ライシャワー 〔著〕 『ザ・ジャパニーズ・トゥ デイ』福島正光(翻訳) (1990) 文芸春秋

Roger Buckley ロジャー・バクリー

"No other major industrial society has anything approaching the racial homogeneity of Japan." 「日本ほど人種的な同質性のある 大型産業社会は他にはない。」 Japan Today (1990), p. 82.

The basic homogeneity idea:

- Because Japanese people have the same ethnicity, the same language, the same culture, it makes it much easier to run society: less conflict, fewer misunderstandings
- ・同一民族、同一文化だから、社会がより スムーズに機能する

So unlike America...

Racial mixing blamed for cultural friction, high crime rates etc. in the multiethnic US.

アメリカは代表的な<mark>多民族社会</mark>で、た くさんの人種・民族・言語があるから、 コミュニケーションが難しい・摩擦や 闘争が多い・犯罪率が高い。

Haragei: communication without words



"What the Japanese call "belly - talk", communicating by one's attitude and the force of one's personality rather than in words."《★日本独特の表現》 [株式会社研究社 新英和·和英中辞典]

以心伝心 Isshin Denshin

"Similar heart, communicate heart."

The idea that people of similar personality (culture, ethnicity) understand each other particularly well.

元総 理大臣中曽根康弘

Yasuhiro Nakasone

Prime minister, 1982-1987

The Nakasone view

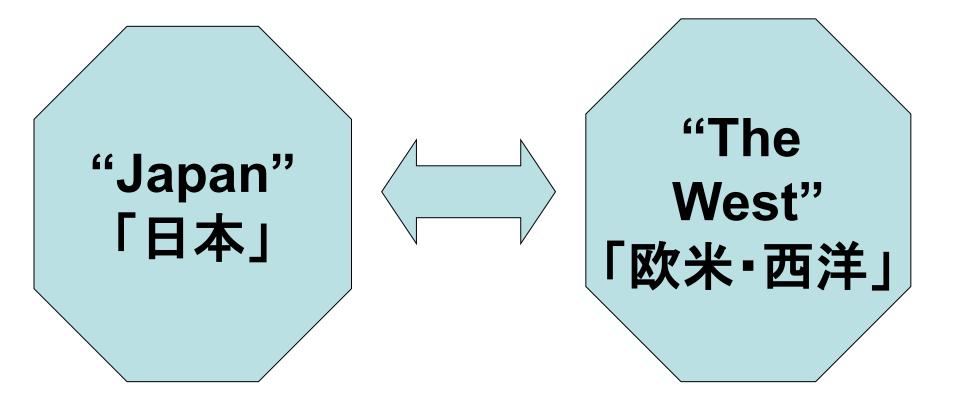
• "There is no discrimination against minorities in Japan because there are no minorities." (1986) 「日本は単一民族だから 差別は存在しません」

Another Nakasone-ism

"So high is the level of education in our country that Japan's is an intelligent society. Our average score is much higher than those of countries like the U.S. There are many blacks, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans in America. In consequence the average score over there is exceedingly low."

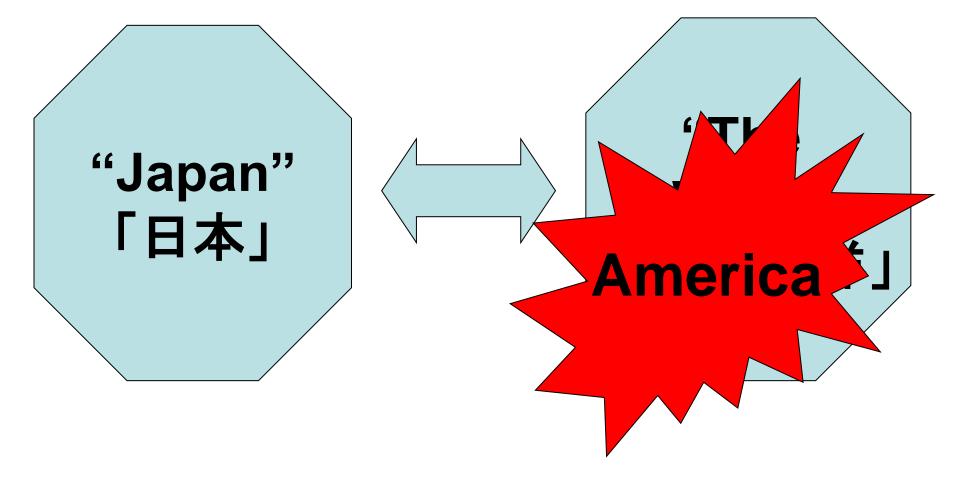
「アメリカ人は国人とマイノリティーの故に知的 水準において劣り、日本人は均質民族の故 に優れている」

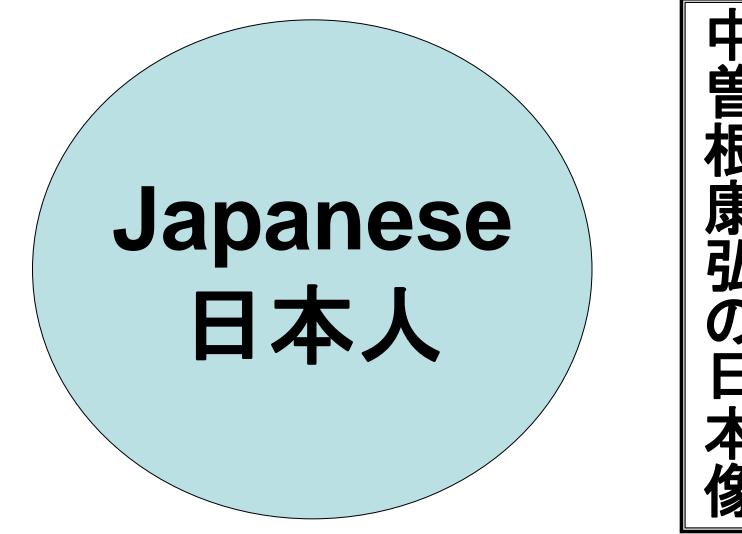
What is Japan compared with?



Japan automatically compared with the West

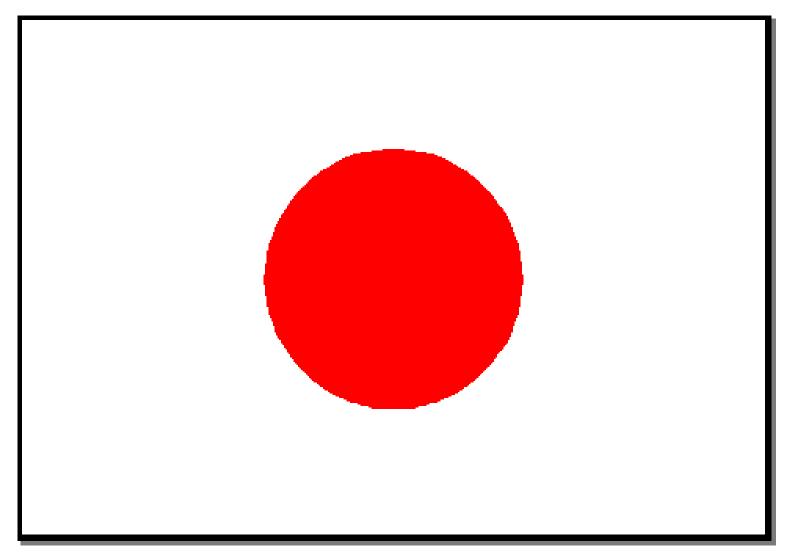
In Nakasone's case it's even simpler





Nakasone's Japan: Nation = race (volk?). No minorities! Beautiful, harmonious, unspoiled.

