The Representation of Race and Ethnic Relations in Japanese Junior High School English Language Textbooks from 1987 to 2002

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THE REPRESENTATION OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS IN JAPANESE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL ENGLISH LANGUAGE TEXTBOOKS FROM 1987 TO 2002

by

Mieko Yamada

A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Department of Sociology
Dr. Paula Brush, Advisor

Western Michigan University
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This dissertation explores how cultural attitudes about race/ethnicity are taught and how international power relations are expressed in Japanese junior high school textbooks. In a content analysis of Japanese junior high school textbooks in English as a foreign language, I examine how race and ethnic relations were expressed and what types of interracial communication took place in the textbooks. Applying the racial formation theory developed by Omi and Winant (1994) and the concept of color-blind racism by Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003), I explain how cultural ideology towards racial and ethnic relations were guided in the Japanese English language textbooks.

Fifteen English language textbooks published between 1987 and 2002 were subjected to content and discourse analyses. In content analysis, both pictures and texts were studied to determine political and economic relations from two different perspectives: international and national foci. At the international level, I analyzed the representations of the nation and race diversity around the world. From the national level, I identified what racial groups and nationalities were expressed and how often they appeared in the textbooks. To examine types of interactions and power relations between speakers in depth, discourse analysis was employed. In discourse analysis, I
uncovered who took the initiative in conversation (or who has power to take the initiative in a dialogue), and how the conversation took place.

The representation of various nations and regions presented in the textbooks shows significant relations but also reflects complex political and economic relations and "conflicts and tensions" between Japan and other countries. With the increasing attention to internationalization and globalization, it is important for students to learn cultural sensitivity as well as technical communication skills. I finally suggest that teaching race and ethnic diversity should be included in the foreign language curriculum.
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I thank my family and friends in Japan for being patient with me and giving me countless love and support. I finally dedicate my appreciation and love to my grandfather living in my heart forever.

Mieko Yamada
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores how cultural attitudes about race and ethnicity are taught and how international power relations are expressed in Japanese junior high school textbooks in English as a foreign language. The specific focus is to study what racial groups appeared and how they were portrayed. Examining interactions (i.e. conversations), I will find what types of power relations were created in the textbooks. My research questions are three-fold: to uncover whether and how the English language textbooks recognized race relations and their conflicts; to identify whether and how they tackled racial and ethnic conflicts (i.e. prejudice and discrimination) within Japan as well as in international settings; and finally to examine whether and how the textbook content contributed to elimination of racism.

This dissertation will deal with aspects of Japan’s International Education Curriculum through a content analysis of the Japanese English language textbooks to, which English language learners may be exposed. I will scrutinize how ideological messages regarding race were selected and expressed in the textbooks, which reflects the ideological orientation in the Japan’s internationalization policies.

Japan as a Multicultural Nation

With the increasing attention to internationalization and globalization, Japan’s multiplicity and diversity has become visible. There is a prevailing view that Japan is a homogeneous, group-oriented, and monolithic country. Despite the dominant view of Japanese society as racially and ethnically homogenous, a number of observers of
Japan have recently challenged the notion of Japan being homogeneous and argued its diversity and multiplicity (Befu, 2000; Lie, 2001; Maher and Macdonald, 1995; Marshall, 1994; McCormack, 1996; McVeigh, 2004; Sugimoto, 2003; Weiner, 1997; Yoshino, 1992).

From historical perspectives, the myth of Japan’s homogeneity may even mislead understandings of Japan’s past and present (Marshall, 1994; McVeigh, 2004). Brian McVeigh (2004) points out that much of the scientific work on Japan reinforces the myth of Japan’s homogeneity. This concept is also used to reinforce Japanese cultural nationalism. “[T]he state has advocated and nativist ideologies have constructed notions of ‘homogeneity’ and ‘purity’ (McVeigh, 2004: ix).” Although the expressions such as homogeneous, harmonious and collectivist are often used to describe Japan, they do not fully explain the individuals of modern Japan. Therefore, the idea of Japan as a multicultural society is not new and recent, but rather has been neglected.

The ideology of Japanese homogeneity might be used to persuade the Japanese to believe in Japan as a pure and single race nation. In the external world, Japan as a single-race nation has produced its economic growth and made it one of the political leaders in a global community by expanding Japan’s transnational and international corporations. On the domestic level, however, the idea of Japan’s being homogeneous often blinds the observers to the multiplicity and diversity of individuals living in Japan and even neglects the existence of minorities (Sugimoto, 2003). Even the former Prime Minister, Nakasone, remarked that the weakness in the United States is due to the existence of minorities. The concept of multiculturalism was once regarded as an obstacle to maintain social conformity because it would allow individuals to express their differences and promote a sense of self-esteem,
thereby creating conflicts and strain within the nation.

I begin this dissertation by challenging the view of Japan’s homogeneity. I focus on political decisions and educational policies during the Nakasone Administration because they were all parts of Japan’s Internationalization. I argue that Japan experiences contradictions between multiculturalism and homogeneity. Japan’s recent multicultural diversity and its international position have influenced the development of International Education. Although internationalization of Japanese education emerges from economic and political demands inside and outside of Japan, it also produces the tension and conflict between nationalism and internationalism. Several researchers (Campbell, 1987; Ishii, 2001; Lincicome, 1993; McCormack, 1996) claim that Japan’s educational reform in the 1990s shows its nationalism. While international education is intended to promote moral development of the individual through understanding different cultures, Japan’s current curriculum aims to strengthen Japanese conformity. The purpose of Japan’s internationalization is to affirm Japan’s strong nationalism to the world, not to understand other countries. I attempt to reveal how Japan understands the concepts of multiculturalism and homogeneity and how its position on these issues influences the way it teaches Japanese students.

What is the aim of International education? What ideology guides it? What power relations are included in that ideology? Focusing on Japan’s international position from the 1980s to the present, I examine how international power relations are expressed and how the Japanese school curriculum addresses racial and ethnic diversity around the world by studying Japanese English textbooks. In content and discourse analyses of Japanese junior high school textbooks in English as a foreign language, I analyze how race and ethnic relations were taught and what types of
interracial communication took place in the textbooks. More specifically, I will explore how the textbooks situate Japan in an international community (where people from different race and ethnic background interact) and how Japan recognizes its multicultural diversity.

**English Language Curriculum in Japan's International Education**

English as a foreign language has long been considered an important subject to teach in Japan’s International Education policy. A growing number of Japanese students are traveling abroad to study. They will be required to speak English as their second language in many situations. Some students will be working within international companies in Japan. Others will be interacting in societies that have a great deal of cultural diversity such as the United States. Japan plays a significant role, what is often described as a borderless world. Does Japan’s International Education help students to play an active part in international societies? It is necessary to investigate what is taught and how it is taught in International Education.

In response to political and economic demands, the English language curriculum has been drastically changed. While Japan’s English language education traditionally focused on grammar, reading and writing, the curriculum started to stress communicative skills in 1989. Textbooks may teach conversational English and introduce various cultures and people in the world. If communication in English is considered important, it is inevitable for students to learn cultural sensitivity. I argue that the including the study of race and ethnicity in Japan’s International Education

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1 The objectives of foreign languages are “To develop students' basic practical communication abilities such as listening and speaking, deepening the understanding of language and culture, and fostering a positive attitude toward communication through foreign languages” (The Course of Study for Lower Secondary Schools, 2003: http://www.mext.go.jp/english/shotou/030301.htm).
programs is crucial in the future. This is important because every person who uses or acts on the basis of their international education will engage in practices that affect or reproduce existing social arrangements.

This research will examine how Japan’s multicultural and international status, as well as its diversity and multiplicity, are constructed and represented in the school curriculum. I suggest that teaching racial and ethnic diversity should become important in International Education. Racial and ethnic dynamics should be taught as this helps to reduce discrimination and prejudice. When I began this research, I hypothesized that current education in Japan does not teach racial and ethnic dynamics and that the issue of prejudice and discrimination against certain groups of people are rarely discussed in textbooks. Although Japanese students are encouraged to be international persons by learning a new language and learning how to communicate in different cultures, their textbooks may not pay much attention to race and ethnic relations in the world. Japanese students who study in their country may receive or reproduce unfair treatment on the basis of their class, gender, race and/or ethnic situation. Educators have to consider possible issues that students will face in the future when they come to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds.

International Issues - Japan and the World

Despite the fact that Japan has experienced multicultural diversity, ethnocentrism still strongly remains in many situations. Some Japanese social psychologists suggest that the Japanese may experience a sense of inferiority toward the West and a sense of superiority toward other Asian countries (Sugimoto, 2003). Japanese political leaders have frequently showed their ethnocentric views, referring
to the superiority of the Japanese race, a race “uncontaminated” by other races. Moreover, some Japanese politicians have revealed their racist comments to the public (Russell, 1991a, 1991b; Sugimoto, 2003). The myth of Japan as racially and ethnically homogeneous may make the Japanese race-blind or color-blind. It is essential to examine how Japan’s International Education promotes students’ understanding of differences within/among societies and cultures and how they are educated to see themselves as international persons.

National Issues within Japan

I contend that International Education will help raise awareness of the issues of minority groups in Japan. According to Sugimoto (2003), there are four minority groups in Japan: Ainu, Korean descendents, Buraku-min or social outcasts, and foreign workers. Many Japanese may not be aware of prejudice and discrimination against these minority groups. Racism will remain invisible in Japan unless the issues are openly discussed. Awareness of existing differences based on race and ethnicity will help students to consider that there are marginalized and excluded people, based on class, race/ethnicity and gender. This will enable the students to consider possible solutions to the issue of unfairness that marginalized people experience.

Through a study of texts, I will identify what topics/events are introduced and whose stories are told. Through this process, I will also uncover if Japanese textbooks recognize the four minority groups in Japan such as indigenous Ainu (Japanese aboriginal people), Korean descendents, Buraku-min or social outcasts, and foreign workers, and if so, how they explain their lives. I will investigate if and how interactions between Japanese and minorities in Japan take place.
Methodology

Given the hypothesis that Japan is a multicultural society, it is valuable to apply the concept of race and racism to analyze how cultural attitudes about race/ethnicity are taught and how international power relations are expressed in Japanese junior high school textbooks. Two analytical approaches are employed. While content analysis is used to gather broad and basic information, discourse analysis is conducted to examine power relations in conversations. In content analysis, both texts and pictures will be studied from two perspectives: international and national foci. At the international level, I will analyze the representation of the nation and race diversity in countries around the world. On the national level, I will identify what racial groups and nationalities were expressed and how often they appeared in the textbooks. Discourse analysis will focus on texts to study how power-dependence relations between speakers were negotiated and constructed. In discourse analysis, I will scrutinize who took the initiative of conversation (i.e., who had power over whom in the dialogue) and how the conversation took place in detail.

Textbooks serve as an important means to deliver political and ideological orientation. Dellinger (1995) views language as a type of social practice used for representation and signification. Texts, including textbooks, are written by socially situated persons. Thus, textbook descriptions can be examined as a social product. Content analysis offers the opportunity to understand meanings of acts in the social context of the situation or event where it takes place. The appearance or disappearance of coverage of nations and/or races in textbooks will be studied to indicate important international relations. In the text analysis, I will examine how social, political and economic structures were embedded in the organization of textbooks and how the textbooks represent the reproduction or legitimation of power.
Pictures and drawings can be designed as individual or group pictures. I will identify what people are doing, who they are with, and what role they play in those pictures. If Japanese appear in a picture, I intend to determine if racial and ethnic differences are depicted. If people from other countries appear in a picture, I will identify what countries are depicted and what racial and ethnic groups appear. If a picture shows interaction between/among both Japanese and people from different countries, role (what role each person plays and how they interact), power (status differences) and action (who is acting and how he/she is acting) will be examined. Pictures are used to explain and emphasize texts. In the process of picture analysis, I will investigate how pictures were used by referring to titles and their subjects.

The representation of various nations and regions presented in the textbooks will show significant relations but also reflect political and economic “conflicts and tensions” between Japan and other countries. I assume that there are tensions between localization and globalization presented in Japan’s English language textbooks. Cultural conflicts and tensions which occur in Japan may also be found.

**Significance of This Study**

My research encompasses three fields: the Sociology of Education, Race and Ethnic Relations, and Japan Studies. It will provide important findings because little literature has mentioned race and ethnic relations while studying the content of English language textbooks in Japan’s secondary education although many studies concerning textbooks are found. While content analyses of textbooks have been conducted in both fields of education and sociology, it is rare to see an in-depth study of racial ideology (i.e. race and ethnic formation) in discourse analysis of Japanese secondary school textbooks. I believe that my study will contribute to cross-cultural
and multicultural studies as well as research in Comparative and International Education.

Many studies in the field of comparative and international education have identified ideological shifts in school curricula and textbooks in countries undergoing political transformation and socioeconomic changes. By analyzing syllabi, textbooks and literature, Adamson and Morris (1997) examined English curriculum in junior secondary schools in China. They examined how school curriculum objectives, content, and pedagogical approaches had been used between 1950s and 1990s. Cary (1976) explored how Marxist-Leninism ideology is treated in history, geography and social science textbooks published in 1970. Lisovskaya and Karpov (1999) investigated the ideological tendencies represented in postcommunist Russian high school textbooks in the humanities and the social sciences. Russian textbooks represent a new ideological constellation, composed of contradictory ideological orientations, including the symbols of nationalism, westernization, and reinterpretation of communism, shaped by the conflict and coexistence of powerful social and political forces. Jansen (1991) assessed curricula in postcolonial Zimbabwe through content analysis of curriculum documents and newspaper articles as well as interviews with officials in the Ministry of Education.

Furthermore, a number of researchers have studied sociology textbooks to assess their coverage of gender, race and ethnicity. Dennick-Brecht (1993) investigated the nature of the portrayal of racial and ethnic groups in sociology textbooks and found that they were limited to neutral objective information about racial and ethnic groups, their history, physical distribution, and economic status (Ibid: 167). Ferree and Hall (1990) focused on visual images provided in introductory sociology textbooks and examined how images of gender and race are constructed in
the textbooks. Their findings suggested that white women have gender while women of color have only race. White men and boys visually dominated the institutions of politics and economy. Stone (1996) studied the coverage of race and ethnic groups by assessing the following three aspects: the extent, ghettoization, and inclusiveness or topical breadth of coverage. Her findings suggested that while race-ethnic coverage is found to be extensive, it is ghettoized or confined to a single chapter on race. In content analysis of marriage and family textbooks, Shaw-Taylor and Benokraitis (1995) investigated texts to determine how four minority groups (African Americans, Asian Americans, Latino Americans, and Native Americans) are portrayed. They concluded that marriage and family textbooks still focused little attention to minorities. Although people of color constitute over 25 percent of the population, 2.1 percent of the space was devoted to racial-ethnic families (Ibid: 122).

Japanese textbooks are also examined in the field of academics and journalism. How Japanese nationalism is expressed within textbooks draws many observers’ attention. In particular, contents of social studies and history textbooks are controversial and sensitive issues when it comes to the position of Japan in Asia. Japan’s nationalism and its wartime aggression expressed in textbooks are often examined (Gerow, 2000; McCormack, 2000; Yamazaki, 1987). Some scrutinize the politics of Japan’s textbook screening system (Tani, at al, 1993; Murai, 2001; Yamazaki, 1987). Censorship in Japanese textbooks is often criticized, and the case of Saburo Ienaga’s lawsuit in 1965 especially drew much attention to the criticism towards the government’s censorship in Japanese textbooks (Duke, 1978; Nozaki and Inokuchi, 2000; Yamazaki, 1987).

Studying the content of Japanese language textbooks for Japanese learners as a second language, Akemi Dobson (2004) explores how Japanese people and Japan are
portrayed and how cultural nationalism is presented in the textbooks. She finds that the language textbook can be a vehicle of Japanese cultural nationalism by sharing the worldview expressed within its discourse. "The pervasiveness of nationalism in today's world means that the ideology of cultural nationalism is part of our linguistic system and that it is impossible to speak without occasionally endorsing it" (Ibid: 128). Drawing on this argument, I see important connections between national ideology and language education. It is impossible to teach a language without teaching and understanding its culture and nationalism. Through learning English language textbooks as an international language, Japanese students will learn an international community and various cultures as well as the language itself. My focus here is to pursue how Japanese ideologies of internationalism and nationalism are interpreted and extended in the English textbooks.

As described above, it is rare to see the content analysis of English language textbooks in reference to how racial and ethnic relations are represented. My intention in this study is to examine the tension between Japanese nationalism and the ideology of internationalism in the analysis of the representation of racial and ethnic relations. I hope to provide international and global context through my research.

An Outline of This Study

This study aims to explore how racial and ethnic relations in Japan as well as around the world are taught and how international relations are expressed in English language textbooks used in Japan. I intend to examine the power of teaching English language as a foreign language in Japan. Before discussing the analysis of the representation of race and ethnic relations in the textbooks, I conceptualize theoretical frameworks of education and textbooks.
Chapter II explains theories of the sociology of education with discussing ideologies in education and textbooks, Japan’s International Education, English Language Curriculum, and English language textbooks in Japan. In order to understand how cultural attitudes toward race and ethnicity were taught in Japanese English language textbooks, theoretical frameworks of race and ethnic relations developed in the cases of the United States are discussed to understand race and ethnicity in the global context. As the global movement of capital and labor has increased, racial and ethnic awareness is also becoming internationalized. Theorizing racial formation and hegemony in global context, Winant (1994) argues that racial space has become globalized in terms of colonialism, conquest, and migration.

Much of the available theory on race and ethnic relations is focused on explaining US race relations. In this study, I draw on relevant and applicable conceptualizations to understand Japanese textbook descriptions of race and ethnicity. Within the context of social, political and economic movements, a number of scholars try to interpret the changing scope of racial and ethnic identities and articulate changing situations. I apply the conceptual frameworks of Omi and Winant (1994) and Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003) to my study of representations of racial and ethnic relations in Japanese textbooks.

Chapter III explains methodology and research methods. I utilized both content and discourse analytical approaches. In content analysis, I gather basic information of the textbooks for my study. Discourse analysis was used to examine the textbook content in depth. Japan’s junior high school English language textbooks (Grade 7-9) with copyright dates between 1987 and 2002 have been published five times (in 1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, and 2002). A total of fifteen textbooks were subjected to content analysis. The textbooks, entitled New Horizon: English Course
(Tokyo Shoseki Co Ltd.), are chosen because these are the most widely used in Japan.

Each textbook contains thirteen to fifteen lessons and features main characters who are junior high school students. The textbook content describes a variety of episodes, from everyday conversations and events held by the characters to folk stories from overseas as well as Japan. Throughout the lessons in each textbook, there is a series of story by the main characters. However, from time to time, a story independently appears between lessons. Therefore, I categorize all the lessons by country and by characters for the content analysis.

Chapter IV explores how the diversity of nation and race was recognized, based on two angles: international and national foci. As an international focus, I will identify how the nations and race diversity around the world is expressed in the textbooks. From a national focus, I will find what racial groups living in Japan were selected and how they were represented. In content analysis, both texts and pictures will be examined.

Chapter V provides the results of discourse analysis. Although Japanese English language textbooks tended to introduce a variety of countries and cultures over time, they inevitably describe American people and culture. In discourse analysis, I will uncover how power over conversation was negotiated. Focusing on figures described in each edition, I examine how Japanese and Americans' utterances are expressed and what topics are discussed in the conversations. I intend to explicate Japan's position and power relation from the conversation analysis.

Finally, Chapter VI presents the conclusion of this study. The representation of various nations and regions presented in the textbooks reveals significant relations but also reflects complex political and economic relations and "conflicts and tensions" between Japan and other countries. With the increasing attention to
internationalization and globalization, it is important for students to learn cultural sensitivity as well as technical communication skills. I finally suggest that teaching race and ethnic diversity should be included in the foreign language curriculum.
CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Ideology and Education

Ideology is central to our beliefs and actions. It is considered as not only a set of institutions but also as cultural and ideological practices. Geertz (1964) defines ideologies as “systems of interacting symbols, as patterns of interworking meanings (56),” which are generated by social and cultural practices. Thus, ideology relates particular actions and mundane practices with a wider set of meanings (Apter, 1964). It organizes and legitimates one’s actions.

Ideology is connected to power. Tollefson (1991) and London (2003) see ideology in common sense and argue that the assumptions accepted as common sense depend on the power structure that obtains in society. “The crucial element...is not whether the ideology is true or false but how it comes to be believed in (London, 2003: 297).” According to London (2003), while ideologies may reflect interests of social groups, they work through and on individuals. We receive information and learn certain ideas through social institutions such as family, church, and school. These institutions may help contribute to reproduction of the dominant culture and its value system. The power of ideology exists in its persuasiveness. Ideological symbols do not refer to coherent or logical structures, but the ideological meanings shaped by social practices, cultural orientations, and historical processes.

Education is strongly connected to the production and reproduction of unequal power (Apple, 1985, 1995, 1999; Giroux, 1989; Popkewitz, 1991; Sleeter and Grant,
Apple (1985) explains the process of ideological production and reproduction in education, pointing out that "the school is not only an agent through which the ruling classes impose a dominant ideology and maintain the state's hegemony over the governed. Rather, the school is a site where different classes and interest groups regularly engage in ideological struggles over meaning, values, and principles (cited by Lincicome, 1993: 125)." By integrating ideological elements, consensus can be gained and the sense that practices based on these contending groups can be maintained (Apple, 1985).

Giroux (1989) discusses that schooling functions to reproduce the class structure; he suggests a focus on the hidden curriculum. Reproduction refers to texts and social practices whose messages are embedded in specific historical settings and social contexts. He explores a significant link between popular culture and pedagogical practice, and attempts to redefine the relationship among knowledge, power, and desire. Texts/contents emerging from popular culture create a new discourse which helps reconstruct the discourse of school policy and pedagogical planning. It is crucial to view schools as places not only for the acquisition of knowledge but also for production of social practices which provide students with a sense of place, identity, worth and value.

Popkewitz (1991) examines educational reform and school change in the context of history, institutional practices and epistemologies. Concerned with the relation between power and knowledge embedded in texts, speech, and discourse within school curriculum, he points out that power shapes, limits and represses knowledge that enables us to express our desires, needs and interests. Interpreting the historical path of school change in the United States and considering educational reform as a discourse of social organization and regulation, Popkewitz (1991) argues
that the studies of educational reform throughout the past did not focus on change itself but tried to maintain stability, harmony and continuities within the existing school reform, standards and professional practices. The knowledge of schooling and the concept of educational reform have been formed in historically constructed patterns and power relations. He challenges the idea of progress as tied to social development through utilitarian focus and the acceptance of the progressive role of the state. In order to construct and reconstruct society, we have to pay attention to the autonomy of intellectuals, or that is, "who have authority to speak and what is authorized as speech (Popkewitz, 1991: 245)." Intellectual discourse should be recognized as a place of struggle to reconstruct a social reality and consider school change.

Education is not a neutral instrumentality but "inherently political, as an arena in which various groups attempt to institutionalize their cultures, histories, and visions of social justice (Apple, 1999: 11)." Although multiple traditions and realities exist in the process of schooling, the school curriculum is based on selective traditions. That is, only some from the vast universe of possible knowledge gets to be official, or declared legitimate. The school curriculum is a central factor in the establishment and maintenance of the power and authority structures both of the society and the school. Schooling reflects conflicts, contradictions, and pressures in society. These conflicts and contradictions are complex phenomena and need to be examined in various contexts such as history, politics, social and cultural structures. This analysis helps to understand social phenomena and articulate the relationships between the ways educational systems operate and affirm the political, economic and cultural structures in the larger society.

Eggleston (1977) categorizes the systems of schooling into two major
functions: interaction system (micro system) and values/power system (macro system). Under the interaction or the micro system, we can observe four systems: examination, teaching, control and administration. The examination system is concerned with assessment, identification and labeling of both teachers and students. The teaching system influences the division of labour in the curriculum in which students and teachers interact. The control system is often seen as rewards and punishments. Through the control system, behavioral norms and disciplinary roles as teachers/students are established. The administrative system is concerned with attendance, health, welfare, guidance and other groupings.

The macro level system of schooling is the values/power system. The system of values and power lies at the center of any social institution. The value system is involved with significant decision-makings. This value system is also linked to the power system by observing in what ways and by whom decisions are made and how they are implemented. “Thus a school may be seen to be characterized by a ‘repressive tolerance’ with a value system that appears to tolerate a wide range of alternative behaviours yet, in its very ‘toleration,’ creates a power structure that represses them through, perhaps, strategies of delayed or insensitive response to challenges to the established power structure (Ibid: 10).” The linkage of the values and power is one of the most important issues in the study of school curriculum. For example, textbooks are used to undertake teachers’ roles in the classroom to pursue the system of values and power. The representation of textbooks is supported and becomes legitimated. The legitimacy is conferred on their activities by the values and power systems. The norm and power system must reflect what is acceptable to the normative and power structure of society as well as school.
Ideology in Textbooks

Curriculum content, including textbooks, relates to power. Sleeter and Grant (1991: 79) argue that debates about curriculum content can be understood “as struggles for power to define the symbolic representation of the world and society, that will be transmitted to the young, for the purpose of either gaining or holding onto power.” They argue that representations in books and other media relate to power on three significant dimensions. First, symbolic representations are often used to confer legitimacy on dominant groups. Materials selected by dominant groups confirm the status of those groups whose culture and accomplishments are important. Secondly, symbolic representations render socially constructed relations as natural. What constitutes good literature or legitimate activity is described within a text. One may overlook the fact that the validity of images projected in textbooks can be debated. Thirdly, it is important to be aware that the curriculum screens certain ideas and knowledge. Given limited access to information, students are supposed to think and act in a certain way but not to consider other possibilities. In this sense, the curriculum serves as a method of social control. “It legitimates existing social relations and the status of those who dominate, ... (Ibid: 80).” Knowledge helps control power and social activity.

Textbooks determine material conditions for teaching and learning but also define what elite or legitimate culture is passed on (Apple, 1999). The textbook signifies “particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that universe of possible knowledge (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991: 3).” Various groups in power attempt to institutionalize their cultures, histories, and visions of social justice. Although multiple traditions and realities exist in the process of schooling, the school curriculum is based on selective traditions (Apple and
Christian-Smith, 1991). The choice of contents is related both to existing relations of domination and to struggles to alter these relations. Therefore, the representation of textbooks is the consequence of constant struggles and compromises for power.

Textbooks can be understood and examined as curricular materials, which project images of society and culture. They reflect historical, social, cultural and ideological manifestations. Textbooks have been revised with the shift of sociocultural, economic and political contexts. Due to the increasing attention to internationalization and globalization of politics and economy, educational reform has been claimed in many nations. Ideological changes due to the influence of globalization and international relations may be presented in textbooks and can be examined through text analysis. The textbook has become a major source of cultural and ideological conflict in many nations. In Japan, textbooks with the government’s approval are only used at Japanese elementary and secondary schools. The selection of information in the textbook is based on governmental decision. It is important to be aware of the controversies over textbooks, that is, whose knowledge is included and excluded in textbooks. This also leads to an examination of how ideological orientations are selected and addressed in the school textbooks.

Globalization and Education

Globalization is the process by which the world is transformed into a single global system. Beck (2000: 23) describes the world as “in a container”. The “container” scheme contains both internal and external differentiated societies: “All kinds of social practices – production, culture, language, labour market, capital, education – are stamped and standardized, defined and rationalized, by the national state, but at least are labeled as national economy, national language, literature, public
Globalization is mainly explained in three major theoretical concepts. First, the economic dimension of globalization refers to the expansion and transformation of capitalism into an integrated global economy. Secondly, cultural globalization is the result of development of mass tourism, increase of migration, commercialization of cultural products such as McDonaldization and wide-spread ideology of consumerism. The mass media plays a central role in power by bringing a greater range of possibilities into people's everyday lives. Finally, political globalization indicates the rise of international agencies which regulate the global economy and limit the freedom of nation states.

Globalization is identified with not only the process of globalization in terms of economy, culture and politics but also a new type of confusion such as interracial or ethnic conflicts, contradiction and tension between human and civil rights. It describes the complexity of cultural, economic and political integrations and disintegrations and suggests a threat to the continuity and authenticity of local cultures, and a protest against homogenization of cultures. Globalization and hybridization tends to create greater ethnic and religious tensions.

Based on the concept of globalization, international education is considered as the result of conflicts emerging from race/ethnicity, religions, gender and so forth. According to Cambridge and Thompson (2004: 162-164), the concept of international education is often discussed in the field of comparative education, which emerges from a theoretical tradition of academic studies making comparisons between national systems. While comparative education has a strong theoretical tradition, international education is more heavily based on its application and practice. International education is recognized in the context of international development aid and the
exchange of expertise between national education systems (Ibid). In this sense, the ideology of international education looks towards the development of international attitudes and awareness (Watson, 1999). International education is identified with a philosophy of education through international understanding.

A number of researchers examine the tension between internationalism and globalization in the context of education (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004; Jones, 1998; Leach, 1969). While the logic of internationalism refers to the promotion of global peace and well-being through the development of international structures, globalization is explained as economic integration through the establishment of a global market with free trade and a minimum regulation. That is, both emphasize opposite directions: The former stresses conformity and unity, but the latter promotes diversity and individuality. A tension emerges between internationalism and globalization in the practice of international education. In this sense, international education may refer to the reconciliation of a dilemma between ideological and pragmatic interests (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004).

