

## **The Probability and Potential of a Pluralistic Japan**

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### **Abstract**

Today, amidst an unprecedented flow of people from country to country, Japan has remained almost a passive observer – satisfied to keep stringent entrance barriers intact for the sake of preserving the cultural status quo. However, with a sharply falling birth rate, rapidly aging population, labour shortage, and economic stagnation, Japan's lawmakers and bureaucrats have recently begun to initiate debate into the possibility of greater immigration. This paper explores these recent moves, from the perspectives of external (global economic competition, need for greater innovation, etc.) and internal (immigrant struggles, lack of rights, moves by Japanese citizens to assist and include disadvantaged foreigners particularly through NGOs) perspectives. In particular it looks at the necessities of political, societal and attitudinal change in the populace in order to allow for the inclusion of difference in what is arguably the world's most homogenous developed nation-state. This requires a re-assessment of exactly who is – and can be – Japanese and what it means to be 'Japanese'; enormous questions which at present the government seems loathe to address. An examination of local and grassroots level moves to accommodate greater diversity, demonstrates the benefits to Japanese society of such acceptance. It concludes with suggestions for how state-makers can realize a possible new model along the lines of what has been referred to variously as 'cosmopolitan', 'global' or 'universal' citizenship, applicable and – arguably – beneficial to Japan's situation. Done correctly and with appropriate input and debate, Japan could create a new social contract with its citizens (native and new) that would serve as a model for other states in Asia.

**Key Words:** Migration, identity, citizenship, pluralism, civil society, education for global citizenship.

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### **1. Introduction**

Human migration has been a constant in history since well before arbitrary lines were drawn and the proliferation of nation-states began. From

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75 million people in 1960 to more than 190 million in 2005, the pace and scope of migration looks likely to only further intensify.

While Japan's geographical location has historically sheltered it from the waves of migration that have characterized and shaped the majority of other nations on earth, there is no denying the fact that exchanges with neighboring nations have contributed to Japanese society and culture. In spite of this, Japan has long been portrayed as an isolated nation. Today, amongst the unprecedented flow of people from country to country, Japan appears almost a passive observer to the trend – satisfied to keep stringent entrance barriers intact for the sake of preserving the cultural status quo. A 'myth of homogeneity' – considering itself a homogenous state with practically no ethnic, cultural or linguistic diversity,<sup>1</sup> has remained the dominant ideology in Japan for almost its entire modern history and a recurring undercurrent of the nation's psyche.<sup>2</sup>

However, Japanese society today is fast approaching a turning point; being pushed by an aging and shrinking population on the one hand and pulled by the desire to maintain its comparative social and cultural homogeneity in the face of a growing and diversifying migrant population on the other.

This chapter is prefaced on the assumption that Japan's leaders will seek a more multicultural path in order to foster greater innovation and prosperity based on a realization of the economic and social value of difference over sameness in today's world and a recognition that greater diversity can lead to a better civil society. It briefly analyzes the present situation Japan faces with regards to the acceptance of non-Japanese nationals and possible methods available to path a pluralistic future capable of accommodating beneficial difference in line with global trends. It will examine the prerequisite to such a formation, namely: a reassessment of who can belong and how, by taking into account such things as education for intercultural citizenship and non-nation specific education as well as the potential inherent in the recent spread of NGOs in Japan. Finally, it will conclude with suggestions for how state-makers can realize a possible new model along the lines of what has been referred to variously as 'cosmopolitan', 'global' or 'universal' citizenship, applicable and – arguably – beneficial to Japan's situation. While Japan has been reluctant to move away from its post war model of nationhood – in particular citizenship and nationality, it is argued it could achieve greater success, stability and security through the creation of a flexible and accommodating form of cosmopolitan citizenship.

