

日本の学校における多様性と多文化理解をめざすシティズンシップ教育の課題

Issues in Citizenship Education in Promoting Diversity and Multicultural Understanding in Japanese Schools

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キーワード：多人種的アイデンティティ、シティズンシップ教育、多文化教育、社会科、テーマ分析

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摘要

グローバル化等によってもたらされる多様性により、シティズンシップ教育も多文化主義の高まりに対応するよう求める声が高まっている。この研究では、社会科等のシティズンシップ教育の多様性を促進するために、多人種的アイデンティティがどのように認識され、関与しているかを、多人種的アイデンティティをもつ児童生徒、彼／彼女らの両親、日本人とのアイデンティティをもつ児童生徒、そして教師に、2019年秋にインタビューを通じてデータ収集した。それをテーマ分析にかけ、4つに集約した。

1つ目のテーマは、多人種的アイデンティティをもつ児童生徒の「受容のための闘い」であった。これは、2つ以上のアイデンティティの自己認識が、家庭以外ではそれを育成する手段に限られているからであった。2つ目のテーマは、4つの立場の者がアイデンティティをどのように見ているかに関わるものであった。人種的なアイデンティティにより、かなりの違いを示しており、「アイデンティティの認識のギャップ」を浮き彫りにした。3つ目のテーマは、教師の「違いへの無関心」が、シティズンシップ教育やアイデンティティや多様性の認識への取り組み方に影響する点であった。4つ目のテーマは、日本のシティズンシップ教育が日本的な価値観とマナーを教えることに重点を置いていることが明確となった点である。

これらは、アイデンティティを表現する機会がほとんどないことを意味している。自分のアイデンティティを理解し、日本の多様性の広がりを理解できる社会科が「機会を逃した」ことを示している。

I Introduction

The purpose of this study was to determine how perceptions of biracial identity impact the concept and practice of citizenship education in promoting diversity and multicultural understanding in Japanese schools. Working within the framework of multicultural citizenship education, the researcher gathered data through personal interviews with biracial Japanese students and their parents and focus group discussions with monoracial Japanese students and teachers. The perspectives and lived experiences narrated by the participants were coded and categorized into themes that show patterns of how these identities are viewed, developed, and engaged in citizenship education classes. The results discussed below are aimed to contribute to the growing discourse of biracial identity development and multicultural citizenship education in Japanese schools.

II The Participants and Research Methods

In 2019 Autumn, a total of 40 people participated in this study. They are grouped into the following: biracial students

(7), parents (10), monoracial students (11), and teachers (12). The data from biracial students and parents were collected through one-on-one semi-structured interviews while data from monoracial students and teachers were gathered through focus group discussions. This limited paper reported on focus biracial students, their parents and teachers.

The setting of this research is X City, the capital of Y Prefecture. X City is by no means a metropolitan city like Tokyo or Osaka, but it is not a small city either. In fact, it is considered the largest city in Z Region and home to about 500,000 people (as of May, 2018). However, compared to other cities, its foreign population is relatively small, numbering 3,000 residents only. Most of them are from China, the Philippines, Vietnam, and Korea. Nonetheless, 23 percent of these foreign residents are *eijusha* (永住者) or permanent residents, most of whom have settled to work or start a family. As expected, there are no available data on the number of biracial children in the city.

1. Sampling Procedure

The researcher employed two types of non-probability sampling—snowball and convenience sampling—to gather the participants. They are deemed appropriate for the study since availability and quick access to the respondents are the main concerns of the study. Snowball sampling was used to reach biracial children and their parents. Also known as chain referral sampling, snowball sampling works when the initial research participants are asked to identify or “refer” other potential participants who have identical characteristics as them. Snowball sampling is appropriate in finding hidden and hard-to-locate participants such as those who are suffering from rare diseases, victims of crime, or other sensitive circumstances. Biracial students in X City are hard-to-locate because no statistics, record, or contact list of them exists. Although the researcher often met biracial students during school visits, directly talking or recruiting them for the study is not permitted by the schools. Understandably so, personal details of the students are confidential, so the schools cannot provide the researcher the biracial students’ names or contact details of their parents.