An ideology of international education appears to form dual aspirations for international understanding and free global trade. However, internationalization may result in negative consequences. Leach (1969) is well aware of a dilemma between nationalism and internationalism. From his observation at an international school in Geneva, Leach (1969: 5) argues that “nationalism serves as the greatest divider of human kind” although internationalism may promote international understanding, world peace, and cultural tolerance. “A dilemma was also recognized between pragmatism, expressed in terms of the development of an academic qualification that would be widely accepted for university entrance throughout the world, and ideological principles of peace and international understanding (Cambridge and
Cambridge and Thompson, (2004) argue that the internationalist view of international education places importance on the moral development of the individual. While the internationalist view of international education may emphasize the moral development of the individual, the pragmatic globalist view of international education may be identified with the processes of economic and cultural globalization. “Internationalism in international education does appear for world peace and understanding between nations. However, it may be argued that, besides harbouring such internationalist aspirations, international education is also part of the process of economic globalization (Ibid: 168).” International education may respond to the need of a global market. It is influenced by globalization but it also facilitates the spread of free market values (Cambridge and Thompson, 2004). In this view, international education may lead to competition with national education systems. Ideological conflicts emerge from a dilemma between the trend of “cooperation” through international relations and “competition” through economic and political globalization.

This conflict may be observed in Japan’s international education. A nation’s position in the international community has a great impact on its education system as well as society, politics, and economy. Japan’s emergence as an economic superpower attracted the world’s attention. With its economic achievement, Japan was expected to increase its interactions with and make greater contributions to the international community in the 1980s (Umakoshi, 1997). While Japan enjoyed its success, it also experienced internal and external conflicts. In particular, the 1980s and 1990s witnessed Japan’s political and economic upheavals. Due to a series of publicized political corruption scandals, one-party dominance had given way to a new coalition
government in 1993 (Kingston, 2001: 28-29). Reforms and changes in the public sphere such as politics, economy, and education were frequently reported in the press. In the world context, there were the major shifts such as the end of the Cold War in 1989 and the outbreak of the Gulf War in 1991. Japan’s foreign policies stressed its international contribution by participating in the United Nations’ peace-keeping missions and cooperating with the United States in regional security (Ibid: 61-64). These events increased Japan’s international responsibility, which may require Japan to acquire “Western” ways of communication skills through learning the English language.

However, international education does not mean to learn only Western and English-speaking cultures. It is important to note that Japan plays a significant role in its neighbors in Asia. The tension is often created between Asian economies and Japan. Due to the 1974 outbreak of anti-Japanese riots protesting against Japanese economic dominance in Bangkok and Jakarta, the Japanese government reevaluated its regional policies to work for mutual advantages and nurture stability in Southeast Asia (Kingston, 2001). For Japan, North Korea and China are the major threats. Thus, it is vital to maintain peaceful relations. Since 1982, the Chinese and Korean governments have made Japanese textbooks an issue in their foreign relations by denouncing the watered-down history taught in Japanese schools (Ibid: 49).

What does internationalization mean to Japan? What does international education teach Japanese students? What ideological guidance is expressed in the course of study guidelines and textbooks? As mentioned above, it is apparent that Japan has dual responsibilities as one of the world’s economic leaders and representative of Asian nations and people. To understand how internationalization has been understood in Japan, I will next discuss the meanings of internationalization
within Japanese society.

Internationalization of Japan's Educational System

The term *internationalization* is used to refer to various aspects of foreign policy while shifting attention away from major issues which divide the Japanese. Internationalization may be interpreted as "a desirable process of change" by many Japanese (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986: 380).

Befu (1983) observed Japan's internationalization movement in the early 1980s. "Since it is a popular term rather than a technical one, it never was properly 'introduced' with anything like a definition" (Ibid: 232). First, *kokusaika* or internationalization has come to stand for many of the processes formerly subsumed under the labels "Westernization," "modernization" and "liberalization". Thus, this view of internationalization may constitute less of a challenge to existing social attitudes, government policies, and practices. Secondly, it is difficult to deny the relative primacy of economic internationalization while non-economic internationalization processes have their independent existence. Finally, "while internationalization proceeds on all fronts, each process reinforcing and interacting with others, the very processes of internationalization which are supposedly making Japanese more cosmopolitan have the unexpected effect of making Japanese more nationalistic (Ibid: 241)."

While Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) found that one of the important factors of internationalization was "to learn English," Befu (1981) suggests that it is essential to promote cultural exchange and understanding between Japan and foreign countries. Internationalization is regarded as "steps or strategies to achieve an undefined goal," rather than as "situations to be attained (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986: 380)." Although
the Japanese often have a positive image of internationalization, they may not see its consequences.

What constitutes internationalization and how it should be introduced are questions that have been often debated. Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) find that internationalization is identified with two conflicting goals. The first goal is the promotion of Japan's national interests, which relates to the achievement of Japanese economic goals overseas without conflicts. The second usage of internationalization implies a different process with a different outcome, and relates to Japan's defeat in 1945 and its strong commitment to world peace.

Mouer and Sugimoto (1986) point out that nihonjinron (theories of Japanese uniqueness) described in the literature offer only limited knowledge about Japanese people. They argue that a serious shortcoming is the attitude toward other cultures which it often implants. "When cultural differences only are emphasized and are seen as being the overbearing reality, it is easy to find one's own meaning in the superiority of one's own culture as the culture and to look upon the people in the other culture as a subcategory of the human species or as culturally less developed (Ibid: 397)." The problem of using an idealized West as a reference group is aggravated by the tendency to view the West as a monolith.

This study focuses on power, conflict, and tension between internationalism and globalization and between internationalization and globalization in the context of Japan's international education. As many educational specialists argue (Cave, 2001; Gainey and Andressen, 2002; Hood, 2001; Lincicome, 1993; Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999; Schoppa, 1991; Wray, 1999), the ideology of internationalization of Japan's education can be understood in political and economic contexts. It may exist in the conflict and contradiction between Japanese nationalism and the desire of
internationalism.

The ideology of internationalization in the 1980s became increasingly important; kokusaika or internationalization was not simply a buzz word (Hood, 2001; Hook and Weiner, 1992). The movement of internationalization of Japanese education involves forming and disseminating an ideology that will result in the identification of a commonly accepted set of values, goals, social practices, and social relations (Lincicome, 1993). The 1985’s report of the Ad Hoc Council on Education states:

Today on the eve of the twenty-first century we are facing an age of transition – transition to an internationalized society, transition to an information-centered civilization, and transition from a fifty-year life span to an eighty-year life span. The further advance of science and technology in the twenty-first century will require a re-examination of our way of living and a careful effort to maintain our humanity. Education must respond to these requirements of the new age (quoted by Schoppa, 1991: 1).

Throughout the past, educational reforms have played a major role in achieving transformations. Japan’s role in the world has changed. During the 1970s, Japan made a great transition from a “catch up” role to a leading role as one of the world’s economic powers. This new status required the nation’s industries to stress the development of technology and science, to cut the cost of environmental damage, and to open more markets to international competition (Schoppa, 1991). At the same time, the increase in Japanese foreign investment and export of Japanese products drew attention to the problems of Japanese people living and working in other societies (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). As it increases its interactions with the world-wide community, Japan found itself lacking, in terms of human resources and the means to develop international activities (Umakoshi, 1997). Inevitably, Japan’s education system was reexamined to produce a number of workers with a
commitment to high quality standards who compete with other industrial countries in the international business arena.

Since the first attempt of the 1967's reform, the debate on education reform re-emerged during the period of the Nakasone Administration in the 1980s (Gainey and Andressen, 2002). It was called the era of “Ron and Yasu” in Japan, which refers to the warmth between Ronald Reagan, the U.S. President, and Yasuhiro Nakasone, Japan’s Prime Minister. Soon after he won the election in 1984, Nakasone established the Ad Hoc Council on Education (AHCE) to initiate progressive education reform. The AHCE was envisioned by Nakasone. Japanese policy-making in education reform reflects strong political and economic intentions to create an educational system capable of producing successful workers, able to compete in the world market and economy.

Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone was a key person to initiate this reform. He argued that the first attempt at education reform (1967) was not successful because it had been dominated by the Ministry of Education (MOE). Nakasone insisted that the Japanese education system needed major structural changes, not by relying on the MOE’s Central Education Council, but by establishing a new advisory body. Based on Nakasone’s initiative, a supra cabinet-level advisory body, called the Ad Hoc Council on Education (AHCE, Rinji kyoiku shingikai), was established in 1984.

Nakasone supported the revision of the Japanese Constitution as well as the reconstruction of the national administration and community. In his view, it is crucial to cultivate and reinforce a sense of belonging to the state among individuals, since the Japanese have a so-called “unique ethnic tradition,” which makes Japan stronger and more competitive in the world. In order to accomplish his goal, therefore, education reform was mandated.
The members of the AHCE were dominated by representatives of the business sector, the political bureaucracy, and Nakasone’s personally selected intellectuals. No educationalists were included. Two groups, the Kyoto Group, headed by the president of National Panasonic, and Nakasone’s personal advisory council, were especially influential by promoting the “introduction of competitive principles and liberalization” into the Japanese education system (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999: 211). The AHCE successively issued reports in 1985, 1986, and 1987 (issued twice in 1987). The first report in 1985 recommended “appreciation of individuality” as the basic principle of the reform. The second report in 1986 placed emphasis on “pursuit of creativity, freedom, independence,” and cultivation of “the spirit of the public and the Japanese in the global community as the goal for the 21st century education (Ibid: 211-212).” The third report in April 1987 introduced an evaluation system for vocational ability and a reexamination of the state textbook authorization system. Finally, the major point that the fourth report in August 1987 recommended was to respond to globalization and the information-based society. It recommended “starting the academic year in September and considering appropriate treatment of the national flag and anthem (Ibid: 212).” I have found that these recommendations are similar to current U. S. education system practices. The ideas suggested by the AHCE are highly westernized as reflected in their emphases on individuality, creativity, freedom, and independence.

After the cabinet passed a resolution on education reform, the government started to revise the existing legislation. The AHCE’s reports lead to the major changes in the Japanese education system by the mid-1990s (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999: 213). In response to the Curriculum Council report in December 1989, the MOE implemented the new Course of Study for kindergarten, primary, middle and
high schools in April 1992. The new Course of Study claimed two major purposes. One is to achieve national integration among people, and the other is to ensure the efficient training of the elites.

The former concern resulted in neo-nationalist initiatives, which would instill in people a sense of belonging to the nation-state. The latter concern derived from the desire to maintain Japan's superiority in the global economy, and explored the ways in which creative elites could be identified and nurtured at an early stage. This led to the introduction of the diverse curriculum and the enhanced principle of competition in education (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999: 216).

As for the first concern of “a national integration among people,” the new curriculum enhanced a sense of patriotism by making it compulsory to use the national flag (Hinomaru) and the national anthem (Kimigayo) although there is no legal foundation that Kimigayo is the national anthem. The Hinomaru and Kimigayo have been controversial because they still remind many people of Japan’s wartime aggression and ultranationalism. For the latter concern, the new curriculum was claimed to promote diverse subject options and training of the elites.

There are two main groups that play important roles within the debates over internationalization of Japan. One group is called “idealists” and the other is “realists” (Goodman, 1990: 224). Idealists, who are in academia, look towards a global community where people’s similarities are more important than their differences, arguing that “Japan should not be aiming to influence the outside world in any way, but that Japan should change to fit with the increasingly interdependent international community” (Hood, 2001: 50). On the other hand, realist people, who are mostly businessmen, believe that a certain degree of nationalism is necessary within internationalism in order to promote cultural understanding and Japan’s economic growth, but that it should be introduced without conflict with people’s own identity (Hood, 2001: 50; Yano, 1986: 60). Both views seem appropriate in the context of
Nakasone’s approach to education reform in the 1980s (Hood, 2001).

The strongest claim for the education reform has emerged from the biggest corporation representatives Keidanren (Japan Federation of Economic Organization), “whose calls for reform have included the introduction of a multi-tracking school system in an effort to make education more vocationally relevant (Gainey and Andressen, 2002: 158).” Movements in Japan’s education reform also reflect those in Western democracies (Ibid). Keidanren often intervenes in political decisions and “acts as the public face of the business community and wields considerable power as the central body which collects political donations from business (Sugimoto, 2003).” Thus, the chair person of Keidanren can be described as the most powerful man in Japan.

The education reform of the 1970s, which started in 1967, pursued the post-war settlement (Schoppa, 1991). The reform in the 1980s stressed changes in the economic context. Japan’s economic advance made a shift from being a climber to becoming a leader of the world economy. It was argued that the economy of the 1980s required creative scientists, fluent foreign language speakers, specialists in technology, and workers who could express their views rather than just follow orders (Schoppa, 1991). In the late 1990s, due to Japan’s slow recovery from the economic recession and structural changes in industry, educational reform deliberations were demanded. “Demand was expected to increase for suitably qualified people to fill management positions in big corporations, and for skilled and unskilled workers to occupy temporary company employees that universities had hitherto produced (Okano and Tsuchiya, 1999: 227).” The business sector believed the existing education system needed to be liberalized and should offer flexibility and diversity of choices to individuals. The education reforms from the late 1990s to the present have still
continued by following the basic philosophy of the Ad Hoc Council, which concerns social issues such as globalization, the information-based society, technological development, aging, and the low birth rate.

Ishii (2001) examines the attitude of the Ministry of Education which is involved in UNESCO’s Education for International Understanding. It was not until the late 1990s that the purpose of Japan’s Education for International Understanding started to move closer to that of UNESCO. “The emphasis is gradually shifting from raising Japan’s status by contributing to the world community to living together with people of diverse cultures and values (Ibid: 338).” The Ministry of Education even avoided adding UNESCO’s vision to the national curriculum in the 1970s. Although the importance of Education for International Understanding recommended by UNESCO was briefly described, it diverged from the UNESCO’s definition. There are three main objectives established by the Ministry of Education (Ishii, 2001: 339): 1) international exchange, mainly scholars; 2) education for Japanese children living overseas and returned from overseas; and 3) foreign language teaching for the Japanese. In reality, however, these objectives were not clearly incorporated. To simplify an overcrowded curriculum, the number of hours for foreign language education was reduced in the revised 1976 curriculum (Ishii, 2001). In 1984, the issue of internationalization became a major discussion for the Ad hoc Council on Education. The interest of Prime Minister Nakasone was not to understand other countries but to make Japan understood by other countries (Ibid).

There are various interpretations about Japan’s education reform. Hood (2001) suggests that Japan’s education reform is not simply intended to be more westernized by adopting ideas and methods from the West. Even though Nakasone had focused on improving English language programs, the Ad hoc Council on Education made a
point that there is the need for teaching children foreign languages other than English (Hood, 2001). Regarding the report of AHCE, Hood (2001: 58) explains that “it is too easy for those from the English speaking world to criticise countries such as Japan for their emphasis on English without appreciating the advantages for people to speak the language no matter which country they travel to or study.” Teaching English language is important because it helps the Japanese be aware of an international community as well as the other skills that the learning of any foreign language can develop. Hood continues: “Many people from countries where English is not the mother tongue often have to be effectively trilingual in order to study a foreign country and culture effectively, as much of the material is written in English, which has become the ‘bridge’ or common language that helps unite and bring people together (Ibid: 58).”

On the other hand, some researchers consider the process of Japan’s education reform as a strong reflection of Western cultures and democracies. Schoppa (1991b: 70) states that Japan’s international education is “designed to train an elite but compartmentalized corps of workers able to work in the English language and in Western culture.” Kubota (2002) provides her interpretations of Japanese nationalism and education reform in the 1980s and 1990s and states that the education reform in the 1980s aims to emphasize Japanese traditions and promote Western knowledge. The major purpose of Japan’s internationalization is accommodating the power of the West and enhancing the economic power of Japan, which reflects its struggle for power within the dominance of the West (Ibid: 307).

Given these interpretations, I would like to emphasize that it is important to understand the politics of foreign language education, which exists in the tensions and conflicts between nationalism and internationalism. Although English can be a ‘bridge’ to understanding and communicating with people from different countries,
Hood (2001) does not offer a convincing argument. First of all, Hood (2001: 58) overlooks the description of the foreign language curriculum provided in the course of study for secondary schools; he focuses only on foreign language programs at universities and colleges. The new Course of Study, which was based on the reports of AHCE, was put into effect in elementary schools in 1992, junior high schools in 1993, and high schools in 1994. Section 9: Foreign Language in the Course of Study states: In Foreign Languages as a required subject, English is to be taken. Under the new guideline, the subject of foreign languages (i.e. English language) has started to be taught in public elementary schools. Moreover, English as a foreign language has become a required subject in junior high schools and high schools. Although foreign languages at Japanese universities and colleges deal with various languages, English language is dominantly chosen and even required for some college students to take.

Secondly, Hood (2001) fails to acknowledge the politics of foreign language curriculum or the politics of English language learning in non-English speaking countries. There are strong political and economic demands to learn the English language. English as a foreign or second language is usually taught at schools. Because of their financial problems and other reasons, every student is unable to acquire English enough to obtain satisfactory jobs or participate in decision-making that uses English. Since education is a major concern of the state, state policies play a decisive role in determining who has access to the institutions of the modern market and to political power (Tollefson, 1991: 6). Only people who successfully command English are able to gain such power. Therefore, English can be considered a ‘bridge’ to access to or gain social, political, and economic power. Interestingly, the Japanese insufficient ability in English is often pointed out although they spend years learning

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2 http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shuppan/sonota/990301/03122602/010.htm

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English at schools. "However," Hood (2001: 59) mentions, "their ability tends to be superior to the foreign language ability of many other nations, in particular the United States, where the learning of a foreign language has not been seen as important".

The Society for Testing English Proficiency (STEP) is an association authorized by the Japanese Ministry of Education. A number of Japanese students take English language proficiency tests of the STEP every year because it gives students some privilege. If the students pass the exam, it is advantageous to enter high schools and universities as well as to obtain satisfactory jobs. Furthermore, in order to pass the exam, some students decide to go to juku (cram schools) and private English language schools. Learning foreign language may cost to some extent. This view leads to the expansion of the industry of language education. Teaching English requires qualified teachers, textbooks, and other supplemental materials including computer technologies.

Finally, learning English may encourage students not only to use English when speaking, listening, writing, and reading. It may also encourage thinking and behaving like native speakers of English (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). Why and how have people living in South East Asian countries such as the Philippines come to use English as well as (or beyond) their indigenous languages? There is a history of English language programs during the colonial period. Learning the English language represents the extension of colonial power. It is necessary to participate in unequal power relations. Under the colonial situation, language education was considered important. The acceptance of English speaking cultures (especially white culture) may promote the distinctive relationship between the colonized and the colonizer.

As described above, the way Japan accepts the English language is different from the cases of other Asian nations with colonial experiences. Unlike the cases of
former colonies in Asia, Japan voluntarily accepted the English language and cultures. After World War II, Japan started an English language curriculum, which modeled Anglo-Saxon cultures. Japan’s acceptance of the English language did not result from being colonized but was intended to follow the colonial power and white supremacy that the Western civilization brought.

Following the model of the power expressed by white supremacy, Japan invaded Korea and China. Japan forced Koreans to speak the Japanese language and use Japanese names during the colonial period. Many Japanese politicians continue to justify Japan’s desire to liberate Asia from Western colonialism, suggesting that “the process of decolonization brought freedom and independence to former colonies in Asia” (Kingston, 2001: 45). Because of the gap in understanding the Japanese wartime acts, many Asian nations still criticize Japan for not taking full responsibility for its war crimes. Although Japan claimed to be engaged in building an Asia run by and for Asians, it was only seeking to replace the Western colonial powers as the regional hegemonic nation.

Kei Nakamura (1993; 2004) critically examines the social and political aspects of Japan’s English Language curriculum. He points out that the term “internationalization” in Japan is understood as almost equal to “Americanization”. This stance is also reflected in Japan’s English language education (Nakamura, 1993). For example, at one time there, were some Japanese junior high school English language textbooks which only dealt with American culture. Although recent textbooks tend to include various countries such as Africa, Southeast Asia, and South America, they are still America-oriented (Nakamura, 1993). The Japanese English textbooks are apt to see the world in the same way as Americans. Thus, Japanese students may learn how to behave and think like Americans. In this sense, the English
language is not an international language but just a continuation of colonial practices (Ibid, 1993).

The Politics of English as an International Language

The world economy requires language variety for communication among people with different mother tongues. With the wave of internationalization and globalization, the English language gains its importance in business and economic spheres. Pennycook (1994, 1995, and 1998) and Tollefson (1991) argue that English is used as a gatekeeper to wealth, power, and privilege. The spread of the English language may contribute not only to the unequal distribution of the global economy and cultural resources but also to the protection of the interests of English-speaking countries.

Pennycook (1994) explains that there is a significant connection between the English language and various forms of culture and knowledge. “Most important in this respect is the dominance of English in the domains of popular culture, international academic relations, and other forms of international information transfer” (Ibid: 19).

Tollefson (1991) investigates the reasons for the failure to speak the language varieties the colonized need to survive and prosper in the modern world. He argues that “inadequate language competence is not due to poor texts and materials, learners’ low motivation, inadequate learning theories and teaching methodologies, or the other explanations that are commonly proposed,” but rather it “remains a barrier to employment, education, and economic well being due to political forces of our own making (Ibid: 7).” While social and economic systems create the situation that people need to have certain language competence, they also produce unequal conditions
between people with the language competence and ones without it.

The English language has deeply penetrated into Japanese language, culture, and society (Hoffer, 2002; Kachru, 1992; Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). It is often seen on TV shows, movies and fashion. English words combined with Japanese are introduced as “Japanized English,” which is increasingly popular among Japanese youth and has become part of Japanese subcultures (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). How did Japan recognize the importance of English acquisition among the Japanese?

The adoption of the English language in Japan was encouraged during the 19th century. Arinori Mori (1847-1889), the first Minister of Education (Kubota, 2002), wrote his proposal for the abolition of Japanese and adoption of English language (Miller, 1977: 41-42; Hall, 1973: 189). He proclaimed:

Without the aid of Chinese, our language has never been taught or used for any purpose of communication. This shows its poverty. The march of civilization in Japan has already reached the heart of the nation – the English language following it suppresses the use of both Chinese and Japanese. The commercial power of the English-speaking race which now rules the world drives our people into some knowledge of their commercial ways and habits. The absolute necessity of mastering the English language is thus forced upon us. It is a requisite of our independence in the community of nations. Under the circumstances, our meager language, which can never be of any use outside of our islands, is doomed to yield to the domination of the English tongue, especially when the power of steam and electricity shall have pervaded the land. Our intelligent race, eager in the pursuit of knowledge, cannot depend upon a weak and uncertain medium of communication in its endeavor to grasp the principle truths from the precious treasury of Western Science and art and religion. The laws of state can never be preserved in the language of Japan. All reasons suggest its disuse (Mori, 1873, quoted in Hall, 1973: 189).

Although Japan was not under colonial rule, it certainly recognized the colonial influence of an English-speaking power in Asia. The expression of “the English-speaking race” may explain three things. One is that Japan recognized the English-speaking race as economic power. The second point is that their language,
that is, English language was considered an inevitable tool to enter so-called western civilized nations. In Mori's view, English was a "better, richer, and stronger" language (Miller, 1977: 41) while Japanese was weak and meager and might eventually yield to the dominance of the English-speaking culture. Finally, Mori confirmed the power of homogeneity by understanding the strong connection between language and race. Mori believed that mastering the English language would strengthen Japan as a nation. To be civilized, mastering English was necessary. Even though they replaced their own language with English, the Japanese would not lose their racial intelligence. Rather, the use of English would benefit all Japanese people.

Besides Mori's statement, two other proposals for abolishing Japanese were made by Naoya Shiga, a writer, and Gakudo Ozaki, a politician soon after World War II (Kubota, 2002; Suzuki, 1987). Kubota (2002) argues that these recommendations may flow from historical incidents that made Japan surrender to Western power. From linguistic perspectives, Kubota (2002: 300) argues that “[t]he negative view of Japanese language and culture symbolizes a political, cultural, military defeat by the United States and the West since the Meiji Period (1868-1912), whereas the positive view reflects Japan’s military strength under imperialism during World War II and its postwar economic development.” Both negative and positive views of Japanese language can be understood in historical, political, and economic contexts. It explains international relations of power between Japan and the world.

Pennycook (1998) is well aware that certain discourses adhere to the English language. He analyzes the use of the English language in the colonial discourse. Taking an example of the tour of the first cricket team from Australia to England in 1868, he explains how differently English people and indigenous Australians were treated. The English that the English used was perfect language and knowledge. It was
considered as the civilized language. "English is both the language that will apparently bestow civilization, knowledge and wealth on people and at the same time is the language in which they are racially defined (Ibid: 4)."

The use of the English language may be strongly linked to race and ethnic definitions. Japan’s nationalism and racial homogeneity were emphasized to unite the whole nation. Mori’s view clearly reflected the colonial influence. By using methods of British colonialism, Japan also attempted to expand its empire over China and South Korea, which will be discussed further in the section on race and ethnic dynamics below.

A major development of Japan’s knowledge of the world started in the Meiji era (Hoffer, 2002). After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Japan reopened to the West and started to absorb the Western culture and knowledge. Many young scholars were sent to Europe to study. Although English words were used to a small extent in the early decades of the Meiji period, the major influx of English started in the second half of the 20th century (Hoffer, 2002).

Significant changes in patterns of Japanese schooling were made in postwar Japan. Despite the fact that Japan is considered a monolingual society, the Japanese schools have been significantly involved in a massive English language program (Brownell, 1967). When the program of teaching English as an international language in Japanese junior high schools started in 1947, the rapid growth of the use of the English vocabulary began (Hoffer, 2002). Since English was taught as knowledge to learn the world, the teaching of English was centered on competence of written English and grammar. The competence in written English became critical at the entrance examinations for higher education after universities added written English as a requirement (Hoffer, 2002).
More recently, the Course of Study guideline included the importance of the acquisition of communicative skills in the English language. This shift from knowledge-based English learning to practical skill-based shows that Japan’s responsibility and commitment to the international marketplace. With its growing economy, Japan is urged to take immediate action and respond to international demands. Indeed, there is a movement to promote the view that English should be Japan’s official language.

There are many criticisms about Japan’s English language curriculum. The importance of cultural understanding as well as communication skills is emphasized in the teaching of English language for both the junior and high school levels (The Course of Study, 1992). Cultural understanding and intercultural communication are the most important research and pedagogical interests in the area of English as a second language (Lee, 2002). However, this objective has not been truly accomplished.

From teaching experience of English as a Foreign Language in Japanese universities, Campbell (1987:46) points out the “naively unconscious ethnocentrism” of Japanese students. According to her examination, about 60 Japanese college freshmen on an English vocabulary test indicated that the word *prejudice* means only the negative feelings that whites have against non-whites. None of the students taking the test considered that racial discrimination might exist in Japan, and many even deny such a possibility (Ibid). It seems that racism is not an issue for the Japanese to discuss, but for other nations such as Europe and the United States.

As Campbell (1987) suggests, these may show that the knowledge that Japanese students are given in the formal education system is unbalanced and contradictory. English language is an inevitable subject because it is impossible to
pass the entrance examination to get into high schools and universities without learning English. The command of English language is important to obtain responsible and desirable jobs in business, government, and academics. However, do the English language textbooks teach sufficient intercultural understandings and international communication skills? This study focuses on the construction of race and ethnic diversity in the Japanese English language textbooks. To examine the representation of race diversity in the textbooks, I will next review the theories of race and ethnic relations.

**Theoretical Framework of Race and Ethnicity**

Since I focus on the representation of race and ethnic relations in textbooks, it is important to mention theories of race and ethnicity. Much of the available theory on race and ethnic relations is focused on explaining race relations in the United States. As the global movement of capital and labor has increased, racial and ethnic awareness may also become internationalized. Although most of the race and ethnic relations theory I will examine here is based on case studies of U.S. race and ethnic relations, the theories developed to explain U.S. race and ethnic relations can be extended to understand racial and ethnic relations presented in Japanese school textbooks. Theorizing racial formation and hegemony in global context, Winant (1994) argues that racial space is becoming globalized in terms of colonialism, conquest, and migration. Marger (2003) explains that theories of race and ethnicity articulate patterns of human experience that repeat themselves in diverse cultural contexts. As Winant (1994) and Marger (2003) have examined the global context of race and ethnicity, I believe that many theories developed to explain race and ethnic relations in the United States can be applied to examine race and ethnic relations in a
With social, political and economic movements, a number of scholars try to interpret the changing scope of racial and ethnic identities and articulate each situation. Race and ethnic relations have been debated since the civil rights movement and the influx of many immigrants into the United States. Park (1950), Glazer and Moynihan (1963), and Gordon (1964) examined the extent to which minority groups assimilate into mainstream American life. They stressed adoption of the norms and values of the white majority. Oliver C. Cox (1948) argues that economic relations form the basis of modern race relations. In his view, class is the central idea to explain social life. The class conflict theory seeks to examine competition and power struggle for control of scarce resources, which cause social stratification and inequality. It recognizes the existence of racial oppression and class divisions and argues the centrality of the social relations of production that exists in class relationships.

The internal colonialism perspective (racial oppression) stems from the concept of colonialism. Robert Blauner (1972) explains that privilege is the essence of racial oppression. Social oppression grants privileges to the individuals and groups that benefit from the resultant inequalities. White privilege is considered as a constant systemic fact. With critical analyses of the realities of racial separation and white supremacy, the internal colonialism perspective rejects ethnicity-based racial theory. Racism has an objective reality located in the actual existence of domination and hierarchy and is structured by the colonial status of racial minorities in the United States (Blauner, 1972).

The emergence of racial formation theory developed by Omi and Winant (1994) contributes to more precise explanation of racial and ethnic relations in the contemporary United States. Omi and Winant (1994: 54) define race as “a concept
which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different
types of human bodies.” The racial formation theory recognizes the importance of
historical context and contingency in the framing of racial categories and the social
construction of racially defined experiences and focuses on political relationships, the
global context of race and historical time. According to Omi and Winant (1994), race
signification is made through a social and historical process by which racial categories
are created and transformed and destroyed. A key concept of racial formation theory
is the significance of the racial state. Racism exists neither in their origins and
consequences but has changed over time. It is important to describe the dynamic
relationship between social movements and the state, where a social movement take
place in response to racial issues.

