Neocolonialism in World History Education:

Case from a Japanese Textbook

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CHAPTER I Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Technological advances, which allows for more and more fluidity of information, goods and people, is shrinking the distance between diverse societies. Different ideologies, cultures, identities and religions crisscross each other more often than ever. This dynamically changing phenomenon, so-called globalization, makes the future more and more unpredictable. That is why education, the essence of preparing younger generations for the future, is being repeatedly reviewed and reformed, especially in the Global North.

As for Japan, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) is fostering a Project of Cultivation of Global Human Resources which mainly targets universities and high schools. The project is instated to respond to globalization by educating Japanese students so that they grow to be global human resource (global zinzai) who, according to the MEXT, take an active role in global society with communication skills and problem solving abilities. The project is dynamic in budget. For example, in 2014, the government drew up a budget of over 273 million dollars (32.800.000.000 yen) for the recruitment of foreign students and over 121 million dollars (14.500.000.000 yen) to promote that the Japanese students study overseas [1].

It seems that student exchanges are one of the principal schemes for a Project of Cultivation of Global Human Resources; however, what is unclear is whether simply fostering student exchange alone will lead to the cultivation of global leaders. The University of Tsukuba, where the author studies, is one of the leading universities in Japan, with 1,744 foreign students as of 2013. But, what is happening is that most of the foreign students gather by themselves and only a limited number of Japanese students are eager to exchange with them. To revise the system, thus creating opportunities for student exchange beyond national boundaries is, of course, significant. However, when this is accompanied by a review of the quality of education, such a revise will advance in its effectiveness.

Then, from which viewpoint should the review be done for content, and for which subject? In order to make it clear, I would like to refer to some preceding studies on Global Citizenship Education (GCED) in the following paragraph, titled "Preceding Studies of GCED -Reconsideration of Neocolonial Aspects-" because it provides a significant perspective for such a review of content. GCED is "one of the strategic areas of work for UNESCO's Education Programme (2014-2017) and one of the three priorities of the UN Secretary-General's Global Education First Initiative (GEFI) launched in September 2012 [2] ". UNESCO, similar to the Japanese government, recognizes an increasingly interdependent world, and therefore a need for transformative pedagogy which enables learners to resolve persistent challenges such as conflict, poverty, and all other forms of inequality and injustice. On one hand, such a quality is obviously necessary for global leaders, but on the other hand, the question of what exactly such a transformative pedagogy entails still remains controversial. The term "Global Citizen" itself is relatively a new idea and its definition still remains ambiguous, despite the conceptual popularity of global citizenship education in the past ten or so years, as mentioned by Abdi and Shultz (2012). However, as one possible definition, the preceding studies, which I detail from the next paragraph, provide a discussion-worthy idea when considering the education of global human resources/ citizens. They demonstrate significant implications on 'global citizens' and GCED, by reflecting on some neocolonial aspects hidden in current discourse and policy on 'global citizen'.

1.1.1. Preceding Studies of Global Citizenship - Reconsideration of Neocolonial Aspects

David Jefferess (2012) points out that popular discourse paradoxically limits a range of global citizen to those who are in the privileged position to help or make a difference. For example, he refers to a "YouLead" project from the University of British Columbia, where he teaches, as one which underlies such a formulation; the act of being a global citizen means working to create a "better world" for unfortunate groups and individuals by "helping" them. He criticizes such systems, asserting that it produces superior insiders and inferior outsiders of the globe, while eliding the history and structures of global material inequality. In other words, it masks the structural violence of contemporary global relations as humanitarian benevolence. Not only in educational projects, but elitism regarding neocolonial ideology is criticized by some scholars. Graham Pike (2008) argues that the subjectivity of a 'global citizen' which described in a context of elitism excludes the countless number of people worldwide who daily struggle for survival and satisfaction of basic human rights, or for recognition of their cultural identity (a creation of insiders and outsiders).

When it comes to a 'global citizen' in an international charity setting, Nancy Cook (2012) observes, through conducting fieldwork, that many volunteers from the West, who recognize themselves as 'global citizens', search for a feeling of relief or self-satisfaction, obtained by helping

and viewing local people in the so-called Third World through an imperial lens as 'oppressed', 'ignorant' or 'pitiful'. Such a lens is often based on a concept of racism, which sees the European people as civilized and superior. In many cases, they one-sidedly implement their volunteering tasks, which often aim to forcibly expound Western ideologies, and do not learn the history and culture of others, and thus do not notice social coherence existing in society. How are they able to know what is 'good' for those they are helping without knowing their sense of values, formed in a distinct history and culture? How is it possible to make meaningful changes for them without knowing about them? In spite of their good will, they paradoxically normalize and even enforce the humanly, historically made structure of economic inequality and cultural hierarchy that global citizenship claims to redress. As well as economic and cultural inequalities, an imbalance in political power has also been criticized. L.Tikly (2004) describes,

"contemporary global moment [as being] marked by the emergence of a new form of Western Imperialism. Although former 'colonies' are officially 'independent', within the discourse of development, so-called Second and Third World populations are incorporated into 'a regime of global government.""

It comes down to the following: The hidden neocolonial aspect of global citizenship is that it normalizes, rather than redresses, the humanly made structures of political, economic, and cultural inequities through a creation of civilized insiders and problematic outsiders and one- sided actions of such insiders' trying to make changes to them.

1.1.1.1. Possibility of a Critical Global Citizenship Education

According to some scholars, by taking such a critical viewpoint into account to develop a new GCED, we can intend to decolonize the world. For example, according to Karen Pashby (2012), a GCED is a potential contributor to decolonization if they work with a critical understanding of the history of global relations and work to promote social justice on a global level. She adds that to take up the problem of history as an issue of the present is a significant factor in education. That is, it is necessary to look at problems of domination and inequities of power, wealth and culture, as a network of interdependent histories. I would like to name such a GCED 'a critical GCED'.

Such education, as mentioned by Vanessa Andreotti (2006), makes it possible for people to imagine different futures and take responsibility for their actions and decisions. It empowers them to think differently and to reflect critically on the legacies and processes of their own cultures. More concretely, from 'making difference to unfortunate Others', they will shift a focus to 'mutual learning', through a process of self-reflection. It is because, in such self-reflective education, individuals learn to reflect on one's complicity in global power relations. According to Nancy Cook (2012), they learn to consider one's responsibilities of those who are disadvantaged by current global arrangements, and to actively resist perpetuating them so that other groups can actively exist in a more just social reality.