1) Biracial Japanese Students

The biracial students are composed of four males and three females. Their ages range from 12-18 years old. Except for Yuta, who was born in Indonesia, everyone was born in Japan. All of them, however, grew up in Japan from infancy, making them culturally and linguistically Japanese. Everyone is also in junior high school, except for Tetsuya, who is in first year senior high school, and Ayumi, who is a freshman university student during the interview. The two, therefore, were only asked about their experiences as a biracial student during their junior high school days. The ethnic backgrounds of this group are diverse as three of them are half-Indonesian, two are half-Filipino, one is half-African, and one is half-Caucasian. Due to concerns of being easily identified, parents of the biracial African and Caucasian students requested that their countries be unspecified. The details of students are as shown in Table 1.

2) Parents of Biracial Japanese Students

All biracial students had one of their parents participate in the interview. Since Yuta and Mei are siblings, they are represented by one parent, their Japanese mother. Thus, out of 10 parents, six are parents of the participating biracial students. The remaining four are parents whose biracial child were not available for interview. Two of them, the Korean father and Japanese mother, are a couple. All parents belong to the 40-60 age range and most have two kids. None of the parents are divorced, which means all biracial students grew up in a two-parent household, except for Kaito whose father stays in Africa for business reasons. The parents’ ethnicities are diverse, being composed of three Japanese, two Filipinos, a Korean, an Indonesian, a Chinese, and a German. One parent, Tetsuya’s mother, requested her nationality to be concealed to protect her son. She believes that they are easily identifiable because very few people with the same nationality live in X. Most of the foreign parents came to Japan to work, study, or get

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Biracial Students

	Name (pseudonyms)	Age	Place of birth	Ethnicity	Grade	Type of ES, Junior HS Attended*
1	Hiro	12	Japan	Half-Filipino	1 st year, Junior HS	Public
2	Kaito	12	Japan	Half-African (country requested not to be specified)	1 st year, Junior HS	Public
3	Erika	13	Japan	Half-Filipino	2 nd year, Junior HS	Public
4	Yuta	13	Indonesia	Half-Indonesian	2 nd year, Junior HS	Public
5	Mei	14	Japan	Half-Indonesian	3 rd year, Junior HS	Public
6	Tetsuya	16	Japan	Half-Caucasian (country requested not to be specified)	1 st year, Senior HS	ES: Public JHS: Private
7	Ayumi	18	Japan	Half-Indonesian	1 st year, University Student	Public

*ES: Elementary School, HS: High School

Table 2: Demographic Profile of Parents of Biracial Children

Parent	Age	Nationality	Years Living in Japan	Child- ren	Educational Attainment	Spouse's Educational Attainment	Reason for coming to Japan
Hiro's Mother	50	Filipino	12	1	HS Graduate	HS Graduate	Work
Kaito's Mother	42	Japanese	—	3	Junior College Graduate	HS Graduate	—
Tatsuya's Mother	50	—	22	3	Ph.D (in the process)	Ph.D	Study
Ayumi's Mother	50	Indonesian	20	1	Ph.D	Ph.D	Study
Erika's Father	43	Filipino	16	2	College Graduate	College Graduate	Marriage
Yuta & Mei's Mother	47	Japanese	—	2	College Graduate	HS Graduate	—
Korean Father	48	Korean	8	2	College graduate	—	Work
Japanese Mother	44	Japanese	—		Junior College Graduate	—	—
German Father	59	German	29	2	Ph.D	College Graduate	Marriage
Chinese Mother	50	Chinese	27	2	College Graduate	College Graduate	Study

married. Most have lived in Japan for a long time as evidenced by the group’s average length of residency which is 19 years. The details of parents are as shown in Table 2.

3) Monoracial Japanese students

The 11 students in this group came from two schools in X City; 6 from private integrated high schools and 5 from public junior high schools. 5 of them are male and 6 are female. Their age ranges from 12–16 years old. 2 of them are senior high school students while the rest are junior high school students.

4) Teachers

The 12 teachers who joined this study came from four different schools. The first four teachers came from a private integrated high school. The second set of four teachers came from another private integrated high school. Three teachers came from a public junior high school and one teacher came from a public integrated high school. The group is male-dominated with nine male teachers and only three female teachers. It is also interesting to note that the teachers who come from the private schools are older and much experienced teachers, having taught for 10 years or more. The public school teachers are fewer and newer, having taught for eight years or less. In terms of subjects handled, there are four Social Studies teachers, three English teachers, three Math teachers, one Japanese language teacher, and one Science teacher. Although only four of them are Social Studies teachers, all serve as homeroom teachers. This means that everyone teaches other citizenship education subjects like Moral Education, Integrated Studies and Special Activities.