Racial formation is understood through a linkage between social structure and
cultural representation. That is, it embodies political, economic and socio-cultural
structures of inequality, and ideological practices and processes of marginalization
and exclusion (van Dijk, 1991). For instance, structures of social class may be
established and transformed in a way that ethnic minority groups may be assigned to
lower labor statuses while white males pursue their promotions in their careers.
Gender stratification and inequality are often neglected but also examined within
ethnic communities. “Gendered racism,” which combines racism and sexism, raises
awareness of the experience of women of color (Fong and Shinagawa, 2000: 6; van
Dijk, 1991: 29). Omi and Winant (1994) describe that “race is gendered and gender is
racialized” (68). Glass ceiling effect may be observed in the workplace.

Bonilla-Silva (2001) argues that white supremacy and racial ideology are the
most significant variables to explain the status of racial minorities in the United
States. Drawing on Omi and Winant’s theoretical framework, he provides a critical
analysis of contemporary racial inequality in the United States by suggesting that a new racial ideology called *color-blind racism* has emerged. Unlike the Jim Crow racism, the ideology of "color-blindness" avoids overtly discriminatory practices but claims racial inequality as the outcome of nonracial dynamics. That is, contemporary minorities' status is rationalized as the product of naturally occurring phenomena (Bonilla-Silva, 2003). Actors in racialized societies, or white supremacy, participate in race relations as either beneficiaries or subordinates. Since the races in any racialized social system receive different social rewards, they develop different material interests (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Race is an important variable like class and gender. The social arrangements (racial structure) responsible for the reproduction of white privilege have changed substantially throughout history. Thus, race signification has not declined but changed in the contemporary period.

Given the various approaches to explain race and ethnic relations in the United States, I draw on relevant and applicable conceptualizations to understand Japanese textbook description of race and ethnicity. I apply the conceptual frameworks of Omi and Winant (1994) and Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003) to my study of representations of racial and ethnic relations in Japanese textbooks.

The racial formation theory can be applied to understand racial and ethnic issues in other countries. This perspective helps to understand minority groups in Japan as well as racial and ethnic diversity in other countries. The racial formation theory helps to understand social structures established in a certain way that foreign workers may be assigned to lower statuses while Japanese people pursue their promotions in their careers.

Applying the concept of color-blind racism by Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003), I assume that Japanese understandings of racial and ethnic diversity may be limited
because Japan is often considered racially and ethnically homogeneous. The concept of Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003) is relevant to my research because the idea of white supremacy in the United States may be equivalent to that of the Japanese race as superior. As reflected in Japanese politicians’ remarks about the Japanese as a pure and superior race to others, “Japanese supremacy” may be expressed in school materials. Bonilla-Silva (2001) points out that there is a gap between ideological orientation and social practices (or realities). While many people in the Unites States claim that discrimination is no longer relevant in today’s society, discrimination is still present. A new racism called “color-blind racism” appears in today’s society (Bonilla-Silva, 2001). Drawing on his argument, I suggest that similar socio-cultural practices may be seen in Japan although contemporary Japan experiences more racial and ethnic diversity than in the past.

I utilize assimilation theories to understand historical and contemporary situations of minority groups in Japan. For example, the Ainu people (Japanese indigenous people) are one of the minorities in Japan. Until recently, the Japanese government considered the Ainu as an underdeveloped and uncivilized race. It used an assimilation policy and demolished much of their customs and traditions and did not recognize their indigenous rights until 1997 (Sugimoto, 2003: 202). The assimilation theories help to understand the Ainu’s social position due to results of policies based on assimilation. Curricular materials including textbooks project images of society as well as of other aspects of culture. I will examine if and how school textbooks express the Ainu culture and people.

To examine race- and color-blindness, I investigate how Japan manifests itself in the world, that is, how relations between Japan and other nations are expressed, and to what extent foreign people’s lives in Japan are recognized in textbooks. For
instance, do textbooks introduce Japanese students who study abroad? How are the students’ overseas experiences described? Do the textbooks describe African Americans’ lives in Japan? What problems do foreign people in Japan encounter are presented in textbooks? What conversation/interaction takes place between Japanese and English speakers (Americans, Australians, Canadians and British)? By investigating those issues, I will identify how international economic and political relations between Japan and other countries are expressed.

Racial and Ethnic Relations in Japan

As Yoshino (1997) points out, studies of race and ethnicity tend to examine only the cases of multicultural societies but do not pay much attention to the issues of “supposedly” homogeneous societies such as Japan. This tendency may make us neglect racial and ethnic issues in Japan as well as around the world. The study of racial and ethnic relations should concern themselves with any society.

Sugimoto (2003: 185) identifies Japan’s four minority groups: Buraku-min (Social outcast), Ainu people, Korean descendents, and immigrant workers from overseas. Although these people are all contemporary citizens living in Japan, they still receive discriminatory treatment within the society. Their minority statuses result from different historical roots (Sugimoto, 2003: 189). The Buraku-min is the largest minority group in Japan. Their status as social outcast resulted from the caste system in the feudal period only because their ancestors belonged to a social category below ordinary citizens under the feudal system. There are no racial and ethnic differences between most of the Buraku people and majority Japanese. The Ainu’s situation stems from Japan’s main island race’s internal colonization of the northern areas since the sixth century. Until recently, Japanese government considered the Ainu as an
underdeveloped and uncivilized race. It imposed an assimilation policy and demolished much of their customs and traditions and did not recognize their indigenous rights until 1997 (Sugimoto, 2003: 202). The Koreans' cases are the results of Japan's wartime aggression against Korea in the early twentieth century. Soo-im Lee (2002), a Korean scholar, criticizes Japanese lack awareness of minority problems in their own nation. Revealing her experience as a zainichi Korean (Korean residents in Japan), Lee (2002) argues that zainichi Koreans are still mistreated and practically invisible in Japanese society. Finally, foreign workers in Japan emerged with Japan's economic situation during the 1980s and the 1990s. The influx of immigrants in Japan is the most recent factor that makes Japan more visibly multicultural.

It was not until the early 19th century that the Japanese became aware of Western imperialism in Asia (Mouer and Sugimoto, 1986). During the Tokugawa era (1600-1867), Japan was isolated and stopped trading with foreign countries. After the Meiji Restoration in 1868, modernization introduced not only industrialization and technological development but also western cultures such as lifestyle and languages. Needless to say, western thoughts on race and ethnicity were also introduced to Japan. To the Japanese, western culture was "an object of fascination and envy" but could be detested (Nishio, 1982).

The Japanese government declared the war of 1931-1945 as a "holy war" to liberate Asia. McCormack (1996) examines Japan's colonial attitudes towards Korea and China before and during the war. Japan aimed to slough off Asia and embrace it.

[The idealism of both policies (datsu-A and Ajiashugi) was predicated on the inherent difference and superiority of Japan. In the former case, Japan was to set itself off as non-Asian and therefore superior; in the latter, it assumed that the only way for Japan to 'return' to Asia was as leader (meishu), in an hierarchical alliance of nations, in which any other leader was unthinkable (Ibid: 270).]
Under the colonial circumstance, Japan’s superiority was justified and legitimated. It was not until 1990 that Japanese government admitted involvement in the sex trade in women through Asia (McCormack, 1996). When the term internationalization became a popular word in the early 1980s, Japan began to play a significant role in the world economy. However, this does not necessarily imply the internal transformation of Japan but internationalization was accomplished by a continued Japanese attitude that “economic success demonstrated the unique qualities of the Japanese way – a superior, non-Western way” (Ibid: 275). During the same period, the influx of foreign workers in Japan, who were attracted to Japan’s prosperity, became noticeable. Internationalization in Japan has not been accomplished by significant social opening and diversity. Rather, through its internationalization, the Japanese way of treating other races became evident. That is, “the established pattern of treatment of minorities – assimilation, discrimination - is reproduced (Ibid).”

Japanese perceptions of race and ethnicity may be changing and become more open in parallel with historical events, but they are ambivalent. Sugimoto (2003: 185) explains that “contemporary Japanese society is caught between the contradictory forces of narrow ethnocentrism and open internationalization”. For instance, the government policy toward foreign residents in light of naturalization procedures is still obscured from public view (Lee, 2002; Sugimoto, 2003). With the rise of internationalization and globalization, Japan’s immigration policy will be critically evaluated by the rest of the world.

This tendency of the growing number of foreign workers has a great impact on Japan’s schooling. It becomes common to see immigrant students attending Japanese regular schools. How do school textbooks deal with all minorities in Japan? Do they recognize Japan as a multicultural nation? Next section is going to dig into the
process of I will review the process of Japan’s textbook inspection system and criticism of its English language curriculum.

Japanese School Textbooks

The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) determines school curriculum in Japan by issuing a course of study and authorizing textbooks. The course of study is an outline of the curriculum of elementary, secondary and high schools, which all teachers must follow. It contains the government’s standards for subjects and activities of public school education, including grade-by-grade guideline (Tani, et al, 1993). Based on the course of study issued by the MEXT, subjects and school activities are determined.

Textbooks are the most important materials in classroom instruction. According to Article Two of Hakkouhou (the Publication Law), “textbooks are defined as books for students’ use when they are taught and must be used as major instruction materials of subjects taught at all elementary, secondary, and high schools, which are systematically organized subject to a course of study”. Furthermore, Article Twenty One of the School Education Law indicates that “a textbook should be used as the primary source for classroom instruction (Tani, et al, 1993: 70).” Textbooks used at all elementary, secondary, and high schools need to be approved by the MEXT. Textbook contents are meticulously examined and evaluated through the inspection process for content, vocabulary, and expression.

Today, commercial publishers develop and produce instruction materials as well as textbooks. In the prewar era, the Ministry of Education designed and developed textbooks and did not allow private companies to produce textbooks.
However, since democratization began after War World II, the ministry has permitted the publishers to publish textbooks. Thus, today’s role of the MEXT is to supervise the authorization system that the MEXT set up for textbook inspection. The MEXT determines this procedure to authorize all textbooks produced by textbook publishing companies. The Textbook Authorization Council examines draft textbooks to determine whether it is suitable for use. Based on the council’s recommendation, the MEXT decides whether to approve proposed textbooks. The procedure of examining draft textbooks usually takes for more than one year.

The publishers choose an editorial committee consisting of university professors, school teachers, and administrators. Although the government allows schools to use textbooks created privately today, the MEXT requires that prospective textbooks undergo a rigorous examination process to reach its approval (Tani, et al 1993: 71). If a draft textbook is disapproved by the council, the publisher has to make adequate corrections and apply for examination again. Even though a draft is approved, senior content specialists may demand corrections (Ibid). Only textbooks that the publisher has made corrections on are officially approved.

Textbook Controversy

The presence of the textbook authorization system has been controversial. “The certification system limits the number of textbooks for each subject and grade level and maintains a degree of censorship that rejects a pluralistic society and unacceptable interpretations of poems, literature, and social and historical problems” (Wray, 1999: 78). The MEXT addresses the significance and necessity of textbook examination through the authorization system. “The textbook inspection system is intended to maintain adequate contents of textbooks while it expects to pursue
creative ideas by asking private companies to produce textbooks” (the MEXT)\(^4\). However, the inspection system is nothing but censorship. Even though the MEXT allows writers and publishers to express creative ideas and methods for teaching and learning subjects, it maintains its power over textbook contents by demanding necessary corrections.

What is “adequate and suitable” information for textbooks is judged and determined by the Textbook Authorization Council. Therefore, textbook knowledge is very selective, limited, and problematic. According to Yamazaki (1987: 51), the authorization system has been employed to suppress leftist deviations inimical to the interests of the ruling conservative forces. The purpose of the authorization system is to prevent deviant content and maintain a certain standard of textbooks. To keep “a certain standard” of textbook content, multiple interpretations may not be preferred although realities are not composed of only one truth.

The Textbook Authorization Council is very sensitive about the content of history and social science textbooks, in particular. For example, in the case of the 1981 textbook inspection, the Ministry of Education suggested various changes in the content of a high school history textbook in describing a nation’s occupation in foreign territories, including Japan’s occupation of Manchuria and Korea (Tani, et al 1993: 72). Although the original draft of the textbook stated that Japan “invaded” China and Korea, the Ministry of Education contended that the word “entered” should be used, not “invaded”. International criticisms immediately occurred, especially from Asian countries. Having approved the textbook, the Ministry of Education reversed its decision in 1982. When the ultranationalist contents within textbooks were also reported in 1986, China and South Korea accused the textbook of justifying Japan’s


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wartime aggression in Asia. The Ministry of Education again had to ask the authors of the textbook to make revisions (Yamazaki, 1987). Most recently, in 2005, strong anti-Japan movement and protest due to the historical description in Japanese textbooks occurred in China and other places.

The Textbook Authorization Council is sensitive about descriptions that are even slightly anti-establishment and social problems such as the increasing heterogeneity of Japan's population, and to the younger population's failure to subscribe to accepted social values of the older generation (Tani, et al, 1993: 72). The view of Japan's becoming a multicultural society is problematic to the government's policies because Nakasone's vision was to reinforce national identity. He was also criticized for expressing that Japan was a nation of one race. Comparing Japan with the United States, he stated that multiculturalism is a major weakness for the United States. Because of Japan's racial and ethnic homogeneity, the nation will become economically stronger than others. Although descriptions about minority groups are included in Japanese textbooks, "how to handle racial problems is not a primary issue (Ibid: 72)."
CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study is based on a combination of content and discourse analysis of fifteen English language textbooks for Japanese secondary education published between 1987 and 2002. While content analysis is used to gather information in textbooks, discourse analysis is employed to examine the content in depth. As the first task of this study, I decided to use content analysis to grasp what subjects (topics and events) were included and what forms of language (talk or text) and picture (scenery, objects, or individuals) were featured in all the textbooks. Content analysis is useful to identify the number or frequency of appearance of nations and individuals. Thus, the content analysis enables me to obtain basic information to identify what racial groups were selected and represented in the textbooks. Through discourse analysis, I tease out what types of interaction and interracial communication take place by studying conversations or dialogues. More specifically, I investigate how power relations were expressed in verbal forms of language (conversation) and nonverbal communication (pictures).

Content analysis examines both texts and visual images. Thus, the results of analysis will be demonstrated by text and pictures in Chapter IV. In the content analysis of text, I uncover what nations were selected, what racial groups were described, and how many times each racial group in each country appeared. In the analysis of visual images, I will also examine what nations were selected and what racial groups were depicted in pictures and drawings. That is, I will study positions and actions of individuals, facial expressions, social standings (clothes, possessions,
etc) as well as types of race (skin color, hair style, etc).

To study the textbook content in depth, I conduct a discourse analysis of text. In the discourse analysis, I am interested in studying how power relations were described in the textbooks. Based on the results from the content analysis of text, I will examine what types of interracial interactions were expressed and how conversations took place in the textbooks. More specifically, I will uncover what racial groups have conversations and how they hold conversations (i.e. who takes initiative in a conversation, who is asking a question and/or who is responding to it, and who has power over whom). The results will be presented in Chapter V.

**Integrative Approach of Content and Discourse Analysis**

Language is a type of social practice used for representation and signification. It is studied not only as a means of communication but also as social activity. Ideological orientations regarding racial and ethnic affairs may be predominantly acquired and confirmed through various types of discourse or communication in everyday life. Many types of texts and talks are produced and controlled by socially situated groups, especially elite groups that control the public means of symbolic reproduction (van Dijk, 1991: 6). In this sense, school textbooks serve as an important means to deliver political and ideological orientations. Ideologies can be examined through textbook analysis. Racial and ethnic ideologies found in the textbooks may be a form of what the dominant group claims in public affairs.

van Dijk (1991: x) utilizes discourse analytical approach as well as content analysis in his study of racism in newspapers. He explains that the “detailed analysis of textual structures requires the more refined, qualitative, approach provided by discourse analysis (ibid).” The coded content in the content analysis may be limited to
the representational and referential meaning of the unit. Drawing on van Dijk’s argument, I utilize a combination of content and discourse analytical approaches to avoid neglecting the possibility of multiple categorizations and provide a sensitive analysis.

Content analysis helps to understand meanings of acts in the situation or event where it takes place. It can be defined as “the systematic, objective, quantitative analysis of message characteristics (Neuendorf, 2002: 1),” because it “involves the coding of a text into mutually exclusive categories, the counting of category occurrences, and their statistical analysis (Wood and Kroger, 2000: 32).” In contrast, discourse analysis is one approach for qualitative analyses of language use. It examines characteristics of language and word use, description of topics in texts, through consistency and connection of words to theme analysis of content and establishment of central terms (Neuendorf, 2002). The discourse analysis can be applied to various types such as conversations, dialogues, and stories.

Given characteristics of each approach, both content and discourse analyses are broadly used with multiple methods and inquiries. Content analysis is useful to identify names, frequency, and number. Thus, I utilized the approach of content analysis to find what nations are expressed and how many times they appear in the fifteen English language textbooks. Furthermore, discourse analysis is useful to examine the textbook content in depth. To scrutinize specific contents, I employed the discourse analytical approach.

Content Analysis of Text

Japan’s junior high school English language textbooks (Grade 7-9) with copyright dates between 1987 and 2002 have been published five times (in 1987,
1990, 1993, 1997, and 2002). A total of fifteen textbooks were subjected to content analysis. The textbooks, entitled “New Horizon: English Course” (Tokyo Shoseki Co Ltd.), are chosen because these are the most widely used in Japan.

I conducted content analysis of text to grasp broader information of race and ethnic diversity. As a broad indicator of race and ethnic diversity, I studied the countries that are represented in the texts and identified racial and ethnic groups in each country. For instance, representations of countries in South America indicate Latin/Hispanic race and ethnic groups. Descriptions of Asia indicate Asian race/ethnic groups.

The representation of interactions refers to important relationships between nations. I am interested to see how international relations were expressed and how Japan’s relationships with other countries/races are expressed. Thus, I investigate what nationalities were most frequently represented and which racial groups have most interactions with the Japanese. Racial groups are as follows: Asian (excluding Japanese), Black, indigenous people (e.g. Aborigine, Ainu, and Indian American), White, Latino/Hispanic, race ambiguous, and mixed race group. Based on the racial categories, I analyze how conversations between the Japanese and other racial groups are described and how often interactions had occurred in textbooks.

Texts are studied to determine political and economic relations, particularly how Japanese textbooks represent racial and ethnic relations in Japan as well as around the world. The coverage of nations and/or race in textbooks is studied to uncover important ideological orientations toward race and ethnicity within Japan as well as in the world. For instance, some nations introduced in the 1987 textbooks are not necessarily cited in the 1990 textbooks. Compared to earlier editions, the most recent textbooks may feature several different countries. This ideology has
significance for understanding Japanese business and political elites' attitudes toward various people and cultures such as Australia, Great Britain, and the United States.

The appearance or disappearance of the coverage of nations and/or race in textbooks is studied to indicate important ideological orientations toward race and ethnicity within Japan. This ideology has significance for understanding Japanese business and political elites' attitudes toward various people and cultures such as the United States, Great Britain, and Australia. Pictures and texts are studied to determine political and economic relations, particularly how Japanese textbooks represent racial and ethnic relations in Japan as well as around the world and Japan's relations with other countries.

Unit of Analysis and Sample Selection

For content analysis of text, the unit of analysis is a lesson designated in textbooks. There are 192 lessons in the fifteen textbooks. To select lessons on racial and ethnic diversity, I employed the following key words: names of continents (e.g. Africa and Asia), countries (e.g. the United States), and cities (e.g. San Francisco and Sydney). I excluded lessons without context. For example, the first few lessons for beginners' level introduce only greetings ("Good Morning" and "Hello"). There are some stories which do not indicate specific names of places. Therefore, to identify what nations are selected, I chose lessons which address names of countries and cities. Using these criteria, 97 lessons were subjected to content analysis.

Defining Race and Ethnicity

The term "race" connotes biological characteristics such as skin color, hair texture and facial features. The designation of racial groups emphasizes physical
characteristics as opposed to cultural differences. However, it is difficult to identify distinctive physical characteristics and distinguish peoples. Given people's frequent migration, exploitation, and invasions, pure genetic types of have not existed (Schaefer, 2004). Thus, the concept of race has no real biological foundation. Omi and Winant (1994: 55) view race as an illusion, defining it as "a concept which signifies and symbolizes social conflicts and interests by referring to different types of human bodies." Although the idea of race invokes biologically-based characteristics, particular human features for purpose of racial signification are selected through a social and historical process (Ibid). Thus, the concept of race is socially constructed, and this process benefits people in power, who define who is privileged and who is not.

While "race" refers to supposed biological characteristics, the term "ethnicity" refers to cultural traits. Schaefer (2004: 8) defines ethnic groups as "groups set apart from others because of their national origin or distinctive cultural patterns". Aguirre and Turner (2004: 3) state that "[w]hen a subpopulation of individuals reveals, or is perceived to reveal, shared historical experiences as well as unique organizational, behavioral, and cultural characteristics, it exhibits its ethnicity." Thus, fundamental features of social life such as country of origin, religion, family practices and language are used to distinguish from one group to another.

Many groups defined as ethnic groups were in historical periods as races (Marger, 2006; Omi and Winant, 1994). For instance, European immigrants in the United States representing different nationalities and religions were classified as races. Although the Jews more properly refer to an ethnic group because it is their religion, they are often considered a race. In Japanese, there are no clear words to distinguish the English terms "race" and "ethnicity". The meanings of the Japanese
term *minzoku* include “lineage of people,” “nationality,” and “race” (Dikötter, 1997: 3). Many intellectuals after the First World War, “defined the *minzoku* as a distinct people with shared physical attributes and pure blood whose origins could to traced back to the palaeolithic period (Ibid: 4).” Ethnicity was continuously identified with biological traits while cultural and racial characteristics were overlapped in political, anthropological, and medical literature during the World Wars (Dikötter, 1997). Winston Churchill spoke of the “British race” and used that pride to spur a nation to fight (Schaefer, 2004). Adolf Hitler’s concern over the “Jewish race” was translated into Nazi death camps. The way in which human boundaries is created and maintained although the terms “race” and “ethnicity” are interchangeably used in many situations.

As explained above, it is difficult to use “race” and “ethnicity” as markers of boundaries between peoples. In this study, I consider the notion of race and ethnicity as social constructions. Given the case of the Japanese term *minzoku*, it is difficult to deal with race and ethnicity independently. To understand race and ethnic relations in a global context, I draw on Marger’s approach (2006: 23-24) by synthesizing race and ethnicity. He uses the term “ethnic group” in a broad manner to include groups identified by national origin, cultural distinctiveness, racial characteristics, or religious affiliation. “[E]thnic groups in most modern societies comprise combinations of these national, cultural, physical, and religious traits (Ibid: 24).” To examine race and ethnic representations in the Japanese English language textbooks, I may deal with various nations and peoples represented in the texts. To avoid confusion and misinterpretation, I will use the term “racial and ethnic group” accordingly.
Indicators to Determine Racial and Ethnic Groups

It is useful to apply the designation of racial and ethnic groups in the United States into my study because the theories of US race relations is one perspective and can be a lens to see other countries. Moreover, there is no established theory of race and ethnic relations in Japan. I apply the US model to study whether race and ethnic representations in the Japanese English language textbooks are similar to those developed in the United States. If the textbooks show some similarities to the US model, this may indicate that the racial and ethnic categories used in the United States become globalized. In this sense, I may find that race and ethnic representations in the textbooks are Americanized.

As mentioned above, it is difficult to differentiate peoples by using race and ethnicity as markers. However, it is useful to find out how the concepts of race and ethnicity are understood in the Japanese English language textbooks. To determine racial and ethnic groups, I will first use “racial groups” and “ethnic groups” separately and then present my findings by combining both characteristics. To determine racial characteristics of individuals in the textbooks, I investigate physical characteristics (skin color, eye color, and other facial features). To determine ethnic characteristics, I will identify cultural traits (national origin, languages, religions, and other characteristics). All information I will gather will be presented in graphs and tables.

To determine physical characteristics, I will find how individuals are represented in terms of skin color, eye color, hair, and facial features. However, it is difficult to identify distinctive physical characteristics unless texts specifically mention words. Thus, I will report physical characteristics only when specific words are mentioned. If words are not found, I will cross-reference pictures accompanied with the texts. I will use either “Color” or “Non-color” to indicate racial groups.
If the text says "white Americans," I will indicate it in the row of "Group presented in the text" and "(see Chapter IV). If nothing about people is indicated in the text, I will report "No people." If the text does not provide a specific word, I will also refer to pictures. I will cross-reference a picture accompanied with the text. Since it is difficult to identify skin color from the picture, I will report either "color" or "non-color." For example, an Asian Indian man with dark or brown skin may appear in a picture but it is hard to determine if he is categorized as black. If physical features are not identifiable from the picture or there is no picture accompanied with the text, I will report "race ambiguous."

To investigate cultural traits, I will use indicators to names of countries or national origin (e.g. Japan and Japanese), religion (e.g. Muslim), languages (e.g. Japanese), and names of individuals (e.g. Yumi and Keiko). I will report cultural characteristics mentioned in the text. As stated earlier, any words referring to ethnic groups will be reported in the row of "Group presented in the text." Individuals' names are sometimes useful to determine their nationalities. For example, Junko is a Japanese name. If I find it in the text, I will report it. If the text does not provide enough information to determine cultural characteristics, I will cross-reference pictures to find any cultural traits. For instance, clothes (or the way people dress) indicate ethnicities and ethnic groups.

When the United States is introduced, I will investigate if the US racial groups are fully represented. I use the terms used in James Henslin's sociology textbook (2006). In the United States, there are five major racial and ethnic groups: African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanics/Latinos, Native Americans (or American Indians), and White Europeans. If those terms are mentioned, I will indicate them as the results. If other terms are mentioned (e.g. "the Inuit"), instead of saying "Native
Americans"), I will indicate the terms as used in the text. If any specific term is not used, I cross-reference pictures to determine racial groups.

Procedure

To identify broad information, I will first categorize the selected lessons into types of continents/regional areas and countries and types of countries. For instance, I may find the lesson referring to the United States. I will report this lesson into North America in the "Continent/Area" row and into the United States in the "Country Represented" row. I will count the frequency of appearance of each continent and nation. If the lesson describes individuals as well as countries, I will indicate what groups of people are represented in the text. If the lesson mentions "Americans," I will report "Americans" in the "Groups represented in the text" row. If it does not explain people, I will indicate "No people" in the same row. All results will be discussed in Chapter IV.

Hypotheses

As mentioned earlier, the purpose of content analysis is to identify which racial and ethnic group(s)/individual(s) was/were presented and how often they appeared in the textbooks. The Course of Study states that teaching materials, including textbooks, should include topics on both Japan and other nations. Therefore, this study examines two hypotheses, focusing on external and internal racial diversity of Japan. The first hypothesis will investigate international issues (i.e. nation/race diversity in the world). The second one will focus on national issues (i.e. 

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5 The Course of Study guidelines (1989, 1998) states: “A variety of topics should be selected from among those concerning the daily life, manners and customs, stories, geography, history, etc. of the Japanese as well as of other peoples in the world, especially, those who use that particular language (i.e. English language in this case) in daily life”.

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internal diversity in Japan). As the Course of Study indicates, I anticipate that the textbooks will include more various racial groups in Japan as well as around the world over time.

In addition to the above, I will also pay attention to “silence” in texts. In other words, I intend to uncover what racial group(s) and/or individual(s) was/were not discussed. It is important to shed light on individuals and racial groups who were not selected in textbooks. The appearance and disappearance of individuals, races, and nations correspond to Japan’s important political and economic relations. This also leads to further examination of power relations in discourse analysis of text.

Hypothesis I: International Focus

From the international level, I hypothesize that while the earlier textbooks will recognize only a few racial groups, more various races as well as nations will be expressed in the later editions. For instance, the United States and Japan may be the most frequently covered among the selected nations. More specifically, white Americans as well as Japanese will be featured most often while African Americans will be featured fewer times than other races. To respond to Hypothesis I, I examine what racial and ethnic groups as well as nations around the world were represented and how often they appeared in the text.

Since this study focuses on teaching English as a foreign language, major countries introduced in the English language textbooks will be predominantly English speaking countries such as Australia, Canada, Great Britain, and the United States. I anticipate that Asian nations such as China and Korea will be increasingly featured in the English language textbooks since Japan’s political and economic attention to its Asian neighbors has recently increased. In other words, the later texts would more
often recognize English speakers in a variety of countries than the earlier editions since the English language becomes recognized as an international or universal language.

Racial and ethnic groups of each country are precisely examined. For example, people in the United States are categorized into African Americans, Asian Americans, Hispanic/Latino Americans, Native Americans, white Americans, race/ethnicity ambiguous, and mixed race group. I intend to investigate whether these racial and ethnic groups are fully recognized and how they are expressed. The results will be presented by published years (1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, and 2002).

Hypothesis II: National Focus

At the national level, I will identify what nationalities living in Japan were selected and how often they appeared in texts. Through this analysis, I will uncover if four major minority groups in Japan were included (Ainu indigenous people, Korean descendents living in Japan, Buraku-min or social outcasts, and foreign immigrant workers), and if so, which groups were expressed and how often they appeared. I also investigate if interactions between the mainstream Japanese and the minorities take place. To examine how the conversation takes place, I will further conduct a discourse analysis. It is important to see how social standings of individuals are expressed in text. I will examine if and how social standings of Japanese characters are differently described than other racial and ethnic groups, including minorities, living in Japan.

