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Special Issue I
Sufism and Tariqa Movements in the Era of Islamic Resurgence

Special Issue II
Perception of Islam in Japanese Schools

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日本中東学会
Special Issue II
Perception of Islam in Japanese Schools

Preface

Since the September 11 event in 2001 and the Iraqi War in 2003, topics related to the Middle East and the Islamic world are usually discussed in the context of International politics, and the news distributed via the mass media of television, newspapers, and internet websites catches the attention of ordinary citizens and even pupils in elementary schools. In Japan, however, understanding of the Middle East and the Islamic world has not improved in spite of increasing information and knowledge, seeming instead to go in the opposite direction.

The Japan Association for Middle East Studies issued the following presidential statement after the September 11 event:
The tragedy [of September 11] poses a challenge to those of us who specialize in Middle East studies. The motives are of course still under investigation, but we believe that the factors that led up to September 11 cannot be attributed simply to political and economic affairs. We suggest that our attitude towards the Middle East and the Islamic world thus far, characterized by unconcern and inadequate understanding, may have played a part. And sadly, the event of September 11 may cause even more apathy and less understanding, instead of marking a change in attitude.
In fact, this trend is unfortunately already apparent in, for example, post-September-11th mass media coverage, when no distinctions are made between the Islamic world, the Middle East, the Arab world, and other areas....
People of many religions, ethnicities, languages, and values coexist in what we call the Middle East, and as a result, it is a fact that a rich multifaceted culture has been developed and will continue to be developed. We are afraid that this fact and many urgent issues in the Middle East such as the peace process will be, as a result of the September 11 attacks, overlooked by the average Japanese person. [JAMES Newsletter no.89, and re-issued at the JAMES website]

Again, at the beginning of the Iraqi War in March 2003, we announced the following presidential issue:
The process of decision-making related to this war was argued in the United Nations, as it was in Japan, on a level of discussion different from the Middle East and the Islamic world
themselves, despite being called the Iraqi Issue. It was in fact the U.S. issue and not the Iraqi issue, a term used only as a pretext. The same is true for Japan, where it was discussed in the frame of Japan-U.S. relations and international cooperation either for the war or against it. The discussion among politicians and specialists continues to depend on the simple categories of dictatorship, terrorism, and Islam, and they do not pay attention to the complex realities in the Middle East. [JAMES Newsletter no.93, re-issued in the Website]

JAMES, having realized that one of the tasks of Middle East studies is to deepen and broaden understanding of the Middle East in our society, organized open lecture meetings on the topics of “Islam in World History” in 2003, “Peace Construction and Conflicts in the Middle East” in 2004, and “The Relation between Japan and the Middle East” in 2005. In 2006 we plan to hold two lecture meetings entitled “Discovering the Middle East in Daily Life”; one is about the Middle East and Islam in school education, and the other is about the Middle East and Islam in local societies.

This special issue of “Perception of Islam in Japanese Schools” was planned in close relation to the above-mentioned recent activities of JAMES, and I was asked to arrange it. A high school teacher at Toshima High School in Tokyo, MATSUMOTO Taka’aki has organized a study group on teaching about the Middle East. Since 2003, educational course materials and other information have been presented at their monthly seminars. MATSUMOTO conducted the questionnaire survey in 2003 in collaboration with the members of this study group and other colleagues, to examine perceptions of Islam and Muslims among high school students. He also proposes a field lesson about Muslims in Japan to correct the simplified bad image of Islam among high school students. I myself conducted the same questionnaire surveys in the universities and a high school, to supplement MATSUMOTO’s work. In my paper, I discuss reasons for the stereotyped images of Islam by examining the content of high school textbooks, especially the subject of World History, suggesting that those images are created and fortified due to the gaps of knowledge between scholarship, school education, and the mass media. My preliminary report has already been presented at the 4th Conference of the Asian Federation of Middle East Studies Associations at Pusan in October 2004. It brought about deep concern among Korean scholars, who proposed an international collaborating study on this topic.

The survey and analysis of both papers is still tentative, and I hope this issue is discussed in Japan and abroad as a topic vital to the future of Middle East studies.

