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Analysis of the Relational Structure of "Equality" and "Equity" in the Japanese Educational System and Policies: An Application of the Capability Approach and Theory of Caring

Taketoshi Goto*

Using the contrast between "formal equality" and "equity," this study employs Amartya Sen's concept of capability to illustrate the relational structure of the distributive principle behind Japan's education system and policies, as well as its problems. In addition, it presents a practical principle and measures for implementing an educational system and policies that emphasize equity. The results demonstrate that Japan's educational system and policies emphasize formal equality and distribute goods on the principle of equity only to some children with difficulties. Additionally, a growing demand for both formal equality and equity has emerged in recent years. The reality, however, is a reciprocal relationship where the majority of students are still expected to achieve a high level of functioning, while "diverse learning spaces" are expanded for those children who cannot keep up. This paper explains that to move beyond this situation and realize an educational system and policies that emphasize equity and guarantee capability will be possible by ensuring that the distribution of goods and services for children with difficulties benefits all children. This can be accomplished by adopting the philosophy of "caring educational administration."

Keywords: Equity, equality, capability, caring, functioning

1. Introduction

In recent years, a rhetoric that contrasts equity and equality and emphasizes the former has become commonplace. A typical example is an illustration explaining that "equality" entails giving children who want to watch baseball over the fence the same number of crates regardless of their height, while "equity" entails varying the number of crates according to their height. Additionally, in the business context, some companies have begun to emphasize

* Tohoku University
e-mail: taketoshi.goto.a8@tohoku.ac.jp

equity over equality under the guiding philosophy of "Diversity, Equity & Inclusion" (DE&I).[1]

While this explanation may seem straightforward, it oversimplifies the concept of "equality" and is not consistent with the arguments for equality of educational opportunity in the field of educational studies. For example, Howe (1997) claims that the concept of "equality" here primarily refers to the formal interpretation that emphasizes treating all people uniformly without considering individual circumstances. He explains that some ideas of "equality" include making additional distributions to those with disadvantages or hardships (the compensatory interpretation), while others include seeking the participation of these people in negotiations on the ideal of distribution (the participatory interpretation) (Howe, 1997). Terzi (2014) also calls for the concept of "capability equality," that of distributing more resources to children with disabilities and difficulties in order to ensure that they can use them to achieve well-being, and does not address "equality" as a formal concept. Depending on how one views the nature of equality, it may also include an element of additional distribution that considers the individual circumstances implied by the concept of "equity."

Nevertheless, using both "equality" and "equity" may not be possible in an analytical framework without their meanings overlapping. Therefore, the concept of "equity" is defined here as the positive differentiation in the distribution of goods toward achieving certain objectives or realizing certain values, allowing for differences among individuals. The counterpart to this is "formal equality," which is defined as an attempt to achieve uniformity in the distribution of goods without consideration of individual circumstances.

When we contrast "equity" and "formal equality" in this manner, how can we evaluate Japan's educational system and policies, based thus far on the fundamental principle of "equality of educational opportunity"? Although Japan's education system, policies, and school management have long been regarded as overly emphasizing "formal equality" (Kashiwagi, 2020; Omomo, 2020), a new law enacted in 2016, the Act for Guaranteeing the Opportunity of Receiving Education Equivalent to General Education at the Compulsory Grades, has been implemented, providing additional educational opportunities for non-attenders and those over school age as well as the establishment of evening junior high schools and special schools for non-attenders. Additionally, since the enactment of the Act for Elimination of Discrimination against Persons with Disabilities in 2013, educational institutions that accept children with disabilities are required to provide "reasonable accommodation." Can we immediately state that these changes represent a shift from "formal equality" to "equity" in Japan's educational system and policies? Or is "formal equality" still the basis, and "equity" only a principle of additional distribution to some people with disabilities or difficulties? If the latter is the case, then "equity" is merely a peripheral compensation for some pupils who suffer from contradictions of "formal equality." On the other hand, if the former is the case, then the question arises as to the kind of educational system and policies that "equity" specifically requires as the principle of guaranteeing educational opportunities for all students, as well as the "practical" principles (those relied on by educational administrators and school officials) that will be applied in introducing such system and policies.