Content Analysis of Visual Images

Both texts and pictures in the Japanese English language textbooks are used to explain topics and events as well as linguistic patterns and grammar. In order to
analyze representations of pictures, I draw upon the work of Ferree and Hall (1990) examining illustrations in introductory sociology textbooks. According to Ferree and Hall (1990), pictures and drawings give concrete images of the abstract concepts presented in the text. They also suggest that the authors’ intentions, the audiences’ expectations, and publishers’ marketing practices all need to be examined when analyzing what pictures portray. That is, the pictures and drawings in textbooks present a socially constructed image of race and gender that is acceptable to authors, publishers, teachers and students.

Ferree and Hall (1990) examined illustrations in their research at three levels of analysis. The first level of representation is the depiction of individuals. The second level of analysis examined how social relationships among the members were portrayed in the race and gender categories. Finally, the third level of analysis is the placement of pictures in topic areas usually covered in introductory sociology textbooks.

Based on their approach to visual images, my study will examine who was/were in each picture, categorized by sex and race (e.g. Asian, Black, Hispanic, Indigenous, White, race ambiguous, and mixed race group). Pictures and drawings can be designed as individual or group pictures. I will identify what individuals were doing, with whom they were, and what role they played in those pictures. If Japanese race appears in a picture, I intend to determine if racial and ethnic differences are depicted, compared to other races. If people from other countries appear in a picture, I will identify what countries the individuals were from and what racial and ethnic groups were selected. If a picture shows interaction between/among both Japanese and people from different countries, role (what role each person plays and how they interact), power (status differences) and action (who is acting and how he/she is
acting) will be examined. Pictures are used to explain and emphasize texts. In the process of picture analysis, I investigate how pictures were used by referring to topics.

**Unit of Analysis and Sample Selection of Pictures**

For content analysis of visual images, the unit of analysis is each drawing or photograph. I examined all the drawings and pictures representing countries but excluded pictures of objects that do not refer to a country. I categorized pictures, depending on scenery, cities, buildings, maps, and signs. To identify pictures of countries, I cross-referenced the pictures with text to confirm if they have labels of names. If pictures represent only people without visible scenery, I excluded those pictures from this analysis.

There are 956 visual images (drawings and photos) used in the fifteen textbooks. In total, 514 visual images were examined in this study because the rest of photos and drawings do not represent nations, people, and cultures but refer to objects such as a baseball, a racket, fruits and flowers. That is, 358 visual images of objects, which show neither country nor people, were excluded from this study.

For the next step, I categorized 514 visual images into two types: pictures of places, signs, and buildings and those of people. While in all the textbooks, 244 pictures are used to indicate countries (places, signs, and buildings), an individual or a group of people is shown in 354 pictures. The pictures of places, signs, and buildings are analyzed to identify what nations are cited. Furthermore, to examine who is (are) featured and what type of interactions are shown in pictures, I sorted the visual images of people into an individual and a group (i.e. more than two people). There are 84 pictures of an individual and 270 are pictures of a group. While the pictures of an individual are to determine what racial group is featured, those of a pair or a group are
intended to find what type of interracial interactions take place. These visual images also help to determine characters’ social standings when texts do not describe specifically. Appearances of people such as clothes and possessions of cars and houses are noted carefully.

**Hypotheses**

As stated in the content analysis of text, picture analysis will be also conducted, based on two hypotheses: International focus and National focus.

**Hypothesis I: International Focus**

In response to Hypothesis I: International focus, I will identify what countries (Africa, Asia, Europe, North and South America) were selected and what racial/ethnic groups (Asian, Black, Hispanic, White, race ambiguous, and mixed race group) were depicted in pictures, and what subjects/texts/situations were described with the pictures (i.e. what situation/event a picture represents). Pictures show sceneries and individuals. If a picture shows some scenery, I will identify what country was selected. If individuals appear in a picture, I will first see whether there is an individual or a group. If an individual is featured, I will determine who would be selected and depicted. If individuals appear, I will identify who they are and how they appear. That is, I will study physical appearance (e.g. skin color, eye color, and hair style), social standings such as occupations (e.g. student, teacher, lawyer, scientist, musician, or farmer) and possessions (clothes and other valuables), facial expressions (e.g. smiling, questioning, or upset), and actions (e.g. standing, sitting, or holding their arms).

It is important to investigate the frequency of interactions between people
from different cultural groups because this is an indicator of significant relationships between nations. For instance, some photos of China may appear to introduce Japanese students’ study abroad experience in China. A business meeting in the United States would be described between Japanese and white Americans. From these pictures, Japan’s economic and political partnerships with other nations may be found. I will further investigate power relations in pictures through a discourse analysis.

Hypothesis II: National Focus

To deal with the Hypothesis II: Issues within Japan, I first identify what racial/ethnic groups living in Japan were expressed and what types of interaction took place in visual images. If individuals in a picture are made up of interracial groups, for instance, Japanese and people from other racial groups, I study how they were expressed in pictures. In particular, I uncover what racial group had more (or less, none) interaction with the Japanese and how often the interaction appeared. I anticipate that white Americans may have most interactions with the mainstream Japanese. If individuals in pictures are Japanese and Japanese minorities, I intend to demonstrate how they appeared or interacted with each other. One example would examine how the Ainu people were depicted and whether they interact with the mainstream Japanese or not in pictures. If there is a picture of Japanese and the Ainu, this may indicate a closer relation between the two groups.

Hypothesis II explores how race and ethnic relations within Japan are described. I hypothesize that the English language textbook representation of race and ethnic relations within Japan is limited although more racial and ethnic diversity over time is expected. To respond to the Hypothesis II, I looked at both texts and pictures.
In content analysis with text, I selected every lesson referring to Japan. To explore what racial groups living in Japan are described in text, I counted the number of nationalities represented in the textbooks. In content analysis with pictures, I also selected only pictures representing Japan. To identify pictures of Japan, I checked the pictures by cross-reference with texts and labels.

**Discourse Analysis**

Discourse analysis is a systematic study of textual or conversational structure and also focuses on the analysis of the relationships between “text and context” (van Dijk, 1991: 45). It “aims to show how the cognitive, social, historical, cultural, or political contexts of language use and communication impinge on the contents, meanings, structures, or strategies of text or dialogue, and vise versa, how discourse itself is an integral part of and contributes to the structures of these contexts” (Ibid: 45). For the study of Japanese school textbooks, I examine how social, political and economic structures are embedded in the organization of textbooks, and how the textbooks may contribute to the formation of students' cognition or the reproduction or legitimation of power.

van Dijk (1991: 6) suggests that discourse analysis should pay special attention to “how such contents are formulated, that is to style, rhetoric, argumentative or narrative structures or conversational strategies”. It is important to identify what is being written and what is not being written about ethnic minorities or about ethnic relations to analyze a specific discourse. This would expand an account of the contents of discourse in terms of both global and local meanings. My study focuses on how English language textbooks in Japanese secondary schools express Japanese cultural attitudes to other members within the society as well as to other people and
cultures overseas.

Textbooks serve as an important means for delivering political and ideological orientations. Given the hypothesis that Japan has become a multicultural society, it is important to analyze how cultural attitudes about race/ethnicity are taught and how international power relations are expressed in Japanese junior high school textbooks. Omi and Winant (1994) argue that "ethnicity, class, and nation" are important categories to study the evolution of race and ethnic relations theories, ideology and politics in the United States. Incorporating their approach to race, I explore race and ethnic relations described in Japanese junior high school textbooks by focusing on three components: nation, race/ethnicity, and social standing. I will determine role (what role each person plays and how they interact), power (status differences) and action (who is acting and how he/she is acting). In order to establish power relations, I study who takes the initiative in conversations (or who has power to take the initiative in a dialogue), how superiority/inferiority are depicted, and how the conversation took place.

Power in Discourse

The major purpose of the discourse analysis in this study is to determine Japan's political and economic position described in the Japanese English language textbooks. I will examine how power relations were shaped and negotiated through interaction (i.e. conversations). To provide deeper understanding of power in discourse, I will rely on Michel Foucault's thesis on power and knowledge. He defines:

Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organization. And not only do individuals circulate between its threads; they are always in the position of simultaneously undergoing and exercising this power (Foucault, 1980: 98).
His concern is to see "how people govern themselves and others through the production of knowledge" (Ritzer and Goodman, 2004: 457). Knowledge generates power, constituting individuals as subjects and then governing the subjects with the knowledge. He is interested in comparing patterns of one system of domination to another. The highest-ranking forms of knowledge (i.e. scientific knowledge) have the greatest power. Capitalism is a good example of power. While capitalism empowers those who own the means of production, it weakens those without such power. In other words, if people without power gain powerful knowledge, the knowledge becomes their power to control over the other. In this sense, textbooks can be powerful tools not only to justify social arrangements but also to rationalize unequal treatment.

The relation between power and dependence is a key notion in this study. Richard Emerson (1972) conceptualized connections between power and dependence in an exchange theory. Power is defined as "the level of potential cost which one actor can induce another to 'accept'; whereas dependence is explained as "the level of potential cost an actor will accept within a relation (Emerson, 1972: 64)." The power of one person over another is equal to the dependence on the other. For instance, "[t]he dependence of actor A upon actor B is (1) directly proportional to A's motivational investment in goals mediated by B, and (2) inversely proportional to the availability of those goals to A outside of the A-B relation (Emerson, 1962: 32)." Therefore, a sense of dependence is strongly linked to power. Unequal power and dependency lead to imbalances in relationships. However, these situations would eventually create a more balanced power-dependence relation.

Drawing on Emerson's theory, I will scrutinize power-dependence relations in discourse analysis of conversation. Since my goal is to identify how Japan's
international position was expressed in the English language textbooks, I will choose the most popular pattern of interactions that Japanese characters exhibited.

Sample Selection and Procedure for Discourse Analysis of Text

In discourse analysis, I intend to see how the relationship between Japan and the United States was expressed. Thus, I will only examine conversations between Japanese and Americans. Americans refer to white, black, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics. If an interaction between Japanese and white American appears, it will be chosen. If Japanese had conversations with both white and black Americans, both cases will be examined to compare. If Japanese do not have interactions with white Americans, this will be also reported because it is important to interpret what type of interaction is described and what is not selected there. This perspective enables me to compare how Japanese attitudes toward white and black differed, for instance.

Through the interaction, I will identify Japan’s international position with the United States by analyzing the Japanese attitudes toward Americans and vice versa. Samples are randomly selected. Three or four samples of conversations will be retrieved from each edition (1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, and 2002). In total, nineteen types of interactions will be examined.

To interpret the data, I will draw on Wood and Kroger’s strategies (2000). Main points to analyze are: content (e.g. accounts); features (e.g. intensifiers); forms (e.g. direct or indirect; simple or elaborate); structure (e.g. hierarchical); actions; turn-taking; and function (Wood and Kroger, 2000). I will first identify what topics were discussed and how power-dependence relations were created in each conversation. I analyze what topic/subject was discussed and how the conversation took place.
After grasping obvious concepts or meanings in conversations, I will examine positioning and subject positions. I will examine whose story is being told, who resolves problems, how other groups appear, how these other groups cause or resolve problems, who is asking a question and who is answering, and who is sympathized with or learned most about. During this process, racial and sexual stereotypes, background, and setting are carefully noted.

To characterize power relations, I will focus on how the subjects reacted to each other’s remarks. For instance, I will identify who is giving information (knowledge) and who is accepting it. I will see if and how the speakers negotiated to take over the conversation. I will also attempt to reveal the significance of “silence” in conversation as I intend to discover and illuminate what is not mentioned there.

Hypothesis

As Winant (1994) and Marger (2006) argue, racial issues are becoming internationalized and globalized due to the expansion of globalization. Based on this argument, I hypothesize that the Japanese will be described as equivalent to the white race (white American) in the textbooks. More specifically, the earlier textbooks would tend to describe white culture and the white race. As the textbooks become more recent, they will feature more episodes regarding Japan and its people. Eventually, the Japanese may take the leading roles in the later textbooks. That is, the Japanese race may gain power over interactions with the white race as well as others.

I reveal how Japanese characters are depicted, depending on different settings (inside and outside of Japan). For example, if a Japanese is presented as living in Japan, he or she may be described as a leading character who has an initiative in conversation over other racial groups, while if presented as living in the United
States, he or she may be described in different ways as a minority (i.e. Japanese American) or a legal alien (i.e. an international student).
CHAPTER IV

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF THE REPRESENTATION OF RACE AND ETHNIC RELATIONS

There are three levels of Japanese English language textbooks I examined for this study. The textbook entitled “New Horizon 1: English Course” (expressed as NH1 below) is intended to be used for teaching Grade 7, “New Horizon 2: English Course” (expressed as NH2 below) is for Grade 8, and “New Horizon 3: English Course” (expressed as NH3 below) is for Grade 9. In the textbooks from NH1 to NH3, stories and situations usually continued. For instance, the content of NH1 (1987) was based on stories and conversations by main figures, Mike, an American boy, and his family, Lucy, an Australian girl, and two Japanese students called Junko and Ken. Mike and his family live in Tokyo, Japan, for one and a half years. In NH2 (1987), Mike is now back in San Francisco. Major stories were presented through experiences of his American friend, Paul and Kathy. Emi, a new Japanese girl, becomes one of Mike’s friends. The content of NH3 (1987) features various stories and more diverse locations and people as well as Japan and the United States. However, the same characters still appear and reveal several events in their everyday lives.

Focusing on lessons introducing continents/countries and people living in the continents/countries, this chapter examines the diversity of nations and people represented in the textbooks. Both texts and visual images will be examined to assess two hypotheses. The first hypothesis focuses on nations and peoples around the world. The second hypothesis scrutinizes nationalities living in Japan. The results will
be presented in the following sections.

Text Analysis

Content analysis of fifteen Japanese junior high school textbooks is conducted to examine two hypotheses. The first hypothesis focuses on international issues. I studied how racial and ethnic diversity around the world is described in Japanese English language textbooks. I hypothesize that the representation of race and ethnicity in the later edition will be greater than in the earlier editions. My second hypothesis examines race and ethnic relations in Japan. I hypothesize that the later editions represent more diverse racial and ethnic groups living in Japan than the earlier editions.

To investigate the diversity of nations and racial/ethnic groups around the world and a variety of nationalities within Japan, I selected lessons which mentioned names of continents and countries because this enables me to investigate what types of peoples were represented when particular continents and countries were introduced. In total, 97 lessons out of 192 lessons were subjected to content analysis. Examining the national diversity around the world, I will identify people living in each country and their races. To explore how Japanese English language textbooks situate Japan in international relations, I examined each lesson for its reference to a country. As a first step, I am trying to determine which countries were represented and how often they appeared in each year. As explained in the previous chapter, I used names of nation and nationality as an indicator to determine the race diversity. In addition, I can determine if these representations have changed over time.

First, I will find what continents were represented and what countries were featured. For the next stage, I will investigate whether people in the countries were
represented. If individuals are described, I will identify if their physical features (racial characteristics) and national origins and other cultural features (ethnic characteristics) are featured. If no people are mentioned in the text, I will report “no people represented.”

Hypothesis I: International Representations in Text

The 1987 Textbooks

My first aim was to determine how many countries were selected in the texts. I was interested in finding if there was a broad range of countries represented, and a broad range of people and places. Figure 1 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1987 textbooks.

![Figure 1: Frequency of Representations in Lessons (1987)](image_url)

I first examined the lessons to determine what countries were described and categorized the countries into their respective continents. I found that within 22 lessons analyzed, five different continents were represented: Africa was mentioned in two of the lessons, Asia was mentioned in 14 lessons, Australia was represented in one lesson, Europe was represented in six lessons, and North America was described...
in ten lessons. Asia was most frequently covered, followed by North America. To note, the sum of frequency of appearance of the countries (N=33) does not match the total number of lessons (N=22) because more than two countries were sometimes featured in one lesson. For instance, Japan, England, and Norway were introduced in the first lesson (NH3, 1987).

Next, I will determine what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 1 offers a summary of the countries represented and racial groups represented.

Table 1: Groups within Each Country (1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the lessons</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Non-Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Japanese American Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Native Australian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>John White</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ruth Olsen</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maria and her father</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>American Japanese Not specific</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Africa was introduced, the text did not provide specific names of
countries in Africa but only mentioned "Africa". Of 14 lessons in which Asia was
represented, Japan was featured in 12 of the lessons, India in one, and Malaysia in one
lesson. Australia was featured in one lesson. Of six lessons in which Europe was
described, England was featured in two of the lessons, France, Greece, Norway, and
Spain were featured in one respectively. All the ten lessons in which North America
was covered represented the United States. Neither South American countries nor

When Africa was described, the text mentioned "In Africa, a lot of people are
starving, ... (NH2, 1987: 76)." To determine whether they were depicted as either
people of color or non-color, I cross-referenced two pictures accompanied with the
lesson (NH2, 1987: 77). People of color were depicted in the pictures. When India
was introduced, the word "an Indian student" was mentioned in the text (NH2, 1987:
72). "Indian" in the text referred to "Asian Indian". There was a picture of a person
wearing a turban (Ibid: 72). From the picture, the Asian Indian student was considered
Sikh. When Japan was covered, three groups were mentioned: American, Australian,
and Japanese. Mike, an American boy, and Lucy, an Australian girl, were introduced.
In pictures, they were depicted as non-colored people. Japanese people named Junko
and Ken were featured. They were also shown as non-colored people in pictures. The
difference between the former groups (American and Australian) and the latter
(Japanese) in pictures were hair color. Even though all pictures featured in the
textbooks were black and white, one can tell that each person's hair color is different.
Mike's hair was white while Junko and Ken's hair was black. However, hair-color
difference is not sufficient to determine whether the American boy was actually
American or Japanese. In other words, it is impossible to clearly determine who is
American or who is Japanese in pictures without the text. When Malaysia was
mentioned, no one was described in the lesson.

When Australia was explained, the words "people in Australia" and "the native people" were mentioned (NH2: 51-55). Cross-referencing pictures, I found that "people in Australia" were non-colored and "the native people" were colored. "The native people" were mentioned when the episode of Captain Cook was described (NH2, 1987: 55). They did not appear as contemporary citizens but were only explained in a historical fact.

When England was covered, no specific group was described but a boy named John White was introduced (NH3, 1987: 1). John was portrayed as a non-colored person in the picture. When Norway was mentioned, a girl named Ruth Olsen was introduced (NH3, 1987: 1). She was depicted as a non-colored person in the picture. When Spain was introduced in the one lesson, people of non-color were featured in the pictures. In the lessons in which France and Greece were covered, no groups of people were featured.

Finally, when the United States was discussed, three groups were represented: American, Japanese people, and people with race ambiguous. Mike, Paul and other American people were featured and depicted as non-colored in the pictures. Emi, a Japanese student, was introduced as studying in the United States.

When Australia, Japan, and the United States were covered, more than two groups were featured. In particular, the appearance of Japanese people in the United States and non-Japanese (i.e. American and Australian) in Japan was a most interesting feature. This suggests two significant points. One is that non-Japanese people living in Japan were depicted. They were English-speaking people, which would encourage Japanese students to learn "their" language and culture. The other point is that while people living in the United States consisted of three different
groups, only two groups were clearly recognized: American and Japanese. This reflects a strong bond between Japan and the United States. Japanese migration in the United States was most salient. The presence of the Japanese seems important in both Japan and the United States.

Some stereotypes were created and confirmed in the 1987 textbooks. First of all, the text does not specify groups of people living in Africa. The continent of Africa was treated as if it were a country. It seems that only people of color live in Africa. What about European immigrants in Africa? Arab people? The text mentioned no other groups of people in Africa. Africa was introduced when two American people of non-color (Mike and his mother) had a conversation. They indicated that people living in Africa were "starving" because of "the shortage of food (NH2, 1987: 76)."

The way the native people were described in the text was different from the way people of non-color were featured. When Captain Cook was mentioned, the native people in Australia were introduced. The natives were described as if they were not alive in a contemporary society. People of color in Africa and Australia did not have interactions with any contemporary citizens and those of non-color. Only interactions occurred between non-color peoples.

Finally, the majority groups of people represented in the 1987 textbooks were non-color people. Only people of color were depicted in Africa and Australia. There is a lot of vagueness regarding racial and ethnic groups represented in the texts. Although names of nations and nationalities were clearly described, any words to refer to physical traits such as skin color and facial features were not mentioned. Visual images offered physical characteristics such as skin color and hair color. Skin color of Asian people and Americans were white while people in Africa and the native people in Australia were black. There are no clear differences among
Americans, Australians, and Japanese in pictures unless the texts provided information (names of persons and nationalities).

This ambiguity may reflect two things. While it is possible to think that the textbooks neglected physical characteristics of different peoples, it is also possible to assume that the textbooks avoided describing detailed of human features. The way people were described in the textbooks makes me wonder if it is important to distinguish peoples, based on physical characteristics as treated in the United States.

The 1990 Textbooks

Figure 2 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1990 textbooks. Following the same procedure, I determined the countries and categorized them into their continents.

![Figure 2: Frequency of Representations in Lessons (1990)](image)

I found that within 25 lessons analyzed, four different continents were represented: Asia was represented in 19 lessons, Australia was represented in one lesson, Europe was represented in six lessons, and North America was described in nine lessons. Similar to the results of the 1987 edition, Asia was the most frequently covered, followed by North America. While Africa was featured in the 1987
Next, I will provide more detailed information by determining what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 2 offers a summary of the countries represented and racial groups represented in the 1990 textbooks.

Table 2: Groups within Each Country (1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the lesson</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>German</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Native Australian</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>John White</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ruth Olsen</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Maria and her father</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of 19 lessons in which Asia was represented, Japan was featured in 17 of the lessons, India in one, and Turkey in one lesson. Australia was featured in one lesson. Of six lessons in which Europe was described, England was featured in three of the lessons, Greece, Norway, and Spain were featured in one lesson respectively. All the
nine lessons in which North America was covered were represented by the United States.

When India was discussed, a picture of an Asian Indian was accompanied with the text. As described in the 1987 edition, he was depicted as a person of non-color wearing turban. In the 17 lessons in which Japan was covered, six different groups were mentioned: Japanese, American, Australian, Chinese, German, and Swiss. Although Chinese, West German and Swiss people living in Japan were discussed, there were no indicators to determine their physical characteristics in the texts and pictures. When Turkey was introduced, people in Turkey were described: “In Turkey the people were kind and friendly to me” (NH3, 1990: 36). Turkish people and Japanese were depicted as non-colored in the picture accompanied with the text. Mr. Sato, a Japanese man, met a young couple in Turkey. They invited him to their home for dinner. The picture depicted the three people at table. In the picture, they resembled each other in terms of skin color and facial features as well as the way they dressed. There was no particular physical difference between Japanese and Turkish in the picture.

It is important to note that Turkey was presented as a part of Asia in the textbooks since Turkey was explained as an Asian country in the later editions (NH2, 1993; NH2, 2002). According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, economic and cultural exchange has been increasing between Japan and Turkey since the 1980s. Turkey is considered geographically important because of its location at the crossroads of Asia, the Middle East, and Europe.

When Australia was presented, the phrases “people in Australia” and “the native people” were mentioned (NH2, 1990: 42-47). Although the text content was

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6 http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/middle_e/turkey/index.html
almost same as the text represented in the previous edition, there was no picture of the native people in the 1990 edition. Photographs accompanied with the text showed only white people.

In the three lessons in which England was covered, a British boy named John White was depicted in one picture. One of the lessons described a man on the motorcycle in London (NH3, 1990: 55). The man in a photograph was a white man with beard. In the one lesson in which Norway was mentioned, a white girl named Ruth Olsen was featured in one picture. When Spain was introduced in the one lesson, the story of “The Altamira Cave” was introduced (NH2, 1990: 31-35). Maria and her father were depicted as non-colored in the drawings. In the lessons in which Greece was covered, a Greek mythology was featured (NH3, 1990: 40-44). The story was about a nymph named Echo. No actual people in Greece were featured in the text and pictures.

Finally, in the nine lessons in which the United States was featured, two groups were featured: American and Japanese. As mentioned in the 1987 edition, some drawings offered different physical characteristics although the text only provided nationalities and individuals’ names. For example, when Emi (Japanese girl) and Mr. Hill (American) were depicted in a picture, different physical characteristics were hair color and facial features (NH3, 1990: 49-51). Hair color of Americans was lighter but hair of Japanese was black. The nose of Americans was higher than that of Japanese in the picture. Skin color of both American and Japanese was white.

The most salient feature of the 1990 textbooks is that Japan had the most diverse racial and ethnic groups among the selected countries. In Japan, six different racial and ethnic groups were featured while the major groups in the United States were Americans and Japanese. The United States was represented as less
multiracial/ethnic than Japan. No African Americans, Hispanics, and Native Americans were described in the text.

As found in the 1987 edition, the 1990 textbooks tended to focus on Americans and Japanese. The two groups appeared when Japan and the United States were introduced. No people of color were featured because there was no picture or indicator in the text to determine physical featured of the native people in Australia. Africa was not even included in the 1990 textbooks.

The 1993 Textbooks

Figure 3 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1993 textbooks. I identified the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them into their continents.

![Bar chart showing frequency of representations in lessons (1993)]

Figure 3: Frequency of Representations in Lessons (1993)

I found that within 21 lessons analyzed, six different continents were represented: Africa was mentioned in one of the lessons, Asia was represented in 19 lessons, Australia was represented in two lessons, Europe was represented in three lessons, North America was described in 13 lessons, and South America was featured in one lesson. Similar to the two previous editions, Asia was the most frequently
covered, followed by North America. While Africa was re-featured and South America was first included in this edition, the coverage of Europe declined from six lessons in the previous edition to three lessons.

To provide more detailed information, I will show what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 3 summarizes the countries and groups of people represented in the 1993 textbooks.

As in the 1987 edition when Africa was introduced, the text still did not specify a country in Africa was addressed in the one lesson. Asian countries were the most diverse among the countries represented in the 1993 textbooks. Of 19 lessons in which Asia was represented, Japan was featured in 14 of the lessons, China in one, India in one, Persia (the present Iran) in one, Singapore in one, and Turkey in one lesson. Australia was featured in two lessons. In the text, the word “Persia” was used to explain historical relationships among Asian countries (NH2, 1993: 88). In three lessons in which Europe was described, England was only selected. Of 13 lessons in which North America was featured, Canada was covered in one lesson and the United States was represented in 11 of the lessons. Finally, in the one lesson in which South America was featured, Peru was introduced.

When discussing Africa, a person of color was depicted in one picture accompanied with the text. African dance were introduced when the “International Week” was held at a junior high school in the United States (NH 3, 1993: 65). Thus, the introduction of Africa was a part of the event. A photograph portrayed a dancing black man. The text did not specify any name of African country and what type of African dance he performed.
Table 3: Groups within Each Country (1993)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the text</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not specific</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Inuit</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the text</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not specific</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Indian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Persia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Several races</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Aborigine</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>North America</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Inuit</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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When China, India, Persia (the present Iran), and Turkey were featured in the one lesson, when the story of Asia was introduced. It explained that “Asia is one of the six continents, and it is the largest. Japan is a part of Asia,” (NH2, 1993: 85). The text described Japan’s significant relationships with each of the countries.

Many years ago Japan got a lot of things from other Asian countries. Kanji, for example, came from China. Glasswork came all the way from Persia by way of the Silk Road. Some musical instruments came from India (Ibid: 88-89).

Moreover, the text revealed an interesting connection between Japan and Turkey: “Other Asian countries got things from Japan. The largest museum in Turkey has a lot of china from Kyushu (Ibid: 89).” Kyushu is a southern part of Japan islands. Apparently, there is an active cultural exchange between the two countries. No specific characteristics of people were described although the text introduced the four countries. Even though some photographs were also featured with the text, I could not identify which photo referred to which country’s people. Therefore, I did not indicate any word in the table.

Japan was mentioned with featuring seven different groups: Japanese, American, (Asian) Indian, Canadian, Brazilian, Dutch, and Swiss. When the lesson entitled “Opinions of Teenagers from Abroad (NH3, 1993: 48-52),” four international students living in Japan (an Asian Indian boy, a Brazilian boy, a Dutch girl, and a Swiss girl) were introduced. Each person was depicted in a picture. Asian Indian and Brazilian students were depicted as people of color. The Asian Indian wore turban. Dutch and Swiss girls were portrayed as people of non-color. Their skin was white while Asian Indian and Brazilian’s skin was light black. Americans living in Japan were depicted as people of non-color in visual images. For instance, in the lesson “Talking to a Visitor” (NH3, 1993: 9-10), Ms. Brown (American) and Yukio (Japanese) were featured. A “visitor” refers to non-Japanese. Ms. Brown was a visitor.
to teach the English language in Japan. A Canadian girl names Kate was also featured (NH1, 1993: 24) and introduced as a friend of Mike’s (Mike is American). Skin color of both people was white in a picture but hair color of Canadian and American were lighter than Yukio’s hair color.

When Singapore was introduced, “Several races” were mentioned in the text (NH1, 1993: 78-79). The text described: “People of several races live in Singapore. Many of us speak Chinese and English (Ibid: 79).” From this statement, one of racial and ethnic groups living in Singapore could be considered “Chinese” although what groups of people living there were still ambiguous. When the lesson was featured, two photographs showed people in Singapore. They were both colored and non-colored. It is impossible to determine what racial and ethnic groups were portrayed in the photographs.

In one lesson of the two lessons in which Australia was highlighted, the words “the Aborigines” and “Western people” were mentioned although no picture of them was featured (NH3, 1993: 60). When Ayers Rock was introduced as a sacred place for the Aborigines, they were explained as “people who were here long before Western people came” (NH3, 1993: 60). In the other lesson, Janet Green, an Australian girl, and Mr. Hara, a Japanese language teacher, were introduced (NH3, 1993: 4). There was a picture of Janet, which portrayed a person of non-color. Although there was no picture of Mr. Hara, his surname refers to Japanese. Japanese were described in one, the Aborigines in one, and white people in two lessons.

