提携に係る手記に基づき、明治学院大学、ならびに明治学院大学大学院の承認を得て作成されました。明治学院大学の承認を得ております。明治学院大学の承認を得ております。

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SUMMARY OF THE DISSERTATION

Name: ARUDOU, Debito (有道 出人)
Japanese title: 「『構造の人種主義』 : 日本における人種差別の社会的ダイナミックの批評的考察」

Introduction

Article 14 of the Constitution of Japan specifically forbids racial discrimination. However, some claim that non-Japanese citizens are excluded from this protection because they are not kokumin (“nationals”, the subject of the anti-discrimination article; the English original more ambiguously forbids racial discrimination against “all of the people”). Further, there is no law in Japan’s Civil or Criminal Code that explicitly forbids or punishes “racial discrimination” (jinshu sabetsu). The consequences of this situation may be seen in “Japanese Only” signs and rules in places like restaurants, bars, and public bathhouses (cf. the Otaru Onsens Case of 1993-2005), where people who look “foreign” (some with Japanese citizenship) have been refused entry and service. The issue thus becomes, “How does one decide who is a ‘foreigner’ and who is a ‘Japanese’?”

This dissertation argues that this process of differentiation is not only a function of one’s legal status, i.e., Japanese citizenship. It is also a function of physical appearance. In the case of “Japanese Only” establishments, if you “look Japanese,” you are treated as a “Japanese” and admitted for service; if you do not, you are refused service as a “foreigner,” regardless of citizenship status. This has repeatedly been seen in the author’s fieldwork conducted at “Japanese Only” establishments nationwide. It also becomes visible when one analyzes Japan’s laws, the enforcement of those laws, the legislative process, and the portrayal of “Japaneseness” in Japan’s mass media.

Research Question and Method

The research question is, “How does Japanese society reconcile constitutional and international treaty guarantees of equal protection under the law with institutionalized
practices that discriminate by physical appearance?” The answer given here involves an analysis of Japanese society at the “micro” and “macro” levels. The micro level refers to localized individual interpersonal reactions among people in everyday life, some of whom occupy positions of agency (e.g., as shopkeepers, business owners etc.) to permit or deny service to individuals as customers. These behaviors and decisions towards other people have been justified and normalized by structures and narratives created at the macro level of society: laws; governmental and other agencies that create, interpret, and enforce the laws; and the mass media.

Fieldwork generated micro-level surveys of managers of “Japanese Only” establishments to uncover the contours of their decision-making processes: how and why they chose “Japanese” customers on the basis of physical appearance alone, using racialized paradigms that assumed and treated anyone who looked “foreign” (gaijin) as not “Japanese.” Next, the author conducted a macro-level survey of a) Japan’s laws, b) governmental creation, interpretation and enforcement of those laws, and c) media dissemination of a national discourse indicating how a “Japanese” must necessarily “look Japanese.” By doing so, the author sought to demonstrate how Japan’s racialized national narrative justified and normalized the racialized behavior of “Japanese Only” businesses.

Research Methodology

This research subscribes to Postmodernist/Postcolonialist theories that views race as culturally constructed rather than biologically given, and racism as a social ordering process found in every society, due to the mechanisms of nation-state formation and community maintenance. Every nation has a legally-encoded membership structure (citizen vs. non-citizen), and creates national narratives to foster a sense of community within its citizenry. However, in the process of (1) differentiating between “member” and “non-member,” every nation-state also (2) “others” those non-members (to show that they are not of the same community as their citizens), and (3) subordinates non-members (by denying them equal rights with citizens, by definition). To many Postmodernists, this three-step procedure is the process of racialization, and historical example indicates that the creation of a society’s social majorities and minorities are not always citizenship-based (hence the subordination of citizens within the same nation by region, class, historical and social origin, etc.), nor necessarily phenotypically-grounded (hence the racialized
subordination of the biologically-indistinct “White” minorities in other Caucasian-majority societies).

This research adopts the theoretical framework of Critical Race Theory, which analyzes legally-enfranchised dominant and subordinate relationships created by racialized allocations of social power; this dissertation applies CRT’s analyses of the power structures created by a dominant (White) social majority in the United States to Japan’s dominant social majority (called “Wajin” in this research), in order to uncover the universality of racialization processes in nation-states. My methodology is informed by Grounded Theory, and entails collecting a large number of disparate data points (in the case of this research, more than a decade of surveys), finding codes and themes within the data set, and creating testable hypotheses and research questions from the ground up. Grounded Theory assists in evaluating the applicability of CRT to the issue of racism in Japan, showing how the micro and macro levels of social order interact and reinforce each other.

**Research Conclusions**

Although the research canon on Japan generally argues that there is no “color stigma” underpinning discrimination in Japan (tending for example to speak of *ethnic*, rather than *racial*, discrimination), this research finds that a color stigma does exist, as witnessed in the abovementioned “Japanese Only” establishments rejecting certified Japanese citizens who do not look Japanese. To analyze attitudes towards these visibly-different peoples in Japan, this dissertation introduces the concept of “Visible Minorities” (in addition to the other “Invisible Minorities” in Japan who may or may not be citizens, but in any case can “pass” as “Japanese” at an exclusionary establishment), to bring out a hitherto under-researched aspect of discrimination in Japan. The reason why racialized “Japanese Only” refusals are legally allowed to happen is accounted for in this research under a theory of “Embedded Racism”: the concept of Japanese necessarily “looking Japanese” is so accepted and unproblematized that it has become embedded and codified as part of “normal” behavior in Japan’s social order.