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Anti-discrimination Education in Japan:

Buraku Sabetsu Simulation

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Introduction

(1) Vignette: in a Family Context

Here is a sample vignette between a father and a son, in conflict concerning the possible marriage of the son with a woman from the *buraku* community. The family is faced with a dilemma between love and established custom. Some volunteer performers are asked to read in a skit style, as an introduction of realizing *Buraku Sabetsu* problem in Japan.²

Son: "Father, I would like to marry..."

Father: "Oh, yes! It's a good news! Is she your nice girlfriend, Hanako?"

S: "Yes!"

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² This vignette is extracted from essences of the real stories described in a book written by a *buraku* coming-out writer. Kadooka, Nobuhiko, *Hisabetsu Buraku no Seishun (Youth in Buraku community)* Kodansha 2003

F: “She is a good lady! You’re lucky! What a good news!”
 S: “Father, and... I have to tell you, about...”

F: “What?”

S “...About her origin.”
 F “What is it?”
 S “She’s from *buraku* community.”
 F “...Oh, no, my son!”
 S “She says she wants you to know it, before our marriage.”
 F “No, it’s impossible!”
 S “Why impossible?”

F “It will damage our family’s reputation! Absolutely, no!!”

S “Why does it damage our family?”
 F “Because, our family blood cannot be mixed with theirs!”
 S “It’s an old-fashioned way of thinking. Wrong belief!”

F “...Though I would say OK, our relatives must be angry! It might damage their reputation, too. Do you want to cause any disadvantage at your cousin’s marriage and employment?”
 S “You cannot predict it!”
 F “No, public is not easy. And I know *buraku* people are doing strong human rights movements, and I hear some of them are very challenging. I don’t want our family to be involved in such complicated matters! ”
 S “Well, give us a time..? We didn’t think you would become furious.”

F “Mmmm... , who on earth does keep such silly discrimination system?! We are annoyed!”

S “...Father, it’s you!”

Through this vignette, the facilitator encourages participants to be interested in thinking about the *Buraku Sabetsu*. If this dialogue continues, the possible result could be:

- To overcome the difficulty, they marry with all family’s conviction
 This could be the happiest solution, but they all need strength.
- They marry, but keep her origin secret to the relatives; being afraid of the disclosure.
 The original book shows the interview of this case; superficially happy, but not the complete solution.
- They marry and break off the relationship with their family.
 Very independent and separated, and they cannot be given any support from their family.
- Semi-gathered Marriage ceremony (wedding ceremony with only one family side)
 The famous enlightening movie “*Hashi no Nai Kawa (River without Bridge)*” demonstrates this sorrowful scenario.
- Separate ways
 Probably, the most cases have been terminated in this category.
- Judicial action,
 A coming-out reporter told her own case in a court in a publication.
- Runaway, Suicide, ...etc.
 These sorrowful cases happen, still.

Here, the workshop defines *Buraku Sabetsu* as : Discrimination against people from “Outcaste” community in Japan.

These phenomena have been found in personal and social stages. As in personal stage, it is mostly found at marriage cases and employment cases. As in social stage: social burden is concentrated and unluckiest role is enforced.

(2) Simulation: in a Community Context

Next, to realize the social structural context of the discrimination, participants are asked to do a role-play in an imaginary community. This is a simulation of group negotiation and decision-making in a community about burden sharing, which are necessary to keep modern living standards.

In this simulation, cards are prepared as bellows: (for example, In case of 15 participants, as in IIPE):

At Stage 1: Serene Cards (9), Burden Cards (6), are prepared and taken as a lottery. Serene Card means to own the privilege to live without being asked to carry any social burden. On the other hand, Burden Card indicates: Isolated Ward, Nuclear Powerplant, Humble House, 3D-jobs, No Chance of Higher Education, and Garbage Disposal Facilities. All these 15 cards' tops are designed in the same color.

At Stage 2: Elite Cards (2), "Happy?" Cards (12), and Change Cards (3), are prepared to construct social classes.

The simulation study has three stages.

Stage 1: Fair burden-sharing Community

At the first stage, everybody in the community draws a card from two types of form. Type one is a "Serene" card, this ensures the person will live in calm and "normal" life. The other type requires the person to own some kind of burden, which is necessary for the community; for examples, "Garbage Disposal Facility," "Isolation Ward," "Crematory," "Nuclear Powerplant," etc. People are requested to sit together in those two groups. People with the "Serene" card automatically earn the "Happy?" card, which symbolizes happy life to live (without sharing social burden).