England was introduced in three lessons. Unlike the previous editions, no other European countries appeared. In the lesson entitled “Paula’s Summer Vacation,” Paula and her parents (Americans of non-color) planned to visit London and stay at her aunt and uncle’s place (NH2, 1993: 19). Paula and her parents asked a woman
how to get to a wax museum in London called "Madame Tussaud’s." A drawing portrayed Paula and her parents asking a woman on the street in London. All the people depicted in the picture were white.

No Canadian people were featured when Canada was presented. However, when the folktale called “Meta and the Bear” was featured, the Inuit people were introduced as people living in Canada and Alaska in the United States (NH2, 1993: 25-28). Thus, I indicated the Inuit in both Canada and the United States in Table 3. An old lady named Meta was portrayed in two pictures. Her skin color was hard to identify in the pictures because her face was covered with a hood.

When the United States was featured, five groups were represented: American of non-color, American of color, Chinese, Japanese, and Inuit. When the episode of “International Week” (NH 3, 1993) was featured, three American students were depicted in a picture. One of them was depicted as a person of color and the others were boys. One boy was non-colored and the other was colored. Another example is that Joe White, an American student living in Washington D.C., was introduced (NH3, 1993: 2). He was depicted as white in a picture. A Chinese student named Ming was featured in the text. She was depicted as a person of non-color with black hair. In terms of physical traits, Chinese are portrayed as similar to Japanese. Americans of non-color have light black (close to gray) hair in visual images while Asians (Chinese and Japanese) had black hair. In the one lesson in which Peru was featured, the place called Nazca was introduced. No people living in Peru were featured. Peru was described as the location where Joe, Paula, Ken and Kyoko visited for sightseeing.

Among the three editions (1987, 1990, and 1993), the 1993 edition represented the most diverse range of countries and racial and ethnic groups. Four
characteristics should be noted. First, the 1993 textbooks recognized a South American country (Peru) and a Brazilian living in Japan. Particularly, the appearance of Brazilians living in Japan may reflect the migration of Nikkei Brazilians (Japanese descendents born in Brazil) to Japan. According to Tsuda (2000: 55), "[t]he migration of the Japanese Brazilians to Japan as unskilled foreign workers was initiated in the late 1980s because of a severe Brazilian economic crisis and a crippling shortage of unskilled labor in Japan." Secondly, while the coverage of white people living in Japan exceeded that of Japanese people, the Japanese migration to other nations was also expanded to the United States and Australia. Thirdly, although a folktale of the Inuit was selected, there was no interaction with contemporary citizens in Canada and the United States. Finally, when the United States was introduced, more racial and ethnic groups were featured in this edition. While white people appeared the most often, Japanese, Chinese, black and the Inuit people were included. People of color from the United States were introduced for the first time but Japanese people living in the States still outnumbered the coverage of people of color.

Based on the results of Table 3, people of color were represented when Africa, Japan, Singapore and the United States were highlighted. Colored people represented were African, American, Asian Indian, and Brazilian while non-colored people represented in the texts were: American, Australian, Japanese, Chinese, British, Dutch, and Swiss. Americans were represented as non-colored and colored. When the Aborigines and the Inuit were featured, their physical traits were not identifiable. The Aborigines were mentioned as the past people while the Inuit had no interactions with contemporary people in North America.

Although the 1993 textbooks acknowledged various nations and peoples, they still did not include Japanese minorities. The textbooks only represented foreign
immigrants in Japan. It seems that it is important to mention Americans and other foreign nationals in Japan, rather than to recognize Japanese minorities such as the Ainu people and Korean residents.

The 1997 Textbooks

Figure 4 provides a summary of the continents represented in the 1997 textbooks. I determined the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them into their continents.

Figure 4: Frequency of Representations in Lessons (1997)

I found that within 16 lessons analyzed, four continents were represented: Africa was mentioned in two of the lessons, Asia was represented in 13 lessons, Europe was represented in four lessons, and North America was described in six lessons. Unlike the 1993 edition, Australia and South America were not selected this time. Asia was the most frequently covered, followed by North America.

I will show what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 4 offers a summary of the countries represented and groups represented in the 1997 textbooks.
Table 4: Groups within Each Country (1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the text</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Japanese</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Japanese Ainu American American Brazilian British Canadian Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color/Non-color/Color/Non-color/Non-color/Non-color/Non-color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Korean Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chinese Japanese Malay Asian Indian</td>
<td>Non-color/No indicator color color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Franz Joseph</td>
<td>Non-color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>British Not specific</td>
<td>Non-color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Not specific</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Japanese American American</td>
<td>Non-color/Non-color/Color</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Africa was featured in two lessons, no specific names of African countries were provided. Of 13 lessons in which Asia was represented, Japan was featured in nine of the lessons, Bangladesh in one, China in one, (South) Korea in one, and Singapore in one lesson. Unlike in the 1993 edition, Turkey was not
featured. In four lessons in which Europe was described, Austria was mentioned in one lesson, England was featured in two lessons and France in one lesson. Of 6 lessons in which North America was featured, Canada was covered in two lessons and the United States was represented in four of the lessons. Australia and South American countries were not addressed in this edition.

When Africa was mentioned, a person of color was depicted in one picture. The lesson entitled “A sister in Africa” revealed an episode of Yuki supporting an African girl named Rehema through a foster program (NH2, 1997: 43). In fact, Africa was mentioned in the conversation between Yuki (Japanese) and Brian (American). In a picture, Yuki showed a picture of Rehema to Brian. Brian’s hair color was white while Yuki’s was black. Their skin color was white. On the other hand, Rehema in the picture was depicted as colored.

In the lesson in which Bangladesh was introduced, a Japanese person was described as working in a village in Bangladesh to help farmers there (NH3, 1997: 78). There was a photograph of three people as explained as an example of activities of the JOCV (the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers). One of the three was a person of non-color and the others were black people. They were walking in the field in the picture. Since the text mentioned “My sister is working in a village in Bangladesh (Ibid: 78),” the person of non-color was a Japanese woman. The other two black people were considered farmers in Bangladesh.

Japan had the most various groups represented in the text. In the nine lessons in which Japan was covered, eight different groups were featured: Japanese, the Ainu (Japanese indigenous people), American of non-color, American of color, Brazilian of non-color, British of non-color, and Canadian of non-color and Canadian with race ambiguous. The Ainu people were represented when their folk story was introduced.
There were two pictures of the Ainu. One drawing showed an Ainu man and a fox. The other drawing featured several Ainu people. Because the Ainu people wore their traditional clothes in the pictures, one can tell that the Ainu were portrayed in the pictures although their physical features were similar to the mainstream Japanese.

Two groups of Americans living in Japan were described. After cross-referencing pictures, I found that Brian, Mary, and Ms. Smith were depicted as people of non-color while Beth was depicted as a person of color. There was an interracial couple. Sarah Robinson, an American girl, has an uncle, Tom Robinson. His wife is a Japanese, Yoko. A Canadian teacher, Ms. Green, a Brazilian student, Paulo Silva, and a British boy, Jack, were also featured when Japan was highlighted. Interestingly, even though each of the three has different national origin, all of them were depicted as people of non-color or white in visual images.

Two types of Canadians were represented. There was a Canadian woman studying in Japan was introduced but the text did not feature a picture of this person. Her physical characteristics were not identifiable. Another Canadian named Ms. Green was a new teacher at Japanese junior high school. She was depicted as a person of non-color in a picture. Paulo, a Brazilian student, was also featured as a person of non-color. Unlike Brazilian in the previous edition, Paulo was portrayed as a person with white skin, blue eyes, and blond hair. When non-Japanese (i.e. Americans of both non-color and color, Brazilian and Canadian) appeared in pictures, they were always depicted as white with lighter color hair. In contrast, Japanese were always portrayed as people with white skin and black hair.

As described in the previous editions, there was not much difference between Japanese and Americans in terms of physical traits. Names of individuals were indicators in the text to distinguish who is Japanese and who is American. Skin color
of Japanese was always white and same as Americans of non-color. When Beth was depicted in the picture, her skin was colored. Japanese characters' hair was the darkest (black). Beth’s hair was lighter than Japanese. White Americans had the lightest hair.

Korea was highlighted in the lesson “Our Neighbors (NH2, 1997: 50-53).” Korea here means South Korea. Koji, a Japanese boy, visited Korea and met many new Korean friends. No physical characteristics of Koreans were mentioned in the text. Although a photograph with the text showed a Korean girl, her face was not clearly shown. I could not identify whether Koreans were depicted as similar to other Asians.

Singapore was introduced as a multiethnic society. “Several different ethnic groups live there (NH2, 1997: 14).” They are “Chinese, Japanese, Malays, and others (Ibid: 15).” There were three photographs accompanied with the text. Each photo depicted Asian Indians, Chinese, and Malays. Asian Indians and Malays were colored and Chinese were non-colored. Although Japanese were described in the text, there was no visual image of Japanese.

In the one lesson in which Austria was mentioned, white people only appeared. White people in Austria were mentioned when the story about the song “Silent Night” was introduced. When the story of the Channel Tunnel was featured, both England and France were introduced because it is the Tunnel connected from London to Paris (NH2, 1997: 73-75). A photograph was accompanied with the text. There were two white people holding a French flag and an English flag. They celebrated the completion of the Tunnel.

In the two lessons in which Canada was described, Ms. Green from Canada was featured. In a picture, a Canadian flag was depicted besides Ms. Green. Another Canadian named Sarah Brown was featured in the text but there was no picture of her
(NH2, 1997: 52). When the United States was mentioned, Japanese, Americans of non-color, and Americans of color were featured. When the story “A Pajama Party” was featured, American and Japanese girls were mentioned. Four American girls were depicted as people of non-color. Yoko, a Japanese girl, was also portrayed as non-colored. Although skin color was same, hair color between Americans and Japanese were different. Japanese characters had black hair while Americans had light-colored hair.

People of color were represented in Africa, Bangladesh, Japan, Singapore, and the United States while people of non-color were represented in Bangladesh, Japan, Singapore, Austria, England, France, Canada, and the United States. When Bangladesh, Singapore, Japan, and the United States were mentioned, both colored and non-colored peoples were featured. African, Bangladeshi, Malay, and Asian Indian were portrayed as people of color: whereas other Asians (Chinese, Japanese, and the Ainu), Europeans (British, Austrian, and French), and Canadian were depicted as people of non-color or white. Americans were recognized as both colored and non-colored.

It was described that people of color in Africa and Bangladesh needed financial supports through volunteer work programs, hosted by Japan. On the other hand, the people in England and France developed the Channel Tunnel. The degree of power was represented between people of non-color and those of color. While the former group of people were often described to be independent (they can develop something by themselves), the latter group were dependent (they need other’s help to do something).

Most significantly, more than three racial and ethnic groups were expressed when Japan, Singapore, and the United States were introduced. In Japan, the Ainu
(Japanese indigenous people) were featured for the first time. Similar to the way the
Inuit and the Aborigine were described, the Ainu had no interactions with other
groups living in Japan. In the case of the United States, Americans of color,
Americans of no-color and Japanese people were featured. When people of color in
the United States and Japan were featured, their statuses were equal to non-colored
people’s statuses because both of them were described as junior high school students.

The 2002 Textbooks

Figure 5 presents a summary of the continents represented in the 2002
textbooks. I scrutinized the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them
into their continents.

![Figure 5: Frequency of Representations in Lessons (2002)](image)

I found that within 18 lessons analyzed, five different continents were
represented: Asia was represented in 8 lessons, Australia was represented in three
lessons, Europe was represented in one lesson, North America was described in five
lessons, and South America was represented in one lesson. While Africa disappeared,
Australia and South America was re-featured in this edition.

To clarify more specific countries and races, I will determine what countries
were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 5 offers a summary of the countries represented and racial groups represented in the 2002 textbooks.

Table 5: Groups within Each Country (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the continent in the lessons</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Frequency of appearance of the country in the lessons</th>
<th>Groups represented in the text</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Josna Japanese</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not specific</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Singapore and Several ethnic</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aisha</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
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<td>Australia</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Franz Joseph</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambigious</td>
<td>None</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of 8 lessons in which Asia was represented, Bangladesh in one, China in one, Japan in three, (South) Korea in one, Singapore in one, and Turkey in one lesson.
Three lessons featured Australia. In one lesson in which Europe was described, only Austria was mentioned in one lesson but no other European countries were featured. Of 5 lessons in which North America was featured, only the United States was represented but Canada disappeared. Finally, Guatemala was introduced in one lesson as a South American country. Compared to the previous edition, Africa was not covered in the 2002.

In the one lesson in which Bangladesh was featured, a Bangladesh girl, "Josna" and a Japanese girl, Yumi, were mentioned. Yumi joined the study tour to Bangladesh and stayed with Josna's family. Yumi worked with Josna by "pumping water from a well" and "milking the cow" (NH3, 2002: 27). When she went to Josna's school, Yumi observed: "At Josna's school, younger children are taught in the morning. Older children are taught in the afternoon. There aren't enough schools in Bangladesh (Ibid: 28)."

Although no physical features were mentioned in the text, there were drawings of Josna and Yumi and actual photographs of Bangladesh people. In one drawing, Josna's skin was darker than Yumi's. While her hair was brown, Yumi's was black. There was an apparent different between the two people. On the other hand, Josna and Yumi resembled each other except for skin and hair color differences. It also seemed that Josna was tanned. However, the Bangladeshis in the photographs were depicted as people of color. Cross-referencing the drawings and photographs, I categorized the people in Bangladesh as colored.

When China was introduced, a Japanese and a Chinese were featured. When Yumi, a Japanese girl, went to China, she talked to a customs officer at the airport (NH2, 2002: 15). There was no indicator to determine physical traits of the officer because no visual image of the officer was provided. Thus, I categorized the officer as
“ambiguous” in Table 5.

When Japan was covered, four groups were mentioned: Japanese, Australian, Canadian, and a person with race/ethnicity ambiguous. There was no indicator to determine physical characteristics of three groups (Japanese, Australian, and Canadian). However, pictures reveal obvious differences between Japanese and the other two. The Japanese were depicted as people with black while Australians and Canadians’ hair was blond. In terms of skin color, all the three groups were depicted as white.

Korea and Singapore were introduced in the same lesson. A Korean boy and a Singaporean girl exchanged e-mails. The Korean boy said: “My name is Summer Star. I’m thirteen and I live in Korea (NH2, 2002: 24).” There was a picture accompanied with the text. It revealed a boy with dark brown hair were wearing glasses and typing a keyboard. The Singaporean girl responded, “Hi, Summer Star! I’m Blue Sea. I’m eleven and I live in Singapore (Ibid: 25).” The picture of Blue Sea portrayed a girl with black hair using a computer. Blue Sea continued: “Many ethnic groups live in Singapore (Ibid).” Although the text explained that she lives in Singapore, it did not mention which ethnic group (whether Chinese, Malay, Asian Indian, or other groups) she belongs to. Cross-referencing, I found that both Korean and Singaporean people have the same skin color. Their physical features were similar to the way Japanese characters were represented in pictures. Thus, I categorized Korean and Singaporean as people of non-color in Table 5.

In the 1993, 1997, and 2002 editions, Singapore was introduced as a multicultural society successively. The words “race(s)” and “ethnic” were separately used in each edition. The 1993 edition mentioned that several “races” live in Singapore. In contrast, the 1997 and 2002 editions stated that several different or
many ethnic groups live in Singapore. The word "races" used in the 1993 edition was no longer used. Instead, the term "ethnic groups" was employed in the later editions. Two things can be considered. One thing is that this shows the negligence/avoidance of race and racial characteristics in the textbooks. In the 1997 edition, for instance, although the text did not recognize racial features (i.e. physical traits), the photographs accompanied with the text revealed people of color. This may show the negligence or insufficient understanding of race/ethnic groups. The other thing is that the changing word usage may symbolize confusion of using the two concepts of race and ethnicity. As defined in the previous chapter, the ideas of race and ethnicity are full of ambiguity. The later textbooks might attempt to emphasize more on the multicultural diversity in Singapore, rather than physical differences among the peoples. The use of the term "ethnic groups" in the text may represent its recognition of multiethnic/multicultural diversity in Singapore.

The lesson entitled "My country" revealed an introduction of the country of Turkey (NH3, 2002: 2-3). A girl named Aisha introduced her country and people.

Turkey is in the west of Asia. It's about twice as large as Japan. It has about sixty million people, and its capital is Ankara. Its most famous city is Istanbul. Istanbul is a bridge between Asia and Europe (Ibid: 2).

From the statements, Turkey is regarded as an important country. It bridges between Asia and Europe. Moreover, Aisha explained that most of the people in Turkey are Muslim. Geographical and cultural characteristics were emphasized in the text. There was a photograph of a girl featured with the text. She was depicted as a person of non-color.

In the three lessons in which Australia was featured, three different groups were mentioned: Japanese, Australian, and American. In one of the lessons, four students, Yumi, Ken, Mark, and Demi, visit Australia, where Mark's sister, Becky,
and her husband, Jiro, live. Yumi and Ken are Japanese. Mark is originally from Australia and Demi is from the United States. The four fly into Australia from Japan and meet Becky and Jiro at the airport. In the text, Yumi, Ken, and Jiro were introduced as Japanese, Mark and Becky as Australians, and Demi as an American. An interesting drawing portrayed different physical characteristics among the six people. The Japanese people (Yumi, Ken, and Jiro) were depicted as people of non-color with black hair. Mark and Becky were depicted as people of non-color with blond hair. Demi was portrayed as a person of color and her hair was brown. Thus, I categorize Japanese and Australians as people of non-color and an American as a person of color.

As mentioned in the 1997 edition, the same story of Christmas song “Silent night” was introduced when Austria was represented. The same characters, Franz and Joseph, were mentioned in the text. In a picture, Franz was depicted as a person of non-color playing the guitar. There was no picture of Joseph. I categorized Franz as a person of non-color and Joseph as “none” in Table 5, which means no indicator to determine whether he is colored or non-colored.

When the United States was mentioned, three groups were featured: American, Japanese, and a person with race ambiguous. An American boy named Ben was featured as a junior high school student in the United States (NH1, 2002: 61). He was depicted as a person of non-color with blond hair. Another lesson entitled “Homestay in the United States” included a conversation between Mrs. Jones and Ken (NH2, 2002: 39). Mrs. Jones was introduced as an American and Ken as a Japanese student studying in the United States for summer vacation. Since there was no picture of them, physical characteristics were not clear. A student named Carlo was mentioned in the same lesson. From his name, one may think that he is from Latin
American or Spanish speaking countries. Since neither text nor picture provided any information (his national origin and physical features), I categorized him as ambiguous.

The story "The Emerald Lizard" was introduced as an old tale in Guatemala (NH2, 2002: 32-35). The priest meets a man whose wife is sick. The man was so poor that he cannot buy medicine for his wife. The priest prays for the poor man, he then finds a bright green lizard, which became emerald. The priest told the poor man to sell it so that the poor man can buy the medicine. Although the story mentioned Guatemala and its people, it did not exactly reveal people alive in contemporary society. Unlike the case of Austria, this story is not a biography, either. Thus, I categorized the lesson featuring no specific people.

To sum up, people of non-color were predominantly represented in the 2002 edition. They were Australians, an Austrian, a Canadian, Japanese, a Korean, a Turkish, and a Singaporean. Colored people represented in the text were Bangladeshi people and Demi, an American girl. Even though Demi was depicted as a person of color, it is difficult to determine whether she is an African American or a Hispanic American. Drawings and cartoons do not fully present complex physical features. The way the people in the old tale of Guatemala were featured was similar to the way the native people were represented in the textbooks. The natives were treated as if they no longer existed in today's society. The old tale is a past story and a fiction.

Two major characteristics of the 2002 edition can be observed. One salient feature was that Japanese people appeared in five different countries, including Japan. Depending on destinations where Japanese visited, the purposes of their trips were different. In Bangladesh, a Japanese person who worked as a volunteer was featured. When China and Australia were mentioned, Japanese people were presented as a
tourist. In the United States, Japanese students who studied abroad were featured. The other point is that there were some race ambiguous people represented in both Japan and the United States. Although Singapore was introduced only as a multiethnic society, the text did not provide specific groups of people. Based on this evidence, the 2002 textbooks seemed to avoid describing particular nations and races.

**Summary of Characteristics of Text**

In this section, I will summarize the results from all the editions. To determine how various countries were represented in each edition, I counted how many countries were featured in the lessons and divided the number of the countries by the number of the lessons. Figure 6 shows an analysis of the percentage of the national diversity represented in all the textbooks.

![Figure 6: Percentage of Nations Diversity (1987-2002)](image)

Eleven different countries were represented in 22 lessons in 1987, 12 countries were represented in 25 lessons in 1990, 14 countries were featured in 21 lessons in 1993, 12 countries were featured in 16 lessons in 1997, and 10 countries were featured in 18 lessons in 2002. According to the result above, the 1997 textbooks
featured the most diverse nations among all the editions. The percentage of the 2002 edition declined although the percentage relatively increased from 1987 until 1997. The emphasis on Japan as well as Asia may have led to the declining percentage of the nation diversity in 2002. As suggested in the previous section, one of the most salient features of the 2002 textbooks was Japanese migration overseas. Thus, the 2002 edition focused more on Japanese experiences in Japan and overseas, rather than featuring other countries and races.

Each country represents certain racial and ethnic groups. People of non-color were mainly featured in Europe, Australia, and North America while people of color were represented when Africa and Bangladesh were introduced. Although nationalities and names of people were indicated in the texts, physical features were not clearly mentioned. Although I often relied on visual images to determine individuals’ physical differences, it was difficult to articulate the characteristics. Major patterns I found were that Asians (Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Turkish, and so forth) were depicted as people of non-color in visual images. Mostly, they had black hair. On the other hand, Americans, Australians, Canadians, and Europeans were portrayed as people of color with blond hair. The only difference between Asians and other groups of people of non-color was hair color. The native people (the Aborigines in Australia), African, Bangladeshi, Malay people in Singapore were depicted as people of color. When Americans, Asian Indian, and Brazilians were depicted in pictures, they were represented as colored and non-colored people.

All the textbooks featured various groups living in Japan. The way the people of color in the States and Japan were described was different from the people of color in the developing countries. Although the former group was featured as equal to other racial and ethnic groups living in the United States and Japan, the latter group was
depicted as underdeveloped, needy or backward.

When the United States was featured, its minorities were not fully covered. The presence of Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans was completely absent. When the Aborigines in Australia, the Ainu in Japan, and the Inuit in Canada/US were mentioned, they were described in their folktales. They had no interaction with contemporary citizens.

As I hypothesized earlier, the representation of race and ethnicity in the later edition was greater than in the earlier editions. Interestingly, Asian countries were featured the most often, followed by North America (i.e. the United States) while I assumed that English speaking countries were featured more than non-English speaking countries. Similarly, Asian peoples were the most frequently and diversely described among the represented groups. The presence of Asian nations and races seemed important because of Japan’s international position in Asia.

Through all the textbooks, only Americans and Japanese people were consistently featured, whereas other racial and ethnic groups appeared and disappeared over time. In this sense, Japanese people had interactions with Americans (particularly, white Americans) more often than with others. Although various racial and ethnic groups became to be acknowledged over time, white Americans and Japanese seemed the most important to be featured in the textbooks.

Next, to examine my second hypothesis, I will focus on race relations within Japan. Exploring the nationality diversity in Japan is extremely interesting because Japan was described as a “pure” and “single” race nation. According to Tani, et al (1993), the concept of multiculturalism was problematic because it goes against the former Prime Minister Nakasone’s policy of Japan’s International Education.
Hypothesis II: Nationality Representations in Japan

In Hypothesis II, I explore what nationalities living in Japan are expressed in the fifteen English language textbooks. Based on the results from Hypothesis I, I will concentrate on the description of racial and ethnic groups living in Japan. I hypothesized that more diverse nationalities were expressed in more recent textbooks while the earlier editions expressed few nationalities. Although the Japanese are dominantly described, the recent textbooks may recognize Japan’s minorities such as the Ainu people and Korean residents.

To determine what racial and ethnic groups living in Japan were represented in the textbooks, I retrieved the results from the section of International Representations that I have already analyzed. Table 6 summarizes the frequency of racial and ethnic groups living in Japan represented in the lessons. People with race ambiguous were excluded below.

Table 6: Frequency of Race and Ethnic Representations in Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Ainu</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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</table>

In 1987, Japanese, Americans, and Australians were featured as living in
Japan. Japanese were featured in eight lessons, Americans were featured in four lessons, and Australians were mentioned in one lesson. All the three groups were depicted as people of non-color in pictures. In 1990, four different groups living in Japan were represented: Japanese in nine lessons, Americans in six lessons, Australians in two lessons, and Chinese in one lesson. All of them were depicted as non-colored.

The 1993 edition represented seven different groups in Japan. Japanese were featured in seven lessons. Americans were represented in six lessons, a Canadian was featured in one lesson, an Asian Indian was mentioned in one, a Brazilian was mentioned in one lesson, a Dutch was introduced in one lesson, and a Swiss was included in one lesson. While Asian Indian and Brazilian people were represented as colored, the other groups were depicted as non-colored in pictures.

In the 1997 edition, six racial and ethnic groups in Japan were represented: the Ainu, Japanese, an American of non-color, an American of color, a Brazilian, a British, and a Canadian. The Ainu people were represented in one lesson and Japanese were featured in eight lessons. While an American of non-color was featured in two lessons, an American of color was featured in one lesson. Brazilian, British, and Canadian people represented in the text were all non-colored. They were featured in one lesson respectively.

Finally, the 2002 edition featured three different groups: Japanese, Canadian, and Australian people were represented. Each group was mentioned in one lesson. While the 1993 and 1997 editions included people of color, the 2002 edition only included people of non-color.

According to the results above, various racial and ethnic groups in Japan were represented. This rejects the general view of Japan being racially and ethnically
homogeneous. In this sense, Japan started to recognize its multicultural diversity. On the other hand, it is also important to note that the textbooks rarely included people of color but featured people of non-color, including the Japanese, represented as peoples living in Japan. Only foreign nationals in Japan were increasingly recognized while the minority groups were not fully covered in the textbooks.

Let me focus on the way people of color in Japan were treated. Among the three groups of colored people in Japan, only an American (in the 1997 edition) had interactions with other groups. For example, Beth, an American girl, was invited to her Japanese friend’s house (NH2, 1997: 81) while the other two groups (Asian Indian and Brazilian in the 1993 edition) were featured independently.

As I hypothesized, the coverage of racial and ethnic groups living in Japan increased from the earlier to the later editions, ranging from three to five groups. However, the 2002 textbooks did not follow this tendency and went down to two racial groups. Although it seemed that the 2002 edition went back to the pattern in the 1987 edition, Japanese migration overseas expanded over time. The 2002 textbooks may draw more attention to the presence of Japanese living abroad than the diverse racial and ethnic population in Japan.

Discussion

Japanese English language textbooks increasingly recognized various countries. In the earlier edition, Europe and North America, particularly the United States, were mostly present. In the more recent edition, however, Asian countries and South America were increasingly featured. In other words, the more recent textbooks drew attention to non-English speaking countries as well as English speaking nations. This shows how the English language has become a universal language. English
speakers are found in many places around the world. When Africa was introduced, no specific names of African countries were found. This may suggest that there was a lack of familiarity of African nations in the textbooks.

The representations of a variety of countries around the world in the textbooks show the representation of Japan’s relations with those nations. The coverage of Asia was evident in the 2002 edition, compared to the earlier ones. The emphasis of the coverage of nations had shifted to Asia from Europe and North America. This tendency may parallel Japan’s political and economic performances. For instance, the distribution of Japan’s direct foreign investment between 1990 and 1995 shows that Japan increasingly invested in East Asia (12.2 % in 1990 to 23.2 % in 1995) while reducing the amount of its investment to US (45.9 % to 43.8 %) and Europe (25.1 % to 16.7 %). In particular, the percentage of Japan’s investment to China had expanded from 0.6 % in 1990 to 8.8 % in 1995.

The description of nations within the English language textbooks is also explained in the current tendency of migration of Japanese people to overseas and that of foreign residents in Japan. According to Gainey and Andressen (2002: 153), the number of Japanese students living overseas was 180,000 as of 1996, which represented an increase of 9.1 percent in the previous year. As of 2000, the United States was the most popular destination for Japanese to study abroad, followed by Great Britain and China (Ministry of Justice, 2000). In this sense, learning about the United States is essential before they study abroad. From my findings, the United States was covered in all the textbooks. The 1987 edition showed that the percentage of appearance of the United States even exceeded that of Japan. American culture and customs were important for Japanese learners of English as a foreign language. Even

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7 This data is from JETRO and Ministry of Finance (used in Douglass and Roberts, 2000:25).
8 Ibid
though the overall frequency of appearances of the United States has declined, it seemed that the coverage of the US was required in all the textbooks.

On the other hand, most of nationalities entering Japan are from other Asian nations. Sugimoto (2003: 204) explains foreign residents in Japan increased dramatically in the 1980s and early 1990s. The nationalities of foreign workers in Japan are: the Philippines, China, Brazil, Peru, Thailand, and other developing countries. The figure of foreign immigrant workers includes Korean and Chinese descendants who came to Japan during the Japanese colonization period (Sugimoto, 2003). Furthermore, as one of the internationalization policies, the Japanese government initiated a plan to have 100,000 foreign students in Japan by the year 2000 (Ibid: 166). The number of foreign students living in Japan in 2000 was 64,011, which represented six times that of 1983 (Gainey and Andressen, 2002: 166). Most of them are also from Asian nations. Asian nationalities are also found in my textbook analysis. Therefore, it can be said that interactions between Japanese and other Asian nationals became visible within Japan as well as overseas.