2. Data Analysis

Thematic analysis will be used in this study to analyze the data gathered from the interviews and focus group discussions (FGDs). Considered to be the most widely used qualitative approach in examining interview data, thematic analysis is an effective method to identify, analyze, and report patterns or themes within the data (Alhojailan, 2012; Braun & Clark, 2006). This study follows Braun & Clarke’s (2006) six-step framework as shown in Table 3. This is arguably the most influential approach, in the social sciences at least, probably because it offers such a clear and usable framework for doing thematic analysis.

Table 3: Braun & Clarke’s six-phase framework for doing a thematic analysis

Step 1: Familiarisation with the data
Step 2: Coding
Step 3: Searching for themes
Step 4: Reviewing themes
Step 5: Defining and naming themes
Step 6: Writing up

3. Validity and Trustworthiness

Qualitative studies are commonly critiqued regarding the fundamental concepts of validity and generalizability. Critics usually question whether qualitative results and interpretations accurately reflect the meanings, perceptions, and beliefs of the participants, programs, and settings they study. To increase the accuracy and validity of the results of this study, the researcher will employ the following validation techniques as shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Validation Techniques in Qualitative Research

Technique	Description
1. Member checks and participant review	The data and results were returned to the participants to check for accuracy and resonance with their experiences. All participants will be offered copies with the transcript in order to correct errors or provide additional information that might improve the accuracy of the data.
2. Adequate Engagement with the Data	Participants were interviewed until saturation has been reached. Saturation was determined through frequent review and re-reading of the transcripts until recurrent experiences and perspectives are observed and no new ideas or thoughts appeared.
3. Audit Trail	Sandelowski (1986) stated that a study and its findings are auditable when another researcher can clearly follow the decision trail. Therefore, this researcher practiced frequent memoring and reflective journaling to provide readers with the rationale of decisions and choices made by the researcher regarding the analysis of the data.
4. Reflexivity	Reflexivity is a form of critical self-reflection. It requires a researcher to be continually and consciously aware of their role as an instrument of data collection (Merriam, 2009). This involves being aware of assumptions, biases, particular theoretical orientations and any relationship to the study which may affect interpretation; not to minimize their importance but to clearly communicate their influence during reporting.

Table 5. Subthemes and Categories of Coded Data Per Group of Participants

BIRACIAL STUDENTS	Subtheme 1: “People like me are called half.”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I was never treated differently.” • “I feel happy and special.”
	Subtheme 2: But I don't know my advantages.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I know little about the other culture.” • “My parents don't talk about it.”
	Subtheme 3: Biracial issues are not discussed in class.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I learn about diversity outside the classroom.” • “Face, language, and manners make someone Japanese.”
PARENTS	Subtheme 4: Everything's okay.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I don't mind if they call my child half.” • “My child was never treated badly.”
	Subtheme 5: “Knowing more about their roots is important, but not now.”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Japanese language and living in Japan are priorities.” • “They are a little embarrassed.” • “They can't speak the language. Only greetings.” • “Showing your roots is a risk.”
	Subtheme 6: “Japan is still very conservative.”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “There are no activities like that in school.” • “Culture makes one Japanese.”

MONO- RACIAL STUDENTS	Subtheme 7: “I know someone who is half. ”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “I don’t know other ways to call them but half.” · “It depends on the person, but maybe it’s not okay.”
	Subtheme 8: “I think they’re amazing. ”
TEACHERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “The know two languages and cultures well.” · “They have wider viewpoints and more ideas.”
	Subtheme 9: “Maybe it’s multicultural in Osaka or Tokyo, but not here. ”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “Multicultural issues are mentioned in passing, but no details.” · “We learn something about discrimination in Moral Education.” · “Good citizens have manners.”
TEACHERS	Subtheme 10: “It’s rude to call them half. ”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “They are not different from other students.” · “There was never a case of bullying because of nationality.”
	Subtheme 11: “They have two cultures and speak two languages. ”
TEACHERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “They have more opportunities.” · “If they don’t show it, we don’t touch it.”
	Subtheme 12: “Japan is not yet multicultural. ”
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> · “We don’t think of Ainu and Okinawans as diversity.” · “It’s not a problem if they speak Japanese.” · “Japanese is Japanese; foreigners are foreigners.” · “Blood and language make someone Japanese.”

