

# The Japanese Media Representation of Chinese Residents in Japan: *Asahi Shimbun* in 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003 and 2009<sup>1</sup>

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Starting in the 1970s the flow of immigrants arriving in Japan accelerated and the mix changed, with an increasing proportion from Asia. Social changes resulted in the need for a large number of foreigners, in particular for 3 K (Kitanai, Kiken and Kitsui) [dirty, dangerous and hard] types of work due to continued economic development, lower birth rates and reduced Japanese labor force resulting from increased college population. The large number of immigrants contributes to Japanese society; on the other hand, the immigration flow also causes social concerns amongst the Japanese. In this context, media coverage might be influential in reconstructing Japanese perceptions of foreigners.

This paper examines how the media covers Chinese residents in Japan and constructs images of Chinese during a period of social change. The media coverage is analyzed through three approaches: headline, body text and editorial analysis. Selected years from 1988 to 2009 are focused on, with analysis of key topics and comparison of coverage of Chinese versus other ethnicities. The media analyzed is *Asahi Shimbun*, a major newspaper in Japan, with back issues researched through *Asahi Shimbun* CD-ROM and *Nikkei Telecom 21*, the largest Japanese news database, with articles manually categorized and analyzed one-by-one.

In understanding representations in the media two important aspects are: how the media reflects society and how the media affects society. Although there might be a dialectic relationship, this paper focuses on the second aspect. The complementary important issue of decoding is left to future research. Although broader coverage would be beneficial, practical constraints arising from manual analysis of articles one-by-one led to a focus on selected years and one major newspaper, *Asahi Shimbun*.

In discussing representations of ethnicity, this paper considers two theoretical frameworks, those of Stuart Hall and Peter Jackson. First, Stuart Hall argues historical, social, political, economical and cultural contexts create/recreate meaning of race; therefore, meaning will change depending on those contexts. He argues, "The meaning of racial signifiers are never fixed, but depend upon cultural context.... Therefore, race is language as 'floating signifiers'." He also argues, "Power and ideology attempt to fix the meaning

of images and language.... Meaning can only be changed because it cannot be finally fixed.”<sup>2</sup> Hence, in examining the Japanese media coverage, it is important to understand the Japanese context such as society, politics and history and so forth, because those elements create and recreate meaning of race. Second, Peter Jackson in *Maps of Meaning* (1989) argues that language, not just media, constructs the meaning of race in society through use of language. “...Idea of race, rather than race *per se*, to emphasize it’s socially constructed as opposed to its biologically given character.” In particular, he examines how language in England expresses cultural and political ideas on race.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, this paper analyzes the use of language, such as choices of words in headlines and texts of articles. Both approaches focus on how people and objects are encoded in media and language.

The first section of this paper considers the social context of foreign ethnic groups in Japan, in particular the Chinese. The second section examines the media coverage of *Asahi Shimbun* through three complementary analyses, comparing coverage of Chinese with that for other foreign ethnicities. The paper concludes that the quantity of coverage of Chinese is distinctly large, and Chinese representations tend to be negative, in particular due to a large number of crime reports. This indicates that the reason for the negative representation of Chinese is not because they are foreigners, but because they are Chinese. The media *tacitly* creates meaning of ethnicity. In particular, the meaning of Chinese is created through the *repetition* of reports and the reporting of *details* of situations, rather than by use of particularly strong *language*.

## 1. Background

Several factors provide the context to media representation of foreigners. The alien population is increasing and more diverse, with registered foreigners about 1.5% of the population in 2003. The Chinese new-comer population is increasing fast. The largest group of foreigners are Korean but declining in number due to a reduction in special permanent residents, old-comers who came to Japan before the 1952 Immigration Law.

