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Samantha Chen April 7, 2016

Through the Eyes of Liberty Osaka: Presenting Minority Rights in Japan

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Abstract

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This project covers the museum Liberty Osaka and its presentation of minority issues through handouts, which I use to analyze how Liberty Osaka views these issues, as well as how this comes across to readers. My primary argument is that there is a gap between Liberty Osaka's goals in promoting human rights, and how their reality shows a strong will to create change, but weakness within Japan in implementing such policies. I use this museum as a lens through which to analyze these topics, because their perspective as a supporter of human rights, as well as their position as a legitimate source of knowledge on human rights, allows for a not entirely unbiased, but a more objective view of these issues, instead of telling these issues through the perspective of the minorities themselves, or from a nationalist perspective.

This thesis covers the Japanese colonial era before World War II to the present day. I trace these events and their impacts on the colonies of Japan, who have become the minorities living within Japan today. The Resident Koreans, a product of colonialism; the Ryukyuans, who became Okinawans with their country's annexation; and the Ainu, who lost their homeland when Japan began expanding its territories to secure its northern and southern borders. The last group are unaffected by this colonialism, but are a remnant of the feudal era in Japan – the Burakumin are the earliest group to suffer discrimination due to certain characteristics deeming them social outcasts. I define discrimination as any act that either isolates a group or places one group above all others, and in which notions of equality are rejected. From this definition, equal treatment is an important point, because as a Westernized, democratic country, the troubles facing minorities are issues that should be able to be resolved. However, Japan has not been able to adequately make peace with the issues raised by their colonial policies, and the aftereffects are still being felt - these minorities suffer discrimination in various ways, and each of these cases reveal more about the societal intolerance within Japan today.

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Introduction

Japan, although known primarily as one of the world's most modern and technologically advanced societies, has a secret: Japan is not a homogeneous country. This statement is contested by Japanese nationalist scholars and normal Japanese citizens, because it is a little-known fact that Japan contains minority groups. The groups I am speaking of are the Resident Koreans, Okinawans, Ainu, and Burakumin. These groups experience many violations of their human rights, and continue to feel effects of discrimination today. I define discrimination as any act which either isolates a group or places one group above all others, and in which notions of equality are rejected in favor of hierarchical relations. From this definition, equal treatment is an important point, and figures greatly in my discussions of these minority groups. I will be discussing these groups through the lens of Liberty Osaka, a human rights museum, so as to show how their framing adds to the perception of discrimination in Japan. Liberty Osaka focuses on various human rights issues in Japan, and beyond simply presenting exhibitions on these issues, has many programs with schools bringing field trips to the museum, allowing the museum to broaden human rights awareness through children. I choose to analyze human rights through Liberty Osaka, because as a supporter of human rights, they are invested in promoting and protecting human rights, and their perspective would be more in depth and geared toward education on these topics - additionally, their interpretation can influence how Japanese people as a whole understand human rights. Liberty Osaka aims to demonstrate support for these causes, attribute responsibility to the Japanese government, and celebrate minorities. At the same time, Liberty Osaka's presentation also shows limitations in the museum's abilities to discuss the

emotional impact of discrimination, the Japanese government's role in creating these minority issues, and the cultural aspects of these minorities. I argue that the gap between Liberty Osaka's goals in promoting human rights and the actual reality shows a strong will for change within Japan but a weakness in implementation, which helps us to better understand contemporary Japanese society and Japan's continued dismal HR record. The museum says through text and actions how they wish to promote human rights, yet those actions are not necessarily enough to provoke change in government policies toward minorities - Liberty Osaka succeeds as an educator in these topics, yet fails in their capacity as an agent of change for human rights. To better understand how Liberty Osaka plays a role in human rights in Japan today, I will provide a history of Japan from the early modern period to the present, and then go into detail on how the various minorities within Japan came to be discriminated against.

History

In pre-war Japan, the Japanese state had been tenuously unified by the Tokugawa in 1603. The *daimyo*, or feudal lords, were rulers of their individual regions, while the *bakufu*, or the shogunate, controlled the nation, and the Emperor had power in name only. During this period, the system of *sankin kotai* was established, in which feudal lords had to travel to Edo (the capital city, now Tokyo) every other year; this system was done in order to prevent feudal lords from instituting an uprising - if they were not home, then they could not cause trouble. The social system was separated by caste: the samurai, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants. Outside the castes were the outcastes, the *eta* and *hinin*: the *eta* professions were butchers, tanners, and undertakers, while *hinin* professions were town guards, street cleaners, prostitutes, etc. The *eta* professions were considered to break the taboos of Buddhism, as well as Shinto - they were considered 'unclean' and 'dirty' because of associations with dirt, blood, and death, and were

avoided. The caste system was abolished in 1871 with the Meiji Restoration, but societal norms have perpetuated this prejudice into the modern times. The *eta* became known as the *burakumin* because they were separated into different village neighborhoods - this name has been applied to current Japanese who live in those same neighborhoods, and those who live there are believed to descend from former *eta* (although this is not always the case).

In the late 1800s, the Japanese were gearing up for war against the Western powers, and needed a unified state to stand up against the more technologically advanced United States, Britain, and France. Scholars used the concept of *minzoku* to refer to the 'unique characteristics of the Japanese nation", and they used the idea of *kokutai* to unify all people under the emperor (Weiner 1997, 5). Therefore, the Japanese began creating an ideology of Japan "as collective personality, characterized by uniformity and homogeneity" (8). Thus, this led the Japanese to distinguish themselves from 'others'; this came to include the colonies Japan captured in the 1890-1910 period: the Ryukyu kingdom (now Okinawa), Ezo (now Hokkaido), and Choson (now Korea). In each case, particular groups were identified not only by their material deprivation, but by certain assumed physical or cultural characteristics. This interpretation also includes the outcastes, but they also defined the poor as 'other' through their poverty (9). As the Japanese exhibited their dominance over these groups, their nationalism led them to confirm their superiority over all peoples of Asia. Japan blurred their conquest of Hokkaido and other areas as 'benevolent' and 'bringing civilization' to an otherwise primitive and uncultured people (11).

During the post-war period, after the Americans dropped the atomic bombs ending World War II, that act created a repulsion in most Japanese toward war - this takes form in their opposition toward the development of nuclear weapons, rearmament, and the Treaty of Mutual

Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan, Ampo for short, which ties Japan and the United States together in matters of security and defense (Totten and Kawakami 1964, 834). Furthermore, the Ampo treaty allowed for the creation of American bases on the main island of Okinawa, burdening that island with environmental degradation and considerable decline in the safety and well-being of the Okinawan people.

Following the end of WWII and the beginning of the American Occupation, the Americans wanted a new Japanese Constitution to eliminate the Meiji structures which were deemed dangerous, such as the zaibatsu, as well as the blind loyalty to the Emperor. The task for creating the constitution was given to the Japanese bureaucracy, but when they were unable to make the necessary changes, the U.S Occupation gave the task to American lawyers, with no background in constitutional law. Within the Constitution, the most important article was Article 9, which said "the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes". This article, as well as the rest of the Constitution, though written by SCAP, had wide popular support (Sasaki-Uemura 2001, 168). This Article 9 is controversial, however, because it limits Japanese agency, and gives it to the Americans; in making Japan a country where "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained", the Americans thus took on the responsibility of protecting Japan, at the same time giving them power over Japanese defense. The particular rights guaranteed to citizens are defined in Article 14 of the Constitution, which states that "All of the people are equal under the law and there shall be no discrimination in political, economic or social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin" (The Constitution of Japan). The post-war Japanese government has become very involved in the international community, and Japan is a signatory to most major human rights instruments, such as the

ECOSOC [Economic, Cultural, and Social Rights Convention]. However, they have never expressed support for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The UDHR specifies that "everyone has the right to a nationality, and no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality". Furthermore, the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness was instituted to ensure that everyone has some type of nationality - everyone deserves protection, and the deprivation of it is considered a human rights violation. This issue can most notably seen through the situation of the Resident Koreans, who endured many changes to their status since the end of war up until the present day.

The pre-war caste system, though abolished, laid the foundation for discrimination against these groups, and although post-war Japan was completely restructured, some notions of superiority over these minority groups remained, and from that time on became embedded in Japanese society. This superiority manifests in discriminatory behaviors and attitudes toward minorities, which will be discussed in the next section.

Minorities in Japan

Resident Koreans are Korean nationals who migrated to Japan following Korea's annexation under the Japanese empire in 1910. Many Koreans went to Japan for work, since Japan was desperately in need of labor to run factories; some also ended up in the military, as well as several other industries. However, those who came ended up working in low status occupations eventually became associated with this kind of work, which caused the perception of Koreans as 'culturally degenerate and racially inferior' to emerge (Weiner 1997, 86). Furthermore, immediately following the end of the war, marked by the signing of the San Francisco Peace Treaty in 1951, all Koreans were deprived of nationality; many were told they should return to Korea. However, Korea became embroiled in the civil war, and the Cold War

established the boundaries between North and South Korea. Therefore, many Koreans chose to remain in Japan - yet, as they had no nationality, they became stateless. Without citizenship or nationality, Resident Koreans fell outside of protections under any laws, and so problems such as job discrimination, marriage discrimination, the fingerprinting practice, and the threat of being deported at any time surfaced (Shin and Tsutsui 2007, 326-327). Resident Koreans had to undergo lengthy court battles in order to attain their permanent resident designation to remain in Japan.

Resident Koreans continue to be discriminated against today, mainly in areas such as marriage and job hunting. Although Beer discusses the many court struggles of the Korean community in Japan, and their ultimate success in gaining citizenship, the current resolution of this issue of discrimination against those who are not 'ethnically Japanese', but are culturally Japanese, is still ongoing. Lawrence Beer says that "Japanese lawyers have found it helpful to involve NGOs" as they attempt to help the Zainichi attain basic human rights in Japan (Beer 2009, 39). There are legal safeguards against discrimination, but societal discrimination remains entrenched; attempts to attain citizenship, basic voting rights, housing, are all restricted based on their ancestry. Though the government says they are acting to prevent this, "NGOs complained of government inaction in prohibiting open and direct discrimination" in the form of signs banning those who are not Japanese (2010 UN Human Rights Report).

The next group to be discussed are the Okinawans, formerly the Ryukyuans. The area now known as Okinawa was formerly the Ryukyu island kingdom, encompassing the current islands of Amami, Yaeyama and the Miyako Islands. Beginning in the 14th century, the islands were an important trading destination between China and other Southeast Asian countries. They procured silk, porcelain and metal goods, medicine, and other items that they then sold at a

higher price to those other countries, making a very good profit. Furthermore, the Ryukyuan kingdom depended on China's relations with them, because the kingdom itself was a tributary to China - this gave the Ryukyuan king political legitimacy, and protected the kingdom from outsiders (Matsumura 2015, 29). However, this prosperity came to an end when the last king Sho Tai was forced to give up his kingdom to the Japanese. The Japanese first established de-facto control through the Satsuma domain during the Tokugawa era; in 1872, after Japan was 'opened' to foreign trade, the Japanese government reclassified the kingdom as Okinawa domain, and in 1879 their kingdom became Okinawa Prefecture. This effectively gave over control of the islands to the Japanese government, which continues today. However, the Okinawans did not accept these changes - many resisted through the blood oath movement, which was instigated by King Sho Tai and consisted of both nobles and commoners. This blood oath movement united Ryukyuans in their efforts to resist - however, this was futile, and in 1879 the king Sho Tai was placed under house arrest, and made to cooperate with the government through threats (44). From then on, former leaders were incorporated into the political system but given no power - the king was given the status of a peer, but was not allowed to exercise any control over Okinawa (37). Okinawa was expected to continue to pay taxes and farm their land, but they were made to produce much more than previously done since they became integrated into Japan's capitalist market. This market forced Okinawans to produce goods to sell, rather than goods to survive on, and to procure loans in order to make ends meet (46).

During World War II, the Okinawans became the buffer between the main islands of Japan and the Allied forces. Japanese soldiers committed many atrocities during this time, telling the Okinawans that the Americans would rape and torture them (Yokota 2001). This made the Okinawans fear them, and made them want to fight; the Japanese soldiers also forced many to

commit group suicides. These examples were significant, for in the Battle of Okinawa more Okinawan civilians died than any other group - they were forced to suicide, and those who couldn't or wouldn't died by Japanese hands. Because of this, Okinawans harbor resentment toward the Japanese for their callous disregard for Okinawan lives. Additionally, as the military bases were negotiated without the Okinawans' consent, this became another reason for ill-will toward the Japanese.

Another native people with similar experiences are the Ainu, the indigenous people of Hokkaido. Japan annexed Hokkaido in 1869 - the lands are rich in natural resources, and the Japanese empire also wanted to define their borders against the Russians and Chinese. Ainu were not passively receptive of the Japanese, and there were many battles between them: one of the more famous ones is Shakushain's Revolt; although unsuccessful, it was significant in demonstrating the struggles of Ainu against the Japanese. Ainu were respectful toward nature, and worshipped spirits known as *kamuy* within every living thing. After their annexation, the Japanese set about assimilating the Ainu into Japanese culture through the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (1899), which forced Ainu to hide their culture and assimilate. This act prevented young Ainu from acquiring their heritage, as well as older Ainu from practicing their culture and traditions. This had the effect of erasing that which was unique to Ainu from history, and all that was left was what was preserved by Ainu elders. The Ainu language was preserved, though it is now considered an endangered language. In the late 1900s, Ainu took it upon themselves to find their own heritage, and revive their ancient customs. Although the Japanese had forced Ainu to assimilate, they were still treated differently if they were found out to be ethnic Ainu; this discrimination, as well as the yearning to know where they came from, was the catalyst for Ainu movements to revive their culture. This push, as well as the connections drawn

by Ainu to other indigenous peoples around the world, drew the attention of the United Nations. This pressure forced the government to create the Ainu Culture Promotion Act in 1999, created to protect Ainu culture and help revive and preserve those elements that are dying out. However, though this Act is significant in helping Ainu culture prosper and potentially recover, the problem of discrimination against Ainu for their culture is still present. Ainu are currently in a state of limbo, where choosing to 'come out' as Ainu can affect how people treat them, while choosing to hide their identity is debilitating to their sense of self-worth and pride in their heritage.

The last minority group is the Burakumin, which encompass those who are discriminated against based on their place of residence and occupation. Burakumin are said to descend from the outcaste group called *eta*, from the Edo period. This group consisted of those who were said to do the most 'dirty, impure' occupations, and it is this association with occupations which defines Burakumin today. Those individuals working today in industries previously known as Buraku industries such as butchery, leather tanning, etc. There has been some government assistance in the form of Special Measures laws throughout the 1980s; however, this financial aid can only improve the surface level appearance of these Buraku communities, and this aid does not address the underlying structural biases against the Burakumin. The government also passed a law preventing companies from obtaining family registers to determine whether certain individuals are Burakumin, and although this has made discrimination based on genealogy more difficult, people now discriminate against them based on residence and occupation, regardless of their true identity. The most vocal mouthpiece for Burakumin is the Burakumin Liberation League, and they have used such intense tactics as denunciations and forcing retractions of statements from public figures and companies that are perceived to be biased against Burakumin. Currently,

Burakumin face discrimination by potential marriage partners and potential employers; similar to Resident Koreans, their origins are enough to discourage people from accepting them.

Liberty Osaka

The anti-discrimination movement includes “the anti-Buraku discrimination movement, the Korean residents movement and other groups”; according to the HURIGHTS OSAKA website, it is a social movement that has been able to deal directly with the government (Plantilla 2014). With their support, Liberty Osaka was established in 1985 in Naniwa Ward in Osaka, and was formally known as the Osaka Human Rights Museum. Liberty Osaka covers not only minority rights, but rights for women, children, sufferers of HIV and AIDs, victims of bullying, and more. The museum’s basic philosophy is “to conduct studies and research on human rights including buraku issues, to collect and preserve related materials and cultural goods, and to publicly exhibit them, in order to contribute to the promotion of human rights and the development of a "humanity-rich" culture”, and so it is comprehensive in the way it treats human rights (リバティおおさかとは？). This museum’s analysis matters because as a human rights museum, its presentation can easily become a source from which many scholars and students understand human rights, and this museum has a civic duty to Japanese citizens to give a faithful representation of minority issues.

Liberty Osaka discusses a wide variety of human rights issues, and its broad spectrum has allowed it to appeal to many visitors, as well as influence the spread of knowledge on these matters. As a human rights museum, their power mainly comes in the form of soft power - that power which is not backed up with political clout, but backed up with the social norms of the time, the culture of Japan surrounding these issues, and the extent of this dissemination of this power. Liberty Osaka directs its information and exhibits toward people who are ignorant of

these issues and stigma surrounding these groups of people and the problems they face. The exhibits and handouts are mainly directed toward non-minorities, or people with no personal stake in these issues. They intend to reach these people, because not only do they want the support of these minorities, they cannot change policies and social norms without the cooperation of all Japanese people. Therefore, Liberty Osaka's function as a museum is not simply to educate - its function is to create a culture in which human rights awareness becomes a norm, not the exception, and where respect for differences is a value which all Japanese hold. This is depicted as important for all humans, as we should respect all life.