Stage 2: Community with Social Class

In each group, people are asked to become competitive with paper-rock-scissors; Serene Group selects two elite people, who are responsible for managing the whole community. Burden Group does a race to grasp "Change" card, which ensures changing the burden card into "Happy?" card. The winner earns the second chance to live without social burden, while the loser should own more "Burden" cards, which are given up by the winner in this group. As the result of the races in two groups, the whole community is divided into four social classes:

- 1) Elite with Elite Cards and "Happy?" Cards
- 2) Serene ("Normal" citizen) and "Happy?" Cards
- 3) "Climber" with Change Cards and "Happy?" Cards
- 4) Burden bearers



< Chart 1: Simulation >

Then, people are required to make a decision as a community, whether going back to the stage 1, where all social burdens are shared in lottery base; or just to keep the stage 2 with four social classes. The decision should be basically adopted through the vote by everybody. Of course, other proposal or suggestion could be discussed.

During the negotiation before the final vote, the Facilitator asks some key questions. Samples of possible inquiries are:³

- Who seems the most responsible?
- Who has the power to change?
- Does each social class share common opinion inside?
- Why this situation is kept?
- Who gains from the system?

Stage 3: Community with Fixed Position (forever, even for descendants)

Whatever the community's decision is, everybody is asked to imagine that the social class era continues into the future for centuries. Further, people are asked how they feel about it.

I. "*Buraku Sabetsu*" -Origin and Status ⁴

The central aim of the role-play is to realize the structural dimension of "*Buraku Sabetsu*." The imaginary community, however, is a metaphor of one of the most serious and historic discriminations in Japan. There are many excellent teaching practices that encourage empathy in individual learners; however, *Buraku Sabetsu* becomes more invisible in the Japanese social framework as the reasons discussed later. Therefore, we need a study of Structure-orientated simulation studies, as well as moral education for transforming this severe discrimination.

³ "Inquiry" method, to ask neutral questions to the learners in order to seek deeper problematique, is often used in Peace Education pedagogy. Betty Reardon, *In order to create peaceful world- Human Rights, Gender, and Education* (workshop) held at Seisen University, Tokyo, Japan, May 16-17, 2009.

⁴ The following description is based on and is synthesized from many books and articles, listed in the bibliography.

A. “Kegare (穢れ: Impurity in mind)”

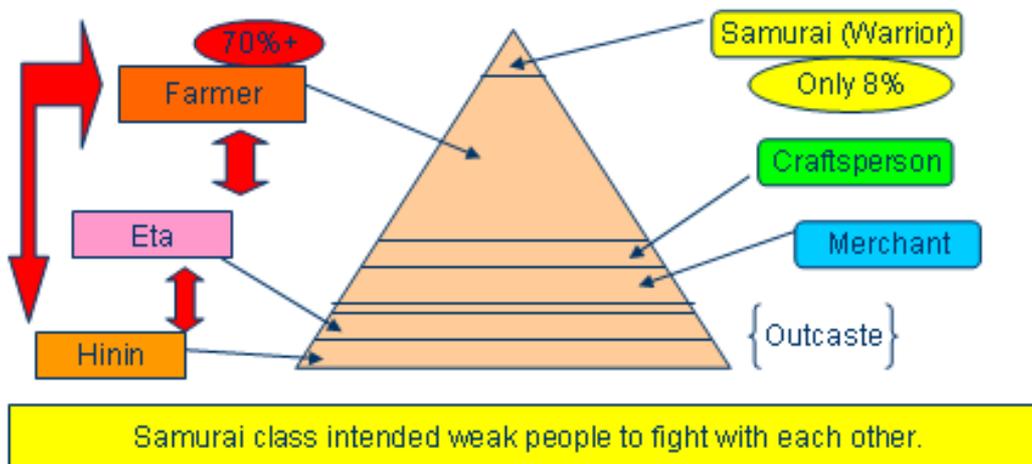
To realize the deep structure of *Buraku Sabetsu*, the concept of “Kegare” should be understood. As there are many theories analyzing its origin, they agree at least; in 8th Century, noble people privatize the lands and social classes were generated. Until modern age, “Kegare” exists in the deep structure of Japanese people’s minds, as to form a kind of deep culture. “Kegare” means impurity in mind, which can never be purified by physical actions. For example, if a container which carries a cow’s feces and urines could be washed and disinfected a thousand times, Japanese people might still feel some impurity remains with it.

