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Chapter 5

Current Situation of Educational Inequality and Awareness

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Introduction

Since the Meiji period (1868-1912), education has played a major role in Japan's modernization. The education system, formed in the wake of the 1872 proclamation of the Education System Order, succeeded in introducing elementary school education for almost all Japanese children, although the implementation of such education took a long time. After World War II, Japan came to be proud of its educational standards, which were often praised as being among the world's highest. This was the driving force behind Japan's ability to catch up with the West in such a short time despite its delayed modernization and rapid economic growth, which is considered remarkable in light of the enormous damage it suffered in World War II.

The Ainu were left behind in this drive for educational expansion. The Meiji Government opened schools for aborigines (known as Ainu schools) as educational institutions aimed at assimilating the Ainu into Wajin society. In these schools, education was provided to Ainu children using a curriculum different from that for Wajin children. It is also known from Hokkaido Government surveys, for example, that even after World War II, the percentage of Ainu children going on to higher levels of education was lower than that of their Wajin counterparts due to poverty and other factors. Educational inequality shows a clear correlation to economic inequality with a high probability of reproduction in terms of social class and poverty.

This chapter aims to clarify the current status of educational inequality among the Ainu. First, educational inequality is inspected at a macroscopic level by comparing school enrollment rates among the Ainu and the percentages of those going on to higher levels of education with the corresponding figures for the whole of Japan. Then, the causes of such inequality are investigated by focusing on reasons why Ainu people did not or could not go on to higher levels of education. Regional gaps in educational inequality among the Ainu are highlighted, and, lastly, the issue of the Ainu and educational inequality is examined from a variety of angles by ascertaining gender gaps in education.

Enrollment Rates and Percentages of Ainu Children Going on to Higher Levels of Education

Table 5-1 shows the figures for schools and institutions which Ainu people had attended.

For preschool education, nearly half (47.6%) of respondents had attended day-care centers, whereas those who had gone to kindergarten accounted for 31.6%—about a third of the total. A total of 264 respondents (4.6%) had attended both, but many more (1,672, or 29.3%) had attended neither. While the figure for those under 30 who had attended neither was 5.1% (23 people), the corresponding figure for those aged 60-69 was 95.6% (518 of 542 respondents), and was 98.3% (283 of 288 respondents) for those aged 70 or over.

Although most respondents went to elementary school (98.9%) and junior secondary school (95.7%), the percentages of those who had experienced (i.e., the enrollment rates) attending senior secondary school and university were lower at 68.4% and 7.9%, respectively. Elsewhere, those who had enrolled in vocational school accounted for 19.8%, and those who had gone on to junior college and technical college equaled 5.9%. However, only around a third of all respondents had gone on to educational institutions after graduation from senior

secondary school.

The question presented here had two possible answers: whether they attended each level of school education, or not. In this style of questionnaire, many respondents generally leave boxes indicating that they did not attend blank. As such, it can be thought that many of the respondents failing to answer the question intended to express that they did not attend rather than simply declining to answer.

In this regard, Table 5-2 shows the results with the missing data corrected. As a rough measure, missing data were counted as “did not attend”¹ except in cases where respondents left the boxes for all levels of school education blank.

This correction is considered to produce enrollment rates that are closer to reality. Table 5-2 indicates lower enrollment rates for all levels of school education. The enrollment rate for senior secondary school decreased by 10 percentage points from 68.4% to 58.5%, and that for university also dropped to roughly 60% of the figure before correction from 7.9% to 4.7%.

The last academic institution attended (Table 5-3) was taken as the highest level of education among those indicated by respondents. The school type that made up the highest percentage was senior secondary with 44.4%, followed by junior secondary with 31.2%—slightly below a third of all respondents. Those whose school education ended when they graduated from elementary school numbered 276—nearly 5.2% of all respondents. On the other hand, graduates of universities (including graduate schools) accounted for 4.7%—a figure lower than that for respondents who graduated from elementary school and did not go on to higher levels. Even if those graduating from junior college and technical college are combined, the figure for graduates of higher educational institutions is still below 10%.

However, since Japan experienced rapid educational expansion during the postwar years, academic backgrounds differ by generation. Accordingly, this generational aspect needs to be investigated. Table 5-4 shows that younger generations have higher school enrollment rates. Most of those aged 70 or over (95.6%) attended elementary school. For junior secondary school, however, while almost all respondents aged under 50 had attended, the enrollment rate substantially decreased to 68.0% among those aged 70 or over.

As for senior secondary school, almost all respondents aged under 30 (95.2%) had attended. However, the rate fell to 87.4% among those aged 30-39. Showing a tendency inversely proportional to age, the number of those going on to senior secondary school decreased to less than a quarter (23.5%) among those aged 70 or over. The figure for those going on to university was more extreme: among 244 respondents who had progressed to university, as many as half (123 respondents) were in the younger, under-30 age group.

Table 5-1 Which levels of schooling have you attended?

