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# GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON JAPAN

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# Scope

"Global Perspectives on Japan" focuses on developing a global perspective on the study of Japan and Asia. The journal promotes innovative, interdisciplinary, inter-regional and transnational approaches to Japanese Studies.

The journal aims to be a venue for scholarship in E.M.E.A. region with a special focus on Turkey and neighboring regions. It especially encourages scholars from the Middle East, Balkans, Central Asia and the Mediterranean but also welcomes scholars from other parts of the world.

GPJ invites papers in the fields of history, humanities, and social sciences including topics of the past and the present. In additon to articles, the journal publishes occasional article size translations, book reviews, and surveys of current trends in Japanese and Asian Studies.



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# Images of "the State" reflected in some historical novels of Japan: From the Nation-State to a New Public Entity like the EU<sup>\*</sup>

Inoue Noriyuki

(Kobe University)

## Introduction

As it is often pointed out, we nowadays live in a globalized society without borders where 'talent, product, fund and service' are actively being transferred. Therefore, considering the current situation of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the question of whether we still need a modern sovereign nation-state as we did in the old times will be inevitable. Especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when two world wars came to be nation wars, the world experienced a cold war period where borders came to stand like giant walls from the opposition to the older state ideology. As a result, it will be both important and essential to question the necessity of a man-made creation called the state, solely because it was formed by humanity.

It is possible to point out two different aspects when it comes to the existence of a 'state' in a globalized society. One is the economic aspect, and the other is the political and legal aspects. Firstly, from an economic perspective; as mentioned above, talent, products, funds, and services move freely across national borders, being traded in various ways. Setting aside the

<sup>\*</sup> This article was originally published in Japanese: 井上典之。「日本の歴史小説に見る「国家」像: 国民 国家からEU のような新しい公的秩序へ」神戸法學雑誌 70 (4), 1-34, 2021-03-29、神戸法学会 <u>https://</u> <u>doi.org/10.24546/81012719</u> The article is abbreviated and translated by Melisa Çelik for GPJ.

labor force, not only products that become goods but also other things such as raw materials to manufacture products, capital, investment resources, qualification services as a profession, and financial services are moving across borders from time to time. For that reason, various international trade rules are determined under the World Trade Organization (WTO) as an economic order. Furthermore, the WTO itself deals with new trade issues that sometimes go against the agreed practices and applications, acting as the core body of the international multilateral trading system.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, looking from a political perspective, modern sovereign states have always existed, and they continue to do so. When it comes to the economic aspect, the national interests, and the idea of putting the country first are firmly vocalized and frequently emphasized. As a result of the situation where the domestic legal system is being set as an economic policy, it is understood that the economic policy falls under the domestic power domain. Consequently, looking from a legal perspective, starting from the highest regulation that is the constitution, it is expressed as a center of the degree of domestic regulation.<sup>2</sup> Evidence for this argument is explained below. On one hand, most people live in countries that are not related to their nationalities, or their economic activities happen at international levels, and they form their unique autonomous orders. On the other hand, when people face situations where they want to move across borders, they must possess and offer the passport they have of their nationality, and even the domestic economic activities must be retained according to the individual countries and their own economic compulsory authorities. Furthermore, many issues that must be resolved politically will be globalized. Issues such as environmental protection, the maintenance of peace and order, the protection of human rights, and the prevention of infectious diseases cannot be solved by one country. Therefore, it is highly important to maintain closeness and strict

<sup>1</sup> This explanation of WTO can be found on the homepage of the ministry of foreign affairs, as an item under the economic diplomacy section. <u>https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/wto/gaiyo.</u> <u>html</u> (Accessed on December 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2020).

<sup>2</sup> For instance, the following page three of 'Constitution [7th edition]' (Iwanami Shoten, 2019), a textbook of the representative constitution of Japan, is under the heading 'One Nation and Law' under 'Chapter 1: Constitution and Constitutionalism' where further explanation is presented. In addition, page three of 'Constitutional Law I [5h edition]' by Toshihiko Nonaka, Mutsuo Nakamura, Kazuyuki Takahashi, and Katsutari Takami; which is one of the popular constitutional textbooks in Japan, is also described under the heading 'One Constitution and Nation'.

cooperation between nations to solve these issues. However, even now in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the situation demonstrates that public safety and public order must be maintained according to the execution of the public power of sovereign nation-states that are based on principles such as the rule of law and democracy.<sup>3</sup> To that end, while 'Risk beyond the Border' becomes a keyword on one hand, 'Necessity and Maintenance of the Nation-State' becomes another keyword on the other.

It is necessary to consider the following under these circumstances. Since we are used to the existence of the concept of 'state', it is important to problematize the idea of thinking of its existence as natural. From that point onwards, we must question if the idea of the modern sovereign nation-state and its existence as a natural concept being engraved in our minds was given if the modern sovereign nation-state maintains the security of the public order or public life of its own people and if its existence is necessary to protect the welfare of its people. Furthermore, it is also important to question if the existence of a 'state' and the modern sovereign nation-state was artificially created in the period we refer to as modern time.<sup>4</sup> Is there any kind of public government that can take over the nation-state to maintain the security of the public order or society and provide welfare? To think about the related questions, we must seriously prioritize and carefully consider the question of whether the sovereign nation-state exists in any concept.

