

Title	Beyond Silence : Social and Historical Reflections upon Educational Projects for Minority Groups
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Citation	Hitotsubashi journal of social studies, 35(2): 29-46
Issue Date	2003-12
Type	Departmental Bulletin Paper
Text Version	publisher
URL	http://doi.org/10.15057/8282
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BEYOND SILENCE: SOCIAL AND HISTORICAL REFLECTIONS UPON EDUCATIONAL PROJECTS FOR MINORITY GROUPS¹

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Introduction

Minorities are categorized by ethnicity, race and gender, and they are required to justify their identities. People in the majority are not asked ‘who they are’, but minorities are not able to avoid the question. Minorities are under pressure to embody a myth born out of the majority’s cultural assumptions about ‘the other’, and are treated as being in need of enlightenment.

By this I mean that they have to accept a certain position for plausible, so-called scientific reasons. In the area of employment, for example, people are hired or rejected not on the basis of their ethnicity or religion but ostensibly on the basis of their educational history or academic performance. The fact that the reasons for acceptance or rejection can be quantified makes it difficult for minorities to object to negative outcomes.

Taking a global view, minorities who are thought to be in need of enlightenment include African-Americans who are discriminated against on the basis of race, immigrants who are distinguished by their ethnicity, and workers who are distinguished by their social class. Of course, disability and gender have also been used as distinguishing categories. In our contemporary society, movements of people, especially across borders, have given rise to many new minorities.

In her investigation of possible resolutions to certain educational issues encountered by minority groups, Mihara proposes educational agenda as a response to the problems Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands face today; secondly, Ohta examines the Swedish movement which established schools for farmers in the nineteenth century; then, Araki analyzes educational projects for freed slaves by American federal government and school teachers in the nineteenth century; finally, Kamitani explores cross-cultural education in Japan. These analyses are followed by Seki’s summary which reasserts the main issues pursued in these sections.

(Keiko Seki)

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¹ Parts of this article were delivered at a session entitled “Multiculture-Multiethnicity-Plurinationarity and Educational Issues” at an international symposium — “International Seminar: 20th Century as History” — held at Waseda University, March 22, 2003. The authors wish to express their appreciation for the helpful comments offered at the occasion. Also, the authors are grateful to Sophie Croisy and Bryan Allan McFarland for their constructive comments.

Towards Inter-Religious Dialogue at School in the Netherlands

Amongst the causes behind recent cultural conflicts in the world, religion has been one of the most significant factors. This issue has been the central theme in multicultural societies since around the 1960s, and European educational institutions have been the stages for active debates on this issue. Because every country has a different educational system, each will obviously address multicultural issues differently. As far as religious issues are concerned, the Netherlands gives an interesting example, as religion has carried great weight in the Dutch educational system for a long time.

In the middle of the nineteenth century, the issue of religious education was controversial. Due to the influence of a liberal Europe, the trend towards liberalism was also gaining momentum in the Netherlands. The Liberals in the Netherlands, who gained power around the time, tried to enforce “neutral education” through the elimination of religious education at school. The Catholics and the Calvinists cooperated together advocating the public financing of the religious education. After many disputes, the Catholics and the Calvinists finally came to power as a coalition government and introduced an amendment to the constitution that allowed the full subsidizing of private denominational schools in 1917. As a result of getting the same financial status and social position as state-founded schools with no religious background, Christian schools developed their own cultural identity through a religious curriculum and education.

With time, the unique position of religion at Dutch schools has strongly influenced the current issue in the Netherlands, namely the presence of Islam and Muslims since the 1960s. This section tries to propose the place for inter-religious dialogue in schools, focusing on the current environment of primary schools in the Netherlands.

The Presence of Muslims and Denominational Schools

Until the 1960s, Christian schools maintained religious identities protected by a school system established in the beginning of the twentieth century. Since the 1960s, however, the Dutch society secularized rapidly and this process affected the management of the denominational schools as well. Moreover, the number of the Muslim immigrants increased rapidly and many of their children entered Christian schools, which affected the school identity as “Christian”. Most of the Muslim immigrants came from Turkey or Morocco as labor workers during a time of high economic growth after World War II. Even after the Dutch government stopped the welcome policy for guest workers in the middle of the ‘70s, immigration from these countries continued because of family reunification. The increase of Muslim people became notable; the number grew from 50,000 in 1970 to over 890,000 in 2002.

According to Wagtenonk, about 44 percent of Muslim children were attending the Christian schools at that time.² The reason behind their attending such schools was the number of Christian schools. Even today, the total number of Catholic schools and Protestant schools is about twice as that of public schools that have no religious background. Moreover,

² K. Wagtenonk, “Islamic Schools and Islamic Religious Education: A Comparison between Holland and other West European Countries,” in W.A.R. Shadid & P.S. van Koningsveld (eds.), *The Integration of Islam and Hinduism in Western Europe* (Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1991), 154-173.

Kloosterman writes that the first generation of Muslims had little chance to know the characteristics of the Dutch educational structure and had generally categorized the Netherlands as a “Christian” country, which made them expect that any type of school would more or less have the “Christian” factor.³ However, if they had a choice between a Christian or non-Christian school, they would choose the latter school. In the end, the percentage of Muslim students at Christian schools was always smaller than that of the native Dutch.⁴

The change in the demographics concerning students shook the religious culture at Christian schools. The biggest problem was the religious education classes, scheduled from one to three times a week.⁵ While the Muslim side rejected the practice of Christian religious education, the schools’ administration did not consider putting Islamic religious education instead. The schools’ board members thought it would be counter to their school’s identity. Some Christian schools even limited the number of non-Christian children based on a strict admission policy (*toelatingbeleid*).⁶ Thus, the formal identity of Christian schools as “Christian” is still very influential, and a certain discrepancy has occurred between the “formal corporate identity of a school” and the actual identity of the school population.⁷