Units: No. of people, %

	Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Actual number	1, 890	1, 075	4, 988	4, 813	3, 145	652	188	251	12
Enrollment rate	47. 6	31. 6	98. 9	95. 7	68. 4	19. 8	5. 9	7. 9	0. 4
No. of data	3, 971	3, 398	5, 046	5, 027	4, 595	3, 289	3, 165	3, 166	3, 029

Notes:

1. Figures exclude those indicating no response.

2. Enrollment rate was obtained by dividing the actual numbers by the number of data

Table 5-2 Which levels of schooling have you attended? (with missing data corrected)

Units: No. of people, %

	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Actual number	5, 288	5, 017	3, 145	652	188	251	12
Enrollment rate	98. 3	93. 3	58. 5	12. 1	3. 5	4. 7	0. 2
No. of data	5, 380	5, 380	5, 379	5, 380	5, 382	5, 382	5, 382

Table 5-3 Last academic institution attended

Units: No. of people, %

	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school	Total
Actual number	276	1, 651	2, 352	593	173	241	12	5, 298
Percentage distribution	5. 2	31. 2	44. 4	11. 2	3. 3	4. 5	0. 2	100. 0

Note: Excluding those indicating no response

Table 5-4 Enrollment rates by age group

Units: No. of people, %

	Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Under 30	556	360	848	850	817	161	59	123	3
	79. 3	60. 3	99. 9	99. 9	95. 2	26. 6	10. 4	20. 2	0. 6
30 – 39	428	240	646	647	556	123	41	38	2
	76. 7	56. 1	99. 8	99. 7	87. 4	26. 3	9. 3	8. 8	0. 5
40 – 49	564	255	1, 011	1, 018	792	147	35	29	2
	65. 5	39. 6	99. 6	99. 4	79. 8	20. 7	5. 2	4. 3	0. 3
50 – 59	274	165	1, 196	1, 211	618	149	29	32	1
	29. 6	19. 8	99. 0	98. 8	57. 5	19. 7	4. 0	4. 5	0. 1
60 – 69	39	39	794	770	247	37	17	19	3
	6. 7	6. 9	97. 8	92. 4	37. 4	7. 8	3. 5	4. 0	0. 6
70 or over	10	2	436	264	75	21	4	3	0
	3. 3	0. 7	95. 6	68. 0	23. 5	8. 9	1. 7	1. 3	0. 0
Total	1, 871	1, 061	4, 931	4, 760	3, 105	638	185	244	11
	47. 6	31. 6	98. 9	95. 8	68. 4	19. 6	5. 9	7. 8	0. 4

Note: Enrollment rates (lower rows) were calculated with the total number of respondents in each age group as the denominator.

Figure 5-1 compares these figures with the national averages. The percentages for those going on to senior secondary school² show that the national average exceeded 90% in 1974—the vast majority. The percentage subsequently hovered around the same level for 30 years. On the other hand, the percentage of Ainu people going on to senior secondary school has shown a steady increase, and over the past decade there has been little difference from the national average. Looking only at opportunities to progress to senior secondary school, it can be said that educational equality has largely been achieved for Ainu children.

Meanwhile, there is still a wide gap in the percentages of those going on to university between the Ainu and the national average. This figure in Japan³ increased to slightly less than 30% in the mid-1970s and remained at the same level before starting to increase again in the 1990s. It surpassed 50% (50.2%) for the first time in the preliminary data for April 2009—a milestone that was much talked about at the time. On the other hand, the percentage of Ainu people going on to university started to increase around 1990, but has remained low. Even in 2005, when the percentage was considered high, it stood at just 27.1% (21.1% after correction)—approximately three fifths of the national average. Furthermore, while the national average increased from around 1970 to about 1990, the Ainu average remained unchanged, suggesting an effective widening of inequality.

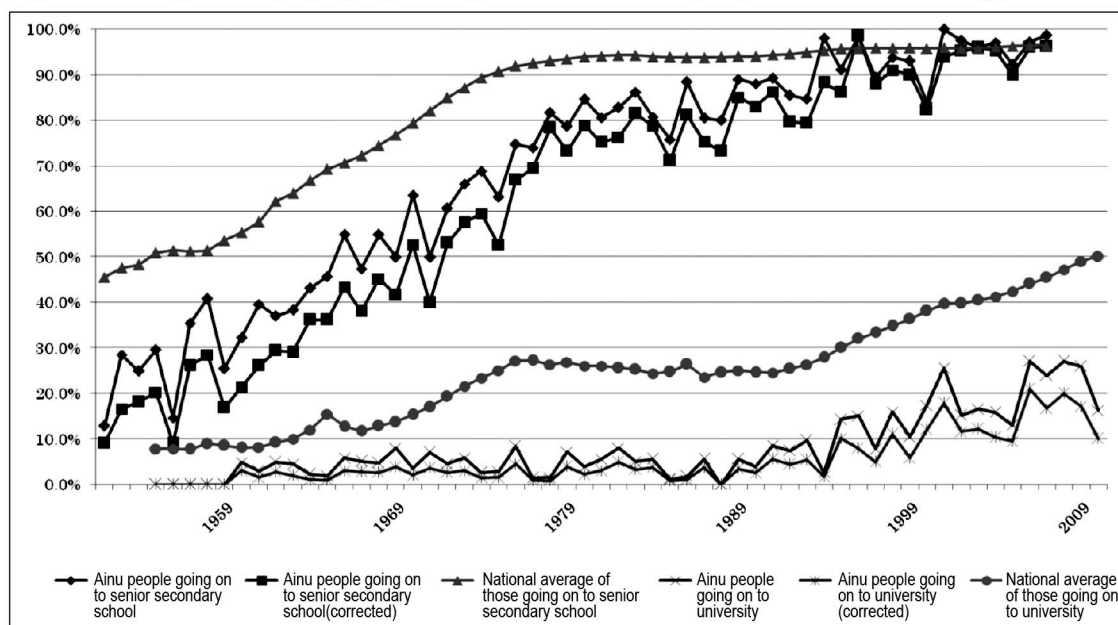
Issues other than equality or inequality of educational opportunity should also be considered in relation to the low percentages of Ainu people going on to senior secondary school and university. First of all, there were many dropouts among Ainu people despite the higher number of those going on to higher levels of education.