**Picture Analysis**

In analysis of pictures, I selected visual images representing continents and countries and excluded pictures of objects that do not refer to a country. I examined all pictures referring to continents and countries, including scenery, cities, buildings, maps, and signs. In total, 422 visual images (92 pictures in 1987, 91 in 1990, 90 in 1993, 87 in 1997, and 62 in 2002) were studied to identify the number of countries and examine the diversity of nations. Then, to determine race in pictures, I selected the visual images of people from all the pictures.
Hypothesis I: International Representations in Visual Images

The 1987 Textbooks

I intended to determine how many countries were selected in the visual images. I was interested in finding if there was a broad range of countries represented, and a broad range of people and places. Figure 7 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1987 textbooks.

![Figure 7: Frequency of Representations (1987)](image)

I examined the pictures to determine what countries were described and categorized the countries into their respective continents. I found that within 92 pictures analyzed, five different continents were represented: Africa was depicted in five of the pictures, Asia was represented in 20 pictures, Australia was represented in 15 pictures, Europe was represented in 23 pictures, and North America was depicted in 29 pictures. North America was the most frequently covered, followed by Europe and Asia.

Next, I will determine what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 7 offers a summary of
the countries represented and racial groups represented.

Table 7: The Number of Pictures Depicting Groups (1987)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th># of pictures (continent)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th># of pictures (countries)</th>
<th>Groups represented</th>
<th>Color/non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Native Australian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Five pictures represented Africa. However, there was no indicator to determine specific areas in Africa. Of the 20 pictures in which Asia was represented, Japan was represented in 19 of the pictures and Malaysia in one picture. Australia was represented in 15 pictures. Of 23 pictures in which Europe was described, England was featured in nine of the pictures, France in three, Greece in four, Norway in two, and Spain in five pictures. Twenty nine pictures in which North America was depicted represented the United States. No South American country appeared in the 1987 edition.

When Africa was featured in the five pictures, people of color were represented in three of those pictures. An example of the visual images of Africa represented an African walking with a donkey, mothers holding their babies to feed (NH2, 1987: 77) and another picture captured a group of black African children (NH3, 1987: 83).
In the 19 pictures in which Japan was covered, eight of the pictures featured Japanese people. A Japanese student, Junko, was depicted as non-colored (NH1, 1987). Akio, a Japanese boy, was introduced as a resident in Hokkaido, Japan (NH3, 1987: 1). He was also portrayed as a person of non-color in one picture. In the one picture in which Malaysia was introduced, no people were described.

In the 15 pictures in which Australia was explained, people of non-color (i.e. white Australians) were featured in ten pictures, Japanese people were portrayed in one picture, and the native people were portrayed in one picture. The way each group was portrayed was quite different. In the one picture illustrating a Japanese man in Australia, he was teaching Japanese language to Australian students at the computer lab (NH2, 1987: 51). The native people were featured when Captain Cook was also mentioned (Ibid: 55). While they did not wear cloths but put tribal make-up on the body with spears, Captain Cook and his followers were all white people wearing frock coats with swords. When white and Japanese people were featured in the pictures, they were described as contemporary citizens while the native people were depicted as “uncivilized” and “underdeveloped.”

In the nine lessons in which England was covered, people of non-color were depicted in three of the pictures. A motor biker in London was depicted as non-colored in one picture. When Spain was featured in the five pictures, people of non-color were portrayed in three pictures. In the lesson “The Altamira Cave,” Mary and her father were depicted as people of non-color in the pictures. Although the two people were featured, the text did not clearly mention whether they were Spanish. Thus, I indicated “ambiguous” in Table 2-1. In the two lessons in which Norway was featured, people of non-color were portrayed in one picture. As found in the text, a Norwegian girl called Ruth Olsen was portrayed as a person of non-color. In the
pictures in which France and Greece were featured, no people were featured.

Of the 29 pictures, five pictures depicted individuals living in the United States. Some examples are a picture of Abraham Lincoln (NH1, 1987: 17), a picture of white girls having lunch in the park (Ibid: 21) and a picture of white boys and girls were surrounding the fire at a camping site in Minnesota (NH2, 1987: 16). In the one picture in which multiple races in the United States were featured, many racial and ethnic groups walking on the street were recognized but there was no clear indicator to determine specific racial groups. Thus, I indicated “multiple races” in the table. This particular picture may represent multiracial America.

According to Table 2-1, each country represents a certain group. Africa represents people of color. Europe, such as England, Norway, and Spain represents people of non-color. The pictures of the United States mostly portrayed people of non-color. Although there was one picture which featured many people with different physical features, there was no indicator to determine if they were Americans. Thus, I indicated “Ambiguous” and “Color/Non-color” as a group represented in the picture.

It is interesting to see how visual images were selected and what they illustrated. The portrayals of people of color in Africa and Australia may give readers impressions of “poor,” “backward,” and “underdeveloped.” In contrast, when the United States, England, Japan and other industrialized countries were often depicted, the peoples were depicted as more “contemporary” and more “entertaining” (e.g. camping and traveling).
The 1990 Textbooks

Figure 8 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1990 textbooks. Following the same procedure, I determined the countries and categorized them into their continents.

Figure 8: Frequency of Representations (1990)

I analyzed the pictures to determine what countries were described and categorized the countries into their respective continents. I found that within 91 pictures analyzed, five continents were represented: Africa was depicted in two of the pictures, Asia was represented in 34 pictures, Australia was represented in 14 pictures, Europe was represented in 26 pictures, and North America was depicted in 19 pictures. Although North America was the most frequently covered in 1987, Asian countries were featured the most often in 1990.

I will next identify what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 8 offers a summary of the countries represented and racial groups represented.
Table 8: The Number of Pictures Depicting Groups (1990)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th># of pictures (continent)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th># of pictures (countries)</th>
<th>Groups represented</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Greece</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Norway</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Norwegian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Spain</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar to the portrayal of Africa in 1987, there was no indicator to determine specific areas in Africa. Africa was featured in two pictures. Of 34 pictures in which Asia was represented, Japan was represented in 26 of the pictures, Malaysia was featured in one, and Turkey was featured in seven pictures. Australia was represented in 14 pictures. Of 26 pictures in which Europe was described, England was featured in 13 of the pictures, Greece in five, Norway in three, and Spain in five pictures. France was not selected in this edition. In 15 pictures in which North America was depicted, the United States was featured in 14 of those pictures while a map of North America was featured in one picture.

When Africa was featured in the two pictures, no people were featured in any of those pictures. In the 26 pictures in which Japan was covered, seven of the pictures featured Japanese people. In the one picture in which Malaysia was introduced, no people were described. In the seven pictures in which Turkey was featured, Turkish people were portrayed as non-colored in four of the pictures and Japanese were featured as non-colored in two pictures. In the 14 pictures in which Australia was featured in the United States, no people were featured.
explained, white people were featured in six pictures, Japanese were portrayed in one picture. There was no picture which portrayed the native people in this edition. In the 13 lessons in which England was covered, white people were depicted in five of the pictures. In the three lessons in which Norway was featured, people of non-color were portrayed in two pictures. When Spain was featured in the five pictures, people of non-color were portrayed in three pictures. The text content regarding England, Norway, and Spain were same as in the previous edition. All the people were portrayed as people of non-color. In the pictures in which Greece was featured, no people were portrayed. Finally, in the 14 pictures in which the United States was featured, one of those pictures featured white people. No other racial and ethnic groups in the States appeared.

Two characteristics of the 1990 edition should be noted. Unlike in the 1987 edition, people of color were not featured in pictures. Among the nationalities of people of non-color, Japanese, Australians, Americans, and British people were predominantly featured. The other shift from 1987 to 1990 is to see more Japanese migration overseas. Japanese people were depicted when Australia, Japan, and Turkey were featured.

In the six pictures in which individuals in Australia were featured, all the people were white. One photo showed a classroom in an Australian school where white and Japanese teachers were co-teaching the Japanese language (NH2, 1990: 43). Another photo also shows white female students in a classroom: a white teacher and white students. Although no Japanese person appeared in this picture, there was some Japanese calligraphy on the wall. These reflect the fact that teaching and learning Japanese language became important in Australia.

When England was explained, five pictures of individuals were also featured.
One picture depicted two white boys standing near the clock, Big Ben (NH3, 1990: 53). Other photos indicated the Buckingham Palace, a taxi in London, and other sceneries. Only one picture depicted a person in the United States, which is the same figure of Lincoln as the previous edition.

Turkey was recognized as an important nation to Japan. The four pictures of individuals in Turkey were featured (NH3, 1990: 36-38). Two of them showed interactions between a Japanese man and the Turkish. One drawing shows that a Japanese man and a Turkish couple having a meal at the table; the other is a picture of a Japanese person and three Turkish men sitting on the ground and eating food with their fingers.

The 1993 Textbooks

Figure 9 offers a summary of the continents represented in the 1993 textbooks. I identified the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them into their continents.

![Bar Chart]

Figure 9: Frequency of Representations (1993)

I found that within 90 pictures analyzed, six different continents were represented: Africa was featured in one picture, Asia was represented in 35 pictures,
Australia was represented in four pictures, Europe was represented in 14 pictures, North America was represented in 35 pictures, and South America was featured in one picture. Asia was the most frequently covered, followed by North America. Africa was re-featured and South America was first included in this edition. While the coverage of Europe declined (from 26 pictures in 1990 to 14 pictures in 1993), the representation of North America increased from 15 pictures in 1990 to 35 pictures in 1990).

To take a closer look, I will next determine what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 9 gives an analysis of the countries represented and racial groups represented in the 1993 textbooks.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th># of pictures (continent)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th># of pictures (countries)</th>
<th>Groups represented</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Chinese, etc</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Thailand</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Thai</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inuit</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Several races</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Inuit</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 9: The Number of Pictures Depicting Groups (1993)
Africa was featured in one picture. Of 27 pictures in which Asia was represented, India was depicted in one of the pictures, Japan was featured in 13 pictures, Singapore in 10, Thailand in two pictures, and multiple places in Asia were depicted in 11 pictures. Australia was featured in four pictures. In 14 pictures in which Europe was described, England was depicted in the 14 pictures. Of 35 pictures in which North America was featured, Canada was covered in 11 pictures and the United States was represented in 24 of the pictures. Finally, in the one lesson in which South America was featured, Peru was featured.

When Africa was described, people of color were described in the one picture. In the 13 pictures in which Japan was covered, two of the pictures featured Japanese people, three pictures featured Americans of non-color and one picture portrayed a person of color from Sri Lanka. An Asian Indian and a Brazilian were depicted as people of color in each picture. An interesting tendency was that people of non-color living in Japan were Japanese, Americans, Dutch, and Swiss while people of color were Sri Lankan, Asian Indian, and Brazilian people. Although the Japanese are Asians, it seems that they were represented as similar to the western people in the pictures. In the 10 pictures in which Singapore was featured, two pictures portrayed Chinese and other groups. Although the “other races” living in Singapore were mentioned in the text, there was no specific racial group represented, except for Chinese. In the two pictures in which Thailand was featured, one of the pictures portrayed Thai people as colored. Although India was featured, no people were included.

In the four pictures in which Australia was featured, one picture portrayed white people. In the 14 pictures in which England was featured, three pictures depicted white people. In the 11 pictures in which Canada was featured, two pictures
depicted white people and five pictures depicted the Inuit people. In the 24 pictures in which the United States was covered, seven pictures portrayed white people, one picture portrayed black, one depicted several races, and five pictures portrayed the Inuit. When Peru was featured, no one appeared in the one picture.

Each country represents particular racial and ethnic groups. Africa, for instance, represents people of color. There was a picture showing black Africans were dancing (NH3, 1993: 65). People of non-color were expressed in pictures when Australia, England, Canada, Japan, and the United States were featured. While a single race only appeared in Africa, Australia, and England, multiple racial groups were recognized when Asia and North America were portrayed. Although the majority of pictures of the United States referred to white people, two pictures expressed people of color. An American musician, Michael Jackson, was portrayed in a picture. One drawing depicted the school event called “International Week,” featuring multiple races such as Asian, black, and white (NH3, 1993: 63-65). In the drawing, black, white, Japanese and other Asian students enjoyed a Thai girl’s performance on the stage. The five drawings depicted the Inuit living in Canada and the United States when a folktale of Meta (an old lady of the Inuit) and the bear called Ted (NH2, 1993: 25-28). In the pictures, there was interaction among the Inuit or between them and the bear, but no interactions with other racial and ethnic groups.

In Japan, various races were selected in visual images. One photograph portrayed a black person from Sri Lanka, named Anton Wicky. He is well-known English language professor in Japan and a popular host of Japanese TV’s English language programs. There was a drawing of an American teacher who teaches English language at a Japanese school. An interesting photo of Japan expressed a rock concert in Tokyo, Japan. Many Japanese audiences gathered to see a rock band. When the
history of rock music was explained (NH2, 1993: 42-43), this picture was featured along with the photos of Elvis Presley, Michael Jackson, and the Beatles. Western culture was presented as having an impact on Japanese pop culture.

In addition to the Japanese people, other Asians were also depicted in pictures. When Singapore was explained (NH1, 1993: 78-79), the two photos portrayed people: One photo indicated people playing sports in the park; the other showed people eating at a restaurant. In the story of Asia (NH2, 1993: 84-89), seven pictures depicted individuals. Although those pictures did not indicate specific names of individuals and sceneries, the text mentioned China, Turkey, India, and Persia (the present Iran). One photo showed that several girls were walking and carrying food on their heads. Another photo captured the four Turkish men who were eating food with their hands. There was a photo of young boys wearing priest-like clothes. Those who were expressed in the photos showed that they were working, holding a baby, or eating with their fingers. These visual images represent cultural differences (religions, customs, etc) among Asian countries.

There were two major characteristics in 1993. The first characteristic is the diversity of Asia and Asian races/ethnicities. While the 1990 textbooks featured three Asian countries, the 1993 textbooks covered five Asian countries and regions. Moreover, various Asian races and ethnicities were represented. The second feature is the appearance of the Latin race. There was a drawing of a Brazilian boy with dark skin (NH3, 1993: 49). Since it was not a photo but a drawing, it was difficult to determine whether he is black or other Latin races from the picture. However, one can think that the Brazilian boy was non-white.
The 1997 Textbooks

Figure 10 provides a summary of the continents represented in the 1997 textbooks. I determined the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them into their continents.

![Bar Chart: Frequency of Representations (1997)](chart.png)

Figure 10: Frequency of Representations (1997)

I found that within 87 pictures analyzed, five different continents were represented: Africa was mentioned in one of the pictures, Asia was represented in 50 pictures, Australia was not represented in a picture, Europe was represented in 16 pictures, and North America was described in 15 pictures, and South America was featured in one picture. Unlike the 1993 edition, Australia was not selected this time. The feature of Asia in visual images was the most salient.

I will next show which countries were represented in each continent and which racial and ethnic groups appeared in the countries. Table 10 offers a summary of the countries and groups represented in the 1997 textbooks.
Table 10: The Number of Pictures Depicting Groups (1997)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th># of pictures (continent)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th># of pictures (countries)</th>
<th>Groups represented</th>
<th>Color/Non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Egypt</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bangladeshi</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ainu</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>Color/Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Malay</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Others</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Vietnam</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ambiguous places</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Easter Island</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Austria</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Austrian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>England</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>France</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>French</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sweden</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Swedish</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>US</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>American</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No people</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In five pictures in which Africa was featured, four pictures presented images of Africa and one picture depicted Egypt. Of 50 pictures in which Asia was represented, Bangladesh was featured in two of the pictures, Japan was featured in 32, China in three, (South) Korea in five, Singapore in five, Vietnam in one, and Asia (but ambiguous places) in one picture. Australia was not included in this edition. In
16 pictures in which Europe was described, Austria was featured in three pictures, England was represented in seven pictures, France was expressed in four, and Scotland appeared in one picture, and Sweden was featured in one picture. Of 15 pictures in which North America was featured, Canada was covered in two pictures and the United States was represented in 13 of the pictures. Brazil was featured in the one picture in which South America was covered.

In the four pictures in which Africa was featured, people of color were portrayed in the two of those pictures. When Egypt was covered, no people were featured. Asian countries in pictures revealed the greatest diversity racial and ethnic groups. In the two pictures in which Bangladesh was introduced, people of color were depicted in two and Japanese were featured in two pictures. In the 32 pictures in which Japan was covered, 27 of the pictures featured Japanese people, three pictures portrayed the Ainu, and five pictures featured white people. In the five pictures in which South Korea was covered, one of the pictures portrayed a Korean girl practicing calligraphy (NH2, 1997: 52). However, it was not clear to determine her physical features. Thus, I indicated “ambiguous” in the row of color/non-color.

In the five pictures in which Singapore was featured, Asian Indians appeared in one, Chinese in one, Malays in one, and multiple peoples (but not identifiable) in two pictures. While Chinese were portrayed as non-colored, Asian Indians and Malays were depicted as colored. Each of the photographs of Chinese, Asian Indians, and Malays showed their own ways of celebrating the New Year’s festivals in Singapore (NH2, 1997: 14). The other two photographs portrayed many students studying in the classrooms. In the one picture in which Vietnam was featured, no people appeared. Finally, one picture featured Asia but there was no indicator to determine which specific places were represented.
In the three pictures in which Austria was featured, people of non-color only appeared in three of the pictures. In the seven lessons in which England was covered, people of non-color were depicted in three. When France was featured in the one picture, people of non-color were portrayed. In the one picture in which Scotland was depicted, people of color were portrayed in the picture. When Scotland was depicted in the one picture, no people were featured. In the two pictures in which Canada was described, no people appeared. In the 13 pictures in which the United States was represented, people of non-color were featured in six and people of color were depicted in one picture. When Brazil was introduced in the one picture, no people were included.

People of color were depicted in the pictures and photographs when Africa, Bangladesh, and the United States were featured in the texts. There are two photos of Africa. While one picture showed a drought, the other portrayed black African boys and girls. No other racial and ethnic groups appeared (NH2, 1997: 42). While black people in Africa and Bangladesh were often expressed as if they were “poor” or “needy,” African American and white American singers in one picture appeared (NH3, 1997: 42-43). Of thirteen pictures of the United States, people of non-color were featured in six pictures while people of color were depicted in one picture. When the history of rock music was explained, the photos of Elvis Presley and Madonna appeared. One photograph showed Michael Jackson, Ray Charles, and other singers. It seemed that they were described as people who made significant contributions to modern popular culture. Europe in pictures was still represented only people of non-color.

In Japan, three groups were represented: Japanese, Ainu, and White. The Ainu (Japanese indigenous people) were first featured in visual images. White people
appeared but were depicted as temporarily visitors in Japan. Five photographs about Singapore provided various racial and ethnic groups in pictures such as Chinese, Malay, and Asian Indian races. Two photos of Bangladesh expressed activities by the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers (NH3, 1997: 78). One depicted a Japanese woman and two black people working in the field and the other photo shows a Japanese man and a black man repairing a truck. Although one picture of Brazil was found in this edition, no picture of Latin people was featured.

The 2002 Textbooks

Figure 11 presents a summary of the continents represented in the 2002 textbooks. I determined the countries selected in the textbooks and categorized them into their continents.

![Bar chart showing frequency of representations by continent.](image)

Figure 11: Frequency of Representations (2002)

I found that within the 62 pictures analyzed, five different continents were represented: Africa was not represented in any visual image, Asia was represented in 36 pictures, Australia was represented in seven pictures, Europe was represented in three pictures, North America was featured in 11 pictures, and South America was represented in five pictures. While Africa disappeared, Australia was re-featured in
To provide more specific countries and races, I will determine what countries were represented in each continent and what racial groups of people appeared in the countries. Table 11 presents an analysis of the countries and groups represented in the 2002 textbooks.

Table 11: The Number of Pictures Depicting Groups (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Continent/Area</th>
<th># of pictures (continent)</th>
<th>Country</th>
<th># of pictures (countries)</th>
<th>Groups represented</th>
<th>Color/ non-color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Africa</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>Bangladesh</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bangladeshi Japanese</td>
<td>Color Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>China</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>India</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Asian Indian</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Japan</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Japanese American Australian Canadian</td>
<td>Non-color Color Non-color Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Korea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Korean</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Singapore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Chinese Ambiguous</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Turkish</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Australian American Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color Color Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>British</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Netherlands</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North America</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>US</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>American American Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color Color Non-color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>Color</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
<td>Ambiguous</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Africa was featured in the previous edition, it was not covered in pictures in 2002. Of 36 pictures in which Asia was represented, Bangladesh was featured in seven of the pictures, China was featured in six pictures, India was
featured in one picture, Japan was featured in 16 pictures, (South) Korea was featured in two, Singapore was in two, and Turkey was in two pictures. Seven pictures covered Australia. In three pictures in which Europe was described, England was depicted in two and the Netherlands was featured in one of the pictures. Eleven pictures featured the United States but no picture depicted Canada. Finally, of the five pictures in which South America was featured, Brazil was depicted in one and Guatemala was featured in four pictures.

In the seven pictures in which Bangladesh was featured, people of color were depicted in seven and Japanese were featured as non-colored in two pictures. In the six pictures in which China was featured, Chinese people were portrayed as non-colored in one picture. In the one picture in which India was featured, although an Asian Indian was portrayed in the picture, her physical traits were not clear. In the 16 pictures in which Japan was covered, nine of the pictures featured Japanese people, one picture portrayed a black person, and three pictures featured white people. In the two lessons in which South Korea was covered, Koreans were featured. In the two pictures in which Singapore was depicted, Chinese were portrayed in two pictures and white people were featured in one picture. In the two pictures in which Turkey was featured, Turkish people were featured in one of the pictures.

In the seven pictures in which Australia was featured, white people were portrayed in three, black people were featured in one, and Japanese people were featured in two pictures. In the two pictures in which England was featured, white people were featured in two pictures. In the one picture in which the Netherlands was introduced, white people were also portrayed. In the 11 pictures of the United States, white people were featured in 11 pictures, black people were featured in one and Japanese people appeared in one picture. Finally, in the one picture in which Brazil...
was featured, black people were depicted. In the four pictures in which Guatemala
was described, people with race ambiguity were featured in three of the pictures.

There are four major characteristics of the 2002 textbooks. First, black people
were widely represented. They were portrayed when Bangladesh, Japan, Australia,
Brazil, and the United States were featured. The portrayal of black people became
more salient than the previous editions. The second characteristic is that Japanese
migration was also expanded in this edition. The Japanese appeared in Australia,
Bangladesh, the United States, and Japan. Meanwhile, the white race was consistently
featured in Australia, England, the Netherlands, Japan, Singapore, and the United
States. Throughout all the editions, when Europe was featured, white people were
only portrayed. Interestingly, the white race as well as the Asian race was also
depicted in the one picture in which Singapore was featured.

The third characteristic is that two South American countries were included.
The textbooks may start to recognize Latin people. Although South America was
featured in 1993 and 1997, no people were depicted. However, the 2002 textbooks
featured people of color living in Brazil.

Finally, the 2002 edition featured the greatest diversity of racial and ethnic
groups represented in the countries. The pictures of the five nations (Australia,
Bangladesh, Japan, Singapore, and the United States) portrayed more than two
different groups of people. The more recent textbooks included more diversity among
the races.

**Summary of Characteristics of Visual Images**

In this section, I will summarize the results from all the textbooks. To
determine how various countries were represented in each edition, I counted how
many countries were featured in the lessons and divided the number of countries by
the number of the lessons. Figure 12 shows an analysis of the percentage of the nations diversity represented in all the textbooks.

![Bar chart showing percentage of nations diversity (1987-2002)](chart.png)

Figure 12: Percentage of Nations Diversity (1987-2002)

Ten different countries were represented in 92 pictures in 1987, 11 countries were represented in 91 pictures in 1990, 12 countries were featured in 90 lessons in 1993, 18 countries were featured in 87 pictures in 1997, and 13 countries were featured in 62 pictures in 2002. The percentage refers to 10.9% in 1987, 12% in 1990, 13.3% in 1993, 20.6% in 1997, and 21% in 2002. This reflects the fact that the textbooks constantly increased the portrayal of global racial diversity over time.

People of non-color were mainly featured in Europe, Australia, and North America while people of color were represented when Africa, Bangladesh, and Brazil were featured. A variety of Asian nations and peoples were featured throughout the textbooks. The number of countries where Asian people were depicted consistently increased from 1987 to 2002. As the text analysis revealed, the way people of color in Australia, the United States and Japan were described was different from those who live in Africa and Bangladesh. Although the former group was featured as equal to other racial groups living in the United States and Japan, the latter group was depicted
as "needy" or "backward."

The way the native people were portrayed was similar to the way the people in South America were treated. The appearance of the native people was not consistent throughout the textbooks. The natives were covered in 1987 but disappeared in 1990. While the Inuit in Canada and the United States and the Ainu people in Japan were introduced in 1993 and 1997 respectively, they were not continuously included in 2002. In the case of coverage of South America, the first three editions did not feature any South American countries but the later editions (1993 and 2002) featured Brazil and Guatemala. Compared to Japan (and the Japanese) and the United States (and Americans), the native people and South Americans were so important as Japanese and Americans in the textbooks.

To sum up, people of non-color appeared the most widely and constantly. The growing number of countries which featured Asian people was salient. The number of appearances of Asians became closer to that of white Americans and Europeans and finally exceeded in 2002. Although people of color appeared more frequently from 1987 to 2002, they were still depicted less often than people of non-color. Furthermore, the appearance of Latin and native people in visual images was very limited. From time to time, their appearances were completely absent.

People of color were depicted when Africa, Japan, Bangladesh, Brazil, and US were described while it was completely absent in 1990. The visual images of blacks were different, depending on countries where they resided. Blacks in Africa and Bangladesh were expressed as "developing," "needy," and "rural" while those who live in Japan and the United States were described as people who have occupations such as a well known Black English instructor on TV in Japan and rock singers in US. A picture of Pelé, a famous soccer player in Brazil, appeared in 2002. Although an
African American girl appeared in a picture when Australia was described in the text, she was a visitor in Australia.

North Americans and Europeans were depicted in Japan. This result indicates that the western people's migration to Japan and other Asian nations was evident. They were portrayed as citizens whose social statuses are students, teachers, scientists, archeologist, and musicians in Australia, Europe, and the United States; whereas White people residing in Japan were students, a comedian, and businessmen. A picture of Singapore featured a classroom where several children and an Asian teacher were using a computer. The children in the picture looked white, Asian Indian, Chinese and so forth. People of non-color were almost accepted and treated as same as the local people.

Asian people were increasingly expressed from 1987 to 2002. They are: Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Thai, Asian Indian, Bangladeshi, Turkish, and Malay. A particularly interesting feature was that Asian people were described in Australia and the United States as well as Asia. For instance, Japanese people appeared when Australia was introduced in the 1987, 1990, and 2002 textbooks. The Japanese in pictures were teaching Japanese language to Australian students. The 2002 textbook shows an interracial couple (white Australian woman and Japanese man) living in Australia. Based on these facts, in the earlier edition, the Japanese migration into Australia was already recognized.

The way Latin and native people appeared in the textbooks was interestingly similar to each other. There was no interaction between Latin/natives and contemporary people. In 1987 when the Aborigines were featured, Captain Cook and other whites from Europe appeared. Except for this picture, no interaction was presented. The pictures of the Inuit and the Ainu were featured when their folktales
were described in the texts. People in Guatemala appeared when an old story for children was told. A Brazilian boy with dark skin appeared when he talked about cultural differences between Japan and Brazil. Although he was described as a student studying in Japan, the Brazilian boy was shown alone in the picture.

As I hypothesized earlier, the representation of race and ethnicity in the later edition was greater than in the earlier editions. Asian nations and peoples were most frequently and diversely described among the represented racial groups. In particular, among the people of non-color, Japanese and American people were most often described. Throughout all the textbooks, only Americans of non-color and Japanese people were consistently featured while other Asians and people of color appeared and disappeared from time to time.

**Hypothesis II: Nationality Representations in Visual Images**

In response to Hypothesis II, I examined the visual images of racial groups living in Japan. I retrieved the results of Japan from Hypothesis I: International focus, I identify what racial groups living in Japan were expressed in pictures and drawings. I hypothesized that more diverse nationalities were expressed in more recent textbooks while the earlier edition included few nationalities. Although the description of the Japanese is predominate, the more recent textbooks may feature foreign immigrants and minorities such as the Ainu people in pictures. Table 12 shows a comparison of the total number of pictures featuring individuals and the number of pictures referring to people living in Japan.
Table 12: The Number of Pictures of Individuals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total of all</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total: Japan</td>
<td>8 (22.9)</td>
<td>7 (22.6)</td>
<td>6 (15.4)</td>
<td>35 (70)</td>
<td>13 (23.2)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

( ): percentage

In 1987, 8 pictures out of 35 depicted individuals living in Japan. All the pictures of individuals living in Japan were found as followed: 7 out of 31 in 1990, 6 out of 39 pictures in 1993, 35 out of 50 in 1997, and 13 out of 56 in 2002. The percentage of all the pictures depicting people living in Japan was 22.9% in 1987, 22.6% in 1990, 15.4% in 1993, 70% in 1997, and 23.2% in 2002. The most salient feature is the percentage of the pictures of individuals selected in the 1997 edition. This shows the visual images of 1997 placed an emphasis on Japan and people living in Japan.

For more details, I will identify what racial and ethnic groups living in Japan were represented. Table 13 presents the number of the picture of individuals living in Japan.

Table 13: Frequency of Race and Ethnic Representations in Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ainu</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Asian) Indian</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dutch</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swiss</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lankan</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>Non-color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>Color</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ten racial and ethnic groups were depicted in the pictures: the Ainu, Japanese,
Asian Indian, Dutch, Swiss, Sri Lankan, American of non-color, American of color, Australian, and Brazilian. Although the Ainu are Japanese, they are separately categorized to clarify if Japanese minorities were featured.