As you can see, citizenship in a discourse on 'global citizen' marks an ethical attitude of

being in the world, which potentially functions to sanction the structural violence of inequality (Jefferess, 2012). It is unlike citizenship in a nation which is accompanied by political subjectivity with rights and responsibilities. It is because, at a global scale, we do not have any global institution for every single one of us to be able to participate in, which is a significant difference with a national citizenship.

1.1.1.2. Conclusion of the Preceding Studies

So far we have outlined that the current concept of 'global citizen' has been criticized in the following way. 'Global citizen' is unequal in terms of subjectivity. The subjectivity, in spite of being named 'global', is often restricted to those who are materialistically fortunate and can afford to 'help'. This type of 'global citizen' produces a generalized concept of 'civilized insiders' and 'problematic outsiders'. Through the idea itself or helping activities by such 'civilized insiders', the structure of political and economic inequality and cultural hierarchy is being normalized. In such a normalized violent structure, people are impotent to critically understand global issues such as poverty, an imbalance in political power, discrimination or racism. They are also unable to take 'a generalized learner stance (Nancy Cook 2012, p.137)' toward others in the so-called Third World, who are actually not incompetent or unknowledgeable about their own lives and social circumstances. Therefore, they often end up in misbelieving in their cultural or racial innate superiority.

However, we have also looked through some indications about a possible way to confront such

neocolonialism in global citizenship. To sum up its major point, we can safely refer to a development of a critical GCED that promotes a critical understanding of interdependent histories and its relation with today's structural violence of inequalities of power, material, and culture. In this way, it works to foster the ability to think critically and act radically towards the so-called global issues like those mentioned above, and to avoid an ethnocentric judgment based on prejudice and a 'civilizing' agenda for self-satisfaction. These are indispensable for a mutual learning that potentiates people to imagine a different future.

1.1.2. This Study

We have reviewed the past studies on global citizen and GCED in order to determine which subject to survey and to unveil what perspective to take in a content review. Based on the principal ideas of the preceding studies, this paper examines to see whether a critical understanding of the relation between interrelated histories and the current structural violence of inequalities of power, material, and culture is fostered or not in the world history education of Japan. It especially puts a focus on Africa in the world history textbook. I firstly present the reason why to study the world history textbook and why we focus on Africa. Secondly I discuss the social backgrounds which reveal that it is necessary to develop a critical GCED in the Japanese society, and thirdly I will state the significance and aim of this paper.

1.1.2.1. Why study Africa in World History Textbook

World history education is one of the most controversial subjects in the development of the above-mentioned critical GCED. It is because the characteristics of a critical GCED discovered by the previous studies, such as to foster a critical understanding of the history of global relations and of problems of political, material and cultural inequalities, have much to do with history education with worldwide perspectives.

Why focus on Africa? According to Takashi Okakura (1999), a negative view towards Africa is deeply embedded through the Japanese modern history. A view towards Africa in Japan has been the same as that in Europe since Japan imported the Western knowledge through the modern age, as noted by the above-mentioned author. An idea considering the African people as animal was already partially stabilized in the latter half of the Edo period when people learned from the Dutch Studies. And later, through a scientific novel of Jules Gabriel Verne (1828-1905), translated to Japanese in 1883, who regarded the colored people as inferior and a voyage record of Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), translated in 1890, such an idea regarding Africa as savage and inhuman was spread in the then society of Japan. Even an African theory based on the Social Darwinism by Herbert Spencer (1820-1903) was taught at the Tokyo Imperial University, and Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835-1901) was also one of those influenced by such a study. During the World War, the Japanese government had an initiative for colonizing some parts of the African continent. As mentioned by Okakura, such negative ideas towards Africa are still rooted in today's Japanese society. The discrimination against Africa is a historical and problematic issue in the present society where cooperation beyond national boundaries is needed. Thus, this paper explores the significance in focusing on the study in Africa in the world history education of Japan.

Why treat formal education, especially in school textbooks? Although the term 'education' includes formal, in-formal, non-formal education, this study only discusses formal education for two reasons as follows. Firstly, as Sánchez I Peris describes (2011), formal education is the most basic and deliberate transmission process of cultural values. Therefore, its study can be strategically used as well. Secondly, it is formal education that creates unsubstantial high cultures in the human mind. Students think that what is told in formal education is good and correct since it is official. Thus, they unconsciously recognize of what is "superior" and what is "inferior" from its indirect implication, which we generally call a 'hidden curriculum'. For example, when naming someone famous in classical music, many Japanese people firstly name a European figure such as Ludwig van Beethoven or Johann Sebastian Bach. No school teacher explains that they are superior to other Asian classical musicians, yet somehow, students recognize so because school music classes usually teaches European songs. Formal education is strategic and influential to the superior-inferior recognition. And this makes it meaningful to study on it. It especially investigates a textbook which is a core of education. The Japanese government officially mentions that a textbook is the main teaching material of each subject. They admit a need to examine a textbook as it has much to do with educational contents in order to correspond to expected changing times or diversification of students' ability and aptitude [3].

1.1.2.2. Social Backgrounds - Why a critical GCED is necessary in Japan -

The necessity of a critical GCED comes up from both outside and inside of the Japanese society.

Firstly, more and more Japanese people are being involved in a development project overseas because it is one of the biggest donor countries. The Japanese government had dispatched 5,038 Overseas Cooperation Volunteers and 7,359 experts to over 90 countries in 2011, and the amount of official development assistance (ODA) reached approximately 22,732 million dollars in 2013. In order for such a series of aids to contribute to the life of people in other cultural backgrounds, these overseas workers should not have such characteristics which have been criticized by the preceding studies so far. They should be the last people who ethnocentrically judge those disadvantaged as inferior or incompetent. Therefore they must be educated in a critical understanding of interrelated histories which made such current global issues as material and political inequalities and cultural hierarchy.