MIURA Toru
Ochanomizu University
特集 II
学校教育におけるイスラーム
企画趣旨

2001年の9・11事件と2003年のイラク戦争以後、中東・イスラーム世界の情勢は、国際政治の主題となり、テレビや新聞やインターネットなどのメディアの報道を通じて、一般市民や小中学生まで広く関心をあつめるようになっている。しかし、日本における中東・イスラーム世界への理解は、二つの事件や関連する報道や出版によって深まるのではなく、これとは逆の方向に向かっている。

9月11日事件と際し、日本中東学会では、つきの会長所信を発表した。「この事件は、われわれ中東を研究する者にとって、一つの知的挑戦であると思います。この事件の真実は覚明中でありますが、ここにいたる経緯と背景には、複雑な世界の政治経済事情とともに、中東やイスラーム世界との対話やそれらの地域に対する無関心と理解の不足があったと考えるからです。そして、この事件は、このわれわれの知的な怠慢を反省させるところか、それを増幅させるおそれさえあるように思えます。実際、その傾向はすでに現れています。事件についてのその後の報道のなかで、しばしばイスラーム世界、中東、アラブ世界などの「地域」が区別されないままに使われ、論説されているからです。……われわれ中東を研究する者は、この地域に多くの宗教、民族、言語、価値観を異にする人々が暮らし、その結果として、これまでに実に多様で豊かな文化が育まれてき、今も育まれつつあることを知っています。知的な怠慢は無関心を引き起こします。われわれ、日本人が中東平和などで、今日の中東における重大かつ緊急を要する動向に、この事件をきっかけとして、関心をもたななることを強く恐れます。」(10/23付、学会ニュースレター第87号、英文ニュースレター89号、および学会ホームページ掲載)

2003年3月のイラク戦争勃発に際しては、つぎの会長所信を発表した。「今回、中東にいたる過程において、「イラク問題」と言われながらも、議論は中東やイスラーム世界と関係のない次元で進んだ。一言で言えば、これは「イラク」問題ではなく、「アメリカ」問題である。「イラク」は議論のだしが使われたに過ぎない。日本とのかかわりが議論されるときにも、日本同盟と国際協調の非戦か短絡した議論に収縮している。その結果、政策担当者や専門家にいたるまで、「独裁」や「テロ」や「イスラーム」といった単純な中東観に基づく議論が続き、複雑な中東の現実が省みられることはない」(3/23付、学会ニュースレター93号、および学会ホームページ掲載)
日本中東学会では、社会のなかで、中東への理解を深めることが中東研究のひとつの課題であるとの認識から、毎年秋の公開講演会では「世界史のなかのイスラーム」(03年) 「中東における紛争と平和構築」(04年) 「中東と日本の間」(05年) というテーマをとりあげた。06年には、「日常のなかで中東を掘り起こす」 という主題で、「教育現場の中での中東・イスラーム」 「地方における中東・イスラーム」 の二つの講演会を企画している。

本特集「学校教育におけるイスラーム」は、このような学会の活動と密接につながる形で企画され、下記のべる経緯から私がその担当を委嘱された。本特集の執筆者は松本高明教諭(東京都立豊島高校) は、2003年から、首都圏の中高の教員による社会科中東研究会を組織し、月例の研究会で、中東に関する教材研究や情報交換を行ってきた。2003年には研究会のメンバーなどの協力をえて、首都圏における高校１年生のイスラーム認識についてのアンケート調査を実施し、その分析から、高校生のイスラーム理解を深める方法として、ムスリムとの交流をふくむフィールド学習を提起している。また三浦は、松本氏のアンケート調査をもとに、自身でも高校や大学で同様のアンケート調査を実施し、高校生や大学生の間でステレオタイプ化されたイスラーム認識が生成される原因として、高校の教科書(とくに世界史)の記述を調査し、学校教育、大学研究者、マスメディアの間にあるギャップが、知識と認識の乖離ないしは反作用をひきおこしていると指摘する。これは、2004年10月のアジア中東学会連合第4回シンポジウムで報告され、韓国の研究者から、今後、共同で取り組むべき共通課題であることが提起された。

両者の調査や分析は実験的なものであるが、中東地域研究の将来に関わる問題提起を含んでおり、今後日本あるいは海外で検討されることを期待している。
Special Issue II
Perception of Islam in Japanese Schools

Perceptions of Islam and Muslims in Japanese High Schools
Questionnaire Survey and Textbooks

MIURA Toru/三浦 徹

I. Perception of Islam among High School Students in Japan: Two Surveys
II. High School Education about Islam: The World History Textbook
III. Concluding Remarks: Gaps in the Textbooks and Mass Media