Dropouts among Ainu students going on to senior secondary school reached 12.9%. As shown in Figure 5-2, the percentage of dropouts increased for older respondent age groups. The figure was 15.6% among those aged 60-69 and 18.3% among those aged 70 or over, and was lower among those aged under 30 (8.2%) than for those in other age groups. However, even this was extremely high compared with the national average (2.1%⁴) and the Hokkaido average (1.9%) for senior secondary school dropouts in 1999.

The percentage of university dropouts was 20.3%, meaning that one in every five Ainu students left university without graduating. Among those aged 60-69, nearly 60% (58.8%) dropped out, and the corresponding figure was 11.0% for those aged under 30. However, if those currently enrolled are removed from the population parameter, the dropout rate increases to 23.2%. Since the rate of private university dropouts in academic year 2007 was 2.7%⁵ the probability of Ainu university students dropping out was nine times higher than the national average.

Characteristics also included a high percentage of those going on to part-time senior secondary school. Of those going on to senior secondary school overall, 12.8% attended part-time courses. Among those aged 60 or over in particular, one or more in three went to part-time senior secondary school. The percentage of those going on to part-time senior secondary school shows a sharp decrease with younger age groups: 13.3% among those aged 40-49, 5.5% among those aged 30-39 and 2.3% among those under 30. As those in part-time courses accounted for 3.2% of all senior secondary school students in 2008, the percentage is considered slightly below today's national average.

Fig. 5-1 Percentage of Ainu people going on to higher levels of education (compared to the national average)



Note: The national average figures were based on the Basic Survey of Schools conducted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Due to differences between age and academic year (i.e., the fact that some students are born relatively early in the academic year while others are born later), the figures in this survey do not accurately correspond to the national average figures.

Fig. 5-2 Dropout rates

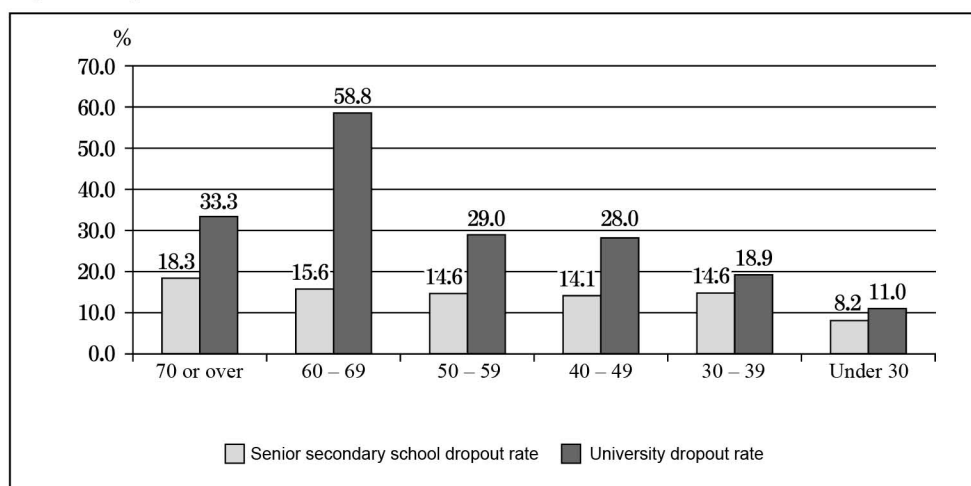
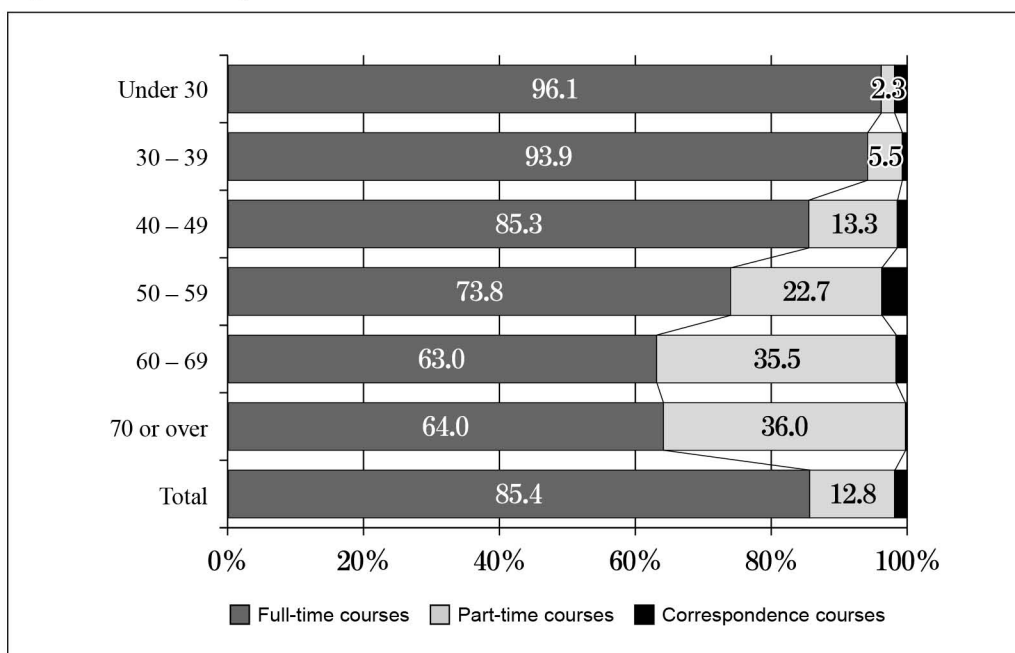


Fig. 5-3 Senior secondary school courses



Unfulfilled Hopes for Further Education, and Expectations with Regard to Education

A total of 32.3% (1,793) of those currently not attending any school said they wished they had gone on to higher levels of education. The highest percentage of them indicated that they would like to have gone on at least to senior secondary school, and these respondents also included dropouts who wished they could have graduated. The percentage of those who wished they had gone on to senior secondary school tended to be higher among those in older age groups; the figure was 64.6% for those aged 60-69. On the other hand, the percentage was low among young people because almost all of them went on to senior secondary school; the figure was just 9.8% among those aged under 30 (Table 5-5).