Secondly, the Japanese society is now undergoing a process of irreversible cultural diversification and they assume that the phenomenon will keep accelerating in the coming future due to a serious lack of a labor force in market. The beginning of the immigrant history dates back to the militaristic era according to Murphy-Shigematsu (2004). After the World War II, the majority of immigrants were people from the former colonies or those dedicating to the American military. From the 1970s, a main driving force of the phenomenon has been economic conditions in Japan. As an example, I refer to salary men, Asian women in the sex and entertainment industry, or migrant workers who occupied dirty, dangerous, and hard jobs which are generally described as 3K (3K:

Kitanai, Kiken, Kitsui). Moreover, we cannot overlook a number of overseas students. Roughly 150,000 students from 160 countries currently study in Japan. The Japanese government announced a policy to internationalize Japanese universities, a plan that was put forth in 2008 in order to increase the number of international students to 300,000. Since Japan has been experiencing a declining birth rate with an increasingly aging population, according to Douglass and Roberts (2003), Japan's population will shrink by nearly half over the next century, with the working-age population decreasing by 650,000 annually, if the current birthrate and immigration trends continue. There is little doubt that the Japanese society will accept more immigrants in the coming decades. As stated by Murphy-Shigematsu (2004), Japan needs to develop a national identity based on tolerance about, openness to, and respect for differences and diversity within society and within individuals, which coincides with what should be achieved by a critical GCED which has been discussed so far. Moreover, in order for a culturally diverse society to be united, its people should not hold an imperialistic idea.

The essential point of the argument is that the education in Japan must have critical characteristics which have been discussed so far, because the Japanese society and people are very profoundly involved in a process of the globalization both in and out of the nation.

1.1.2.3. Significance and Aim

This study suggests a possible change to be made in quality of the world history education to respond to the on-going globalization by examining it from a theoretical viewpoint of a critical GCED.

A number of studies have been done on the concept of a 'global citizen' and GCED at theory level, but much less at practical level. This study also tries to put the theory into practice. Even though the main focus of this study is on the world history education of Japan, I hope that what this paper suggests is considered not only by the Japanese policy makers and educators, but also by the Western counterparts. This is due to the fact that the circumstance of most of the Western countries is identic with that of Japan. They are also experiencing a rapid aging of the population, an ongoing ethnic diversification in inner society and they also dispatch its people to the outer in a development agenda.

1.2. Overview

This paper consists of the three interrelated chapters which are introduction, body and conclusion. This introductory chapter is composed of the introduction and overview to discuss the focus of this study and set the broad context.

The next chapter, titled "Study on the Ministry of Education's Guideline for World History and its Textbook" examines the governmental guideline and a textbook for world history. Such a study is done in order to see whether a critical understanding of the relation between interrelated global histories and today's structural violence of political, material, and cultural inequalities is fostered or not.

The final chapter concludes the whole content of this study. It reviews what is disclosed in the

study of the world history education of Japan and suggests revisions to be considered based on the

theory of a critical GCED.

CHAPTER II Study on the Ministry of Education's Guideline for World History and its Textbook

2.1. Outline of the Chapter

As discussed in the introductory chapter, this paper studies to see whether the relation between histories of global relations and today's structural violence of political, economic, and cultural inequalities is fostered or not in the world history textbook of Japan with a focus on Africa. The range of analysis will be confined to high school education because history education in junior high school is mainly about that of Japan. Only from high school they teach world history as an independent subject. The world history education at high school is divided into two parts, A and B. Part A is more basic than part B. Although part A effectively shows that Japan is interdependent with other countries, the main focus is modern history, which is also taught in part B in more detail. Most of the universities that require world history B. For example, according to National Center for University Entrance Examinations, in 2014, 1,422 people took the national exam for part A while 85,943 people [4] did part B. For these reasons, this paper only studies part B.

This chapter firstly examines the Ministry of Education's Guideline for world history. The guideline decides the overall curriculum with a legal binding force which given by the Article 52 of the Act on School Education (Gakkou Kyouiu Hou). It is necessary to see how teaching related to Africa is generally positioned in the governmental guideline in order to study how Africa by itself is

generally treated on the whole. Thin then can reveal which time period to focus on in examining a textbook. This chapter shows the governmental guideline contents for world history at first-hand and then analyzes them.

Next, it studies how a high school textbook of world history talks through interrelated histories and its relation with today's structural problems such as political imbalance, material inequality or global poverty, and cultural violence such as racism with a regional focus in Africa. A critical understanding of this relation is what a critical GCED insists to foster. Which time period to examine in a textbook is revealed while studying the governmental guideline that gives a general outline of what to write in a textbook, as mentioned above. After defining which time period to be studied in the study of the guideline, it firstly introduces the descriptions of the period, and then analyzes how the relation between global histories and today's political, economic and cultural inequalities is described. The textbook in focus is published by Yamakawa in 2014 after examined and authorized by the government in 2012. This textbook is highly appreciated in general and utilized as an educational material by a number of high schools. The object of this investigation is "World History B" from Yamakawa publisher.

2.2. Contents of Ministry of Education's Guideline for World History Education

This paragraph reviews the content of the governmental guideline for the world history education.

2.2.1. Objective of World History Education

To deepen the understanding about Japan, the historical process of formation of the world, regional characteristics of life and culture, and to educate awareness and qualities to be necessary as the Japanese nation to form peaceful and democratic nation /society and lives subjectively in the global society.

2.2.2. Contents of the Guideline

The whole contents are divided into 5 parts.

The first part, Introduction for World History, indicates to make (learners) be aware of a significance of studying world history and be curious about geography and history through by setting appropriate themes which have something to do with the interaction between the human kinds and natural environment, exemplified by living, disaster, resource; the connection between the Japanese and world history in culture, religion, technology and so on; and world history sensed in the ordinary life such as changes in Food, clothing and shelter , family , leisure , sport.

The second part, Formation of Various Regional Worlds, states that it makes (learners) understand that the human kinds built various civilizations based on agriculture and cattle breeding while they adapted themselves to the natural circumstance in each region, and eventually, they formed bigger regional worlds based on the built connection. And it concretes what civilizations to teach, which are of West Asia, Mediterranean Sea, South Asia, South East Asia, East Asia, and Inland Asia.

The third part, Exchange and Reorganization of Various Regional Worlds, orders to teach that

the activated exchange between various regional worlds promoted a formation of new regional worlds and reorganization of them on background of networks in the area of sea in Eurasian and Inland. It concretes the topics to teach; a Formation and Expansion of Islamic World, a Formation and Development of European World, a Trend of Inland Asia.

