



BEATA BOROWSKA-BESZTA

Nicolaus Copernicus University in Toruń

---

# Ohyake (公) or watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート)? Space and Artefacts in Special and Inclusive Education in Japan: Report on Visual Educational Microethnography

**ABSTRACT:** Beata Borowska-Beszta, *Ohyake (公) or watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート)? Space and Artefacts in Special and Inclusive Education in Japan: Report on Visual Educational Microethnography*. Interdisciplinary Contexts of Special Pedagogy, No. 21, Poznań 2018. Pp. 29–62. Adam Mickiewicz University Press. ISSN 2300-391X. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.14746/ikps.2018.21.03>

The presented research is a microethnographic report from a visual ethnography undertaken in May 2016, in 6 Japanese schools and 1 adult support center with disabilities located on island Kyushu in Fukuoka Prefecture. The study deals with a issues of the educational material culture and refers to the study of space and school artifacts designed in schools for students with special educational needs – understood as intellectual disabilities and for adults with such potential as well. The research was grounded in E. Schein’s organizational culture, furthermore on the concept of private space and public space described by T. Tamura and my author’s concept developed at the reinterreted role of the handicapped human in stationary institution published by W. Wolfensberger’s (1969).

**KEY WORDS:** Japan research, cultural research, disability studies, special education, inclusive education, ethnographic research, visual research, microethnography

## Foreword

Japan is a cognitively interesting culture of Asia Minor and an area of field research, as I had a chance to find it out for myself in May 2016, during a research internship on the Kyushu Island in Fukuoka. The authors Makoto Nakada and Takanori Tamura write that “Japan is a complicated country – even for Japanese people themselves!”<sup>1</sup>. Researches observe that if Japan is complicated for Japanese people, then how much more complicated it must be for foreigners and foreign researchers. I agree with this statement. During my stay and internship in Japan, I had to be very focused and constantly mindful about my reactions to social situations. I also had to be active and open subtle and ritualised forms of professional contacts and fieldwork.

The following report on field research based on visual micro-ethnography, conducted by me on the Kyushu Island in Fukuoka in May 2016, is a part of educational research on educational organisational cultures in Japan. The purpose of the part of the research analysed in this report was to understand and analyse the space and selected behavioral and physical and material artefacts in 6 schools and 1 support facility for adults with intellectual disability in the context of organisational culture, *emic* understanding of space and space as a reservoir for cultural coding of the disability construct. The analytical work is based on the concepts of organisational culture according to E. Schein<sup>2</sup> the concepts of public space – *ohyake* (公) and private space called – *watakushi* (私) and *puraibashii* (プライベート) according to T. Tamura<sup>3</sup> and my *concept of space as a reservoir for cultural coding of the disability construct*, founded on the expanded and reinterpreted concept of the role of the retardate in

---

<sup>1</sup> M. Nakada, T. Tamura, Japanese Conceptions of Privacy: An Intercultural Perspective, *Ethics and Information Technology March*, 2005, Volume 7, Issue 1, pp. 27-36, p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

<sup>3</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, *Journal of Humanities* (Special Issue No. 8, 2004), pp. 138-156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

a residential institution according to W. Wolfensberger<sup>4</sup>. Research was conducted within the framework of academic cooperation (informal since 2011 and formal beginning with 2013) with the professor of comparative education, N. Tasaki from Kyushu Women's University and University of Teacher Education in Fukuoka in Japan. Professor N. Tasaki was a guest at academic seminars organised at the Faculty of Education of Nicolaus Copernicus University on 11.09.2013 and 10.04.2017. In this report, I do not discuss the institutional or theoretical assumptions of the Japanese special and inclusive education system. These will be discussed in another paper.

## Theoretical framework of the research project

This report illustrates the main results of visual microethnography and it is a section of broader ethnographic field research on Japanese disability studies, the concepts of disability in Japan and the special and inclusive education system in that country. The report on qualitative research, referred to in this article, is, in the methodological sense, both institutional educational ethnography and visual microethnography. One of the research objectives of the ethnographic research project within the framework of the research internship and field research was to identify, analyse and describe the space and artefacts of the special and inclusive education system for children and youth with intellectual disabilities, referred to as chiteki shōgai (知的障害) and/or developmental disorders, referred to as hattatsu shōgai (発達障害). When I was collecting field data, it turned out that the way Japanese people think about Japanese educational spaces and artefacts (behavioural and physical) and understand them is inherent in their norms and values, which is why I decided to analyse artefacts from the perspective of phenomena that

---

<sup>4</sup> W. Wolfensberger, *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

are embedded in a continuum of symbols that culturally represent that which is public and that which is private. Material spaces and artefacts of the educational system are thus analysed in the context of organisational cultures and of space as a cultural reservoir for the coding of the disability construct. The main research question that I posed for this part of the project is:

- *What are the spaces, artefacts and their cultural meanings in the organisational cultures of the special and inclusive education system in Japan?*

This research on organisational cultures, both in the ontological, epistemological and axiological sense, was based on the theoretical and methodological concepts of culture anthropologists, including, among others: J. Spradley<sup>5</sup>, E. Hall<sup>6</sup>, H. Wolcott<sup>7</sup>, M. Hammersley, P. Atkinson<sup>8</sup>, M. Hammersley<sup>9,10</sup>, N. Denzin and Y. Lincoln<sup>11</sup>, M. Angrosino<sup>12</sup>, J. Green & Bloome<sup>13</sup>, S. Pink<sup>14</sup>,

---

<sup>5</sup> J. Spradley, *The Ethnographic interview*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1979.

J. Spradley, *Participant observation*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1980.

<sup>6</sup> E. Hall, *Ukryty wymiar*, Muza, Warszawa 1997.

<sup>7</sup> H.F. Wolcott, Posturing in qualitative inquiry. In MD LeCompte, WL Millroy & JPreissle, (Eds.) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*, Academic Press, New York, 1992, pp. 3-52.

<sup>8</sup> M. Hammersley, P. Atkinson, *Metody badań terenowych*, Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2000.

<sup>9</sup> M. Hammersley, Teaching qualitative methodology: craft, profession or bricolage. In: Seale C., Gobo G., Gubrium J.F., Silverman D. eds., *Qualitative Research Practice*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004 pp. 549-560.

<sup>10</sup> M. Hammersley (ed.), *Educational Research and Evidence-based Practice*. In association with the Open University, Sage, London 2007.