## **2. Citizenship and Japan Today**

Citizenship is an extremely complex term. Of the three essential constitutive elements of a state, namely; territory, a government, and a

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people, delineating the people has regularly proved to be the most controversial issue.<sup>3</sup>

In comparatively mono-national states such as Japan, the concepts of citizenship and nationality are usually used interchangeably, while so-called 'others' are referred to as 'ethnics'. However, citizenship and nationality are not synonymous; one may belong to the Maori nation (for example be a member of the Maori minority living in Australia), but at the same time be a citizen of Australia. Similarly, Arabs who identify themselves as members of the Arab nation may be residing in one of the more than twenty sovereign Arab states, but could hardly be considered citizens of all such states simultaneously. Therefore, citizenship (which is related to the state as a subject of international law) must be differentiated from nationality (which refers to a community or a people that has common roots in terms of language, culture, race, and so forth).

Unlinking nationality and citizenship is imperative to the creation of an open and democratic society.<sup>4</sup> "This should not endanger the integrity of the polity because it is possible to construct a political culture disassociated from national and ethnic origins but anchored to the principle of multiculturalism".<sup>5</sup> In other words, the acceptance of pluralism offers a way forward in creating solutions to social problems, conflict and inequalities while at the same time opening the society up to greater possibilities. This is the first and foremost beneficial aspect that can provide potential opportunities to Japan.

Today, states are caught between two opposing forces; those pushing for greater recognition and acceptance of international personhood rights, and those seeking to put a bigger and stronger stamp on access to and the meaning of citizenship within their borders. Some states have witnessed a push towards the reassertion of national identity and sovereignty in response to migrational pressure. Conner, for example, claims that improvements in transportation and communication have in fact highlighted an awareness of the differences in nations and individuals resulting in a pronounced impact on cultural and national identity.<sup>6</sup> Further, Kofman discusses the many recent moves made by nation-states to recouple rights and identities, reassert their authority and even question multiculturalism and diversity when shaping national identity and citizenship.<sup>7</sup> As a consequence, some states have increased efforts to create greater barriers in order to protect their culture and lifestyle.

In response, Soysal claims that recent developments have resulted in what he refers to as "paradoxical implications for the exercise of the citizenship" between the role of the nation-state in determining migrant acceptance and the emergence of universal personhood rights for them.<sup>8</sup> In other words, universal personhood rights may eventually overtake and weaken the power of the nation-state. The challenge, therefore, for those who

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promote and stress the necessity for national identity over all else, “is to find a moral basis for selecting the traditions which will be promoted as the collective memory, and for distinguishing the ‘us’ from the ‘them’ without engendering ethnocentrism or xenophobia”.<sup>9</sup> As Gilbert continues:

Their dilemma is that any genuine search for national traditions which will promote the welfare of all their people can be satisfied only by universal humanitarian principles; but these must then undermine any attempt to distinguish the welfare of the nation from the welfare of those outside it.<sup>10</sup>

As citizenship involves the connection between our status and identities as individuals and the lives and concerns of others with whom we share a sense of community. Consequently, there are now more ways of being a citizen than have been possible at any point in history and, therefore, citizenship can no longer merely be defined in terms of an individual’s relation with a nation state. This is precisely Japan’s dilemma as it continues to walk the path of cultural protection and management. Yet, it is debatable whether this is either assisting minorities in Japan, or particularly beneficial in an increasingly competitive and globalizing world. Further, it appears increasingly at odds with the country’s own official statements and realities and why a new understanding of acceptance is required.

### **3. Japan & Migration: Present Struggles and Future Needs**

Japan’s population is changing rapidly. Not only is it rapidly ageing (by 2025, 27.3%, or 33.2 million people, will be aged over 60)<sup>11</sup> its continued low birth rate means that the population is projected to shrink from 127 million in 2008 to 102 million in 2050 with an ensuing 10% drop in the labour force in the next 25 years. As a result, by 2020 one elderly person will be supported by 2.3 workers, whereas the number was 1:12 in 1950 and 1:5.5 in 1990.