The forth part, Union and Change of Various Regional Worlds, instructs to have students comprehend that both a change in society and structuring of the world were promoted because European countries, which achieved industrialization and sovereign state system, advanced while the unity between various regional worlds became stronger supported by a prosperity in Asia and expansion of Europe. As concrete topics, it mentions the Prosperity of Asia and Japan; Expansion of Europe and Atlantic World; Industrialized Society and Formation of Nation State; and the World Market and Japan. In the topic, "Expansion of Europe and Atlantic World", the word "Africa" comes up for the first time in the guideline as follows: "Teach the Renaissance, Religious Revolution, development of nation state, and (European) advance into various regions in the world and formation of the Atlantic World, and have (students) understand the characteristics of the European Society from the 16th to 18th century and the relationships between America and Africa."

The last part, the Arrival of the Earth World, promotes the idea that the world was unified at a global level because scientific technologies and productivity advanced, and a mutual dependence became stronger after the two world wars and the Cold War. It instructs students to think about current problems from a historical standpoint and to prospect of the 21th century. The concreates contents are; Imperialism and Social Change; Two World Wars and Emerge of the Mass Society; the

Cold War and Third World; and Globalized World and Japan. As for Africa, the first section, "Imperialism and Social Change" says "to have (students) learn about the advance of scientific technology; development of giant corporation and nation; development of national integration; vendetta between imperialistic countries and correspondence of Africa; and increase in immigration at global level, and have them consider about the world trend in the early 20th century and social characteristics." And the following two sections say "to have (students) comprehend African nationalism movement, independence of African countries and subsequent problems".

2.3. Analysis of the Guideline -No Independent Teaching in Africa before 20th century-

As you can see in the guideline, no independent teaching in Africa is recommended in any period before the 20th century.

For the the period before 16th century, even though the guideline instructs to teach independently such regions as West Asia, Mediterranean Sea, South Asia, South East Asia, East Asia, Inland Asia, Islamic regions, and European regions, Africa is not mentioned at all. It is behind research progress in the African Studies, which details the Black civilization before the European encounters. An African-American sociologist and historian, Chancellor Williams, writes about a black African democracy system that was based on age sets —the oldest age group of which represented the society, which was different from the European democracy which had one individual as represented— and also an educational and judge system, all of which they had found long before the European encounters (1987:161-173). This exclusion could inadvertently perpetuate racism

against black people. It could suggest that the black African people were barbaric until the European encounter. This negative image dates back to long ago. Africa, because of being a mystery for European people for a long time, became an object of curiosity. John Locke, a London merchant, made an expedition to West Africa in 1561, and kept a record of his voyage. After referring to black Africans as 'beasts who have no houses,' he continued, 'they are also people without heads, having their mouth and eyes in their breasts.' Moreover, as mentioned by Takashi Okakura, it was emphasized that black Africans were barbaric in order to justify the slavery trade of black African people (1999:29). Many European invaders had made false records which say, for example, that they were naked or that there was not any civilized creature. An instruction with such a biased regional choice can foster racism. It might be expected that Africa is partially mentioned in the teaching of the formation of a regional world of the Mediterranean Sea or of the formation and expansion of Islamic World (e.g. limited areas where Asians and Europeans came to live or trade like Egypt), but it will be just incidental and partial and wouldn't reach to overturn this criticism.

As for the period after the 16th century before the 20th century, teaching about Africa begins to be instructed in a confined way. The guideline instructs teaching about the relationships between America and Africa from the 16th to 18th century, which is taught in the context of the expansion of Europe and Atlantic World, and the vendetta between imperialistic countries and correspondence of Africa in the context of Imperialism and Social Change. Clearly, teaching topics are limited to ones in a connection with European histories. Topics do not talk about how black African societies were at that time even though it is instructed as to the then European societies. We have reviewed that teaching about Africa is treated unevenly in the governmental guideline. Since the guideline instruction leads to talk about Africa mainly after the 16th century and also the modern history has more direct connection with the current time, this paper puts a focus on the period after the 16th century including the period after the 20th century in studying how the relation between histories of global relations and today's structural violence of political, economic, and cultural inequalities is written off in the textbook.

2.4. Textbook Descriptions after the 16th Century

The first description about Africa after the 16th century in the textbook, "World History B" from Yamakawa publisher is about the Atlantic Slavery Trade from page 235 to 236. The description titled "Overseas Exploration of European Countries" and subtitled "Slavery Trade and Formation of Modern Division of Labor" is as follows;

"In Africa, the Muslim Merchants were carrying a slavery trade in the east coast since the middle age, which was a part of their Indian trade. However, since the exploration by the Portuguese in the west coast of Africa, the Slavery Trade of the black people routing the Atlantic Ocean was began by various Western countries. During the 16th century, the population of the first people drastically decreased due to a hard labor and contagious diseases brought by European people in the West Indies and the Spanish colonies in Latin America, they started to import and use the black people from Africa. Furthermore, a big farm (plantation) of Saccharum officinarum, tobacco, or raw cotton got prospered in the 17th century in the American continent and West Indies, more and more black Africans were demanded as slaves. The number of the slaves who went over the Atlantic Oceans till the 19th century is guessed to reach over 10,000 people.

This Slavery Trade was done as one link in the Triangular Trade which sent weapons or miscellaneous goods from Europe to Africa, sent slaves gotten by exchange to the American continent and the West Indies, and brought and sold agricultural products such as sugar, raw cotton, tobacco or coffee to Europe. Such a trade over the Atlantic Ocean changed a lot European life as consumers, and at the same time, brought a huge profit to such powerful countries in the Western Europe as England. As a result, the capital accumulation which was the precondition for the Industrial Revolution was promoted in Europe, but on the contrast, the social damage that the West coast area in Africa received was serious.

The Western Europe as developed area, Africa as the place where their products were exported, and the economic activity which was supplied with slaves from Africa and produced farm products for the Western Europe in the American continent were closely connected, and they consisted of the huge division of labor. By this system dating back to Age of Exploration, with time, more and more areas in the world were incorporated."

The next reference to Africa is about the colonization from page 315 to 318, which titled "Division of the World and Conflict between Powerful Counties" and subtitled "Colonization of

"In the early 19 century, the knowledge of Africa that Europeans had was confined to the north and the coast part such as ports in the sailing rout for India. In the middle of the same century, after Livingstone or Stanley explored the Central Africa and told the stories, the Powerful Countries began to show interests in this area. In the beginning of 1880s, when a conflict for the Congo area between some European countries, Bismarck from Germany hold the Berlin Conference (Berlin - Congo Conference) from 1884 to 1885, admitted the establishment of Free State of Congo as a possession of the Kingdom of Bergin and made rules on the colonization of Africa.* (*A rule that the country to colonize an area must assure the security and a commercial activity for Europeans (practical control). For that, they said, there is a need to decide a boundary and establish a governmental and security institution.)