Compared to Christian schools, Islamic schools in the Netherlands have a much recent history. The first Islamic school was founded in 1988. Many reasons were given for the creation of Islamic schools, but two factors prevailed: First, the Muslim parents were dissatisfied with the situation at existing schools. Secondly, they discovered the possibility for founding Islamic schools within the Dutch educational structure through meeting or discussion among Muslim minorities in the Netherlands. Up to now, the Netherlands counts 37 Islamic schools. The financial and the social status of Islamic schools are the same as that of Christian schools. They are entirely subsidized by the government and are positioned within the Dutch educational system. There is no other European country where Islamic schools are that prominent and benefit from government founding. It is the very unique position of religion in the Netherlands that makes it possible. The schools operate in Dutch and follow the Dutch national curriculum. The only difference from the other schools is the reaching out to the Islamic culture. For instance, Islamic schools put one to three hours of Islamic religious education in the curriculum per week, where basic knowledge of the Islamic teaching is taught in Dutch. Moreover, fifteen minutes are devoted to praying everyday as stipulated in the curriculum of religious education. Besides, one finds all sorts of Islamic practices thriving inside the school. For instance, people use the Islamic way of greeting inside school. During Islamic holidays, the schools give a few days off by coordinating with the holidays in the Dutch calendar. And after the holidays, the schools hold a feast, where parents bring together the homemade sweets and foods and children recite the Koran or perform a play that deals with

³ A. Kloosterman, “Moslimse Kinderen op Katholieke Scholen,” in K. Wagtenonk (ed.), *Islam in Nederland: Islam op School* (Muiderberg: Dick Coutinho, 1987), 111-120.

⁴ Wagtenonk, 161.

⁵ According to the Dutch law, religious schools can incorporate religious education as the regular curriculum for a maximum of three hours per week.

⁶ Not all the Christian schools apply this policy. There are Christian schools that accept any children regardless of their religious backgrounds, and some are even categorized as “black” schools because of the location. Normally, this label appears when over half of the children of ethnic minorities (*allochtonen*) attend the school. See Marjan Agerbeek, “Onderwijs/Zwarte scholen,” *Trouw* (23 mei 2002).

⁷ See Cok Bakker, “The Netherlands as a Multi-Cultural Society,” in Cok Bakker & Karin Griffioen (eds.), *Religious Dimension in Intercultural Education: Theory and Good Practice* (Dutch University Press, 2001), 17-24.

Islamic feasts.

The people on the school boards are all Muslims coming from diverse countries such as Morocco, Turkey, Suriname and Tunisia. The schools' boards are the core members who have been trying to develop Islamic religious education within the context of Dutch society. However, the percentage of Muslims remains very small in the school managing staff such as principals and teachers.⁸ According to data in 1999, the percentage of Muslim teachers at Islamic schools was only 20 percent.⁹ Thus, Islamic schools have no choice but to accept the non-Muslim teachers. According to one staff of the boarding organization,¹⁰ it was not a preferable situation in the beginning. But in recent years, they started to change their mind on that issue. As the Islamic schools have been thinking of ways to balance between the Islamic religious teaching and the Dutch society where Islamic schools stand on, teachers could work as a bridge between the two. It should be mentioned, however, that a friction sometimes occurs between the school boards and teachers over the school regulations set for the teachers, whether or not they are non-Muslim.

Towards Inter-Religious Dialogue

As mentioned earlier, both kinds of school board rely on strong religious foundations, while having members, whether students or teachers, from religious affiliations other than the school's. To seek the possibility for inter-religious dialogue in such a school structure, what would be the key issue?

One would expect that public schools, which consist of about one third of the whole number of the Dutch primary schools, could be the place for an encounter. This point has been mainly emphasized by the parties who had raised an objection to the existing educational system, which puts a great importance on the religious factor, in a secularized modern society. However, the opinion is not persuasive because it ignores the dynamism of the historical development of the Christian schools and the recent movement of founding the Islamic schools. After all, one should not make light of the religious factor in exploring the way towards dialogue in Dutch society.

The second possibility for dialogue has been directed to the actual "multicultural" environment inside schools, which was seen at the Christian schools and the Islamic schools as stated above. When the parties concerned develop means of communication and solve the problem that prevents further cultural interaction, daily intercultural dialogue will most likely take place. This transformation should be implemented by each school regardless of their religious affiliation. Indeed, numbers of pedagogical research projects have been accomplished with the introduction of intercultural education in 1985. However, the idea has not very included into the practical educational field, and such an implementation remains the choice of individual schools.

Taking the Dutch educational structure into account, the development of an inter-school

⁸ One needs to enter a higher education in order to get a teaching profession. The number of Muslims who go to a higher education is still small. The Netherlands does not take an "affirmative action" though there was a discussion in the 1980s over the desirability of introducing the policy especially in the field of an employment and education.

⁹ Inspectie van het Onderwijs, *Islamitische Basisscholen in Nederland: Inspectierapport, nr. 1999-2*.

¹⁰ Interviewed on 10 Sep. 2001 by the author.

relationship could lead to a greater possibility for dialogue. One of the most important members would be the school boards and the curriculum developers for each religious institution, who have independently developed the strong religious base for education. The cross discussion could be the firm ground for future dialogue supported structurally if they bring together and enhance their design for religious values as educational basis. It is also indispensable to bridge the gap between the religious groups and non-religious groups through a discussion on the significance of religion in the present day. It does not mean that there is no inter-school cooperation up to now, but it is time to take the discussion on that issue to the next level so that the future of the Dutch society be peaceful. The Dutch education should have a fundamental structure for that kind of discussion, as each educational institution, including Islamic ones, has developed one's philosophical identity based on the equal status within the "pillarized" Dutch educational system.

In the meantime, one does not know how the Dutch educational structure has a positive impact on the inter-religious dialogue. In order to clarify the meaning or problem objectively, it would be effective to make a comparative analysis between the countries being in the similar multicultural situation. For instance, the neighboring country, Belgium, has experienced a similar history of the presence of Muslims since the 1960s. In the educational field, on the other hand, one finds the difference in the implementation of the education for Muslims. It comes from the structural difference of the status of religious education at public schools in both countries. While Belgium poses religious education at public schools as a compulsory (regular) subject fully subsidized by the government, public schools in the Netherlands permit it only as an additional subject with no financial support of the government. Consequently, the voice of Muslim minorities in Belgium resulted in the introduction of Islamic religious education within public schools,¹¹ whereas the voice heard in the Netherlands directed towards the founding of individual Islamic schools as explained above. It is important to study how and in what way intercultural dialogue in both countries is developed differently, not just to analyze the difference of the structure. In other words, the focus should be put on the study of the different dialogues and methods — sharing the same school space or promoting inter-school relationship — used to promote religious exchanges. (Reiko Mihara)

Development of Swedish Folk High Schools in the Late 19th Century

Each forms of learning are often responses to the manifold social problems peculiar to a society.¹² By examining those problems and their social formation of countermeasure, one may be able to transform the education system in response to the social issues with the goal to counter them. In the following, I will examine the case of a folk high school in Sweden. A folk high school (*folkhögskola* in Swedish, *folkehøjskole* in Danish) is a private school for adults independent of the national education system. Folk high schools were created in Denmark in the middle of the 19th century at the beginning of the modern era. Nowadays they have spread

¹¹ There is one Islamic school in Belgium which receives government money, but it is noticed from this fact that the instruction of religious education at public schools is more firmly structuralized than the foundation of individual schools.