Conversely, a higher percentage of younger people said they wished they had gone on to university; the figure was 56.4% for those aged under 30 and 54.6% for those aged 40-49. What made them abandon the idea of progressing to higher levels of education?

A certain number of respondents—17.8% of those aged under 30 and 20.4% of those aged 30-39—cited problems with academic ability (Table 5-6). However, the factor cited by the largest number of respondents was financial difficulties. The number of those giving this reason increased for older age groups: the figure was 85.3% among those aged 60-69 and 85.2% among those aged 70 or over. The lowest percentage of people citing financial reasons was among those aged 30-39, but even in this group more than two thirds (67.2%) indicated that they had not gone on to higher levels of education because of financial difficulties. The reason cited by the second largest number of respondents was the need to work (25.2%), which can also be considered a financial factor in a broader sense. Hence, it is clear that financial problems have been a major factor behind Ainu people's failure to progress to higher levels of education.

Table 5-5 Which level of education do you wish you had advanced to? (by age group)

Units: No. of people, %

	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school	Other	Total
Under 30	0	0	13	33	7	75	5	0	133
	0.0	0.0	9.8	24.8	5.3	56.4	3.8	0.0	100.0
30 – 39	0	0	36	32	13	66	7	1	155
	0.0	0.0	23.2	20.6	8.4	42.6	4.5	0.6	100.0
40 – 49	0	0	80	30	18	159	3	1	291
	0.0	0.0	27.5	10.3	6.2	54.6	1.0	0.3	100.0
50 – 59	0	3	202	24	18	148	3	3	401
	0.0	0.7	50.4	6.0	4.5	36.9	0.7	0.7	100.0
60 – 69	1	14	186	5	4	71	6	1	288
	0.3	4.9	64.6	1.7	1.4	24.7	2.1	0.3	100.0
70 or over	9	36	54	0	0	21	0	5	125
	7.2	28.8	43.2	0.0	0.0	16.8	0.0	4.0	100.0
Total	10	53	571	124	60	540	24	11	1,393
	0.7	3.8	41.0	8.9	4.3	38.8	1.7	0.8	100.0

Table 5-6 What made you abandon the idea of progressing to higher levels of education? (multiple answers, by age group) Units: No. of people, %

	Financial difficulties	Need to work	Opposition by parents	Problems with academic ability	Other	No particular reason	Valid cases
Under 30	115	25	16	28	10	11	157
	73.2	15.9	10.2	17.8	6.4	7.0	100.0
30 – 39	125	43	21	38	13	11	186
	67.2	23.1	11.3	20.4	7.0	5.9	100.0
40 – 49	249	102	38	45	15	11	343
	72.6	29.7	11.1	13.1	4.4	3.2	100.0
50 – 59	377	140	52	83	21	8	484
	77.9	28.9	10.7	17.1	4.3	1.7	100.0
60 – 69	319	90	37	31	17	6	374
	85.3	24.1	9.9	8.3	4.5	1.6	100.0
70 or over	156	35	26	15	15	4	183
	85.2	19.1	14.2	8.2	8.2	2.2	100.0
Total	1,341	435	190	240	91	51	1,727
	77.6	25.2	11.0	13.9	5.3	3.0	100.0

In response to a question regarding the levels of schooling to which respondents wanted their children to advance (asking them to assume they had children if they did not), the largest number of respondents (36.0%) indicated university level, with the second largest (17.7%) choosing senior secondary school.

Comparison between the replies of those who wanted to go on to higher education but had to abandon the idea and those who did not want to go on to higher levels of schooling indicated that 35.8% of the latter group wanted their children to advance to university, whereas 51.6% (15.8 percentage points higher) of the former group wanted their children to go on to university (Table 5-7). Their stronger aspirations for their children in terms of higher education are probably related to their own previous lack of opportunity to go on to higher levels of education despite their desire to do so.

Table 5-7 What level of schooling do you want your children to advance to?

Units: No. of people, %

	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/ technical college	University	Graduate school	Other	Don't know	Leave it up to them	Total
Those wishing they had gone on to higher levels of education	0	237	192	151	842	62	25	113	9	1,631
	0.0	14.5	11.8	9.3	51.6	3.8	1.5	6.9	0.6	100.0
Those not wishing they had gone on to higher levels of education	11	613	316	225	881	39	20	335	19	2,459
	0.4	24.9	12.9	9.2	35.8	1.6	0.8	13.6	0.8	100.0
Total	11	850	508	376	1,723	101	45	448	28	4,090
	0.3	20.8	12.4	9.2	42.1	2.5	1.1	11.0	0.7	100.0

Notes:

1. "Leave it up to them" was not given as an option in the questionnaire, but was extracted from the figures for those who chose "Other."

2. Figures exclude those whose past desire to go on to higher levels of education was unknown and those indicating no response.

Regional Differences

Inequality in terms of academic background stems from regional as well as generational differences. This section therefore highlights the educational enrollment rates of respondents by birthplace. Here, comparison was made based on the location of birth rather than that of the current domicile because the former is considered more relevant to one's educational experience.