September 11 2001 and a sequence of international events involving the Middle East, especially the attacks by the United States in Afghanistan and Iraq, must have caused great concern about the Middle East and Islam among Japanese people. Whether such interest promoted a better understanding of the Middle East and Islam is not certain, but it might have instead strengthened a stereotyped bad image. For example, as Secretary General of JAMES at the time of September 11, I received many telephone inquiries from Japanese journalists. They often said, “I do not know the first thing about Islam, please explain to me about [such and such] briefly.” Hearing such inquiries, a simple question came to me: Can they say without shame, “I have no knowledge of the Middle East or Islam,” if the matter relates to Europe and the West? They regard their ignorance of Islam as neither strange nor shameful, due to scarce and insufficient information in Japanese schools and mass media, even after the Oil Crisis in 1973.
Information and studies about the Middle East increased substantially in Japan after the serious international events such as the oil shock in 1973, the Iranian Revolution in 1979, and the September 11 event. In spite of such development of information in quantity and quality, the image of Islam seems not to change in Japan. If so, the reasons for no change can be analyzed at the deeper level of perceptions about Islam. In this paper, I report how some present-day high school students perceive Islam, in comparison with university students, and I then discuss the causes by analyzing high school textbooks.

1. Perception of Islam among High School and University Students in Japan: Two Surveys

I will use two surveys by questionnaire to examine how Japanese high school and university students perceive Islam. The first was done in the spring of 2003 by MATSUMOTO Taka’aki, a high school teacher in Tokyo, with support from members of a research group on teaching about the Middle East. Questionnaires were sent to 23 high schools in Tokyo and Kanagawa, and 1670 first-year students filled them out. Mr. Matsumoto has analyzed them statistically and given me his preliminary report. His purpose is to discover what perception of Islam these beginning high school students have and thereby find out how to teach Middle Eastern history in high schools. His analysis paper in Japanese is now published in this volume of AJAMES. The second survey, conducted by me in the class of Ochanomizu University in Tokyo (sample number of students is 115) in May 2005, used the same questionnaires so I could compare the Matsumoto survey of high school students with my survey of university students, especially as to changes of perception between the two. The latter is not comprehensive but supplementary, for the sample is a small number and all the university students are female. Here I will refer to Matsumoto’s results as “High School 2003” and mine as “University 2005.”

1. Interest in September 11

How much are the students interested in September 11, and what image of Islam has it caused among them? Fig. 1 shows that approximately half of the students are interested in September 11 (in High School 2003, 11% are very high interest and 33% are high interest; in University 2005, 15% are very high and 41% high). The source media of information in High School 2003 are Television as by far the most influential at 92%, Newspaper at 4% and Internet at 2%. University 2005 has more active students, getting their information...
by Television (78%), and Newspaper (16%). (See Fig. 2.) Fig. 3 shows a change in the image of Islam after September 11. About two-thirds of the students had no specific image of Islam before the event, but half of those students have not changed their image and the other half felt worse toward Islam after September 11. Students having a negative image of Islam doubled in number to those having a positive image of Islam before September 11, and of them did not change their image or got a worse image. It is noted, however, that university students in University 2005 have a positive image of Islam as often as a negative one, and half of them did not change such an image even after September 11.

Concerning the news categories on Muslims in High School 2003 and University 2005 (Fig. 4), news of wars and self-bombing attacks (by so-called "terrorists") are most frequent (High School 38%, University 41%), particular customs follow (High School 17%, University 23%), then political or economic matters and criminal matters (High School 11% each, University 14% and 16%). This suggests that news supplied by the mass media concentrates on political matters and, when it refers to Muslim daily life, emphasizes the peculiarities of Islam and Muslims rather than their similarities to other people.

2. Knowledge of Islam and Muslims

The second issue is what knowledge of Islam and the Muslim world these high school students have. The questionnaires ask three questions to test an elementary level
of knowledge of Islam: Prophet, holy place, and Holy Scripture. In High School 2003, more than 70% of the total can identify the Prophet and holy place, but only 46% know the Koran as Muslim scripture. The percentage of students who give correct answers to all three questions is 39% in High School but increases to 95% in University 2005.