Some argue that the recent global economic situation negates the need for further acceptance of foreign labour. Yet, it is important to differentiate between the immediate short-term impact and projected long-term effects. While present economic problems may have started to impact on migrant numbers, for the long-term, it is revealing to analyze historical precedents. Castles<sup>12</sup> points out that on at least three occasions in the past (the economic crisis of the 1930s, the oil shocks of the early seventies, and the 1997-99 Asian financial crisis), long-term migration trends were not noticeably affected. Rather, there is evidence that it may even strengthen and increase in such times.<sup>13</sup>

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Undoubtedly spurred on by such demographic stimuli, Japan has gradually increased dialog into pluralism possibilities. A report issued by Japan's Economic Council, recommended: "we should actively consider aiming to become a vibrant socio-economy that is open to the world by orderly accepting migrant labour from overseas countries" (Japan Economic Council 1999). "It is important for Japan to introduce foreign workers in the fields of management, research and technology," wrote the Ministry of Economic Trade and Industry in its 2003 White Paper. (The Japan Times 2003). Likewise, a Prime Ministerial Commission looking at Japan's goals in the 21st Century acknowledged the requirement for foreign inputs when they discussed the need to implement change thus:

[t]o respond positively to globalization and [to] maintain Japan's vitality in the twenty-first century... we cannot avoid the task of creating an environment that will allow foreigners to live normally and comfortably in this country.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps the most vociferous calls for greater immigration in Japan have been voiced by the Japan Business Federation. Fearing that not only will Japan's dwindling labor force create serious economic problems in the coming decades, but that the lack of difference means Japan will suffer from a lack of innovation needed to keep pace with increasingly tougher international competition (Okuda 2009). In short, as Philippe Legrain (2006) convincingly argues, immigrants are an absolute necessity in post-modern societies like Japan characterized by a declining birth rate and rapidly aging population.

Undeniably the debate over the benefits of immigration is split. Opponents argue that foreigners can undermine national interests and even security, as they do not share a sense of loyalty or respect for the perceived common good (Miller 1999). This has been the line followed by many of Japan's prominent opponents to greater immigration and has been well supported by the National Police Agency who regularly popularize any (real or perceived) increase in foreign crime. Immigrants are also supposedly less likely to participate in civic and/or political activities (Hammer 1990), use their voting rights (if they have any) and contribute to labour unions and related action (Watts 2002).

Those in favour, however, argue that the accruing benefits to the host society – although perhaps only appearing gradually – outweigh any negative points. Unger (1998) claims that immigrants contribute to "involuntary or half-conscious institutional experimentalism" (p. 27) in host countries which contributes to democratic development. Similarly, Honig (1998) states that foreigners act as "refounding" agents who stimulate developed nations to further progress. In short, foreigners offer benefits in the

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form of reinvigorating civil society and democracy (Walzer 1996) by exposing members of the host society to different ideas and possible processes hitherto unconsidered or deemed inappropriate.

Yet, it is not solely for such economic motives that advocates believe Japan will eventually adopt a path of greater openness. Numerous other factors such as a need for more innovation, global integration, and stimulation as well as the perceived numerous flow-on benefits for Japan's nationals and its civic society will ultimately lead to change.

However, in spite of an increase in discussion in Japan, developments achieved have been done so largely as a result of external pressure; reactionary rather than progressive. Globalization, too, which does not necessarily prioritize the state, but rather includes numerous other players – has contributed to these changes in Japan. This is important because all such actions pertaining to foreigners and their acceptance and accommodation into Japanese life have – until recently – fallen into the domain of internationalization activities, which themselves have mostly been instigated as a reaction to outside pressure and as a way of dealing with others while trying to protect itself (Chapple 2002), a process one could term: reactionary globalization.

Japan's lawmakers, therefore, commissioned a plan for migration in the coming years designed to counter the labour shortage. The plan, entitled a Proposal for a Japan-style Immigration Policy, and subtitled: "Towards the creation of a country that the world's youth will dream of migrating to", was drafted at the request of the LDP's National Strategy Office. It called for the acceptance of 10 million migrants and included accommodation of their families as well as provision for training. Requiring far-reaching changes, such as the creation of a new governmental body to oversee the rights of new migrants, as well as laws to eradicate racism and the use of schools to teach vocational skills, it is grand-sounding, but fails to deal with the crucial issues of identity and total acceptance by tackling the education system, which – as will be discussed below – is essential.