From the HURIGHTS OSAKA website, the background behind the creation of this museum is as follows: "...the same social movement in Osaka lobbied the Osaka city and prefectural governments to support the establishment of a human rights museum." This museum was established "with the financial support of the governments of the Osaka Prefecture and City, labor unions, civil society organizations, and private corporations. The largest contributor was the Buraku Liberation League (BLL)...", making Liberty Osaka a mostly private institution that has some funding from the government (Kojima 2009). However, according to an *Okinawa Stripes* article, in 2013 Osaka Prefecture and Osaka City governments pulled their funding from the museum, citing that Liberty Osaka's exhibits were "limited to discrimination and human rights" and fail to offer children a future vision of "hopes and dreams," forcing the museum to subsist solely on gifts from visitors and supporters (Takiguchi 2013). The government has leveraged its power on other museums before to force them to comply with nationalistic ideals - Peace Osaka is one such example. Peace Osaka was a museum known for being forthright, with "hard-hitting exhibits about Japan's wars of the 1930s and 1940" (Seaton 2015). However, nationalists who took issue with the museum's influence on children began concerted attacks on

Peace Osaka's credibility and content. Their tactics succeeded with the advent of Hashimoto Toru, who threatened to pull funding from Peace Osaka if they did not remove those exhibits that were "inappropriate" - the museum depended on government funding, and so surrendered to the change in stance in their exhibits. Philip Seaton also details how the government attacked Liberty Osaka to attempt to change their stance as well by also removing funding; Liberty Osaka instead remained open as a private organization. Yet, the government still has leverage: Osaka City served the museum with a lawsuit in 2015 to evict them from the building when Liberty Osaka could not pay the rent (Seaton 2015). Legally, the museum is hard-pressed to fight back, yet it can still make its voice heard. Though Liberty Osaka may be politically impotent, culturally the museum has great influence over what visitors, domestic and international, see and think about these issues; from the museum's opening in 1982 to 1988, they had received 100,000 visitors. By 1993 they had 300,000 visitors, and by 1997 they had over 500,000 visitors total visit the museum (リバティおおさかとは？). From this data, it can be seen that the museum has the ability to spread their ideas and thoughts far and wide.

Although Liberty Osaka is not the first museum to focus only on human rights issues, Nobutoyo Kojima of Liberty Osaka asserts that it is unique as the first comprehensive human rights museum in Japan that aims to contribute to promotion of human rights for all - they focus on human rights issues rooted in the history and culture of Japanese society (Kojima 2009). Other museums that look at human rights have a specific topic: Peace Osaka focuses on effects of World War II on Osaka itself, while the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum focuses on the aftermath of World War II on Japanese people - these museums have a theme, but do not cover many issues. Other museums treat human rights issues as opportunities to promote understanding and tolerance. For example, when looking at the National Museum of the American Indian

(NMAI), the author looks at the museum as an "active monument to colonial oppression and its contemporary legacy of economic disadvantage, but operates in ways that do not cause further harm to indigenous people" (Golding and Modest 2013, 17). This approach to these issues is one that does not attempt to cover up any historical pasts that may be ugly, but nor does it seek to accuse. Dwelling on the past is not the goal. Instead, the aim is to achieve understanding, as well as to allow peoples to recall these issues and take these as learning experiences for the future. Another example is the Japanese American National Museum, in Los Angeles, California. Within the book *Museums and Communities*, the focus is on the wording used by the museum, the motive of the museum, as well as parallels drawn between this group and others similar to them (Golding and Modest, 2013, 15-20). These modes of analysis look at the ways in which the museum presents itself through words, their intent, their exhibitions of these issues, and on how they connect these issues with others worldwide. I combine both methods to analyze Liberty Osaka and their presentation of these minority issues - I look at the purpose and intention of Liberty Osaka, I analyze the wording and tone of their presentation of these issues, and I consider how the museum connects to the wider human rights landscape within Japan.

Thesis

I am using as my source materials handouts that I obtained from Liberty Osaka when I visited in the spring of 2015. These handouts give information on various topics, such as the Minamata disease and the homeless, in addition to these minority issues. I use these materials as an indicator of how these rights and issues are viewed in Japan, and since these handouts are the only items which you can take with you when you leave (photos of exhibits are not allowed) they can be seen as the main points which Liberty Osaka wants to emphasize. My research considers how Liberty Osaka's framing of these minority issues is indicative of Japanese people's thoughts

on human rights. My research project adds to previous knowledge on this subject: an article entitled *Liberty Osaka: Creating Opportunities for Intergenerational Learning on Human Rights* focused on human rights education content, while I change the focus to the methods used to discuss these topics and educate Japanese people. Although my analysis is limited to one museum, the conclusions I draw from their approach can be used as a point of comparison with other human rights museums worldwide.

Liberty Osaka's methods come about not just because of the natural indirect methods by which Japanese operate, but mostly because of the government's pressure on the museum to reform their content. Liberty Osaka uses an indirect approach to these human rights issues, by not stating anything explicitly, and conveying a sense of something beyond the words on the page. There is some Japanese cultural influence in this method, because Japanese tend to avoid disagreement - maintaining harmony is important, and so if there are differing opinions both sides will seek to create a consensus, and end up with one opinion (Gao 2005). If they were to use a direct approach, where the museum might state the point boldly without any reservations, this could alienate the government and trigger them to pursue even harsher consequences against the museum. However, in the case of Liberty Osaka, while there is some truth that the Japanese prefer indirect methods, a more compelling reason for using these methods is the government's influence on museum exhibitions. I posit that Liberty Osaka is trying to circumvent self-censors on Japan's acts pre-World War II. Though they are no longer restricted in their actions by their dependence financially on the government, if the museum is too condemnatory the government could use their political power to change the museum's focus themselves, as was the case with Peace Osaka. The government still has leverage in Liberty Osaka's lease to their land - so, in

order to keep awareness of human rights present and open to the public, Liberty Osaka makes sacrifices in how they frame information.

This indirect presentation reveals Liberty Osaka's strategy to win over every single person who visits Liberty Osaka - speaking softly with facts instead of yelling out a passionate speech is more useful in persuading people when the topic is human rights. Human rights is a concept that is still relatively hard to conceptualize, and therefore hard to relate to. Liberty Osaka's exhibition of these issues can be an important measure of Japan's human rights awareness, because the fact that the museum must use this indirect method of presentation speaks to the difficulties of spreading awareness within Japanese society. The museum is effectively handing over power to these minority groups (Resident Koreans, Okinawans, Ainu, Burakumin) and giving them license to make their point and be heard. By featuring one main topic as a hook and using subtle hints and directives to look deeper, the museum leads visitors to a certain conclusions about these minorities, and allows visitors to hear the minorities' side of the story. The museum showcases these minorities and provides information about them - though it does not allow them to speak for themselves, this presentation is important in a society where their situation is largely ignored or hidden. This approach makes their plight more relatable; furthermore, a gentle persuasion instead of a fiery speech can bring visitors around and convince them of the importance of promotion of human rights, as well as enlighten the majority on the experiences of these minorities. Only with understanding, can there be tolerance, which will defeat discrimination.

In these next four chapters, I will discuss Liberty Osaka's presentation of issues regarding the four minority groups within Japan, and how each minority reveals a different aspect of Liberty Osaka's standpoint on these issues. In the first chapter, I discuss Liberty Osaka's

presentation of Resident Koreans and how their nationality issues are due to policies made during the Japanese colonial era. In the second chapter, I will analyze Liberty Osaka's discussion of the Okinawan people and how they are dealing with the dilemma of these U.S. military bases. In the third chapter, I look at how Liberty Osaka uses the Ainu as an example of the Japanese government's current ineffective policies toward minorities. Finally, in the fourth chapter, I show how Liberty Osaka's optimistic portrayal of the Burakumin through their historical contributions presents these human rights issues not in terms of violations against this group, but of this group as an important participant in Japan.

Chapter 1: Resident Koreans: Special Permanent Residents

"Resident Koreans" is the unique designation of a group in Japan who face economic, social, and legal discrimination due to their ethnic heritage; they are also known as Zainichi Koreans. 'Zainichi' means living in Japan, as this group is made up of Koreans who remained in Japan after World War II. They are living remnants of Japanese colonialism: after Korea became a colony in 1910, many Koreans were brought over to work in Japanese factories and industries as labor, and many also served in the Japanese army. They have been on the receiving end of discriminatory acts and behaviors from Japanese since their arrival, and this is still ongoing today. Examples of discriminatory acts include: deliberately barring Koreans from entering restaurants, rejecting them for jobs, denying them bank loans, or refusing them housing. Additional acts include rejecting proposals of marriage and friendship, simply based on their origins as Koreans, and not Japanese. Even if they were ethnic Japanese, as shown in the experience of the Burakumin in a later chapter, that does not guarantee immunity from discrimination. Many human rights violations have been committed against Resident Koreans, and this oppressive environment has had critical, sometimes damaging, effects. Due to the importance of colonialism on Resident Koreans, the usage of nationality is useful as a starting point from which Liberty Osaka leads into these residency designations, which then relate back to residency issues, and therefore to colonial policies which created these issues. In this chapter, I will study how Liberty Osaka uses these nationality issues as a smokescreen to discuss the issue of Japan's colonial legacy on these minorities.

As a supplement to its exhibit on Resident Koreans, Liberty Osaka distributes a fact sheet on this topic to museum visitors. The contents of this handout discuss the relationship

between Japan and its colonies, and the nationality status of Resident Koreans; these are translated into English in its entirety below, are as follows:

> **Japan and its Colonies**
>
> In the modern era (after the Meiji Restoration), Japan as a nation continued expanding its territories. North of the main islands, in 1869 a majority of the territory that had been called Yezo became Hokkaido, and Hokkaido was proclaimed to be the upper limits of Japan's dominions. South of the main islands, in the year 1872 the Ryukyu domain was set up to incorporate the Ryukyu island kingdom as Japanese territory. In 1879 with backing from entities like police and the army, the Ryukyu domain was abolished and Okinawa prefecture was established. Furthermore, in the course of the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, Taiwan in 1895, Sakhalin in 1905, and Korea in 1910 all became Japanese colonies. Pre-war Japan was an empire that possessed a great number of colonies, with Japanese (also known as ethnic Japanese and Yamato people) at the pinnacle of the empire, as well as various ethnic groups. One might say that Japan today suffers from many minority problems stemming from this historical background.
>
> **Resident Koreans and Nationality**
>
> At the end of 2009, there were about 580,000 individuals holding South Korean or North Korean citizenship who were registered as foreigners staying longer than 90 days. Of these individuals, there were 490,000 permanent residency holders, and within those about 400,000 are Special Permanent Residents, nearly all of whom are second generation onward and born in Japan. In the exhibition in this building, in addition to "Special Permanent Residents," we refer to "Permanent Residents," "spouses of Japanese," "Spouses of Permanent Residents," and "Long-Term Residents." These residency holders all make their livelihoods in Japan, so it is believed that the likelihood that they will return to their country is very low, therefore they are known as Resident Koreans.
>
> "Special Permanent Resident" is a type of residency exclusively granted to those people originally from a colony (Korea, Taiwan) who lived in Japan prior to September 2, 1945, or their descendants. One might also say that Resident Koreans are those who have a historical background of Korean colonial rule under Japan. Also, in recent years, the number of Resident Koreans who have been naturalized or have acquired Japanese citizenship by being born to parents who have Japanese citizenship has been increasing, yet the exact numbers are unknown.[1]

Liberty Osaka's statements in these two passages are useful in determining the museum's motives and perspectives on this issue of nationality for Resident Koreans. I argue that the museum's presentation of these controversial issues leads visitors to visualize and understand the

[1]All English translations are my own.

discrimination embedded in Japanese culture as a result of this colonial past. For Resident Koreans, Liberty Osaka uses this issue of nationality as a pretext to indirectly criticize the Japanese government's administration of issues, such as this lack of nationality for Koreans, which have their roots in colonial Japan. However, Liberty Osaka omits how this experience of fighting for nationality affects Resident Koreans themselves, as well as the role of the Japanese government in these events, obscuring their responsibility and allowing entrenched prejudices of the Japanese public to go unnoticed. First, background on how the Resident Koreans came to Japan, and became Resident Koreans will be given. Next, analysis of my claims will follow this pattern: first, I will discuss the legacy of colonialism on Resident Koreans; next, I analyze Japanese residency designations and nationality problems, and finally I look at how their 'Zainichi' identity impacts how Resident Koreans live today.

History

Korea, along with Taiwan, Sakhalin, and Okinawa, were incorporated under the Japanese empire at various points during the late 1800s and early 1900s. This colonialism severely impacted Korea, and changed its landscape forever. After World War II ended with Koreans dispersed across Japan, the country became divided during the Korean War, and led to the division of North from South. From the time Korea became incorporated into Japan as a colony in 1910, Koreans were viewed as second-rate and inferior to Japanese. Many Koreans were brought over to the home islands of Japan to work in factories, as well as join the army to contribute to the war effort. Furthermore, the Japanese administration in Korea pursued unreasonable economic policies, such as a reorganization of land that denied many poorer farmers the ability to claim their land, and tenant-landlord contracts previously 3-5 years became 1-year contracts, contingent upon renewal by the landlord, giving landlords more control

(Weiner 1989, 39-40). Because of this, poorer farmers bore the costs of increased productivity with little benefit (42). Therefore, this "created an environment in which a massive rural exodus became inevitable", leading many to migrate to prosperous Japan to work and earn a living (49). These events therefore produced a large number of Korean migrant workers in Japan; these are the original 'Resident Koreans' from whom all or most Resident Koreans today are descended. With the annexation of Korea, Koreans were now "Japanese Nationals and were guaranteed the right to move freely and take up employment anywhere in the empire" (52). Yet, though they may have become Japanese citizens in name, Koreans were treated as second-class citizens, at best. During the wartime period, Koreans had restricted legal rights in the areas of public housing, social welfare, taxation, food rationing, and business (Lee and De Vos 1981, 138). Japanese people saw them as criminals, and frequently characterized Koreans as unstable, rebellious, unruly, and with no sense of responsibility. Because of this stereotyping, Japanese frequently saw them as unable to assimilate into Japanese society (40). They were seen to be transient, and to possess the "wandering nature and basic idleness of the migrant worker", further solidifying their image as a people who deserved to be subjugated (Weiner 1997, 201). Koreans, therefore, had to work in the worst conditions, and deal with prejudice against them. Presently, this 'inheritance' of colonial rule continues to inform Japanese treatment of Resident Koreans. Many Japanese still remember the rhetoric taught during World War II: "Japan is the only Asian nation capable of creating a viable alternative to Western civilization", implying that Korea and China are inferior to them (2). This nationalistic, imperialist rhetoric was supposedly eliminated after World War II, yet it is possible that some lingering bias remains as these Japanese pass on their beliefs to their children and grandchildren.

Post-World War II, Resident Koreans endured many frustrations and indignities as a result of Japanese legal policies. First, they lost the right to vote in 1945, then became subject to the alien registration law in 1947. With the signing of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security between the United States and Japan in 1952 (and again in 1960), Koreans and all former colonial nationals were stripped of Japanese nationality - leaving Resident Koreans stateless (Graburn et al. 2008, 141). They remained this way until 1965, when Japan and South Korea signed the Republic of Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty, granting permanent residency and legal protections for those who identify as South Korean - but only to those who apply and their children, not to future descendants. Future descendants with South Korean nationality were finally granted permanent residency status in 1991. Post-war, the Koreans in Japan created factions supporting the North (Chongryon) and the South (Mindan) (Lee and De Vos 1981, 146). Because of the support and Korean presence these factions provided, the Japanese government believed that this community allowed for those Koreans who chose not to apply for South Korean citizenship to acquire some kind of protection, which renders them, in the eyes of the government, not stateless (Abe 2010, 57). This viewpoint therefore treats the Chongryon and Mindan as informal Korean embassies, instead of support groups, which they are since they have no legal power. This viewpoint harms those with North Korean citizenship, as those with this citizenship are treated as stateless because Japan has no treaty with North Korea guaranteeing their citizens protection and legal residency. The fact that Japan continues to deny residency to North Korean citizenship holders remains a problem today, and this problem will likely not be resolved in the near future.

From the history above, a general sense of the issues pertaining to Resident Koreans' situations is that their struggles can be traced back to Japan's colonial policies. While history fills

in the background and context, Liberty Osaka provides perspective on how these issues are viewed by the museum itself, as well as how the museum presents these issues to visitors. Next, I will discuss the paragraph from the handouts pertaining to Resident Koreans.

Legacy of Colonialism

Liberty Osaka's text asserts that the colonial era of Japan is the reason for the minority issues Japan is facing today. Of course, colonial policies also affected the other minorities in this paper, most notably the Ainu and Ryukyuans (Okinawans). However, the way in which colonialism shaped Resident Koreans' experiences both before and after World War II makes these policies particularly salient to Resident Koreans. The nationality and citizenship of Resident Koreans has been complicated by this legacy of colonialism. First, they became Japanese citizens with the annexation of Korea; after World War II ended, technically they became Korean citizens again - however, with the advent of the Korean War which divided the two Koreas, there was no way for them to reclaim their original Choseon (Korea) nationality. As a result of this colonial past, many Resident Koreans face problems surrounding their nationality today. Liberty Osaka uses these nationality and residency topics to indirectly address the role that colonialism played in creating these dilemmas of nationality and residency for Resident Koreans.