... a bit like the Hinomaru flag?



Michio Watanabe

「日本人は破産というと夜 逃げとか一家心中とか、 重大と考えるが、クレジッ トカードが盛んな 向こうの 連中は黒人だとかいっぱ いいて、『うちはもう破産 だ。明日から何も払わなく ていい』。それだけなんだ。 ケロケロ、アッケラカンノ カーだよ」



Michi... hard to translate

"Japanese will commit family suicide if they go bankrupt, but those guys over there (= Americans) include lots of blacks and Puerto Ricans and so on, and they use their credit cards all the time, so if they go bankrupt they'll just be glad they don't have to pay their bills any more... they'll go strolling off, singing yo-ho-ho and rum-tum-tum." (Kero-kero, akkerakan no ka)

When things aren't going so well...

... why not blame the foreigners?

・ 'With Sankokujin 三国人and foreigners repeating serious crimes, we should prepare ourselves for possible riots that may be instigated by them at the outbreak of an earthquake.' (Tokyo governor Shintaro Ishihara, 2001, addressing SDF forces in Tokyo).

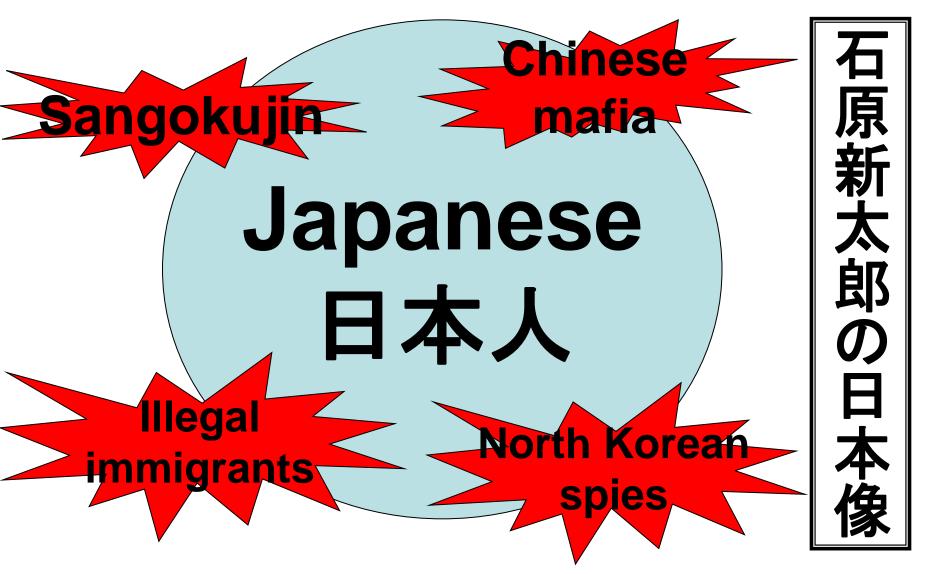


Shintaro Ishihara

.. re-elected in 2003, 2007, and 2011 as governor of Tokyo, and by overwhelming margins.

His racist comments are legendary

There is fear -- and not without cause -that it will not be long before the entire nature of Japanese society will be altered by the spread of this type of crime [gang killings] that is indicative of the ethnic DNA [of the Chinese] $< \Phi$ 国人の>民族的DNAを表示するような犯罪 Sankei Shinbun, May 8 2001, front page



Ishihara's model: like Nakasone's, but now foreign 'germs' threaten Japan's purity

Even when he thinks they are *impure*, Ishihara still sees "the Japanese" as a homogeneous unit

This helps to explain his notorious comment that the giant earthquake and tsunami of March 11, 2011 were "divine punishment" *(tenbatsu* 天罰*)* inflicted by the gods on the Japanese people who had become greedy and egotistical.

... a comment that infuriated the victims of the disaster, nearly all of them living in Tohoku (Northeastern Japan). If the disaster was divine punishment for corruption, does that mean they are more corrupt than people in other parts of Japan, who were hardly affected at all? Or were they a kind of sacrificial offering, whose suffering was supposed to cleanse the entire nation? Ishihara had not thought it through. He had to apologize and withdraw the comment. But he

still got re-elected the following month, with a reduced but still substantial majority.



29 September, 2008

Transport minister Nariaki Nakayama forced to resign after just five days on the job, for making "incorrect comments" ... one of which was: "Japan is a homogeneous nation"

... and Narayama was in the last cabinet of the LDP

... which is supposed to be the more conservative of the two big parties. So in *national* politics, "homogeneity" has gone from being something obviously true, to a heresy that can get you the sack.

New prime minister, new Japan?

Yukio Hatoyama, 2009-10

●「定住外国人の参政権ぐらい 当然、付与さ れるべき」

- "It is only natural to give permanently resident foreigners voting rights."
- ●「日本列島は日本人だけの所有物じゃない んですから」
- "The Japanese archipelago does not belong only to Japanese people."

Yukio Hatoyama, April 17, 2009 (opposition leader at the time)

- ●「日本人が自信を失っている。自信を失うと、 他の国の血が入って来ることをなかなか認め ないという社会になりつつある」
- "Japanese people have lost confidence, and as a result is becoming a society that will not easily accept blood coming in from elsewhere."

Yukio Hatoyama, April 17, 2009 (opposition leader at the time)

They come, they go...

Hatoyama only lasted one year (2009-10), and his successor Naoto Kan likewise (2010-2011). But the fact remains that the DPJ (Minshuto民主党) is far more sympathetic to foreigners than the LDP (Jiminto 自民党).

Marutei Tsurunen

よう

DPJ upper house



Renho 蓮舫 **Taiwanese-**Japanese "half" in **Noda cabinet** as minister of government revitalization

The anti-homogeneity backlash

In recent years, a series of books have sought to challenge the image of Japan as racially/ ethnically/culturally homogeneous. 近年、たくさんの本がこの「同一民族・同

質国家」モデルを批判している。

In the academic world:

The fall of "homogeneity" theory, the rise of the "multi" book.



Multilingual Japan

edited by John C. Maher and Kyoko Yashiro (Multilingual Matters, 1995)

Has chapters on Ryukyuan, Ainu, and community languages such as Korean, English, and Chinese.