#### **4. "Detoured" Multiculturalism**

Multiculturalism grew out of both a failure of previous models of integration as well as a growing realization by liberal democracies that acceptance meant 'full' acceptance, an acknowledgement itself that emerged as a result of a greater recognition of human rights and their universal validity. It is a policy by which immigrants are accepted and allowed to participate fully in their new home while maintaining their own language, cultural and other distinct features. Today a multicultural society is one "which does not seek or base its political legitimacy and unity upon ideas of the homogeneity of its inhabitants, whether this presumed homogeneity be linguistic, religious or parental (racial/ethnic)" (Dunne & Bonazzi, 1995:

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266-7). In fact, the recognition and active support for the existence of such diversity is a feature of such societies today. Citizenship in such a state should apply to “all those who consider the nation as their homeland, irrespective of their background”<sup>15</sup> and it is this concept that I believe has application in Japan’s milieu. In sum, pluralism requires recognition of the benefits inherent in diversity and appreciation of the fact that the social equation that the sum of all the different parts is exponentially greater than the subtraction of minor factors from the original.

Yet, pluralistic policies pose numerous difficulties for state-makers. Perhaps the biggest of which is recognizing that each person is both an individual with rights as well as the bearer of collective identity. With this in mind, allowing full citizenship rights for everyone – not only those of migrant origin – but also members of hitherto disempowered groups such as women, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, gays and lesbians, and so on (Castles 1997: 125) is a requirement. Japan’s leaders will be required to integrate such ideas into their future policies as pluralism holds as a fundamental the notion of a civil society with equal citizenship. Only in this way can the full benefits be accrued by society, innovation fostered and conflict minimized. In short, complete social acceptance as represented by various NGO groups in recent years.

The dominant idea in policy in Japan until now is of ‘living together’, not national unity or even equality. The result is exclusion and the creation of “parallel lives” which have far reaching impacts on the quality of migrant’s lives. It gives rise to “nationless” people – those born in Japan yet not recognized by the state as citizens, it leads to serious identity problems for youth and creates educational and other rights violations and even overtly discriminatory treatment. This problem is similar to the idea of ‘banal cosmopolitanism’ referred to by Matthews and Sidhu (2005) in which brands, icons, foreign travel and food, etc. are accepted by a society but they alone do not necessarily equate to ethical and moral commitments to a global community.<sup>16</sup> Thus multiculturalism has detoured in Japan and taken a different direction. Recently infrastructure is where the government has been placing emphasis (hotels suitable for foreigners, signs in English, international community houses, etc.), but it needs to focus on feelings and identity formation as well for long-term success. Hence, schools should also become targets for infrastructural remodelling. A new form of citizenship is required for which I borrow Osler and Starkey’s term ‘cosmopolitan citizenship’ as a possible option for Japan’s future:

Whereas citizenship previously served the patriarchal modern state and its capitalist classes, it must now reflect the globalizing imperatives that are creating the

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conditions of possibility for new identities and new working conditions.<sup>17</sup>

At its most basic level, a cosmopolitan citizen is one who views themselves “as a citizen of the world community based on common human values” (Anderson-Gold 2001: 1). Cosmopolitan citizenship is not an alternative to national citizenship; it is merely “a way of being a citizen at any level, local, national, regional or global.” (Osler and Starkey 2005). It is based on common notions of humanity that transcend national borders. It recognizes that each of us has multiple identities and these require us to take a broader view of national identity. In other words, citizens need to be able to think and act as “multiply situated selves” (Osler and Starkey 2005: 21) and education plays a crucial role in this process.

##### 5. Education and Pluralism

Countries of immigration create common civic cultures that act as a form of social glue for creating national cohesion. Since Japan has historically had comparatively less immigration the idea of a unifying civic culture is anathema and at total odds to present trends in education to stress uniqueness or at least difference. Yet, if Japan is sincerely embarking on a course of greater acceptance, the education system must be reworked to accommodate it.