The questionnaire also tests knowledge of the Muslim population in six countries (Egypt, Indonesia, Iraq, Thailand, Mongolia, and India) by asking whether Muslims are a majority or not (see Fig. 5). Whereas in High School 2003 more than 80% correct answers
are given for Iraq, Mongolia, and Thailand, the percentages decrease to 61% for Egypt, 48% for India and 42% for Indonesia. This shows the prevalent view of Egypt and Indonesia: most Japanese regard Egypt as the land of pyramids, not Muslims, and do not know of the spread of Islam to Southeast Asia (e.g., Indonesia). The low percentage of correct answers on India may be due to an assumption: as Matsumoto explains, the turban that many Indian people wear might give students a mistaken impression that Indians are Muslim. The University survey shows a higher percentage of correct answers (83% on average, 77% for Egypt, and 58% for Indonesia, 87% for India), but the general tendency is similar.

The third group of testing questions refers to the doctrines and customs of Islam and Muslim people (Fig. 6). The average percentages of correct answers are 44% in High School and 63% in University, much lower than for the earlier questions about Muslim people. The high school students know well the Muslim customs of not eating pork, not drinking alcohol, prayer five times a day, and fasting, but ironically these four customs all seem strange to contemporary Japanese people, who are fond of pork and alcohol drinking and have no religious practice in daily life. The fewest correct answers (less than 40%) were for the questions about whether Arabs were a majority in the total Muslim population, the relationship of Judaism, Christianity and Islam as monotheistic religions, black veils for women, obedience to clergy, the contribution of Islamic cultures to scientific development, calligraphy, Muslims in Euro-America, and Muslims in Japan.

This shows that these high school students know about fundamental doctrines and customs of Islam, but understand them as uniform (all female Muslims must black veil their entire bodies, all Muslims obey their clergy). Furthermore the high school students assume Islam to be the religion of Arabs or the desert, not knowing of the worldwide spread of Islam in East Asia and contemporary Euro-America. Their biased knowledge might have originated in their junior high school education. The geography textbooks often take a topic from Bedouin life in the desert, describing Arabs as living in the desert, believing in Islam, keeping its strict commandments, and now modernizing their life styles due to oil money. A second reason for bias is limited information in education and the media about contemporary Muslim societies. As shown in Table 4, mass media tend to report political matters first (particularly focusing on wars and civil conflicts in Muslim countries) and give little information about the ordinary people of Islam.

University students in my supplementary survey have more knowledge than high school students, as the percentages of correct answers increases: 46% for the question on relationship of Judaism, Christianity and Islam; 66% on contribution to science; and 73% on Muslims in Euro-America. The reason for more correct answers may be that the first two issues are stressed in Japanese high school textbooks of World History, and the conflicts
between Muslim immigrants in European countries are often reported in the newspapers.

3. Images of Islam and Muslims

Then we proceed to examine the image of Islam and Muslims. Table 7 shows the image that Islam has, as compared to Christianity and Buddhism, among the high school students. First to be noted, most students [data from High School Group only, see Fig. 7-1 and 7-2] have many negative images of Islam, such as backward (53%), rigid doctrine (54%), intolerant (59%), strange customs (72%), unfree (70%), aggressive (75%), and mysterious (69%), as shown in Fig. 7-3. This tendency will be more visible when comparing

![Fig.7-1 Image of Islam vs. Christianity and Buddhism (High School)](image-url)
images of Islam with those of other religions. The students feel Christianity and Buddhism are progressive, free, peaceful, and charitable, in contrast to Islam (Fig. 7-2). The Christian image of progressive and free may be related to the image of Western civilization, and Christian charity is well known in Japan because the Christian missionaries were active in modern Japan, founding schools and helping poor and weak people. The Buddhism image of tolerant and peaceful may be due to its socio-cultural activity in the Edo and Meiji period, stepping out of the politics. (Such images of Christianity and Buddhism neglect their strong political and military activities earlier, in the medieval period in both Europe and Japan.) In contrast to these perceptions, the students do not know that Islam means peace under submission to God, and that charity is one of the Five Pillars of Islam.

Second to be noted, these negative images of Islam are somewhat accelerated among the students who have substantial knowledge of Islamic doctrine. Matsumoto divided the students into two groups: Group A (39% of the total) has more knowledge of Islam—
that is, gave correct answers to the three elementary questions about its Prophet, holy place of Mecca and Holy Scripture of Koran. Group B (61% of the total) did not answer all three questions correctly and therefore is regarded as having less knowledge of Islam. Group A, although having a better knowledge of Islam, also has stronger negative images of it (Fig. 7-3). Third, the image that Islam is the religion of the desert is also more conspicuous in both Total and Group A in High School Survey 2003, representing 48% and 58% respectively of those group totals.