Within the introduction, the word choice used by Liberty Osaka to criticize the methods the Japanese used to obtain these colonies are subtle. The words "Ryukyu domain was set up", "with backing from entities like police and the army" are not strong criticisms, yet Liberty Osaka is not letting the Japanese off the hook. The sentence "South of the main islands, in the year 1872

the Ryukyu domain was set up to incorporate the Ryukyu island kingdom as Japanese territory"[2] has the implication that the Ryukyu islands were made a domain, similar to the other domains within to Japan, indicating premeditation on the Japanese part - this way, as a domain the Japanese can now easily incorporate the Ryukyus into the Japanese empire. Similarly, the phrase "with backing from entities like the police and the army, the Ryukyu domain was abolished..."[3] also implies that this domain was forced into becoming Okinawa Prefecture, and thus a part of Japan. The word 'abolished' is a strong word choice, as anything abolished is final - there is no coming back from this decision. These examples, one subtly critical and one clearly antagonistic, convey Liberty Osaka's view on these events - namely, that the Japanese government actions during the colonial era were too forceful and aggressive in their dismantling of a kingdom that had been in place for centuries.

Liberty Osaka imitates the imperious language of the pre-war Japanese government to criticize the Japanese colonial attitude of domination toward their colonies. The museum's literature states that "pre-war Japan was an empire that possessed a great number of colonies, with Japanese (also known as ethnic Japanese and Yamato people) at the top [at the pinnacle of the empire], as well as various ethnic groups"[4]. This wording is interesting, since in presenting this picture of the Japanese being superior over all others in the empire, Liberty Osaka could be seen to be expressing nationalistic sentiment. Yet, it can also be said that Liberty Osaka is criticizing the viewpoints of Japanese from that time period by showing the type of attitude Japanese held toward non-Japanese. From this statement, I believe the museum wants visitors to

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[2]「列島に南に向かっては、1872年に琉球王国を領土に組み入れようと琉球藩を設置、1879年には警察や軍隊の力を背景に琉球藩を廃止、沖縄県を設置した。」

[3] See footnote 2.

[4]「戦前の日本が数多くの植民地を領有し、日本人（和人、大和人）を頂点として…」

think about this statement, and judge for themselves whether it is acceptable or not. This usage of language is important, because there are few statements within these handouts which sound like this - the fact that this is one of them makes it stand out, and thus it becomes more visible.

On the other hand, Liberty Osaka's omission of discussion of the colonial treatment of Koreans, and how such discriminatory practices, colonial policies, and racism affected them - other than the residency status issue, there is no mention of discrimination, social or otherwise. The museum mentions that "...Resident Koreans are those who have a historical background of Korean colonial rule under Japan"[5], intimating that this historical background is something that has affected Resident Koreans deeply, and yet there is no further explanation of its effects. This omission is troublesome, because this colonial legacy is clearly impactful on Resident Koreans in Japan, and understanding their position in society is one step toward dissipating the stigma surrounding their status. From Liberty Osaka's word choice, tone, and selection of topic, it becomes clear that the museum uses the introduction to first establish the museum's criticisms of the Japanese government's imperialist policies, while using the Resident Korean paragraph to demonstrate the museum's support and acknowledgement of the suffering Resident Koreans experienced. The museum is critical, but must be subtle in its statements as there is a risk that including treatment of resident Koreans could give the government a reason to censor and force the museum to remove all critical material, like what was done with Peace Osaka with discussions of Japanese aggression in World War II; however, because of this subtlety, they hold back from actively criticizing the government, and acting indirectly through subtle phrases indicating their true purpose. Yet, this method omits relevant details and information that could

[5] 「在日コリアンとは日本による朝鮮植民地支配に歴史的な背景を持つ人びとであるともいえるだろう。」

have enhanced the museum's overall argument. This omission could suggest Liberty Osaka is ignoring the Japanese government's discriminatory practices, a stance few want to see in a human rights museum. This restraint is important to note, because if a human rights museum cannot challenge previously established norms and thoughts, then how will ordinary people find the courage and willpower to do so?

Nationality

Liberty Osaka presents nationality as a precursor to discussing how Resident Koreans' nationality and residency problems are all derived from Japan's colonial policies. Liberty Osaka analyzes nationality in Japan for Koreans as a way to show how this group's human rights are infringed upon due to colonialism. The topic heading for the handout is Resident Koreans and Nationality[6], therefore Liberty Osaka focuses on the topic of nationality to draw a connection between colonialism and the change in nationality of Resident Koreans. However, the museum does not completely detail by what methods Resident Koreans came to lose their nationality, nor what legal procedures or acts were implemented by Japan. By questioning the current nationality and status of Koreans in Japan, this allows the visitor room to think on this issue, and therefore the museum can highlight the lack of rights afforded to these Resident Koreans due to this status, leading them toward Japan's role in Resident Koreans' current situation.

Japanese nationality laws are very strict, making naturalization procedures complicated and hard to obtain. In Japan, nationality is conferred based on parentage, not location of birth. This makes Japan a *jus sanguinis* state, meaning they determine citizenship by blood. Citizens have the right to a passport, to legally claim residency, as well as other rights and privileges being a citizen entails. Visitors are allowed to remain in Japan for a set time period, and when

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[6] 「在日コリアンと国籍」

that time is up they must leave or be deported. Article 8(4) of the Japanese Nationality Law states that “The Ministry of Justice may permit naturalization of a foreign national who falls under one of the following items… 4) A person born in Japan, not having any nationality since the time of birth, and continuously having a domicile in Japan for three years or more since that time” (The Nationality Law). This article is in agreement with the 1954 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness, because it effectively helps ensure that no child will be stateless in Japan. Article 8(4) was included in the original Nationality Law of 1950, meaning it was in effect before South Korea and Japan normalized relations in 1965, which legally granting South Korean citizenship holders residency. Therefore, if this law had been in effect and implemented fairly, this law could have been used for those second- and third-generation Resident Koreans when their parents were stateless. Changsoo Lee and George de Vos state that in 1950, “the fact of being born in Japan to permanent residents of the country was not sufficient to confer Japanese citizenship on a child of Korean ancestry”, attempting to deny any child not considered ‘true Japanese’ this citizenship (Lee and de Vos 1981, 157). Liberty Osaka does not make any comment on this at all, and this omission is very important as it is an example of details Liberty Osaka overlooks in taking this indirect approach to these minority issues.

As for legal policies regarding nationality, Liberty Osaka’s omission of the differences between North and South Korean citizenship is significant in showing the invisibility with which this issue is treated. Liberty Osaka only discusses the residency extended to South Koreans, as the text states that “...residency exclusively granted to those people originally from a colony (Korea, Taiwan) who lived in Japan prior to September 2, 1945, or their descendants”[7], where

[7] 「特別永住者とは、1945年9月2日以前から日本に居住する旧植民地（朝鮮、台湾）出身者によると、その子孫にのみ与えるられる在留資格である。」

residency was granted to first-generation Resident Koreans and their children, but not to their descendants; those descendants were actually not granted citizenship until 1991. This residency was only for those who possessed South Korean citizenship, however. Liberty Osaka does not clearly define this point, seeming to ignore the other Korean population. Those Koreans who identify with the North still have "Choseon citizenship",[8] but since this country does not exist anymore with the division of the Koreas, all North Koreans are effectively stateless. This omission is blatant, and makes it seem as if all Resident Koreans currently have citizenship and residency, when in reality a portion of this community are still denied residency in Japan.

A remedy to living as stateless without rights and protections could be to take Japanese citizenship. However, for Resident Koreans this alternative does not work because of the naturalization procedures. There are objections by Resident Koreans on this alternative, because they do not wish to reject their Korean heritage. Many Koreans rejected naturalization as a choice for the lingering structural discrimination against Resident Koreans, as the requirements force them to assimilate completely. Iwabuchi says they "are required to forget and hide their descent", and to become proper Japanese, one of these requirements being to adopt a Japanese name (Iwabuchi 2015, 88). However, in 1983 the Ministry of Justice, recognizing that this may seem discriminatory to ethnic sounding names, made it clear that naturalized citizens (a majority of whom were Korean) would no longer be required to adopt Japanese names (Hollerman 1988, 171). Another reason against naturalization is that if they become naturalized Japanese, they are shunned by other Koreans who view them as traitors; on the other hand, even as 'naturalized Japanese', they are still discriminated against for their original Korean ethnicity (Lee and De Vos

[8] Choseon was the old name for the original, undivided Korea; when the Korean War divided the country into North and South, this citizenship became obsolete. Those who identify as North Korean have this citizenship, but essentially have no citizenship rights.

1981, 156). Out of a desire to stay true to their roots, some Koreans want to stay as *zainichi* instead, since to them this is also "an alternative" option instead of becoming a Japanese citizen or a Korean citizen (Iwabuchi 2015, 88-89). Beyond simply becoming Japanese, Resident Koreans also must consider the consequences of embracing one over the other, either Japan or Korea. This dilemma is the core of the identity issue Resident Koreans face today, of what exactly should they consider themselves to be: Japanese, Korean, both, none? Nationality is therefore an important aspect of their identity, as it is a legal representation of their self. Liberty Osaka does not present this alternative within their discussion, which can be indicative of their consideration of Resident Koreans and how they feel about these issues. From the Resident Koreans' movement as an integral force in the creation of this museum, it would make sense that Liberty Osaka's presentation is thinking more from Resident Koreans' point of view.

'Zainichi' Identity

Liberty Osaka's use of 'Zainichi' identity is well-intentioned, but fails to change the negative connotations associated with this word and this idea of what it means to be 'Zainichi'. Liberty Osaka omits any mention of *zainichi* as an identity, which is a crucial piece in understanding resident Koreans' experiences of discrimination in Japan. By not saying anything about the inner conflicts faced by these people, Liberty Osaka overlooks the fact that nationality is just one part of a person. Without this crucial legal identification, their personal identity is bound to become confused as well, if they are stuck in between these two countries and their laws.

Liberty Osaka adopts this use of *zainichi* to bring attention to the implications of naming this group as such. The word *zainichi* in Japanese is split into zai (在), meaning stay, and nichi (日), short for 日本, meaning Japan - therefore, this phrase means stay in Japan, which the

government and employers take to mean a temporary stay. If *zainichi* are nonpermanent visitors, then why create lives and families here? The implication is that they are only in Japan as visitors, which is certainly untrue for second- and third-generation resident Koreans. Many of these descendants were born in Japan, have lived in Japan their entire lives, speak the language, and understand the culture. Therefore, using the word *zainichi* can be taken as a denial of Resident Koreans even having the right to live in Japan. In contrast, Liberty Osaka explicitly describes these people as those who "have made their livelihoods here" and "have a historical background of colonial rule in Korea", not saying anything about the length of their stay. Liberty Osaka says, "These residency holders all make their livelihoods in Japan, so it is believed that the likelihood that they will return to their country is "very low", therefore they are known as Resident Koreans"[9]. This wording explicitly states that these Resident Koreans are in Japan to stay, not just to live for a few years and then return to Korea. Since many Koreans have immigrated to Japan since World War II, Liberty Osaka uses this term to separate those who were affected as a direct result of the war, rather than referring to all Koreans in Japan.

Liberty Osaka's usage here seeks to redefine the meaning of *zainichi,* but though it is a good effort, their usage still reinforces the negative perception perpetuated by the media and Japanese government that the Resident Koreans are here only temporarily. The fact that "the majority of the resident Koreans today are second-generation onward"[10] shows they are clearly not going anywhere. By providing figures and facts about the composition of the resident Korean population, Liberty Osaka is denouncing this idea of temporary-ness by clearly giving evidence

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[9] 「。。。在留資格を持つ人たちを、日本に生活基盤をもち、今後も「帰国」する可能性が極めて少ないと考えられることから「在日コリアン」と表記している。

[10] 「特別永住者は...ほとんどが日本生まれの二世以降の世代である。」

to the contrary. However, Liberty Osaka's use of the word *zainichi*, though well-intentioned, contradicts their evidence, and indicating a conflict within Liberty Osaka as to the effectiveness of their campaign to eliminate the stigma behind the word. This name allows the government to treat them as outsiders, as temporary visitors, and deny them rights that every other citizen can have (Ryang 2009, 11) Liberty Osaka's usage here, though attempting to define Resident Koreans objectively, does not address the negative stigma that is associated. This word and the history behind it means that scholars and recorders of history must be careful with how they name people, places, and events. Though there are many problems associated with the use of this word, I continue to use *Zainichi* to refer to this specific group of Koreans for the same reason Liberty Osaka does; though this word has a more negative connotation to it, I believe it is still the most correct way to refer to these people, since they do not like being called Korean-Japanese or any other such combination - however, reappropriating it more strongly, and adopting a name that they themselves want to be called, is truly the best method to begin getting rid of prejudice, one step at a time.

Additionally, Liberty Osaka omits mention of how colonialism affected Resident Koreans' sense of themselves, overlooking another consequence of Japan's colonial policies. This is negligence on the museum's part to fully address the human rights violations these Resident Koreans have suffered. Resident Koreans are more sensitive to laws and treatment that would take away from their identities as Koreans, and also those that would take away from their identity as Japanese. "Their cultural expressions thus tend to deal with the agony and ambiguity about their own precarious lives in the social positioning as *zainichi* who are historically torn between Japan and the Korean peninsula", and therefore they are trying to figure out their place in Japanese society - for Zainichi, their problems are not only legal, but also psychological as

well (Iwabuchi 2015, 89). Their culture is Japanese, but their ancestry is Korean - from a Japanese perspective, that does not add up, for that threatens the idea that race should be equal to culture, and culture should be equal to citizenship; Japan-born Koreans threaten this idea of homogeneity within Japan (Graburn et al. 2008, 15). Many have to balance their pride as Korean, against their desire for acceptance by the society in which they live in. Liberty Osaka's omission of this idea restricts zainichi to a political and legal stance, instead of also a personal and emotional stance. This does not help Resident Koreans, and as a human rights museum, their goal should be to help these groups in addition to simply educating the public on these issues.

In the United States, there is a group who also does not possess documentation or residency; these are students who, for one reason or another, are present in the US with or without their parents either due to illegal immigration or overstaying their visas. These students have difficulties in attaining higher education where they do not meet FAFSA requirements for aid or residency requirements. Similarly to Koreans, they have problems finding adequate housing or jobs. Both groups face stigmas which come with their status as 'undocumented' or 'Zainichi', and they have no way to change it. However, both groups can create lobbies and organizations to fight for their rights to equal treatment, and both groups have the ability to be a formidable movement. Yet, it is sometimes in the interests of some members of these groups to stay hidden, to not draw attention to themselves. But discrimination will not change unless the society and laws governing it change to prevent it from being commonplace.

Conclusion

Liberty Osaka purports to educate visitors on these issues of Resident Koreans and nationality, and the museum is deft at highlighting the fact that discrimination against Resident Koreans can be said to have originated from colonial oppression. The word choice used

throughout these passages are indicative of Liberty Osaka's supportive attitude toward Resident Koreans, which is useful as a point of comparison with the actions of the government. However, as a result of the government threat of intervention, some important points that would have helped Liberty Osaka's point are omitted. For example, addressing the 'Zainichi' identity, the emotional toll of being stateless, and the Japanese government's oppressive colonial policies in creating the Resident Korean issue today would help Liberty Osaka make its point more clearly. These omissions are important, because in not discussing these issues, their narrative is incomplete, making their presentation to the public incomplete. Therefore, these omissions do not help the person who knows nothing of these issues gain enough understanding into what being Resident Korean means.

Liberty Osaka specifically defined who was considered *zainichi*, as well as the current residency statuses of Resident Koreans. The museum, although focusing on the history behind issues of discrimination, also acts as a support and resource for these minorities. Focusing their information sheet on the topic of Resident Koreans and Nationality was a way to link nationality and the legal status of Resident Koreans together, coming to the conclusion that this status denied many rights to Resident Koreans, opening them up to discrimination and prejudice. This conclusion is important for visitors to understand the reason behind discrimination against this group, as well as the current state of human rights in Japan today as being sorely lacking.

Furthermore, these efforts are obstructed by the Japanese public - societal change and increased acceptance of these minorities is the crucial first step for changing laws. These issues can be brought to the attention of the Japanese public, but if discrimination and further denials to Resident Koreans continue, then there is no way for Japan to progress from this issue.

In the next chapter, I will be discussing another important group of people who suffer from similar kinds of discrimination and prejudice, although they are not necessarily considered outsiders in Japan. This next group are the Okinawans, previously called the Ryukyuans, and because of their identity as a peripheral people they experience many of the same prejudices. However, they are incorporated into Japan as Japanese citizens, so as Japanese citizens they face the same problems as a group of people considered to be foreign. Additionally, these are two groups that had no previous ties to Japan before the colonial era, and therefore they share a similar historical background.