After that, the Powerful Countries rushed to Africa and in a brief moment, divided and colonized its major parts. The local people resisted to protect the areal independence and proper culture. Such a resistance movement eventually grew to nationalism movement or national liberation movement, and became a big flow to shape the history of the 20th century...

Italy gained Somalia Land and Eretria in the 1880s, and invaded into Ethiopia, but lost in the battle of Adowa in 1896, so receded. However, this provoked the Italy-Turkey War, which ended with Italy seizing Libya (Tripoli • Cyrenaica) from the Empire of Haussmann.

In this way, till the early 20th century, all of Africa except the Empire of Ethiopia and the 22

Republic of Liberia was under the control of the Powerful Countries. The Powerful Countries decided national boundaries and thus destroyed the connection between the local people and trading routes. This was done out of an interest to acquire raw materials or natural resources, or because of clashes between economic interests for commercial market or of establishment of strategic basement, so it became a big obstacle for the later self-reliance or independence of the people."

The next history that is referred in the textbook is about the beginning of the African nationalism movement. It just occupies half a page in order to quickly refer to Africa National Congress in Republic of South Africa in 1912 and Pan Africa Congress in London in 1900. Thus this paper omits this part from its analysis. The following reference is about Africa's independence with the title "Rise of the Third World and Mutual Concession between the United States and the Soviet Union" and the subtitle "Independence and Struggle of Africa" from the page 385 to 386. Firstly, it briefly mentions to the fact that Morocco/Tunisia, Algeria and Ghana became independent and 17 more countries in Africa were born in 1960, which is called "Year of Africa". And it is followed by a description as below;

"However, the colonies of Portugal remained dependent and among previous suzerain states which did not want to give up economic rights and interests, there were some countries which intervened after the independence such as Belgium which caused Congo Crisis. In addition, the Republic of South Africa conducted apartheid in order to maintain the control of the while people who were minority. Since the newly independent countries had been developed, for example for single crop cultivation, the aim of which was to export, according to the economic profits of the suzerain countries, their own economic basis was unstable and social infrastructures such as transportation network, electricity and water, and social system like education and health care were not organized. Moreover, since politics and economy after independence were also unstable, internal conflicts due to antagonism between tribes and coups d'état were repeated and governments under a military dictatorship were often established. Therefore, their momentum at first was lost and it was observed many times that they suffer from chronic poverty and depend on aids from international organizations or Western Countries."

And from page 406 to 407, it very briefly refers to the abolishment of apartheid and concrete internal conflicts in Ethiopia or Ruanda. However, as it is just a list of simple facts, this paper does not include the last reference to the study.

2.5. Analysis of the Descriptions

This paper conducts a study on the above reviewed educational contents in order to examine whether a critical understanding of the relation between histories of global relations and today's structural violence of political, economic, and cultural inequalities is fostered. This is based on what a critical GCED claims. The educational contents to be reviewed are the following three parts as introduced in the previous paragraph; Atlantic Slavery Trade, Colonization in Africa, and Independence and Struggle of Africa.

2.5.1. Atlantic Slavery Trade

From the sentence "the social damage that the West coast area in Africa received was serious", it is impossible to imagine what damage was brought to their societies and how serious the damage was at all. In the description as a whole, Africa is objectified and the main subjectivity is mostly in Europe. The history of the Atlantic Slavery Trade is described as a success story in which the Industrial Revolution was made possible through slave labor. The fact that it was also a story of tragedy for a huge number of black African people where they received both psychological and physical pains by being treated inhumanely, cannot be sensed at all in reading it. Only the circumstances of Europeans and the consequences brought to European people are detailed, exemplified by such descriptions as their need of labor forces in the American continent and a great change in their life as consumers, a huge profit they received, and the capital accumulation in the textbook. It is as if they were the most important happenings in the event, which can imply a superiority of European people as a hidden curriculum. The impression perceived by such a onesided description is that Europeans were proactive, while Africans were passive and displayed no agency. This ignores the any resistance slaves undertook. It does not refer to the reason why black African people were captured as slaves. Without making this clear, it can be interpreted as if it were

something for granted. It can imply an inferiority of black Africans, which does not exist. Isn't this attitude what really matters nowadays because it could be blamed for such a cultural inequality as racism? Such a biased and uncritical description cannot foster a critical understanding of history and its relation to current day.

A high school textbook used in the United States, "Modern World History -Pattern of Interaction-" from McDougal Littell publisher is different from the "World History B" in the above mentioned points. This study has no intention to evaluate the textbook from McDougal Littell publisher; however, there is a value to mention to some of the descriptions in order to clarify the points which are criticized above and to show a possible way to talk through the Atlantic Slavery Trade more critically.

The description of the textbook from McDougal Littell publisher makes it clear that the slavery based on race was a humanly made system in such a context as below;

"Slavery probably began with the development of farming about 10,000 years ago. Farmers used prisoners of war to work for them. Slavery has existed in societies around the world. People were enslaved in civilizations from Egypt to China to India...Race was not always a factor in slavery. Often, slaves were captured prisoners of war, or people of a different nationality or religion. However, the slavery that developed in the Americas was based on race. Europeans viewed black people as naturally inferior. Because of this, slavery in the Americas was hereditary (133)". Then it clearly presents 4 reasons why the black African people were captured as slaves. Firstly, it was because "many Africans had been exposed to European diseases and had built up some immunity". Secondly, "many Africans had experience in farming and could be taught plantation work". Thirdly, "Africans were less likely to escape because they did not know their way around the new land". Lastly, "their skin color made it easier to catch them if they escaped and tried to live among others (132)". In this way, we see clearly that slavery according to race is not natural but something intentionally and humanly made and that the black Africans became slaves not because they were inferior but due to such above mentioned circumstances of the European economy.

It also talks through the hardship that black Africans went through and resistance that they made as follows:

"Upon arriving in the Americas, captured Africans usually were auctioned off to the highest bidder. After being sold, slaves worked in mines or fields or as domestic servants. Slaves lived a grueling existence. Many lived on little food in small, dreary huts. They worked long days and suffered beatings. In much of the Americas, slavery was a lifelong condition, as well as a hereditary (135)."