<sup>11</sup> N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, *Metody badań jakościowych*, Vol. 1, 2. PWN, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>12</sup> M. Angrosino, *Badania etnograficzne i obserwacje*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>13</sup> J.L. Green, D. Bloome, *Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: a situated perspective*, [in:] Flood J., Heaths S.B., Lapp D. (ed.). *Handbook for literacy educators: research in the community and visual arts*. Macmillan, New York 1997, pp. 181-202.

<sup>14</sup> S. Pink, *Etnografia wizualna. Obrazy, media i przedstawienie w badaniach*, UJ, Kraków 2008.

M. Banks<sup>15</sup>, D. Jemielniak<sup>16</sup>. Moreover, the psychologist J. Creswell<sup>17</sup>, sociologists W. Wolfensberger<sup>18</sup>, T. Tamura<sup>19</sup> and management science researchers: E. Schein<sup>20</sup>, B. Wiernek<sup>21</sup>, M. Kostera<sup>22</sup>, and educationists: I. Kawecki<sup>23</sup>, A. Nalaskowski<sup>24</sup>, B. Borowska-Beszta<sup>25, 26, 27, 28</sup>, D. Kubinowski<sup>29</sup>, J. Nowotniak<sup>30</sup>, E. Siarkiewicz, E. Trębińska-Szumigraj, D. Zielińska-Pękał<sup>31</sup>.

---

<sup>15</sup> M. Banks, *Materiały wizualne w badaniach jakościowych*, Niezbędnik Badacza, PWN, Warszawa 2009.

<sup>16</sup> D. Jemielniak, *Badania jakościowe, Metody i narzędzia. Vol. 2.* PWN, Warszawa 2012.

D. Jemielniak, *Badania jakościowe, Metody i narzędzia. Vol. 1.* PWN, Warszawa 2012.

<sup>17</sup> J. Creswell, *J. Research, Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd Edition. Sage Publications, Inc, Los Angeles 2009.

<sup>18</sup> W. Wolfensberger, *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>19</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA: *Journal of Humanities* (Special Issue No. 8, 2004) pp. 138–156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>20</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, 2010.

<sup>21</sup> B. Wiernek, *Kultura organizacyjna przedsiębiorstwa*, Oficyna Wydawnicza TEXT, Kraków 2000.

<sup>22</sup> M. Kostera, *Antropologia organizacji, Metodologia badań terenowych*, PWN, Warszawa 2003.

<sup>23</sup> I. Kawecki, *Dane wizualne w badaniach pedagogicznych*, „Pedagogika Kultury” 2009, vol. 5.

<sup>24</sup> A. Nalaskowski, *Przestrzenie i miejsca szkoły*, Impuls, Kraków 2000.

<sup>25</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Pracownicy Fundacji (metoda etnograficzna)*, [in:] *Formowanie się wspólnoty w Fundacji im. Brata Alberta w Radwanowicach*, Wydawnictwo i Druкарnia Towarzystwa Słowaków w Polsce, Kraków 2001, pp. 260–322.

<sup>26</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Etnografia dla terapeutów (pedagogów specjalnych) – szkice metodologiczne*, Wyd. Impuls, Kraków 2005.

<sup>27</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Anatema(?) szoku kulturowego w andragogice specjalnej*, „Edukacja Otwarta”, 2008, no. 2, pp. 163–179.

<sup>28</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Etnografia stylu życia kultury dorosłych torunian z zaburzeniami rozwoju*. UMK 2013.

<sup>29</sup> D. Kubinowski, *Jakościowe badania pedagogiczne. Filozofia – Metodyka – Ewaluacja*, Lublin, UMCS 2010.

## Literature review

The theoretical framework of the project was based on M. Kostera's<sup>32</sup> assumption that *an organisation is a culture*, which means that elements of the Japanese education system was perceived as organisational cultures. Moreover, in the ontological sense, the research presented in this report is based on the aforementioned triad of concepts concerning the model of culture and physical and material artefacts according to E Schein<sup>33</sup>, the concept of space according to T. Tamura<sup>34</sup> and my own concept of *space as a reservoir for cultural coding of the disability construct* based on the concept of the roles of the retardate in residential institutions according to W. Wolfensberger<sup>35</sup>. Accordingly, I performed detailed analyses of cultural scenes and artefacts in Japan:

*First of all*, in the context of E. Schein's reversed pyramid of the organisational culture<sup>36</sup>, which contains: artefacts, values and tacit assumptions concerning tacit knowledge. E. Schein claims that, in order to understand the culture of an organisation, it is necessary to analyse its visible artefacts, i.e. "the physical environment of an

---

<sup>30</sup> J. Nowotniak, *Spółeczne światy pokoi nauczycielskich*, „Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja: kwartalnik myśli społeczno-pedagogicznej” no. 3(55), pp. 71–86.

<sup>31</sup> E. Siarkiewicz, E. Trębińska-Szumigraj, D. Zielińska-Pękał, *Edukacyjne prowokacje. Wykorzystanie etnografii performatywnej w procesie kształcenia doradców*, Impuls, Kraków 2012.

<sup>32</sup> M. Kostera, *Antropologia organizacji, Metodologia badań terenowych*, PWN, Warszawa 2003.

<sup>33</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

<sup>34</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, "Journal of Humanities" (Special Issue No. 8, 2004) pp. 138–156, [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>35</sup> W. Wolfensberger, The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: *Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>36</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

organisation, architecture, technology, office layout, clothing, observed and heard patterns of behaviour and official documents, such as: statutes, various information materials for employees, stories".<sup>37</sup> E. Schein defines organisational culture as a set of valid rules of conduct, discovered, established and developed by a group that help cope with the problem of integration and external adaptation and work well enough to be taught to new members as the way to think and feel in relation to those problems<sup>38</sup>.

*Secondly*, my research is based on the Japanese concept of space according to T. Tamura, which divides the cultural space and artefacts into that which is public, called - ohyake (公) and that which is private, called watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート). T. Tamura<sup>39</sup> explains the Japanese concept of space in the following way: watakushi (私) is a chronologically older word than puraibashii (プライベート) and in Japan, it symbolises that which is private (partial, secret, individual, or sometimes perceived as selfish). Issues and problems falling under the Japanese linguistic symbols watakushi and puraibashii are less important and less valuable for Japanese people than matters associated with the public space - ohyake (公). The author believes that Japanese people currently use the terms ohyake (公), watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート) as equivalents, to define in space and determine the value of that which is public and that which is private for them. T. Tamura<sup>40</sup> continues to explain the etymology of the word ohyake (公) = "oh" means: great, and "yake" means: house, so ohyake (公) means

---

<sup>37</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010. p. 62.