琉球語、アイヌ語、朝鮮語、英語、中国語

Michael Weiner ed

Japan's Minorities The Illusion of Homogeneity (1997; new edition 2006) ・ 『日本のマイノリティー:同質性の錯 覚

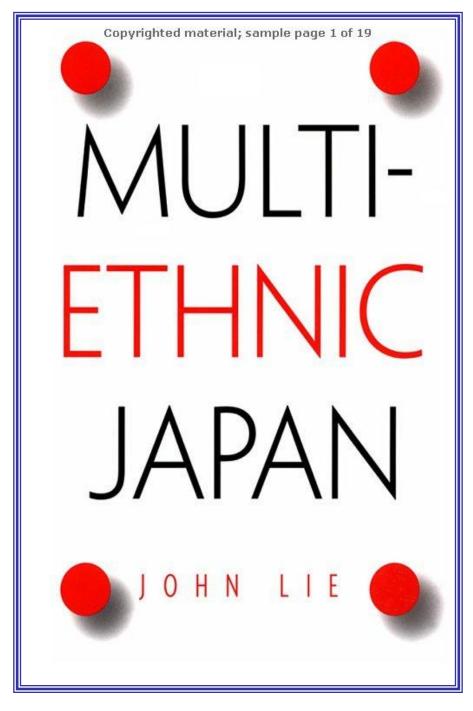
Multicultural Japan

Palaeolithic to Postmodern

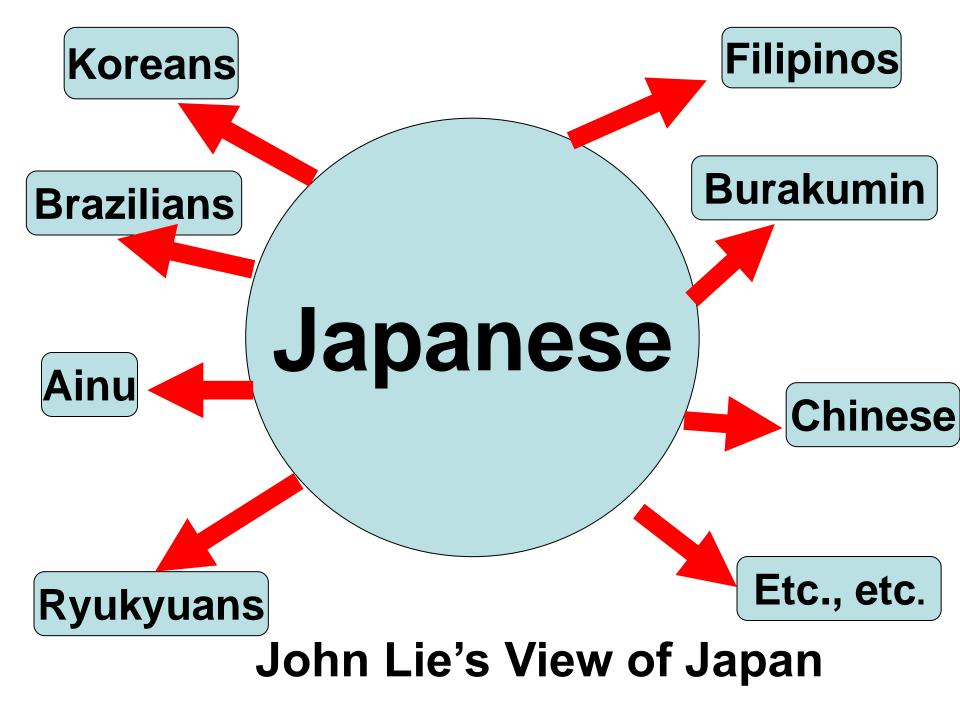




Edited by Donald Denoon Mark Hudson Gavan McCormack Tessa Morris-Suzuki ed Donald Denoon, Gavan McCormack, Mark Hudson, Tessa Morris-Suzuki 1997 (New edition 2002)



『多民族の 国ニッポ ジョン・リー Harvard **UP 2001**



A dominant mainstream...

<u>...forever dumping</u> <u>on lots of ethnic</u> <u>minority groups.</u>

日本は本当に「多民族国家だ」 と言っていいでしょうか?

But is it really OK to describe Japan as a multi-ethnic society?

Let's leave ideology to one side for once, and look at the numbers objectively (if possible).

Japan's principle ethnic minority groups

MINORITY	POPULATION	% OF TOTAL POP
Ryukyuans	1 to 1.6 million	c. 1-1.5%
Koreans [ROK/DPRK]	566,000	c. 0.5%
Japanese Koreans	c. 1 million?	c. 1%
Chinese [PRC/Taiwan]	687,000	c. 0.6%
Japanese Chinese	c. 200,000?	c. 0.2%
Brazil/Peru	285,000	c. 0.25%
Filipinos	210,000	c. 0.20%
Americans	51,000	c. 0.04%
Ainu	c. 25,000	c. 0.02%
Other	c. 280,000	c.0.25%
Total	c. 4 million	c.3.5%

Japan's principle ethnic minority groups, as of 2011 Compiled by Tom Gill from various sources

Legal foreign residents

Year	1991	1995	1999	2003	2006	2008	2010
Total (million)	1.22	1.36	1.56	1.92	2.08	2.22	2.13

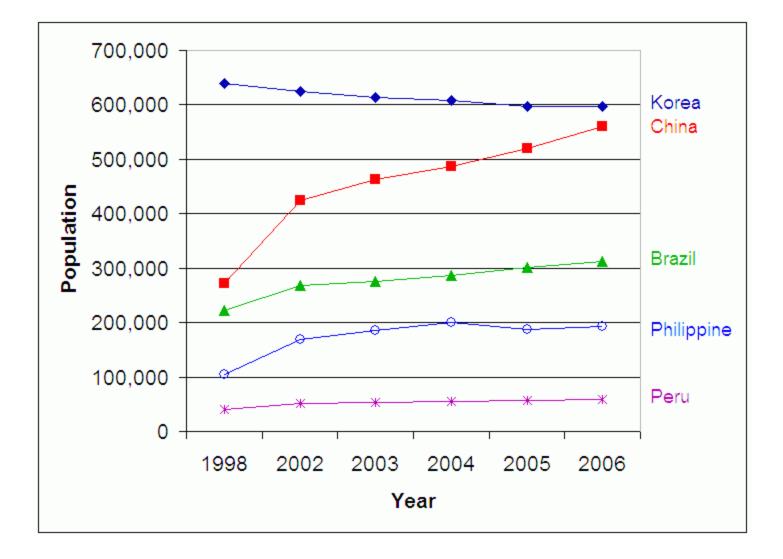
The Big 4

Year	1991	1999	2006	2008
S/N Korea	693,050	636,548	598,219	589,239
%	56.9%	40.9%	28.7%	26.6%
China	171,071	294,201	560,741	655,377
%	14.0%	18.9%	26.9%	29.6%
Brazil	119,333	224,299	312,979	312,582
%	9.8%	14.4%	15.0%	14.1%
Philippines	61,837	115,685	193,488	210,617
%	5.1%	7.4%	9.3%	9.5%

The rest....