And it is followed by a description as below:

"To cope with the horrors of slavery, Africans developed a way of life based on their cultural heritage. They kept alive such things as their musical traditions as well as the stories of their ancestors. Slaves also found ways to resist. They made themselves less productive by breaking tools, uprooting plants, and working slowly. Thousands also ran away. Some slaves pushed their resistance to open revolt. As early as 1522, about 20 slaves on Hispaniola attacked and killed several Spanish colonists. Larger revolts occurred throughout Spanish settlements during the 16rh century. Occasional uprisings also occurred in Brazil, the West Indies, and North America. In 1739, a group of slaves in South Carolina led an uprising known as the Stono Rebellion. Uprisings continued into the 1800s (135-136)."

On the contrary to "World History B" from Yamakawa publisher in which African people are only objectified, they are as humanized as Europeans in the "Modern World History" from McDougal Littell publisher. It is interpreted that they were not passive and helpless in front of European people and they were not less human. To take a multi-perspective viewpoint is essential for a critical understanding of a history because such teaching would work effectively against unreasonable stereotypes which can hinder a critical understanding.

2.5.2. Colonization in Africa

As well as the description of the Atlantic Slavery Trade, the subjectivity of the history is onesidedly in the European side concerning the description of the colonization in Africa. It is written as a story of European countries' gaining more territories. It was also a history of many black Africans being separated from their family. For example, the world history textbook from McDougal Littell publisher introduces as below in a section of "the Age of Imperialism":

"You are young South African living in the 1880s. Gold and diamonds have recently been discovered in your country. The European colonizers need laborers to work the mines, such as the one shown below in an 1888 photograph. Along with thousands of other South Africans, you've left your farm and rural village to work for the colonizers. Separated from your family and living in a city for the first time, you don't know what to expect (338)."

It shows the viewpoint of Africans, which makes it possible to imagine that they had a hard time. Regarding to the case in which Ethiopia defeated Italy, the subjectivity is also taken by the Italian side in the textbook from Yamakawa publisher contrary to that from McDougal Littell publisher which gives such an explanation as the follow;

"Ethiopia was the only African nation that successfully resisted Europeans. Its victory was due to on man- Menelik II. He became emperor of Ethiopia in 1889. ...he built up a large arsenal of modern weapons purchased from France and Russia... the battle of Adowa... Ethiopian forces successfully defeated the Italians and kept their nation independent..." In this explanation the Ethiopian people are humane and subjective. They are not a mere object which just seems helpless in front of European people. African people are just objectified in the textbook from Yamakawa publisher, and, as mentioned in the previous analysis of the Atlantic Slavery Trade, such a biased description makes it difficult to promote a critical understanding of the history and its relation to today's structural violence, since such a description by itself fosters an uncritical view of history and makes it difficult for people to take 'a generalized learner stance (Nancy Cook 2012)'towards Africa.

Even though the subjectivity is mainly in the European side, the textbook clearly mentions that European countries decided national boundaries and trading route without concerning the connection in the local people for their interests in raw materials or resources, commercial market or strategic basement, and it became an obstacle for the later self-reliance and independence of Africans. Clearly written is how selfish colonialism was and that it negatively impacted later African society. However, it incorrectly implies that this negative impact is no longer present in modern African society. Rupert Emerson, referring to the period after the end of colonialization, says "...for many Africans both the sense of their identity and their image of the society in which they live are uncertain and unstable (1969:297)" To be written as a past in a history textbook can make it difficult to see that the people in Africa are still struggling from the impacts of the colonial era.

In addition, since the history in Africa before Europeans came is mostly invisible in the world history education of Japan, as clarified in the governmental guideline review, it is difficult to imagine exactly what was destroyed and lost in their society. Such a simple description as "the connection between local people was destroyed" does not reach an understanding, for example, that what was destroyed was the African democratic system which was based on human connection according to age set.

2.5.3. Independence and Struggle of Africa

The description clarifies the influence from colonialism that makes African countries economically venerable and politically unstable even though it does not talk about it in a present form. The reason of the economic inequality is made clear because of a description saying that the economic basis of African society was unstable and such basic infrastructures as transportation network, electricity and water and such social system as education and health care were not organized due to single crop cultivation aimed to export based on the economic profits of the suzerain countries. Also, the reason of the political inequality is clearly described. It is mentioned that the colonization became a big obstacle for independence of the people in the previous description of the colonization in Africa, and this section clarifies that African countries often ended up depending on aids from international organizations or Western Countries due to the political instability causing chronic poverty.

It does not discuss anything about a possible influence on culture by such a disadvantaged situation, for example, a promotion of a negative stereotype of Africa which has a potential to foster racism. However, the current structural problems of political and economic inequalities are described in a context with the history of global relations, and the relation between them is clarified in the description of Independence and Struggle of Africa.

CHAPTER III Conclusion

This study is done in order to examine the world history education of Japan from a theoretical viewpoint of a critical Global Citizenship Education (GCED), which is figured by some preceding studies in the introductory chapter. The past studies criticize the neocolonial aspects of a global citizenship concept which can be defined as a creation of civilized insiders and problematic outsiders of the globe and as a structure where such insiders try to make a change toward the problematic outsiders without consideration. The neocolonial aspects normalize a humanly made structure of political, material and cultural inequalities around the globe. Therefore, a critical GCED should work to promote a critical understanding of the relation between today's structural violence of such inequalities and history of global relations, by talking about these issues and problems as a network of interdependent histories. That is, as mentioned by Willinsky (1998), "what might be written off as the remote history of imperial adventures and misfortunes has to be considered and imagined as still working on the educated imagination". A critical understanding makes it clear that the current global structure is man-made, not naturally occurring. In order to see whether the world history education of Japan fosters the same quality of a critical GCED, this paper conducted a study in Ministry of Education's Guideline and a textbook for world history education, "World History B" from Yamakawa publisher, with a regional focus in Africa, a negative idea of which is still deep-rooted in the Japanese society as mentioned by Takashi Okakura (1999).