¹² See e.g., P. Jarvis, *Adult education and the State: Towards a politics of adult education* (Routledge, 1993).

all over the world,¹³ but in Denmark, folk high schools are losing popularity and the number of students attending them is decreasing. On the other hand, Swedish folk high schools are still popular and have played an important role even in shaping educational policies.

In Sweden, the first folk high schools¹⁴ were built in 1868 and developed apart from Danish ones. In general, each Danish folk high school has a board organized to administer each school, and students bear the tuition fees. Danish folk high schools have no connection to the labor market because they are intrinsically schools for cultural education. Whereas in Sweden, in spite of the fact that those schools stand outside the national education system, people who have learned at a folk high school can acquire a position in the labor market virtually equivalent to that of high school or college graduates. Moreover, non-official associations such as labor unions, temperate organizations or communions administer many folk high schools and subsidize the expenditure. As a matter of fact, Swedish folk high schools have historically had a deep connection with popular movements such as the labor movement, temperance movement and free-church movement. By comparing the historical starting point of Swedish folk high schools with that of Danish, it seems that some of the reasons for those differences are founded.

Foundation of Danish Folk High Schools

Folk high schools were designed around a concept thought out by Nikolaj Frederik Severin Grundtvig (1783-1872). In Denmark their goal was the improvement of farmers' social position, and they played an important role in the construction of a 'national identity' in the middle of the 19th century. As a background to the establishment of folk high schools, one can mention the rise of nationalism and the farmers' movements that asked for social and cultural equal rights. At that time Denmark was continuously losing its territories in a series of wars, and the conflict of hegemony with Germany represented by the problem of 'Schleswig-Holstein' was becoming serious. Consequently, it was urgent for Denmark to defend the nation through an intensification of national identity. At the same time, realism and liberalism from other European countries were coming to Denmark, and revolts against monarchism had arisen. Liberalism also affected the rise of farmers' political movements. For the sake of modernization, it was also necessary for liberals to cultivate and civilize the 'ignorant and barbaric' farmers who made up 80 percent of the population.

With those issues in mind, Grundtvig designed an academy for the improvement of farmers' social and political position, namely '*Skolen for Livet*' (the school for life). He attached much importance to the awakening of an ethnic spirit and an ethnic identity.¹⁵ The core of his educational thought was '*det levende ord*' (the living words) in contrast to Latin that had been mainly used in schools, and '*det levende vekselvirkning*' (the lively interaction)

¹³ In recent years, especially in Eastern Europe and the Baltic countries, many folk high schools have been built with the expectation that the new adult learning system would bring about a democratic society.

¹⁴ The first three folk high schools were *Önnestadsfolkhögskola* in Skåne (South Sweden), *Folkhögskolan Hvilan* also in Skåne, and *Herrestadsfolkhögskola* in Östergötland (East Sweden).

¹⁵ It would be necessary to discuss his view of the human and nation, or the idea of *Livsoplysning* (enlightenment of life) properly, but it cannot be done here because of limited space. See, N.F.S. Grundtvig, 'School for life', in N.L. Jensen (ed.), *A Grundtvig anthology: Selections from the writing of N.F.S. Grundtvig (1783-1872)* (James Clarke & Co, 1984). Among others, K.E. Bugge, *Skolen for livet. Studier over N.F.S. Grundtvigs pædagogiske tanker* (Copenhagen, 1965).

against the formulaic education using Latin. According to Grundtvig, the 'nation' was a spiritual community in which people shared history and life by using 'the living words', and in which people shared the ethnic spirit that is based on their own language. Folk high schools embodied his educational design. In the schools, students and teachers would communicate with 'the living words', open their mind and do 'the lively interaction', then awake themselves from the inside through a personal process and not by being taught to do so.¹⁶ However, we have to notice that Grundtvig's idea of 'ethnic identity' was interpreted as 'national identity' by Danish nationalism, although he did not really mean it.

Introduction of Folk High School to Sweden

Later, folk high schools have spread among all Nordic countries. In Sweden, unlike Denmark, the farm village community was disorganized in the middle of the 19th century. The social problem, which the laborers who flowed into the city from the farm village caused, was becoming serious, and class warfare was intensifying. It was not only class warfare between the upper class and the working class or farmers, but also cultural conflict between the urban formulaic culture and the rural traditional folk culture. At first, folk high schools were hailed by *nygöticism*¹⁷ in Sweden. They criticized the urban formulaic culture, which placed too much importance on Latin, and aimed to esteem the folk culture that followed the preservation of ancient Scandinavian culture. They expected a Danish folk high school that would value and revive traditional folk culture. At the level of the government, members of Congress who were from rural areas had become a large force against the upper class and bureaucracy after the reform of parliament in 1865. They wanted to establish folk high schools in order to improve the political position of farmers.

However, not all aspects of Danish folk high schools were accepted in Sweden. As Ove Korsgaard maintains, certain Swedish people did not agree with Grundtvigism's emphasis on 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic spirit'; they wanted more rational way.¹⁸ This disagreement had been caused by the differences between Danish and Swedish nationalism. Denmark had always been surrounded by the great powers and had to emphasize 'national identity' to maintain its sovereignty. However, it was not necessary for Sweden because Sweden had been in the middle of Scandinavia. In Sweden, the conception of Danish folk high school's education that aimed to urge self-awakening to 'ethnicity' was seen as an excessive emphasis on 'ethnic identity' and 'ethnic spirit'. Indeed some earlier leaders of folk high school movements sympathized with Grundtvig's or Kold's thoughts of '*folkeoplysning*' (enlightenment of people), but they did not believe that it could become the central idea of the whole Swedish folk high school movements.¹⁹

¹⁶ It is said that Christen Kold (1816-70), who was a teacher at Dalum folk high school and others, modeled the style of folk high school's education.