Chapter 2: Okinawa - Uchinaa

Okinawa has all the elements of a foreign country, while still remaining within the country of Japan. While Okinawa has its own language, this language is rapidly disappearing due to assimilation and discrimination. Okinawa consists of the southernmost islands of the country of Japan, and on those islands there exist many U.S. military bases. These bases are part of a larger, overarching issue regarding Okinawa, as there has been a pattern of intolerance and structural discrimination in many aspects throughout the years, starting from Japan's colonial era up to today. In the handouts it distributes to museum visitors, Liberty Osaka describes these bases in such a way that indicates a desire on the part of the museum to hold the Japanese government accountable, or at least criticize their actions, for the sufferings of the Okinawan people. Therefore, this situation surrounding Okinawa becomes more current, more immediate, and takes on a little more political association than in the other texts. This issue presented through Liberty Osaka not only reveals the problems brought by the bases, it also shows Liberty Osaka's drive to work for the Okinawan people. This idea of accountability is echoed by the scholar Gerard Figal, and he states that the desire for accountability on the part of the Japanese is not to be taken as a desire to achieve equality, but rather a mechanism for achieving respect for Okinawans (Figal 2001, 61). Figal expresses the desire of Okinawans to be individual, separate from the mainland; rather than being equal, they would rather explore these differences to prove that they deserve respect. This desire is similar to what Liberty Osaka yearns to accomplish, for they also want to show the differences between Okinawa and the mainland - not to support separation or to create discontent, but to instill respect for what these people, and this island have endured. Okinawans do not desire to be "equal" to the Japanese in the sense of "same." Rather, respect for their own culture and for their people is more important to Okinawans than

assimilating - many revel in their differences, and take pride in announcing they are Okinawan (Maeda 2011). In this chapter, I study the societal intolerance as revealed through these bases, as well as reveal the limitations within Liberty Osaka's mode of analysis. I contend that Liberty Osaka's commentary on the U.S. bases adequately illustrates the current societal intolerance in modern Japan, but fails in providing a complete picture of the discrimination they face.

Below are the contents of the fact sheet on Okinawa, which describes the problem of the U.S bases being situated on Okinawa. The handout has been translated into English in its entirety below:

> **Okinawa and the U.S. Military Bases**
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> Since the reversion of Okinawa back to the mainland on May 15, 1972, Okinawa's American military bases have continued to be used through the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security without the consent of Okinawans. Though a consolidation of bases was carried out, only 15% of those lands was actually returned [to Japanese control]. Okinawa makes up 0.6% of the total area of Japan, and the population of Okinawa constitutes only 1% of the nation, yet even today 74% of the American military bases in Japan are on the islands of Okinawa - the training area includes land, sea, and air forces. Damage such as noise pollution, environmental damage, as well as American involvement in accidents and crimes, is unceasing. For the Okinawans, the American military forces based in Okinawa due to the Ampo treaty are a threat to their lives and human rights. Regardless of before the war or after the war, those Uchinaanchu (Okinawans) who experienced the Battle of Okinawa, then governance under the American army as the government's military priority, continue to sincerely wish for a decrease in the heavy burden of accommodating the American military bases. What kind of response will both the Japanese and American governments give to the Okinawans who have questioned the presence of the bases for over 60 years?[11]

Liberty Osaka presents the military bases in Okinawa as an important human rights problem for Japan and America. Before discussing the handout, some background into the history between Okinawa, Japan, and the United States will be necessary to contextualize the issue. I will first explore the history of Okinawa; next, I will explain the museum's discussion of the issues of land appropriation, environmental effects and the toll on Okinawan livelihoods;

[11] All English translations are my own.

then I will address the museum's position toward respect for Okinawan culture; and finally, I will discuss the effects of certain omissions in the Liberty Osaka materials.

History

Okinawa is known as the "Hawaii of Japan", and this comparison is apt - both Okinawa and Hawaii are at a distance from the mainland, both were originally independent island kingdoms, and both possess beautiful natural scenery and beaches. The comparison, however, ends there. In the United States, people treat Hawaiians as Americans, and there is no difference in legal, economic, or societal treatment between them and other Americans who live on the continent. In Japan, Okinawans have been discriminated against because they are perceived as different. They find it hard to attain jobs and housing, and their perceived social status is lower than that of the average Japanese (Yokota 2001). Another major difference between Okinawa and Hawaii is the presence of foreign military bases on the former. These events can be traced back to when Okinawa first came in contact with Japan.

Okinawans were formerly known as the Ryukyuan people, since Okinawa was originally the heart of the Ryukyu island kingdom, which served as the intermediary in trade routes between China and Japan. The Ryukyu kingdom stretched from Amami to Yaeyama and the Miyako Islands, with Okinawa as the centerpiece, and the capital situated at Shuri Castle. As stated in the introductory section "Japan and its Colonies" by Liberty Osaka, during the Meiji period Okinawa was forced to become a Japanese domain in 1872, then Okinawa prefecture in 1879. They were part of Japan when Japan entered World War II on the side of the Axis powers of Germany and Italy - therefore, the Americans landed at Okinawa as the entry point into Japan, where the Japanese military command then abandoned the Okinawans to fight on their own. Okinawans were told the Americans would rape and torture them, and so many Okinawans

committed suicide or were forced to do so by Japanese soldiers. After Japan lost, the entire country, including Okinawa, was occupied by the United States under the 'Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers' (Yokota 2001). After the United States formally ended the occupation of Japan in 1952, Japan and the United States of America concluded the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security, known in Japanese as the Ampo Treaty, it was amended in 1960. This treaty gave the U.S. permission to retain bases in Japan, including Okinawa. According to the Japan Forum for Strategic Studies' Grant Newsham, it is believed that these bases are a necessary deterrent to war with China and North Korea in the region because of its convenient location in Asia. Having U.S. military forces on islands in the Pacific deters other nations from adversarial behavior. Additionally, having forces on the ground helps to speed up international decision-making, as it is easier to deploy when they are already there (Newsham 2015). This ease and convenience for U.S forces was one of the main reasons the U.S. leaders chose Okinawa. These bases were imposed on Okinawa following the end of the Second World War, and still exist as of this writing. However, at first the United States had qualms about creating bases in Okinawa for fear that "the leased base arrangement would be unpopular with the natives", since this was "an ejection of the natives from a large proportion of the base farming land, with compensation it is true, but without assumption of continuing responsibility for their welfare" (Eldridge 2001, 200). This quote suggests that the U.S. did not make this decision lightly, implying that they had thought about the consequences - there is no such proof that the Japanese government considered the same. With the presence of these bases, the Okinawans are depleted of their land, and neither the Japanese nor U.S. are providing any kind of social assistance for the Okinawan people to enter other industries, or to improve themselves. They continue to live poorly, and lack many resources still.

Liberty Osaka's motive in moving toward the problems awakened by the presence of the military bases is not simply to inform, but to challenge. Their motive will be shown through their word choice, which emphasizes their belief that what has been done in Okinawa is not equal, and is a discriminatory act against an entire group of people. This threat is something that is tangible, and the origin can be found in the structural intolerance located within Japan. The history shown above shows how Okinawans have been treated over the years, as well as provides context for the current situation. Next, I will discuss Liberty Osaka's take on these issues, as well as show how their presentation could benefit from a broader coverage of issues affecting Okinawa today.

Weighing in on the U.S. Military Base

Liberty Osaka's negative portrayal of the land appropriation issues shows their belief that the bases are not essential for security, and is instead a source of danger for Okinawa. The language used by Liberty Osaka to describe the base is overwhelmingly negative, with words such as "threat", "without the consent of Okinawans", "damage," and "heavy burden," setting the negative tone. Starting from the military bases and moving outward, Liberty Osaka focuses on the treaty as being conducted "without the consent of Okinawans", criticizes "the actions of the military" in the destruction of the island, and emphasizes the importance of "the Battle of Okinawa" in Okinawans' yearning for the elimination of these bases. These keywords provide a direction for the visitor to investigate, and thereby dig deeper. These words are used to discuss the disadvantages of these bases - showing that Liberty Osaka is not following the mainstream thought that the bases are necessary for Japanese security "as an essential deterrent", vis-a-vis the United States (Newsham 2015). Additionally, the references to the Battle of Okinawa and the actions of the military are important as they are an early example of bias toward Okinawa as a whole. From the history above, the Japanese government's strategy to use Okinawans to deter

the Allies are repeated in the situation of the bases, as Japan made Okinawa bear the brunt of hosting these bases. The Battle of Okinawa and the treaty situating the bases in Okinawa shape Okinawan views toward mainland Japanese, and are vital when discussing relations between Okinawa and Japan.

Liberty Osaka asserts their support for Okinawans in their critique of the unfair treaty agreement between Japan and America. The first sentence states that "Since the reversion of Okinawa back to the mainland on May 15, 1972, Okinawa's American military bases have continued to be used through the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security without the consent of Okinawans."[12] This sentence is disapproving, as it questions the presence of the base, and reasons for why the Okinawans were not included in the decision-making process. The disproportionate allotment of bases across Japan is the most obvious evidence of structural discrimination. This Liberty Osaka handout states that "Okinawa makes up 0.6% of the total area of Japan, and the population of Okinawa constitutes only 1% of the nation, yet even today 74% of the military bases in Japan are on the islands of Okinawa...[13]". This imbalance of responsibility is therefore not lost on the museum, since they show that three-quarters of all military bases in Japan are in Okinawa, leaving only one fourth of the bases in the rest of the Japanese islands. In carrying out the terms of the treaty, the Japanese government is biased against the Okinawans - they want to keep the bases off the main island as much as possible, and they see Okinawa as being the best location.

Japan's habitual disregard for the welfare of the Okinawans, in this instance as well as in the Battle of Okinawa, are examples of long-term, structural discrimination. Liberty Osaka

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[12] 「沖縄県民の意思を問うことなく、日米安全保障条約によってひきつづき使用されることになった。」

[13] 「現在アメリカ軍専用施設の74％が集中し、陸上だけでなく、空や海にも訓練域がある。」

makes this point above, emphasizing that this took place “without the consent of the Okinawans”, and making it known that this treaty was in reality forced upon this group of people, who the Japanese do not even see as ‘equal’. By shifting most of the burden on the Okinawans, the Okinawans are left to suffer whatever effects having the bases may cause. As this treatment is one-sided and based on the perception that Okinawa is inferior, this is an example of discrimination. This idea of Okinawans as inferior is described by Matsumura thus: that they were described as “not truly Japanese” and therefore, as they are said to occupy a “distinct time-space” [in which they seem to be cut off from what happens on the mainland], conversely what happens to Okinawa occurs outside of the considerations of the rest of Japan (Matsumura 2015, 7). The Americans insist on the necessity of these bases in Japan, while having these bases gives Japan the satisfaction that it is fulfilling its part of the treaty - in reality, the rest of Japan is giving up little in return for the protection extended by the U.S. Under this protection from the United States, all of Japan benefits, yet Okinawa is ‘sacrificed’ for the rest of the country - a position which they are challenging, and refusing to deal with anymore. The museum depicts the Okinawans as simply having a “wish for a decrease in this heavy burden”, showing the museum’s support for the Okinawans in getting rid of the bases. This sentiment is corroborated by the scholar Nathan Layne, who adds that the people of Okinawa are very much against this lack of responsibility on the part of the government, and are making their protests known - they explicitly say that “they want the mainland to share more of this burden” (Layne 2013).

Liberty Osaka’s discussion of the military presence considers the situation from Okinawans’ point of view, and is a channel for Okinawans to express themselves. Liberty Osaka specifically says that “regardless of before the war or after the war, Uchinanchu (Okinawans)

who experienced the Battle of Okinawa, then governance under the American army as the government's military priority, continue to sincerely wish for a decrease in the heavy burden of accommodating the American military bases.[14]" This sentence gives the Okinawans a voice, as well as defines their collective goal, giving them a group consensus and power. This sentence, therefore, is a powerful expression of what Okinawa wants, which may or may not be what the Japanese government wants. One such example of the Okinawans' political wishes is expressed in their choice of party: the Okinawan People's Party, a Communist party, became popular during the 1950s and 1960s when the bases were being installed. The Communist party was "opposed to the bases, and supported sovereignty", threatening the U.S. bases at that time - as a result, their legislature was controlled for a time by the U.S. who attempted to help the conservative candidates win elections (Yokota 2001). Okinawans want to control their own fate, and reduce outside intervention in their own affairs.

Liberty Osaka shows itself to be very critical of the Japanese government's inaction on many levels. Liberty Osaka has commented very directly on the negative aspects of the presence of the bases, such as the disproportionate allotment of bases, the Ampo Treaty, and the damage done to Okinawa, while there is no mention of its benefits. Liberty Osaka's method of demonstrating the negative effects of these bases is useful in proving that Japan is not providing equal treatment to all people. In fact, Japan is capitalizing on Okinawa's difference from the rest of the country, to perpetuate this feeling of separateness in order to achieve its goals of protecting the mainland. This was demonstrated through the experience of the Battle of Okinawa, in which Okinawa was clearly used as a buffer against the U.S. onslaught.

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[14] 「沖縄戦、軍事優先のアメリカ軍の統治を体験した「ウチナーンチュ（沖縄人）は、復帰前、復帰後を問わず、アメリカ軍基地の過重負担の軽減を求め続けている。」

Damage to the Island

Liberty Osaka's discussion of the environmental effects on the island is used by the museum as evidence for the disadvantages of the bases' presence. By giving many reasons as for why these bases do more harm than good, the museum is firmly supporting the local Okinawan population who are firmly advocating against the bases moving anywhere else on the islands. The museum, therefore, is acting more like an activist in this brief than in previous paragraphs, perhaps reflecting the views of not only the museum, but those who work in the museum.

The damage to the island is not only physical, but psychological and emotional as well. In the handout, the museum states that "Damage such as noise offences, environmental damage, as well as American involvement in accidents and crimes, is unceasing[15]", firmly outlining some of the consequences of the base being placed in Okinawa. Ryan Yokota goes into more detail, and describes how specific damage like noise offenses come from the military exercises conducted by the base; the aircraft coming in creates loud noises at night, which disturb rest - during the day, this disrupts concentration of schoolchildren (Yokota 2001). The fact that these noise offenses are allowed to continue only on Okinawa at all hours of the night is discriminatory, because there are restrictions on landing times throughout the rest of Japan. The bases are given free rein in Okinawa, disrupting Okinawan daily life - they are the only ones who suffer like this, and therefore this is clear bias against them.

Adding to the damage wrought by the island, new plans as well as old discoveries continue to increase the devastation of Okinawa's once-pristine landscape. Extensive environmental damage to the landscape and marine life can be traced back to the existence of these bases, and will continue should initiatives to move the bases be passed. A plan to cut down

[15] 「騒音、環境破壊、事故、アメリカ軍人等による犯罪など軍基地被害も絶えない。」

on future aircraft crashes in populated areas by moving the base from Futenma to Henoko, a 'less populated' strip in the north, may further corrupt the island's natural environment. Okinawa's governor Onaga was elected based on his promise to "block the relocation of the US Marine Corps' Futenma Air Base from a heavily populated area of Okinawa to a less-developed area named Henoko", which he carried out: "On 22 March 2015 Okinawa's governor ordered a halt to an underwater survey needed for reclamation of land for a new $8.6-billion base, which would host US troops (Military - Okinawa, Japan). Okinawans are not satisfied with the supposed benefits brought about by the bases, and they are taking a stand against the government for their plan to move the Futenma base to Henoko, a marine ecosystem, as well as their negligence in environmental preservation of Okinawa's native land and surrounding waters. An example of a negative effect this move will have is the extinction of an Okinawan sea mammal, called the dugong, which resides in Henoko. This animal is somewhat related to the manatee, and is one of the gentle giants of the sea, living undisturbed in Henoko Bay before the U.S bases disrupted their habitat (Okinawa Dugong). The Okinawan dugong is an endangered species, with only 12-15 left in the world (Galvin 2015). By moving the base to Henoko, an area previously undisturbed by construction and landfills, the initiative will not only ruin the land where it originally was located, but it will also make Henoko unusable, as the land will be developed and destroyed (Yokota 2001). Additionally, it has been discovered that it is not just the local flora and fauna that has been disturbed - an article by the Japan Times characterizes Okinawa as the "junk heap of the Pacific", owing to the immense amount of pollution from fuel leaks, poisoning from leaked chemicals, dumping of herbicides into the ocean, and much more (Mitchell 2013). This makes this problem not only dangerous for the land and the wildlife, but also for Okinawans themselves.

Liberty Osaka points to disturbances and environmental damage caused by the base and firmly places their support on the side of the Okinawans and other environmental groups. Their assertions are supported by environmentalists and other organizations, and further explanation of the types of damage are elaborated on by other scholars. The museum accurately depicts the sufferings and problems caused by the base, and the information on the new developments also proves that this problem is still ongoing, and not likely to end anytime soon. Throughout this section, Liberty Osaka gives many reasons why the bases are not good for Okinawa.