Why is it necessary to question the "practical" principles when emphasizing "equity"? In fact, "equity" has been presented as a principle on which education systems should rely since long before the recent discourse on DE&I. For example, Horio (1971) proposed the "principle of equity in education" to overcome the paradox of the principle of equal opportunity in

modern times, namely that equal opportunity was equated with formal equality and thus understood as a principle rationalizing substantive inequality. This principle calls for “an education that is appropriate to the abilities and aptitudes of all citizens” and “an educational system consisting of a variety of schools and a variety of curricula, guided by the human ideal of maximizing each individual’s human abundance in accordance with his or her abilities and aptitudes” (Horio, 1971, p. 235). In order to guarantee the right to receive “education that is appropriate to ability and aptitude,” it is necessary “not only to open the door equally to all without discrimination based on status, social or other external factors [the principle of a unified school system and open examinations], but also to provide new educational opportunities for the full development of all people, according to their needs” (Horio, 1971, p. 253). Noted here is that the “formal equality” principle of “opening the gate equally to all” and the “equity” principle of the “full development of all people” should not be viewed as two separate principles, but rather in proper relation to each other. However, in this formulation, the “practical” principles of the educational systems and policies that emphasize “equity” are missing. In other words, no consideration has been given to the kind of principles that education officials need to apply to move the education system and act so as to realize “equity in education.”

Therefore, this paper aims to reconsider the relationship between the principle of distribution of goods behind the modern Japanese public education system from the perspective of the appropriate relationship between the principle of “formal equality” and that of “equity,” and then to present the status of an education system and policies reliant on the “equity” principle, together with their practical principles.

Specifically, this paper begins by applying Amartya Sen’s concept of “capability,” in addition to the distinction between “equity” and “formal equality,” to depict the relational structure of the distributive principles behind Japan’s educational system and policies. It then highlights the issues with this relational structure that emerge from the perspective of the “equity” principle. Finally, it examines the content of an educational system that emphasizes the “equity” principle and the practical principles required in its implementation.

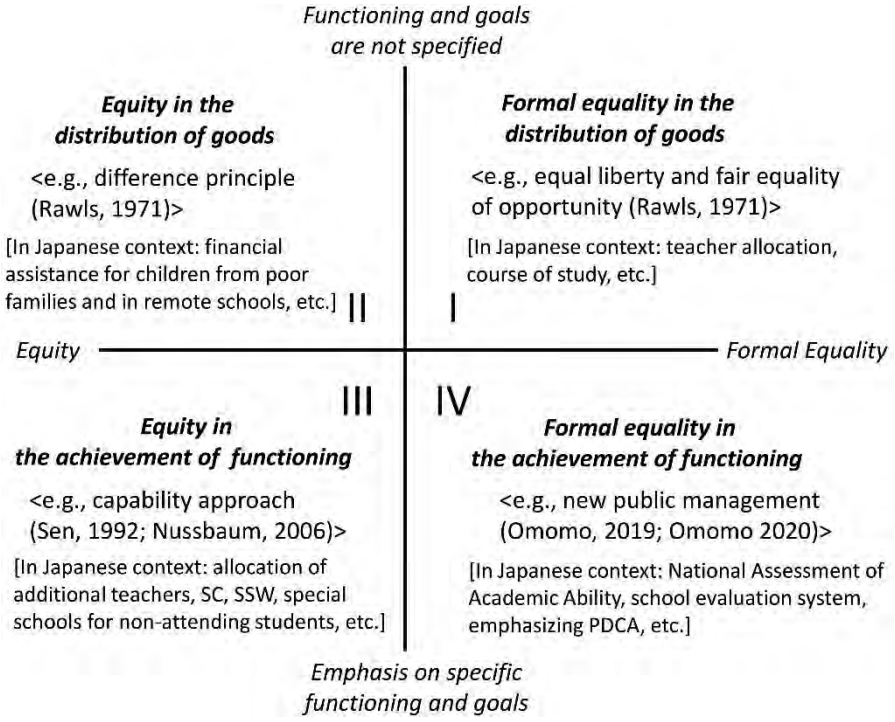
2. Distributional principles behind Japan’s educational system and policies

2.1. Application of the capability approach

As noted earlier, the distinction between formal equality and equity in the distribution of goods implies a conflict over the mode of distribution, that is, whether to emphasize differentiated or uniform distribution. However, along with the mode of goods distribution, a perspective emphasized in recent years is that of whether each person is in a position to realize the life and goals they value with the use of goods. This is based on Sen’s argument that distributing primary social goods (e.g., income, wealth, opportunity, freedom, self-esteem) equally to reduce inequality, as advocated by John Rawls, is inadequate, and we should question whether these goods can actually be used to achieve human well-being.