Immigration policies are based on the 1952 immigration system. The important 1990 revision favored skill-based immigration<sup>4</sup> and specific types of ethnic immigrants, in particular Japanese descendants up to the third generation. This has allowed second and third generation Japanese to move to Japan. This has facilitated return legal migration from Brazil (Nikkei Brazilians) and elsewhere in Latin America, countries to which the Japanese had immigrated in the late 19th century, in part as the Japanese government promoted this as a solution to overpopulation.<sup>5</sup>

The student immigration policy is also significant, particularly for Chinese. In 1983 the Nakasone administration announced the 100,000 Foreign Student Project (*Ryûgakusei Jûmannin Keikaku*): foreign students reached 109,508 by 2003, with large increases from

**Table 1. Number of Registered Foreigners**

	1988	%	1993	%	1998	%	2003	%	2009	%
Koreans	677,140	72.0	682,276	51.7	638,828	42.2	613,791	32.1	578,495	26.5
<b>Chinese</b>	<b>129,269</b>	<b>13.7</b>	<b>210,138</b>	<b>15.9</b>	<b>272,230</b>	<b>18.0</b>	<b>462,396</b>	<b>24.1</b>	<b>680,518</b>	<b>31.2</b>
Brazilians	4,159	0.4	154,650	11.7	222,217	14.7	274,700	14.3	267,456	12.3
Filipinos	32,185	3.4	73,057	5.5	105,308	7.0	185,237	9.7	211,716	9.7
Peruvians	864	0.1	33,169	2.5	41,317	2.7	53,649	2.8	57,464	2.6
Americans	32,766	3.5	42,639	3.2	42,774	2.8	47,836	2.5	52,149	2.4
Others	64,622	6.9	167,458	12.7	189,442	12.6	277,421	14.5	341,323	15.6
Total	941,005	100.0	1,320,748	100.0	1,512,116	100.0	1,915,030	100.0	2,183,121	100.0

Source: The Ministry of Justice of Japan, *Annual Report Statistics of Registered Foreign Population*.

China.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, some foreign language students stayed on as illegal workers,<sup>7</sup> with around half of illegal aliens originally from language schools.<sup>8</sup>

Three other aspects are part of the broader context shaping views of immigrants. One is the continuing controversies between Japan and countries that suffered from Japanese war-time actions, including: government textbook censorship,<sup>9</sup> comfort women, the Prime Minister's visit to the Yasukuni Shrine, ODA and so forth.<sup>10</sup>

Second, concerns arising from China's fast economic development:<sup>11</sup> 70% of Japanese consider China's military and economic power a future threat.<sup>12</sup> Focusing on mass media, Nansheng argues that the 'China as a Threat' ("*Chûgokukyôiron*") concern intensified in the 1990s as the Japanese lost self-confidence due to the stagnating post-bubble economy.<sup>13</sup>

Third, recent increasing international openness, mainly due to economic development, led to a re-assertion of Japanese sense of uniqueness (*Nihonjinron*: Theories of Japanese-ness) and sometimes nationalism (e.g., Befu 1983; Miller 1982).<sup>14</sup> Relatedly, Oguma argues that post-war Japanese media emphasizes "*Tanitsuminzoku Shinwa*" (The Myth of the Homogeneous Nation) as a form of protection. In contrast, before the war Japanese media reported the assimilation of Korean culture, even though Koreans were socially discriminated, on the basis of Japan as a multi-ethnic society.<sup>15</sup>