It is important to remember at this point that the thought of the 'state', the theory of it was constructed through the findings of various academic fields.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, if we set 'Freedom without boundaries inside, providing citizens with areas of safety and justice' (European Union Article 3, Paragraph 2) as an objective, even the EU as the representative international regional nations union of the 21st century, by respecting the 'national identity unique to the basic political and constitutional system' and 'the essential role of the state, including securing its territorial integrity, maintaining law and order, and the security of the country' of the member nations (Article 4, Paragraph 2 of the Treaty), while removing border control at one hand, respects the role of the member nation as a sovereign nation-state at the other hand.

<sup>4</sup> The explanation below is offered in the textbook of the Japanese Constitution concerning this particular point. Even if it's not a nation-state, the 'state' generally is a concept beyond imagination that does not exist anywhere but inside the head of the human, as it does not have a physical substance. To that end, it is necessary to decide in advance whether when someone's actions in any kind of procedure are regarded as from the 'state'. Since certain promises and rules have been established for the arrangement of that, the law of the constitution makes that imaginary state visible in its essence. Such explanations can be found in Yasuo Hasebe, 'Hou to wa Nani ka', Kawade Shobo Shinsha, (2011), pp. 160-161. In addition to that, 'Kenpou no Jikan' by Noriyuki Inoue (edited) Yuhikaku, (2016), pp. 228-233.

That is, it is discussed and included in a wide range of academic fields from humanities to social sciences such as history, literature, geography, sociology, politics, law, and economics. However, to inspect what the form or image of the 'state' should be, we need to take an interdisciplinary approach to the issue. To that end, this article takes the mechanics of Europe that has brought about the modern sovereign nation-state as the object of comparison and examines the depiction of the state within Japanese historical novels as an example of that. In other words, this is because it is thought that the truth of the 'state' or the example of a country within the world of fiction is developed as an image of one kind. Furthermore, if the sovereign nation-state based on the modern Constitution is a man-made cultural product,<sup>5</sup> I would argue that the 'state' that is drawn according to the imagination of the novelist's material is also a target for academic research.

# 1. The historical aspect of state development: The image of the state in Japan since the pre-modern period.

Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese society was based on the pre-modern feudal order. After the establishment of the samurai-dominated ruling class during the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Japan tried to limit trade and interaction with the West for centuries to preserve the dynamics of that traditional order. While modernization was happening in Europe, Japan was a closed country society with no connection with the world. The unique characteristics of Japan were created in the Edo Era, thanks to this national isolation policy. Firstly, Japan was not unified under a centralized state, but it was rather formed and maintained under a decentralized order. The Tokugawa Shogun was qualitatively different from the European king. Therefore, it is more fitting to consider the samurai and the people under each clan as communities of clans

<sup>5</sup> This argument was made by Professor Peter Häberle, who regards constitutional science as cultural science in Germany. For more information on his ideas, refer to the individual research done by Andreas Voßkuhle and Thomas Wischmeyer titled 'Celebrating Peter Häberle's 80th Birthday (1-3): The *jurist* in context'. [Der Jurist im Kontext. Peter Häberle zum 80.] vol. 94 no. 4 pp. 17, no. 7 pp. 21, vol. 8, pp. 64 (2018). To see the latest publication where he has expressed those ideas: Peter Häberle, Die Kultur des Friedens: Thema der universalen Verfassunglehre, 2017, 167. There, it is argued that "people's creation is in culture", and it is repeated that "the constitutional government is a cultural product of humanity".

rather than part of Japan as a nation, as their countries were their domains. Second is the argument that Japan as a country has created independent customs and cultures of its own.<sup>6</sup> Aside from the samurai who were the ruling class, the social system of four classes within the Japanese social structure was strict in its formation and maintenance. These four classes created and preserved various customs and cultures of their own. The customs and rules of the samurai were only applicable and valid for their social class, and the other three classes were not subject to the same customs. As a result, Japan back then was formed based on the customs that were shaped according to social classes. When it comes to the social order; Japan was not unified under one order, but it was rather under four orders answering to the four social classes. Especially during the middle of the Edo period, the industry developed as a result of the rise of townspeople from cities centering around the merchants which acted as the base for commercial crop production in the rural areas. Literature and art developed and spread, not because of the ruling class, but the townspeople who rose from economic power. This situation gave rise to the townspeople's literature focused on writings or stage performances on the lifestyle and emotions of the common people. On the contrary, the ways of the samurai class remained the basic philosophy behind politics.

This situation of pre-modern Japan will change completely in 1853 with the arrival of the American Rika United States East India Fleet led by Perry. With Perry's request to open up Japan, the Edo military government will put an end to the national isolation policy without the permission of the Imperial Court in Kyoto. However, as the result of a treaty that was humiliatingly unequal for Japan, various samurai classes with the majority belonging to lower-ranking groups, will develop a Japanese nationalism under the name of *Sonno Joi*. Furthermore, these groups felt the need to reform the shogunate system as a reaction to the expulsion of foreigners and armed attacks such as Satsuma and Choshu. Unfolding the transition of Japan from the last days of the Shogunate to the Meiji Restoration is the long historical novel

<sup>6</sup> Regarding this argument, Ryotaro Shiba 'Kono Kuni no Hajimari ni Tsuite', Bunshun Bunko, (1993), p. 164 indicates by emphasizing "the individuality and diversity of nearly three hundred domains" that "if you turn up the volume only on the aspect of this diversity, the Edo period was an international community in Japan".