Sen uses “functioning” to refer to the various beings and doings that people can achieve using primary social goods. These include such elementary things as good health, avoidance of escapable morbidity, and premature mortality, as well as more complex achievements such as happiness, self-respect, participation in the life of the community, and so on. “Capability”

Figure 1: Relational structure of distributional principles behind the Japanese educational system and policies



is defined as an individual having the freedom to realize their desired life and goals by achieving various combinations of functioning (Sen, 1992, p. 39). Even if a person has more income or primary goods, their personal characteristics (e.g., age, disability, illness) or social circumstances may affect their ability to convert goods into functioning; therefore, guaranteeing capability in line with the diversity of each individual is essential (Sen, 1992, p. 126). Sen notes here that with regard to those who are particularly lacking in the capability to lead a humane life, "at least some types of capabilities contribute *directly* to well-being, making one's life richer with the opportunity of reflective choice" (Sen, 1992, p. 41; emphasis in the original), emphasizing the need for more preferential allocation and availability of goods.[2]

Given this concept of capability, there are two positions. One holds that each person is basically free to decide what functioning to accomplish with the distributed goods and what kind of life to lead, while the other holds that specific functioning or goals must be accomplished with the goods in order to lead a better life. Figure 1 shows this distinction as the vertical axis and the distinction between formal equality and equity as the horizontal axis. On this basis, we will demonstrate the relationship among the distributional principles behind Japan's educational system and policies.

2.2. Formal equality in the distribution of goods

The first quadrant emphasizes a very uniform distribution of goods; however, this leaves it up to each individual to decide what functioning to accomplish with those goods and what kind of life to lead. We will call this "formal equality in the distribution of goods." This concept serves as the underlying premise for the first principle of Rawls' *Theory of Justice*

(1971), "equal liberty." Rawls states the following:

> Justice as fairness…does not look behind the use which persons make of the rights and opportunities available to them to measure, much less to maximize, the satisfactions they achieve. …Everyone is assured equal liberty to pursue whatever plan of life he pleases, as long as it does not violate what justice demands. (p. 94)

The second principle of the *Theory of Justice*, "fair and equal opportunity," should also be included here. This principle states that social and economic inequality is acceptable only when all occupations and positions are institutionally open to all; however, this in itself does not call for further differentiated distribution (Rawls, 1971, p. 61). In short, this position emphasizes the formal distribution of rights and opportunities without discriminating against people on the basis of their attributes.

Based on this understanding, we can state that Japan's educational system and policies have basically emphasized formal equality in the distribution of opportunities and other goods. A typical example of this is the way in which teachers are assigned. The number of teachers to be assigned is determined by the number of classes calculated based on the number of students; payment of their salaries is divided between the national and prefectural governments, with regular personnel transfers within each prefecture to ensure equal teacher quality across regions and schools. The uniform nationwide provision of diverse educational content under the Courses of Study is also included here. In fact, the (then) Ministry of Education once stated that "the mission of public education is to ensure a certain level of education throughout the country and to guarantee opportunities for children and students to receive the same level of education anywhere in the country" (quoted in Omomo, 2020, p. 17). However, this held true only up to the compulsory education stage; high schools have been highly stratified according to students' career paths. In other words, how each individual uses the equally distributed educational opportunities and what they achieve with them has been treated as the individual's "career choice."