III Overview of Emergent Themes

The data gathered went through the process of thematic analysis. “In Vivo” Coding was used as coding method to accurately describe the participants’ views and experiences since it uses the exact words and phrases they uttered. As Table 5 shows, three subthemes for each group of participants emerged. In total, there are 12 subthemes, each of which has two to four categories of codes subsumed within it. Organizing the codes this way clearly shows the similarities and differences in the perspectives and experiences of each group of participants, a characteristic crucial in answering the research questions. These categories and subthemes were then further analyzed and rearranged, merging those which are exactly identical and conceptually similar. The merging resulted into four main themes as shown in Table 6.

The first phase is becoming familiar with the data. This is done by reading and re-reading the data, to become immersed and intimately familiar with its content. The second phase is coding which involves generating codes or

Table 6. Emerging Themes and Subthemes

Theme 1: Struggle for Acceptance
“People like me are called half.” “They are a little embarrassed,” “I don’t know my advantages.”
Theme 2: Identity Perception Gap
“It’s rude to call them half.” “They have more opportunities.” “Knowing more about their roots is not important now.”
Theme 3: Indifference to Differences
“There was never a case of bullying because of nationality.” “It’s not a problem if they speak Japanese.” “Japanese is Japanese; foreigners are foreigners.”
Theme 4: Limited Diversity Discussion
“But the specific details were not taught.” “I learned it outside, not in class or school.” “It’s more important to have citizens with good manners.”

meaningful units that identify important features of the data that might be relevant to answering the research question. It involves coding the entire dataset, and after that, collating all the codes and all relevant data extracts, together for later stages of analysis. The third phase is searching for themes. It involves examining the codes and collated data to identify significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes). It then involves collating data relevant to each candidate theme, so that the researcher can work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme. The fourth phase is reviewing themes. This phase involves checking the candidate themes against the dataset, to determine that they tell a convincing story of the data, and one that answers the research question. In this phase, themes are typically refined, which sometimes involves them being split, combined, or discarded. The fifth is defining and naming the themes: This phase involves developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out the scope and focus of each theme, determining the ‘story’ of each. It also involves deciding on an informative name for each theme. The sixth and last phase is writing up. It involves weaving together the analytic narrative and data extracts, and contextualizing the analysis in relation to existing literature.

1. THEME 1: Struggle for Acceptance

This theme provides answers to the first research question, “How do people perceive biracial identities?”. Specifically, it details how biracial student themselves and their parents view biracial identity. The name comes from the second stage of Kich’s Biracial Identity Development Model (1992) which states that biracial adolescents go through a period of “struggle for acceptance”. This is the stage where they want their identity to be known, but are afraid that their differences will be judged. The characteristics of this period as described by Kich are well exemplified by the perspectives and experiences of biracial students and their parents in this study.

First, the biracial students’ desire for identity recognition is supported by the fact that all of them have no problem being called *half*(ハーフ). Some even said that they feel happy and special when they are called half Filipino-Japanese Erika, for example, said that she always receives remarks like “You are awesome” or “Cool” from her peers because she is half. Being called that way since they were young, they have become comfortable with the label. Also, for most of them, half is the only word they know to describe their biracial identity. Erika knows “mix” because that is what her Filipino father prefers to describe her identity while Tetsuya had been called *gaijin*(外人) by mistake many times before because of his Caucasian physical features:

Although it’s fine to be recognized as half, this does not mean that the biracial students are assertive of their identity. For example, most of them would not voluntarily disclose their biracial identity unless people ask. In particular, biracial students with roots from other Asian countries can choose not to reveal it and easily “pass” as monoracial Japanese. The younger ones like Hiro and Yuta had even dismissed its importance, saying their roots do not really matter. But as one grows older, the need for recognition of this identity becomes important. Ayumi, for instance, tried to be open and confident with her identity when she entered senior high school. According to her mother, who recalled the story, Ayumi felt the need to tell her classmates who had no idea that she is half-Indonesian. After that, her mother noticed a big change in her daughter as she became more relaxed and proud of her identity.