¹⁷ Originally *nygöticism* was one form of nationalism that was touched off by *Scandinavism*, and aimed to strengthen solidarity of the nation by respecting braveness of ancient Scandinavians.

¹⁸ Otto Ålund who founded *Herrestadsfolkhögskola* in 1868 wrote about Kold's Dalum folk high school with irony as 'all things must happen from inside', and he attracted attention to Hindholm folk high school that had less influence of Grundtvig. Moreover, August Sohlman, who was an editor of '*Afton bladet*' (liberal newspaper of Swedish), wrote in his article that the thought of Grundtvig was alien to Swedish people. O. Korsgaard, *Kampen om lyset: Dansk voksenoplysning gennem 500år* (Copenhagen, Gyldendal, 1997). (Japanese version translated by K. Kawasaki & N. Takakura, Tokyo, Tokai University Press, 1999, 178-179)

¹⁹ Of course, Kant had a great influence upon Swedish philosophical thought. However, it cannot be discussed in this paper because of limited space.

We can find such tendency in the practice of Peter August Gödecke (1840-1890) who became the second headmaster of *Herrestadsfolkhögskola* in 1869. He studied the concept of Danish folk high schools, indicated that it focused just on the history of Danish society, and tried to make up the Swedish style of folk high school based on Swedish society through his practice in *Herrestadsfolkhögskola*.²⁰ Gödecke thought that the mission of folk high schools was to inspire students to respect traditional Swedish characters. He thought that the most important purpose of Swedish folk high schools was not to awaken temporary feelings, but to inspire good sense and patience, and make students learn on their own initiative with definite purpose and motivation.²¹

Since the late 19th century, Swedish folk high schools have had deep connections with the popular movements such as the labor movement, temperance movement and free-church movement. The character of Swedish folk high schools that was shown in Gödecke's practice adapted to the project of popular education in popular movements, which wanted to cultivate and train their members (almost all laborers and farmers). Towards constructing a democratic society, the members of popular movements began to build their own folk high schools. And the central purpose of many schools that were built by associations of popular movement was to bring up people to be independent and autonomous citizens.

Thus, folk high schools expanded mainly to educate laborers from the late 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. In the last several decades, while technical innovation progressed and the educational gap between generations was expanded, the needs for adult education were increasing and folk high school became even more important in Swedish society. Nowadays, the educational methods and programs of folk high schools are used effectively in adult-education policies.

The implementation process of this place of learning (folk high school) was a process of awareness and exploitation of the national culture in the era of modernization, and was indivisible from the historical cultural background of each society. It is an important task for our study of comparative education to comprehend the historical role of educational movements by paying attention to the specific cultural and social background of the nations' situation. The construction of new schools or new forms of learning is not only a product of social change, but also a means towards social change. (Miyuki Ohta)

*“Welfare-Education Projects of the Freed People” by the Freedmen’s Bureau and Port Royal Teachers in U.S. Reconstruction*²²

By the nineteenth century, American slavery had become a major social and economic institution as a result of modern European economic expansion in the Atlantic world. From the outset, the influence of education on slaves had been a sensitive matter. Long before the abolitionist movement became active and until the French revolution took place, the education

²⁰ E. Ingers, ‘Den svenska folkhögskolan 1868-1900’, in K. Hedlund (red.) *Svenskfolkhögskola under 75 år* (Stockholm, 1943), s.111.

²¹ *Ibid.* s.112-123. P.A. Gödecke, *I folkhögskolans tjänst: några småskrifter* (Stockholm, 1883). P.A. Gödecke, *Om fosterlandets försvar* (Stockholm, 1877).

²² This part owes much to Dr. Makoto Tsujiuchi (1954-2000) who not only provided historical documents, but also offered his inspirational advice and presence. Also, the author would like to express appreciation to Dr. J. Matthew Gallman and Dr. Louise Michele Newman for their thoughtful comments and advices on the draft.

of Black slaves had been considered beneficial because it would raise their value.²³ However, as voices against human bondage reverberated throughout the U.S. North, southern/slave states enacted laws to prohibit the education of slaves. South Carolina was the first to establish such laws.²⁴ As a result, the battle against slavery became a fight for Black education as well.²⁵ Shortly after the Civil War broke out, northern abolitionists paved the way for Reconstruction, with one of its most noticed projects being “the Port Royal Experiment.”²⁶ Port Royal lies in the Sea Islands along coastal South Carolina and Georgia, and it was left in the hands of northern benevolent societies and missionaries after the plantation owners’ evacuation followed by the “gun-shoot at Bay Point” of the Union fleet on November 7, 1861.²⁷ Prior to 1865, mainly abolitionist organizations and individual volunteers implemented various reconstruction projects including welfare and educational ones for ex-slaves. After the war, the Freedmen’s Bureau took over the administration of these projects to provide for the education and welfare of freed people.²⁸

Surely, slavery was one of the most degrading products of American modernization. Then what role did educational discourse play in the reconstruction of the South in the aftermath? The following sections will approach it by discussing how educational discourse was disseminated by the Freedmen’s Bureau and Port Royal teachers. Even though both the Bureau and the schools echoed the concept of “welfare of the freedmen,” which emphasized values and ideas such as industry, economy, frugality, self-reliance and self-support, the realities both Bureau officials and teachers faced were different.

The Freedmen’s Bureau

Among the reconstruction projects, the Freedmen’s Bureau considered the education of freed people to be a cornerstone to other related projects such as organizations of wage labor, legal protection and political participation. Out of these projects, the one focusing on education was the only “success.”²⁹ Though educational services eventually became the ultimate goal of the Bureau in its short life, it was started primarily for relief purposes such as the distribution of food or medical services immediately after the war.³⁰ This Bureau, officially

²³ C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro Prior to 1861* (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1968), 1-11.

²⁴ South Carolina enacted state law to prohibit education for slaves as early as 1740. In 1800, it banned not only Black (including Free Blacks) education, but also any meetings for social and religious purposes. Other southern/slave states (Virginia, Missouri, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and Delaware) followed after S.C. enacting such laws. Woodson, *Ibid.*

²⁵ Woodson, 159-171.