Year	1991	1999	2006	2008
Peru	26,281	42,773	58,721	59,723
%	2.2%	2.7%	2.8%	2.7%
US	42,498	42,802	51,721	52,683
%	3.5%	2.8%	2.5%	2.4%
Others	104,821	199,805	309,450	337,205
%	8.6%	12.8%	14.8%	15.2%

China the major growth region





Number of overstayers, i.e. foreigners residing illegally in Japan after their visas expire.

Year	1992	1998	2001	2004	2007	2010	2011
Total	278,892	276,810	232,121	219,418	170,839	91,778	78,488
Men	190,996	149,828	123,825	113,066	86,885	46,324	39,519
Women	87,896	126,982	108,296	106,352	83,954	45,454	38,969

Source: Ministry of Justice, Immigration Control Bureau Data to 1995 as of May 1 each year; after 1995, as of Jan 1.

	1992 (5/1)	2003 (1/1)	2009 (1/1)
S Korea	35,687	49,874	24,198
Men	22,312	18,482	8,703
Women	13,375	31,392	15,495
Philippines	31,974	30,100	17,287
Men	14,935	10,241	5,395
Women	17,039	19,859	11,892
China	25,737	29,676	18,385
Men	19,266	16,449	10,969
Women	6,471	13,227	7,416

	1992 (5/1)	2003(1/1)	2009 (1/1)
Thailand	44,354	15,693	6,023
Men	20,022	7,307	2,092
Women	24,332	8,386	3,931
Malaysia	38,529	9,442	2,986
Men	27,832	4,803	1,193
Women	10,697	4,639	1,793
Taiwan	6,729	9,126	4,950
Men	3,427	4,368	2,663
Women	3,302	4,758	2,287
Peru	2,783	7,322	3,396
Men	1,904	4,992	2,148
Women	879	2,330	1,248
Other	88,395	65,429	

No flood of illegals...

Year	Total resident foreign nationals	Legal	lliegai	illegal %
1990	1,181,000	1,075,000	106,000	9%
1993	1,610,000	1,320,000	290,000	18%
1998	1,787,000	1,510,000	277,000	16%
2001	2,010,000	1,778,000	232,000	12%
2009	2,333,000	2,220,200	113,000	5%
2011	2,130,000	2,052,000	78,000	4%

So... how big an element of Japan's population are ethnic minorities?

Very roughly speaking

- If you count Ryukyuans: 2.5 to 3 million, c. 2 to 2.5%.
- If you don't count Ryukyuans: c. 1.5 million, c. 1 to 1.5% of total population.
 - 琉球人込み:2-2.5%
- 琉球人抜き:1-1.5%

Ethnic minorities in Japan vs. Britain, according to the CIA (2001)

Country	Ethnic composition
Britain	English 81.5%, Scottish 9.6%, Irish 2.4%, Welsh 1.9%, Ulster 1.8%, West Indian, Indian, Pakistani, other 2.8%
Japan	Japanese 98.0%, other 2.0% (mostly Korean)

Source:

http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/fields/ethnic_groups.html

Ethnic minorities in Japan vs. Britain, according to the CIA (2011)

Country	Ethnic composition
UK	White (of which English 83.6%,
	Scottish 8.6%, Welsh 4.9%,
	Northern Irish 2.9%) 92.1%,
	black 2%, Indian 1.8%,
	Pakistani 1.3%, mixed 1.2%,
	other 1.6%
Japan	Japanese 98.5%, Koreans 0.5%,
	Chinese 0.4%, other 0.6%

Source: http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/fields/ethnic_groups.html

And yet...

"Although the proportion of ethnic minorities is lower than that of the United States, it is far from negligible and comparable to the 1992 figure in the United Kingdom."

John Lie, Multiethnic Japan, p. 4

How does Lie conclude that?

"The estimated total of non-Japanese Japanese living in Japan in the 1990s is 4-6 million in a country of 125 million people: Burakumin (2~3 million), Ainu (25,000 – 300,000), **Okinawans (1.6 million), Koreans** (700,000-1 million), Chinese (200,000), children of mixed ancestry (10,000-25,000) and foreigners (150,000-700,000).

Ethnic minorities – international comparison

Country	Population	Minority %	Main minorities
Iran	67 million	c. 49%	Azeri, Gilaki, Kurds
Latvia	2.7 million	c. 40%	Russian, Belarussian,
			Ukrainian
Malaysia	22 million	c. 40%	Chinese, Indian etc
USA	276 million	c. 36%	'Black', 'Hispanic',
			Pacific-Asian
Turkey	70 million	c. 21%	Kurds, Arabs, etc.
Russia	144 million	c. 20%	Tartars, Ukranians etc.

Country	Populati	Minori	Main minorities
	on	ty %	
Romania	23	c. 20%	Hungarians, Roma,
	million		Germans etc
Canada	28.5	c. 10%	Chinese, South
	million		Asian, 'Black'
China	1,270	c. 9%	Chuang, Manchu,
	million		Hui etc.
Germany	84	c. 9%	Turkish, Yugoslav,
	million		Italian
UK	59.5	c. 8%	Indian,, Pakistani
	million		

Country	Population	Minority %	Main minorities		
Finland	5 million	c. 7%	Swedes, Russians, etc		
Hong Kong	7 million	c. 5%	Filipinos, Indonesians		
JAPAN	127 million	c. 1.5%	Korean, Chinese; c.4% by Gill count		
Portugal	11 million	c.1%	Black African		
South	47 million	c. 0.1%	About 20,000		
Korea			Chinese		

Conclusion:

Even today, Japan remains a fairly homogeneous country. Ethnic minorities are not big enough to influence elections (like the black/Hispanic/Jewish vote in the US), or to dominate the economy (like the Chinese and Indian minorities in Malaysia.)

「多言語」も、ちょっとだけ

Going back to 'multilingual Japan,' people whose first language is not Japanese account for only about 2% of the population (depending on how you view the balance between Japanese and Ryukyuan in Okinawa).

Japan is NOT multilingual in anything like the way Switzerland, or Belgium, or South Africa, or even the US are.

Clearly we need to think about definitions

What IS a Japanese? What IS a non-Japanese? 「日本人・非日本人」とは? It's not as simple as you might imagine

Typological framework of 'Japanese' and 'non-Japanese' attributes

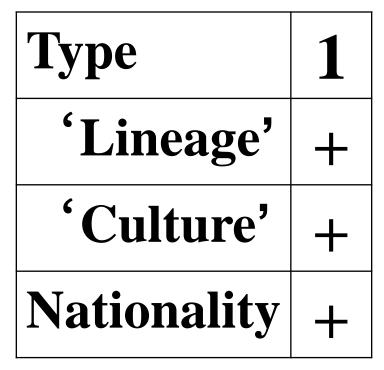
Types	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
'Lineage'	╋	₽	+		╋			
'Culture'	╋	╋	-	+	-	+		
Nationality	╉		╉	╉			╉	

Source: Yasunori Fukuoka, *Lives of Young Koreans in Japan*. Melbourne, Trans-Pacific Press, 2000, p. xxx.