'Ryoma Goes His Way' written by Ryotaro Shiba.<sup>7</sup> The book begins with the protagonist Ryoma Sakamoto, a child belonging to the lower-class samurai of the Tosa domain in Shikoku, departing to swordsmanship training upon facing the black feet's arrival during the Edo period. After returning to Tosa, the book depicts his exchange with Takeichi Hanpeita, leader of the Tosa Loyalist Party, his apprenticeship with Katsu Kaishu, his life at the naval training center in Kobe, protection from the Satsuma Domain Residence and meeting with victory, interactions with Saigo Takamori as a result, formation of the Kameyama Shrine in Nagasaki, Satcho Alliance, his encounter with his future wife Oryo and the Teradaya incident, their trip together to Kagoshima, the whole sinking incident, and finally the situation at the end of the Edo period until he was assassinated with his son. In the book, Ryoma Sakamoto is referred to as a representative of the local modernist, he lamented the old shogunate system and drafted the eight-point plan, therefore being depicted as a person who could understand the modern state in the late Edo period.

The turning point enabling the change in the state formation from the feudal state, as the Shogunate system of Japan depicted in this novel, to the modern nation-state is the Meiji Restoration, which started in 1868. The events of the Meiji Restoration are depicted in the novel 'Tobu ga gotoku', from the Satsuma Domain's perspective, by making use of Takamori Saigo and Toshimichi Okubo as the leading actors of the Meiji Restoration. Especially since the Meiji restoration period, the book emphasizes the internal reforms that gained Fuhei Shizoku, who raised the conquest of Korea, popularity; and promotes the opposition from Tosmichi Okubo who suggested proceeding with domestic modernization first, essentially describing the movement of Saigo Takamori<sup>8</sup> who resigned during the political upheaval of 1874. This enhances the detailed explanation of the mental confusion within

<sup>7</sup> While the novel was published by Bungeishinju in 5 volumes between the years 1963-1966, the version used for this paper was the 8 volumes paperback edition published by Bunshun Bunko between the years 1974-75.

<sup>8</sup> In 'Written down', which is what should be a postscript by the author of 'Tobu ga gotoku', Ryotaro Shiba criticizes Saigo Takamori as one of the pupils of "Nariakira Shimazu, who can be regarded as the wise lord of the domain during the Edo period", stating that "while he was a pupil, he did not have a blueprint after the Meiji Restoration... came to have a false image during the popularity of the Restoration". Regarding who is to be considered "the ultimate heir" to Nariakira's "outstanding worldview", "it was Okubo who had direct contact with Nariakira". [Tobu ga gotoku (10)] Bunshun Bunko (1980), 361-362.

the formation of modern Japan that defeated the Shogunate. In 'Tobu ga gotoku', the development of the late Edo period, which is the first half of the novel, follows 'Ryoma goes his way' and depicts the events focusing on Saigo Takamori, who became a hero in the Boshin War, from the decree of the Restoration of Imperial Rule after Ryoma Sakamoto's death, describes the return of the lands in 1869, abolition of the han system in 1871 that ended the decentralization shogunate system and the flow to the formation of a Western influenced modern nation-state by the Meiji government, dissatisfaction of the warriors from the old samurai class during that process, Okubo's idea of conquering Korea after observing the Western reality as a member of the Iwakura Mission, the coup of 1874 that made Saigo fall in favor of modernization, his calling of the warrior class for a rebellion as a result, the establishment of a private school in Kagoshima and Toshiaki Kirino as a central figure of that, the Seinan War as the clash between Satsuma and the new governmental army, the defeat of the Satsuma and Saigo's death, and the novel finally ends with the assassination. By the end, a modern nationstate centered around imperial authority was actually built.

These two historical novels by Ryotaro Shiba demonstrate the transformation of Japan's society based on a historical background focusing on two samurai from the late Edo period and the Meiji Restoration, depicting the time that came to be the starting point for the transformation of the state from the Japanese pre-modern feudal decentralized state to the modern nation-state.

# 2 Modernization in Japan: Its downfall after the foundation of the Great Empire of Japan.

Inspired by The Freedom and People's Rights Movement, the modernization of Japan was found to be equally responsible for the diplomatic purpose of abolishing the aforementioned unequal treaty. The Western, and especially 19<sup>th</sup>-century European model of modern nation-state was accepted as an idea and a new nation was constructed around it. The 'Edict on the establishment of a constitutional government' was issued in 1875, two years before the Seinan War. According to the 'Imperial edict on the order of the draft of the constitution' that was issued the following year, as a way to counterattack

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excessive movement, British-style parliamentary supporter Shigenobu Okuma was dismissed due to a coup in 1880, and the 'The imperial rescript of Diet establishment' was issued; the effort to establish a constitutional system accelerating within the Meiji government at the same time. As a result, in the year 1882, Ito Hirobumi traveled to Germany and Austria to investigate and study German constitutionalism. While studying there, he decided to start drafting constitutional law after consulting two German government consultants. Therefore, the German idea was transferred to Japan, which is the so-called modern state theory that views the state in three elements of territory, people, and sovereignty. In other words, it is the view that modern nation-states live in their territories, with their own people, and they can rule those people with their supreme and independent sovereignty. On February 11, 1889; the Constitution of the Empire of Japan was established on the basis of the Prussian Constitution Act of 1850.