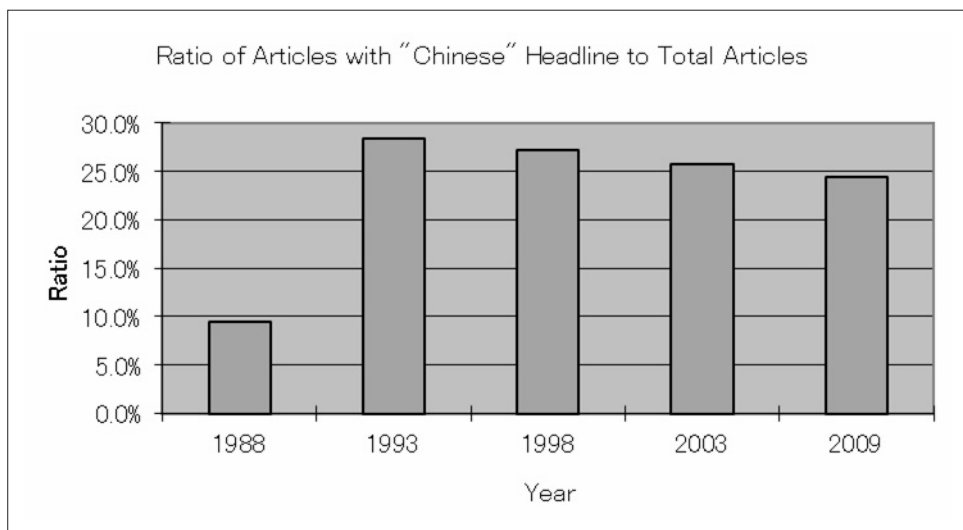
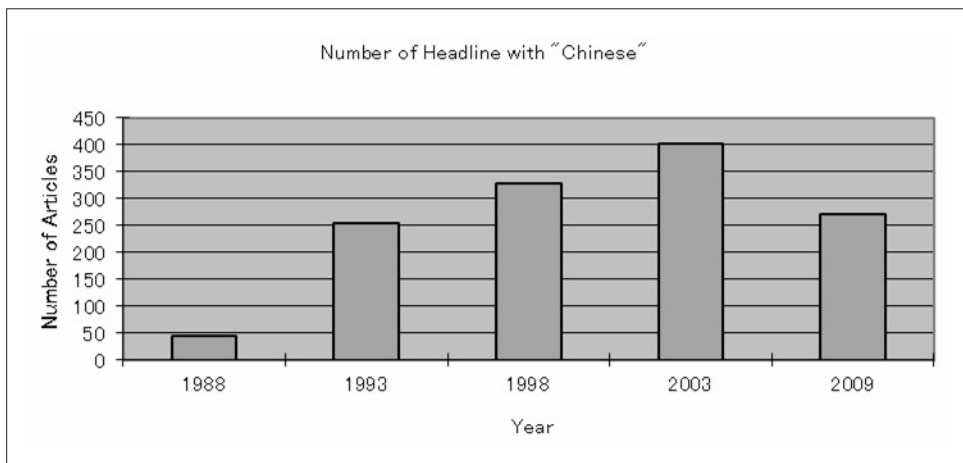
## 2. Media Coverage Analysis

Within the broader context outlined above, this section discusses analysis of headlines, body text and editorials of the media on Chinese in Japan for: 1988, 1993, 1998, 2003 and 2009. Headlines show the overall trends topic emphasis. Body text of articles indicates how the media represents the Chinese in Japan, through examining topics and choice of language. Editorial analysis highlights the newspaper's overall emphasis. In summary,

until the late 1980s the media covered Chinese immigrants as contributors to Japanese society but coverage was afterward reconstructed with negative tones.