Education on Africa's history is treated unevenly, as analyzed in the previous chapter. What is made clear in studying the governmental guideline is that no teaching specialized for an understanding of such black civilization as mentioned by Chancellor Williams (1987) is ordered; while teachings for other civilizations in West Asia, Mediterranean Sea, South Asia, South East Asia, East Asia, Inland Asia, Islamic regions, and European regions are particularized. Moreover, as for the period after the 16th century before the 20th century, only histories related to the European ones are ordered. It can mistakenly promote an idea that black Africans were barbaric and had no civilization until the European encounters and racism based on such idea. This cannot foster a critical understanding of history.

Moreover, the descriptions such as the slavery trade of the black people and colonization of African countries, objectively describe African people as if they were helpless and the subjectivity is saved mainly for European viewpoints as if their presence was more important. The history from European perspectives is mainly written and the tragic aspects of it are ignored. This is just as Willinsky's critics (1998); "forces of imperialism historically worked to 'possess' the world through 'displaying' and 'knowing' colonized cultures and peoples who were 'edified' by a Western worldview". Besides, discussing histories from various viewpoints is an indispensable element for a critical learning and the importance of this is admitted by several scholars. For example, Geoffrey M. White insists that a 'transnational' 'transcultural' textbook should be a joint work taking in histories by various speakers (2011:42). Daisaburo Yui also says that history education should be inclusively written from multiple perspectives (2011). Formal education creates a high culture, which known as a hidden curriculum. In other words, it is a system that creates superiority and produces inferiority. Therefore it is dangerous that Africa is treated unequally in the formal education as described so far.

This can cause people to be uncritical against prevailing stereotypes about Africa. Such uneven treatment of Africa's history can foster a biased attitude towards Africans, which makes impossible to start critically learning the relations between history and today's structural inequalities related to them.

Concerning the political and material inequalities of today, its relation to the history of imperialism is clearly written, even though it is described as a past. It is clarified that the egoistic decisions of the European suzerain countries became an obstacle for their political and economic independence and development. This point is appreciated in terms of a critical GCED. But, since there is little reference to African societies itself, what was actually destroyed or changed in their society from the age of pre-imperialism is unclear. No one could imagine that black African democratic or educational system had been destroyed as Chancellor Williams's study shows (1987). On the contrary, the world history textbook from McDougal Littell publisher for high school generalizes African societies as a whole. For example, in a section, titled "Africa before European Domination (339)", it says:

"In the mid-1800s...African peoples were divided into hundreds of ethnic and linguistic groups. Most continued to follow traditional beliefs, while others converted to Islam or Christianity. There people spoke more than 1,000 different languages. Politically, they ranged from large empires that united many ethnic groups to independent villages...Africans controlled their own trade networks and provided the trade items. These networks were specialized. The Chokwe, for example, devoted themselves to collection ivory and beeswax in the Angolan highlands."

In addition, even in describing European invasion in Africa, it mentions that the then African society was well-organized:

"Europeans had established contacts with sub- Saharan Africans as early as the 1450s. However, powerful African armies were able to keep the Europeans out of most of Africa for 400 years. In fact, as late as 1880, Europeans controlled only 10 percent of the continent's land, mainly on the coast."

On the contrary, the textbook from Yamakawa publisher does not tell about the then African societies.

As claimed in the first chapter, not only should political and material inequalities be discussed, but also cultural inequality as part of the network of interrelated histories. However, as analyzed in the previous chapter, the textbook from Yamakawa publisher does not foster a critical understanding of a cultural negative legacy throughout the talk in history after the 16th century. For example, in the slavery trade of the black people, it is written as if black African people were meant to be slaves, despite the fact that there were (egoistic) reasons why they were captured in slave, such as "it was easier to find them in escaping because of their skin color difference" or "black Africans had experiences in farming". And it does not mention the fact that the social status of slave became inherited over generations because the slavery was based on the skin color, which is the element which has been fostering racism till today. The textbook from Yamakawa publisher once talks about the existence of an idea which decided on whether a race is superior or inferior depending on the skin color of its people, but in a section of "Western Culture in 19th century - Development of Modern Science-", which means that it is not talked in a network of the interrelated history. The relation between the history of imperialism and cultural hierarchies such as racism is not mentioned at all. This can negatively work in a try to promote a critical understanding of today's issues.

As revealed in the introductory chapter, Japan is now in an irreversible process of globalization inside of its society, and is also a country which dispatches its citizen in a development agenda to other countries in the so-called Third World. In order for social unity to exist inside and in order for a development agenda to be based on mutual learning, not imperialistic ideologies , its people should have a critical perspective towards history and today's structural problems. This explains the reason why a critical GCED is thought to be necessary to have the Japanese citizens enable to critically understand the relation between history and the structural violence of political, economic, and cultural inequalities and to be such citizens who "form peaceful and democratic society and live subjectively in the global society" as mentioned in the government guideline. This paper concludes that the following revisions are to be made in the world history education of Japan;

The Ministry of Education's Guidelines for World History should spend equal time teaching about the formation of the civilization of black African people as other regions. It would be controversial which area and age are to be taught, but at least the general features of black African civilization; which for example, described by Chancellor Williams should be considered to include in the guideline. If people do not have a critical attitude against prevailing negative ideas regarding Africa, no promotion of critical understanding of the history and today's structural inequalities concerning it can occur. Also, concerning the whole description of the history of global relations which analyzed in this paper, it should include multiple viewpoints in the explanation. The textbook most exclusively takes the European side as subject. As mentioned by Geoffrey M. White (2011), a history education by a single perspective cannot foster a critical understanding.

Moreover, the cultural violence such as racism should be included heavily in teaching imperialism as it is done so in the textbook from McDougal Littell publisher. It should not be mentioned just additionally in a context of development of modern science in Europe. The fact that a concept of racism was fostered due to the imperialistic quest and that the European invaders intentionally promoted racism for a justification of the slavery trade of the black people should be taken into account, in order to promote a critical understanding of the interrelatedness between the history and such cultural violence. Also, to teach that the Atlantic Slavery Trade was the first slavery trade which was exclusively based on the skin color for egoistic reasons can be a key to promoting the critical understanding. In addition, when modern society's structural problems like political, economic, and cultural inequalities are discussed in a relation to global history, it should not be talked about in past tense, since they should be considered as still working.