While the likes of Ayumi have the option to “come out” with their identity, others whose appearance or name are distinctly foreign cannot do so. For example, Erika who looks like a typical Japanese is usually not asked about her roots until people see her full name which is written in katakana. Since Erika uses her father’s Filipino surname, she cannot hide the fact that she has foreign roots. Kaito, on the other hand, has his full name in Japanese. But as half-African, his skin color makes his foreign roots obvious. The same is true for Tetsuya whose appearance is noticeably different from typical Japanese. His full name is also a combination of Japanese and foreign names. Their distinct names and appearance already speak of their differences, so it’s not important for them to tell people they are biracial unless asked for confirmation.

Another evident feature of the struggle for acceptance is the attempt to separate home from social life. According to Kich (1992), biracial adolescents feel the need to separate aspects of themselves, particularly between loyalty to the family and the need to be accepted by others in society. At this stage, they have learned to distance their family life from social life as “a defense against their fears of being rejected”. For example, although most of the parents said that their children enjoy the cuisine of their foreign parents, eating non-Japanese food is only done at home. None of the biracial students brings and eats ethnic food at school.

2. THEME 2: Identity Perception Gap

Theme 2 provides also provides answer to the first research question, particularly on how monoracial students and teachers perceive biracial identities. More importantly, however, Theme 2 directly answers the second research question. The data gathered from the four groups of participants reveal obvious differences between the perceptions of biracial students and parents and that of monoracial students and teachers. Their first point of difference is on the label half. While biracial students and parents have no issue with the term, monoracial students and teachers feel that caution must be taken when using it. For example, the monoracial students’ opinion on the propriety of the term half is divided between those who personally know biracial people and those who do not. For those who have biracial individuals as close friends, classmates, or neighbors, half is an acceptable label to use, having learned from their interactions with the biracial acquaintances. For those who do not personally know a biracial person, calling someone half seems impolite and might hurt the other person.

While the opinions of monoracial students are evenly divided, the teachers’ stand on the label “half” is unanimous. They acknowledge that it is the most common term used to describe biracial Japanese individuals and they might use to describe a biracial student to other people in a private conversation. However, they would never use it to describe a biracial student in front of the class or any public affair as it might sound inappropriate. As an English Teacher explains:

***I think it’s rude to call them half directly.** In general, half has a bad meaning, bad image. We should arrange a new name as double.*

For some teachers half has a negative connotation much like the older and more derogatory terms like *ainoko* (あいのこ) and *konketsuji* (混血児). Therefore, a few teachers believe that double as the more fitting label to use. Unfortunately, not a single participating biracial student in this study have heard of or know the term double. As discussed above, most students know half as the only label to describe their biracial identity. A few of them know mix, but not one had come across the word double. This signifies a huge difference in the perception and understanding of terms that describe the identity of the biracial students.

Another point of difference between the groups are the understanding of advantages and opportunities that biracial people have. For monoracial students and teachers, biracial students have more opportunities for work, travel, and education than other people. This is because their image of biracial students are people who have excellent knowledge of two cultures and two languages. Because of these characteristics, the students and teachers think that biracial students have developed a wider viewpoint which is advantageous for work, traveling, and studying.

***They have more opportunities.** As it is often the case for these children, they can choose their future in either in Japan or in another country. They have other choices because of their nationality. For example, I had a biracial student who was like that. She can speak English well, so she studied abroad. For Japanese students, going to a foreign university is rather difficult because of the language barrier. -Social Studies Teacher*

While a Social Studies Teacher’s assertion may be true for some students, it is far from the reality experienced by most of the participating biracial students. As discussed in the first theme, only two of the seven biracial students speak a foreign language well. Erika speaks English well while Tetsuya speaks Spanish fluently. In terms of cultural

knowledge, only Tetsuya was able to demonstrate during the interview a wide knowledge of his foreign parent's culture. The rest of the biracial students only speak Japanese and have limited knowledge and interest about their foreign parent's culture.

Parents' belief is a defining factor why most of the biracial students have limited linguistic or cultural knowledge of their foreign roots. For example, Asian parents believe that the only important thing is for their children to have basic and practical knowledge about their foreign roots. For example, for Indonesian parents, their only preoccupation is to teach their children the basic tenets of Islam such as prayer and food restrictions. For Filipino parents, the most important thing is that their children know the customs and courtesies in dealing with their relatives back home. In general, Asian parents do not discuss identity with their children, something which was confirmed by both Asian parents and their children during the interview. Hiro's mother, for example, recalled the time when Hiro was 10 years old, asking why he is also a Filipino. She did not answer as she thought that Hiro was too young to understand. For most of them, a deeper knowledge and understanding about their foreign roots and culture are not really important at a young age. They believe that this could be pursued when their children are much older and at their own decision. All Asian parents agree that learning Japanese language and lifestyle is the priority at the moment.