The idea of “kegare (impurity in mind)” results in prejudice against people with specific occupations, such as funeral workers, executioners, sweepers, leather producers, drum makers, etc. People with those occupations are regarded impure, since they touch daily the dead human or animals, or dirty things like feces or dead skin.

B. Fixed Social Classes

17th century *Samurai* Shogunate fixed social hierarchy: *Samurai* (Warrior), Farmer, Merchant, and Craftsperson. It also defined outcast people: “*Eta* (extreme filth)” and “*Hinin* (non-human)” classes. The Shogunate fixed social classes in order to maintain the Samurai’s privileged status. Outcasted people were regulated in social manners and communication with other classes.

C. Social Structure



< Chart 2 : Social Hierarchy in Edo Period >

The chart indicates how the Samurai (warrior) class designed the social hierarchy. Absolute majority was the Farmer class, and the critical point was how to control the society by 8% of population of Warriors. The people with power utilized the prejudice against the outcaste classes (thick arrows in the chart below), *Eta* and *Hinin*, to preserve this unstable hierarchal pyramid. Perhaps, many discriminatory systems in the world share common characteristics with the *Edo* class system.

D. *Kegare* Impurity Lasts Forever

Buraku people were discriminated against even after they passed away. For example, their gravestone was

caved with discriminatory posthumous name as with letters of animal name or slave. The posthumous name (戒名: *Kaimyo*) is named by a Buddhist priest, to spend their time after-death, in another dimension of space.

E. Potential of Continued Discrimination

In 19th Century, the new Meiji Government prohibited any social class ranking, however class discrimination continued. In the era of introducing capitalism and industrialization, capitalists required low cost workers, and weak classes were forced into a competitive battle with each other. The idea of “*Kegare*” was even strengthened with new western idea of hygiene and eugenics, introduced in this period.

F. The Enforced “Role” of Accepting Social Disadvantages

In 20th Century, in the era of modernization, social burden such as: garbage disposal facilities, isolation ward, crematory, nuclear powerplant, were often constructed in or near the *buraku* areas. “3D-jobs,” unemployment, humble houses, uneducated, etc. were often found in *buraku* communities. In another way to explain the situation, *Buraku Sabetsu* has been utilized by the modern government to put social burdens on this group of people. If, for example, 10% of the population automatically accepts those social burdens, the rest majority of 90% of the population could live without owing any risks of social disadvantages (as shown in the simulation, at the beginning of this workshop).

G. “Invisible People” -Why does it continue over the centuries?

Buraku People are “invisible” in a certain sense, however, they are still discriminated against. There are no physical distinctive features that distinguish them from other Japanese people. *Buraku* People cannot be identified in normal communication, and foreign observers often ask why the discrimination is possible. This discrimination is not the remains of past bad legislation, nor the habit of the past of feudal era alone; it is being re-produced even in the current modern era.

What explains this discrimination? It is caused by the perceived need of modern society for the sacrifice of the good of a minority for the benefit of society. It is a utilitarian calculation wherein the overall benefits to society out weigh the harm done to a minority. If fixed group of people carry any social burden, the others would feel safe from the risk to carry them.

There are three ways through which discrimination is sustained: “*Koseki* (戸籍: permanent address system),” “*Buraku Chimei Soukan* (部落地名総鑑: underground publishing of *buraku* community address list),” and “*Koshinjo* (興信所: private detective agencies).” First one, Japanese historic custom, “*Koseki*,” has played to identify the *buraku* people. It is a legal custom among East Asian society, the permanent address registering system. Though people move from their original place, the *Koseki* remains, while address is changed. Second, underground publishing of “*buraku* lists” was purchased by famous companies and serene people, which indicates which permanent address is categorized as *buraku* community. Third, “*Koshinjo*,” private detective agencies, have worked to find somebody’s permanent address or family status. Recently, new legislation regulates these inhumane actions, however the discrimination has not totally been overcome.

II. To Learn Deeply from the Reality of Discrimination

To learn deeply from the reality of discrimination (「差別の現実には深く学ぶ」: *Sabetsu no Genjitsu ni Fukaku Manabu*) is a common slogan of anti-discrimination educators in Japan. The shape of *Buraku Sabetsu* in the modern age looks as follows: Pressure to Marriage, Pressure to Employment, Bullying, Harassment, Graffiti, Discriminatory description in Internet bulletin board, and so on.