<sup>38</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, [in:] L. Zbiegień-Maciąg, *Kultura w organizacji – Identyfikacja kultur znanych firm*, PWN, Warszawa 1999.

<sup>39</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, "Journal of Humanities" (Special Issue No.8 2004) pp. 138–156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>40</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, "Journal of Humanities" (Special Issue No. 8, 2004) pp. 138–156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

a “great house” (i.e. the imperial court, imperial house, government, nation and society). Ohyake (公) also means things that are “open” as well as “being impartial”. T. Tamura believes that “that which is public” and “the government” mean almost the same<sup>41</sup>. The above theoretical division of space in Japan at first seemed legible for me, a European researcher, but in practice, when collecting data, I confronted various cultural nuances concerning the subtleties and vague meanings of artefacts, and blurred lines between them. Let me add that Japanese people, too, sometimes have problems classifying artefacts to the respective areas: ohyake, watakushi or purai-bashii. My problems with understanding meanings resulted in certain restrictions and limitations I encountered in field research, in schools and institutions for children, youth and adults with disabilities. Consequently, however, the limitations imposed by gatekeepers who introduced me to the area of my research turned out to be the critical moment for understanding the educational spaces, their value and the significance of (behavioural and physical) artefacts in the context of the ohyake (公) (public) as well as watakushi (私) and puraibashi (プライベート) (private) categories.

*Thirdly*, a pillar for research, in a form reinterpreted and expanded by me, was the concept of the 7 roles of the retardate determining the models of institutional support, published in the late 1960s by W. Wolfensberger<sup>42</sup>. W. Wolfensberger believes that “in institutions, role performance is influenced not only by the interpersonal stimuli to which an institution resident might be exposed on the part of the institution personnel but also by the opportunities and demands of the physical environment”<sup>43</sup>. W. Wolfensberger

---

<sup>41</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, “Journal of Humanities” (Special Issue No.8 2004) pp. 138–156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017], p. 138.

<sup>42</sup> W. Wolfensberger, The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: *Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President’s Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>43</sup> W. Wolfensberger, The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: *Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President’s Com-



identified 7 roles of *retardates* and their perception in residential institutions in various historical contexts. By critically analysing past spaces that historically existed in the culture, and material and physical artefacts in support systems, the author identified the typology of the 7 roles of the *retardates*. The concept was published in 1969, and the author used the term *retardation*, a term that was used at that time for diagnosing intellectual disability. W. Wolfensberger<sup>44</sup> identified 7 roles of the *retardate* that determine institutional support models. The author enumerated: (a) the retardate as a sick person, (b) the retardate as a subhuman organism, (c) the retardate as a menace, (d) the retardate as an object of pity, (e) the retardate as a burden of charity, (f) the retardate as a holy innocent and (g) the retardate as a developing person.

Let me note that, from a contemporary perspective, categorising persons with disabilities outside clinical research raises many objections among academics in disability studies and, in my opinion, is awkward; nonetheless, I believe that the author created the above labels consciously, at the same time highlighting the oddity and limitations of those roles. All the same, the terminology and content of W. Wolfensberger's concept falls under the criticism of the institutional support systems of the late 1960s. The original concept is limited by the time when it was created and by changes in designing space for persons with disabilities in the Western culture. Following conceptual work, I thoroughly reinterpreted W. Wolfensberger's constructs<sup>45</sup> in the contexts of: the terminology used, the semantic scope of the concepts, rooting in the contemporary studies

---

mittee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017], p. 64.

<sup>44</sup> W. Wolfensberger, *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>45</sup> W. Wolfensberger, *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

on disability, adding non-residential institutions, developing a universal cultural pattern and shifting the centre of gravity from the subject to the space that I perceive as a dominant reservoir of cultural knowledge and disability constructs. I called that model a *10-dimensional cultural and spatial reservoir for the coding of disability constructs*. Among the reinterpreted theoretical construct, I identify 10 constructs, listed in chronological and historical order:

**Table 1.** Cultural and spatial reservoir for the coding of disability constructs

1. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a subhuman organism</i>
2. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a subhuman organism</i>
3. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as an object of pity</i>
4. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a burden of charity</i>
5. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a holy innocent</i>
6. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a sick person</i>
7. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a developing person</i>
8. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as an excluded person</i>
9. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as an independent person</i>
10. cultural space as a reservoir of the construct of <i>treating a disabled person as a self-determining creator of his own life</i> <sup>46</sup>

Source: Own elaboration Beata Borowska-Beszta

To conclude the literature review, I would like to add that, based on ethnographic field research in disability cultures and the dominant culture, which I performed in the period from 1999 to 2017 (or which was performed under my supervision), I believe that

---

<sup>46</sup> The model will be analysed in more detail in another paper.

the above 10 categories of cultural space are universal, both in the dimension of material culture and in the space of actual cultures: residential or non-residential support and education of persons with disabilities, and in the virtual spaces of online cultures. The above three theoretical pillars, i.e. the concepts developed by E. Schein<sup>47</sup>, T. Takamura<sup>48</sup> and my own concept, which is an elaboration and reinterpretation of W. Wolfensberger's concept<sup>49</sup> served as the foundation for analyses at the stages of coding and categorisation, and generation of cultural themes during and after completion of field research in Japan. I also applied them in the discussion on field research presented in this report.

## Method – visual ethnography – microethnography

The research on school artefacts was designed in accordance with the concepts of ethnographic, microethnographic and visual research and based on the cultural anthropology of scholars quoted within the theoretical framework of the project and in the literature review. The purposive sample in this research report consisted of visits in 6 special and inclusive public schools for children and youth with disabilities and 1 support centre for adults with multiple intellectual disabilities: moderate, significant and severe. During field visits, I performed participant and non-participant observations and took the total of 414 pictures that constitute the visual documentation of the places I visited. Access to research in 7 educa-

---

<sup>47</sup> E.H. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

<sup>48</sup> T. Tamura, Japanese feelings for privacy MANUSYA, "Journal of Humanities" (Special Issue No. 8, 2004), pp. 138-156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].