3. THEME 3: Indifference to Differences

Teachers believe that ethnic or cultural differences possessed by biracial students do not have a significant role on how they are perceived in the classroom. All participating teachers believe that treating biracial students the same way as any other student in the classroom is important for many reasons. Firstly, equal treatment and perception prevent unfavorable incidents like bullying. Teachers agree that biracial students, especially those who are non-Asian, are more vulnerable to bullying because of their differences. Therefore, they try to see their all students as the same, without putting emphasis on such differences as foreign roots.

The participating teachers said that bullying due to racial background often occurs in elementary grades and not in high school, something which was confirmed by most of the biracial students and parents during their interviews. In fact, most teachers were happy to report that no case of bullying due to race or nationality has occurred in their respective high schools. However, some teachers, shared stories of incidents where some biracial students felt ashamed for not living up to certain Japanese people's expectations or stereotypes of biracial people:

*In my experience in this school, **there was never a case of bullying because of nationality.** For biracial students whose looks are different from Japanese, monoracial students think they can speak fluent English. When biracial students can't speak fluent English, then they have some trouble, difficulty or they feel ashamed. - English Teacher*

The trouble with the English language is an incident encountered by Tetsuya. He did not personally mention it during the interview because he said that he was only bullied during the elementary school. But her mother recalled the story and thought that this particular episode may have had a negative impact to her son:

*The first problem I had was when Tetsuya was in first year junior high school. He went to a *mujinto* (無人島). Do you know *mujinto*? It's like an island without living people. It's a program by Y-Prefecture. He slept in a tent; he was alone. All of them spoke in English. And my son did not speak English because he didn't study English. When he came back, he told me this episode. So I thought something is happening. All the mothers are "Oh, he doesn't speak English?" But I never taught him English. So, his speaking skill is... At home, I only worry about Spanish. I never taught them English because our identity is with Spanish. - Tetsuya's Mother*

Tetsuya's mother said that her son eventually became a *fitouko* (不登校) for two years. Although her son never told her the reason for not attending school, she believes that the difficulty in learning English played a part of Tetsuya's troubles in school. Fearing that her son's problem might worsen, she decided to send Tetsuya to her country to live with his aunt so he would experience a change of atmosphere. Tetsuya shared during the interview

how he rediscovered his roots there and made many friends. After two months, her mother said that Tetsuya went back to Japan much better. He had survived his troubles and was able to enroll for first year senior high school where he is currently now.

Teachers also believe that, aside from preventing bullying, equal treatment is only logical because all their students are fundamentally the same in many aspects. For example, biracial students behave the same way as other students inside the classroom. Moreover, they are no different to their classmates in terms of academic achievement or performance. But the most important similarity teachers pointed out is the fact that biracial students have no language problem. For most teachers, the foreign roots of biracial students do not really matter inside the classroom if they speak Japanese. The principle is that if students do not pose a communication problem or barrier, then there is no need to address diversity or differences. After all, according to teachers, the main goal of education is to teach students, through the Japanese language, about Japanese system and society. This indicates that Japanese language is a primary indicator of *Japaneseness* as far as teachers are concerned. Therefore, the perception of biracial students' identities, and by extension, diversity in the classroom, are framed upon this language. As one teacher said:

There is no problem if they speak Japanese. *Most biracial students have no trouble speaking Japanese, so we don't think about the needs for cultural understanding. If the day comes when maybe 10 percent of the students cannot speak Japanese, then we will think more seriously.* - Japanese Language Teacher

In addition to the binding power of language, the diversity and differences biracial students bring are further downplayed by the teachers' strong conviction that Japan is not yet multicultural. Although some of them have acknowledged that Japan is gradually becoming multicultural, this diversity is greatly limited to metropolitan cities like Tokyo and Osaka where huge numbers of foreigners live. This is contrast to X City or Y Prefecture where, according to them, very few foreigners live. Multiculturalism is therefore framed upon the dichotomy between Japanese people and foreigners. The diverse roots of biracial students are therefore lost on this dichotomy as biracial students cannot be placed between the two, but only in the Japanese category. The implication of this is that most teachers, especially the older ones, downplay cultural differences and do not feel obliged to address the issues of diversity, multiculturalism, and citizenship in their classrooms. As one of the veteran teachers said:

*I don't think Japan is multicultural. It is a rare country. **Japanese are Japanese. Foreigners are foreigners.** Maybe students can accept [multiculturalism]. But not teachers.* -Math Teacher

But not all teachers share that conviction that Japan will stay the same. Some of them recognize the changing social landscape of Japan. Two young teachers, both Social Studies teachers, in fact, believe that the discussion on the changing concept of Japanese citizenship and nationality should be started. When asked about the possibility of having dual citizenship in Japan for biracial individuals, one of them said:

Yes, I think so. That you can choose only one doesn't seem to fit the present time. For example, between Japan and America, if both is important to you, then it would be difficult to choose, right? I think it's okay to widen it. I think we should rethink about what is our nationality for. - Social Studies Teacher

4. THEME 4: Missed Opportunities

Awareness about citizenship and nationality issues, the situation of biracial individuals and the larger picture of multiculturalism in Japan can be greatly advanced through education, particularly through classroom instruction. However, despite available opportunities, many teachers choose not to have deep discussions of issues surrounding citizenship, diversity, and multiculturalism in Japan. Hence, the theme's title "missed opportunities" For example, when asked whether multicultural issues are discussed in class, one student said:

*Tabunka kyousei shakai (多文化共生社会). I learned it once in Social Studies class. **But the specific details were not taught.** I don't think we discussed it." - Monoracial Student*

All students, both monoracial and biracial, also had the same response when asked particularly about class discussion of minority groups like *Ainu* (アイヌ), *Okinawans* (沖縄の人々), *Burakumins* (部落民), *Zainichi Koreans* (在日コリアン) and *foreign laborers* (外国人労働者). They said that those topics would often appear in Social Studies class but they were never the main topic. Some students remarked that they often see a small description about those topics written on the corner of their textbooks, but their teacher never paid attention on it in class.

When teachers were asked the same question, Social Studies teachers said that they teach those topics in class. Teacher A, for example said that there is a discussion in his class of the *Okinawans*, especially as they relate to the war period, the relations with China, and the current debates on US military bases. A Social Studies Teacher, on the other hand, said that his students learn about the *Burakumin* as part of the *Dowa kyouiku* (同和教育) which is allotted one hour in one academic year. *Okinawans*, *Ainu* and *Zainichi Koreans* are discussed “almost all throughout in Japanese history and a little in civics” while *foreign laborers* are discussed in his Civics class. While teachers assert that these topics are not just mentioned in passing, they admit the issues surrounding these minority groups are not emphasized as diversity and multicultural issues.

We don't think of the Okinawa people as a kind of diversity. At the time of World War II, the Japanese government treat-ed Okinawa, Korea, and Taiwan as the same. But after the war, the situation had become quite different. Okinawa became part of Japan. That's why they didn't really feel bad when they were given last names. They used it in Okinawa just like anywhere in Japan. Let's recognize the sense the Japanese has brought historically. - Social Studies Teacher

On racial discrimination, both teachers and students said that such topic is discussed in Social Studies and Moral Education classes. However, it is interesting to note that when asked to cite racial issues they have taught or learned, most of them enumerated racial problems outside Japan like discrimination of black people in the US, apartheid, White Australia Policy, and the Holocaust. One teacher, for example, said:

I teach about racism. I teach apartheid to third year students. In Japan, there is no detailed discussion of the subject matter, but I do talk about the fact that there are people who have been subject to such discrimination in course of the class. - Social Studies Teacher

It seems that the concept of racial discrimination and other forms of multicultural issues are foreign and not occurring in Japan. It is also probably the reason why when asked if multicultural issues were connected to the realities of the immediate community, like X City or Y Prefecture, their answer is no. For example, one teacher said that they know, see, and heard stories about foreign workers in the city, but these things are never discussed in the classroom. In other instances, tackling racial discrimination and multicultural issues head are avoided if teachers feel it would be too controversial or hurtful for some of their students. A teacher, for example, said that if he has biracial Korean students in his class, he wouldn't discuss the discrimination against *Zainichi Koreans* as this might make them uncomfortable.