A. Statistics (1990's) ⁵

Unfortunately, statistics still indicate the difference between the “average” people’s living standard and the standard of *buraku* people. For example:

- Rate of long time absence in school: Average 2.4%, and *buraku* 4.5%
- Rate of entry into University and Junior College: Average 40.7%, and *buraku* 28.6%
- Rate of Households on welfare: Average 1.4%, and *buraku* 7.0%
- Rate of Company Executive: Average 6.0%, and *buraku* 1.9%
- Annual Income less than 0.5 million Yen: Average 4.7%, and *buraku* 10.3%

Nowadays, these situations seem to be improved a little, however, the gap still stands.

B. Ms. Hatsue Kobayashi’s (coming-out writer) Talk in a TV Session⁶

A sensational TV discussion program broadcasted a challenging topic of *Buraku Sabetsu*, and a coming-out writer, Ms. Hatsue Kobayashi introduced how *buraku* people are discriminated against. She cited many examples, such as:

- Bullying against her child in school (excluded from lunch serving duty, locked in the toilet, etc.)
- Newcomers desperately explain they have no relatives in the area.
- A small girl took her grandmother to Ms. Kobayashi’s home and explained how evil she is, by pointing at the doorplate.

At the same program, Mr. Kenzo Tomonaga, the head researcher from “*Buraku Kaiho Kenkyusho* (部落解放研究所 Research Institute for Liberating *Buraku*)” introduced a statistic: 70% of nuclear powerplants in Japan are located in or near the *buraku* communities. Ms. Kobayashi reveals as well that other public facilities have also been constructed in *buraku* zones, and there have been serious power struggles between *buraku* residents and the public administration. Due to the public power to oppress, the apathy of the majority of ordinary people, and customs that regard self-help actions as crude, she found no way to ensure their own human dignity.

⁵ IMADR, IMADR-JC, Buraku Liberation League, and BLHRRI, “Reality of Buraku Discrimination in Japan” 2001

⁶ “*Jinken to Buraku Sabetsu* (Human Rights and *Buraku* Discrimination),” ‘Asa made Nama- Terebi (All-night Discussion TV series),’ TBS, 1989

C. Current Main Cases of Discrimination

Buraku Sabetsu shows its face in the modern society, and for examples, the main cases are:

(1) About 1600 companies, including big-names, bought private information from 2 detective agencies (1998).⁷ By the investigation of two detective companies, many companies had a contract to check individual information such as place of origin, personal beliefs, and political activities, when they recruit new staff members. The information was sent by fax, and disposed of immediately, in order to destroy the evidence.

(2) A student was compelled to rewrite the report of a mal-interview at an enterprise. (2005) For the improvement of recruiting students from *buraku* community, schools requests students to report what was asked at the interview. For examples, place of origin, landmarks nearby their home, personal beliefs, are regarded mal-questions and could be discussed later. However, a teacher instructed students to make false statements, in order to save them from discriminatory treatment.

(3) Computerized *buraku* Lists were found. (2006) As technology developed, *buraku* lists became computerized and it became more difficult for people in anti-discrimination activities to find such mal-publication. Many violent words are found on the internet BBS, as well as bad words against foreign people and countries.

(4) Defamation in internet communication (Recent) The main method of bullying in school is internet or mobile phone e-mail communication. The attackers use fake names, and the bullied person cannot identify who has committed the humiliation. Bullying against *buraku* people is also moving to electronic communication.

III. Anti-Discrimination Movements by *Buraku* People

Buraku people, after the long struggle, started their own anti-discrimination movements.

A. The Fruits of the Movements

A world-wide famous declaration of human rights, “*Suiheisha Declaration* (水平社宣言)” was adopted in 1922, when “*Suiheisha* (水平社: the Levelers Association, 1922-1942) was founded. The declaration stipulated the principles of: Self-help, Solidification, Being proud of self, etc. The Symbol Flag of the Movement (荊冠旗: *Keikanki*) was designed from a crown of thorns. The establishment of *Suiheisha* was an epoch-making incident in anti-discrimination movement history. During the war period it faced extinction due to unification of all parties in the war effort; this collaboration has been subsequently regretted by the movement. They regarded unification as a significant opportunity to be recognized, through contributing to overcoming the national crisis. After the World War II, National Committee for *Buraku* Liberation (部落解放全国委員会: *Buraku Kaiho Zenkoku Inkai*, 1946-1955) was founded and the movement was succeeded by other organizations.