2.3. Equity in the distribution of goods

The second quadrant holds the position that the distribution of goods is differentiated according to the disadvantages and difficulties faced by particular groups and individuals, but that each person is free to decide what they will achieve with the goods and what kind of life and goals they will pursue as a result. This is what we call "equity in the distribution of goods." In Rawls' *Theory of Justice*, the "difference principle" falls into this category. The difference principle states that only social and economic inequalities arising under an institutional arrangement that serves "the greatest benefit of the least disadvantaged" (Rawls, 1971, p. 302) are acceptable. In other words, the possession of more income or wealth earned by the advantaged is allowed only if doing so serves to improve the circumstances of the disadvantaged. The most obvious example corresponds to prioritizing the use of tax revenues from progressive taxation for the education and welfare of the disadvantaged.

Japan's education system has for many years included support for educational expenses for children from poor families (e.g., the Act Concerning Government Assistance for Encouraging School Attendance of Children and Students with Difficulties of 1956) and support to compensate for the disadvantages and difficulties faced by teachers and students in remote

schools (e.g., the Act for Promotion of Education in Remote Areas of 1954). Other recent enactments include the High School Enrollment Support Fund (2010). These can be viewed as standing on the principle of differential distribution for children who cannot fully enjoy educational opportunities with the goods distributed on the principle of formal equality, but who are then left to choose what functioning to achieve.

2.4. Equity in the achievement of functioning

The third quadrant views the distribution of goods as differentiated according to disadvantages and difficulties but also as having a specific functioning to be achieved by using the goods. We will call this "equity in the achievement of functioning." This position overlaps with Sen's position described earlier. That is, rather than merely distributing goods equally and equitably at the level of the basic structure of the system, as in Rawls, the emphasis is on whether people can actually realize their well-being by using the goods and on providing additional support for environmental improvement and capacity building to ensure the possibility of achieving functioning. Nussbaum (2006, p. 167) takes a similar position, albeit going further by presenting a list of capabilities and stating that great effort should be made to ensure that all people can achieve these capabilities "up to an appropriate threshold level." The threshold here is the achievement of specific functioning. She also emphasizes that compulsory education is important because functioning is the goal in many areas with regard to children (Nussbaum, 2006, p. 172).

One Japanese educational policy that falls under this principle is the allocation of additional teachers. This policy is to assign additional teachers to schools with more "students with special educational needs" than other schools. This includes not only children with disabilities but also schools with a large number of foreign children and schools where bullying, non-attenders, and violent behavior are prominent (National Institute for Educational Policy Research, 2018). The assignment of non-teaching professionals such as school counselors (SCs) and school social workers (SSWs), as well as the establishment of special schools and educational support centers for non-attending students, can also be included here. These could be described as the distribution of various goods and the provision of their availability to achieve functioning, such as "learning in a safe and secure environment."

2.5. Formal equality in the achievement of functioning

Finally, in addition to distributing goods in a formally equal manner, the fourth quadrant requires that the goods be used to achieve specific functioning. We will call this "formal equality in the achievement of functioning." This position requires everyone to achieve specific functioning but distributes the goods for that functioning as uniformly as possible. In other words, it strongly demands certain results without additional distribution. If we consider the request for efficiency "without additional distribution," the concept of new public management would fall into this category. That is, it considers formal equality in the provision of goods by the government to be inefficient and emphasizes the achievement of certain outcomes by requiring accountability while allowing for diversity in the providers of educational opportunities and practices.

As Omomo (2020, pp. 29–30) points out, the diversification of education providers is not very advanced in Japan, and strict accountability mechanisms based on evaluation have not been introduced as in the U.K. and the U.S. However, the introduction of the National

Assessment of Academic Ability and the development of the school evaluation system, which requires each school to work toward improving academic achievement through the PDCA cycle, function as a de facto accountability system (Omomo 2019, 2020). In other words, all children are required to achieve the functioning of "acquiring academic skills above a certain level."[3] In addition to skills above a certain level, the current requirement mandates that students should be able to use the perspectives and ideas of each subject in their interactions with others and apply them in their daily lives.[4] Certainly, strict accountability is not required, such as publicly announcing ranks among schools based on academic achievement and reflecting this in teacher salaries; however, it is clear that schools are strongly oriented toward achieving this advanced functioning.