The 1987 edition provided eight pictures of Japanese people and the 1990 editions featured seven pictures of Japanese people as living in Japan. The 1993 edition included eight pictures. Japanese people were portrayed in two of the pictures, an Asian Indian was depicted in one picture, a Dutch girl was portrayed in one picture, a Swiss girl was portrayed in one picture, a Sri Lankan man was portrayed in one picture, Americans of non-color were depicted in one picture, and a Brazilian boy was depicted in one picture. The 1997 edition featured 35 visual images of individuals living in Japan. The Ainu people were depicted in three of the pictures, the Japanese were depicted in 27 pictures, and Americans of non-color were portrayed in five pictures. Finally, the 2002 edition offered 13 pictures. Nine pictures portrayed Japanese, one picture depicted an American of color, and three pictures portrayed Australians.

Japanese living in Japan were constantly featured in visual images from 1987 to 2002. In 1987 and 1990, only Japanese people were shown in the pictures. No people of color were featured. The 1993 edition featured the greatest diversity among the various racial and ethnic groups. One drawing depicted a Brazilian boy with dark skin. The 1997 edition featured three groups: Ainu, Japanese and white Americans. The Ainu people were featured but no representative of the black race was portrayed. Interestingly, even though the Ainu are Japanese, the number of pictures of the Ainu was fewer than that of whites. In 2002, three racial groups also appeared.

The 1993 textbooks featured the most diverse groups among all the editions. In other words, the textbooks started to recognize non-Japanese residents in Japan.
after 1993. People of non-color living in Japan were featured more than people of color. Americans were more often featured than other foreign citizens as well as the Ainu. The number of pictures of the Japanese used in 1997 was most salient. Based on this evidence, there was an emphasis on Japan and its people in 1997.

Discussion

In the analysis of visual images, the number of nations increased from the 1987 edition to the 2002 edition. The 1987 and 1990 textbooks cited the United States the most frequently. However, more visual images of Asia and South America appeared in the 1993 textbooks while those of North America and Europe declined. In the 1997 and 2002 textbooks, the visual images of Japan are the most frequently used. While the 1987, 1990, and 1993 textbooks featured the pictures of the United States most often, the number of pictures of Japan outnumbered those of the United States in the 1997 and 2002 textbooks. This also parallels the tendency to expand the number of lessons which feature different nations. Although the older three editions of textbooks present stories about the United States, the 1997 and 2002 textbooks include more stories of Japan and its people.

Japanese migration to other countries became noticeable in the later textbooks. The Japanese appeared in Australia in 1987, in Australia and Turkey in 1990, in Bangladesh in 1997, and in Australia, Bangladesh and the United States in 2002. The pictures of the Japanese living abroad were increasingly featured. An interesting characteristic was that the purpose for Japanese staying overseas was different, depending on the nation. The Japanese in Australia were described as Japanese language teachers as well as tourists. A Japanese man was a visitor in Turkey while some Japanese were depicted as volunteers to work with Bangladeshi people. In the
United States, the Japanese were often portrayed as international students to study.

In contrast, nationalities of foreign residents in Japan were not as diverse as the types of Japanese living overseas. While no visual images of foreign visitors appeared in 1987 and 1990, six groups (Asian Indian, American, Sri Lankan, Brazilian, Dutch, and Swiss) were depicted in 1993. Americans of non-color living in Japan were featured in 1997. An Australian of non-color, a Canadian of non-color, and an American of color were included in 2002.

The results in the text and picture analyses were parallel. When text described Japan, for instance, a picture of Japan was accompanied with the written statement. Sometimes, texts were featured without visual images, and vice versa. Compared to the results in both analyses (text and picture), however, texts revealed a broader diversity of nations and racial groups than pictures expressed. For instance, even though a lesson explained a Swiss girl in the text, there is no visual image of her.

The text and picture analyses relatively shared the same results. The major countries described in both texts and pictures were Japan and the United States. Racial and ethnic groups most frequently depicted in the Japanese English language textbooks were people of color, more specifically Japanese and white Americans. In this sense, it is possible to think that Japanese have interactions with Americans more than other groups. This shows that the English language textbooks were US-oriented, with emphasis of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Chapter V will present a discourse analysis of text. Based on the results above, I will focus on conversations between Japanese and Americans to examine how power and dependence relations were represented. The way Japanese and Americans interacted in the textbooks may reflect Japan's international position and relationship with the United States.
CHAPTER V

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF TEXT

This chapter provides the results of discourse analysis of text. Based on my findings in the previous chapter, I focus only on Japanese-American interaction, that is, conversations taking place between Japanese and Americans. Americans, in this case, include white and African Americans. Through the interaction, I will examine how power relations were described and negotiated and if and how the relationship changed over time by quoting specific examples from the textbooks. The results will be explained by each edition (1987, 1990, 1993, 1997, and 2002).

The 1987 Textbooks

Depending on locations, the interactions process between Japanese and American varied. For example, if the major location was set in Japan, Japanese expressed a welcoming attitude toward Americans since they are foreign people living in Japan. If the location was the United States, the Japanese was described as an international student. There was a conversation between a Japanese girl, Junko, and a white American, Mike. Mike is trying to learn the Japanese language since he lives in Japan.

(Excerpt 1)

Junko: Mike, you speak Japanese very well.

Mike: Thank you.

Junko: Do you study it at school?
Mike: Yes, I have three Japanese classes every week. Lucy studies Japanese, too. She speaks it very well (NH 1, 1987: 29).

Junko initiated a conversation by saying “Mike, you speak Japanese very well.” Lucy is a white Australian who also lives in Japan. Mike and Lucy go to the same American school in Japan. They take Japanese language classes. While they were trying to adjust to a new environment, Junko expressed a warm message to Mike.

American cultural values were consistently taught in texts. Three students, Emi (Japanese girl), Mike, and Paul (white Americans), play the riddle game “What am I?” as below.

(Excerpt 2)

Paul: How about this? It’s more difficult than my first question. I’m an American.

Mike: Are you a man or woman?

Paul: A man. I’m one of the most famous presidents of our country.

Emi: The first president?

Paul: No. I’m the tallest president. I said, “Government of the people, by the people, for the people” (NH2, 1987: 17).

While the three give quizzes by turn, Paul gives a question and Mike and Emi try to answer it. Since Paul says “It’s more difficult than my first question,” he is presenting a second question. By giving a quiz to the other two, Paul took the initiative in the conversation. Mike and Emi are the persons who answer Paul’s question. There is an apparent power relation between Paul and the other two figures.

Abraham Lincoln is a symbolic figure of the Civil War and the emancipation of slavery. From the famous quote “Government of the people, by the people, for the people,” one would know that the answer is “Abraham Lincoln” although the name is not mentioned in the script. Moreover, a picture of Abraham Lincoln was featured on
the same page. Abraham Lincoln symbolizes democracy and freedom. It seemed to be important for Japanese students to learn those values because the same content was selected again in the 1990 edition (NH 2, 1990: 19).

There was a conversation between a Japanese student and a librarian. Emi, a Japanese girl studying in the United States, asks a librarian about books:

(Excerpt 3)

Librarian: May I help you?
Emi: Yes. Do you have any books on Yukichi Fukuzawa?
Librarian: Will you give me that name again?
Emi: Yu-ki-chi Fu-ku-za-wa. He visited the United States two times in the 1860s. Later he became famous as an educator in Japan.

Librarian: Just a minute, please. Yes, we have a few books. Please come with me. I'll show you the books.

Emi: Thank you (NH 2, 1987: 58).

Emi asks for the librarian’s help to find books about “Yukichi Fukuzawa,” who is a well known educator in Japan. Emi’s attitude (asking for help) may indicate that she depends on the librarian’s help. This dependency may represent Japan’s reliance on the United States. At the same time, one must pay attention to what Emi is asking. She wants to read a Japanese educator’s work or biography. While asking the librarian’s help, Emi also teaches her that Fukuzawa is one of the best scholars in Japanese modern history. By saying that Fukuzawa made a trip to the United States twice, the dialogue intends to bring attention to Japan’s continuing effort to maintain its diplomatic relations with the United States.

The following example is a class discussion at an American junior high school in San Francisco. Mr. Green, a science teacher, invited Mr. August as a guest speaker to his class. Mr. August, a photographer and a member of the World Wildlife Fund,
just came back from his trip to Africa. He started to talk about tropical rain forests, by showing pictures he took to the class.

(Excerpt 4)

Mr. Green: Mike, will you put up these pictures on the wall?
Mike: All right.
Mr. August: Has anyone ever heard about tropical rain forests?
Barbara: No, I’ve never heard about them.
Mr. August: This is a picture of a rain forest, but it isn’t there any more.
Barbara: What happened?
Mr. August: Well, people burned down the forest to grow crops.
Kathy: My father has been to Malaysia, and saw the same thing.
Mr. August: I’ve been there, too. I took this picture there.
Mike: It looks like a desert.
Emi: What happened to all the trees?
Mr. August: They were cut down and sold.
Emi: We should do something to keep those rain forests.
Mr. Green: You’re right, Emi. Well, thank you for giving us a wonderful talk, Mr. August (NH3, 1987: 11-12).

Main discussion was held among white Americans. All participants as well as a guest speaker were white, except for Emi. Mr. Green asked Mike to help Mr. August by putting up the pictures. As the conversation evolved, Emi, the Japanese student, also participated in the class discussion by saying “What happened to all the trees?” and “We should do something to keep those rain forests (Ibid).” Following Emi’s comments, Mr. Green quickly wrapped up the discussion.
This lesson seems important because it brings environmental issues to the classroom. However, this discussion did not discuss who destroys tropical rain forests and why that happened in detail. Perhaps, the intention of this lesson is to be aware of it but it could go more in depth. While the guest speaker just showed pictures and explained where he took them, students reacted to them. Emi’s last comment reflects a different reaction to that of the white American students. This should be significant: “We should do something to keep those rain forests.” She recognized the issue and suggested the need to change this destructive process. Emi’s attitude changed from passive to active. From Emi’s comment, students in this situation would start to think about the environmental issue surrounding them. However, an irony in this discussion was Mr. Green’s last comment. Although he admitted that Emi’s suggestion was appropriate, Mr. Green stopped the class discussion. It is obvious that a person in power has the ability to control over any situation. It is difficult for people without power to persuade or change the interactive process of those who have power.

The 1990 Textbooks

The content of the 1990 textbooks was similar to the 1987 edition. In NH1, Mike, a white American boy, and Lucy, a white Australian girl, attend an American school in Tokyo. Their Japanese friends, Ken and Yumi, attend a Japanese junior high school. The content of NH2 refers to Mike’s story in the States. Like in the 1987 edition, Kathy and Paul appeared as Mike’s friends. Emi, a Japanese international student in the United States, is also present. The contents of NH3 contained various people living in Europe and Asia as well as the United States and Japan.

Many episodes referred to cross-cultural topics between Japan and the United States. Showing pictures to Paul, Emi talked about Kyoto in Japan.
Emi: Paul, I have several pictures of Kyoto. Do you want to see them?
Paul: Sure.
Emi: O.K. This is a famous temple.
Paul: I see a lot of boys and girls in front of the temple.
Emi: They're junior high school students. Every year a lot of students visit Kyoto on school trips. You know, there are more than 1,000 temples there.
Paul: So many temples in one city? I want to go to Kyoto some day (NH 2, 1990: 27).

In this encounter, Emi offered information through sharing her photographs. Paul accepted her suggestion and received the information she was providing. Paul reacted to one of the pictures. Even though it is assertive, he indirectly asked Emi about the boys and girls standing in front of the temple in a photograph. Emi explained that "[t]hey're junior high school students. Every year a lot of students visit Kyoto on school trips. You know, there are more than 1,000 temples there (Ibid)." She gave Paul more information regarding the picture. Finally, Paul, the receiver of information, expressed some surprise and indicated a desire to visit Japan one day.

At the end, Emi successfully gave an introduction of her home culture, which is new knowledge to Paul. In this case, Emi (Japanese) was in power control of the conversation with Paul (white American). The position of the Japanese was weak when American society was introduced. However, in this conversation, the Japanese attempted to be more assertive than Americans.

The position of Americans may become equal to that of Japanese in the textbooks. Japanese people had been described as "learners" and "dependent" on white Americans in the previous edition. However, the Japanese in the 1990
textbooks seemed to play a teacher's role by teaching Japanese people and culture to Americans. Emi, a Japanese student living in the United States, discusses cultural differences with Mr. Hill, a white American teacher.

(Excerpt 6)

Emi: *Hakushon*!

Mr. Hill: God bless you!

Emi: Why did you say that?

Mr. Hill: When you sneeze, we think your soul flies out of your body. So we ask God to send your soul back into your body.

Emi: That's interesting. In Japan, when you sneeze, we think someone else is talking about you.

Mr. Hill: *Achoo*!

Emi: God bless you!

Mr. Hill: Thank you. Well, who's talking about me? (NH3, 1990: 49)

Mr. Hill: Emi, do you know what this mean?

Emi: I have no idea. Your thumb is up.

Mr. Hill: This means "good."

Emi: Then if your thumb is down, does that mean "bad"?

Mr. Hill: Right.

Emi: I'm interested in such gestures. Can you give me more examples?

Mr. Hill: Well, I can lend you a good book on American gestures.

Emi: Oh, thank you, Mr. Hill (Ibid: 50).

Emi: Mr. Hill, you always look me in the eye when you talk to me.

Mr. Hill: Well, eye contact is very important in our culture. Talking without eye contact isn't polite.
Emi: Is that so? In Japan we usually don’t look each other in the eye as you do. That doesn’t mean that we aren’t polite.

Mr. Hill: I see. Manners are different in different cultures (Ibid: 51).

Throughout the conversation above, Emi was negotiating her position with Mr. Hill. First, Mr. Hill reacted to Emi’s sneezing and started to point out different meanings of manners and gestures between Japan and the United States. As their conversation evolved, Emi became interested in learning the differences. She learned American gestures, comparing them to Japanese gestures.

When all the dialogues above were compared, a shift is revealed. In the first two dialogues, Mr. Hill initiated the conversation with Emi by defining the meanings of “God bless you”. In response to his remark, Emi explained how the Japanese view the act of sneezing. Perhaps, the “thumb-up/thumb-down” gesture is a typical American gesture. During the conversation, Emi was a learner of cultural differences or a receiver of a new culture while Mr. Hill was a teacher and a giver of new information.

In the last dialogue, however, Emi was the one that started the conversation by asking Mr. Hill about eye contact. Although asking a question, Emi actually took the lead in the conversation with Mr. Hill. After hearing Mr. Hill, Emi replied: “Is that so? In Japan we usually don’t look each other in the eye as you do. That doesn’t mean that we aren’t polite” (Ibid: 51). From this remark, Emi now began to teach new information to Mr. Hill.

The 1993 Textbooks

The 1993 textbooks still focused on Mike’s life in Japan (NH1, 1993). However, the main characters included a Singaporean boy named Bin as well as a white Canadian, Kate. Mike, Bin, and Kate go to an international school in Japan.
They have Japanese friends, Ken and Yumi. In NH2 (1993), the major location was changed from Japan to the United States. The title of the first lesson was “Ken in the United States (NH2, 1993: 2).” Ken started to study in the United States, meeting with new friends, Paula, Joe, and Ming. Paula and Joe are white Americans and Ming is a Chinese student. The text did not explain whether Ming is an international student in the United States (temporarily staying in the States) or a Chinese American.

Yukio, a Japanese boy, talked to Ms. Brown, who is a white American teaching in Japan. Yukio asked her about the differences between Japanese and American schools. Ms. Brown said that each class is relatively large in Japan. Classes start with bowing between teachers and students. Following this conversation, Akiko, a Japanese girl, asked Ms. Brown what American students study as their foreign languages.

(Excerpt 7)

Akiko: In Japan we study English. What foreign language do Americans study?

Ms. Brown: It depends. Some study French and some study Spanish, for example.

Akiko: Do they speak well?

Ms. Brown: Well, sometimes they’re too shy to use them.

Akiko: Like us, you mean?


Akiko was curious about what American students study in their foreign language curriculum because she is learning the English language. She asked if American students speak a foreign language that they learn at school well. Mr. Brown answered, “Well, sometimes they’re too shy…” and Akiko said, “Like us, you mean?” On one hand, Mr. Brown suggests that foreign language learners (or Japanese
students) often hesitate to try a new language because they are afraid of making mistakes. On the other hand, Akiko knows that foreign language learners are not confident enough to speak the new language. In this dialogue, there is an obvious power relation between the teacher and the student. Ms. Brown tried to teach Japanese students that it is important to overcome their feelings of fear and hesitation when they learn the English language.

A conversation among Paula (white American girl), Ken (Japanese boy), and Joe (white American boy) may symbolize American cultural values.

(Excerpt 8)

Ken: I want to work for a TV station.

Paula: Why?

Ken: Because many people need to get information.

Joe: That's right. Knowledge is important for democracy. It's as important as freedom. What do you want to be, Paula?

Paula: I'd like to work with old people. You know, there are more and more old people (NH2, 1993: 76).

Unlike the previous dialogue (between Akiko and Ms. Brown), all the people in this conversation were students of the same age. Joe seems to have persuasive knowledge because he emphasized and justified what Ken said. Joe was the only person that initiated a change in speakers from Ken to Paula. In this conversation, Joe, a white American, may be in power among the three.

It is important to focus on three words in this dialogue: “information,” “democracy,” and “freedom”. All of them refer to American cultural values. Information and the mass media are important in an industrialized society. Freedom is a core value in the United States. Democracy refers to everyone's right to express an opinion. Through this conversation, the notion of independence and individualism

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may be taught. Furthermore, a sense of humanitarianism may be reinforced. Aging is coming a serious issue in Japan as well as the United States. Paula wants to help the elderly people in the future. This idea reflects helpfulness and kindness to others. It may also promote not only a sense of cooperation and support but also similarity in values and attitudes.

In the lesson “Great Views of the World” (NH3, 1993: 59-61), Ken, Kyoko, Paula, and Joe traveled to Australia.

(Excerpt 9)

Kyoko: What a great view!
Joe: It’s all one rock.

Kyoko: Really? I can’t believe it. This is a sacred place for the Aborigines. You can see that from the pictures which were drawn at its base long ago.

Ken: Who are the Aborigines?
Joe: They’re people who were here long before Western people came.
Ken: I see. Can we climb the rock?
Paula: Yes, let’s go (NH3, 1993: 60).

Joe, a white American, always provided information to his Japanese friends, Kyoko and Ken. To react to Kyoko, he said “It’s all one rock.” Ken’s question was also answered by Joe. It seems that Joe is in power among the four. It is interesting to see how the Aborigines were viewed in this conversation. The story about the Aborigines and the Western people was told as an historical event. Judging from Joe’s comment, the Aborigines do not exist any longer while the Western people are contemporary.

Two problems are raised from this dialogue. One is that it did not explain who western people were. Some people may regard “western” as Americans as well as
Europeans. If they successfully excluded Americans in this situation, would they articulate who Europeans were? The term “western” provided only a vague explanation. The other issue here is that the Japanese students see and understand historical events through the lens of white Americans. In other words, Japanese students would learn the way white Americans view, think, and act from this situation. This could be very dangerous because the Japanese tend to follow what white Americans say and do.

After traveling to Australia, they returned to the United States. Paula and Joe took Ken and Keiko to the Statue of Liberty in New York.

(Excerpt 10)

Paula: Here we are at the Statue of Liberty.

Ken: I didn’t know she was so big and tall.

Paula: She wears a crown which has seven rays of light. They stand for the Seven Seas of the World.

Ken: Is that right? I see a torch in her right hand, but what’s that in her left hand?

Joe: It’s a tablet with the date of July 4, 1776 on its cover.

Ken: Oh, that’s your Independence Day (Ibid: 61).

The Japanese in the skit confirmed the knowledge of Independence Day in the United States. The Statue of Liberty symbolizes freedom and independence. It is a symbol of American core values.

As the two dialogues demonstrate, Japanese students tend to ask American friends questions about the history of Ayers Rock in Australia and the Statue of Liberty in the United States. The Japanese in the skits are learners, who are dependent on Americans.
The 1997 Textbooks

There was the greatest change in the 1997 edition, compared to the previous textbooks. The main characters were Japanese students, not Americans. The Japanese lives were more often described in the 1997 edition. The 1997 edition centered on the Japanese lives and experiences. The content of NH1 (1997) was based on two Japanese, Yumi and Ken, a white Brazilian, Paulo, and a white American, Sarah. Tom Robinson (white American) and Yuko Robinson (Japanese) appeared as Sarah’s uncle and aunt. Interestingly, Sarah goes to an American school in Japan while the other three (Yumi, Ken, and Paulo) go to the same Japanese school. Ann Green, a white Canadian, is an English language teacher who works at the Japanese school.

The 1997 edition also introduced the possibility that tourists from overseas may experience difficulties (NH3, 1997: 18-19) and showed how Japanese people teach Japanese customs and tradition when communicating with foreign residents in Japan. For example, Mary, a white American girl, came to Japan and stayed with Yuki and her family (Ibid: 13-15). Yuki is a daughter of the host family. They later decided to see kyogen or a classical Japanese comic theater, which was developed in the 14th century in Japan. Initiating a conversation, Yuki asked Mary’s impression about the kyogen performance.

(Excerpt 11)

Yuki: How did you like it, Mary?

Mary: Well, it was hard for me to understand the words, but it was interesting to watch the action.

Yuki: Did you notice that a woman played the leading role?

Mary: Yes, I did. She was fantastic.

Yuki: She’s the first woman to perform Kyogen.
Mary: Is that right? I’d love to talk to with her.

Yuki: Me, too. Why don’t we try? (NH3, 1997: 21)

Yuki explained that the female performer they saw was the first woman to perform kyogen. Thus, from this dialogue, one would notice that it is rare to see female kyogen performers. Yuki directed the conversation toward her interest by saying “She’s the first woman to perform Kyogen.” She finally suggested that they could try to meet with the female kyogen performer. In the conversation, Yuki tried to guide and help Mary understand Japanese classic culture. Apparently, Yuki has more knowledge about Japanese culture than Mary does. In this case, Mary is a learner of new knowledge and dependent on Yuki.

One of the most common examples of American culture described in the textbooks was a party. After she returned to the United States from her trip to Japan, Mary was invited to a pajama party. The party is mentioned as a feature of American teenage life (NH2, 1997: 28-31). Five girls gathered for a pajama party at night. Sue, Mary, Ellen, and Pat are all white Americans. Yoko is a Japanese girl.

(Excerpt 12)

Sue: So, what do you think of George?

Mary: He’s cute, and he’s on the football team, but he’s not my type.

Pat: I think George likes Ellen. Ellen, didn’t you go out with him?

Ellen: I sure did.

Yoko: Where did you go?

Ellen: We went to the movies. But you know what? He forgot his wallet, so I paid for everything.

Mary: You’re kidding!

Ellen: Then I had to lend him money for the bus home.
Pat (laughing): That's a date to remember! (Ibid: 31).

One can imagine that the girls have fun while giggling and talking about a white American male football player named George. Sue initiated the conversation about George. Mary said he was not her type. Pat knew that Ellen went out with George in the past.

From her comment “He forgot his wallet, so I paid for everything,” there are two possibilities. First, her remark makes us wonder if Ellen thinks that men should pay for everything on their dates. If so, this conversation may reinforce stereotypical images of gender roles and an unbalanced power relation: “Men have more power than women”. Girls in this situation expect to be taken care of by men. The other possibility is that Ellen may have wanted to pay separately on this date. In this case, Ellen wanted to be treated equal to men. However, George forgot his wallet and Ellen had to lend some money to him. This may represent women taking a control in a power relation.

This dialogue may break traditional images of relation between men and women. Judging from the words such as “football” and “money,” typical images of males, strength, toughness and power, were expressed in the text. But the boy forgot his wallet and borrowed some money from the girl to go home. He did not bring his money (i.e. power).

Compared to the previous editions, the 1997 textbooks not only featured a greater variety of countries outside of Japan but also included episodes about Japan and its people. More importantly, Japanese characters tended to take the leading role in the 1997 textbooks. Yuki (Japanese/female) and Brian (white American) talked about Rehema, a girl in Africa.
Yuki: I have a sister in Africa.

Brian: In Africa? Really?

Yuki: Yes. Do you want to see her picture? (showing the picture) Her name is Rehema.

Brian: Oh, she’s so cute.

Yuki: My parents and I support her through a foster program.

Brian: I see.

Yuki: We write to each other often (NH2, 1997: 43).

Yuki met an African girl called Rehema through a foster program. Yuki was the major speaker in this skit by providing information to Brian. Brian was very surprised to hear that Yuki has a sister in Africa. Yuki’s remarks reflect an ultimate purpose and intention. She led the conversation to explain the situation of the girl in Africa. On the other hand, Brian’s position was rather passive because he was a listener and only reacted to what she said.

Although Yuki has never physically met the girl in Africa, they write to each other. The following letters are exchanged by Yuki in Japan and Rehema in Africa (NH2, 1997: 44-45). Although a letter is not exactly a conversation, it is a type of interaction.

Dear Rehema, How are you? Are you enjoying school? What do you want to be in the future? My parents and I often think of you. I began to read about Africa. Someday I’d like to go there to work as a volunteer. Your birthday is coming soon. So Happy Birthday! I’m sending you a little paper bird for good luck. Say hello to your family. Please write soon. Love, Yuki Your sister in Japan
Dear Yuki and Family, Thank you for your kind letter and the pretty paper bird. I like school very much. I have many things to learn. I want to be a teacher. Now I have a box of crayons for the first time in my life. I'm very excited. I drew this picture for you. I have another happy thing to tell you. At last, we have a well near our house. Now we can get water easily. Thank you again. Love, Rehema

These two letters reveal a great power difference. Yuki was in the position of financial supporter. Rehema, on the other hand, is a victim of scarce resources because she just got a box of crayons for the first time in her life. A well was built near her house. Those events are happy things to the African girl. The impression of Rehema is that she was poor and needy.

In comparing the two cases of interaction (between Yuki and Brian and between Yuki and Rehema), there is an obvious physical distance. Yuki, Japanese, and Brian, white American, live close enough to see each other. However, with Rehema, Yuki has never met physically. Although they communicate by letter, their distance is far away.

The 2002 Textbooks

In the 2002 textbook, Japanese characters, Yumi, a Japanese girl, plays a major role. Yumi, Ken, and Mark from Australia (white) go to a junior high school. Ms. Green is a new teacher at the same school, who is from Canada and teaches English in Japan. Demi, an African American girl, is a friend of Yumi, Ken, and Mark. We cannot tell if Demi goes to the same school from this text. The 2002 textbook presents different countries. The lesson “A Mail from the southern hemisphere,” which refers to the country of Australia in this text, describes Mark’s sister, Becky, and her husband, Jiro, living in Australia. Demi is the only person that
The biggest change from 1997 to 2002 was the nationality of the major characters. While white Americans played a leading role from 1987 to 1997, they were replaced by a white Australian. An African American girl was also featured as one of the major roles in 1997 and 2002.

Unlike the past editions, no conversation between white Americans and Japanese was featured. Instead, the most common interaction type was between white Australian and Japanese in this edition. Mark, a white Australian boy, was supposed to participate in a class meeting, but...

(Excerpt 16)

Yumi: Mark, where were you? We were looking for you.
Mark: I was reading in the library.
Yumi: Did you forget about our meeting?
Mark: Oh, no! When did it start?
Yumi: An hour ago!
Mark: I’m sorry (NH2, 2002: 5).

Unfortunately, Mark missed the meeting. In this skit, Yumi was more responsible than Mark because she was trying to find him. In another episode, Mark was late for a meeting at the bus stop. Yumi, Demi, and Ken were waiting for him. They were about to go to the airport.

(Excerpt 17)

Yumi: You’re late!
Mark: Sorry. (pointing to suitcases) Are these all yours?
Yumi, Demi, Ken: Yes, they are.
Mark: Whose bag is this?
Yumi: It’s mine.

Mark: That’s a nice camera.

Yumi: Thanks. It’s my father’s (NH1, 2002: 70).

Mark is presented again as forgetful and irresponsible. This image of people of non-color is not authoritative. After arriving at the airport, Ken, a Japanese boy, talked to Demi, an African American girl.

(Excerpt 18)

Ken: Do you see that tall man? That’s Goro.

Demi: Do you know him?

Ken: Yes. He’s a baseball player.

Ken: Do you see that woman with short hair?

Demi: Yes, I know her! That’s Kirara (NH1, 2002: 71).

At the airport, it is possible to see some celebrities. Ken initiated the conversation with Demi, asking if she knows the baseball player. By asking questions, Ken lets her know how much he knows about Japanese athletic celebrities. However, Demi recognizes a female celebrity revealing her knowledge of Japanese heroines.

There was an episode about homestay in the United States (NH2, 2002: 38-41). This was the only lesson that featured an interaction between a Japanese and an American although there was no racial indicator to determine the American person. Ken participated in a homestay program and went to a summer school in the United States. He stayed with an American host family. Since no indicator of race was indicated in the text and the picture, Mrs. Johns’ race was not clear.

(Excerpt 19)

Mrs. Johns: Ken, did you make your bed?

Ken: Make my bed?
Mrs. Johns: Yes. We all have to make our own beds.

Ken: OK. But I don’t know how.


Ken was asked by his host mother if he made his bed. Since Ken had never done this before, Mrs. Johns was going to teach him how to make a bed. Mrs. Johns was an authoritative figure in this dialogue. Ken was a visitor learning new customs in the United States.

Discussion

Positioning of the Japanese and white Americans changed through all the editions. In discourse analysis, I found that the 1997 and 2002 textbooks started to include more Japanese-oriented conversations while the earlier editions (1987, 1990, and 1993) often focused more on white Americans’ lives. As Emerson (1972) points out, the power of one person over another is equal to his or her dependence on the other. Conversations featured in the English language textbooks reveal an important power negotiation between Japanese and Americans. Depending on locations and topics, Japanese people in the conversation took the lead over Americans and vice versa.