However, the theory of Ito Hirobumi's constitutional monarch for the Empire of Japan and the theory of the military state run by Aritomo Yamagata was different. Nevertheless, the Empire of Japan was developed and finally started standing as an equal among Western powers in the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese Wars and World War I before it expanded into Asianism and start to lose control with nationalism. The advancement of the idea of an Asian continent within the Empire of Japan was especially popular by the beginning of the Showa Era, and it brought about a government system that integrates the values of the Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Manchurian, Mongolian, and the East. The history of the Empire of Japan and its puppet state Manchuria, a relationship that eventually ended after World War II, was written by Yoichi Funado with the nine-volume historical novel series 'Manshukoku Engi', starting with the book 'Kaze no Futsugyou' in 2007 and ending with 'Zanmu no Gai' in 2015.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> In Yoichi Funado's series 'Manshukoku Engi 1-9', 'Kaze no Futsugyou' and 'Zanmu no Gai: Manshukoku Engi 2', 'Gunrou no Mai: Manshukoku Engi 3' was published by Shinchousha in 2007 as a book series; afterward 'Honou no Kairou', 'Kaijin no Koyomi', 'Daiichi no Kiba', 'Kaminari no Hatou', 'Nanmei no Shizuku' and finally 'Zanmu no Gai' were released as 6 volumes between the years 2008-2015. After that, all nine volumes were published together as a collection, and the version used for this paper is the paperback edition published by Shincho Bunko between the years 2015-2016. Nevertheless, the final book 'Zanmu no Gai: Manshukoku Engi 9' was published two months after the passing of the author Yoichi Funado. So this is a posthumous book.

'Manshukoku Engi' beings with what could be considered the beginning of the main subject, August 1868. The starting event that is departing from the battlefield of the Boshin War happens in 1868 when the change to the Meiji era happens. After that, the setting moved from Japan to northeastern China and Manchuria in 1928. The main character is one of the four brothers of the Shikishima family, who were soldiers for the Choshu clan. The brothers face various events throughout the books, with their changing ideologies on Japan and Manchuria, as a wide range of characterizations from bureaucrats or bandits. The books depict major historical events such as the bombing of Zhang Sakulin, the Ryujo Lake incident, the Manchurian incident, the founding of the puppet state Manchukuo, its expansion to northern China, and eventually Southeast Asia. While in the book, Japanese people were integrated into a family and the subjects of the Empire centered around the emperor seen as three-people one-body under the Japanese constitution, the Imperial army and government viewed the peoples of Asia, especially the Chinese, the Koreans, the Manchurian, the Mongolian as a whole unified by the emperor. The book realistically depicts the state idea of the Kanto region which was thought to be released from European and American rule. Furthermore, the books problematize both the idea of Asians being happy by the power of the Empire of Japan, and its opposing idea; and the general Japanese not having the resistance methods and rights being provided under the constitution as opposed to the military or the government and had no chance but to obey imperial commands.<sup>10</sup>

At this point, the Kanto region itself, according to the author's afterword, is expressed by the "racial principles of Japan that revolved in the last years of the Shogunate and during the Meiji Restoration that kept being valid until late Meiji Period, that lost its sense of direction through domestic and international turbulence after World War I and finally crashed to death". Therefore, it describes the collapse of the Empire of Japan influenced by the Western view of the modern sovereign nation-state; it makes the reader wonder what happened to Japan and its national system, whether it has become a country to live easily in after the collapse at the end of the book by this quote by the protagonist Shiro Shikishima as the last survivor: "Passion

<sup>10</sup> This argument is visible in 'Zanmu no Gai' pp. 463-464.

and anger, elevation and disappointment, horror, and regret... everything in Manchuria flowed somewhere with a rattling sound. It is not like you can bring back what happened in the past now. The only question is how to live from now on."<sup>11</sup>

## 3 The new modernization after World War 2 and its shattering

The starting point for the modernization of Japan after the collapse of the Empire of Japan upon losing World War 2 is the acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration on 15 August 1945. Regardless of Japan's unconditional surrender against the Allies consisting mainly of the UK and the USA, what brought about the defense of the national policy of the Empire of Japan centered around the emperor was, according to Yoichi Funado, "the guts of small bureaucrats and the narrowing perspectives, the sense responsibility even against failure."<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, from the late 20<sup>th</sup> century to early 21<sup>st</sup> century, between the years 1992 and 2006, with the question of 'How did Rome fulfill the role of a universal empire?', the foundation of the Roman Empire until the republic, the establishment of the imperial government, the expansion of dominance territories and prosperity under Pax Romana, the corruption and division of the empire that followed, the fall of Western Rome and what happened after, was depicted in a historical novel questioning what exactly is a state. That novel is 'Rome Was Not Built in a Day 1-15' by Nanami Shiono.<sup>13</sup>

The book depicts the dissolute social situation of the empire, in contrast to its glamorous after high economic growth, and the rise and fall of the ancient Roman empire as an agreement with the nation-state of Japan that cannot seem to recover after its fall of Babel. In the series, the main concern of the state is to provide food and security to its people, which was secured in the period referred to as Pax Romana, and it came to be the age of stability for the empire. However, after the movement of the Germanic peoples and their intrusion

<sup>11</sup> This afterword and the quote by the protagonist can be found in 'Zunma no Gai', pp. 648-649.