Why do high school students have such negative images of Islam? As the students having relatively more information on Islam (Group A) have such images more strongly, negative images might be due to the information on Islam received from the junior high school lessons and the mass media before students enter high school. In textbooks of Geography and History for junior high school in Japan, the description of Islam and Muslims concentrates on the Prophet Muhammad, the Koran, the holy site of Mecca, and expansion of the Islamic state. The descriptions themselves are right but not accurate, for the prophets, the holy scriptures and the holy sites in Islam are plural (Moses and Jesus
are also regarded as Prophets of Islam. Furthermore some high school textbooks of Religion and Ethics explain the characteristics of Islam in contrast to those of religions in Japan by such comments as “the belief and doctrine of Islam has been established in severe natural conditions (of the desert) and characteristics of strictness and strength, quite different from the Japanese preference for mildness, warmth, and ambiguity” [Shimizu Shoin 2001: 74]. By describing Islamic doctrine in this simplified way, such textbooks seem to create a uniform image of Islam in accordance with the particularities of Muslim people learned from the mass media.

Do their images of Islam change during high school? A similar stereotyped image of Islam can been seen in the University survey, in which the students have a stronger negative image (backward, strange, aggressive, not understandable) than those in the High School Survey (Fig. 7-4). In the same university a more general questionnaire survey of inter-cultural perception was conducted for all the freshmen in April 2005 (496 sample students, all female). The question on the image of Japanese, Korean, and Islamic society shows that they have opposite images of Japan and Islam in which the latter is strict, unan-
imous, backward, and gender-unequal. Worthy of note in this survey, the more concerned group of intercultural cooperation has a stronger image of Islam as strict and unanimous as well as understandable and warm [Kagami et al. 2006: 258-261]. Another questionnaire survey of university students by Prof. TAKAGI Kikuro at the beginning of 2004 (402 sample students in nine universities) shows their images of Islam: first, aggressive (45%); second, the religion of terrorists (22%); and third, a horrible religion (19%) [Takagi 2004: 12]. Take as an example the image of Afghanistan among university students (survey at the five women's universities in Tokyo, sample of 557 students in 2003) [Minoura & Kuniida 2004: 13-14]. The students surveyed had strongly negative images of Afghanistan (dangerous, disordered and poor) even though they had almost no knowledge of Afghan people other than that they were Muslims. Such images were also created by the mass media after the Taliban government's attack in Afghanistan in October 2001.

Before giving reasons for Japan's stereotyped image of Islam, this paper will in the next section examine the effect of high school education on student perceptions.

II. High School Education about Islam: The World History Textbook

Four high school subjects teach lessons relating to the Islamic World: World History, Geography, Contemporary World, and Religion and Ethics. The most influential is World History, for it is a required subject with two to five lessons per week. Here I examine the textbooks of World History since World War II.

After Japan's defeat in the Asian-Pacific War, scholars and teachers in the field of history strove to promote historical education that has a worldwide and objective perspective. An ethno-centric view of Japanese history, regarding the Emperor as a living God, led the Japanese people to that miserable war and caused unimaginable damage to East Asia. Before World War II, all textbooks were edited only by the State, but after that war textbooks could be published with the authorization of the Ministry of Education. Leading university scholars began to eagerly make new textbooks of World History, and Japanese History as well.

Here I will examine three different textbooks, published by Yamakawa Publishers, Sanseido Publishers, and Jikkyo Publishers: The Yamakawa textbook (known as Shosetsu Sekaiishi) has been edited by scholars of the University of Tokyo representing the Historical Society of Japan (Shigakukai). This textbook is famous for its detailed description with footnotes and is also the most popular, with estimated 40-50% of market share. The Sanseido textbook had been edited by leading scholars associated through the
Historical Science Society of Japan (Rekishigaku Kenkyukai) and influenced by the stream of historical studies by social analyses such as Marxism. The Jikkyo textbook was first edited by a famous scholar, UEHARA Senroku (President of Hitotsubashi University), who promoted a movement to establish historical education for a post-war Japanese people.