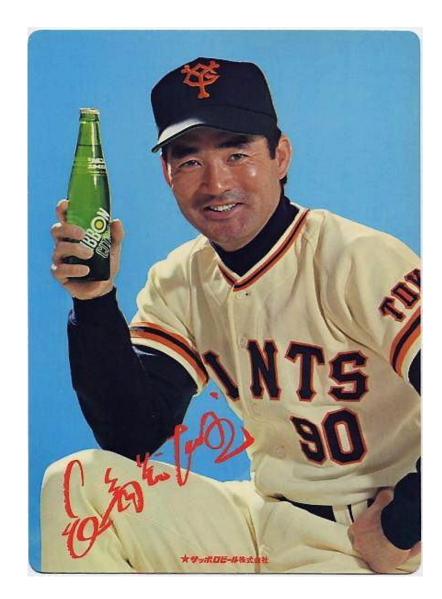
Type 1: Mainstream Japanese. **Type 2: First-generation** Japanese migrants abroad. **Type 3: Japanese raised** abroad: kikoku shijo. **Type 4: Naturalized Japanese,** e.g. Zainichi Koreans with Japanese nationality.

- Type 5: Third-generation Japanese migrants abroad and 'war orphans' (*zanryû koji*)
- Type 6: Zainichi Koreans with Japanese upbringing, Korean passport, Japanese culture.
- Type 7: Some Ainu. Japanese passport, Ainu lineage and culture.
- Type 8: 'pure non-Japanese'

Type 1: Mainstream Japanese.







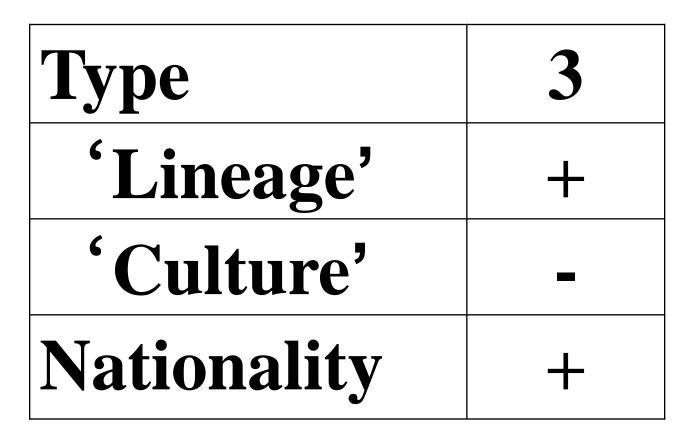
Type 2: First-generation Japanese migrants back from abroad

Type	2		
'Lineage'	╉		
'Culture'	+		
Nationality			



E.g. Many Japanese migrated to Brazil... naturalized... but blood and culture is still Japanese

Type 3: Japanese raised abroad



'Kikoku shijo 帰国子女

Catching up with the kanji...





References:

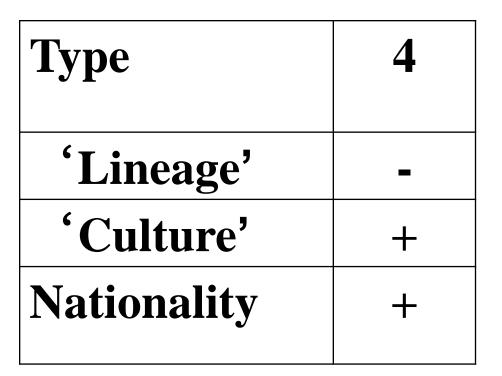
Japan's "International Youth": The Emergence of a New Class of Schoolchildren

By Roger Goodman, OUP 1993.

Negotiating Identity in Contemporary Japan: the Case of Kikokushijo,

By Ching Lin Pang. Kegan Paul 2000.

Type 4: Naturalized Zainichis (Koreans, Chinese etc.)



帰化した在日コリア人・中国人など

"Zainichi" 在日

An interesting word. Literally, "Japan-resident," as in Zainichi Kankokujin/ Chosenjin "Japanresident Koreans." But means: Long-term resident, i.e. "[born and] bred in Japan," as opposed to "newcomers"

They may have traded their Korean passport...



... for a Japanese passport...



... but they're still Korean at heart.



(cf Norman Tebbit's cricket test...)

Margaret Thatcher's minister of home affairs... wanted Indians and Pakistanis to support England when they played cricket against their native countries



Of course they carried on supporting India and Pakistan.





Type 5: 3rd/4th generation emigrants, war orphans

Туре	5
'Lineage'	+
'Culture'	
Nationality	

三・四世日系人、残留孤児など

"War orphans" 残留孤児

- Children of Japanese parents left behind in Manchuria and other parts of China at the end of World War II... ethnically Japanese, culturally and legally Chinese.
- About 3.000 have been repatriated to Japan in the last 25 years.

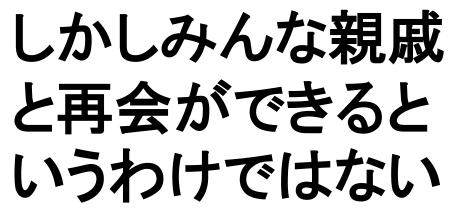
Emotional reunions...



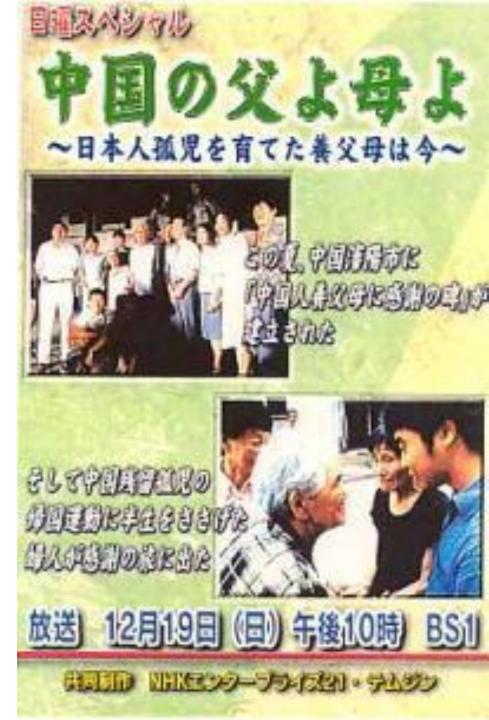




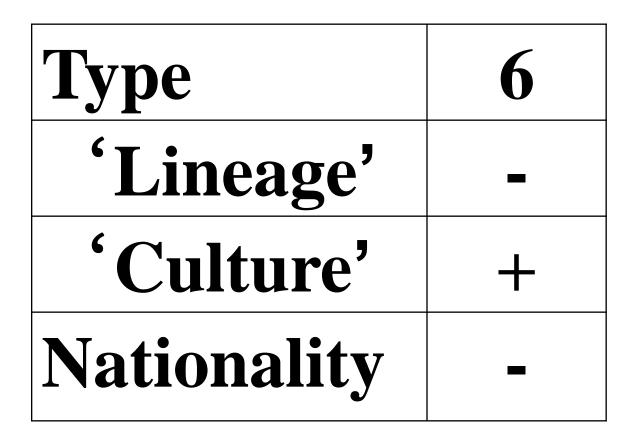
... but not everyone finds their relatives...