Avoiding controversy and discomfort is also probably why the issue of biracial individuals in Japan are never discussed in the classroom. According to biracial students, they have never heard of discussion or even mention of topics about biracial individuals in the classroom, not even about the high-profile controversy surrounding Naomi Osaka. Most biracial students learn more about their issues in informal settings like chatting with friends or searching Internet. Tetsuya, for example, remarked that:

I learn it outside, not in class or school, but in other places like when eating meals or in parties with the acquaintances of my mother... those kinds of exchanges; not really in school. -Tetsuya

When asked if there are opportunities in the school or classroom where their identity are recognized or can be expressed, most of them said there is none. Most of them said they have never talked about or shared anything about

their foreign roots in the classroom. However, a few biracial students and parents mentioned that one opportunity they are able to share something about their foreign culture is through an activity called *jiyukenkkyu* (自由研究) or independent research. *Jiyukenkkyu* is a summer homework where junior high school students can explore their topic of interest during their vacation. Kaito's mother and the German Father said that the frequent topic of their children's *jiyukenkkyu* is about the country of their foreign parent. According to them, that is the only time they their children are able to share something about their roots. Among the biracial students, only Erika mentioned the same:

Yes, in jiyukenkkyu. Philippines is always my topic. For example, this year, I wrote about the mangrove forest we visited this summer in my father's hometown. It was easy to explain - Erika

Teachers confirmed that they don't have lessons or programs that engage the identity of biracial students. Most of them are in the opinion that biracial students do not like to talk about their differences or foreign roots in front of the class. So unless the students is "openly biracial" or show confidence and comfort in talking about his identity, they will not engage it. The principle of teachers is best summed up by A teacher who said that "if they don't show it, we don't touch it." For teachers, the foreign roots of the children are personal as it will touch on family matters, a topic is which is off limits.

The teachers admit that they are not provided training nor talk about multicultural issues in teacher conferences and seminars in city or prefectural levels. But they believe that the current curriculum and textbooks are enough in helping students learn and understand cultural diversity and multiculturalism in Japan and around the world. Students learn about many different cultures in Social Studies and English while they learn the value of respecting differences in Moral Education. For the teachers this is already enough to mold their students to become citizens who understand diversity and multiculturalism.

Furthermore, they believe that while instilling respect for differences is important, it is only one of the important components of developing good citizens out of their students. More than recognizing differences such as foreign roots, it is more important for teachers to form citizens who uphold Japanese values and sensibilities like obeying the law, voluntary cooperation, *omoiyari* (思いやり), *ganbaru* (頑張る), *gaman* (我慢), and so on. Having manners like courtesy and gentleness was also often cited as an important quality and measurement of a good Japanese citizen. This opinion is not just shared by teachers, but also by students and parents as well. These ideas remain to be the most important things to be instilled in citizenship education. The importance of respecting differences also was mentioned, but this if often discussed alongside the preservation of Japanese original culture. Social studies teachers emphasized on teaching of the rights and duties of a citizen, particularly on voting rights, as a focus of citizenship education. But only one of them talked about teaching critical thinking as an important component of citizenship education. No one mentioned the importance of openness and change which is important in transforming society, especially in the context of increasing diversity and multiculturalism in Japan.

IV Conclusion

The four main themes describe participants' view of biracial identities and their development and engagement in schools, particularly in citizenship education classes. Theme 1 details the biracial students' "struggle for acceptance" as their self-recognition of their two identities is challenged by the limited means of expressing and nurturing it outside home. It also discusses the different perceptions and responses of biracial parents regarding their children's biracial status. Theme 2 answers describes how monoracial students and teachers view biracial identities. Their perceptions reveals considerable differences with that of the biracial students and parents, highlighting "identity perception gaps". Theme 3 explains how teachers' "indifference to differences" influence the way they approach the teaching of citizenship and the recognition of biracial identities and diversity in the classroom. Lastly, Theme 4 describes citizenship education's focus on teaching Japanese values and good manners. It is also details the very few

opportunities biracial students have for expressing their unique identities, indicating “missed opportunities” to help their students, particularly biracial students, understand their identity and make sense of Japan’s increasing social and cultural diversity.

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※※ Ferdinand Pol Martin: II , III and Interview

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