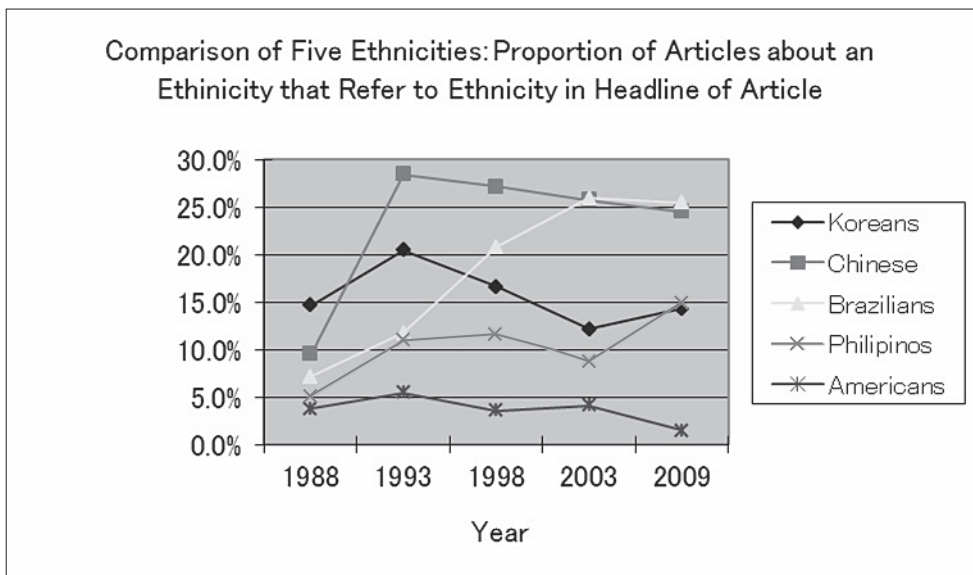
### (1) Headline Analysis

Headlines are a summary of articles and readers pay them substantial attention, hence this section focuses on whether stories have a headline reference to Chinese, as this indicates emphasis on ethnicity. Choice of words reveals which elements the reports highlight, such as events themselves, ethnicity, or impact. Over time reference to Chinese in the headline has increased, in particular highlighting 'the Chinese' in the headline, peaking in the early 2000s.



The number of articles on Chinese has generally increased, though the proportion with “Chinese” headlines is fairly stable since 1993. Interestingly, the proportion of headlines that refer to the particular ethnicity is distinctively high also for Brazilians, but much lower for other major ethnicities such as Koreans, Filipinos and Americans.

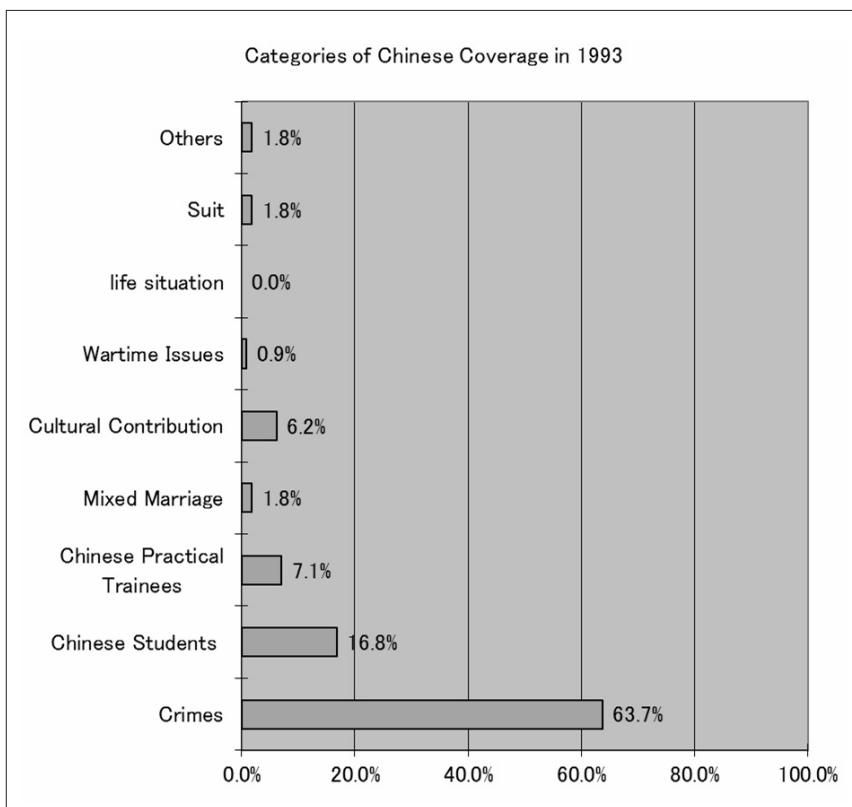
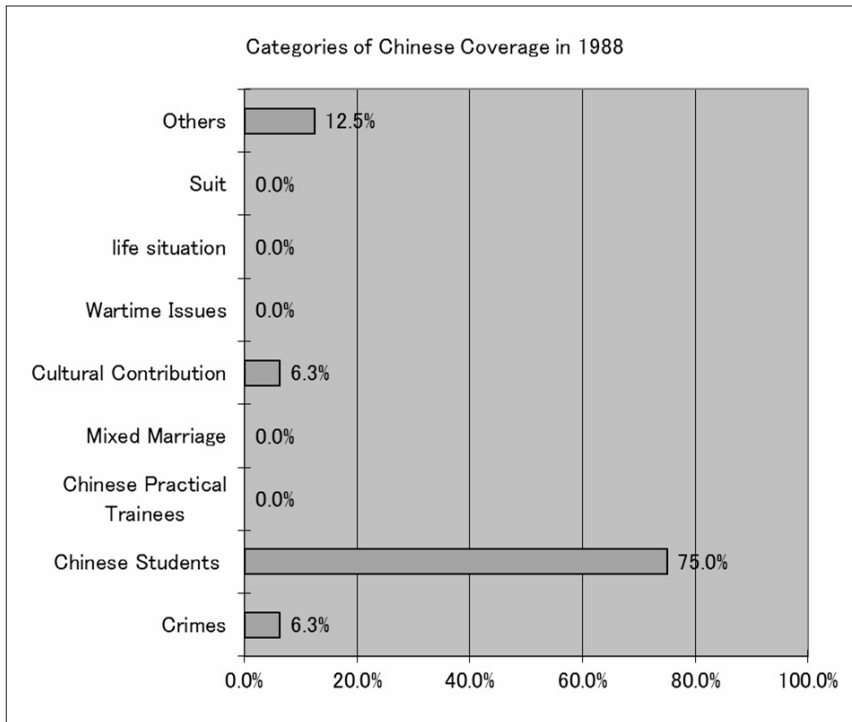
Amongst five largest foreign ethnic groups in Japan (Koreans, Chinese, Brazilians, Filipinos and Americans), from 1988 to 1993 all had an increase in the proportion of headlines that refer to ethnicity. Since 1993 there are a variety of patterns: the Chinese have been increasingly emphasized, and the Brazilians have been recently highlighted.