The history of schools attended by birthplace indicated that the region with the highest levels of academic progress was Ishikari Subprefecture, where the percentage of those going on to university was 13.2%—much higher than the average of 4.8% (Table 5-8). The second-highest percentage for those going on to university was in Rumoi and Sorachi Subprefectures at 7.4%. Looking at Hokkaido alone, the third-highest percentage was that for Iburi Subprefecture at 4.6%, followed by Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures with almost the same percentage at 4.5%.

The percentage of those going on to senior secondary school was also conspicuously high in Ishikari Subprefecture at 80.8%, as opposed to the average of 59.2%. Considering that the second-highest percentage was that in Rumoi and Sorachi Subprefectures at 62.2%, the figure for Ishikari stood out.

Conversely, the lowest percentage of those going on to university was in Oshima Subprefecture at 1.1%, followed by Tokachi at 2.9% and Kushiro and Nemuro at 3.5%. As for the percentage of those going on to senior secondary school, if those indicating "outside Japan/other" (22.0%) are considered exceptions, Tokachi Subprefecture had the highest percentage at 50.7%, followed by Hidaka at 54.3% and Oshima at 54.6%.

These regional differences are considered to arise simply from regional disparities in age structure. Actually, comparison of average ages by birthplace indicated that there was a gap of 16.7 years between the average ages of those from Ishikari Subprefecture (38.2 years old) and those from Hiyama and Shiribeshi Subprefectures (54.9 years old) (62.8 years old for those from "outside Japan/other"; Table 5-9). Now, we look at regional differences in academic background by generation with a focus on young people aged under 30.

Among those under 30, all but one from Iburi went to elementary and junior secondary school (Table 5-10). The percentage of those going on to senior secondary school was also 93.4%—almost the same as the figure for the national average. However, only the percentage of those from Oshima Subprefecture going on to senior secondary school was relatively low at 78.9%, while all the rest surpassed 90%. The percentage of respondents going on to university was high among those from Ishikari Subprefecture (24.5%) and Rumoi/Sorachi Subprefectures (23.1%), while the corresponding figure was low among those from Hiyama/Shiribeshi Subprefectures (0.0%, although the population parameter was low at 2), Oshima (3.5%) and Kamikawa/Soya/Abashiri Subprefectures (8.0%).

Although the overall average for respondents going on to university was 14.2%, this figure was boosted by those from Ishikari Subprefecture; almost all other regions were below this figure.

In this way, even within the same generation, regional disparities in educational experience were found.⁶ In fact, it can be seen that there is a clear gap between the figures for Ishikari, which includes Sapporo, and the rest.

As for regions other than Ishikari Subprefecture, the percentages of those going on to senior secondary school and those going on to university were relatively high among respondents from Rumoi/Sorachi, Iburi and Kamikawa/Soya/Abashiri, and were relatively low among those from Oshima, Hidaka, and Tokachi. Occupational structuring and other factors are considered to have caused this, but the details will be clarified through future surveys.

Regarding the percentages of those who abandoned the idea of going on to higher education and their reasons, little difference was seen among birthplaces and current domiciles.

Table 5-8 Enrollment rates by birthplace (after data correction for those indicating no response)

Units: No. of people, %

	Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Ishikari Subprefecture	135 48.0	173 58.1	398 99.3	391 97.5	324 80.8	78 19.5	22 5.5	53 13.2	2 0.5
Oshima Subprefecture	143 46.1	41 17.9	365 97.9	347 93.0	203 54.6	26 7.0	10 2.7	4 1.1	1 0.3
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	79 34.5	69 31.5	332 98.8	314 93.5	192 57.1	46 13.7	13 3.9	15 4.5	1 0.3
Tokachi Subprefecture	40 37.7	35 35.4	135 99.3	127 93.4	69 50.7	13 9.6	12 8.8	4 2.9	0 0.0
Iburi Subprefecture	666 56.0	293 3.0	1,507 98.2	1,448 94.3	943 61.4	185 12.1	43 2.8	71 4.6	3 0.2
Hidaka Subprefecture	520 45.9	197 21.6	1,444 98.4	1,347 91.8	796 54.3	174 11.9	42 2.9	55 3.7	0 0.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	121 48.2	111 46.1	394 99.0	374 94.0	241 60.6	42 10.6	11 2.8	14 3.5	2 0.5
Hiyama/Shiribeshi Subprefectures	23 40.4	14 28.0	77 100.0	73 94.8	44 57.1	8 10.4	3 3.9	3 3.9	0 0.0
Rumoi/Sorachi Subprefectures	41 44.6	49 52.7	132 97.8	129 95.6	84 62.2	17 12.6	5 3.7	10 7.4	1 0.7
Outside Hokkaido	44 33.6	61 44.5	218 98.2	214 96.4	131 59.0	33 14.9	12 5.4	13 5.9	0 0.0
Outside Japan/other	5 16.7	2 7.4	49 98.0	42 84.0	11 22.0	4 8.0	2 4.0	3 6.0	1 2.0
Total	1,817 47.7	1,045 31.9	5,051 98.5	4,806 93.7	3,038 59.2	626 12.2	175 3.4	245 4.8	11 0.2

Note: Enrollment rates (lower rows) were calculated with the total number of respondents in each region as the denominator.