²⁶ See Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction: the Port Royal Experiment* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1964).

²⁷ “Gun-shoot at Bay Point” was how people at the Sea Islands described the incident which freed slaves as the northern forces approached to occupy the area. Laura Towne, “Sea-Island Stories: Archibelle,” Box 32, Folder 336 AB, vol.2, Penn School Papers (PSP), Southern Historical Collection (SHC), University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill (UNCCH); see also, Rose, 17.

²⁸ For detailed process of enacting *An Act to Establish a Bureau for the Relief of Freedmen and Refugees*, and examination of political, sectional as well as racial factors played in the argument of congress, see Makoto Tsujiuchi, *America no doreisei to jiyisyugi [Liberalism and American Slavery]* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1997), 191-226.

²⁹ John Hope Franklin, *Reconstruction after the Civil War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 38.

³⁰ Tsujiuchi, 258.

called the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, was established by Congressional legislation on March 3, 1865, as the war neared its close. Following John W. Alvord's appointment as the Inspector of Finances and Schools in October 1865, the Educational Division was officially established as an independent section within the Bureau in July 1866. Even after the Bureau decided to withdraw from all of its projects in July 1868, this educational division kept its operation until March 1871. The educational division of the Bureau mainly dealt with supervising the following four types of schools: day schools for children, night schools for illiterate adults, industrial schools for developing practical skills, and Sunday or Sabbath schools for religious education.³¹ The Commissioner, Oliver O. Howard, ordered assistant commissioners to have general superintendents of schools write regular reports on these schools. The purpose of these reports was to evaluate the progress of freedmen's schools and gather any related information such as the conditions of educational facilities and the reaction of the local White population under federal control.

According to Superintendent Reuben Tomlinson, in a report from Nov. 22, 1865, the educational project was carried out to ensure "the welfare of the freedmen" despite the strong public opinion against Black education. He wrote, "there is a settled determination that the colored people cannot and therefore must not be educated or improved in any direction."³² Nonetheless, he argued in favor of creating courses of education: "simply as a fact to be carefully noted and considered in deciding upon the measures to be adopted *for the welfare of the freedmen*."³³ What is conveyed by the word "welfare" here? Obviously, the improvement of their conditions are the issue; however, it is clear from the numerous reports and correspondences that the Bureau tried to implant northern values into the South by utilizing the discourse of "the welfare of the freedmen," which meant Black education. Industry, economy, frugality, self-reliance and self-support are examples of the northern values which came to stand against values of the Old South perceived by the North as being aristocracy and feudalism.

The commissioner proudly announced that freed people were learning rapidly the valuable ideas taught by northerners: "I found the large crowd of negroes, whom I often addressed, quickly grasping ideas of industry and economy, which they might save for old age, for sickness, for purchasing homesteads or other property in the future."³⁴ He was convinced and thus he repeated the same notion six months later: "Self-reliance is becoming their pride as it is their responsibility. Even these rudiments of knowledge account for their quick transition to faithful industry, to economy, thrift, self-support, and to almost invariable good behavior."³⁵ One of the effective ways for providing self-support was to encourage Black people to establish their own schools. In 1866, Alvord suggested that "industrial and normal

³¹ "Introduction," *Records of the Education Division of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1871*. M803. RG 105, the National Archives (NA), ii.

³² An official report from State [S.C.] Superintendent of Education: Reuben Tomlinson to Major H. W. Smith, Nov. 22, 1865, *Records of the Education Division of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1871*. M803. RG 105, NA.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ "First Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances of Freedmen, January 1, 1866, by J. W. Alvord, Inspector of Schools and Finances," United States. Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, *Semi-annual Report on Schools for Freedmen* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), 15.

³⁵ "Second Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances of Freedmen, July 1, 1866, by J. W. Alvord, Inspector of Schools and Finances," United States, 12.

schools should be encouraged. All the pupils under our instruction would gladly learn to work, if they could have proper training; and many of the advanced scholars are very desirous of becoming professional teachers.”³⁶ The Bureau’s intention for Black self-reliant educational programs is made clear by the fact that they promoted normal schools where future Black teachers were educated. Preceding Alvord’s order, South Carolina State Superintendent of Education wrote a letter to the assistant commissioner informing him of the willingness among Black people to open their own schools: “I received a letter, from a Colored man who is trying to organized [sic] a School in town.”³⁷ Not only was encouraging a self-sufficient Black educational system a desirable northern goal, but it was also suitable to the Bureau’s original purpose. From the beginning, the Bureau was established as a temporary institution until the South could handle the chaotic situation regarding newly freed slaves. Moreover, educational self-sufficiency was a great idea for the Bureau which faced severe budget constraints. “The freedmen are appreciating the value of education, and willing, when able, to pay for it; and in this, as in other matters, are making rapid strides towards entire self-support,” wrote Alvord.³⁸

Bureau officials gathered information regarding the reactions of local White people toward Black education. In the process, they became aware of a growing hostility and violence. “There are in all portions of the state turbulent and embittered men, who, just in proportion as the federal power is withdrawn will become violent and excite to violence those arouse them,” wrote Reuben Tomlinson, “I fear that in such an event, there would not in this state be either a government or public strong enough to protect the schools from the violence of such men.”³⁹ Protecting freed people and school teachers also meant regulating the social order of the South. Hence, from the viewpoint of the Freedmen’s Bureau, these *welfare-education* projects were instrumental in the northern effort to establish a new social order based on northern principles. The Freedmen’s Bureau and its educational agenda were crucial to rebuild the South and forge a single powerful nation-state.⁴⁰

Port Royal Teachers at Freedmen’s Schools

Unlike Bureau officials, teachers at Freedmen’s schools had a specific understanding of *welfare-education* for the freedmen due to their direct contact with freed people and their living near or inside the vicinity of freedmen’s communities. Proofs of such account can be found in letters or diaries by those teachers.

Arthur Sumner was one of the earliest Port Royalists who taught freed children at Morris Street School on St. Helena Island. According to him, through education, freed people could learn enlightenment, democracy, as well as moral values such as discipline, autonomy and frugality. Sumner was very astounded and impressed to find out that “they [freed people]

³⁶ United States, 13.

³⁷ An official report from State [S.C.] Superintendent of Education; Reuben Tomlinson to Assistance Commissioner; Bal Major General R. K. Scott, June 15th, 1866, *Records of the Education Division of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-1871*. M803. RG 105, NA.