⁷ This matter is not reported through the main mass-media, since some of the mass-media companies also were involved, and only reported by human rights movement's periodicals. Local governmental chief, for example Minoo City mayor and chairperson of the municipal congress touched this incident in their speech at the public human rights over-viewing meeting. The facilitator learned about this from a veteran instructor of *Shigaku Jin Ken* office.

B. Problems in Anti-Discrimination Movements

Unfortunately, the movements have faced some difficulties in recent decades. First, the movement became fragmented in its relationship with political parties. Second, there were reported some scandal cases by human rights organizations and the administration of the human rights department. Third, the recent globalization of economy has generated poorer people than traditional *buraku* people and focus seems to be weakening on *buraku*.⁸

IV. Anti-Discrimination Laws

A. Special Legislation

The Japanese government has proposed legislation (同和対策事業特別措置法: *Douwa Taisaku Jigyō Tokubetsu Sochi Hou*, Special law for Anti-discrimination Measures), mainly focusing on the improvement of the economic status and living standards of *buraku* communities, including nominating special areas and supplying better social infrastructure. The special legislation has been postponed several times: 1969-1982, 1982-1987, 1987-1997, and 1996-2001. In education, the Law for Human Rights Education and the promotion of Enlightenment of Human Rights (人権教育及び人権啓発の推進に関する法律: *Jinken Kyouiku Oyobi Jinken Keihatsu no Suishin ni Kansuru Houritsu*) was envisaged in 2000. As this law had a background of United Nations' campaign of Decade of Human Rights, connection with International Laws and movements in the world gradually became to recognize.

B. Problems - the End of Special Legislation in 2002

However, this special legislation finally ended in 2002, with the reason that *Buraku Sabetsu* had become less obvious and seemed to have recovered at least in the economic field. Recent movements of thought maintain that it should have been a basic law of liberation of *buraku* people and community. After the expiring of the special legislation, anti-discriminatory lectures became no longer mandatory for teaching license programs at university, and about 40% of new teachers in Osaka private schools have not learned about *Buraku Sabetsu*.⁹ The recent published book, written by a *buraku* writer, tells us the discrimination became less severe in the general context, but still exists and violations of human rights continue.¹⁰

VI. Anti-Discriminatory Education ¹¹

Anti-discriminatory education has made efforts in empowering and supporting *buraku* pupils and students, through developing such devices as literacy education (識字教育: *Shikiji Kyouiku*), free school textbook (教科書無

⁸ A city hall staff from local government in Shikoku area, interviewed at the workshop of *Jinken Kyouiku Keihatsu Suishin Center* (人権教育啓発推進センター、The Center for Human Rights Affairs), January 17, 2008

⁹ This is found at a meeting for new teachers in *Shigaku Jin ken*, in the year of 2003, when the lecturer, Mr. Ninomiya Takashi, asked to the all new teachers in Osaka Private Schools.

¹⁰ Kadooka, Nobuhiko, *ibid*.

¹¹ This paragraph is mainly based on “*Tomoni*” and “*Manabi*” by *Shigaku Jin Ken*.

償化:

Kyoushoku Mushouka), and changes in the philosophy of scholarship (奨学金基準の変更: *Shougakukin Kijun no Henkou*). As in course guidance support: General Format of CV (統一応募用紙: *Touitsu Oubo Youshi*: only prefecture name on permanent address item, without ideology check items, etc.) It has also carried out enlightenment education for the majority. Many teaching materials, readings, movies, etc., have been produced and these educations have been introduced in the schools's human rights education curriculum. Recent Human Rights education has attempted a connection with current trends in international education: introducing the treaty of the right of the child, the UN year for human rights education, and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, etc.

A. Education of Empathy with Literature

Among many human rights education teaching materials, the original handbook of “*Ningen* (にんげん、human)” is, for example, widely-introduced in the Osaka area. It contains various stories within such topics as: People with visual disabilities, Hansen's Disease, Antipersonnel Landmine, Ainu (Indigenous people in Japan), *Zainichi* people (Korean people living in Japan), People with Special Needs, HIV carrier, Okinawan People, *Buraku* Discrimination, etc.¹² These themes in the handbook, used mainly in long homeroom time or moral education, aims to develop learners' empathy with minorities or people in a discriminated situation. The book was distributed around many schools in the Osaka area, and had an established reputation. However, the structural aspect of discrimination has not been focused on very much. This handbook has mainly been taught from the standpoint of humanities, not in a social science context.