Threat to Okinawan Livelihood

Liberty Osaka shows how the continued presence of the bases takes a negative toll on Okinawan livelihoods. Liberty Osaka writes that "For the Okinawans, the American military forces based in Okinawa due to the Ampo treaty are a threat to their lives and human rights.[16]" The wording here is somewhat misleading, since it does not mention the other party in the treaty: the Japanese government is not directly named here, one of the examples in which the museum holds itself back too much. By doing so, it can remove some of the guilt and responsibility from the Japanese government for its colonial and post-war policies, which is counterproductive for the Okinawan cause. In the Liberty Osaka handout, directly below this paragraph there is a picture of a helicopter that crashed into a school, further demonstrating the dangers of this military presence. This is not an isolated incident - a 2013 report by the Washington Post cited 44 known crashes of U.S. aircraft in Okinawa, which is a serious indicator that the base is not beneficial to the island, nor to the general public (Harlan 2013). The disregard for the protection of the Okinawan environment, the many dangerous exercises carried out near cities, and the many human rights violations toward civilians are all reasons why the military base is destructive

[16] 「安全保障のために駐留するアメリカ軍は、沖縄では命と人権を脅かす存在である。」

for Okinawa (Yokota 2001). This is further corroborated by the GlobalSecurity.org website, which states that "the US operations around the Air Force's Kadena Air Base and Marine Corps Air Station Futenma are located in the middle of urban areas, and there are heavy risks to civilians from serious military accidents, including crashes of aircraft" (Military - Okinawa, Japan). This base presence is dangerous for Okinawans, creating an adverse environment for Okinawan children to live and grow up in. They should be able to live their life without these disruptions and dangers.

Respect for Okinawan Culture

Liberty Osaka respects Okinawan culture through the presentation of the Okinawan language. Their reference, though brief, is essential and perfectly demonstrates Liberty Osaka's support for Okinawans. Okinawan culture is not discussed in this chapter, perhaps because it has not been as threatened as other ethnic groups have. Yet, the one aspect of culture which has almost been successfully eradicated is the Okinawan language. Due to enforced assimilation and suppression of culture in the past by the Japanese government, recovery of those traditions, namely their language, is of utmost importance to Okinawans today. This discrimination and forced assimilation has resulted in many young people today being unable to speak their native language. This is a discriminatory act because the Japanese enforced a set of standards biased against the Okinawans, rewarding those who followed Japanese culture and punishing those who practiced their native Okinawan culture.

Liberty Osaka's usage of the native Okinawan word to name the Okinawans demonstrates respect for Okinawans. Liberty Osaka acknowledges the importance of the Okinawan language by using the term Okinawans use to describe themselves - *Uchinaanchu*[17].

[17] 「ウチナーンチュ（沖縄人）」

This term literally means “person from Okinawa” in the Okinawan language, known as *Uchinaaguchi* [18]- the language is a Japonic language, meaning Okinawan and Japanese are in the same language family. There are two different native languages spoken in Okinawa, Uchinaaguchi (Shuri-Naha) being spoken in the southern half, the Nakijin (Kunigami) being spoken in the northern half, and according to UNESCO speakers currently number 400,000 (Mie 2012). Byron Fija, an *Uchinaaguchi* language teacher in Okinawa, specifies that this is not a dialect subordinate to Japanese, but rather an independent language because Okinawan has various morphological, phonological, and lexical aspects different from Japanese. If two related dialects can be more or less understood, they are one language; if not, then these are distinct (How a Dialect Differs from a Language 2014). In the case of the Okinawan language, the Mie article states “*Uchinaaguchi* is for the most part completely unintelligible to most Japanese”. As a result of Japanese assimilation procedures in which Okinawan children were told their language is ‘backward’, a ‘dialect’ of Japanese, and ridiculed for using it, the Okinawan language became endangered. Because of this prejudice, language usage became a tool for demoting the Okinawans and their culture within Japanese society (Mie 2012). In using the word in the native Okinawan language, Liberty Osaka is firmly making a statement supporting the Okinawans in their efforts to recover their culture, and critiquing the government’s insensitivity in assimilating them.

This discussion on the Okinawan language is not necessarily unimportant to this issue - the intolerance of a different language, culture, custom from the main Japanese language, culture, and customs is another example in which the Okinawans have suffered. This is another

[18] 「沖縄口/ウチナーグチ」

outcome of colonialism, but the efforts of Okinawans today to recover their language with the support of the international group UNESCO attest to their strength as a people.

Missing: Economic Consequences

Missing from Liberty Osaka's discussion of intolerance is the stagnating Okinawan economy, which reveals more about Okinawa's dependency on the mainland. Agriculture and food production are a huge source of revenue for the islands, mainly through sugar production, fishing, and farming. However, the bases occupy large swathes of land, 20% of the total land area and 40% of land that could have been used for farming (Yokota 2001). This imposition robs the Okinawans of a means by which to provide for themselves, and therefore they must find other ways in which to sustain themselves and their families. In Okinawa, tourism is one of the main industries because of the natural beauty of the islands, while the other major industry is the service sector that sprung up around the military bases. However, there has been a marked decrease in reliance on the bases for revenue, made possible through the plans for returning land to Okinawa. However, their economy has become heavily reliant on these various sources, and without a regulated economic system in which Okinawa can not just export, but also import and trade, Okinawa is unable to develop and grow.

Liberty Osaka's omission of the impact of the bases on the economy, arguably also an important variable in the success of the prefecture, shows the museum's considerations of their audience. In focusing on the bases as an international issue, this draws more attention and creates pressure on the Japanese government, much more than a domestic issue would. The international community can spotlight this issue and together with Japanese social movements, can pressure the Japanese government into addressing these issues in a way that benefits the Okinawans. This same tactic cannot work with domestic conflicts like the economy or societal prejudices, which

could explain this omission. These domestic issues are hard to address and implement changes with, because the museum has no money nor the political influence to change the structure of society.

Conclusion

Okinawa has a myriad of difficulties to solve, and Liberty Osaka asserts that the bases are foremost a huge problem in Okinawa, rather than a solution to their security. In various ways, the Japanese government has shown through economics, society, culture, and the bases that they do not view Okinawans as equal. The government still has much to do to change their attitude toward Okinawans; one place to start would be the bases. Because of problems arising due to these bases, plans were put forth to move them elsewhere, from Futenma to Henoko; however, Henoko has an endangered sea life, and therefore locals are opposed to it. Okinawa has been involved in talks with Japan and the U.S.; as of March 4, 2016 President Abe agreed to an out-of-court settlement for three lawsuits, and this required Abe to discontinue land reclamation off of Henoko, though a final decision on whether the project will continue remains to be decided (Yamaguchi 2016).

From Liberty Osaka's passage, the quotes "Okinawa's American military bases have continued to be used through the renewal of the Treaty of Mutual Cooperation and Security without the consent of Okinawans", "today 74% of the American military bases in Japan are on the islands of Okinawa", indicate an indifference as to what the Okinawans want - this intolerance toward a group deemed different from the mainland is entrenched within Japan, affecting not only Okinawans, but all other minorities within Japan. This lack of responsibility for the Okinawans' situation, as well as the dispossession of Okinawan land, is an example of inequality - the entirety of Japan receives equal protection, while the burden in exchange for this

protection is unequally distributed. The idea of homogeneity and the Japanese as being superior over others perpetuates “equality without sameness”, which in turn is holding back Japan from fulfilling its duties to its people.

The bases are not the only important aspect of Okinawa - the state of the culture of Okinawa directly affects the disposition of the natives toward Japan and America. There is no discussion by Liberty Osaka of Okinawan traditions or cultural revival. In focusing on issues related to the base, and not addressing the societal aspects that contribute to discrimination, Liberty Osaka is directing the readers toward international events and effectively covering up domestic issues that are equally important. Liberty Osaka limits themselves through their analysis of discrimination of Okinawans by only discussing issues relevant to the bases, thereby weakening the Okinawan stance to a certain extent. While this omission could be due to limited space in the information sheet, as well as the motive to draw international support, government intervention could be the biggest influence on the government’s choice of topic and breadth of knowledge. Eliminating important issues of social discrimination, as well as the economic difficulties Okinawa faces today show how the museum is covering up those topics that might offend the government’s sense of what is “appropriate”. In doing so, the museum sacrifices the smaller, yet equally important issues affecting the Okinawan people, as well as their own efficacy as a human rights museum.

In the following chapter, Liberty Osaka discusses the peoples inhabiting the northernmost territory of Japan. These people are the Ainu, and they are the indigenous peoples of Ezo, in what is now Hokkaido. Just as the Okinawans were taken over and molded into Japanese citizens, so the Ainu were assimilated and accepted as Japanese. However, though they may be legally Japanese, the difference in treatment of these groups is startlingly different from what a

‘normal Japanese’ from the mainland would receive. I will discuss how Liberty Osaka presents discrimination against Ainu and refusal to grant Ainu their indigenous rights, as well as the legal issues regarding their indigenous status.

Chapter 3: Ainu - Indigenous People of Hokkaido

In the northern island of Hokkaido, there used to be a ceremony known as *iyomante,* or the bear ceremony, which celebrated the life of this great creature. Each year, when this ritual was practiced, a bear cub was sacrificed to allow the spirit of the bear to be released. The people who performed this ceremony are commonly called Ainu, which means “human”, although they prefer being called Utari, meaning “our people” or “comrade” in the Ainu language. The Ainu are the indigenous people of Hokkaido in Japan. The Ainu flag is designed in 1973 by Mr. Bikki Sunazawa - the cerulean blue stands for sky and sea, white for snow and red for arrow, which is running in the snow beneath Hokkaido's sky. This flag is representative of the Ainu’s animist beliefs - they believe that everything in nature has a god, called *kamuy* in the Ainu language (Ainu). Today, although many Ainu still remain in Hokkaido, they have moved to various places across Japan. By spreading themselves and their culture throughout Japan, Ainu and the issues of discrimination are not restricted to one area anymore - in this way, they have brought their situation to the attention of international groups like the UN, and they intend to change how society views and treats them. From this passage on Ainu, I can see that the museum does a fair job at discussing important human rights issues affecting the Ainu people today, as well as recognizing the Japanese government’s failure to adequately address these issues in policy-making. However, Liberty Osaka’s statement suffers from a lack of detail on the origins of said issues, and only covers a surface understanding of the issues plaguing Ainu today. I study the legislation surrounding these Ainu issues, and I have found that despite the detail provided on these policies, certain omissions create a misrepresentation of the Ainu issue, and does not completely carry out Liberty Osaka’s spirit and mission.

In this Ainu fact sheet provided with the exhibit, Liberty Osaka criticizes the Japanese policies created to resolve the Ainu issue as being insufficient to address all of the issues. Below is the sheet into English in its entirety:

> **Japan's Indigenous People - Ainu**
>
> In June of 2008, the Resolution on Recognition of Ainu as Indigenous People was unanimously adopted by the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors, and the Chief Cabinet Secretary [Nobutaka Machimura] made an announcement reiterating the same points. Up until now, even though the Japanese government has recognized the Ainu people as one of the few minorities, it had not recognized them as indigenous people, therefore this resolution was reported as a groundbreaking event. The reason why the Japanese government did not recognize the Ainu as an indigenous group is because there was concern that this would raise the problem of guaranteeing rights.
>
> Then, what is considered to be indigenous rights? In the 2007 UN General Assembly, the Japanese government supported the adoption of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Also known as the "Constitution of Aborigines Around the World", the declaration is composed of these following elements:
>
> 1) the right to self-determination
> 2) the right to pass on and to revive culture
> 3) the right to land and resources
> 4) the right to compensation for past land/resource appropriation
>
> In Japan, the Ainu Culture Promotion Act came into force in 1997. However, compared to the UN Declaration, it leaves many issues unresolved.[19]

Within this paragraph, Liberty Osaka emphasizes the laws regarding Ainu, arguing that the current laws as they stand are unable to resolve the Ainu situation. Liberty Osaka highlights the government policies as well as rights afforded to Ainu during this time. In this passage, Liberty Osaka begins by discussing the Ainu history from 2008 onward, describing more recent events. However, to put the Ainu situation into context, I will provide a brief history of the relationship between the Japanese government and Ainu. Then, I illustrate the disconnect between Liberty Osaka's mission versus the written passage through discussions of the Japanese government's response to this Ainu issue; next, I look at the implications behind naming Ainu as indigenous, and finally I consider the rights and protections Ainu are given today.

[19] All English translations are my own.

History

Japan entered Ezo (the ancient name for Hokkaido) and opened settlements there from 1200-1870, with trade being developed between the Ainu and 'Wajin', or Japanese, for a time - though this period was characterized by warfare, their interactions were mainly economic, rather than political. However, in response to a perceived Russian threat to Ezo, Ezo was formally incorporated into the Japanese empire as Hokkaido in 1869 (Weiner 1997, 21-23). Though there had been much indecision on whether to treat Ainu as Japanese or not in the past, when the Hokkaido Protection Act of 1899 came into being Japan established the inferiority of the Ainu and put in place measures to assimilate them into Japanese culture, while still treating them differently (24). This policy denied Ainu their culture, language, clothes, hairstyle, etc. The Ainu lost the ability to provide for themselves when Japan took over in 1869 and began developing their lands, meaning that their main industries of fishing, hunting, and farming became impossible to sustain. They became reliant on assistance from the Japanese government to even survive (Goodman and Neary 1996, 58). They were incorporated into the Japanese "nation", an idea used to unite all peoples within pre-World War II Japan; yet socially, Ainu (as well as other minorities) were still being treated differently. Beginning in 1901, Ainu received separate treatment in education - Japanese were in school for 6 years, while Ainu were only taught for 4 years. The subjects were all 'practical', such as ethics, math, Japanese and sewing. Subjects such as geography, science, and history were not offered. It was not until 1920 that Ainu schools were integrated with other Japanese schools (Siddle 1996, 19). Additionally, Ainu had been discriminated against and their culture viewed as primitive, and therefore for tourist purposes were unfit to be presented as a representative of Japan. In guide books for tourists in the 1930s,

Ainu history was totally absent from Japan's "three thousand years of history" (Hudson et al. 2014, 53).

The traditional stereotypes of Ainu as "short, stocky, hairy", primitive peoples who were 'dying out' directly influenced how mass media and the ordinary Japanese person saw Ainu (Caprio 2009, 63). It has been said that characterizing the 'peripheral peoples' as inferior was central to forming Japanese identity, as these groups were used to define what the 'Japanese people' were not (Goodman and Neary 1996, 57). However, the reason the Ainu came to lose their identity was due to the fact that Japan needed a united front to face the Western powers - they began a national campaign to unite the country as "Japanese" (Siddle 1996, 12). Therefore, when the Japanese government incorporated the Ainu into Japan, it was thought that their individuality had to be suppressed for the good of the nation - this resulted in many assimilation policies during the late 1880s. In 1878, they were designated as "kyudojin", meaning former natives, which stripped them of their ethnicity (Caprio 2009, 63). Additionally, other visible markers of Ainu ethnicity were banned, such as their tattoos, earrings, the observance of their religion, and so on. After these markers were banned and with little to distinguish them from mainlanders, they still could not blend in - people began to discriminate based on if someone possessed facial features of an Ainu, which could apply to some Japanese as well as Ainu. Although Ainu were subject to social discrimination because of their differences, they were still treated legally as Japanese citizens. They were expected to pay taxes, obey civil and criminal laws, and were subject to conscription in the Japanese army. Yet Ainu are still impoverished; land given to them by the Protection Act was too small and infertile, and so many families do odd jobs far away at fisheries, forestry, or construction (Hudson et al. 2014, 57). Currently, without rights and initiatives supporting Ainu, Ainu are at a disadvantage when compared to

ordinary Japanese. The Ainu receive welfare payments at 2.3% more than the rest of Hokkaido, and educational advancement among Ainu is on average 16%-20% lower than Hokkaido as a whole (Siddle 1996, 45-46).

The Japanese government has made limited progress in recognizing and aiding Ainu social development. They have not been responsible for starting any kind of organization for aiding the Ainu. Instead, an ethnic revival in the 1960s led to the creation of many grassroots Ainu organizations and associations that currently work for equality and rights for Ainu, which was boosted by the 2008 recognition of Ainu. Organizations such as the Ainu Association of Hokkaido (Utari Kyokai) works toward improving culture and social status of Ainu through job development, education, and loans (What is the Ainu Association of Hokkaido?). Others like the Tokyo Ainu Association, the Society for Study of Ainu Issues, Young Utari Society, and the Ainu Liberation League[20] are all important tools for unifying Ainu people to change the current social landscape (Weiner 1997, 31). The Ainu are exhorted to "come to terms with and take pride in themselves", and make sure that their culture and their people survive (Hudson et al. 2014, 95). These groups and organizations are all created by the people; however, for the government, their main contribution is to change policies regarding Ainu, by introducing laws like the Ainu Culture Promotion Act, and abolishing others, like the Hokkaido Protection Act of 1899. Yet, this is simply a law - they have not contributed substantively to Ainu social development.