However, there is compelling evidence that education is the most important factor for fostering successful economic, social, and political integration of migrants (Özdemir 2006). Further, education for cosmopolitan citizenship in a liberal democracy, offers those who propose revolution the place to prove their case using the tools of logic and reason (Murphy, 1995). Japan’s present education system does incorporate several aspects of education for multicultural citizenship within its national curriculum. Either appearing variously under such guises such as education for international understanding (*kokusai rikai kyoiku*), ethnic education (*minzoku kyoiku*), education for newcomers (*nyucamaa to kyoiku*), global education (*gurbaru kyoiku*) or being incorporated as a part of existing classes such as values (*dotoku*) or human rights education (*jinken kyoiku*), such classes have failed as a result of their deliberate marginalisation. However, the explicit aim of these generally is to develop Japanese citizens with a sense of patriotism, willing to act cordially with people of other cultures but not to develop intercultural citizens (Hashimoto 2000, Parmenter 2004), hardly policies aimed at integrating diversity. In order to do so, changes are required.

Changes in the world in recent decades have brought about a renewed interest in education for global/intercultural/cosmopolitan citizenship, especially in Western democracies (Gilbert 1997). Undoubtedly such interest has been aroused in many places out of reaction to significant

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local and regional developments such as the advent of European citizenship for England, and debates about republicanism in Australia and Canada (Quebec). However, overwhelming international changes such as increasing migration, global warming, increases in information technology and so forth, have also stimulated debate into the same issue. Debates on education for citizenship that may have grown from local impetuses in predominantly Western democracies are now moving onto much larger questions about multiculturalism and are taking place in various political settings.

#### **6. Education for Cosmopolitan Citizenship in Japan**

The focus should be cast on the education of Japan's 'Others' first for four main reasons. Firstly, the Japanese Government has long touted the need to foster greater international acceptance and understanding amongst its population and realizes that in order to compete globally, such attitudes are an essential skill its citizens require. Surely an increase in migrant numbers and diversity in education could contribute significantly to this process.

Secondly, it is through the education system that concepts of national identity and belonging are fostered and instilled. If migration is to be successful, migrant children must be allowed to fully integrate into Japanese society smoothly, yet with differences intact and accepted. This is by no means a simple task and has far-reaching implications for numerous spheres of society.

Thirdly, and related to the second point, in Japan at present there are already a large number of foreign children receiving different types of education to varying degrees. An examination and recognition of this present situation sheds light on the enormity and seriousness of the task the government is facing. Clearly, the assumption that providing the same education to everyone has now been undermined, and a new approach to equality and diversity is required (Okano & Tsuchiya 1999).

Finally, the government is presently in the midst of education reforms seemingly quite at odds with the ideas of acceptance inherent in the concept of diversity. How can the idea of accepting more foreigners be considered a viable option when the government is effectively pushing national education policies in opposite directions? Much has been written about the role education plays in Japan to stress homogeneity and national unity and experience has shown the education system in Japan to be a powerful instrument in the forging of national unity (Burkes, 1985) with Japan, being one of the first societies to treat education as a tool of national development (Cummings 1980: 7). However, the present emphasis on national citizenship at the expense of all other citizenships presents a serious impediment to the development of intercultural citizenship in Japan (Parmenter, 2006). One way to overcome present issues mentioned above as well as open the society to more vibrant creativity, is the creation of a hybrid

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multicultural society established along the lines of the cultural principles of *iitokodori* (selecting the best). Done correctly, Japan will be able to reap considerable rewards by using the same system for further civic progress.

The acceptability of multiple identities needs to be recognized, either implicitly or explicitly, before intercultural citizenship can become a possibility. Differences in beliefs, values and behaviour are accepted up to a point in Japan, but anything deemed likely to threaten the harmony of the group usually results in exclusion reflecting a lack of access to “social citizenship” (Dwyer, 2004). Being a member of the family, school, community, nation are accepted and promoted in Japan, but once it comes to the sphere beyond the nation, the only identity that is permitted and encouraged in Japanese education policy and curriculum is identity ‘as a Japanese person’ (Parmenter, 2006). Demographic and cultural changes in the make-up of present Japanese society are creating the possibility of these assumptions of identity being adjusted to accommodate reality. This may lead to the creation of policy that is more encompassing of diversity which in turn will allow for access to cosmopolitan citizenship. The older simplistic conceptualization of identity-formation as a constant-sum game, whereby the acquisition of a new identity occurs at the expense of the original one, should give way to a multi-modal version, “which acknowledges the unique human capacity for additive identities, as manifested by the capacity of any member of the species to learn and use more than one language, and for transforming many aspects of the self.” (Zolberg, 1997: 151).