2.6. Implications and problems of the relationships among the four distributive principles

Two things can be inferred from the above. First, Japan's educational system and policies have placed the greatest emphasis on formal equality in the distribution of education-related goods (quadrant I) and have responded to the economic and regional disadvantages faced by some children with additional allocations that cannot be covered by formal equality alone (quadrant II). On the one hand, goods have been formally distributed in line with the input criteria, and additional distributions have been made when this was not sufficient. On the other hand, the quality of output has not been strongly demanded.

Second, recent years have witnessed a strong demand for the quality of output, that is, what functioning is achieved as a result of the distribution of goods. However, significant differences exist in the functioning required under the principles of formal equality and equity respectively, with the majority of students being required to achieve advanced functioning (quadrant IV), while some students with difficulties are instructed to achieve functioning corresponding to their basic needs (quadrant III).

Overall, while there has been an increased emphasis on equity in the distribution of goods and in accomplishing certain functioning in response to changing social demands, the basic principle continues to be based on formal equality.

The question that arises here, however, is whether continued reliance on the principles of quadrants I and IV is sufficient to distribute educational opportunities and achieve specific functioning. Specifically, the first problem is that the children addressed in quadrants II and III are positioned as those who cannot learn adequately under the formal distribution of goods, resulting in a segregated response. For example, while the placement of SCs and SSWs, the special schools for non-attendance, and so on can be appreciated as providing alternative learning and support spaces for children with difficulties, the government continues to require the achievement of advanced functioning for other children, and herein lies a major gap. Specifically, while regular schools are required to have at least 1,015 hours of class time for fourth grade and above,[5] special schools for non-attendance are required to have 750 to 770 hours,[6] while educational support centers have even shorter operating hours. As curriculum overload in regular schools accelerates, children who cannot keep up are being separated and dealt with.

The second challenge is the segregated nature of the response to children with difficulties, which makes it difficult for other children to develop an appropriate understanding of children with difficulties and an imagination for their circumstances. This has often been

pointed out in the context of guaranteeing educational opportunities for children with disabilities. In recent years, the philosophy of inclusive education has been emphasized in Japan as an attitude toward overcoming this problem; however, in reality, it is considered appropriate to provide classroom instruction in special-needs classes and special-needs schools as "diverse learning spaces" with continuity.[7] Support for non-attending children is similarly moving in the direction of preparing "diverse learning spaces." However, as long as the focus remains on quadrants I and IV, these "diverse learning spaces" will continue to exist as "unfamiliar" and "hidden" places for the majority of children. This is not to say that "diverse learning spaces" per se are a problem. The problem is that the majority of children grow up unaware that such places actually exist and are needed in society.[8]

3. Toward an educational system and policies that emphasize "equity" over "formal equality"

3.1. Care as a principle of equity-based educational system and policies

What, then, would an educational system and policies that place greater emphasis on equity (quadrants II and III) look like? If this would mean that goods are not distributed to children in general until the ability of children with difficulties reaches a certain threshold, majority support will tend to remain unlikely.

In the first place, it is not easy to measure whether individuals in diverse circumstances are able to achieve even the basic capabilities (see the example of Sen's capabilities given earlier). This is not only because the metrics remain unclear, but also because some of the functioning required as thresholds includes items that cannot be achieved through the distribution of goods to individuals but only through interactions with others. To overcome the problems of educational systems and policies based on formal equality, not only is it necessary to demonstrate that educational systems and policies based on equity do not separate children with difficulties from the rest of the children, but the children's mutual involvement and its positive nature for all the children must also be ensured.

In the same vein, Kashiwagi (2020, p. 59) is among those who argue for a shift in the principles on which school management should be based. Kashiwagi argues that to "compensate for differences that should not exist" for children with difficulties, educational activities that emphasize different treatment will be necessary, and on this basis, "recognizing differences that may be there" as respect for diversity will be realized. She also states that this "educational activity that emphasizes two different kinds of treatment expands the scope of duties of schools and teachers, makes them aware of the material and cultural deprivation of children, and increases the functioning (options) that children desire to ensure that they can participate in the various activities that unfold in schools" (Kashiwagi, 2020, p. 61). She then positions "care" as the principle on which such educational activities are based and summarizes its essence in the following two points:

1. Care is not unidirectional but rather a mutually responsive relationship between teacher and child and among children, that provides a secure foundation for all involved.
2. Through care, children learn to share a world with others and to build a society with others. (Kashiwagi, 2020, pp. 65–66)

Kashiwagi then calls for the following two abilities to be fostered in schools as the "ability to care": a) the ability to accept care (the ability to overcome the stigma associated

with different treatment and accept it), and b) the ability to provide care for oneself (the ability to relativize one's own condition and express one's needs to others; Kashiwagi, 2020, pp. 66–68). "Caring skills are necessary for all children, not just those in poverty, and their development is necessary for 'caring schools'" (Kashiwagi, 2020, p. 68).