It is important to note that the presence of white Americans seemed still influential in all the editions. When white Americans were featured in dialogues, Japanese were often described as “learners” about the United States. For instance, Excerpt 9 described the situation of a trip to Australia. As I mentioned earlier, a white American teaches Japanese about the history of the Aborigines and western influence, which reflects the tendency of Japanese to learn social history through a white Americans lens. Such types of conversations were often found in all the Japanese
English language textbooks. It seems that learning English language means that the Japanese also learn American ways of thinking. As Nakamura (1993) criticizes, the term “foreign people” means “(white) Americans” to the Japanese. Foreign language often refers to English language. Therefore, learning about a foreign culture is equal to learning about American culture. The Japanese English language textbooks may reinforce such stereotypes.

Major Shifts: Other Issues from Textbook Content

Through discourse analysis above, I focused on types of conversations between Americans and Japanese to examine how power relations were negotiated. When all the textbooks are compared, I found that three major shifts had occurred. In this section, I will discuss the three issues: gender roles, Japanese nationalism, and the significance of learning the English language.

Changing Gender Images

As pointed out in this study, American culture was one of the greatest interests throughout the textbooks. The way of holding a party in the United States and Japan was described (NH2, 1993). A story reveals socialization and teaches how to communicate with other people at a party by describing how an American boy would approach a girl to ask her for a dance.

(Excerpt 20)

Americans love parties. Americans are social and fond of parties. There are various types of parties from a formal party with dress codes to a casual party where you do not have to worry about what you wear. Usually, there is no designated seat. Guests are supposed to mingle and talk with others. While Japanese often hold a party at restaurant, a home party (inviting guests to their home) is the best way to express the warmest welcome for Americans (NH2, 1993: 9).
The text also tells how boys approach girls at a dance party. There is a description saying that “Here is an episode of a party. There are two boys who ask girls for a dance (Ibid: 10).”

(Excerpt 21)

A good-looking boy saw a girl at a dance. He went up to her and said, “You can dance with me.” The girl said no, and he asked, “Why not?” She didn’t answer, and the boy went away. Another boy went up to her and said, “Can I dance with you?” She smiled and said yes (Ibid).

Two different expressions in English were taught: “You can dance with me” and “Can I dance with you?” The text implies asking which approach is a better and more polite way for boys to ask girls out. While teaching polite expressions at a party, this skit encourages matching boys and girls. An image of gender role was reinforced here. Boys are supposed to initiate the first action. Girls are described as passive and waiting to be asked by boys.

In another episode, Mike and Ken talked about their families. Their conversation started with Ken’s question: “Is your mother always home, Mike? (NH2, 1993: 57).” Mike’s mother works at a Japanese school teaching the English language. While Mike’s father, Mr. Davis, usually comes home early and cooks at home every Sunday, Ken’s father often gets home late (Ibid: 58). Mike even says “Some Japanese people work too much (Ibid: 58).” This suggests that there is an image or stereotype that some Japanese people are workaholics.

From this situation, we can imagine that both of Mike’s parents work. Ken’s father works and comes home late. We cannot know what his mother does. But why does Ken ask if Mike’s mother is always home? Ken could have asked the question in another way: “What does your mother do?” Ken may think that married women often become housewives.

Mike and Ken’s conversation is a sign of breaking a tradition. At least, it
offers an opportunity for readers to think of the following questions. Do Japanese fathers work too much compared to American fathers? Do Japanese fathers come home late every night? Do American fathers cook? How about Japanese fathers? Do they cook or help to cook at home, like Mike’s father does? On one Sunday, Mr. Davis cooks in the kitchen while Mrs. Davis is working in the yard! In the 1990 textbook, Mr. Davis is cooking and Mrs. Davis is also helping him cook. However, Mrs. Davis in the 1993 textbook may be doing heavy labor work in the yard. This may suggest that images of both women’s and men’s jobs and family roles have been changing. Men would stay home to do housework while it is expected that women work as much as men do. Through an example of an American family, the Japanese may learn a new concept of gender roles.

In the lesson entitled “Sharing the work” introduced Koji, a Japanese boy, inviting Beth, an African American girl, to his house. Koji serves her a piece of cake that he made. Here is Koji’s diary (NH2, 1997: 82-83).

(Excerpt 22)

Sunday, January 25, 1998

Today, it was my father’s turn to cook dinner. “We’re going to have chicken teriyaki with salad and fruit,” he said and went to the kitchen. His cooking is usually as good as my mother’s. But today was the last day of sumo and he ran to the TV. He’s been a sumo fan for a long time. After a while, I smelled something in the kitchen. The chicken was burning. Poor Father! My mother had some business to do in Fukuoka. Yukari was busy with her tennis club. They got home at six, and we all ate dinner. The chicken looked bad, but it tasted good. My mother said, “You’re the best cook in the world. I love you!”

There is a description written in Japanese: “Let’s talk about all family members’ cooking by turn (Ibid: 83).” This description may indicate changing gender roles. Koji’s father in this text fixes dinner while his mother goes on a business trip on Sunday. Men stay home and do housekeeping jobs while women go outside and
work for their business.

The 1997 textbook introduces an example of how a Japanese family spends time on Sunday. This may indicate the changing roles of men and women in the family. There is a small suggestion written in Japanese saying “Let’s talk about all family members’ cooking by turn (83).” The textbook tended to focus on the importance of family.

**Japanese Nationalism**

Stories and people in Japan and other Asian countries become increasingly cited. The textbooks reveal the decline of the United States, inclusion of Asian nations, and emphasis on Japanese culture and tradition. Asia has become one of the most important features in Japan’s English language textbooks. Singapore, China, and Korea are continuously mentioned. The story of Asia affirms that Japan has historical relations with other Asian nations such as China, India, and Turkey. Japan is described as “a part of Asia, but few Japanese know much about other Asian countries (NH2, 1993: 85).” Another episode expresses opinions about Japanese attitudes toward Asia. In newspaper columns, a Canadian girl writes in a column that “I think Japan is too much like a Western country. Japan must remember that it is part of Asia (NH2, 1997: 52).” A Japanese boy responds to her message by saying, “I think many Japanese are turning their attention back to Asian countries (Ibid, 1997: 53).” From this statement, it is clear that Japan pays close attention to its neighbors in Asia.

Leading roles are no longer played by only Whites, but are replaced by Japanese characters. The 2002 textbooks equally feature both Japanese and Whites while the 1997 textbooks focus on Japanese characters’ experiences. This may indicate that the textbooks are beginning to focus more on Japanese experiences and interactions with other foreign people (especially, Americans), not based on
Americans’ experiences with foreign people, including the Japanese. For instance, the 1997 textbook presents many episodes of Japan, explaining that some tourists in Japan may encounter problems due to different life styles. It also shows how Japanese people teach their customs and tradition to foreign visitors.

Another episode “What is in our future” describes a Japanese woman working as a volunteer in Bangladesh to help farmers through an organization. The JOCV (Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers) and NGO (Nongovernmental Organization) are introduced. Since the 1993 textbook, volunteer work overseas is especially emphasized. Black people are described when introducing developing countries such as Africa and Bangladesh. The text explains those people need support and food. In one episode of the 2002 textbook, Yumi, a Japanese girl, goes to Bangladesh through a study tour and stays with a Bangladesh family. Recently, the Course of Study stresses the importance of participating in volunteer work (Ministry of Education, 2004). This would also lend support to Japan’s Self-Defense Force overseas.

The story, entitled “A Mother’s Lullaby,” had been cited three times (in 1993, 1997 and 2002). It is about a little sister and brother in Hiroshima when the Atomic Bomb was dropped during World War II. They are victims of the bomb in Hiroshima. The young girl is singing a lullaby to her little brother. Since he keeps crying and missing his mother, his sister tries to sing him a lullaby. After a while, this little boy dies but his sister is still singing. However, this girl also dies the next morning.

This story suggests a strong sense of awareness concerning Japan’s victimization in WWII. Japan is known as the only nation that experienced the tragedy of A-bombings. The story of “A Mother’s Lullaby” reminds readers of Japan as a victim. It may be biased when it does not discuss Japan’s war with China and Korea. The description of wartime Japan is always controversial and criticized by

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both Korea and China. Japan has been asked to correct the historical facts and take responsibility for its own wartime aggressions. Japan must remember the consequence of A-bombs but also needs to clarify why the atomic bombs were dropped. The war with the Unites States took place as a consequence of Japan’s invasions of China and elsewhere in Asian countries. “A Mother’s Lullaby” expresses Japan as a victimized nation not as a victimizer.

The Politics of English Language

How do the textbooks justify the importance of learning English language or why English should be learned in non-English speaking countries? The answers were found here and there in the textbooks. Here is a part of the brochure of homestay program in the United States. Clearly, it is inevitable for people living in the States to speak English.

(Excerpt 23)

Communication is important. You have to speak English. But you don’t have to speak perfect English. You’re a member of the family. You have to help with the housework (NH2, 2002: 38).

The first two sentences “Communication is important. You have to speak English” are very persuasive. Although it does not have to be perfect, English is necessary to communicate with others.

There was a lesson called “At a hamburger shop (NH1, 1990: 42-45).” Mike ordered a hamburger from a female clerk. Yumi, Mike’s Japanese friend, was with him. Soon after he ordered, Lucy, a white Australian girl, came in the burger shop. Lucy bought a cheese burger and an orange juice. Mike introduced Yumi to Lucy and they decided to have a meal at a restaurant together.

It seems that there is no problem in this scene. But why do they (Mike, Lucy, Yumi, and Clerk) use English although they meet at a Japanese hamburger shop?
Mike and Lucy keep speaking English language (their mother tongue) when buying hamburgers. If they were at a Japanese hamburger shop, Yumi, who is Japanese and speaks Japanese language, could help Mike and Lucy to order hamburgers speaking in Japanese. From the skit, one cannot identify the clerk’s nationality, but can assume that she may be Japanese from the picture accompanied with this conversation.

Clearly, this skit shows that there is an agreement that English is used and understood anywhere in Japan. However, it is important to note that this indicates power differences in the importance of languages (Japanese vs English). The location is set in Japan. Why would Mike and Lucy not use Japanese? Yumi did not support speaking in Japanese but rather supported the use of English. It seems that English speakers are more advantaged than non-English speakers. This lesson affirms that the English language is important and has more benefits.

The lesson “Are you accustomed to Japan yet?” (NH1, 1990) provided a conversation between Yumi and Lucy (a white Australian girl). Yumi asked Lucy if her mother speaks Japanese since Lucy speaks Japanese well. Lucy answered that her mother does speak Japanese and has many Japanese friends. On the other hand, her father does not speak Japanese at all. There are two pictures on the page (Ibid: 54). One picture shows that Lucy’s mother is chatting with her Japanese friend over tea. The other picture describes her father talking to his co-worker at the workplace. He is sitting at his desk and talking to a female worker, who is standing beside him. The father speaks only English while working in Japan. It is not necessary for native speakers of English to use Japanese even though they live in Japan while the use of English language is required for their business. This may give the impression to readers that the Japanese language is not as important as English.

The 1987 and 1990 textbooks contain the same episode of “Let’s talk about
languages (NH2, 1987: 71; NH2, 1990: 68).” The text states:

(Excerpt 24)

English is a very important language today. It's spoken in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand. In Japan and many other countries it's taught at school as a foreign language. English is very useful when people from different countries need to talk with each other.

Even though the title of this lesson is “Let’s talk about languages,” it does not discuss the history of the English language and why the English language became used in these countries (the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand). Why is English always chosen as a common language in the world and why do many people around the world tend to think that “English is a very important language today”? Why is it important for Japanese students to study English? This text may suggest one answer: “It’s spoken in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand (Ibid).” This may give an impression that since the English language is used in these nations, it is important for the Japanese to learn. However, is this a really answer to the question why English should be learned in Japan?

The countries mentioned above are known as multicultural and multilingual countries. Why is English language only selected as a common language in the United States? There are histories of internal colonization of Indian Americans and discriminations against colored people. English was the colonizer's language. Because of the result of (internal and external) colonization, English language killed aboriginal languages in Australia. Why is English very “useful when people from different countries need to talk with each other “(p68)? The nations that possess colonial power use the English language as an official language. The text provides a common sense explanation for English usage in a globalized community: “Many
people used English in the world. Let’s follow this trend!” To take over hegemony in the global community, learning English is most important. This statement may try to persuade readers to believe in. There is no reason why the English language is chosen as a common language. There is nothing but unequal power reflected in the dominance of the English language. As Nakamura suggests (1993: 20), English should be considered not as a universal but as just a convenient language.

Following this text, there is a conversation between Emi, a Japanese student, and Raj, an Asian Indian student. Both of them are international students studying in the Unites States.

(Excerpt 25)

Emi: Is English used in your country, Raj?

Raj: Yes, it is, but it isn’t my mother tongue.

Emi: What’s your mother tongue?

Raj: It’s Hindi. I use it at home and with my friends. But, you see we have 14 major languages in our country. So English is often used by speakers of different languages (NH2, 1987: 72; NH2, 1990: 69).

An interesting thing is that the conversation about languages only takes place between the two international students. No Americans or native speakers of English appear within this skit. From this situation, it seems that only international students or non-native speakers of English are concerned with languages. Why do Emi and Mike (or Paul and Kathy) not have a conversation about languages here? The only people who are aware of language issues are non-native speakers of English.

The past textbooks assert without clear reasons that English language is important so that we should learn it. In contrast, a skit in the 1997 textbook suggests that the issue of the English language curriculum in Japan should be openly discussed. The lesson entitled “Why should we study English?” (NH3, 1997) may promote a
critical way of thinking about the reason for learning the English language.

(Excerpt 26)

Moderator: Good afternoon, everyone. I’d like to ask Hiroko to start our discussion today.

Hiroko: All right. I think there’s one really good reason to study English. English is spoken by more people than any other language.

Sadão: That’s not true. English isn’t spoken by the largest number of people. Chinese is.

Hiroko: Well, maybe I was mistaken. I meant English is the most widely used.

Koji: You may be right, but English isn’t the only foreign language we should study.

Naomi: That’s true. In the future we may need some other language more than English. But I don’t know what language it’ll be.

Moderator: What do you think, Yuki?

Yuki: I agree with Naomi. I feel we should start with the most common language today. Then we’ll have more chances to talk with people from other countries (NH3, 1997: 66-67).

The discussion on “why we should study English” may open readers’ eyes to examine the issues of the English language curriculum. This topic surely offers an opportunity for the readers to think about the necessity of teaching the English language in Japan and the meaning of learning English as a foreign language. The text also provides pros and cons as to why the Japanese should learn the English language.

(Excerpt 27)

Pros: We (the Japanese) should learn English.

• More and more people come to Japan from abroad. We should
learn English to speak with them.

- English is an international language.
- It is difficult to learn many different languages. We should pick the most common one.
- Many Japanese have already studied English. We should learn it better.
- We have to take English tests to enter high schools, colleges and universities (Ibid: 68).

Cons: We do not necessarily have to study English.

- People who come to Japan should learn to speak Japanese. Why should we use English?
- Esperanto is a language made for international use.
- There are more than 4,000 languages in the world. English is not the only one we should study.
- English is not an easy language for Japanese. Few Japanese can use English well.
- High schools, colleges and universities should not give English tests in entrance examinations (Ibid: 69).

The pro and con’s #5 sheds light on Japan’s entrance examination system. It questions not only the English language curriculum but also the nation-wide entrance examination system. Studying English as a foreign language should be one choice, not a required subject.

The discussion above provides a very good opportunity for readers to think about the significance of learning the English language because it offers both positive and negative reactions to the issue of the Japanese English language curriculum. Nakamura (1993) argues that Japan’s English language textbooks should offer the contents that make students “think”. That is, it is important to foster critical thinking.
skills. Nakamura (1993) also points out that textbooks (and everyday classes) do not have to give students answers to everything. Textbook content should offer an opportunity for students and teachers to think and work together to solve a problem or to understand an issue. What should be taught or what should be described in textbooks is somehow mistreated.

The 2002 edition did not feature the topic of the significance of learning the English language. A Korean boy introduces himself and his country: “In Korea we start to study English in the third grade. Please tell me your country. When do you start to study English?” (NH2, 2002: 24). This suggests that the English language is learned in many countries without doubt. In response to the Korean student, a girl in Singapore writes to him back: “Many ethnic groups live in Singapore. They speak different languages. So we use English as a common language. It’s very useful” (NH2, 2002: 25). This statement gives a simple answer: Since we have many ethnic groups living together, we use English language to communicate with each other. This goes against what Nakamura (1993) argues. Why do Korean people learn English? Why do people in Singapore choose the English as a common language although there are many ethnic groups? Unfortunately, these statements would not let users of the textbooks think and recognize social and political aspects of the English language curriculum.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

US-Oriented Textbooks

From the findings of content and discourse analyses, the United States and Japan most often appeared in the Japanese English textbooks. When one opens Japan’s English language textbook, he or she will soon learn that the textbook talks about the United States. Seven textbooks out of the fifteen featured the first lesson describing either Americans or the United States. This implies that Japanese English language learners would first learn about Americans and the United States.

Who is American? What does the United States mean to Japan? One of the main characters selected in the textbooks was an American boy named Mike (NH1-NH3, 1987; 1990; and 1993). White skin and blond hair—this is a typical image of Americans in the Japanese English language textbooks although the later textbooks (1997 and 2002) replaced white American characters with African Americans. The United States was described as if it were a model for Japan. In all the editions, an episode of Japanese student’s study abroad in the United States was featured. The United States was a major destination for Japanese to study abroad. Through learning American English, Japanese English language learners would acquire American culture, values, and norms. “Freedom” and “Democracy” were key elements when Abraham Lincoln was introduced (NH1, 1987 and 1990). The way American students living in Japan (both white and black Americans) were described was different, compared to non-Americans living in Japan. American students living in Japan were
always set to go to an American school in Japan although other nationalities of white students were depicted to be enrolled at Japanese regular schools.

In the 1997 and 2002 editions, a major location changed from the United States to Japan. Welcoming foreign visitors to Japan, Japanese students played major figures. Japanese culture and tradition were introduced and were learned by people from overseas. It seems that Japan took over the role of Americans in the earlier editions. The Japanese played a major role in teaching newcomers.

What does this declining coverage of the United States mean? Three reasons can be discussed. First of all, due to the inclusion of various countries, the description (both texts and pictures) of the United States in the 1997 and 2002 editions might have declined. The Japanese English language textbooks started to focus on Asia and South America, featuring non-English speaking as well as English speaking countries. For instance, a Brazilian boy was described as a major character in the 1997 textbook. Stories of Asian nations and peoples were selected in 1993, 1997, and 2002. English language was used as a tool to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds. This also reflects the spread of English language around the world.

The second reason was the inclusion of Japan in the textbooks. The emphasis on Japan was salient in the 1997 and 2002 textbooks. While Japanese students who studied in the United States were often described in the earlier editions, the later textbooks depicted that the Japanese offered help for foreign visitors in Japan. For example, a Japanese host family welcomed an American girl by showing Japanese customs in everyday life and taking her to a Japanese traditional theater (NH3, 1997). Some Japanese who engaged in volunteer work or supported others through foster programs in developing countries were also explained (NH2, 1997; NH3, 1997; NH3, 2002). The later textbooks often featured stories of how Japanese contribute to
international situations. In the earlier editions, American experiences were more emphasized and treated as important for Japanese English learners. However, in the later editions, it seemed that the Japanese’s own experiences were more focused on than other people. Japanese cultural values were reinforced when Japanese customs and tradition were stated. A story “A Mother’s Lullaby” featured in the 1997 and 2002 editions revealed a little brother and a sister who became victims of A-Bomb in World War II.

Finally, the United States may no longer be new for readers. In other words, the United States is already close to Japan economically, politically and culturally. For instance, Japanese mass media often reflect American flavors. An interesting study on Japanese television (Hagiwara, 1998) revealed that the United States most frequently appeared in Japanese fiction and nonfiction programs and nearly half of domestically produced television programs dealing with foreign cultures were related to the United States. The United States is always the top country which received the most news coverage (Ibid: 226).

Television plays an important part in contemporary society. Through watching TV as everyday routine, there is no doubt that the Japanese easily gain information about the United States. The declining amount of coverage of the United States does not necessarily mean that the Japanese lost their interests in the United States. Rather, the United States is not “foreign” to Japan any more. The Japanese familiarity with American culture might contribute to reduction of appearance of the United States in the textbooks.

It is important to note that Japanese attitudes when visiting foreign countries were differently explained, depending on destinations. Among the fifteen textbooks, the countries where Japanese students went to were Australia, China, Turkey, Peru,
and Bangladesh as well as the United States. Australia, China, Turkey, and Peru were introduced when Japanese visited for sightseeing. In particular, Australia was the place for Japanese to teach Japanese language as well as to make a tour. Bangladesh was selected when a Japanese girl joined a program called “Study Tour” (NH3, 2002: 26-29). Through the program, she experienced living with a Bangladeshi host family and helped the family build a well and milk a cow. In the cases of Australia and Bangladesh, it is apparent to see relations between Japan and the two countries. Japan was described as an important business partner to Australia. The Japanese even taught their native language to Australian students. In Bangladesh, the Japanese student paid for the study tour to engage in volunteer work. This explains that Japan is financially and economically richer than Bangladesh. Compared to those situations, the United States was described as the only country where the Japanese learn.

Japanized White Supremacy

Racial groups expressed in the English language textbooks were still few although the nationality diversity in Japan as well as the diversity of nations around the world increased in the later edition. From the international perspective, the gap of coverage of Japanese race/white race and other racial groups was salient. Both whites and Japanese continuously occupy more space than other peoples in all the textbooks. From the national focus, there were an increasing number of racial groups living in Japan. While the earlier editions only described white Americans and Japanese as major characters living in Japan, the later editions included a Singaporean, a Brazilian, and an Americans of color. Interestingly, Japanese minorities were not fully recognized although foreign residents living in Japan were often described. Other minority groups such as the Buraku people and zainichi Koreans were never
Political, economic and socio-cultural inequality was expressed in the textbook. Images of people of color, in particular, Americans and Japanese, in the textbooks were consistently wealthy. For instance, they possess a car and a house. Sometimes, they traveled to overseas. People of color in Africa and Bangladesh were portrayed as living in poor and rural. However, Americans of color living in Japan had an equal status to other peoples. The native people (i.e., the Aborigine in Australia, the Inuit in Canada and the United States, and the Ainu in Japan) were expressed only when their folk stories were introduced. No interaction between the indigenous people and contemporary people was found. They were described as if they existed in the past, not contemporary citizens.

Drawing upon Omi and Winant's racial formation theory, I consider that the textbook coverage of Japanese minorities reflects social movements. Racial formation is a "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhibited, transformed, and destroyed" (Omi and Winant, 1994: 55). Until recently, Japanese government considered the Ainu as an underdeveloped and uncivilized race. It imposed an assimilation policy and demolished much of their customs and traditions and did not recognize their indigenous rights until 1997 (Sugimoto, 2003: 202). To parallel to this evidence, the 1997 textbook featured a folk story of Ainu people to acknowledge the Ainu language, culture and tradition. However, the Ainu's story disappeared in the 2002 textbook.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Japanese English language textbooks are US-oriented. How did the textbooks recognize the United States and Americans? When the United States was portrayed, the presence of Asian Americans, Hispanics and Native Americans was completely absent although the Inuit in Alaska was
introduced once in 1993. I suggest that the Japanese English textbooks created an imagined English-speaking community. English-speaking community to the Japanese characters in the textbooks was consisted of white and Japanese, followed by other Asian race and black. As my findings indicated in the previous chapter, the most popular form of interracial interaction took place between Japanese and white. White race seems important to feature in the textbook content.

Why did the Japanese English language textbooks include white race more often than other racial groups? It is perhaps because English language is an Anglo-Saxon (white) language. Learning their language, the Japanese represented in the textbooks may attempt to gain white status. Who speaks English language in the Japanese English textbooks? Who got a chance to interact with others? They were mostly white and Japanese. The appearance of people of color, Africans, non-Japanese Asians, South Americans, and native people was inconsistently featured. Interestingly enough, although the native people (the Aborigines, the Ainu, and the Inuit) were represented, they did not get to interact with other racial groups by speaking English. Only their stories were told in English. The English language is still treated as a civilized contemporary language. Unless people use English, they cannot be a major player in capitalist societies. Therefore, the English language can be considered as a capitalist language.

From my analysis of the textbooks, Japanese characters tend to follow white status. The role of the Japanese changed from a supportive actor in the 1987-1993 editions to a main role in the 1997 and 2002 editions. Although Caucasian characters were from the United States in the earlier editions (1987-1993), the nationalities of white characters changed to Brazil in 1997 and Australia in 2002. In the 1997 and 2002 textbooks, Caucasian students living in Japan go to at the same junior high
school as Japanese students do. They were merged into Japanese school and everyday life. In the later textbooks, the Japanese characters started to take over the white role.

Applying the concept of color-blind racism by Bonilla-Silva (2001, 2003), I point out that Japan’s understanding of racial and ethnic diversity was limited. While many people in the Unites States claim that discrimination is no longer relevant in today’s society, discrimination against people of color still exists. Japan’s sociocultural practices may mirror that of the Unites States. White supremacy is often denied in the United States although racial and ethnic inequalities in many settings are seen. Like the case of the United States, the myth of Japanese homogeneity or Japanese racial supremacy may blind the Japanese, regarding race and ethnic relations. In using the English language textbooks, Japanese students would learn how to speak American English, how to view the world like Americans, and how to think and act like Americans. Japanese attitudes regarding race and ethnic relations may reflect American attitudes toward their minorities. White and Japanese were chosen as main figures in the textbooks. This attitude shows Japanese negligence about racial and ethnic issues in Japan as well as in the world.

Through reading the Japanese English language textbooks, the way white Americans treat other people may be also learned. When learning foreign languages, it is important to recognize whose language people learn. If they have choices, perhaps, they can think and choose what language they would take. In Japan, however, there is no choice for junior high school students. It is mandatory for junior high school students to learn the English language. Within this environment where they are forced to choose and where the English language culture that the mass media create is spread, it is difficult to critically think of why the Japanese have to learn English. Japan’s internationalization has created this situation.
Examining political and economic situations between the United States and Japan from World War II to the present, Richard Falk (1992: 54) describes the relationship of the two nations. He suggests a recent tendency of "the Americanization of the world" and "the Japanese challenge," which also affects the relationship of the two nations. The US self-image with deep historical roots - the United States as a teacher of nations and Japan as a pupil - may contribute to a continuing sense of American exceptionalism. However, this situation has changed due to Japan's economic power. Japanese economic miracle became a lesson, which has often affected US economic policies. Now Japan has become the teacher and the United States the pupil (Falk, 1992).

This social and economic relation may reflect the textbook content. Judging from Japanese attitudes toward learning the English language represented in the textbooks, American English is inevitable to learn. Two reasons can be addressed. One is that it is necessary to maintain a Japan-US relationship. Japan's internationalization policy, particularly with the United States, serves the country by maintaining its prosperity and security. Thus, it is important to acknowledge American culture and values. The other reason is to challenge the power that the United States possesses. Thus, learning American English may symbolize Japan's challenge against American hegemony. By setting the English language curriculum as a part of Japan's International Education, Japan intends to be a powerful competitor and take over the US position in international economy.

Toward the End of Racism

Textbook contents reflect impact of both internationalization and globalization. On one hand, tensions emerging from internationalization were
expressed in Japan’s English language textbooks. While internationalization may help to bridge between societies and between peoples, it also creates power divides. On the other hand, with the rise of globalization, the English language (i.e. capitalist ways of thinking) tends to rule over many nations, including non-English speaking countries. For instance, technology and computer software is always developed by using English words. Of course, the use of English language helps to learn and view different cultures. However, we have to think of why the English language should be used in many situations. Globalization standardizes and homogenizes our everyday lives. The spread of English language follows this tendency.

The representation of various nations and regions presented in the textbooks shows significant relations but also reflects political and economic “conflicts and tensions” between Japan and other countries, which have emerged from the consequences of both internationalization and globalization. For instance, the descriptions of Asian countries and people may indicate not only Japan’s reinterpretation of its position in Asia but also political tensions with other Asian countries. Historically speaking, Japan’s attitudes toward responsibility of its wartime activities are also evaluated by Asian nations, particularly, China and Korea. In the 1980s, the description of Japan’s military activities in Asia in the history textbooks was criticized and this attracted international attention (Sugimoto, 2003: 129). Since Japan is one of the leading economic powers in an international community, its political and economic performances often draw attention and are criticized by the world. In particular, the content of Japan’s history textbook has been criticized when it comes to Japan’s wartime responsibility by the Korean and Chinese governments. Because of Japan’s unclear response to its responsibility in the wars, Anti-Japan movements still occur in Chinese and Korean communities in Japan and elsewhere.
The English language textbooks in this study rarely deal with racial and ethnic relations. The issue of prejudice and discrimination against certain groups of people are rarely discussed. If communicative skills are important in learning foreign languages, students are required to understand and learn interracial relations.

I suggest that International Education should teach racial and ethnic dynamics to help to reduce discrimination and prejudice. Every person who uses or acts on the basis of their international education will engage in practices that affect or reproduce existing social arrangements. Japanese students who study in their country may receive unfair treatment on the basis of their class, gender, race and/or ethnic situation. They may produce discrimination without their recognizing it. It is necessary to recognize that textbooks only display one version of reality. More importantly, it is essential to recognize that multiple realities exist in one society as many racial and ethnic groups exist. Educators have to consider possible issues that students will face in the future when they come to communicate with people from different cultural backgrounds. I consider that inclusion of teaching racial and ethnic diversity will be essential in Japan’s English language curricula.
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