The history and background provided have set the stage for Liberty Osaka's presentation. As these other scholars create the landscape and describe how it came to be, Liberty Osaka's presentation molds visitors' understanding of these issues. From Liberty Osaka's text on Ainu, I

[20] Tokyo Utari Kai, Ainu Mondai Kenkyukai, Peure Utari no Kai, Ainu Kaiho Domei

believe Liberty Osaka's motives are to illustrate the extent to which the Japanese government needs to improve on its laws regarding Ainu. However, the ways in which it discusses these laws misrepresent the Japanese government's attitude as supportive toward Ainu, which may give visitors an erroneous impression as more supportive and constructive than is the case in reality. In the following paragraphs, I will analyze Liberty Osaka's text, and argue that their omissions are counterproductive to the museum's overall goal.

Japanese Government's Response

Liberty Osaka describes the Japanese government's attitude toward Ainu as well-intentioned, yet with room for improvement. Government laws and media announcements lauding the Japanese government's acceptance of their 'indigenous people' are good for publicity, but where are the policies and laws promoting acceptance for Ainu? The acceptance of the Ainu is only surface-deep, and does not change the structural intolerance toward minorities within Japan.

Liberty Osaka's Ainu narrative disregards the government denial of Ainu existence, an action which is ineffective in advancing the Ainu cause. The first sentence of the Ainu section of the Liberty Osaka handout addresses the unanimous acceptance by both houses of the Japanese Parliament, creating the impression that the Japanese government sincerely wishes to give Ainu the recognition and rights they deserve as indigenous peoples, as well as Japanese citizens. This presentation by Liberty Osaka of this Resolution on the Rights of Indigenous People[21] is certainly improvement toward promoting Ainu rights, but the resolution is not necessarily as substantial as it looks. Though the museum rightly presents it as an important step, calling it a

[21] 「アイヌ民族を先住民族とすることを求める決議」

'groundbreaking event'[22] seems to over-exaggerate the government's contribution - this looks to be another example of the museum overcompensating in its tactic to placate the nationalist Japanese groups to protect the museum. This is a noble, but ultimately debilitating move for Ainu rights; by creating this image around the government's work for Ainu, it seems to remove some of the responsibility from them, rather than encourage the government to do more.

Had Liberty Osaka included previous government refusals to recognize Ainu, the image presented would be very different. This point is therefore important, because a perspective that is not in line with Liberty Osaka's mission seems to convey a confusion within the museum on their opinions on this topic. The official view before 1980 was that 'minorities do not exist in Japan' (Weiner 1997, 40). An official denial of Ainu's existence is made by Prime Minister Nakasone in 1986, that "Japan is a racially homogeneous nation and there is no discrimination against ethnic minorities with Japanese citizenship" (Rice 2008). This statement effectively denies that Ainu people exist, which angered Ainu activists and ordinary Ainu alike, Richard Siddle corroborates this, saying "this denial of their existence aroused much resentment among Ainu of all generations" (Weiner 1997, 29). These events all present the government as the enemy, as the biggest offender against Ainu human rights. As these portrayals are omitted, it is easy to see how this presentation would be a result of the threat of government intervention.

Liberty Osaka's lukewarm critique of the Japanese government's discriminatory policies toward Ainu weakens their official position as a defender of human rights. They acknowledge "issues that have been left off", such as protection from discrimination in jobs, marriage, and others characterize the Japanese government's weakness in policy-making for Ainu issues. However, Liberty Osaka only covers the surface issues of legal recognition that affect the Ainu -

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[22].「... 画期的な出来事として報道された。」

they do not delve deeper into the social discrimination prevalent throughout Japanese society against Ainu, nor are they critical of the Japanese government for their weak policies in this regard. Although it tries to fulfill all its duties as a human rights museum, in only discussing the most benign of these topics and avoiding controversial issues, the museum severely hampers its own analysis.

Ainu Legislation

Liberty Osaka's discussion of Ainu legislation reveals both the government's actions and inactions. The museum's presentation shows the limits of the Resolution on the Ainu as Indigenous People's influence, as well as how the Ainu Culture Promotion Act is lacking in scope and depth. There are several laws and declarations mentioned throughout the text using international organizations to better support claims, as well as create pressure on the Japanese government. Yet, the international community cannot enforce, and can only use words and diplomatic channels to encourage the Japanese government to adopt international norms regarding treatment of indigenous groups. As the Japanese control the extent to which these norms are implemented, this explains the half-hearted attempts made to improve living situations for Ainu.

Liberty Osaka's reference to this Resolution on Recognition of Ainu as Indigenous People reveals how the effects from this resolution fall short of expectations of all Ainu being given complete recognition and freedom to practice their culture. In this 2008 resolution the Diet (Japanese Parliament) officially recognized the Ainu as indigenous and recognizes their existence, which had been problematic up until this point. Yet, as a resolution, similar to United Nations resolutions, it politically constrains the government, but is legally non-binding (Beauchamp 1998). As a declaration, it has no legal or binding power. However, it is a powerful

document for supporting international norms. International norms are informal conventions that become powerful when more and more states practice these norms, and if enough states show their support these norms can eventually become law. This resolution now meant that the Ainu were protected under the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People[23]. As Japan is a supporter of this declaration, they are expected to carry out the spirit of the declaration in domestic and international relations. However, though the Resolution is a good starting point for human rights progress in Japan, the fact that it is not legally binding or enforceable means it is difficult to force the government to honor this resolution, and be held accountable.

Liberty Osaka's emphasis on recognition forces the Ainu issue onto Japan's international agenda. Liberty Osaka states that "the reason why the Japanese government did not recognize the Ainu as an indigenous group is because there was concern that this would raise the problem of guaranteeing rights",[24] meaning that according to the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People the Japanese government would have been obligated to grant such rights. The UN Human Rights Committee evaluates the progress the country makes through its reports. Japan cannot just give this statement, and not follow through - yet, Ainu still do not have all their legal rights, nor are they treated fairly within society today. The continued discrimination against Ainu becomes problematic as Japan moves around in international circles. Japan must show that it is making progress on these human rights issues, as according to the UN Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination they are scheduled to host the 2020 Olympic and Paralympic Games. These Games are important for Japan's prestige and status in the international community, since by hosting these Games they bring people from all over the world

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[23] 「先住民族の権利に関する国連宣言」

[24] 「日本政府がアイヌ民族を先住民族と認めてこなかったのは、権利保障の問題が浮上することを懸念したからだといわれている。」

to Japan, significantly boosting tourism and trade. The mission statement of the Games stipulates that 'any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on the grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise was incompatible with belonging to the Olympic movement' (Kemal 2014). Therefore, since the UN watches carefully to ensure that the environment is safe and welcoming for people from all areas of the globe, making certain discrimination is eliminated or in the process of being eliminated is important.

There was also concern that this recognition would come with a push for indigenous rights, and thus this recognition was delayed. From the language of the passage by Liberty Osaka, the "concern that this would raise the problem of guaranteeing rights" represents the Japanese government's motive for avoiding this responsibility - by granting rights, their own complicity in denying Ainu their rights and land cannot be avoided. By recognizing the Ainu as indigenous, this makes the Japanese takeover of 'empty land' illegitimate (Weiner 1997, 23). Furthermore, this recognition threatens "comfortable beliefs in a seamless and harmonious homogeneity" of the Japanese as one people (Siddle 1996, 169). Another reason for this delay is explained as a fear of "what the Ainu would demand if recognized… referring to possible calls for the return of land or natural resources" (Ito 2008). Therefore, the statement of recognition by the Prime Minister cannot be taken lightly - it must be seen as a carefully calculated plan of action toward the Ainu from this point forward. Yet, the substantive value of this recognition is debatable, since a resolution is not legally binding. Therefore, though these words and statements are good as mechanisms for holding governments and officials accountable for their actions, this is not enough to force Japan to substantially change their attitude toward minorities.

Furthermore, Liberty Osaka's discussion of only the Ainu Culture Promotion Act as a legal instrument misrepresents the Japanese government's responsiveness toward Ainu. Liberty

Osaka briefly introduces other laws which directly affect the Ainu, but only the Ainu Culture Promotion Act is mentioned by name. By omitting these previous acts, Liberty Osaka does not help the reader understand the impact of the Ainu Culture Promotion Act, nor how it came to be. The reader would not know the Ainu Culture Promotion Act was not the first Act created for Ainu, but rather it repealed two previous discriminatory acts, and thus Liberty Osaka could lead the reader to the conclusion that the government is very responsive, and willing to help Ainu in any way possible. This Act's limitations and what it does not cover should be a focus to the museum's analysis, rather than an afterthought - the mention of what the Act lacks in the last sentence of the text is an attempt by the museum to criticize the government's actions. This act is a prime example of how the Japanese government is still unwilling to move forward as much as the Ainu, as well as the international community, demand. Out of obligation to those international instruments that Japan has supported, Japan should be fulfilling these commitments - yet, these laws protecting rights of their own people are not written into the structure of Japan's own laws, making this an effective form of window-dressing these topics. Having this Act gives Japan and the international community the false idea that the government is substantially helping Ainu recover and protect their culture, allowing the government to maintain the status quo domestically, while appearing to be a champion of human rights internationally.

Ainu Status

Liberty Osaka deliberately draws a distinction between minority and indigenous groups to highlight the discrimination inherent in the use of these categories to refer to Ainu. The heading of the Ainu text is Japan's Indigenous People: Ainu[25], which when expressed by Liberty Osaka becomes supportive, as the term indigenous used to be a politically charged phrase. This

[25] 日本の先住民族・アイヌ

word choice, of indigenous people rather than minority, is important because using this word to describe Ainu means Liberty Osaka acknowledges their claim as indigenous, and supports them in their endeavor to obtain rights as an indigenous people. Liberty Osaka uses the same definitions of minority and indigeneity as the Japanese government and the UN to clarify, as well as acknowledge the history behind Ainu peoples. According to the Japanese government, a minority is 'a group of nationals who ethnically, religiously or culturally differed from other nationals' (Siddle 1996, 179). An indigenous people has their own culture, language, tradition, and values that are distinct from those of the dominant societies in which they live (Indigenous Peoples). In classifying Ainu as a minority, the government took away this unique identity.

The word indigenous is significant to understanding Ainu because it allows Ainu to be perceived not simply as a Japanese minority, but as a community with history and culture behind them. Liberty Osaka's usage of "indigenous" attempts to accord them the respect they deserve. As indigenous, they lost much of their original culture from Japan's imperialist policies, and not giving them this word denies them their place in history. Liberty Osaka presents the Ainu as indigenous from the start to respect their identity as a people. The portion of their handout devoted to the Ainu states: "Up until now, even though the Japanese government has recognized the Ainu people as one of the few minorities, it had not recognized them as indigenous people, therefore this resolution was reported as a groundbreaking event".[26] The Japanese government's classification of Ainu as an indigenous people allows them to claim special protections and rights under the UN Declaration. Also, in acknowledging their status as indigenous, the Japanese government is tacitly admitting that they had taken over lands that previously belonged to Ainu.

[26] 「これまで日本政府はアイヌ民族を数数民とは認めても、先住民族とは認めてこなかったことから、画期的な出来事として報道された。」

Many of the government's legislation during this time can be said to be covering up their inadequacies in actually helping Ainu. The government asserted that there was no discrimination in Japan, since Ainu have all the rights of native Japanese. In 1973, the Welfare Minister Saito Kuniyoshi said "...we strictly adhere to the view that they are equal Japanese citizens under the law" (Siddle 1996, 170). Yet Ainu still face discriminatory acts and behaviors that ordinary Japanese citizen would not receive. By saying they are Japanese, the Japanese government grants them the same legal status, even when socially they are treated differently. Although they do not face the legal problems of Resident Koreans, they are still not allowed to exercise all of their rights as Japanese, should they claim their Ainu heritage. They are discriminated against mainly through employment opportunities and marriage, in which a company denies someone based on the fact that they are Ainu, while a marriage partner's family may reject the groom or bride because of their ancestry. Both are important social spheres that can shape a person. Many can pass as Japanese, but just like Resident Koreans, Ainu must forget their heritage and culture in order to be truly assimilated. Liberty Osaka has missed this opportunity to criticize the government's lack of commitment in its ineffectual policies to changing the experience of discrimination that affects many Ainu, and this omission of the long history within the Ainu movement also raises doubts on Liberty Osaka's commitment to enlightening the community on Ainu issues within society.

Ainu's Rights

Liberty Osaka's comparison of the Constitution of Aborigines Around the World with the Ainu Culture Promotion Act illustrates how Japan still needs to improve its legislation in this area. The museum compares the two laws, and shows what rights other indigenous groups have campaigned for: the right to self-determination, the right to pass on culture and to revive culture,

the right to land and resources, and the right to compensation for past land/resource appropriation. The "Constitution of Aborigines Around the World"[27], also known as the UN Declaration for the Rights of Indigenous People, is evaluated as an example of a non-binding document that has become a norm shared by indigenous peoples across the globe. The mention of such an internationally-known document illustrates the broad reach this particular issue has - Ainu are able to use their common experiences with other indigenous groups to bring their issue to the international community's attention, ensuring they will not be ignored.

Liberty Osaka's presentation of the Ainu Culture Promotion Act reveals the ineffectiveness of this Act in the lives of Ainu. The Ainu Culture Promotion Act[28] (1997), enacted by the Japanese government after intense international and domestic pressure, abolished the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Act (1899), which forced Ainu to hide their culture and assimilate. The Ainu Culture Promotion Act also engaged the Ainu community and pledged to promote and respect Ainu culture; however, many Ainu were dissatisfied with the outcome. The law did not mention indigenous rights, or anything addressing the economic/social disparity - the Act also promoted a very limited definition of cultural activity like language, music, dance, crafts, ignoring their traditional ceremonies, causing many Ainu to "feel betrayed" (Watson 2014, 85). This law still did not solve the problems Ainu face daily, like low household incomes, high numbers on welfare, lack of education, among others. Therefore, these laws are only surface-level effective, while underneath they are not addressing problems affecting Ainu livelihood. Since the Constitution of Aborigines Around the World is provided as a reference for what Japan's Ainu Culture Promotion Act should aspire to, does the Ainu Culture Promotion Act

[27] 「世界の先住民族の憲法」

[28] 「アイヌ文化振興法」

contain those criteria mentioned? If not, then how is this act beneficial to Japan's indigenous people? If these elements which make up crucial parts of an indigenous group's declaration of self-determination are missing, does that mean Ainu are denied all the indigenous rights they should have? Liberty Osaka's take is that the Ainu Culture Promotion Act does not include these elements, and therefore has much to improve. Yet, the museum does not describe how the Act should improve, or what specific areas require improvement.

The scope of the Ainu Culture Promotion Act is limited to Ainu in Hokkaido, showing how this law in reality does little for Ainu in Japan. In the Committee for Racial Discrimination (hereafter known as CERD) 2014 report, they found that there were some Ainu who were unprotected by these laws because they lived outside of Hokkaido (Kemal 2014). Most people believe that Ainu only live in Hokkaido - Mark Watson reports a Japanese man as saying "Ainu live in Tokyo? … If they're in Tokyo they're probably Japanese…", when in fact this assumption is unfounded (Watson 2014, 27). Therefore, those Ainu who have been moving from Hokkaido to mainland Japan for work since the end of WWII still do not have protections, and the Ainu Culture Promotion Act doesn't extend to them. This resolution did little to actually change the system in which Ainu exist in, and the law made from this pressure did not create the desired results of giving Ainu legal protection from discrimination that Ainu and other human rights activists had hoped for.

The lessons and examples of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People and the similar experiences of other indigenous groups have strongly influenced and supported Ainu efforts toward achieving similar results. They learned from their predecessors on how to obtain indigenous peoples' compensation and rights which have been previously denied them. As an example, consider the indigenous peoples of Australia. They had recognized their indigenous

groups from the start, but not given them rights. From the 1800s until 1993, the aboriginals had endured many injustices, from losing their land to having their children made to go to schools to eradicate their culture. In 1993, the Australian High Court granted aborigines their common law rights to lands (Aboriginal People). Japan has taken 139 years, starting from the Japanese colonization of Hokkaido, to recognize Ainu's status as indigenous. From this example, Japan should be preparing for the next logical step in making compensation for Ainu a priority. However, the law made by Japan to protect the Ainu culture still needs improvements, such as expanding to protect Ainu legally from employment and all other types of discrimination.

While Liberty Osaka clearly expresses their dissatisfaction with the effects of the Culture Promotion Act, the museum barely mentions the Japanese government's responsibility in these matters. By specifically mentioning these by name, Liberty Osaka is making the point that if the Ainu Culture Promotion Act cannot even guarantee those basic rights set out for protection of indigenous rights, then the Act is not effective. However, Liberty Osaka omits how the government is responsible for the causes which necessitate this Act, and their limited discussion of the legislation surrounding the Ainu issue hurts Liberty Osaka's motive to spread human rights awareness. They create a false representation of the government's true involvement and contributions for furthering the Ainu cause, which in reality impairs the Ainu movement's ability to continue fighting for their rights.