<sup>12</sup> This argument is made in 'Commentary: Not only the mind of the military or the government' by Takayuki Ikegami, written on 'Manshukoku Engi'. 'Zunma no Gai', 681.

<sup>13 &#</sup>x27;The Story of the Roman People' by Nanami Shiono was published by Shinchosha in 1992 with the title 'Rome Was Not Built in a Day'. After that, it was published in 15 volumes in 2006 with the title 'The End of the Roman World'. The book used in this paper is the paperback edition of 43 volumes published by Shinchosha between the years 2002-2011.

into the empire, the concern of providing safety and food grew bigger, and the process of the state getting increasingly corrupted and finally declining was shown as the fate of a kind. For Japan, the publication of this series in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century was a time of delayed modern constitutionalism and frequent change of politicians due to the changes happening domestically and internationally. To that end, I will be questioning if Japan as a country worked as a liberal system and a democratic order, respecting the basic human rights of the citizens according to the universal values based on the parliamentary democracy system that was established as a result of World War II.

To provide a proper understanding of modern constitutionalism, a historical novel published around the time 'The Story of the Roman People' ended, discusses the French Revolution with its Human Rights Declaration, as France came to be the mother of democracy in the world afterward. 'A Novel on the French Revolution' was written by Kenichi Sato who studied Western historiography at the Graduate School of Literature, Higashi North University. The series is focused on the protagonist Maximilien de Robespierre and depicts various people active during the Revolution including Mirabeau, De Moulin, Louis XVI, Danton, Ebert, and Saint-Goust. It describes the French Revolution; covering the period from the year 1788 through the night of the Revolution leading to the summoning of the three estates in Versailles in May 1789; to the execution of Robespierre due to the Thermidorian reaction on July 28, 1794. The change from the three estates to a Constitutional National Assembly, the attack on the Bastille prison to the collapse of the Ancien Regime due to the abolition of feudalism, the formulation of the 'Declaration of the Rights of Man', the March of Versailles from the women of Paris, and various related historical events are depicted in the series. With quotes from the book glorifying the existence of free and equal people and the story of the protagonist; the series demonstrates the difficulty of constructing an ideal state based on modern constitutionalism.

## 4 The solution to the public form of the new future: Public government as a way of networking instead of human connection

The book 'A Novel on the French Revolution' creates the modern nation-state and shows how difficult it is to integrate the modern nation-state into the basic

principles based on the foundation concept of The Enlightenment. Reading this series enables understanding the importance of the various principles of modern constitutionalism and teaches the public the role they should be playing within the political environment of modern Japan by depicting the event called the French Revolution as a story itself. While, through the novel, it is possible to understand that the modern sovereign nation-state is based on the constitutional monarchy and its precious principles, it is not possible to understand what an ideal society is according to the normal citizen. Even though the situation of modern Japan and France on the edge of the Revolution are similar, we live in a vastly different time, about 230 years ahead, where we already possess "freedom, equality, basic human rights and sovereignty of the people". However, there is an important historical novel that makes its reader think about what would be the state according to the normal citizen; the novel involves 12th century China, Japan, The Western Regions of China, and finally the various countries of ASEAN, a fictional ideal state (an imaginary state referred as the place of assemblage based on human networking) that is vastly contrasting with the Song dynasty or Japan's Heian period that took the modern nation-state as a model: 'Daisuikoden Series' by Kitakata Kenzo.14

The novel, within three large parts, depicts a long story of a suffering state and the revolutionary thinkers resisting the corruption within it, the creation of the new order after the defeat of the state, and its essence. It depicts the existence of the state with the individual involvement, questioning how that form was thought to be so natural until now; it makes the reader think about the 'form of state' that no one is normally very conscious of. The entertaining aspect of the 'Daisuikoden Series' is that it shows the process from the revolution (in Part 1) to the foundation of the state (in Part 2), and what the state should be (in Part 3); offers a new order for the people that is completely different from what has existed until now. Generally, it is enough to get the attention of a readership just by describing the development of the event while writing a novel about a revolution. The characteristic of the

<sup>14</sup> The series is based on the 15th-century Chinese text 'Suikoden'. It was published by Shueisha between the years 2000-2016 as a historical novel series of 51 volumes with the interpretation and additions by the author. Afterward, between the years 2006-2018, all of the volumes were published by Shueisha as a paperback edition, which was used for this paper.

'Daisuikoden Series', on the other hand, it does not stop by replacing the bad government with a new order, but it describes the construction of its future, and what kind of state was being built, and even what should a state be like. As a result, the form of the modern public order as a globally developing distribution and people networking that gets formed within it is depicted. Characters that appear in a novel are completely different from what was considered normal until now, enabling the vision of a public order where the state is represented through an unexpected figure. It offers a new beginning of imagination of a new public order for the people to us, who perceive the modern nation-state, consisting of the three elements of territory, nation, and governance, as a natural being. Overall, the 'Daisuikoden Series' takes one step further for being solely an example to the category of a historical/ period novel and presents something that can contribute to the state theory of today.