Table 5-9 Average age by birthplace

Units: age, No. of people

	Birthplace			Branch		
	Average age	Standard deviation	No. of data	Average age	Standard deviation	No. of data
Ishikari Subprefecture	38.2	15.4	411	45.0	15.6	725
Oshima Subprefecture	48.9	15.4	389	48.6	15.4	387
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	50.6	15.5	352	51.6	16.5	92
Tokachi Subprefecture	45.1	16.5	136	47.8	16.8	360
Iburi Subprefecture	46.9	16.6	1,570	48.6	16.3	1,986
Hidaka Subprefecture	50.1	15.6	1,484	50.4	16.2	1,569
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	50.0	15.0	423	51.6	15.0	472
Hiyama/Shiribeshi Subprefectures	54.9	13.7	85	—	—	—
Rumoi/Sorachi Subprefectures	51.2	13.3	137	—	—	—
Outside Hokkaido	53.8	14.4	233	—	—	—
Outside Japan/other	62.8	13.1	55	40.5	14.6	49
Total	48.4	16.1	5,275	48.8	16.2	5,640

Table 5-10 Enrollment rates among those aged under 30 by birthplace (after data correction for those indicating no response) Units: No. of people, %

	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Ishikari Subprefecture	143	143	136	30	6	35	1
	100.0	100.0	95.1	21.0	4.2	24.5	0.7
Oshima Subprefecture	57	57	45	9	2	2	0
	100.0	100.0	78.9	15.8	3.5	3.5	0.0
Kamikawa, Soya, and Abashiri Subprefectures	50	50	47	11	6	4	0
	100.0	100.0	94.0	22.0	12.0	8.0	0.0
Tokachi Subprefecture	28	28	26	4	7	3	0
	100.0	100.0	92.9	14.3	25.0	10.7	0.0
Iburi Subprefecture	316	316	300	60	18	42	0
	99.7	99.7	94.6	18.9	5.7	13.2	0.0
Hidaka Subprefecture	190	190	179	32	13	26	0
	100.0	100.0	94.2	16.8	6.8	13.7	0.0
Kushiro and Nemuro Subprefectures	43	43	39	7	2	4	1
	100.0	100.0	90.7	16.3	4.7	9.3	2.3
Hiyama/Shiribeshi Subprefectures	2	2	2	2	0	0	0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rumoi/Sorachi Subprefectures	13	13	13	1	0	3	1
	100.0	100.0	100.0	7.7	0.0	23.1	7.7
Outside Hokkaido	17	17	16	2	3	2	0
	100.0	100.0	94.1	11.8	17.6	11.8	0.0
Outside Japan/other	2	2	2	0	0	1	0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.0
Total	861	861	805	158	57	122	3
	99.9	99.9	93.4	18.3	6.6	14.2	0.3

Note: Enrollment rates (lower rows) were calculated with the total number of respondents in each region as the denominator.

Educational Differences by Gender

Here we look at gender gaps in educational experience. Table 5-11 indicates that, by and large, there is little difference in educational experience between men and women. The percentages of those going on to senior secondary school were almost the same, with 57.7% (1,510) among men and 59.3% (1,632) among women. As for higher education, 2.7% (70) of men and 4.3% (117) of women went on to junior or technical college. The percentages of those going on to university were 2.8% (77) among women and 6.6% (174) among men. It thus appears that the general tendency for women to go to junior college and for men to go to university was also reflected in the Ainu figures.

On the whole, few gender differences appeared up to the secondary education stage, although this varied by generation. Almost all respondents under 60 and almost 90% of those aged 60-69, both men and women, attended junior secondary school. Among those aged 70 or over, however, only 66.9% (162) of men and 50.4% (131) of women went to junior secondary school—a gap of 16.5 percentage points.

The percentages of women going on to senior secondary school were higher than those of men by 4 to 8 points among those under 60. In contrast, among those aged 60–69, 31.1% (138) of men and 23.8% (108) of women went on to senior secondary school. Among those aged 70 or over, the ratios between men and women were reversed, with 17.4% (42) for men and 12.3% (32) for women.

In terms of the percentages of respondents going on to university, those for men were consistently higher than the corresponding figures for women. While the percentage of Ainu people going on to university was low, that of women was conspicuously low. Of 77 Ainu women going on to university, 62.3% (48) were under 30. However, not many Ainu women went on to junior college. The percentage of Ainu women progressing to junior college and technical college was also low, and the highest figure was among those aged under 30 (8.2%, 35).

Figure 5-4 compares these figures with the national averages, and clearly indicates that, while the percentage of women going on to university has steadily increased for Japan as a whole, the corresponding figure for Ainu women has remained constant.

In this way, Ainu women, for whom the percentage of those going on to schools of higher education is still low, seem to face harsher conditions than their Wajin counterparts.

Corresponding to this situation, the percentage of women who wished they had gone on to higher levels of education was higher at 42.8% (975) than that of men at 37.7% (815) (Table 5-12). In terms of reasons for abandoning the idea of going on to higher levels of education, more women than men cited financial difficulties, among those under 60. For those aged 40-49 in particular, 78.6% (154) of women, as opposed to 64.6% (95) of men, cited financial reasons—a difference as large as 14 percentage points. In addition, many women also cited opposition from their parents, which, coupled with the study's open-ended questions and interview surveys, means it is reasonable to assume that people thought women did not need to receive education under conditions of financial constraint.