1. The Aim of World History and Organization of the Textbook

The preface of [Yamakawa 1952] expresses the purpose of learning world history as follows;

History is often misunderstood as the memorization of events. History is not merely accumulation of knowledge; we can say we have learned history only when it becomes a guide for our actions. Then history is not studied due only to curiosity, even when it examines the oldest matters of ancient times. It should be viewed from the present. ... Recently we have indeed learned that an activity lacking a correct historical view causes a great failure and results in a terrible end. What should be the principal viewpoint of world history? It is to know commonalities (universalities) and differences (specialties) in different socio-cultural areas of the world by comparing them with each other. When we try to learn about ancient Egypt from such a viewpoint, we could find in it as many meaningful and interesting issues as we find in contemporary events.

The preface of Jikkyo's first edition [Jikkyo 1955] also proposed comparative studies of civilizations to find the features of Japanese society in world history.

The textbooks are organized into two axes, time periods and geographical areas.

**Fig. 8 The World History Axes of Time Periods and Geographical Areas**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periods</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Dynasties/Subjects</th>
<th>Geographical Areas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ancient</td>
<td>BC3000-AD6c</td>
<td>Orient</td>
<td>Egypt, Mesopotamia, Persia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>AD7c-15c</td>
<td>Islamic Empire, Islamic society, Islamic Culture</td>
<td>Magrib, Mashriq, Iran, Andalus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medieval</td>
<td>15c-18c</td>
<td>Turkish World, Iranian World, Indo-Islamic World</td>
<td>Ottoman, Safavids, Timurids, Mughal, Turkey, Iran, Transoxiana, India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Modern</td>
<td>19c-WWII</td>
<td>Colonization, National movements</td>
<td>Middle East, Africa, Afghanistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Modern</td>
<td>Post-WWII</td>
<td>Independence, National Awakening</td>
<td>Palestinian Issue, Egyptian Revolution, Iran-Islamic Revolution, Middle East war</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AJAMES | no.21-2 2006
Fig. 9 Organization of Textbooks
(Yamakawa, Sanseido, Jikkyo, TokyoShoseki)

World History textbooks generally divide the axis of times into five parts: Ancient (origin of each civilization), Medieval (formation of cultural areas), Early modern (growth of the cultures and their contacts), Modern (establishment of nation-states and civil societies, and western hegemony), and Contemporary (international relations post-WWII). The major geographical areas are Asia (East Asia/China, South Asia/India, and West Asia), Europe (West Europe, East Europe and Russia), and America. (See Fig. 8.)

Fig. 9 shows the organization of sections relating to the Middle East in the four kinds of textbooks. The proportion of Middle Eastern history content has been increasing for 50 years—for example, from about 8% in 1953 to 13% in 1994 in the Yamakawa edition, especially in the 1980s after the oil shock (1973) and Iranian Revolution (1979). The Sanseido edition also increased in those years, from 8% to 12%. Of the five times, most pages are allotted to the medieval period to describe the formation and development of Islam as it expanded its territory, spreading out from the Arabian Peninsula to a larger world extending from Maghrib to East Asia. This time period is about one-third of the total text about the Middle East and the Islamic World. The Ancient parts usually occupy 2-3% of the total pages of each textbook, more than the Modern and Contemporary parts.

2. Features of Description
2.1 Stress of Islamic factor in pre-modern history
These textbook editions all cover the 7th to 15th centuries most fully. In the titles for each part and chapter the words Islam and Islamic appear frequently—for example, Islamic Empire, Islamic society, and Islamic culture. This is most noteworthy because such titles relating to religion (Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Buddhist, and Confucian) do not appear in other parts of the textbooks. The frequent appearance of “Islamic” might create an impression among students that this religion is the most crucial factor in West Asia and neighboring areas.

In these textbooks, how do the authors describe the typical features of Islam and Islamic? The common features of description are:

**Universality/Unity of Islam**
- monotheism, in common with Judaism and Christianity but keeping to a strict doctrine of the absoluteness of God
- the equality of Muslims under God
- non-existence of a clergy class
- the spread of Islam over ethnically different areas
- Islam as a particular civilization: Islam is political and social as well as a religious revolution [Yamakawa 1952]; Islam is not only about religious doctrine but also a guideline for an entire social life [Yamakawa 1980; Sanseido 1990]; the doctrine regulates not only religious life but also political, social and cultural activities [Yamakawa 2004].