### Conclusion: Literature reflecting on the social circumstances

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, more and more novels on what the state should be, are getting written. While this tendency can be interpreted as a reaction from writers who are sensitive to social circumstances, it can also be interpreted as a criticism of the condition of modern Japan. When considering how a nation should be, it is important to also think about the basic problem of the relationship between the existence of the constitution and the state. It is important to question whether the state was first shaped according to the constitution (two sides to the constitution and the state) and whether it has existed due to the conditions since the beginning. Regarding this argument, the constitution based on governance as one of the fundamental elements of the state was placing the emperor within the ruling of the 'state' as the Empire of Japan. The decline of such a state is evident in the 'Manshukoku no Engi'. If so, a political system disregarding the constitution on which the governance of present Japan is based would be, not a regression to the pre-war period Empire of Japan, but an action that can revive the 'state that was in secret'. What is a constitution for? What is the correct way to live? We live in a time where it is inevitable to question what is the meaning of

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the true constitutional monarchy born in modern Europe.<sup>15</sup> There is the issue of running too fast for this ideal and reading the 'Novel on the French Revolution' will make it clear that there is a need to think about the meaning of the French Revolution that offered the idea of providing people with the lifestyle they want to live.

During the global Corona pandemic of 2020, aiming for the construction of the idea that 'the realm of freedom, safety, and justice without borders inside', the value of peace or liberal democratism, the EU as a regional national union with the mission of providing the citizens with welfare, redirected the border management of the bordering countries, greatly limiting the free movement of talent and product. As a result, confronted by the Corona crisis, it started to be said that 'state is more valuable than EU, and what matters more than the authority of the state is the truth.'<sup>16</sup> However, the EU as an example of a public order form that goes beyond the modern nation-state, or the national networking that is based on the nation-state; views the special circumstance of the Corona pandemic as an exceptional case. It is important to refer to the crisis as '[Form of the future] that is neither existent in the state, nor the normal international institution'<sup>17</sup> and that is easy to understand by referring to the novel 'The Story of the Roman People' depicting the time when ancient Rome once ruled over the territory that the present EU covers, as a universal empire, or the novels of the 'Daisuikoden Series' depicting the place of assembling offering to guarantee the safety and daily life of the people by building a state controlling the vast areas including the western regions of China, ASEAN countries and Japan.

<sup>15</sup> The question here is explained in Yasuo Hasebe, 'Kenbou no Ryoushiki' Asahi Shinsho (2018).

<sup>16</sup> Yumiko Nakanishi, 'Korona Mondai ni Kakawaru EU Kouseikoku no Kunigakai Kanri to Ikinari Ichiba' EU Houkenkyuu, 8 (2020), 4.

<sup>17</sup> Tamio Nakamura, 'EU to wa Nanika: Kokka de wa nai Mirai no Kata' 3rd ed. Shinzansha, (2019), 5.

# Current Status and Issues of Basic Education Guarantee in Japan under the Corona Crisis<sup>\*</sup>

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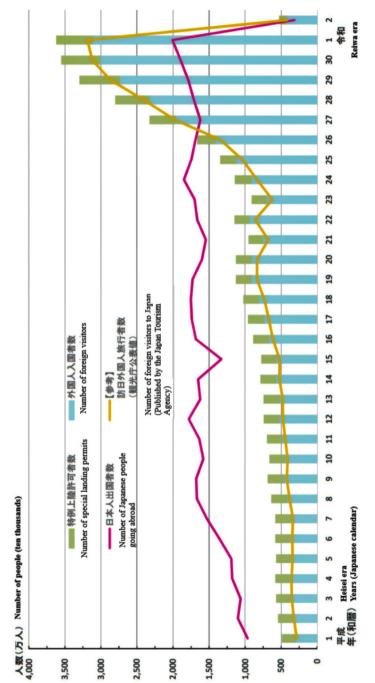
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## Introduction

In Japan, the first case of new coronavirus infection was reported in January 2020, and the infection spread throughout the country. At the request of the government, all elementary, junior high, and high schools in Japan were closed from March 2. In April, a state of emergency was declared in 13 prefectures, followed by a nationwide declaration of a state of emergency, which was followed by a second declaration of a state of emergency in January 2021, and a total of four intermittent declarations.

As shown in Figure 1, the number of foreign visitors to Japan in 2020 was about 4.31 million, a significant decrease of -27 million or -86% from the previous year due to the coronavirus.

<sup>\*</sup> This article was originally published in Japanese:新矢麻紀子・棚田洋平「コロナ禍における日本の基礎教育保障の現状と課題―日本語教室・識字学級・夜間中学の現場より―」。基礎教育保障学研究第6号(2022.08) <u>https://doi.org/10.32281/jasbel.6.0\_240</u>. It was abbreviated and translated by Can Barut for GPJ.





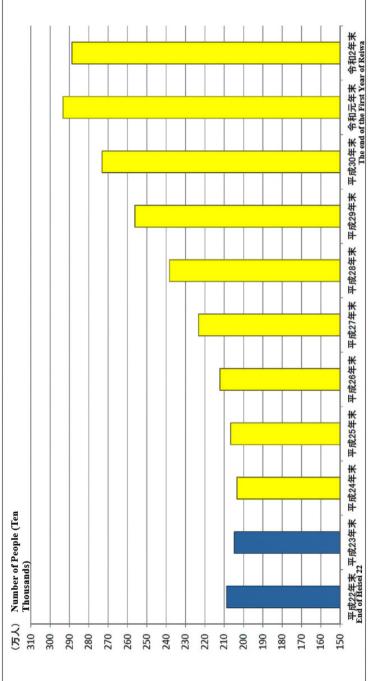


Figure 2: Number of Foreign Residents. (Immigration Services Agency, Information Report Document dated 31/3/2021).