B. Problems in Anti-discriminatory Education

Those kinds of humanistic ways of teaching has a good effect on reflection of daily life and the mindset produced by prejudice of each learner. However, some problems arise. First of all, official support for human rights education is weakened due to the reduced budget, under the background of the expiration of special legislation for empowering *buraku* people and community. The handbook “*Ningen*” is no longer published and practitioners should distribute a copy version. The Osaka governor has taken the policy of minimizing total expenses for the Osaka prefecture, and has reduced support for educational activities. Second, the expiration of the legislation also affects teachers' lack of knowledge about the *buraku* issue, since university study of the issue is no longer a mandatory requirement for the teacher's license. Third, many non-*buraku* issues come together in the category of human rights education and the *buraku* issue has thereby lost its status as a central issue. The expansion of the range of human rights education has many merits, however traditional practitioners regret that the *buraku* issue has become to be seen much less important.

V. My trial of Structural Approach and the Viewpoint of Transformation (Simulation Study)

Reviewing those reflections, human rights education of the *buraku* issue urges more effective ways of teaching. The social-scientific view should be centralized to overcome difficulties, which still lie behind the superficial improvement. While traditional education mainly focuses on the aspect of cultural violence of *buraku*

¹² *Ningen* Editing Committee, *Ningen : Hito, Kibou*, Meiji Tosho Shuppan, 2006: “*Ningen*” used to have been published with supports by local government, until 2008.

issue, the perspective of structural violence of the *Buraku Sabetsu* should be focused on. Any actions and reactions around *Buraku Sabetsu* must be included to find the aspect of structural violence, in the new human rights education. To observe the structural contradiction of conflict, simulation-styled class has become prominent. In the structural approach of learning, four social classes are defined in the simulation, negotiating the possibility of change. Then the discussion stage should be performed for re-evaluating traditional society. The community will discuss the important decision-making issues, whether going back to the stage of fair burden sharing or not. Other plans are of course welcomed. Human Rights, especially the *buraku* issue, should be taught, not just as a matter of personal ethics, but focusing on the transformation of the social structure, in terms of a peace education perspective. That study method should also have a connection with other anti-discrimination issues -- learning through participation.

A. Review of IIPE 2009 Simulation

The simulation presented at IIPE 2009 was the first time the simulation was introduced to multicultural participants. Paper-Rock-Scissors competition was too difficult for some participants from different cultures; however, many people cooperated in the explanation; which has never been seen in my classroom. The discussion before voting produced various ideas for the solution; everybody should own some parts of the social burdens, responsibility shared in rotation basis, and so on. In the serious scene, one participant voluntarily owned some of the burdens of friends. After the simulation, the main discussion topic was the possibility of simulation method in teaching discrimination or human rights issues. My proposal was still a prototype and needed improvements, however major opinions maintained the participatory method of human rights learning was worth trying. To explore this simulation study of discrimination through the IIPE 2009 theme: Human Rights Learning as Peace Education- Pursuing Democracy in a Time of Crisis, the tension regarding the sharing of social burdens among participants -modified from real discrimination- was presented as a crisis, as well as questioning crisis for whom. Pursuing democracy, the process of discussion involves: to discuss, to solve, to transform in democratic ways. Of course, this simulation study aims at human rights learning to protect minorities from structural violence, and how to transform the distorted structure into a peaceful one, by peaceful means. Especially, it was very meaningful to be promoted among a multicultural situation, to pursue human rights as common language among people from many cultures.

B. To Review My Class

I have practiced this simulation for 15 years, as a conclusion and a chance to review the whole learnings of improving social problems in Japanese society. The students' conclusions vary by group. Some classes were very positive, and they adopted almost unanimous agreement to change the situation into Stage 1. Other classes were negative toward the change of the stage, expressing an unsympathetic decision to choose. It was young people's flexibility that many alternatives have been heard in discussions. For examples of ideas for transformation: rotating basis for burden sharing (as seen in IIPE 2009), introducing compulsory human rights education for people with "Happy ?" cards, cutting the burden into smaller pieces to be shared by everybody, abandoning some industry or economic progress, etc. In all cases, the facilitator can enter the learners into deeper understanding of discrimination, with techniques of comparing with realities, finding the same phenomena in real disputes, etc. I did not expect, but effects for empathy education were revealed through the simulation study; for example, deeper understanding of the victimized people, stronger motivation to know the realities, and so on, while readings-oriented approach has attracted only sensitive students in my class.