**Tolerance of Islam**
The Arab occupation of the 7th century dealt with Christians and Jews in relatively tolerant ways, allowing them to choose either conversion to Islam or tax-payment. We cannot find the phrase “Koran, or death” that appears often in European literature. The Ottoman Empire was relatively tolerant toward people of other religions, such as Christians. [Yamakawa, 1952].

**Cultural and commercial contact with other areas**
In medieval times the Islamic world had a high level of literary and scientific culture and influenced European culture (especially the Renaissance). Commercial and cultural exchanges with Southeast Asia and China were done by way of the Indian Ocean. In early modern times came the development of Turkish-Islamic culture, Iranian-Islamic culture, and Indian-Islamic culture. Islamic civilization could then be regarded as an amalgam of different civilizations.

The textbook descriptions emphasize Islamic civilization’s importance in world history, calling attention to its uniqueness and its influence on other civilizations. The authors
of older versions were specialists in Oriental history, and they tried to explain Islamic civilization by comparing it to Western and Asian civilizations. The negative descriptions of Islam found in the above-mentioned surveys do not appear in these texts.

2.2 Modern Times

In contrast to the independent parts of Muslim countries of pre-modern times, the modern history of the Middle East is described in fragments in the parts of Asia that experienced Western invasion and domination—for example, the colonization of Egypt and the Maghrib countries and the decline of the Ottoman Empire. These descriptions gave a passive image to the Middle East as opposed to European countries. The Turkish Revolution in 1920 was reported in detail, stressing secularization and women’s liberation with photos of veiled and unveiled women [Yamakawa 1952]. This emphasis might be related to the democratization of post-war Japan. Descriptions of the national movements in Egypt, Turkey and Iran that established constitutions and parliaments in the late 19th century to the early 20th century first appeared in the 1970s textbooks [Yamakawa 1977; Sanseido 1975].

Treatment of Palestine from after World War I to the independence of Israel in 1948 attributed the conflict to the British speaking with a double tongue at the time of WWI (conflicts of meaning between the Husayn-MacMahon Correspondences, Sykes-Picot Agreement, and Balfour Declaration). Some textbooks, however, describe the conflict of two “nations: the Arab and the Jew” [Yamakawa 1952 and 2004]. The post-WWII subjects are political conflicts such as the Middle East Wars, the Iran-Iraq War, and September 11, which serve to give students an image of the Middle East as never-ending political conflict and disorder.

III. Concluding Remarks: Gaps in the Textbooks and Mass Media

As shown in two surveys, the high school and university students in Japan have negative images of Islam and Muslims, often based on information about political conflicts distributed by the mass media (television news). Although the newspapers, as well as television, not only distributed superficial reports on political affairs but also offered special issues on the social and cultural lives of Muslim people, the former information had more influence on ordinary students and other people. Taking an example from my university class of Islamic Society and Culture, I showed at its beginning the video film of Dubai airport and Damascus mid-city, taken by me, and the students wrote their impression of it.
A typical answer was: I have been much impressed that the Arab cities and peoples have developed so much, having high buildings, cars and electrics and wearing western costumes of pantaloon and shirt which are common to us Japanese. They must have unconsciously had an image of Arab-Muslim people living in the desert and wearing turban and veil! I asked the students what made such an image and they answered that the TV programs and American cinema films often gave such scenes. My video film simply describes a usual life of ordinary people, while professional TV programs and cinemas stress the particularities of Muslim.

The world history textbooks used at the high schools have stressed the positive role of Islamic civilization since their first versions appeared. They could not, however, change the negative image of Islam. If they had, the Japanese people, especially university students, would certainly have had more positive views of Muslims. Why did world history education not change the stereotyped view of the students? One reason is the gap between the school textbooks and information on the contemporary Muslim world in the mass media—in other words, a gap between scholarship and Japanese society. The scholars have been isolated from the mass media, insisting on accurate knowledge to understand Islam and the Middle East, while journalists in turn are isolated from scholarship even when it is in Japan. School teachers are isolated from them both and have no way to bridge the gap of the two worlds. The stereotyped images and knowledge are therefore reproduced in each world.