Conclusion

Liberty Osaka has presented an admirable picture of the Japanese government's relations with Ainu, as well as demonstrated the issues with current Ainu legislation such as the Ainu Culture Promotion Act. However, as shown through the analyses of the Ainu laws, status, and rights, I believe Liberty Osaka has shown a reluctance to fully criticize the Japanese government

and censure them. The prefectural and local Japanese governments were a few of the supporters who helped the museum financially, and Liberty Osaka may not want to draw negative attention from the government, for fear they might censor their exhibits in the future. There is no other explanation for disregarding the history of erasure of Ainu by the Japanese government. The government's censure of Liberty Osaka is not as complete as what was done to Peace Osaka, but there have been some effects - in eliminating these points, Liberty Osaka's discussion of the Ainu cause is weakened. In the museum's assessment of the Japanese response, they point out the various improvements they have made in helping Ainu regain their culture and identity through the Ainu Culture Promotion Act and the government's official recognition of Ainu. Although the government has recognized Ainu identity and allowed them to practice their culture, their immediate situation is still the same - they are still living on the edges of poverty, and discriminated against for their heritage. The laws made to 'protect' Ainu may simply be important for showing the international community that Japan sees this issue as critical, but not binding Japan to any decision or action. Liberty Osaka failed to discuss the social effects of such discriminatory acts caused by the government's assimilation policies, as well as the continuance of similar acts today.

Grassroots organizations led by Ainu are useful for rallying the splintered group to begin to take their future into their own hands, and combining with international instruments will be the decisive component that will actually make the government act - conversely, international instruments are also unable to act without a firm foundation on the ground. Therefore, social change in this Ainu issue requires domestic and international cooperation to persuade the Japanese government to act. As a result, the Ainu can be a model for other social movements who want to enact change within Japanese society. Challenges in human rights awareness for

Ainu also stem from Ainu themselves. Those Ainu who are passionate about recovering their heritage must rally support from those who are scared, or fear more discrimination than what they have been enduring. This other group of Ainu continues to suffer from the effects of assimilation practices over the years: fear of not assimilating fully, as well as a general fear of standing out has made many Ainu reject their heritage in favor of the safer "Japanese" identity. Their status as a discriminated population, their limited rights and representation, as well as the identity crisis they must accept, combine to form a more complete picture of the effects the Japanese relationship has had on the Ainu.

In the final chapter, the last group to be discussed are the Burakumin. The Burakumin are portrayed through the Buraku industries from the early modern period and the pre-war era instead of contemporary examples, which combine for a more optimistic, direct interpretation of Liberty Osaka's support. They, like the Ainu, are regarded as ethnic Japanese, but their experience is different from the other minorities since they are discriminated against not for their ethnicity or nationality, but for their occupation and place of residence.

Chapter 4: The Burakumin Experience

"You can't understand another person's experience until you've walked a mile in their shoes." This quote, variously attributed to Harper Lee (author of *To Kill a Mockingbird*) or to the poetess Mary T. Lathrap, is easy to understand: you cannot really understand the impact of some action, until you experience it yourself. This quote is characteristic of Liberty Osaka's approach to the topic of Burakumin, which they discuss through Buraku industries from the modern period. They discuss Buraku industries instead of Buraku more directly in order to demonstrate how they contribute as members of Japanese society. A Burakumin is someone who is discriminated against because of their alleged status as descendants the Edo-period *eta* caste. They are identified through their association to previous *eta* residences, occupations, or relations to other suspected *burakumin*.

Liberty Osaka discusses these Buraku industries to show another side of Burakumin, presenting them as industrious, innovative, and active participants in Japanese society as a contrast to their treatment today. This could be interpreted as diverting attention from issues of discrimination, which does nothing for the anti-discrimination movement and covers up government responsibility. However, I believe that the museum's portrayal is a welcome contrast to the previously fierce human rights debates and protests. Burakumin have been the most vocal in their calls for human rights and equality for those discriminated against, and this can be taken to be too overtly antagonistic or condemnatory, alienating the general Japanese public. Liberty Osaka's discussion of past Buraku contributions to Japan redefines Burakumin for visitors, and further adds to understanding of Buraku overall. This approach is more relatable for people of all ages, which is important since this museum is an educational tool for students as well. By

emphasizing Buraku contributions to Japan in the past, instead of the sufferings which Burakumin continue to endure today, Liberty Osaka shifts the focus back to the people. They show why the Burakumin should be lauded, instead of simply telling visitors to respect them. I study how these Buraku industries add to public understanding of Burakumin, and show that Liberty Osaka's acclamation of Buraku industries places agency and power back with Burakumin themselves, demonstrating to the world why they deserve recognition and respect.

In the Burakumin handout that was provided to supplement the exhibit, Liberty Osaka gives a detailed background of Buraku industries in the past, and highlights their contributions to Japanese culture and society. The contents of this handout, translated into English in its entirety below, are as follows:

> **Burakumin**
>
> If one were to speak of the industries by which Buraku people support themselves, the foremost industries called to mind are possibly leather, leather-made goods, and the like. The Naniwa [29]area of Osaka in early modern times [roughly 1600-1868] was called Watanabe village, and it was known nationwide for its leather and taiko [drum]-making. Its trade partners were not limited only to suburbs of Osaka, but extended to the entirety of western Japan, and there were wealthy merchants who were able to establish an enormous fortune through the leather and taiko trade, much like the middle palace guards of old. This tradition continues today, and even now there are still four taiko establishments in the region.
>
> In addition to such industries from early modern times, with the leather industry which began long ago as a basis, new jobs arose in accordance with the demands of the modern era, such as shoemaking and glove-making, as well as jobs having to do with meat. In modern times, as Western-style shoes entered Japan, the Buraku who had skills in leatherwork were the first to make shoes, and gloves were made by applying the techniques of shoe-making.
>
> Similarly, there were those who put time and effort into manufacturing and selling products made with straw, cloth and other comparatively easily available materials. Within local Buraku in Osaka, in the modern era they made things like Japanese sandals, rice baskets, and brooms made of straw, as well as dusters made out of old clothing and scraps of cloth. Around the year 1930, these central industries reached the point of prosperity, and subsequently in the chaotic period of the middle and end of the war these industries became very prosperous. At its peak, 70% to 80% of people within the region were pursuing such jobs.

[29] [the old name for the old outcaste area in Osaka]

> On the other hand, there were also industries such as Izumi glass that became prosperous from the modern era onward. Buraku of Izumi that became engaged in glass making had made leather-soled sandals in early modern times, so glass-making was an occupation that had no direct connection to their livelihoods in the early modern period. In neighboring villages, glass-bead making got its start as a secondary occupation to agriculture, and gradually the Buraku also came to have glass-making as an occupation, and they further developed glass craftsmanship and the making of man-made pearls.
>
> The wire drawing, etc that flourished in Sennan is also an industry that was not limited to the Buraku. However, the Buraku people who went to work in newly established factories in the suburbs were the ones who began this work by returning to the region and setting up such machines in their barns. Therefore, one cannot say that wire drawing is strictly a Buraku industry, but it is said that the majority of the region was engaged in the wire drawing industry in various ways, for example by manufacturers who would melt down and recycle scrap wire that could not be sold by the wire drawing factories in the vicinity of the Buraku. In this sense, for Sennan Buraku, this wire drawing profession is without a doubt an industry that sustained the Buraku people's livelihoods.
>
> It's said, "No matter what kind of work it is, look at the master and teacher, and watch and learn by example." In the process one will accumulate a variety of ideas. Many Buraku industries were sustained in this way.[30]

These paragraphs describe how these industries were very important to Japan as a whole, demonstrating that the Burakumin were not simply associated with impurity or death. The passage acknowledges their service to society instead of focusing on criticisms and condemnations toward the government, as has been the case within earlier chapters. Language such as "middle palace guards of old" reference the wealth possessed by those who attained such positions in the Emperor's guard. Other phrases referencing the skilled "taiko establishments" still in the region, as well as the Burakumin's innovative thinking in being the "first to make shoes" from leather, speak to Liberty Osaka's praise for the Burakumin. In addition, the descriptions of the "central industries" of cloth and straw, the "glass craftsmanship", and wire-drawing as a way of purification are clear acknowledgements of Buraku expertise. Liberty Osaka's analysis has the power to change perspectives, while also inviting reflection on these issues. These points will be presented in the following manner: first, I will present a history of

[30] All English translations are my own.

Burakumin, of how they came to be Burakumin as well as where they are today. Then, I will show how Liberty Osaka invites a more positive viewpoint by looking at various Buraku industries from the modern period: first at the leather and taiko industries which Burakumin are known for; next, I will consider what Liberty Osaka discusses as central industries; third, I will consider Buraku art; and lastly, I discuss the significance of wire drawing in the Burakumin narrative.

History

Historically, Burakumin faced intense discrimination supposedly derived from their descent from the *eta* outcaste group. The term *buraku* technically means village, but it is stigmatized in certain areas to represent the poorer locales with Buraku - specifically areas with leather and tanning factories. In the Edo period, Burakumin in society were treated as lepers; anything they did was considered to be 'impure' because as *eta*, they handled jobs perceived, in Shinto religion, as dirty - butchering, leather tanning, leatherworking, tomb care-taking, footgear manufacturing and sweeping, shrine janitors, mountain/water/fire guard, and police work (Cangià 2013, 38-39). Though that caste was abolished in 1869 with the Meiji Restoration, current Buraku communities are supposedly areas where *eta* used to live, and so by association they are considered descendants of members of this caste. These areas are spread throughout Japan, although the discrimination is said to be most prevalent in western Japan, specifically Osaka, Kyoto, Hyogo, and Hiroshima. Yet, it is a fact that since the modern era of globalization and migration throughout Japan, immigrants and poorer individuals have moved into these places. Furthermore, as immigrants move in, these previously Buraku industries also became more multicultural, with many workers having no previous Buraku connections or ancestry. Nowadays, Burakumin may still live in poorer areas, and may still have connections to leather,

glass, or other such Buraku industries - however, this is not as prevalent as before. Yet, even with globalization and this influx of foreign workers, people will assume they are all 'impure', and call them Burakumin. Therefore, Burakumin are defined and identified today simply by association with the outcastes of previous eras.

The Buraku community today is divided between those who adopt an activist stance through the Buraku Liberation League (BLL), and others who are afraid to invite discrimination and would rather 'pass' as normal Japanese, never acknowledging their shared history. The Buraku Liberation League has been the largest, most vociferous and most effective human rights organization in post-war Japan. It can trace its origins back to a pre-war mass movement, the Suiheisha,[31] and its motives are to mobilize opposition to discrimination; and to demand that central and local governments provide resources to improve the living conditions of Burakumin (Goodman and Neary 1996, 12). Their mission is to allow Burakumin to live a life free of discrimination *and* claim their Buraku identity, rather than choosing one over the other. Those who want to stay invisible have moved away from Buraku communities and blended in with other Japanese. They can attend schools, get jobs, and marry whomever they like without fear of discovery. However, the caveat is that they must surrender their Buraku identity (Hankins 2014, 13). The BLL's goal of helping all Burakumin to be Buraku without repercussions has been complicated by structural discrimination, which is still strong within Japan, as well as the disharmony within the Burakumin themselves. Thus, it is impossible for Burakumin to live a life free of discrimination while also being Burakumin.

[31]The Suiheisha, meaning the Leveler's movement, was a grassroots social movement operating from 1922-1942, and they fought for the elimination of all discrimination against burakumin in society - they proudly acknowledged their *eta* heritage, Their main method was to use *kyudan*, meaning public denouncement, of anyone who advocated for or was thought to discriminate against former outcastes. They were disbanded when World War II broke out, but after the war they became the BLL (Amos 44-45).

In 1969, the government instituted certain measures, called the Special Measures laws, to change the living situation of Burakumin. Previously, their environment was very poor and possessed little infrastructure. With these Special Measures, financial aid was given for renovating living quarters, creating schools, stores, and other necessities within these previously avoided communities. Furthermore, the government, under pressure from Buraku groups, passed laws in 1976 banning third parties from looking up family registries. In the modern era before World War II, many families would check if their daughter or son's fiance was a Burakumin by looking at these registries - this facilitated discrimination against these people. Though this need still exists, after the law passed it became harder to check, and to discriminate. However, these measures, though helpful in the short term, did little to ensure that the underlying discriminatory attitude toward Burakumin was abolished - rather, it only hid it from the public eye. As described above, people can still discriminate on the basis of affiliation with Buraku residential communities or occupations.

Although the Burakumin of today may not have to deal with the complete ostracization experienced by the *eta* in the Edo period, there are still areas in which Burakumin are more likely to be discriminated against than normal Japanese. The Buraku issue of today therefore has two components: the Burakumin split on living as Buraku, as well as the structural and governmental prejudice toward them. Within the Buraku community, this lack of cohesion causes loss of self-confidence and self-esteem by forcing them to hide their Buraku identity because of discrimination. This is also a political problem, because if they do not identify as Buraku, the BLL and other Buraku organizations are unable to mobilize them to change the existing social structure. The prejudice toward them that has been embedded within social and government structures perpetuates the cycle, and ensures the cycle continues.

From this background of constant prejudice and limitation, Burakumin have suffered much. Instead of approaching these issues, Liberty Osaka chooses to discuss Buraku industries of old. Though this choice of subject may seem odd, yet considering the breadth of knowledge the museum possesses as a result of Liberty Osaka's early focus on Buraku rights, this choice makes sense. Combined with the BLL's history of violence in its denunciation campaigns, in which their image has been tarnished, this reconfiguration of the Burakumin image seems to be a wise choice. Describing Burakumin through another sphere avoids this contrast, while allowing visitors to understand and empathize with a group of Japanese who are not fully understood by non-minority Japanese.

Industries of Buraku and Liberty Osaka's Analysis

Liberty Osaka's handout describes in an informative and inspiring way how Buraku industries such as leather, cloth, straw, glass, and wire-drawing were conducted in the early modern and modern eras. This description evokes the Japanese concept of *monozukuri* which refers to the skills, spirit and pride in the ability to make and create things. Ideas such as *monozukuri* were "...employed in various contexts besides Kinegawa [a town known for leather and oil factories] (e.g. drum craftsmanship in Naniwa, meat-packing in Shinagawa)" (Cangià 2013, 200). Certainly through Liberty Osaka's portrayal of these industries, it is easy to make the connection between *monozukuri* and Buraku industries, as the industries are described in ways that suggest the Burakumin possess skill and pride in their abilities, such as their "glass craftsmanship", and how they possess "skill in leatherworking". Liberty Osaka wants to make it clear that since Burakumin are also Japanese, they should also be recognized and respected for their talents.

Leather and Taiko

Many people describe this group as poor and uncivilized, but Liberty Osaka presents the Buraku of Watanabe village as essential to the Japanese economy in the early modern period. This is shown by the example provided in *Case Studies on Human Rights* by Roger Goodman and Ian Neary, where the authors bring up the improvement schemes and financial incentives put in place to help Buraku communities as evidence of the difficulties they have in providing for themselves (Goodman and Neary 1996, 12). Although these authors present this group as uncivilized, Liberty Osaka proves otherwise: instead, the museum focuses on the prestige of the Naniwa area [old name for Osaka] in the leather and taiko trade, demonstrating that Burakumin are not always synonymous with poverty, although that is the stereotype. The first sentence of the Liberty Osaka handout includes the phrase "...the industries by which Buraku people support themselves..." to show that Burakumin are capable of sustaining themselves without help, fulfilling one of Liberty Osaka's goals of showcasing Burakumin agency. The text states that there was a location in Osaka "...called Watanabe village, and it was known nationwide for its leather and taiko-making",[32] and its trade partners "extended to the entirety of western Japan",[33] acknowledging their professionalism and expertise in these industries. Liberty Osaka praises Burakumin for the wealth and culture they brought to Japan by way of these industries in this early modern period, which is not widely known or recognized. Historically, because of discrimination toward Burakumin, even though their goods were popular and their occupations were stable, they were still not respected for their work, and were instead shunned. This is the attitude Liberty Osaka wants to change. Furthermore, the following sentence states that "...there were wealthy merchants who were able to establish an enormous fortune through the leather and

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[32] 「…近世には渡辺村といわれ、皮革・太鼓づくりで全国的に知られていた。」

[33] 「…西日本に一帯にまで及んでおり…」

taiko trade, much like the middle palace guards of old",[34] clearly demonstrating the successes of Burakumin in these occupations amidst prejudice, as well as their important contributions to Japanese society. The term "middle palace guards" raises their prestige, because these court guards were minor nobility who were responsible for protecting the innermost gates to the royal palace, and guarding the emperor and his household (Friday 1992, 30).

Burakumin were essential in helping Japan transition into the modern era through producing Western-style leather goods. Liberty Osaka illustrates how leather was used in various ways throughout the ages: "in modern times, as Western-style shoes entered Japan, the Buraku who had skills in leatherwork were the first to make shoes, and gloves were made by applying the techniques of shoe-making",[35] demonstrating their skill. Furthermore, in specifying that they were the first to make shoes, Liberty Osaka is attributing these modern styles to Burakumin, asserting that the Burakumin were directly involved in changing the culture of Japan toward modern, Western-style dress. These two items, shoes and gloves, are practical, and the care with which the Burakumin treat leather is certainly applied to these two products as well. Their adaptability and willingness to try new things cements the staying power of the leather industry, therefore ensuring the livelihoods of many.