<sup>49</sup> W. Wolfensberger, *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models In: Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].

tional and support institutions and the time of data collection determined the microethnographic nature of the research, limited in this report to one specific aspect of the analysed school reality, namely the space and physical and material artefacts. In the analysis, I used only the pictures that present the internal spaces and school artefacts. I was somewhat limited by the prohibition to photograph student's faces in school space, making the schools and spaces presented in the report look like deserted places, which was not the case. Moreover, in some practical classes I learned practical skills from junior high school students with intellectual disability, such as making papier-mâché or weaving, etc. Again, I was not allowed to record such data with my camera. The subsequent research steps were based on the research concept developed by J. Spradley<sup>50</sup> and T.L. Whitehead<sup>51</sup>, and they included:

- scholarly literature analysis
- secondary analysis of other existing data
- fieldwork: collecting visual and verbal data, preliminary analysis of data
- recurrence, discussion and qualitative data analysis
- writing a research report and ethnographic essay

## Data collection

I collected data for the visual microethnography with my Huawei mobile phone camera. I believe it was important to use

---

<sup>50</sup> J. Spradley, *The Ethnographic interview*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1979.

J. Spradley, *Participant observation*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1980.

<sup>51</sup> T.L. Whitehead, Basic Classical Ethnographic Research Methods Secondary Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Observation/Participant Observation and Informal and Semi-structured Interviewing, 2005. <http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/classicalethnomethods.pdf> [access 4.07.2017].

a small device so as not make Japanese people feel uncomfortable. I collected data openly, with all the necessary permits of the principals of the 6 schools and 1 support centre for adults and of the supervisor of my research internship, Professor N. Tasaki, to take 414 pictures and to talk to teachers or therapists. The purposefulness of taking pictures for the research had been discussed by the internship supervisor and the principals of the respective schools and the support centre, and it was based on a verbal agreement, as suggested by the methodologists: Green & Bloom<sup>52</sup>. I was told by my internship supervisor that it was not easy to obtain a permit for entering the schools and collecting data. It required diplomacy and providing sound reasons for my entering the field. Apart from taking pictures in educational organisational cultures, I spoke with school principals – *kōchō sensei* (校長先生) and head teachers – *kyoutou sensei* (教頭先生) in each of the abovementioned schools, with English teachers and other personnel. Conversations with English teachers were very peculiar. When they talked to me, they almost whispered, also, they were reserved, smiled in a friendly way and moved very slowly. They drawled their words, making our job-related conversations in a professional context seem to be intimate confessions. Usually, the distance between them and me was below 50–30 cm. I noticed that the English teachers were all the time discreetly watched by one of their principals. They were aware of that, too. When they told me about their problems at work, e.g. lack of specialist training to work with the disabled, their whisper in English was hardly audible. I adapted to their behaviour and communication, but I often had to ask them for details. I noticed this several times. I collected data in the following special and inclusive public schools and in the support centre, listed in the table below.

---

<sup>52</sup> J.L. Green, D. Bloome, Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: a situated perspective. In: Flood J., Heaths S.B., Lapp D. (Ed.). *Handbook for literacy educators: research in the community and visual arts*, Macmillan, New York 1997, pp. 181–202.

**Table 2.** The educational spaces of data collection

<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Prefektural Koga Special Needs Education Schools in Koga <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Special Elementary School</li> <li>• Special Junior High School</li> </ul> </li> <li>2. Fukuoka City Momochi Welfare Center</li> <li>3. School Attached to University of Teacher Education in Fukuoka UTEF <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fukuoka UTEF Primary School</li> <li>• Fukuoka UTEF Junior High School</li> <li>• Fukuoka UTEF Special School</li> </ul> </li> <li>4. General school with special and inclusive classes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Primary Schools, Munakata</li> </ul> </li> </ol>
---

## Field of research

The field research was conducted on the Kyushu Island in Japan, in the port city of Fukuoka, the Fukuoka Prefecture and two Japanese universities: the private Kyushu Women's University and the public University of Teacher Education in Fukuoka. More specifically, the research was conducted in special inclusive schools and a support institution for youth and adults with intellectual disabilities. I conducted my research in May 2016, during my research internship, between 16 and 22 May 2017. The supervisor of my research internship in Japan was Professor Noritomo Tasaki, educator, and comparatist, currently retired but still professionally and academically active, professor at two universities: Kyushu Women's University and the University of Teacher Education in Fukuoka. My internship supervisor, professor N. Tasaki, developed for me an individual internship schedule, including the scope of research work, university classes, scholarly meetings and fieldwork in Japan. Thanks to his authority and scholarly position, and numerous professional contacts, I had the unique chance of exploring special inclusive education, which would not be possible without his personal recommendation, supported by professor N. Tasaki's authority academic cultures and organisational cultures of schools and support institutions. Below I present research assumptions concerning

only the report limited to artefacts and cultural meanings in educational cultures of special and inclusive education in Japan. This report does not discuss the problem of analysing the phenomenon of the face as a cultural symbol, or research on special education facilities, culture shock, or the methodological problem of the power of a gate-keeper on site in Japan, or detailed research concerning other than the selected spaces or physical and material educational artefacts in organisational cultures in Japan, referred to in E. Schein's publications<sup>53</sup>, which I also engaged in during my research internship. This report focuses solely on a description and analysis of physical and material educational artefacts. My internship supervisor, professor N. Tasaki, repeatedly told me how difficult it was to organise my visits to special schools, which made me think about availability of practical training space associated with disabilities for outsiders in Japan.

In this part of research, I posed the main research question, which I recapitulate here for better clarity of the text:

- *What are the spaces, artefacts and their cultural meanings in the organisational cultures of the special and inclusive education system in Japan?*

In practice, it turned out that spaces and artefacts are linked with other elements of the organisational culture, identified by E. Schein<sup>54</sup>, such as standards, rituals, values or symbols, which I also discover and discuss to some extent in this research report.

## Negotiating my access to the field

Before going to Japan and doing my fieldwork, I was asked several times by my internship supervisor, professor N. Tasaki, to take my business cards and proper clothing with me, and he very subtly

---

<sup>53</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

<sup>54</sup> E. Schein, *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.

and indirectly suggested that I should learn the skill of exchanging business cards, as an introduction to discover both physical and behavioural artefacts. In order to be in the field, I had to learn the rituals and etiquette of professional meetings, and the things I would have to do during such meetings, such as:

- Have my business cards and know how to exchange them at professional meetings and in association with my research.
- Behave in a reserved and serene manner when meeting school or university senior personnel, etc.
- Be able to travel on my own by local trains to specific locations in the area of my research, be able to move about and communicate, even though my internship supervisor often accompanied me when I collected field data, especially if he knew that the personnel of specific educational organisational cultures did not speak English well enough.
- Wear appropriate, smart clothes in order to be able to enter educational institutions. Traditional smart attire means: black skirt and jacket, bright top, tights, covered shoes, subtle jewellery, flat-heeled, quiet shoes, especially for women. High heels are not advisable, because they would disturb the peace and quiet of persons in educational cultural scenes, which Professor N. Tasaki made particularly clear to me. Quiet shoes are a sign of respect for the place and for the learners. Thus, it is recommended to wear quiet, low shoes that do not disturb others. Stiletto or high heels are inappropriate.