... and they often have close ties to Chinese adoptive parents.



Type 6: Many non-naturalized Zainichi Koreans



帰化していない在日コリア人・中国人など

More than half a million Koreans

... still maintain South Korean or North Korean nationality, though most of them attend Japanese schools, watch Japanese TV, and speak Japanese as their mother language.

A Korean school in Japan ... only a small minority use them

Type 7: Some Ainu and Ryukyuans (Okinawans)

Туре	7
'Lineage'	
'Culture'	
Nationality	╉

あるアイヌ人と琉球人(沖縄人)

- Japanese nationality, Ainu or Ryukyuan culture and lineage.
- ・日本国籍...でも民族的にアイ
 ヌ人または琉球人。

Ryukyuan population

- 1.3 million living on Okinawa
- Another 300,000 or living in mainland Japan
- Perhaps another 300,000 living in other countries

... a very LARGE minority.

Language

English	Japanese	Uchinaguchi (Ryukyuan)
Cloud	Kumo	Kumu
Rain	Ame	Ami
Excuse me	Sumimasen	Chaabira sai
Thankyou	Arigato	Nifee deebiru
Please come again	Mata irasshite kudasai	Mata mensooree tai

Culturally distinct



Distinctive Ryukyuan culture attracts tourists from all over Japan...



Ethnically distinct

(An Ainu Woman)

Ainu are now recognized as an ethnic minority...

"The Ainu, who lived in Hokkaido before the arrival of Wajin at least at the end of medieval times, have been recognized as a race that has original traditions and that developed a unique culture including the Ainu language, which is based on a different linguistic system from the Japanese language, as well as original manners and customs."

(Prime Minister's Office Announcement No. 25; September 18, 1997)

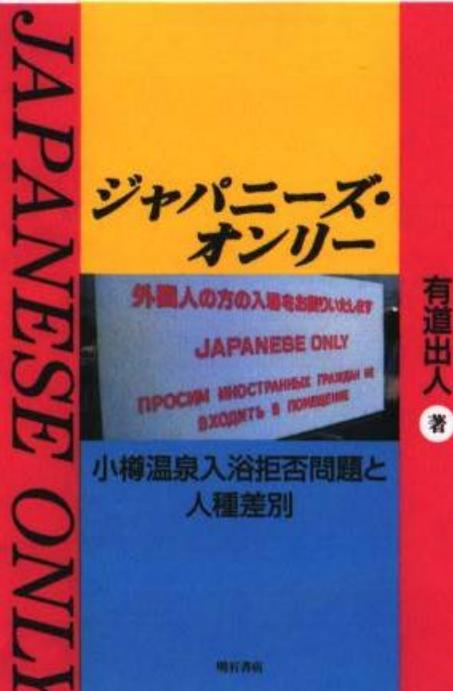
... but Ryukyuans are not.

"Those who live in Okinawa prefecture or natives of Okinawa are of the Japanese race, and generally, in the same way as natives of other prefectures, they are not considered to be a group of people who share biological or cultural characteristics under social convention, and therefore, we do not consider them to be covered by the Convention."

• (Comments of the Japanese **Government on the Concluding Observations adopted by the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination on March** 20, 2000, regarding initial and second periodic report of the **Japanese Government)**



Another kind of Type 7 guy 有道出人 日本人 David **Aldwinkle Arudo Debito** Japanese



JAPANESE ONLY

> 外國人の方の入場をお断りいたします JAPANESE ONLY ПРОСИМ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ГРАНДИИ В ВХОДИТЬ В ПОМЕЩЕНИЕ ВХОДИТЬ В ПОМЕЩЕНИЕ

有道出

The Otaru Hot Springs Case and Racial Discrimination in Japan

By ARUDOU Debito

Aknshi Shoten

Once a gaijin, always a gaijin

In 1999 David Aldwinkle was refused admittance to a hotspring bath in Otaru (a port city in Hokkaido), because he was a foreigner. In 2000 he acquired Japanese citizenship and went back to the hot spring with proof of it. They still wouldn't let him in. He was still a foreigner in their eyes. *Lineage beats* nationality.

Originally aimed at Russians...

外国人の方の入場をお断りいたします JAPANESE ONLY ПРОСИМ ИНОСТРАННЫХ ГРАЖДАН HE входить в помещение

Victory in court 裁判勝訴

Dave and two friends sued the management of the hot spring for racial discrimination and in 2002 the Sapporo High Court awarded damages 損害賠償 of one million yen (about \$10,000) to each of them.

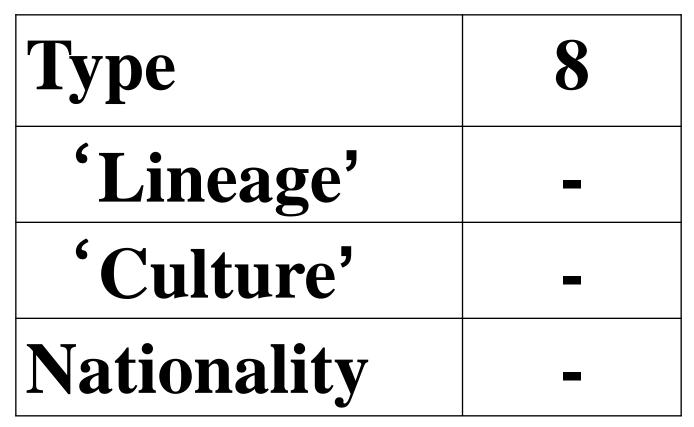
Things are getting better.

Read all about it at:

http://www.debito.org/

Tons of material in English and Japanese

Type 8: People like me



But wait! I speak Japanese! I pay taxes!... though I don't get to vote...



... and I have to carry an 'alien registration card.'



My old 'gaijin card.'