Cosmopolitan citizenship requires citizens to learn which values are unique to a certain culture and which are universally shared. They must “develop skills for participation and a mindset that welcomes cultural diversity” (Osler and Starkey 2005: 25). The essential requirement is to “explore alternative understandings of loyalties, membership, identities, rights and obligations arising from the context of globalization” (Matthews and Sidhu 2005: 54). Similarly, as different groups have different ways of understanding the meaning of social events, this can contribute to the mutual understanding of others if allowed (Young 2000).

While many Asian nation-states do not appear to have undergone the substantial change in understanding with regards to national identity and citizenship that have taken place in western countries over the last 30-50 years as a result of immigration<sup>18</sup>, in Japan’s case, there is increasing and convincing evidence of a grass-roots level push for greater accommodation that can be seen as a possible catalyst for greater social change and development. Shipper (2008), for example, argues that it is the presence of illegal workers in Japan that is producing the greatest stimulus for activism amongst Japanese today and this has “forced government officials to reflect on Japan’s national identity and to negotiate a new social contract with citizens... who reside on their islands” (p. 200).

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Presently however, Japan is clearly left wanting in terms of global citizenship. The country continually rates at the extreme low end of the annual Commitment to Development Index (CDI) that analyzes the contribution by OECD member countries. Japan's lack of engagement with other nations results in increasingly what Yamagishi (cited in Haffner et al, 2009: 187) calls disadvantageous "turn off opportunities." Considered the "MCC" (Most Closed Country) of the OECD with the lowest percentage of foreigners (hovering around 2%)<sup>19</sup>, Japan is going to be found particularly wanting in the global grab for talented labour in the coming years. As of 2006, a tiny 1.4% of the country's labour force was foreign in comparison with and OECD average of 13% (this itself an increase of 4 percent in the decade). The recipe is clear: Japan's relatively homogenous labour force will face tougher competition from growing diverse populations who have managed to turn difference into a tool for innovation and development by utilizing the benefits offered in an increasingly globalized economy. Japan's leaders could do well to quickly realize the fact that other states already have: the potential for greater productivity depends not only on education or R&D policies, but on immigration and integration policies as well (Zakaria, 2008). In sum, the creation of a more globalized Japan "will be a more productive and energized Japan, and also a more culturally vibrant Japan" (Haffner et al 2009: 236). Innovation would invigorate not only the economy but the nation's social fabric, creating the way for the fusion of ideas and cultures. Already today foreigners are playing a key role in Japan, as they help the country solve some of its domestic problems while advancing social democracy (Shipper, 2008). This would increase with greater diversity.

## **8. Conclusion**

Contributions to a society can be made by anyone who feels accepted and satisfied. A new concept of citizenship is required to enable such contributions. This concept, cosmopolitan/global/intercultural citizenship, would become the cornerstone of a new immigration policy in Japan as well as a potential catalyst for change in other nations. Japan would show leadership by example and prove that even in one of the most culturally homogenous nations, there is not only room for diversity but that it can reduce conflict and create reciprocal benefits.

Employing education to enable cosmopolitan citizenship would allow young people to perceive themselves as citizens with rights and responsibilities locally, nationally and globally (Osler and Starkey 2005). Such a change should be moved into the public sphere with active support from the state even to the extent of teaching minority languages at schools so as to create a society which can adapt flexibly to the outside world (Hatsuse, 1996). Further, non-nation specific education should be considered along the lines of the International Baccalaureate Organisation's (IBO) curriculum. In

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other words, learning for learning's sake without the imposing spectre of nation. Such education should include, protect and allow individuals to feel and remain connected to their roots while still making a contribution to the new society without the threat of being forced to make a choice and suffer isolation. It also reveals that rights require responsibilities on both sides: the responsibility of states to accept and protect, and for individuals to contribute and respect. Understanding these points provides the potential for the possibility of achieving mutually beneficial social and, what I term, "cultural economies of scale;" exponentially beneficial returns from input into social systems allowing pluralism.