³⁸ “Third Semi-Annual Report on Schools and Finances of Freedmen, January 1, 1867, by J.W. Alvord, Inspector of Schools and Finances,” United States, 5.

³⁹ An official report from State [S.C.] Superintendent of Education; Reuben Tomlinson to Assistance Commissioner; Bal Major General R. K. Scott, July 9, 1866, *Records of the Education Division*.

⁴⁰ As a historian of Reconstruction, Foner argues that the Civil War formed people into a new powerful nation-state. Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1998), 97-99.

should be fit to live after such generations of mere animal life [slavery]... The negro is temperate, both in eating and drinking; prone to forgive injuries, or as you may say, not vindictive [sic]; fairly inclined to industry."⁴¹ On his mind, kinds of violence by slavery, gang labor system, and an alcohol induced abuse were all the same and evil. Thus, he believed that a part of his mission in the South was to abolish all of them.⁴²

Similar to Sumner, other Port Royal teachers at Penn School on the St. Helena Island, Laura Towne and Ellen Murray, worked to encourage temperance in order to eliminate violence. The abuse of wives or children was a daily practice when husbands or parents were drunk. White female teachers like Towne and Murray were called upon when such incidents happened because they were associated with power. They were White women in a "Black Majority" area, and they had legal and federal military access which enabled them to stop those cruel acts. The following is one of the numerous accounts among letters, diary entries and reports describing the violent scenes. Laura Towne witnessed, "he [father of an adopted son who is a student at the Penn School] drinks and gets quarrelsome when drunk, or rather fiendishly cruel, and beats his wife within an inch of her life-ties her up hand whips her with a leather strap, rope or anything, till the floor is covered with blood. She drinks too, and this poor little boy was at their mercy. He was beaten, starved, kept stark naked and ill-treated in every way."⁴³ Enforcing non-violence through education was considered radical at a time when corporal punishment was widespread in the South and believed to be effective in teaching disciplines. When the parents' cruel treatment did not stop on an adopted son, Towne sought a solution by finding him a northern family which would send him to school: "Mr. Thompson want [sic] such a little boy? ...and yet I am sure a good boy could be made out of him. He steals eatables whenever he is hungry and can't get them otherwise, but has taken nothing else. Mrs. Thompson asked me about bringing a child North, and if you could see her about taking this boy, and if she would, it would be such a blessing."⁴⁴ For teachers such as Sumner, Towne and Murray, "the *welfare-education* of the freedmen" encompassed more than theoretical ideas or values; it included practical operations in reality as it was meant to prevent disease from spreading, teach hygiene and modern ways of living, as well as abolish corporal punishment and violence.

Even though both the government and schools operated under the same discourse — "welfare of the freedmen" — and similar ideas as industry, economy, frugality, self-reliance and self-support, the difference lay in their actual involvement with freedmen. Both the Bureau and teachers challenged the existing southern order and threatened the southern concepts of society. The Bureau's vision was to establish a new stable nation-state under northern social order.⁴⁵ Northern teachers at freedmen's schools in the South were a symbol of this new social control.⁴⁶ Thus, both the Bureau and teachers provided their antagonists rationales to unleash

⁴¹ Arthur Sumner to Joseph Clark, June 15, 1863, "Papers of Arthur Sumner," Box 34, Folder 342, PSP, SHC, UNCCH.

⁴² Arthur Sumner to Joseph Clark, July 7, 1862; January 23, 1863, "Papers of Arthur Sumner," Box 34, Folder 342, PSP, SHC, UNCCH.

⁴³ Laura Towne to her family, February 15, 1874, PSP, SHC, UNCCH.

⁴⁴ Laura Towne to her family, April 12, 1868. PSP, SHC, UNCCH.

⁴⁵ See Ronald E. Butchart, *Northern Schools, Southern Blacks, and Reconstruction: Freedmen's Education, 1862-1875* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980), 13-14.

⁴⁶ See Jacqueline Jones, *Soldiers of Light and Love: Northern Teachers and Georgia Blacks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 4, 49.

their anger and violence not only concerning education, but any other project and effort devoted to the welfare of the freed people.

Towards the end of the Reconstruction project, most of these schools closed, with notable exceptions such as the Penn School on the St. Helena Island.⁴⁷ The directors of Penn School had to navigate an educational transformation for Black people under complexity of pressures: conservative White southerners reacted against the idea of Black education, traditional liberal arts curricula failed to address need of Black people, and even some northerners preferred and invested on Black schools which was designed to nurture “good” Black laborers and citizens.⁴⁸ Hence, regardless of welfare and educational endeavors by teachers, industrial and agricultural education was posed as less threatening to the American social order of racial hierarchy. This case illuminates the nature of struggle for Black education in the post Civil War. Perhaps it also suggests a broader thesis on challenging educational hostile situations over a century ago which remains relevant today. (Wakako Araki)

Evening Courses in Public Junior High Schools as a Case of Cross-Cultural Education in Japan

Exactly 35 public junior high schools in Japan offered evening courses in 2002. This section is to focus on JSL (Japanese as a Second Language) classes among the courses, and to focus and re-evaluate the educational practices of teachers in the courses as pioneer trials of cross-cultural education in Japan. Sources for the analysis are the interview that the author carried out in 1999 with the teachers in one of the courses in Tokyo, Japan, and the field notes of JSL classes that the author has observed since 1999.

Evening courses in public junior high schools were first set up after WWII in 1947 for children in poverty who could not attend schools. These courses also accepted a few post-school-age (over 15) children with no schooling. However, in the 1960s, the Ministry of Education asserted that the evening courses were of no use anymore and that school-age children should go to schools in the daytime, which made the number of school-age children in the evening courses decrease drastically. The report of the Ministry in 1971 showed that most of the students there were over-school-age teenagers. The number of schools offering evening courses declined to 1/3 of that at the peak period in the mid 1950s.