Liberty Osaka's portrayal of Burakumin contradicts the conventional understanding of Burakumin leatherwork as low-caste and unworthy of respect. The traditional view of leatherwork is described below by Joseph Hankins, who describes "the steps of tanning - hair removal, scudding, deliming, tanning, and stacking…", as repetitive, foul-smelling, and dangerous (Hankins 2014, 53). This smell then becomes associated with the Burakumin as a

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[34] 「…皮革・太鼓の取引でばく大な財をなした太鼓屋又兵衛のような豪商もいた。」

[35] 「近世以降の新しい需要に対応して行われるような仕事に靴づくりやグローブづくり、食肉に関わる仕事などがある。」

characteristic of the people, not just the industry. A Buraku town like Kinegawa, which has approximately 95 leather factories and 75 oil factories, is associated with notions of pollution and dirtiness. Children of this town are discriminated against or fear discrimination. One of these children, a 2nd grader, expresses their opinion that they desire to "make people know the seriousness of leatherworkers in the factory"; those who live in Buraku want the rest of society to see them as people and respect their work ethic, rather than see them as an extension of the smell (Cangià 2013, 185). Liberty Osaka, in contrast, describes the skill of the leatherworkers, and presents the industry as worthy of respect. Comparing how Burakumin see themselves in contrast with how others see them is very powerful for showing discrimination, because it is a good illustration of the barriers between Burakumin, and all other Japanese. Because of these barriers, discrimination and entrenched prejudice have prevented the Japanese public from understanding the Burakumin side of the story.

Cloth and Straw

Liberty Osaka's characterization of cloth and straw as central industries proves the importance Burakumin play in the history of Japan. Some of the products made from these items included: "... Japanese sandals, rice baskets, and brooms made of straw, as well as dusters made out of old clothing and scraps of cloth",[36] demonstrating their resourcefulness as well as conscientious recycling of materials. These items are all practical goods, borne out of necessity during World War II. These industries became "central industries" during the 1930s, which is certainly proof of Burakumin contributions to the country.

[36] 「藁を使って草履や飯畚（ふご）・ほうきをつくったり、古着や端布でちりはたきなどを作っていた。」

These Buraku workers were also shrewd at taking opportunities as they arrived. In the later half of World War II, their industries were prosperous, and at one point "...70% to 80% of people within the region were pursuing such jobs".[37] This is very different from the idea of Burakumin solely being involved with leather industries, and it also presents Burakumin as being good citizens of Japan in doing their part for the war effort. This perspective of Burakumin profiting from the war is different from how they are generally perceived - they are normally presented as without agency, without resources, without much of anything. By illustrating what Buraku have done for society, Liberty Osaka gives them a voice, and allows them to show why they deserve the respect of not just the Japanese government, but Japanese society, as well as the rest of the world. Burakumin have done much for Japan, and Liberty Osaka uses this paragraph to showcase their efforts.

Glass

Liberty Osaka's introduction of glass-making smashes the stereotype that Buraku industries are dirty, and reveals it as art. In contrast to the previous industries mentioned above, Liberty discusses glass-making to dispel the idea that all industries Buraku are involved in are dirty, impure, or involved with death. Glass-making is an art, and represents another, more beautiful side of being Burakumin. In the modern era before World War II, glass-making and the occupation of working with glass was important as an alternative craft to those traditional industries, and it also allowed for more artistic license. Specific products made included glass bead making, as well as man-made pearls. This work was very detailed, which seems to be characteristic of Buraku industries. The payoff for these occupations was great - the beauty of glass and the pride the makers took in their work was not specific just to glassmaking, but was a

[37] 「…最盛期には地域内の７〜８割の人が従事していたという。」

common thread throughout each industry. Liberty Osaka makes it clear that these industries were extremely vital for each village. Though this industry is not currently exclusive to Burakumin, and specific glass-making enclaves are unknown, Liberty Osaka uses one village, Izumi, to explore the history behind glass-making.

The Buraku of Izumi are one of the places where glass-making became adopted by Burakumin. This Buraku was famous for their glass, but this was not always so. Liberty Osaka describes this transition: "Buraku of Izumi that became engaged in glass making had made leather-soled sandals in early modern times, so glass making was an occupation that had no direct connection to their livelihoods in the early modern period."[38] The sentence following this statement by Liberty Osaka gives some insight into the reasons behind this transition, as it says that "neighboring villages transitioned from agriculture to glass-making";[39] so perhaps this transition came about through the influence of those villages. Regardless of how this village came to make glass, they took this skill and developed it immensely, creating glasswork that became known for their craftsmanship. Though there were many industries which Burakumin could have supported themselves by, glass and pearls is the one area where they really shone and could express themselves.

Wire

[38]「和泉でガラスの仕事を行っている部落は、近世には主に雪駄づくりを行っており、近世の生業と直接的な関係がない。」

[39]「近隣の集落で、農業の副としてガラス玉づくりが始められ…」

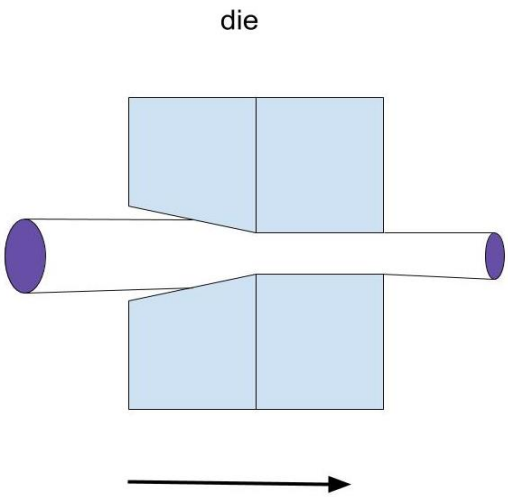

Figure 1: My own example of the wire drawing process

Liberty Osaka uses the Buraku industry of wire drawing as a bridge for outsiders to understand Burakumin. Within this wire drawing occupation, recycling old unused materials into useful new metal is further proof of the talents and knowledge of Burakumin. Wire drawing is a metalworking process, where the cross-section of a wire is reduced by pulling it through drawing dies (molds), and the process looks like the wire is being slowly shaved down. Wire drawing is used for electric wires, cables, etc (Metal Drawing). The Sennan Buraku are particularly well-known for their wire drawing, and this industry has drawn in the entire community: "...the majority of the region was engaged in the wire drawing industry in various ways, for example by manufacturers who would melt down and recycle scrap wire that could not be sold by the wire drawing factories in the vicinity of the Buraku",[40] illustrating the Buraku as a place in which things can be broken down and made new again. This wire drawing thus bridges the gap between the 'normal' Japanese, and the Burakumin - their ability to bring life and utility redefines their capabilities in the eyes of non-Burakumin.

[40] 「…部落の伸線工場周辺に商品にならないクズ線を溶接して再利用する業者ができるなど、地域の大半が様々な形で伸線業に関わっていたという。」

Although Liberty Osaka describes the merits of Burakumin, proudly displaying their worth, it is strange that the museum does not address any of the issues plaguing the Buraku community, such as the Special Measures law. The Special Measures Law was enacted to help prevent discrimination in previously stigmatized industries. However, in 2002 the legislation protecting these exclusive industries expired, removing the monopoly they once enjoyed and opening them up to competition, causing many factories in Buraku communities to close down. This omission seems to ignore what is occurring within these communities today, which might give a bad impression of Liberty Osaka and their mission. It seems to only promote the merits, while not explaining their motives for doing so. By ignoring the discrimination that has dominated the narrative of Burakumin, Liberty Osaka inadvertently allows the discrimination to stand. Yet, although this omission is potentially problematic for Liberty Osaka's overall goal of discussing human rights issues, this perspective is less about defending human rights and more about empowerment. In characterizing the Burakumin through their accomplishments, instead of their status which makes them victims of oppression, Liberty Osaka is publicizing some lesser-known facets of being Burakumin. This may not advance the human rights movement. But it does give a huge self-esteem boost to Burakumin, while countering the existing predominantly negative stereotype of Burakumin. Liberty Osaka is not just talking about broad, abstract issues - they are discussing the lives and situations of many individuals, and through this approach, they make this particular point clear.

Conclusion

Instead of focusing on discriminatory acts perpetrated by the government toward Buraku industries, Liberty Osaka lauds each of these industries in detail, and the museum's focus is on what Burakumin have been doing for themselves. In this way, it is possible to interpret the text

as a testament to the will and strength of Burakumin: this says that they can make it by themselves, that they have made it this far through their own initiative without depending on the Japanese government. For Burakumin, the museum may have chosen to portray this group in a more positive way to combat the overwhelming image of aggressiveness that has been used to discuss Burakumin problems in the past by BLL and their predecessor, the Suiheisha. Liberty Osaka's approach helps offset those narratives, and reconcile those two opposite portrayals. Many of the other groups may not have as much of a tumultuous past, and so the museum chooses to use this approach solely for the Burakumin. The lack of criticism of the government represents a huge change in perspective, and is useful as it allows Liberty Osaka to show their support in a more positive way.

However, the museum's omissions seem to discount the discrimination against Burakumin. The museum does not address the societal issues facing Burakumin today, and seems at a glance to be insensitive to their plight. Yet, the museum has plenty of background in Buraku rights and a history of supporting Burakumin, and so I conclude the museum consciously made this choice. The reason for this could be the reaction by the museum to the threat of government intervention; instead of being subtle, the museum avoids any mention of the hardships Burakumin face altogether. In focusing on Buraku contributions and accomplishments in the past, the museum still accomplishes its goal of education and spreading awareness of the Burakumin as a people, as well as awareness of discrimination against them. In presenting the Burakumin in this way, with little condemnation against the government for their hand in these matters, this portrayal allows Liberty Osaka to bypass the government's threshold of "appropriate" and present Burakumin in other ways beyond a discriminated, underprivileged group. Through Liberty Osaka's portrayal, their motive leads visitors to reach this same

conclusion, and thus build bridges between Burakumin and non-Burakumin to really create multicultural Japan.

Conclusion

Liberty Osaka shows itself as a supportive institution who desires to promote these human rights issues, as well as support the minorities discussed by the museum. The museum demonstrates that through viewing these exhibits of human rights issues, the Japanese public is made to think about what should be done to fix these issues within society. The museum knows that change can only come about through the Japanese public themselves - so they choose a slow and steady method to persuading visitors. The various ways in which the different minorities experience and understand discrimination is indicative of an extensive societal problem throughout Japan, and though the museum presents no solutions, they place the problem before the public and exhort them to change this. However, these efforts by Liberty Osaka to improve their situation are limited by the abilities of the museum to change their opponents' mindsets. There are many groups today who continue to deny opportunities to these minorities because of certain characteristics that they possess. If this mindset does not change, it is impossible for Japan to make lasting progress on these issues. Liberty Osaka's leading approach addresses these issues without blatantly antagonizing the government, while still showing their negative viewpoints of the Japanese government's actions. However, this is not necessarily the best method for activists who want to promote and push for change in the human rights arena in Japan. To present a more unified, stronger position in support of human rights, at the very least having the word discrimination in the handout would make the point that this phenomenon does exist. Some of the subtlety seems overdone to the point that the ultimate goal becomes obscured; as a human rights museum, their goal should be as clear as possible, and to lean more toward standing up for these minorities, rather than for creating harmony with the government. Overall,

looking at the balance between the information given versus how much the government's threats might have intimidated the museum, the museum is still a good source of information on these topics. However, their framing of the Ainu issue, as well as important omissions which were counterproductive for Liberty Osaka should be reassessed, and framed to better support their goals. Yet, even with these flaws, the museum is still the only means by which people can learn the truth behind these minorities.

My discussion and research on this topic of human rights, with respect to these minorities through the eyes of Liberty Osaka, is critical on many levels. My research not only gives insight on how Liberty Osaka interacts with their audience and make sense of topics like human rights, but it also presents a function of museums beyond just an educational, historical institution. My research shows that museums like Liberty Osaka are change agents, from which visitors can become aware of social issues and from there, advocate for these minority rights. My research also demonstrates how politics in Japan affect human rights bodies, as Liberty Osaka limits itself to subtle, indirect criticisms of the Japanese government and its approach to the human rights issues discussed in the museum, so as to avoid censorship. The government still has the power to interfere in these museum exhibitions, as seen above with the Peace Osaka case, showing this to be a legitimate concern.

In chapter 1, we saw that Liberty Osaka used the nationality issues that Resident Koreans face to critique Japan's colonial policies, and the damage imperialism has wrought upon this group of people. Liberty Osaka addresses the root causes of the Resident Koreans' situation, but is unwilling to discuss its impact on their emotional well-being, or the Japanese government's responsibility for the prejudice they endure today. Liberty Osaka's overall discussion of the big picture of discrimination, though appropriate, loses some persuasion as it disregards the

emotional toll of such social exclusion. Overlooking these issues does more harm than good, since by ignoring the identity crisis created as a consequence of colonialism, they are not helping create awareness. Nor does their presentation adequately present the Resident Koreans' case to visitors, especially non-minority Japanese.

In chapter 2, we found that Liberty Osaka discusses Okinawans and the dilemma over U.S. air bases in order to bring to light the injustices Japan has perpetrated against its own people. The many disadvantages of having the bases is considered to be a huge obstacle in Japan-U.S. relations. Through discussion of damage to the island, and the livelihood and culture of its people, Liberty Osaka makes it clear that Japan has not treated Okinawa, nor Okinawans, as equal. Japan has persisted in denying each minority certain rights and privileges, making them unequal to the majority of Japanese society. In advocating for change in the situation in Okinawa, Liberty Osaka attempts to turn the tables by viewing this issue from the standpoint of Okinawans. This tactic, by persuading visitors to see a situation from the minority's view, is a good way to create empathy for and solidarity with these minorities.

In chapter 3, we learned that Liberty Osaka demonstrates its willingness to support the Ainu in the fight for their indigenous rights and culture, yet the museum also shows a weakness in standing up against the government. The museum's indirect approach to these issues is useful in persuading visitors to see situations from Liberty Osaka's viewpoint. And yet, though I believe this has led them to be more gentle and sophisticated in their approach when denouncing the Japanese government, this also shows a weakness in the museum's resolve. If the museum is not willing to take a risk and challenge the government on its policies, then change for Ainu, as well as other minorities, will be slow. Although the museum helps to promote social tolerance and encourage the general public, this approach does not help in making a permanent change for

Ainu rights; they need the government to legally change their status, and thus this limits the Ainu movement.

In chapter 4, I demonstrated that Liberty Osaka discusses Buraku industries from the early modern and pre-war periods in order to transform the traditional image of Burakumin as: dirty, uncivilized, and tainted into one that emphasizes industriousness, beauty, and refinement. These industries reveal the contributions Burakumin have made in the past to Japan by showing how they have played an important part in making Japan the civilized nation it is today through its Western-style leather goods. These styles were adapted by Burakumin for shoes, and applied the same techniques for other leatherwork, moving Japan into the modern period. Furthermore, Burakumin are capable of glass-making, an art which bears no resemblance to the impure, dirty industries for which they are traditionally known. Liberty Osaka's reimaging of Burakumin helps show why these people are worthy of respect, and makes their point without touching upon contemporary issues, though discussing the Buraku issues they face today would have helped make their case even stronger.

From all of these minority cases, it is clear there are different sides to the discrimination Japanese face today. Each of these minorities have simple wishes: they want equal treatment on par with Japanese citizens, while still retaining their own unique selves. They should enjoy the same job, marriage, and social opportunities, and their heritage should not be used against them. As minorities, they should be granted recognition as a group of people living in Japan, and judged as Japanese citizens, not as though they were foreigners with no stake in Japan. Since this is a long process, in the meantime these groups will continue their activism in the hope that one day, the Japanese government will unconditionally accept the existence of these minorities, and guarantee them all the rights and protections entitled to a Japanese citizen and permanent

resident. The legal definition of unconditional is “without condition, regardless of what happens”, making everything legally available to them as citizens no matter what (Unconditional Law and Legal Definition). Under this definition of ‘unconditional’, this also means that with acceptance of these minorities’ existence, they also accept these minorities’ differences, and should not use assimilation or force to make them conform. All of these hopes for the future are shared by Liberty Osaka, and through its indirect approach, they can bypass government censure and push for respect for minorities.

Finally, there were some topics I encountered in my project that I was unable to address, but would like to do for future research. As close scrutiny of the museum’s layout and presentation of the exhibits was outside the parameters of this project, in the future I would like to extend my project to a more complete analysis. It may also be helpful to analyze the discrimination faced by the *hibakusha*, or atomic bomb victims, as well as toward the Taiwanese, who were also colonized and remained in Japan after WWII alongside the Resident Koreans. Further directions for research might also include analysis of the relationship between Japanese law and international law and how Japanese law might be used to improve human rights legislation for these minority groups.

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