Entering the field also required respecting the rules of official meetings in school structures. Below, I list elements of behavioural artefacts during my visits. They included the following rules and standards:

- Bowing during and after meetings and conversations with principals and teachers. Keeping eye contact and no touching, no hand-shaking.
- Exchanging business cards, restrained gesticulation, kind and serene, serious behaviour (a broad smile or laughter have binary significance and it is recommended to not express one's emotions vividly).



- It is mandatory to change to school slippers (red, green, blue, beige) whenever visiting a primary or junior high school and to put one's own shoes in the right position (tips facing the exit) before the main entrance door, in a space called genkan (玄関) in Japanese.
- I was required to ask for permission to take every single photo I took during my internship, at the universities, schools or support centre.
- I had to respect the prohibition to take pictures of the faces of children, youth and adults with intellectual disabilities in every facility.

## Data analysis

In this part of the research, the data were analysed simultaneously, in the course of their collection in May 2016, and for 6 months after completion of field data collection in Japan. Analyses covered the coding and categorising systems according to U. Flick<sup>55</sup> and G. Gibbs<sup>56</sup>, concerning the arrangement, coding and categorising of spaces and material and physical artefacts, especially those on the border between the ohyake (公), watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート) spaces, and analysing cultural topics<sup>57,58</sup> that involved generating broader patterns falling into the public and private space categories. Cultural themes were generated in two layers:

---

<sup>55</sup> U. Flick, *Projektowanie badania jakościowego*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>56</sup> G. Gibbs, *Analizowanie danych jakościowych*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.

<sup>57</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Etnografia stylu życia kultury dorosłych torunian z zaburzeniami rozwoju*. UMK, Toruń 2013.

<sup>58</sup> B. Borowska-Beszta, *Analiza antropologiczna jako transformacja: Problemy i techniki generowania tematów kulturowych*, „Problemy edukacji rehabilitacji socjalizacji osób niepełnosprawnych: Wybrane zagadnienie metodologii i metodyki badań w obszarze niepełnosprawności i codzienności osób z niepełnosprawnością”. Vol. 23, 2016 (in print).

the real and the symbolic layer of coding the meaning of that which is public and that which is private in the Japanese special and inclusive education system.

## Research results

### **Ohyake (公), watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート)** **spaces and artefacts of the special** **and inclusive education system in Japan**

Exploring selected Japanese educational organisational cultures and ohyake (公), watakushi (私) and puraibashii (プライベート) spaces of the special education system in Japan revealed certain problems with associating schools with public and private spaces and their respective scopes. Each of the schools I visited: the primary school, the junior high school, and even the two universities were surrounded by a wall with electronically controlled gates and sometimes a gate-keeper in uniform.

Also, in every primary and junior high special inclusive school I visited, there was genkan (玄関) and the obligation to take off shoes and wear slipper provided by the school. There was no need to change shoes at the universities: the Kuyshu Women's University and the University of Teacher Education in Fukuoka, apart from the seminar rooms where the mandatory traditional tea brewing and other Japanese traditions were taught. Also, it turned out that school and university websites provided very little information about their personnel – there were no names or e-mail addresses, or even pictures of the rectors of one of the universities I visited. It was explained to me that this is because the face is a private thing, even when it comes to university authorities, and that the names of rectors or school principals do not have to be revealed. I found it very surprising. On the other hand, Japanese people were very willing to pose for group pictures with outsiders, for example with me. During my research, I found out that spaces and material and physical



**Pict. 1.** Prefektural Koga Special Schools

Pict. Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

artefacts, such as buildings, interiors of special schools and general schools with inclusive classes were places of blurred borders of symbolic location and were closer to the watakushi (私) and purai-bashii (プライベート) space than the public space-ohyake (公), contrary to what I had assumed. Meanwhile, within the organisational culture, I noticed a tendency to make the space available and transparent. The schools had certain features typical of the design of Japanese schools in general, but I also noticed that they were adapted to the special educational needs of children and youth with disabilities.

### **Surippa (スリッパ) upon entering and ocha (お茶) with school principals**

Every single visit at school began with punctual arrival and being greeted by teachers and supervisors of my visits, and changing shoes for school slippers for visitors (which is obligatory for all visi-

tors, regardless of their social status) called surippa (スリッパ). They were red, green or light blue, with a golden inscription in Japanese language. They are worn in places, where it is forbidden to wear outdoor footwear. Similar slippers are used in toilets in Japanese houses. Two schools had special greetings for me, a visitor from Poland, written in Japanese on the boards, and in inclusive classes in the primary school in Munakata, I even received a red heart with a greeting and a smiling face from a student with intellectual disability. It was an important symbolic gesture, because I received both a heart and a face. My every visit began with drinking a cup of green tea called ocha (お茶) with the school principals and head teachers, and a conversation and discussion concerning my data collection plan. I usually had tea at the office of the principal – kōchō sensei (校長先生), who represented the school externally, in the context of official visits, ceremonies and diplomatic matters, or sometimes with the head teacher, called kyoutou sensei (教頭先生), responsible for the daily functioning of a school, in particular for educational matters. In the Japanese school structure, there is one more school manager, called kyoumu sensei (教務先生), responsible for the school agenda. Usually, at the beginning of my school and field visits, I was accompanied by two managers, but it was always the head teacher – kyoutou sensei (教頭先生) who showed me around the school. Kyoutou sensei (教頭先生) was usually also the most eager person to answer my questions, talk to me and explain things to me. Sometimes, I wondered why the school managers and organisers of my visits did not appoint English teachers to accompany me, especially that some of the kyoutou sensei (教頭先生) did not speak English well and rather smiled politely than answered my questions in detail. This was explained by some interesting observations I made about the school hierarchy of power. In some of the schools, I was spontaneously approached by English teachers, but they talked to me in the odd way that I mentioned before in the report, i.e. they whispered and were very reserved, which I found surprising. In my company, people spoke loud Japanese, as if to publicly express the priority of the Japanese language. Nonetheless,