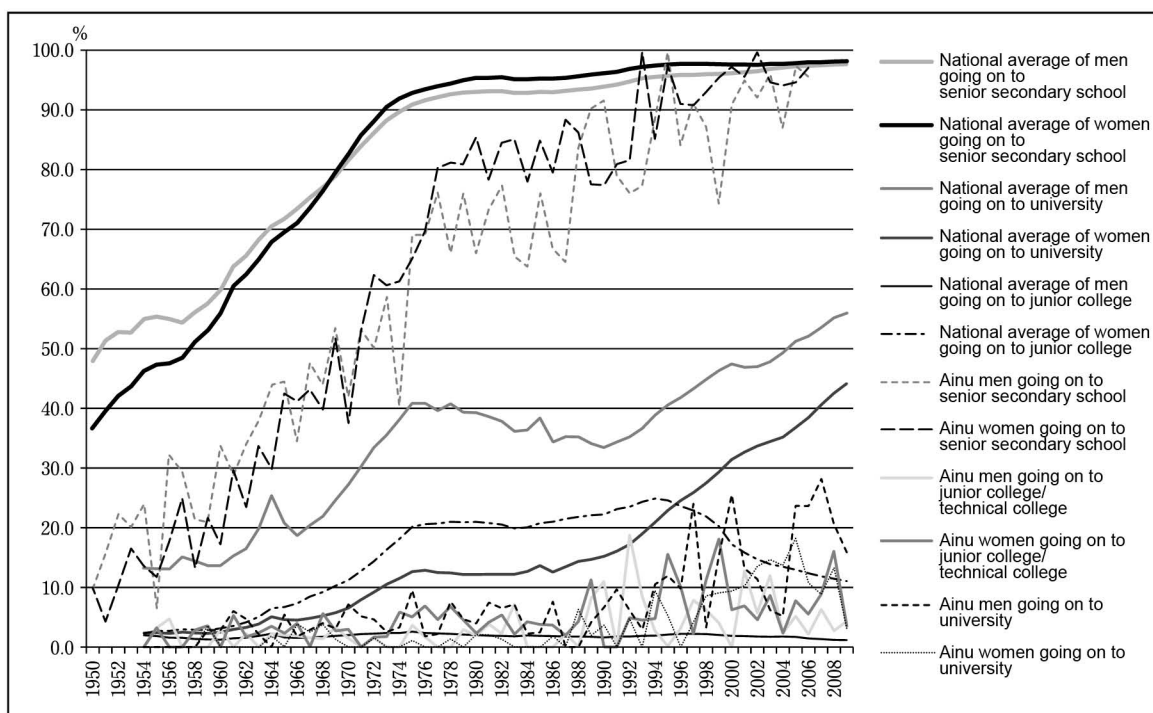
Table 5-11 Enrollment rates by gender and age group

Units: No. of people, %

		Day-care center	Kindergarten	Elementary school	Junior secondary school	Senior secondary school	Vocational school	Junior college/technical college	University	Graduate school
Under 30	Men	289	181	448	448	410	78	23	75	2
		80.5	61.1	99.8	99.8	91.3	17.4	5.1	16.7	0.4
	Women	267	179	427	427	406	83	35	48	1
		78.1	59.5	100.0	100.0	95.1	19.4	8.2	11.2	0.2
30 – 39	Men	214	104	317	317	255	72	19	25	2
		79.3	53.3	98.8	98.8	79.4	22.4	5.9	7.8	0.6
	Women	214	136	357	355	301	51	22	13	0
		74.3	58.4	99.4	98.9	83.8	14.2	6.1	3.6	0.0
40 – 49	Men	245	118	477	474	336	65	11	24	2
		64.6	42.1	99.8	99.2	70.3	13.6	2.3	5.0	0.4
	Women	319	137	580	577	456	82	24	5	0
		66.2	37.6	99.5	99.0	78.2	14.1	4.1	0.9	0.0
50 – 59	Men	115	79	632	627	300	69	7	27	1
		25.3	18.9	98.0	97.2	46.5	10.7	1.1	4.2	0.2
	Women	159	86	640	634	318	80	22	5	0
		33.8	20.7	99.1	98.1	49.2	12.4	3.4	0.8	0.0
60 – 69	Men	20	15	422	398	138	16	6	13	2
		6.9	5.4	95.0	89.6	31.1	3.6	1.4	2.9	0.5
	Women	19	24	442	400	108	21	11	6	1
		6.6	8.4	97.4	88.1	23.8	4.6	2.4	1.3	0.2
70 or over	Men	5	2	235	162	42	9	2	3	0
		3.6	1.5	97.1	66.9	17.4	3.7	0.8	1.2	0.0
	Women	5	0	242	131	32	12	2	0	0
		3.0	0.0	93.1	50.4	12.3	4.6	0.8	0.0	0.0
All	Men	902	508	2,571	2,466	1,510	319	70	174	10
		47.1	31.3	98.1	94.1	57.7	12.2	2.7	6.6	0.4
	Women	988	567	2,707	2,542	1,632	333	117	77	2
		48.2	32.0	98.4	92.4	59.3	12.1	4.3	2.8	0.1

Note: "All" figures do not match the total for each age group because they include those with uncertain ages.

Fig. 5-4 Percentages of men and women going on to higher levels of education (comparison with the national average)



Note: The figures for the national average were based on the Basic Survey of Schools conducted by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology. Due to differences between age and academic year (i.e., the fact that some students are born relatively early in the academic year while others are born later), the figures in this survey do not accurately correspond to the national average figures.