This study concludes the above-mentioned revisions should be made in the world history

education of Japan, according to the theoretical perspective of a critical GCED. With such revisions, the reference in the textbook explaining the relation between the political and economic inequalities and global histories will be more effective. Additionally speaking, I would want to go further and claim that such a pedagogy that seeks to promote a fundamental justice and a mutual respect for difference at a global scale can be a long-term radical resolution to current cultural or religious conflicts and world terrorism.

NOTES

- [1] From the website of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chukyo/chukyo4/036/siryo/_icsFiles/afieldfile/2013/ 10/24/1340612_01.pdf (watched on April 7th, 2015)
- [2] From the website of UNESCO: <u>http://www.unesco.org/new/en/global-citizenship-education</u> (watched on April 23rd, 2015)
- [3] From the website of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology of Japan: http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/old_chukyo/old_chukyo_index/toushin/1309558.htm (watched on March 17th, 2015)
- [4] From the website of National Center for University Entrance Examination: http://www.dnc.ac.jp/data/suii/h24.html (watched on April 2nd, 2015)

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JAPANESE SUMMARY

世界史教育にみる新植民地主義―日本の教科書の事例から―

教育の本質とは、若い世代を未来に備えることである。それゆえ、グローバル化が進行 する世界で教育は改革されつづけている。日本も例外ではない。本稿は、グローバル化へ 対応するために、主に形式における改革が進む日本の教育の質、つまり教育内容における 改革を提案する。その提案にあたって、理論的枠組みを設定するために、下記する通り、 グローバルシティズンシップ教育に係る先行研究を行った。

グローバルシティズンシップ(global citizenship)という概念は、第3世界と称される 国の人々を変えようとすることで「助ける」支援活動の文脈や、基本的人権すら保障され ていない不利な立場にある人々を無視して語られるエリート主義の文脈において、「文明化 された内部者(civilized insiders)」と「問題である部外者(problematic outsiders)」とい う構造概念を作り出している。これは、この構造概念に支配された人々による人種差別的 な行為、たとえば、非西欧圏の人々への西欧的イデオロギーの押し付けといった行為等を 通して強化され、結果として、現在の政治的、経済的、そして文化的不平等構造を強化し ている。これは、過去の研究が明らかにしたグローバルシティズンシップという概念に隠 された新植民地主義的な側面である。これに対するひとつの解決策として過去の研究者た ちが提案したことは、人間が歴史の中でつくりだしたそうした政治的、経済的、そして文 化的不平等構造を国際関係史との関係性において明確に語り、そのような歴史の生産物が、 勢力不均等、貧困や人種差別といった形で現在にも影響を及ぼし続けていることに対して 批判的な理解を促すことによって、植民地主義的な構造概念からの解放を意図する批判的 グローバルシティズンシップ教育(Critical Global Citizenship Education)であった。本 稿は、日本の世界史教育を、アフリカに焦点を当てつつ、上記するような理論的観点から 検証を試みた。具体的な検証対象は、文部科学省が作成した学習指導要領と山川出版社の 『詳説世界史 B』(2014 年度版)である。その結果、次に述べる点が明らかとなった。

まず、学習指導要領において、16 世紀以前において、アジア、ヨーロッパ、地中海、イ スラーム世界の文明について、それぞれに特化した教えが指導されているにも関わらず、 学者であるチャンセラー・ウィリアムズらによって研究されてきたような黒人文明(Black Civilization)に関する教えは指導されていない。また、16 世紀以降 20 世紀前に関して、 (たとえば、ヨーロッパ世界に関しては、それに特化した教えが指導されているが、)アフ リカはヨーロッパ世界と関わりのある歴史のみが指導の対象となっている。このような不 平等な扱いは、ヨーロッパ人の到来以前はアフリカには文明がなかったというような固定 観念や、それに基づく人種差別を促す危険性を孕む。そして、それは批判的な歴史認識を 妨げる。

また、学習指導要領で指導される「16世紀から 18世紀までのアメリカ・アフリカとの関係」と「帝国主義諸国の抗争とアフリカの対応」に対応する教科書の記述である、奴隷貿易とアフリカ諸国の植民地化に関する教科書の記述を検証した結果、ほぼ一貫して、主体の置き所がヨーロッパにあることが明らかとなった。ヨーロッパ側からみた歴史が主に語られ、その中で、歴史の悲劇的側面は無視されていた。多角的な視点をとることなく、歴史に対する批判的理解は促進できないということは、過去の歴史教育研究者によって主張

されてきたことである。また、アフリカを客体化してばかりの記述は、隠されたカリキュ ラム (Hidden Curriculum) となって、アフリカは弱い存在で歴史上重要でないかのよう な印象を与える恐れがある。これは、上記するような固定観念を助長しかねず、批判的な 学びの機会を提供するには至らない。

政治的、そして経済的側面における不平等構造においては、学習指導要綱の「アフリカ 諸国の独立」に対応する記述の中で、その歴史との関係が明らかにされている。しかし、 それはすべて過去のこととして記述されており、以前として影響を及ぼしている現実を伝 えきれていない点が指摘できる。さらに、たとえこのように植民地化の歴史によってもた らされた負の遺産について語られたとしても、それ以前のアフリカ社会の様子(たとえば、 過去の研究が明らかにした年齢に基づく民主制度など)が不明であれば、具体的に何が破 壊されたかを想像するのは不可能となる。そのことは、歴史がどうアフリカを変え、現在 の不平等構造に至らしめているかを不明確とする。

文化的側面に関して、人種差別と帝国主義との関係は、全く取り扱われていない。対比 する目的で取り上げた米国で使用される教科書では、人種差別が帝国主義に係る教えの中 で語られていた。さらに、「アメリカ大陸の土地勘がないため逃亡の恐れが少なかった」、「農 業経験が豊富であった」や「肌の色の違いからもし逃亡したとしても見つけやすかった」 といった黒人が奴隷とされた身勝手な理由が明確に記述されているだけでなく、そのよう に肌の色に基づいていたために世代を超えて奴隷身分が受け継がれたことについても述べ られている。山川出版社の教科書ではそのような批判的記述は見受けられず、また、西欧 の侵略者が奴隷貿易や植民地化を正当化するために人種差別概念を故意に助長した事実に 関する言及も一切ない。このような無批判な記述が、文化的不平等構造に対する批判的理 解を促進することは困難であろう。

植民地主義的な概念構造からの解放を意図する批判的グローバルシティズンシップ教育 を実践するには、日本の世界史教育は以上に述べる点において改善される必要がある。