**Pict. 2.** Surippa (スリッパ) – school slippers for visitors on a special stand  
Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

there is one more function in Japanese schools – the tantoush (担当者), the supervisor in the Board of Teachers. This is usually a teacher of the English language. Next, I was showed to every school space and attended classes or activities with children and youth with mild, moderate and severe intellectual disabilities. I was quite free to take pictures of empty corridors or classrooms. Each time, I was verbally instructed about the school standards and asked not to photograph pupils' faces. Pupils' faces were to remain anonymous. Sometimes, I was only allowed to take pictures of abled pupils or pupils with disabilities from the back or from a distance. In the corridor, next to the slippers, I accidentally took a picture of a boy who wanted very much to be photographed and frequently came in front of my camera. I coded his face in the research report, when he sat down to change his shoes in genkan. I wish I could have taken pictures in the knitting, weaving or ceramic workshops, and in particular in the

papier-mâché workshop in the junior school in Koga, where Japanese youth with moderate intellectual disabilities taught me how to make papier-mâché. Those were lively and spontaneous meetings. In terms of space analysis, when I attended lessons at the University Special School (UTEF), I saw space that was taken good care of, bright, sun-lit, clean, smooth, orderly, minimalistic and ascetic. I noticed that the university school probably had more funds than schools not attached to universities. In the music, rhythm and phonetic class, in a group of ten slender children with mild intellectual disabilities, e.g. the Down syndrome, there was a teacher and two male training students. Young and older children and youth whom I met in school corridors were verbally polite, and they always greeted everyone with a smile and *konnichiwa* (good day!), to which, of course, I too responded with a smile and a bow. Other teachers, whom I did not know, also bowed and said *konnichiwa*. Children were asked not to run in the corridors, but walk leisurely.



**Pict. 3.** Genkan (玄関)

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

## Physical and material artefacts in school corridors and classrooms

Genkan (玄関) is the first important symbolic place of symbolic and actual purification upon entering each of the 6 primary and junior high schools that I visited and where I collected data. Entrance to the support facility for adults did not have the genkan (玄関) space and the requirement to change shoes. Genkan (玄関) has psychological and symbolic significance in the Japanese tradition. It constitutes a psychological border between the outside world and the ohyake space, and the inside world of a house or school – watakushi i puraibashii<sup>59</sup>. Genkan (玄関) as the border between ohyake and watakushi and puraibashii is, in the Japanese tradition, historically linked with ZEN temples and samurai houses. It is a vital place of purification and demarcation, and an important moment of transit from the outside world of ohyake to the inside school world of watakushi and puraibashii. Primary and junior high schools that have the genkan (玄関) space explicitly remind of, on the one hand, the need to symbolically purify one's thoughts (but not only them) before entering the school culture, and on the other hand are the moment when the subjective status of visitors is equalised, and they also determine the border between privacy and that which is public. It might seem, from the European perspective, that the school is public space, but from the Japanese perspective, such distinction is not obvious. When I changed my shoes for the first time in the special junior high school in Koga, where I collected data, I put my own shoes in a wrong direction in genkan (玄関). The principal reacted immediately and, before entering the school corridor, he himself put my shoes in the right way, signaling to me the significance of genkan (玄関), and I learned quickly how it should be done. The purpose of the brief event was not to reprimand me, but rather, it was a natural reaction to my fast, but sometimes

---

<sup>59</sup> F. Asako, *What is Genkan?*, "Nipponia", No. 20 March 15, 2002, <http://web-japan.org/nipponia/nipponia20/en/what/what01.html>

clumsy struggles with my tight skirt or my trying to undo shoelaces while standing, and the fact that men usually had to wait for me and would watch me trying to hurry up with the shoes. Thus, the moment of putting on and taking off the shoes had gender connotations and caused some tension. However, nobody hastened me in any way. Genkan (玄関) requires that a person entering a building make a physical change of shoes as well as a symbolic change, by leaving the actual and metaphoric “dirt” outside. Once you change into slippers, which in the school symbolise house space, you cannot go towards the entry or outside the building wearing slippers.

The corridors in the special schools and general schools with inclusive and special classes that I visited were spacious and well lit. I saw children wearing school uniforms and walking in line, one after another. The corridors, minimalistic and empty, usually had one colorful accent – one artistic and symbolic board, but apart from that, there were no symbols, texts, announcements or meanings on the walls. There were empty spaces, which, however, did not make the impression of cold or detached institutions. I could watch lessons from the corridor, because the walls between the corridors and classrooms were usually made of glass and transparent. I could walk into empty classrooms, or watch lessons inside classrooms, or outside, on the corridor. Students were focused on the lessons and were not distracted by my entering the classroom. In the general school with inclusive and special classes, the corridors were clean and transparent, and there were hangers for the kids to leave their things on, and other items, such as a bench with a backrest or a 3-m long washbasin with several taps and soap, in the corridor leading to the library. The most typical colours of the corridors were cream, *écru* and soft white. Both in special primary and junior high schools, and in the general school with inclusive and special classes, there were no vivid colours in the corridors, no colourful chaos, but only individual boards on the walls. The glass walls made it transparent what went on in the classrooms, and enabled the school managers to control the classes. I was often surprised by how quiet the lessons



were, especially in the general school with inclusive and special classes, where there were 40 children in a classroom. Also the special classes, with 4 to 10 each, were very quiet.

The classrooms in special and general schools with inclusive and special classes had individual desks for children and youth with intellectual disabilities, called *chiteki shōgai* (知的障害), directed towards the board, standing in a straight or curved line. I had the impression that their position was not fixed and that they could be moved, depending on the educational needs. Classrooms were well lit with sunlight and lamps. Each classroom had windows on almost entire walls. Classrooms usually had clear division of space into (a) space for individual work, (b) space for team work and games, and (c) empty space in between. This empty space seemed particularly interesting to me, because, on the one hand, a child could walk around it if he or she needed it, and, on the other hand, it could be used for activities that were neither individual nor team work. Similar was the design in the general school with inclusive classes, which had separate special classes for children with various disorders: sensory, emotional (the autism spectrum), intellectual disabilities or behavioural disorders. Their classrooms also had a clear division of space into space for individual work, separated with various kinds of screens for children with autism spectrum disorders, and for group work in the other part of the classroom, also with spaces separated by batons. There were no carpets in the classrooms, only smooth parquets or some kind of durable, very smooth, bright flooring. An interesting solution in special classes in the general school was the use of tennis balls to mute desk and chair legs. Being quiet in the classroom and not disturbing others is very important in the Japanese culture, in all kinds of social spaces. When I attended lessons, I could see that the children and youth were focused on their work, and sometimes showed some interest in the visitor. Interestingly, in one of the general schools with special classes, half of the school was designated for abled children, and the other half for children with dysfunctions and special educational needs. It was interesting, what the teachers told me, that the parents

of abled children had a separate entrance to the school and did not know that one side of the building was for children with disabilities. This cultural explanation made me think about the cultural symbol and significance of the phenomenon of intellectual disability – chiteki shōgai (知的障害) in Japan. I will discuss the significance of this phenomenon in another publication in the cycle devoted to the Japanese educational system.