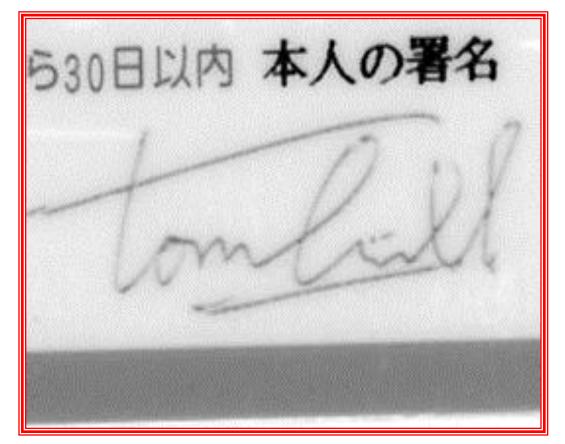
日本国政府 外回人設録 証明 : (1971年1915116015 い予止 GILL THOMAS 2013日前 第四 PARAMOR 1960年10月25日 9M (22543) 70 1967年8月165765 1967年8月14日 1967年8月14日

> 京都府宇治市根島町千足80番地 京都府宇治市根島町千足80番地 次回確認(切替)申請期間 RENEW W11H1N 30 DAYS OF 2001年10月25日から31日以内 脱品... 京都府宇治市長

久保田 勇

Spot the difference





The shame of the Justice Ministry



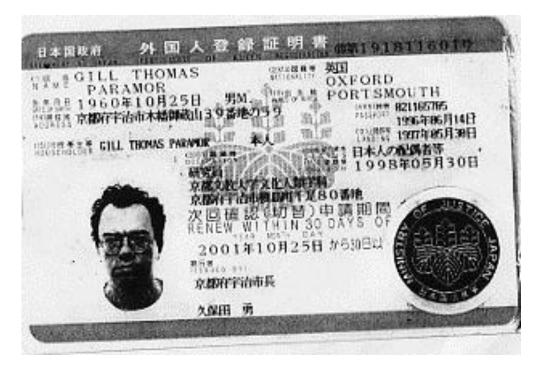
Hiding the fingerprint behind a 'figleaf'

When I saw that logo...



I knew the times they were a' changin'

Liberation from fingerprinting was at hand!



1999

Fingerprinting abolished!

After being criticized in the U.N. for being like S. African pass laws



But even now, isn't the treatment of **'pure** foreigners' unfair? **Taxation** without representation.

And fingerprinting is back...

.... at the airport, copying post-9/11 USA.

.... and we get photographed. and residents like me are not allowed to go in the "Japanese" line anymore.

Get stared at in public places

... and people won't sit next to me on the train. There's an exclusionary **culture here.**電車で誰も私 の隣に座りたがらない!排他 的な文化じゃないか。

Am I a victim of discrimination? これは「差別」じゃ ないか

Maybe, but then again, being a gaijin carries privileges too:

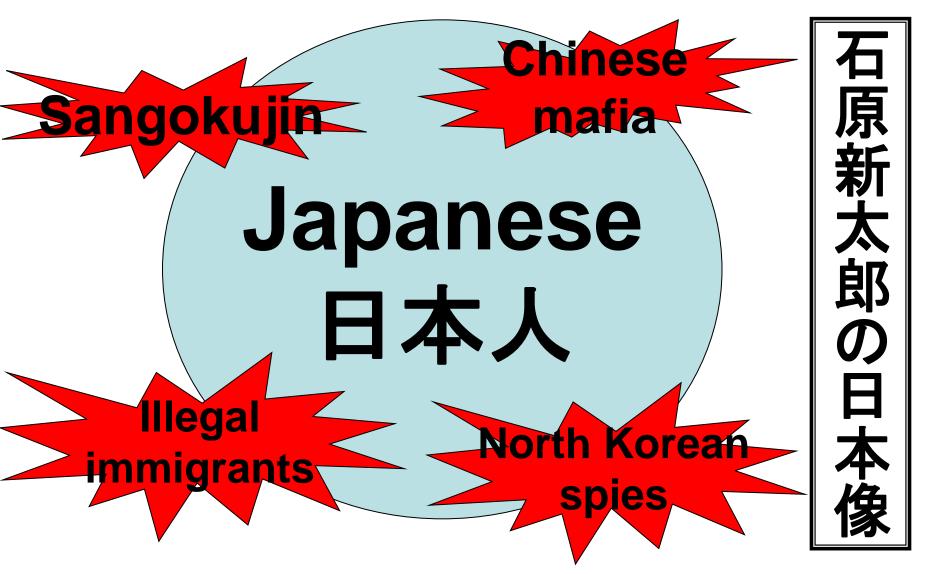
... I have got a pretty good job at a university that I probably wouldn't have got if I hadn't been a "gaijin"... people want to know me, want to know my opinion, because l'm a gaijin.

And as a matter of fact,

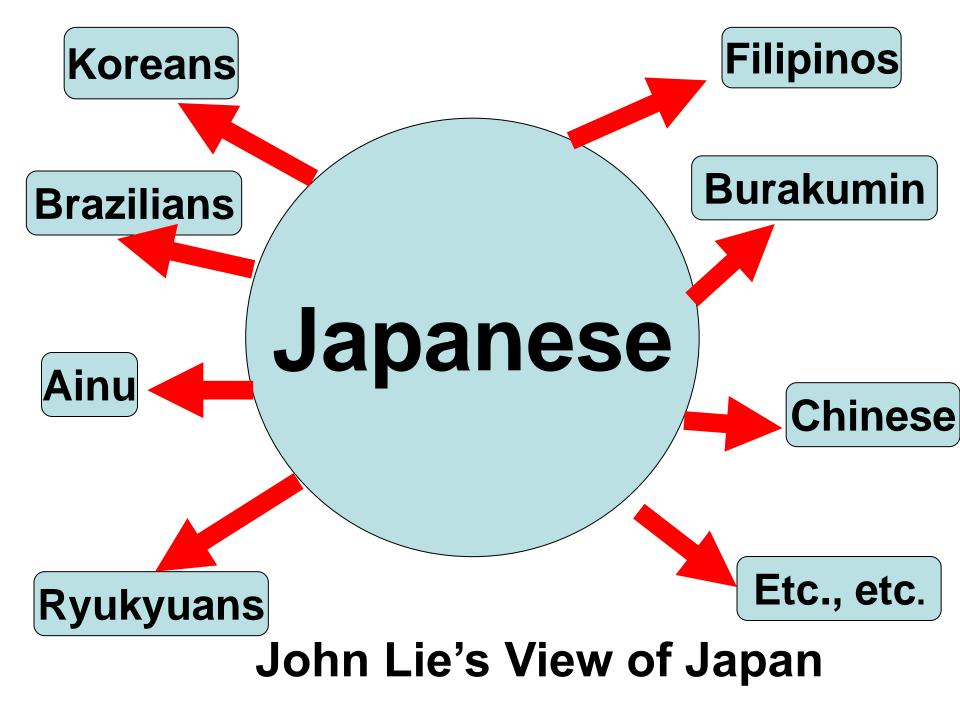
... many people who are + + + get a much tougher deal in Japan than I do. Burakumin 被差別部落民 Hibakusha 被爆者 People with disabilities ディサビリティーの方 Poor people 貧困者 Homeless people ホームレス

Maybe it is a mistake to focus just on ethnicity in thinking about the mainstream and the margins.