The continued push to assimilate and delineate those considered 'other' in Japan will likely come under increasing pressure and attack in the coming years and ultimately may ironically invite the opposite effect. In other words, while ostensibly protecting the nation's interests, globalizing forces may overtake and bypass Japan leaving its interests politically, economically, socially, and perhaps even culturally disadvantaged. Globalization with its ensuing neo-liberal economic policies has the potential to gradually undermine the national economic policies of any one single nation-state. At the same time there is the correspondent quest for equality characterized by the globalised world which seeks greater application of rights. The pursuit of equality and identity co-exist and compete, "and the real issue is how to reconcile the two" (Oommen 1997: 20). What is required is a more progressive model of incorporation which recognizes newcomers as agents of change and as individuals and members of groups simultaneously. For this, education is essential.

Cosmopolitan education facilitates the construction of transnational communities and culturally diverse societies capable of innovation by encouraging greater openness, understanding and acceptance of diversity. Landes (1998) outlines that one of the main pushes behind wealth (in its widest meaning) is intellectual curiosity vis-à-vis the outside world and tolerance for ideas. "Countries should open up, for the sake of their wealth and the sake of their citizens" (Haffner et al 2009: 16). In sum: the successful societies in the future will be the open ones (Castles, 2009). Will Japan be one of them?<sup>20</sup>

## Notes

- <sup>1</sup> See, for example: H. W. Smith, *The Myth of Japanese Homogeneity – Social Ecological Diversity in Education*, Commack, N. Y.: Nova Science, 1994; M. Itoh, *Globalization of Japan*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000; H. Befu, *Globalizing Japan*, London: Routledge, 2001.
- <sup>2</sup> Even as recently as 2005, former Prime Minister Aso Taro referred to Japan as a nation of just “one race.”
- <sup>3</sup> Lichter quoted in Stolcke, 1997, ‘The Nature of Nationality’, in V. Bader, (ed) *Citizenship and Exclusion*, London: Macmillan Press, 1997.
- <sup>4</sup> Oommen 1997
- <sup>5</sup> Oommen 1997: 241.
- <sup>6</sup> W. Conner, *Ethnonationalism: The Quest for Understanding*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- <sup>7</sup> E. Kofman, ‘Citizenship, Migration and the Reassertion of National Identity’, *Citizenship Studies*, Vol. 9 (5), 2005, p. 455.
- <sup>8</sup> Y. Soysal, ‘Citizenship and identity: living in diasporas in post-war Europe?’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 23 (1), 2000, pp. 1-15.
- <sup>9</sup> R. Gilbert, ‘Issues for Citizenship in a Postmodern World’ in K. Kennedy (ed), *Citizenship education and the modern state*, London: The Falmer Press, pp. 65-81.
- <sup>10</sup> Gilbert, op. cit., 1997, p. 73.
- <sup>11</sup> W. Cornelius, 1994, ‘The Illusion of Immigration Control’ in W. Cornelius, P. Martin and J. Hollifield (eds) *Controlling Immigration: A Global Perspective*, Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1994, p. 378.
- <sup>12</sup> S. Castles, ‘Some Key Issues of Migrant Integration in Europe’, A paper presented at the International Symposium on Acceptance of Foreign Nationals and their Integration in Japan, Nagoya, 28 February, 2009.
- <sup>13</sup> Castles 2009, The Daily Yomiuri 2008a
- <sup>14</sup> Prime Minister's Commission on Japan's Goals in the 21st Century (2000) *The Frontier Within: Individual Empowerment and Better Governance in the New Millennium*, p. 13.  
<http://www.kantei.go.jp/jp/21century/report/htmls/index.html>. Accessed June 15, 2009.
- <sup>15</sup> Oommen 1997, p. 5
- <sup>16</sup> Matthews and Sidhu, 2005.
- <sup>17</sup> Matthews and Sidhu, 2005: 55
- <sup>18</sup> Castles 2000
- <sup>19</sup> Japan also ranks last among developed nations in terms of foreigners engaged in higher education.
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