**Pict. 4.** Classroom cabinets – tokushu gakkō (特殊学校)

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

The classrooms, both in the special schools and the general school with inclusive and special classes that I visited, had, apart from a board and individual or double desks for children and youth, also open cabinets for school uniforms, where the kids left their uniforms when they had PE lessons. Another typical feature were various kinds of screens separating the space from individual work from the space for team work.

There were also screens in classrooms for children and youth with autism spectrum disorders. There were screens in the Fukuoka City Momochi Welfare Center, too. They had different textures, from canvas to wooden, or even cardboard. They could be transparent (looking like cages) or they could be like fencing that symbolically enclosed and physically divided the space. Screens are also a constant element and historically present artefact of the Japanese culture. I did not see children communicate with each other across the screens. They were absorbed in their own work. Another interesting place in the schools were libraries. In the general school with inclusive and special classes, in front of the library, there was a more than 3-m long sink with several taps and soap bars in plastic bags, and a written instruction to wash hands before entering the library. The corridors leading to the libraries were, the same as gekan, another place of purification in the school space.



**Pict. 5.** Corridor in a special school – tokushu gakkō (特殊学校)

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.



**Pict. 6.** A classroom- kyōshitsu (教室) in a special school- tokushu gakkō (特殊学校) for children with intellectual disabilities - chiteki shōgai (知的障害)

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.



**Pict. 7.** A classroom – kyōshitsu (教室) in a general school with special classes for children with developmental disorders – hattatsu shōgai (発達障) of the autism spectrum

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.



**Pict. 8.** A classroom – kyōshitsu (教室) in a general school with special classes for children with developmental disorders – hattatsu shōgai (発達障) of the autism spectrum

Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

## Discussion

To sum up the process of data collection and analysis of physical and behavioural artefacts during field research in 7 special and inclusive education and adult support facilities in Japan, I would like to note that the organisational cultures where I collected data were orderly, harmonious, focused and peaceful. Also, each educational institution had a small garden for ZEN meditation. Also, visual data collection was a useful technique of participating observation, since collection of verbal data – interviews, was sometimes difficult due to the poor knowledge of English among the academics whom I contacted and my own inability to speak Japanese (apart from some polite expressions and ability to count to 10). A rare exception was professor N. Tasaki and some principals and teachers, and therapists in the centre for adults. I think that my research may add a new di-

mension and insight into the global cultural studies on disability and education and support systems. Also, field research in Japan was very surprising in many ways for me – a visitor from Europe. As I explored the educational organisational cultures, I noticed certain subtleties of the oriental conceptualisation of behavioural artefacts and indistinct, hard to define borders of the association of spaces and material and physical artefacts of the space of the special and inclusive education system with the continuum of *ohyake*, *watakushi* and *puraibashii*. The field practice and sometimes difficult situations and challenges in the field were the turning point in proper understanding of the physical and behavioural artefacts of the analysed educational cultures in terms of the Japanese *ohyake* (公) (public) and *watakushi* (私) and *puraibashii* (プライベート) (private) spaces. Also, when exploring the educational organisational cultures in Fukuoka, Japan, after my previous research (Borowska-Beszta, 2013), I notice a certain regularity concerning the role of the gate keeper in studying the Japanese organisational cultures of the educational system. In my opinion, the the case of the organisational culture of special or inclusive education in Japan, without a person who enjoys authority and unquestionable social respect, and has a position in the environment that constitutes the cultural scene of the studies, who introduces a researcher to the system, even material and physical artefacts, not to mention the behavioural ones, would not be available to a researcher from outside Japan in this traditional, strongly hierarchical and ritualised, and inaccessible culture. Revealing information about problems relevant to my research was a very delicate and difficult matter for my Japanese interlocutors.

## Conclusions

Analysis of the spaces and physical and material artefacts of the organisational cultures being the object of my research revealed their strong link with behavioural artefacts. For example, readers from outside the Japanese culture would find it hard to understand the significance of the purification process in *genkan* (玄関) in the

organisational cultures of the analysed schools without a simultaneous analysis of the behavioural artefacts associated with the school standards of behaviour in that space of purification. The organisational cultures of the 6 special schools and the general school with special and inclusive classes, of various educational levels, and one adult support centre suggest, both in terms of the school space and school artefacts, that schools are designed taking into account the special educational needs of pupils with intellectual disabilities or developmental disorders, and that their design is deeply rooted in the Japanese cultural patterns of space design in general. The analyses led to the conclusion that the spaces are transparent and student-friendly, but at the same time very friendly for school authorities. The 6 schools and 2 universities, where I also collected data, were surrounded by fences and had electronically controlled gates. The corridors in the primary and junior high schools had glass walls, making the classrooms visible. The 6 schools and 1 adult support centre were designed to provide for the needs of students with disabilities. The analysed school spaces, with their physical and behavioural artefacts reflect, in my opinion, the spaces that manifest the 9th reservoir of the cultural coding of the disability construct focusing on the *developing person*, which I mentioned in the first part of article. In my opinion, focusing on developing the potential of students with disabilities was the supreme objective, judging by my conversations with the Japanese teachers. Thus, the key was to stimulate the pupils' potential, so that they could cope with the requirements of adult life in Japan. I think the organisation of special classrooms was optimal, with 4-5 children with moderate or severe intellectual disabilities and developmental disorders in one class. I would also like to note that another physical artefact of the school (apart of the elements of the classrooms and corridors that I discussed) are detailed school rules concerning school uniforms for pupils and dress code for children. Teachers are supposed to wear suits, unless they teach PE lessons, when they wear sports clothes. School uniforms and dress code are also associated with hidden and coded symbols. In the general school with inclusive classes, I partic-



ipated in rehearsals for a traditional Japanese inclusive festivals, on the school playing field. The English teacher sitting next to me whispered to me about the meaning of the numbers students hat on the back of their shirts. Children with the highest functional and intellectual potential and the most talented ones had number 1, then 2 and 3, and children with disabilities were labeled with number 4. So I looked for number 4 among the children. It is worth noting that in the Japanese culture, number 4 is, unfortunately, unlucky, and pronounced as (*shi* ㄥ), is closely associated with death.