From the late 1960s onwards, the movement against the abolition of the courses started, and participants including teachers and graduates advertised them widely. As a result, elderly people who could not complete the compulsory education during WWII and after began to attend the courses. They included many elder Korean women in Japan with almost no schooling who needed basic education such as literacy. At the same time, the courses started accepting students with various backgrounds, such as the handicapped who were prevented

⁴⁷ Wakako Araki, “Beikoku saikenki niokeru kaihoumin kyouiku saikou: William Penn gakkō kyōshi niyoru kokuzin community rikai wo chūshinni” [Freedmen’s Education during the U.S. Reconstruction Period Revisited: an Understanding of Black Community by a Teacher of the William Penn School], <Kyouiku to Syakai> Kenkyū [Studies on Education and Society] vol.13 (2003): 40-48.

⁴⁸ Butchart, 20.

from attending school in the daytime,⁴⁹ or graduates with insufficient schooling.⁵⁰

After the bilateral treaty with Korea in 1965, returnees from Korea⁵¹ began to attend the courses. Moreover, after diplomatic relations with China were normalized in 1971, the number of returnees from China increased rapidly. Although they needed JSL, no public institutions offering it were found at that time; therefore, the evening courses in junior high schools accepted many of the returnees and offered them Japanese lessons. In the 1990s; other newcomers from overseas also came to attend the courses and the types of student were more diversified.

The types of students enrolled in the courses also differ from region to region. In the Kansai area, especially in Osaka, Hyogo and Kyoto, about 1/3 of the students are elder Korean women, and most of them need basic education; meanwhile in Tokyo, almost half are the returnees from Korea and especially from China who need JSL. They are in their 50s or 60s; the second generation of them and their spouse are in their 30s or 40s. The ratio of women is considerably high in all the evening courses.

JSL Classes in the Evening Courses in Tokyo

In Tokyo, the number of students who needed JSL started to increase in the 1960s. In 1971, Takano Masao, one of the graduates, and other persons submitted a petition to the Metropolitan Assembly in Tokyo, to officially offer Japanese lessons in the evening courses. It was adopted and JSL classes were set up in three of the junior high schools in the ward of Sumida, Adachi and Edogawa in Tokyo. In 1974, classes were also approved in Setagaya Ward, then in 1998 in Katsushika Ward; the number of the evening courses with JSL classes is up to five in Tokyo.

The following is the way in which the system dealt with the applicants to JSL classes in the evening course at Bunka Junior High School in Sumida, Tokyo.⁵² The evening courses follow the curriculum for compulsory education, and JSL classes in the evening courses also have lessons with practices such as music, art, manual or physical training. Teachers, at the first interview with applicants to the courses, give them an account of the curriculum and suggest other places if they want to learn only Japanese. Still, after the admission to the courses, some students refuse to attend lessons other than Japanese, and some even go back home. Their leaving occurs frequently in the evening courses and makes teachers worry.

At the interview, applicants are asked their names, address, information about their family, job, and the particular points they want to learn in the courses; they then take a

⁴⁹ See Matsuzaki Michinosuke, *Yakanchugaku: Sono rekishi to genzai* [Evening Courses in Public Junior High Schools: Its History and Present Situation] (Tokyo: Shiraishi Shoten, 1979), 233. In 1974, the Metropolitan Assembly in Tokyo decided to admit all the handicapped children to public elementary or junior high schools at their (parents') request.

⁵⁰ Repeating a year is not allowed in public schools in Japan. During and after WWII, many children in poverty graduated from compulsory educational institutions without sufficient schooling. After appeals from those people, they were sometimes admitted to the evening courses.

⁵¹ They are people left over in Korea and mainly in China at the end of WWII. Many of them got married with natives and the descendants have been brought up there, hence they experience the culture shock when they "return" to Japan.

⁵² The author carried out this interview at Bunka Junior High School in Tokyo, Japan, in May 1999. Here I express gratitude for Vice-president Hasegawa, curriculum coordinator Ishimori, and other teachers there for sparing time for this interview.

Japanese test. They have a two-week trial before admission to see if they can adapt to the circumstances of the course and level of the lessons.

According to Hasegawa, Vice-President of Bunka Junior High School, every year 70 or 80 students enroll in the course while dropouts are about 20. The percentage of attendance is between 70 and 80 percent, and it changes depending on the weather. Hasegawa sees that the stability of students is relatively high. She says that the reason for it is that the evening course in her school is equipped with high-quality facilities, teachers, and school meals.

The course in Bunka Junior High School allows its students to repeat a year in some cases. However, the principle is that it admits people who had not completed the compulsory education and it sometimes has to refuse applicants. Hasegawa comments, "It is the request of the times to respond to people who need JSL. We do not want to close the door of our school; yet the administration does not allow us to keep it open."

As stated by Jim Cummins, a linguist in Canada, the collaborative creation of power by students and teachers, which challenge historical patterns of disempowerment, are at the heart of schooling and of the empowerment of the students.⁵³ The following is the analysis of the power relationship of teachers and students in the evening courses on three aspects: control of (1) participation, (2) content of lessons, and (3) evaluation.

(1) Participation: the evening courses in public junior high schools admit almost all applicants, if they satisfy the minimum condition—they have not finished the compulsory education. The decision whether to enroll in the courses mostly depends on the intention of the applicant. Therefore, the purposes of students who enroll in the courses are clear; in JSL classes, their urgent task is to learn Japanese for their daily life and employment.

Thus, students in JSL classes often refuse to attend lessons other than Japanese, and sometimes they escape and go back home. Moreover, some choose not to appear and keep absent from school. On the other hand, however, many students gladly participate in school events such as excursions and sport meetings. The joint sport meeting of the evening courses of eight junior high schools in Tokyo is held once a year, and it is always full of returnees from China whose age vary; Chinese is often heard here and there. Although control of participation does not depend on students in public schools, not a few returnees dexterously exercise the power to control it.

(2) Content of lessons: originally, the curriculum of the compulsory education is not for foreign-born people who have difficulty in Japanese. In addition, there is no provision for formal schooling in Japan to prescribe the contents of JSL. Therefore, teachers in the evening courses have strived to develop textbooks and materials for JSL. Moreover, they give support to students with troubles and mental stresses in their new life and jobs in Japan. Even in lessons, students talk about worries in the jobs or about their family and need for support in their living, and they prefer materials that deal with "real life." Most of the students are in their 30s or 40s, and many of them do not hesitate to give their teachers comments on the procedure of lessons or their likes and dislikes of types of teacher. Even students with insufficient language ability show their feelings with their expressions and attitudes. The percentage of attendance in classes mirrors the mutual trust between a teacher and students.