... a mistake made by the conservative-nationalist Nakasone and the progressive-internationalist John Lie alike.



Ishihara's model: like Nakasone's, but now foreign 'germs' threaten Japan's purity



右翼も、左翼も、「外人」の存在を 大げさに捕らえる

<u>Shintaro Ishihara and John Lie both</u> <u>exaggerate the numbers of foreigners</u> <u>in Japan for political reasons.</u> <u>Confusion about 'ethnicity' conceals</u> <u>much serious discrimination against</u> <u>people who are fully Japanese in ethnic</u> <u>terms.</u>

矢印の方向は違うが、基本的に同じ図 「主流」の日本人は分析されない

The arrows point in opposite directions, but the underlying pattern of thought is the same: an uncritical assumption that there is one huge Japanese mainstream and various little groups on the outside of it. But no-one takes a really close look at that big sphere called "Japanese people."

That is what I want to do in this course.

It's easy to criticize...

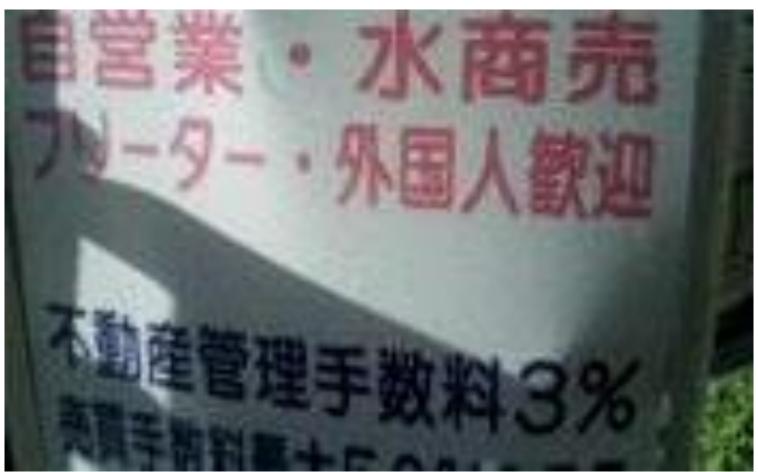
... so now let me offer an alternative view of Japanese society.

+ MOST AINU & RIVKIVANS GAL SILVS JUST PASSING 50 DIET NI MAEI HROUGH ? Alter. 1. JATURALIZED 3 ALTER AND ALTER 3/3 RETURN MIGRANTS ... LYT LIKE 2rb FEN IST GEN. MIGRANTS ... NATURALIZED > STILL Ne SomEANU + RYUKYVANS ... 2 HAVE WE ARE 20 EAR 21 JAPANESE RETURNE ORAMANS ETCI L'ANGUAGE 0000 NEVONIN FUNICHI KOGE AND NESE PEOPLE Far ETC. SPERIE THE APADESE JAPAN" PEORLE 202 TOM GILL VIEW JAPAN

Center \leftarrow Japanese society \rightarrow Margins	
(ෆ/ ෆ) Kansai (Kanto) people, country folk, non-Honshu, 'otaku', 'hikikomori' industrial highschool grads, non-highschool grads, all women (?) THE MAINSTREAM	(∞/ \circ) 'Pure gaijins' like Tom (∞/ \neg) α^{nd}/∞^{rd} generation Japanese emigres, war orphans, unnnaturalized Koreans, some Ainu, Ryukyuans etc. (∞/ \circ) Naturalized Zainichis, returneee children, \dashv^{st} generation Js emigres, most Ainu/Ryukyuans (∞/ ∞)Burakumin, Hibakusha, disabilities, poor, gay/lesbian, single parents, yakuza,

本社会 周辺 (3/0)ト 者 残 3 3 3 $\frac{3}{2}$ 留 **t**) E E 玉 3 2 3 中 هم 们 1 に 児 帰 等 子家庭 Ł)関西 \mathcal{O})被差別部 帰化 レリテ 海道 琉 P ムのような 2 世 丵 帰 球 民 済 不高 ? た 族 ヌ いみ在 ? 帰 (関 東 3 ザ な 民 世 Ε 太 オタ 貧 动动 -業生? 日系南米 前科者 困者 任 純粋外 被 Ì ク 語を持 暴者 ? こ 移 Ш 田 舎 ? **孙**[IJ

A radical estate agent welcomes inquiries from 'self-employed, sex workers, part-timers and foreigners'



文化マイノリティーと民族マイノリ ティーはごちゃごちゃです

... an interesting example of how cultural minorities tend to get mixed up with ethnic minorities in Japan.

Maybe the real question is:

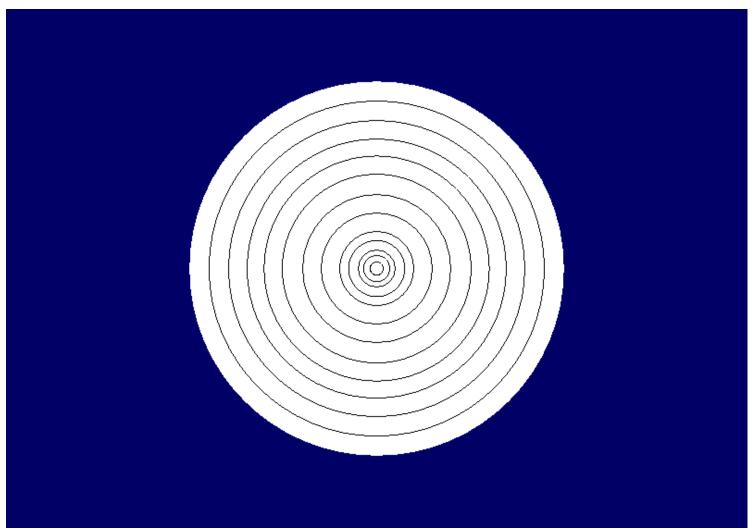
Exactly who are the 'mainstream' Japanese? 「主流日本人」ばいったい



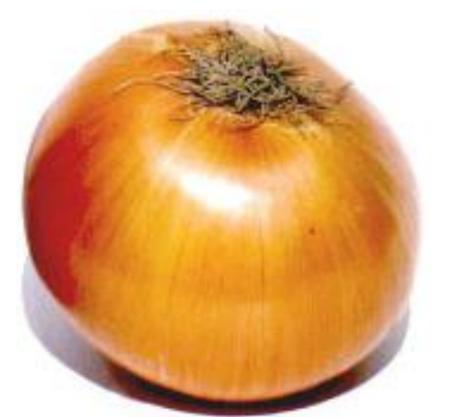
でも見た目はやはり同質的

But Japanese society looks relatively homogeneous minorities do not usually LOOK very different... note that 'skin color' is not one of Fukuoka's categories.

...more like an onion than a Hinomaru...



... and like an onion, it looks like a smooth whole



from the outside.