**Pict. 9.** Playing field of the university general school with inclusive classes  
Pict. Private archives, B. Borowska-Beszta.

## Bibliography

- Angrosino M., *Badania etnograficzne i obserwacje*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.  
Banks M., *Materiały wizualne w badaniach jakościowych*, Niezbędnik Badacza, PWN, Warszawa 2009.



- Borowska-Beszta B., *Analiza antropologiczna jako transformacja: Problemy i techniki generowania tematów kulturowych*, „Problemy edukacji rehabilitacji socjalizacji osób niepełnosprawnych: Wybrane zagadnienie metodologii i metodyki badań w obszarze niepełnosprawności icodzienności osób z niepełnosprawnością”. Vol. 23, 2016 (in print).
- Borowska-Beszta B., *Anatema(?) szkolu kulturowego w andragogice specjalnej*, „Edukacja Otwarta” 2008, no. 2, pp. 163–179
- Borowska-Beszta B., *Etnografia dla terapeutów (pedagogów specjalnych) – szkice metodologiczne*, Wyd. Impuls, Kraków 2005.
- Borowska-Beszta B., *Etnografia stylu życia kultury dorosłych torunian z zaburzeniami rozwoju*. UMK 2013.
- Borowska-Beszta B., *Pracownicy Fundacji (metoda etnograficzna)*, (in:) *Formowanie się wspólnoty w Fundacji im. Brata Alberta w Radwanowicach*, Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Towarzystwa Słowaków w Polsce, Krakow 2001, pp. 260–322.
- Creswell J., *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. 3rd Edition. Sage Publications, Inc, Los Angeles 2009.
- Denzin N., Lincoln Y., *Metody badań jakościowych*, Vol. 1, 2. PWN, Warszawa 2009.
- Flick U., *Projektowanie badania jakościowego*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.
- Gibbs G., *Analizowanie danych jakościowych*, PWN, Warszawa 2010.
- Green J.L., Bloome D., *Ethnography and ethnographers of and in education: a situated perspective*. In: Flood J., Heaths S.B., Lapp D. (ed.). *Handbook for literacy educators: research in the community and visual arts*, Macmillan, New York 1997, pp. 181–202.
- Hall E., *Ukryty wymiar*, Muza, Warszawa 1997.
- Hammersley M. (ed.) *Educational Research and Evidence-based Practice*. In association with the Open University, Sage, London 2007.
- Hammersley M., Atkinson P., *Metody badań terenowych*, Zysk i S-ka, Poznań 2000.
- Hammersley M., *Teaching qualitative methodology: craft, profession or bricolage*. In: Seale C., Gobo G., Gubrium J.F., Silverman D. eds., *Qualitative Research Practice*. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 2004 pp. 549–560.
- Jemiłniak D., *Badania jakościowe, Metody i narzędzia*. Vol. 2. PWN, Warszawa 2012.
- Jemiłniak D., *Badania jakościowe, Podejścia i teorie*. Vol. 1. PWN, Warszawa 2012.
- Kawecki I., *Dane wizualne w badaniach pedagogicznych*, „Pedagogika Kultury” 2009, vol. 5.
- Kostera M., *Antropologia organizacji, Metodologia badań terenowych*, PWN, Warszawa 2003.
- Kubinowski D., *Jakościowe badania pedagogiczne. Filozofia – Metodyka – Ewaluacja*, Lublin, UMCS 2010.
- Nakada M., Tamura T., *Japanese Conceptions of Privacy: An Intercultural Perspective*, *Ethics and Information Technology March*, 2005, Volume 7, Issue 1, pp. 27–36, p. 31

- Nalaskowski A., *Przestrzenie i miejsca szkoły*, Impuls, Kraków 2000.
- Nowotniak J., *Spoleczne swiaty pokoi nauczycielskich*, „Teraźniejszość – Człowiek – Edukacja: kwartalnik myśli społeczno-pedagogicznej” no. 3 (55), pp. 71–86
- Pink S., *Etnografia wizualna. Obrazy, media i przedstawienie w badaniach*, UJ, Kraków 2008.
- Schein E.H., *Organizational Culture and Leadership*, Jossey-Bass, San Francisco 2010.
- Schein E., *Organizational Culture and Leadership*. Jossey-Bass, (in:) L. Zbiegień-Maciąg, *Kultura w organizacji – Identyfikacja kultur znanych firm*, PWN, Warszawa 1999.
- Siarkiewicz E., Trębińska-Szumigraj E., Zielińska-Pękał D., *Edukacyjne prowokacje. Wykorzystanie etnografii performatywnej w procesie kształcenia doradców*, Impuls, Kraków 2012.
- Spradley J., *Participant observation*. New York, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1980.
- Spradley J., *The Ethnographic interview*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, New York 1979.
- Tamura T., *Japanese feelings for privacy* MANUSYA: *Journal of Humanities* (Special Issue No. 8 2004) pp. 138–156 [http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura\\_p121-139.pdf](http://www.manusya.journals.chula.ac.th/files/essay/Tamura_p121-139.pdf) [access: 4.07.2017].
- Whitehead T.L., *Basic Classical Ethnographic Research Methods Secondary Data Analysis, Fieldwork, Observation/Participant Observation and Informal and Semi-structured Interviewing*, 2005. <http://www.cusag.umd.edu/documents/workingpapers/classicalethnomethods.pdf> [access 4.07.2017].
- Wiernek B., *Kultura organizacyjna przedsiębiorstwa*, Oficyna Wydawnicza TEXT, Kraków 2000.
- Wolcott H.F., *Posturing in qualitative inquiry*. In MD LeCompte, WL Millroy & JPreisle, (Eds.) *The Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*, Academic Press, New York, 1992 pp. 3–52.
- Wolfensberger W., *The Origin And Nature Of Our Institutional Models*. In: *Changing Patterns in Residential Services for the Mentally Retarded*, President's Committee on Mental Retardation, Washington, D.C. January 1969, <http://www.disabilitymuseum.org/dhm/lib/detail.html?id=1909&page=all> [access: 4.07.2017].