As shown in Figure 2, the number of foreign residents in Japan decreased to 2.88 million as the number of arrivals declined. This is a decrease of approximately 50,000 people from the previous year. In recent years, Japan has seen a large increase in the number of foreign learners not only in local Japanese language classes for foreigners but also in literacy classes and evening junior high schools. In other words, the decrease in the number of foreign learners due to the spread of coronavirus infection has affected the entire basic education field: local Japanese language classes, literacy classes, and evening junior high schools.

This report attempts to clarify what happened at the sites of basic education based on the results of surveys conducted in evening junior high schools, literacy classes, and Japanese language classes under the conditions of a coronary outbreak.

### II. Impact on Local Japanese Language Classes

In Japan, several laws and policies related to foreigners have been enacted in recent years. These legislations, in particular, the Japanese Language Education Promotion Act have greatly increased the budget for Japanese language education for foreigners. In 2019 it was 8 billion yen, in 2020 it was 9.5 billion yen, and in 2021 it was 9.9 billion yen, and in 2022 it is demanding a budget of 13 billion yen.

In Japan, the Agency for Cultural Affairs oversees Japanese language education for adults. The Agency's annual "Survey of Japanese-Language Education in Japan" report for FY2020 shows that the number of Japaneselanguage learners nationwide was approximately 62,000, a 36% decrease from the previous year. However, the questions in both the 2020 and 2021 surveys in the wake of the coronavirus pandemic were identical to those in the past, and no questions were set to ask about changes in educational practices or challenges due to the impact of Corona. This means that no nationwide survey was conducted to determine the impact of corona infections on Japanese language classrooms. Also, with regard to surveys at the municipal level, the reality is that not many organizations have conducted such surveys.

As for public financial support for Japanese language classes under the Corona situation, the budget of the Agency for Cultural Affairs' "Project for Promotion of Comprehensive Regional Japanese Language Education System" can be used, and classes in the region can be included as a subsidized expense. The system includes a fact-finding survey, establishment of a Japanese language study consultation service, rewards for instructors of online classes, lease of web conferencing tools, PCs, etc., and purchase of consumables for infection prevention. However, perhaps because this project is a 1/2 subsidy project, 1/3 of the prefectures and 40% of the government-designated cities in Japan have yet to apply. Even when budgets are obtained, the use of the budget is left up to the local governments, and some local governments do not provide sufficient financial support for Japanese language classes. This means that the Agency for Cultural Affairs' project funds are not being used effectively.

To summarize this section, we will discuss the challenges and possibilities of regional Japanese language education under the Corona situation, which we have learned from surveys conducted by several local governments, questionnaires for coordinators, and interviews. Challenges include regional disparities in public support systems; development of online learning infrastructure (PCs, tablets, and other equipment, internet, and other classroom facilities); development and utilization of online learning content; decline in Japanese language proficiency due to loss or decline in learners' Japanese learning and use environment; disparities in participation (for both learners and learning supporters) due to digital literacy; loss of "connection" and "place" due to non-instructional Japanese classes; and burden on Japanese language volunteers regarding online learning support. In particular, there was a gap between regions and classrooms in the provision of online classes, the lack of digital literacy, or the individual participation gap due to economic problems.

On the other hand, new possibilities also opened up. By holding online classes, the company was able to uncover a new segment of learners who are not able to easily come to face-to-face classrooms. For example, foreign mothers with infants and toddlers, workers who are too busy with work to make time to come to classes, and learners who have psychological difficulties in participating in face-to-face classes participated in the "Online Basic Kanji Class For Parents". Along with online classes, online learning content and new learning methods were developed. In addition, a collaboration between

supporters with extensive support experience but poor IT skills and those with limited experience but high digital literacy was created.

Just as the negative experience of the Great Hanshin-Awaji Earthquake (1995) led to the expansion of multilingual support and the promotion of "multicultural conviviality," it is important to be aware of sustainability and develop online learning materials and educational methods that can be effectively used even after the end of coronary infection, rather than just being a transitory response to the current coronary situation.

#### Ill. Impact on Literacy and Japanese Language Classes

It is assumed that literacy classes and night classes, as well as local Japanese language classes, were greatly affected by the Corona disaster, but there is no way to know the nationwide situation. However, surveys have been conducted in some areas to determine the status of night classes, literacy classes, and Japanese language classes during the Corona disaster.

In Osaka, the "Osaka Literacy Promotion Guidelines" are in effect, and there are more than 200 literacy and Japanese language classes in the prefecture, and surveys of these classes are conducted regularly. The "Survey on current conditions of Literacy and Japanese Language Classes" conducted by Osaka Prefecture in FY2020 includes an item asking about the impact of the Corona disaster.