The second type of gap relates to textbook content. For example, textbook emphasis on the strong unity of Islam and the Muslim world in both mental and political dimensions may fortify an image of Islam as a strict and unified religion. Also, textbook stress on the variety within Muslim culture (for example, Indo-Islamic culture, as represented by the Taj Mahal) may only produce an impression of the strong influence of Islam rather than evidence of the flexibility of Islam melting into the local culture. The textbooks also leave a gap between pre-modern prosperity and the modern decline of the Middle East. The more this earlier prosperity is stressed, the more aware the students become of the later decline. And these same students have also been taught that Japan succeeded by following the pattern of Western modernization.

The above gaps have been generated in modern scholarship in Japan and are becoming wider and deeper. Neither blaming the mass media for creating a stereotyped image of Islam nor demanding a more accurate understanding of Islamic history will solve the problem. Now, after September 11, simple dichotomies such as “Freedom vs. Terrorism” are spreading over the worlds of scholarship and education as well as in the mass media. In Japan, the number of Muslim people is increasing, as workers and stu-
dents, or by marriage and birth. When the younger generation has contact with them, is the above-mentioned image of Islam and Muslims changed or strengthened?

Here we come to a keen problem: how to understand different cultures and societies in the globalizing world. Mass media tend to stress the particularities of different cultures and societies to get more audience interest. This is also true of scholars when they describe the originality and identity of the Middle Eastern and Muslim people as particularities. To avoid this pitfall of understanding ‘different’ cultures and societies, we should pay attention to the commonalities between us and other people, and find the way to describe the particularities as to be produced by different organizations of common parts. The second problem is the gap between knowledge and perception, as true knowledge can not necessarily lead to a true perception but rather to a misunderstanding as we have shown by some examples relating to Muslims and Islam. We need to learn and educate a part in the whole structure of a society.

The questionnaires themselves are made assuming the dichotomies in Japanese students. The charm of Islamic culture, however, might be somewhere between the two poles of strictness and flexibility. If so, we should not simply emphasize the one pole, but instead present a new interactive way of understanding the Middle East to get over the dichotomies. Here it may be of great benefit to compare the Japanese image of Islam and Muslims with the images of China, Korea, Europe and the USA, to find a way out of this dilemma. Furthermore, we should try to fill the gaps, by understanding contemporary issues in historical perspectives and reading historical affairs in contemporary issues. Such an understanding might well be a common goal of area studies.

Textbooks (in Japanese)

World History (High School)

Ethics and Religion (High School)

Geography (Junior High School)

References

Notes
(1) This paper was first presented at the 5th AFMA (Asian Federation of Middle East Studies Associations) Conference in Pusan, Korea, October 16, 2004, and I revised it by adding to it some recent materials obtained after the conference.
(2) On the development of Middle East Studies in Japan, see, Special Issue of Middle East and Islamic Studies in Japan, Annals of Japan Association for Middle East Studies, 17/2, 2002, and MIURA Toru, “Survey of Middle East Studies in Japan: Historical Development, Present State,

(3) See, Matsumoto 2006. I conducted the supplementary survey in a women's high school in Tokyo (number of students is 113) in September 2004 using the same questionnaires, which shows similar results to Matsumoto's analysis.

(4) This contrasting description of Islam and Japanese religion follows a influential concept proposed by a famous Japanese philosopher WATSUJI Tetsuro (1889-1960) in his book titled "Climate" and published in 1935. He describes the relation of climate and state of mind classifying it in three region types: monsoon region (South and East Asia), arid desert region (West Asia), and meadow region (Europe).

(5) I have discussed the way of comparative study based on the commonalities in [Miura, Kishimoto & Sekimoto 2004].

(6) In Korea, interest in the Middle East and Islam has been much stronger since the September 11 event, and a great number of related books have been published. A book titled "Islam", edited by leading Korean specialists and published just before September 11, 2001, has issued more than 200 thousand copies. Korean younger generations are apt to be in sympathy with the Muslims due to antipathy against US foreign policy, and many research programs are aided by financial support from the Korean Government (Professor LEE Hee-Soo's report at the 21st Annual Meeting of JAMES in May 2005, "The 9.11 Event and New Approach to Islam and the Middle East in Korean Society"). United States universities are organizing lecture series to educate citizens about Middle Eastern and Islamic issues. The SPICE (Stanford Program on International and Cross-Cultural Education) at Stanford University has been editing and providing materials for junior and high school education, such as Islamic Civilization and Arts (published in 2002).

お茶の水女子大学文教学部教授
Professor, Faculty of Letters and Education, Ochanomizu University, Tokyo.