Table 5-12 Past desire to go on to higher levels of education and reasons for abandoning the idea of doing so (multiple answers, by gender and age group)
Units: No. of people, %

		Wanted to go on to higher levels of education	Financial difficulties	Need to work	Opposition by parents	Problems with academic ability	Other	No particular reason	Valid cases
Under 30	Men	64	43	12	6	7	3	6	61
		21.1	70.5	19.7	9.8	11.5	4.9	9.8	100.0
	Women	97	72	13	10	21	7	5	96
		29.8	75.0	13.5	10.4	21.9	7.3	5.2	100.0
30 – 39	Men	82	48	18	6	15	5	6	79
		29.6	60.8	22.8	7.6	19.0	6.3	7.6	100.0
	Women	109	77	25	15	23	8	5	107
		34.8	72.0	23.4	14.0	21.5	7.5	4.7	100.0
40 – 49	Men	148	95	58	15	23	6	6	147
		34.6	64.6	39.5	10.2	15.6	4.1	4.1	100.0
	Women	197	154	44	23	22	9	5	196
		39.2	78.6	22.4	11.7	11.2	4.6	2.6	100.0
50 – 59	Men	228	170	63	22	39	8	4	223
		41.6	76.2	28.3	9.9	17.5	3.6	1.8	100.0
	Women	264	205	77	30	44	13	4	259
		49.5	79.2	29.7	11.6	17.0	5.0	1.5	100.0
60 – 69	Men	187	156	55	13	19	4	3	185
		49.2	84.3	29.7	7.0	10.3	2.2	1.6	100.0
	Women	194	163	35	24	12	13	3	189
		51.1	86.2	18.5	12.7	6.3	6.9	1.6	100.0
70 or over	Men	80	72	19	7	2	3	2	80
		41.9	90.0	23.8	8.8	2.5	3.8	2.5	100.0
	Women	105	84	16	19	13	12	2	103
		50.5	81.6	15.5	18.4	12.6	11.7	1.9	100.0
All	Men	815	599	228	70	107	30	31	799
		37.7	75.0	28.5	8.8	13.4	3.8	3.9	100.0
	Women	975	762	213	122	137	62	24	958
		42.8	79.5	22.2	12.7	14.3	6.5	2.5	100.0

Note: "All" figures do not match the total for each age group because they include those with uncertain ages.

Summary

As described above, it became clear that there was a large gap in educational achievement between the Ainu and Wajin. Even among Ainu people, there were clear differences by generation, region, and gender. With an overwhelming majority citing financial reasons for abandoning the idea of going on to higher levels of education, it was inferred that poverty had caused gaps in educational attainment. Moreover, such gaps placed a higher burden on women due to their relatively weak social standing.

As shown in Table 5-13, the last academic institution attended significantly affected average annual income. While the figure for those going on to senior secondary school was 2.501 million yen, that of university graduates was 2.730 million yen. Since the average age of university graduates was low at 35.0 years compared to that for senior secondary school graduates (42.9 years), the gap in annual income is expected to further widen among those in the same age group. It is perhaps not surprising that the figure of 2.730 million yen was significantly lower than the corresponding figure for Wajin. Even in such circumstances, education will mitigate poverty and help to break the pattern of repetition from generation to generation.

Table 5-13 Average individual annual income and average age (by last academic institution attended)

	Average individual annual income (x 10,000 yen)			Average age (years)		
	Average value	Standard deviation	Frequency (No. of people)	Average value	Standard deviation	Frequency (No. of people)
Elementary school	168.0	197.0	172	71.6	8.7	274
Junior secondary school	244.1	225.1	1,221	57.0	11.6	1,642
Senior secondary school	250.1	201.6	1,842	42.9	14.1	2,335
Vocational school	235.3	158.8	477	41.4	14.1	585
Junior college/technical college	220.0	167.3	120	39.7	14.7	172
University	273.0	194.0	165	35.0	15.3	236
Graduate school	216.7	150.0	9	43.8	16.5	12
Total	243.0	203.7	4,006	48.2	16.0	5,256

Notes

- 1) Data were corrected through the following steps: 1) when the respondent left the boxes for all levels of school education blank, this was counted as “no response;” 2) when only some boxes were blank (e.g., when respondents indicated that they had gone to elementary, junior, and senior secondary school, but left the remaining questions unanswered), schools with blank boxes were considered as not having been attended; 3) however, even in the case of 2., if the respondent left the boxes for elementary and junior secondary school blank but indicated that he/she had gone on to higher levels of schooling, he/she was considered as having attended elementary and junior secondary school.
- 2) The Basic Survey of Schools defines the percentage as the ratio of those going on to senior secondary school, the upper division of secondary school, regular and special courses of the upper secondary department of special-needs schools and technical colleges (including those who advanced to such schools while in employment, but excluding those who graduated from junior secondary school in the past academic year) among those who graduated from junior secondary school and those who completed the lower division of secondary school. This Hokkaido University survey does not include those going on to technical college.
- 3) The Basic Survey of Schools defines the percentage as the ratio calculated by dividing the number of those who entered university undergraduate courses (including those who graduated from senior secondary school in the past academic year) by the number of junior secondary school graduates three years earlier and the number of those who completed the lower division of secondary school. In this Hokkaido University survey, the university enrollment rate in each age group was taken as the percentage of those going on to university. Accordingly, while students who graduated from senior secondary school in the past academic year were included in the year of their university enrollment in the Basic Survey of Schools, they were counted based on their birth year in this Hokkaido University survey. Since the ages and enrollment rates were those as of October 2008, when this survey was conducted, those aged 18 include senior secondary school students.
- 4) 2008 Survey on Issues concerning Student Guidance for Problematic Behavior by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology (http://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/houdou/21/08/___icsFiles/afieldfile/2009/08/06/1282877_1_1.pdf). The dropout rate has been between 1.9% and 2.6% since 1982.
- 5) The Basic Survey of School Corporations conducted by the Promotion and Mutual Aid Corporation for Private Schools of Japan
- 6) Cross tabulation by age group for birthplaces and last academic institutions attended showed a significant difference among those in age groups other than the 30-39 bracket. With older age groups, the percentages of those whose last academic institutions attended were elementary and junior secondary school showed regional differences.