(3) Evaluation: Teachers perform Summative Evaluations at every end of the terms,

⁵³ See Jim Cummins, *Negotiating Identities: Education for Empowerment in a Diverse Society* (Ontario: California Association for Bilingual Education, 1996).

which are imposed on the compulsory educational schools. However, in practice, students from various backgrounds and with different goals and leaning abilities reflect upon their learning process and what they have learned in relation to the goals they had set at the beginning of the course. Teachers support them to clarify their self-evaluations, and to decide the next step in their learning procedure. Most of the students want to learn Japanese sufficiently well to carry out their jobs. However, the actual goals are different depending on the student. One returnee in her 40s, who talks only word by word, was really glad that she could make a phone call in Japanese to make an appointment for a job interview; another returnee in her 20s is now able to support the ones newly come from China with processes such as looking for a house or filling out forms in a city office. Individual evaluations, which enable each student to set individual goals, create more motivations in them than Summative Evaluations.

As you can see in the analysis above, students in the courses, especially returnees in JSL classes, clearly have more control over themselves than students do at schools in the daytime. This is partly because they are foreign-born and living outside of the mainstream; compulsory education as a national polity makes few impositions upon them. Moreover, teachers in the evening courses have been, and are, on the side of students, supporting them and challenging the mainstream society with them, which diminishes teachers' control over students. Students there, although they are minorities in Japan, have been generating a new learning in the compulsory education. Thus the practices in evening courses in junior high schools, overcoming cultural conflict with the collaboration of students and teachers, have surely been breaking new ground in the cross-cultural education in Japan. (Sumiko Kamitani)

Conclusion

Minorities are seen as needing enlightenment. The argument to promote enlightenment often goes like this: minorities should acquire the dominant cultures' (Often the Western culture) scientific knowledge and similarly adopt the behavioral patterns of the dominant culture; thus they should be able to free themselves from their positions as minorities. In order to accomplish that, they must be guaranteed the right to education through the public (compulsory) educational system. At the very least, compulsory education should guarantee all minorities the opportunity to enter the main stream through the public school system.

One fork in the road that minorities encounter is the selection of the language of instruction. This is a question of what language to use in the classroom, and in most cases, it is the language of the dominant ethnic group. In order to make it possible for diverse ethnic groups to be taught in their native language, school systems need to train teachers who can speak the minority languages and prepare textbooks written in these languages. However, it is difficult to accommodate diversity in this way. Even if such training and preparation is in place, parents and students who want to succeed by using a high level of education to advance in society select the dominant language and attempt to secure, their opportunities for higher education. Ethnic minorities who choose their own native language as the language of instruction can have problems with advancing to higher levels, especially to the university level. They must inevitably learn the language in which specialized textbooks are written.

When minorities demand the right to preserve and carry on the tradition of their own

language and culture, the educational system can be reformed to guarantee this possibility by offering one or two more languages and cultures as electives or as supplementary subjects in addition to the dominant language and culture. Since truly interactive systems are rare, the burden of learning minority languages and cultures fall solely upon the minorities themselves. They are the ones who are required to make the effort.

The categories that define the relations between majorities and minorities involve more than systematic knowledge and language. Since the categories used to distinguish minorities also include traits such as ethnicity and religion, minorities cannot easily enter the mainstream, no matter what schools they attend or how splendid their academic accomplishments are. They can be singled out no matter how completely they acquire the dominant culture. In other words, even if they abandon their own culture and immerse themselves in the dominant culture, their origins and ancestry are considered problematic.

Ethnic minorities therefore need additional means to survive and prosper in the social survival game. Focusing on the Russian Federation, I have in part employed the comparative method and the life history method to study identity formation in ethnic minorities living in a multi-ethnic society and relations between the minorities and the majority. Based on this research, I have hypothetically proposed the following measures: (1) learning more than one language, although that is not sufficient, (2) ensuring the availability of venues for diverse forms of learning, (3) creating a soothing atmosphere and stress-free space, and (4) realizing a study to integrate diverse types of learning. All these elements are important and significant for allowing ethnic minorities to construct identities. These suggestions will be effective (1) for obtaining added value in the development of a high-quality individuals, (2) for acquiring the resources needed for building a unique identity that is not measured by the majority culture, (3) for gaining the internal stability and energy needed to construct an identity, and (4) for forming one's identity in an integrated manner.

Certain countries allow a cultural or religious group to found independent educational institutions including its religious school if it wants to learn its own language or culture and construct a cultural identity, and if that group does not threaten the dominant culture or social order. The Netherlands is one example. In such cases, minorities encounter another fork in the road when they decide whether to choose a religious school or not. Are there no other ways for ethnic minorities to form a cultural identity than by accepting the law of dominant culture even though their society is multi-ethnic? Should they study their own culture only as a supplement to the dominant culture, or learn and refine their own culture as a culture of resistance?

We would like to imagine cases in which the formation of a cultural identity within a multi-ethnic society becomes a search for coexistence based on dialogue between different cultural groups of equal standing. One way to tell if a search for coexistence is underway is to see if some sort of new culture is being created (or whether public spaces are being jointly administered).

In order to allow dialogue based on equal relationships to occur, we must create a situation in which power technologies do not operate. A situation in which power technologies are meaningless or do not function is one in which people do not hesitate to express themselves, irrespective of their linguistic skills or debating skills, or their command of academic language. It is a situation in which everyone can speak up without fear of embarrassment, a situation that allows lively interactions, the existence of a process by which these interactions lead to the

pursuit of common objectives. The important concepts here are equal relationships, dialogue as a process for the pursuit of common objectives in equal relationships, and shared management of shared spaces.

Only when the power technologies are disabled can people feel equal. In order to break free from school-based (compulsory) education in which the power technologies operate overtly, we must (1) secure venues for learning where these technologies rarely operate, and (2) remove or minimize them. Point (1) includes informal adult education. Point (2) includes (a) allowing students to participate in the venues for learning at their own pace; (b) thorough support for learning by teachers, specialists and facilitators; (c) setting up learner-centered goals for learning and activities and for planning and implementation of those objectives, and having teachers and specialists collaborate by providing support.

Since compulsory (school-based) education functions as a power technology and a means of reproducing the power technologies minorities must free themselves from it and give up their status as minorities (as the majority group also gives up its majority privileges). This is the very significance of diverse social and informal educations. (Keiko Seki)