Many of the literacy and Japanese language classes are held in rented rooms in public facilities. Therefore, when the state of emergency was declared and the use of public facilities was restricted, literacy and Japanese language classes had to be canceled. According to the results of the aforementioned survey, most of the 193 classrooms that responded indicated that "there was a period of inactivity in the classroom" (188 classrooms) and that "so-called 'Avoid the Three Cs' measures were taken" (179 classrooms). The number of respondents who said they were "not particularly affected" was zero, indicating that all literacy and Japanese language classrooms were forced to take some kind of action due to the spread of the coronavirus. Also, more than half of the classrooms had fewer learners (52.3%, 101 classrooms), and about one-third had fewer learning supporters (31.6%, 61 classrooms).

In June 2020, the Center for Literacy and Japanese Language conducted

a "Questionnaire on the Status of Literacy Classes, Literacy and Japanese Language Classes, and Japanese Language Classes" targeting those in charge of literacy and Japanese language classes in municipalities in Osaka Prefecture and those in charge of Japanese language classes at international exchange centers (74 sent, 42 responses). According to the results, only a small number (7.5%) of the respondents answered that they were "unaware of the situation," in response to the class cancellation and that they took some measures, such as keeping in touch with the learners and their learning partners (supporters), consulting with the learners about their problems, and checking on the learners' health. When classrooms are reopened, to prevent coronary infection, participants are required to measure their temperature, disinfect their hands, prepare health check sheets, wear masks and face shields, etc. When it comes to classroom set-up, measures such as setting up acrylic boards, placing desks at a certain distance, regular ventilation, and disinfection of used desks and chairs are being implemented.

Some of the problems and difficulties include the following: "We have to limit the number of students we can accept in our classrooms because we have to rearrange the desks and limit the number of students," even if there are some who wish to attend; and "Most of our staff are elderly, so if infected, there is a risk of serious illness" as well as learners. In addition, many respondents said that there was a variety of confusion and anxiety among learners and supporters and that it was difficult to envision the future of classroom activities in the face of the coronavirus pandemic.

## IV. Impact on Night Schools

The public night junior high schools were subject to "nationwide simultaneous school closures", resulting in a three-month (March to May) learning gap in some places.

According to the survey of the Kinki region by the national association for the study of night junior high school (end of May 2020), many schools provided academic guidance and lifestyle counseling through phone calls, social networking services, and letters, as well as home visits, during the school closure period. As for academic guidance, various measures were attempted to ensure that learning was not interrupted, such as sending school newsletters and home-study handouts by mail and handing them out during home visits. However, the following things have been identified as challenges with those methods: not meeting face-to-face and limited time, did not allow for in-depth life counseling, and made it difficult to grasp the students' level of understanding of the learning content. After the reopening of school, the school has continued to take measures such as limiting the number of school days, staggered attendance of students, and conducting daily health checks. In addition, many students had trouble applying for the special fixed-amount benefit, so assistance was also sought.

Some students have lost their wages or jobs due to the corona, and this has prevented them from attending night school. On the other hand, some older students have stopped coming due to health concerns. There have been cases where students have been stopped from going to school by their families or the companies they work for. Under these circumstances, the need for school nurses, school counselors, school social workers, and native language support staff, which have been requested to be assigned to night junior high schools, has been realized once again.

## V. Guarantee of Basic Education "post-Corona"

Through this report, four points were clarified as the current status and challenges of basic education guarantee in Japan during the coronavirus pandemic: "Decrease in the number of learners and supporters," "Possibilities and challenges of online activities," "Growing needs for basic education," and "Need for a fact-finding survey.

The background of the decrease in the number of learners and supporters can be attributed to (1) the decrease in the number of new learners due to restrictions on the number of foreign immigrants, (2) the long-term suspension of activities, and (3) the departure of learners and supporters due to difficulties and insecurity in terms of living and health. In the field of basic education guarantee for the coronavirus pandemic, the function of consultation and support regarding daily life, health, etc. is also indispensable, including support for application procedures for special fixed benefits, vaccinations, etc.

With regard to learning support activities, online activities were attempted in several literacies and Japanese language classes. As mentioned in section II, the potential of this approach is to identify needs, realize support through outreach, and build new relationships. On the other hand, some classroom staff members voiced concerns about the digital divide that could alienate learners who do not have an online environment or Internet skills, as well as "the conflict or impossibility between the purpose of the classroom and the purpose of a local classroom. The rapid expansion of online activities during the coronavirus pandemic is a way of questioning the "placeability," "communality," and "locality" of classroom activities.

In the coronavirus pandemic, there is an ever-increasing need for basic education. The number of truant students reached a record high in FY2020, with 63,350 elementary school students and 132,777 junior high school students. Apart from that, 20,905 elementary and junior high school students did not attend school for more than 30 days to avoid the infection of coronavirus. The number of children who are not attending school is accumulating year by year, and the number of foreign children is also increasing year by year. The situation of these children alone clearly shows that there is a definite need to guarantee basic education and that measures are urgently required to grasp and respond to these needs.

Finally, it is necessary to investigate the actual situation related to basic education guarantees. The research referred to in this article was only conducted in some regions, but this is not limited to research on the effects of the coronavirus pandemic. In the first place, there is no nationwide, continuous, and cross-sectional survey of the field of basic education guarantee in Japan. It is desirable to conduct surveys on a national scale to grasp the general situation of the basic education guarantee field and to study the needs for basic education as basic data for promoting various measures.

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