Kashiwagi's argument was developed primarily to indicate a way for schools and classrooms to address child poverty. The point is that an educational approach that emphasizes children with disadvantages and difficulties is beneficial and necessary for all children.

Let us recapitulate here. Education systems and policies that emphasize equity are based on the capability approach and emphasize the provision of goods that ensures their availability as well as the distribution of a variety of goods. This does not stop at preparing SCs, SSWs, special schools for non-attendance, and other welfare support to the extent possible, but includes the development of an environment in which they can actually be used (such as the enhancement of connecting functions and outreach that includes building relationships leading up to their use) and capacity building (building the ability to speak up and relationships in which speaking up is possible). It must be noted here that provision to ensure availability is not achieved by a simple distribution of goods, but depends on the relationship between the educator/supporter and the child, or between children. An environment and relationship in which one can "speak out" with peace of mind is not something that can be easily divided or transferred, but requires a sustained relationship with others. This overlaps with (1) and (2), the essence of "care" as indicated by Kashiwagi. Therefore, the principle of "equity in the achievement of functioning" as a provision of capability can be positioned as one that is related to the request for "care" as its practical principle.

Based on the above understanding, we will apply Kashiwagi's concept to the educational system and policy. This is what provides material, human, and financial support for the realization of "caring schools," as she proposes. Here, let us call it a "caring educational administration."

3.2. A sketch of caring educational administration

The elements required for "caring educational administration" are many and varied. For example, Kashiwagi recommends the following as ways to "maximize the total amount of care in elementary and junior high schools while reducing the workload of individual teachers in the school's organizational structure": (1) introducing a shift system in teachers' work; (2) actively recruiting retired teachers; (3) training teachers with professional qualifications in education and welfare; and (4) providing breakfast (Kashiwagi, 2020, p. 253). The last point is an important service for children from poor families and should be immediately addressed by the government as a guarantee to achieve the basic functioning of "not going to school on an empty stomach." Points (1) through (3) are recommendations related to teacher personnel; however, in implementing these recommendations, we must not forget to provide administrative support to ensure that the experience of teachers who have been responsible for "caring schools" is not interrupted. Specifically, sustained staffing of teachers with extensive experience in helping children with difficulties will be necessary to maintain a culture of "caring schools." Relatedly, the details of responses to children with difficulties must also be shared among supporters and their records passed on. This is a function expected from "Individual Educational Support Plans," which are primarily designed to support children with disabilities; however, it can be applied not only to children with disabilities but also to non-at-

tenders and children with non-Japanese backgrounds. In addition, it may include inter-organizational collaboration between other departments responsible for welfare and employment and the educational administration to better facilitate the work of the SSWs and SCs mentioned above. These administrative measures are goods that are difficult to divide and transfer, and require the development of sustained relationships.

Konan City in Shiga Prefecture, Japan, is an example of a municipality that has actually implemented such an initiative. The city is known for its support system for children with developmental disabilities from infancy to employment (known as the "Developmental Support System"), as well as its response to the needs of children who do not attend school or who have difficulty using Japanese.[9] In terms of personnel, the culture of "caring schools" has been perpetuated through the continued appointment of teachers who have served in the position of directors of developmental support offices as principals, supervisors, and superintendents of education, and through the direct relationships these people have established. Furthermore, the Development Support Office also serves as a point of contact for post-compulsory education support for children and adolescents with difficulties; individual educational support plans are accumulated to ensure a continuous response. Here we see a form of "caring educational administration" that focuses on caring for children.