In the process of developing this structural approach, I asked two expert teachers outside our school to review it. One very traditional teacher with rich experience gave a critical comment: it could be a little rude to simulate real wrenching discrimination like a "game," it should be dangerous if student from real *buraku*

community to play a role of victim; teacher cannot always expect fruitful discussion among learners especially among very young students, etc. The other middle-aged teacher told that this is rather necessary in *buraku* community, to overcome the situation by advocating appropriate concept of real system of the discrimination. Both comments are very efficient to review this way of teaching. Further, I had a couple of opportunities to demonstrate at teachers' workshop in Japan, and had many comments of encouragement, and a few criticisms that they are afraid of the possibility, that discussion could become unwillingly very serious.

Considering all the comments, I set a little competitive game before the simulation, as a warm up to stimulate shy learners and brace enthusiasm, as an improvement. And more affirmative response toward any voice in the discussion should be done in the facilitation. I haven't practiced this simulation study among *buraku* community, however, I asked two well-known researchers from *buraku* community, as described later.

Conclusion

Buraku Sabetsu has been realized mainly individually, for example, in overcoming prejudice as an individual challenge, in traditional methodology of human rights study. However, the structural approach is necessary; people with normal sensitivity or normal living standard should be involved in the process of overcoming social injustice and transforming the social structure. Simulation studies could evoke those kinds of positive attitudes among many people, especially the silent majority. Learners could realize that democracy needs a wise majority, including respect for the human rights of minorities, and understanding what the total social system produces. This approach has the same orientation as conflict resolution in Peace Education, to find the ideas for transforming the contradictory deep structure.

The traditional approach of human rights education in Japan has often utilized humanistic methods of appreciation of written works of minority people. It has aroused empathy for the victimized people and their situation. This approach aims to transform the individual's mindset, values and way of thinking through reflection and change of perspective. On the other hand, the structural method emphasizes the total view of the framework of discrimination objectively, and encourages learners to understand the ideas of how to transform the entire system of the society. To educate to overcome structural violence, like discrimination or oppression, the structural approach is preferable. Through participation as a player, winner, loser, bystander, etc., the learners have a chance to experience the victims perspective. After the simulation, learners have a chance to look at the total system of discrimination. There are some critics opposed to the participatory method of human rights education as a kind of indoctrination,¹³ however, the process of discussion can include all types of values. With any conclusion of each simulation, learners have a chance to review the whole structure. Further, I find that the structural approach also nurtures empathy with marginalized people very much.

Epilogue

When I tried to introduce the structural study of discrimination of simulation into the school's education, there were pros and cons. A famous professor in international education warned me to stop writing reports about this issue in a thesis contest. I told him I am ready for any kind of criticism; however, he still cautioned me again that the contest institute could be involved in difficult matters, if my thesis got some prize. I protested that he could discount

¹³ For example, Eiji Yagi and Osamu Umeda, *Ima Jinken Kyouiku wo Tou* (Now the time to ask Human Rights Education) (Japan: Otsuki Shoten, 1999); Eiji Yagi and Osamu Umeda, *Jinken Kyouiku no Jissen wo Tou* (To Ask Practices of Human Rights Education) (Japan, Otsuki Shoten, 2002)

my points in the committee discussion if he thought my trial produced any harmful result. But he regarded his own warning as a form of kindness, since he knew his researcher friend became unable to continue his research by facing very severe criticism by *buraku* liberation movements. A school educator in traditional pedagogy criticized the simulation method that my methodology is too objective and not on the side of discriminated people.

Therefore, I felt very encouraged that many IIPE participants gave me very positive suggestions, and some of them even would try structural simulation method in their own educational fields. Prof. Betty Reardon advised that this trial needs some more improvement to include gender perspectives. Behind many phenomena of discrimination, gender is there. In *buraku* cases, father often plays the most decisive role in marriage. There are differences between the case a *buraku* woman marries non-*buraku* man and a *buraku* man marries a non-*buraku* woman. Therefore, I should develop the opening dialogue between Father and Son, for example, to suggest the existence of a gender problematique as the next important task.

I thank again to the IIPE participants and really appreciate all the comments, which should enrich this trial. I was glad to know some professors would test the structural simulation learning in their class activities.

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