Of course, recruiting teachers with extensive experience in caring for children is not an easy task in Japan, which is currently suffering from a shortage of mid-career teachers. Local governments need to build teacher capacity based on the principle of "caring schools" from a long-term perspective. Individual educational support plans can also be stigmatized if used incorrectly; therefore, they must be managed appropriately while respecting the wishes of the individual and their parents and building relationships with relevant teachers and staff. These measures can only be achieved by positioning care as a long-term philosophy of local administration, as a part of creating an inclusive community where everyone can receive care when they need it and live in peace. Educational management must be a part of this process. The above indicates that care is a practical principle of capability-oriented educational administration, i.e., an educational system and policy that is based on "equity in the achievement of functioning."

4. Conclusion

This study has created an analytical model that combines the contrast between equity and formal equality with the contrast between freedom and functioning achievement. From this perspective, it addresses the relationships among the distributional principles behind Japan's educational system and policies, which place the greatest emphasis on formal equality, with equity involving only the principle of distribution of goods to some children with difficulties. Recent years have witnessed a growing demand to achieve functioning in terms of both formal equality and equity. The reality, however, is a reciprocal relationship where most students are required to achieve a high level of functioning, while "diverse learning spaces" are expanded for those children who cannot keep up. This paper shows that overcoming this situation to achieve an educational system and policies that emphasize equity and guarantee capability is possible through ensuring that the distribution of goods and services for children with difficulties benefits all children, which can be done by adopting the philosophy of "car-

ing educational administration."

The content of "caring educational administration" cannot be described in detail here, as it depends on the challenges each community faces and the human and material resources at its disposal. Further analysis of case studies will be necessary.[10] Furthermore, respect for and participation in the views of children with difficulties and their guardians themselves is important when considering desirable forms of care (e.g., Howe, 1997; Terzi, 2014); however, this is a topic for future work which this paper is unable to explore in full.

Notes

1 For example, Johnson & Johnson emphasizes equity on its Japanese-language website. "The term 'diversity and inclusion' is gaining recognition as a social, political, and management issue. At Johnson & Johnson, we are promoting Diversity, Equity & Inclusion (DE&I), which emphasizes 'equity' more explicitly." The company further states, "Our focus on equity is that everyone can reach their full potential by working to identify and eliminate barriers to success," and that this is different from "equality," which means "giving everyone the same tools and resources, regardless of barriers." (https://www.jnj.co.jp/story-de-and-i/international-womens-day02, last accessed August 30, 2023)

2 This description of Sen's argument is based on Goto (2023). Other than that, the content of this paper is entirely original.

3 For example, in the 2006 report of the Expert Panel on the Implementation Methods of the National Achievement Survey, the significance and purpose of the national achievement survey were to "ensure a certain level of education." (https://www.mext.go.jp/b_menu/shingi/chousa/shotou/031/toushin/06051213.htm, last accessed August 30, 2023)

4 For example, this is clearly stated on page 15 of the following document. (https://www.mext.go.jp/a_menu/shotou/new-cs/__icsFiles/afieldfile/2017/09/28/1396716_1.pdf, last accessed August 30, 2023)

5 https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20210629-mxt_kyoiku01-000016453_4.pdf, last accessed August 30, 2023.

6 https://www.mext.go.jp/content/20200130-mxt_jidou02_000004552-1.pdf, last accessed August 30, 2023.

7 See Elementary and Secondary Education Subcommittee of the Central Council for Education Council (2012), *Kyosei Shakai No Keisei Ni Muketa Inclusive Kyoiku System Kochiku No Tameno Tokubetsu Shien Kyoiku No Suishin (Hokoku) (Promotion of Special Needs Education for Building an Inclusive Education System Toward the Formation of a Coexisting Society: Report)* (Japanese).

8 We will not go into the conflict between inclusive education and special needs education here. See Terzi (2014) for an argument that emphasizes the philosophy of inclusive education while also recognizing "diverse learning spaces."

9 For more information, see the following website: https://www.mhlw.go.jp/file/05-Shingikai-12201000-Shakaiengokyokushougaihokenfukushibu-Kikakuka/0000039369.pdf, last accessed August 30, 2023.

10 Goto (2023) provides an analytical framework for the effective accumulation of case studies such as "caring educational administration."

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