## (2) Body Text Analysis

This part considers the contents of the articles examined in the previous part, and categorizes them into genres, such as crimes, foreign students, social activities and so forth. The categorization was done manually by looking at each article individually. The body text analysis reveals the type of coverage of the Chinese.

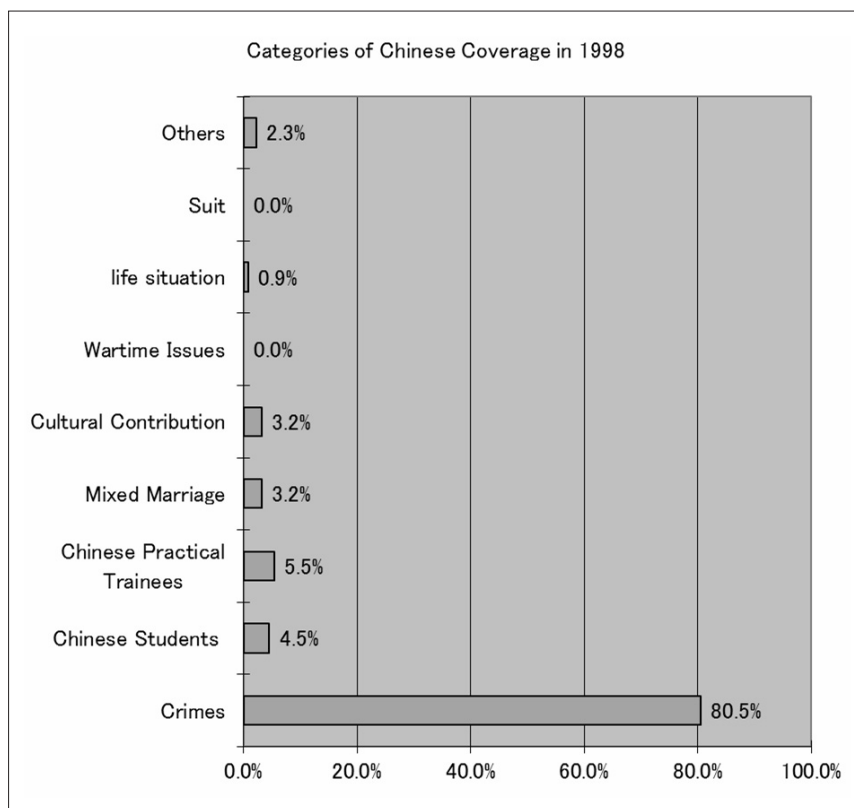
**1988:** The topics of coverage were limited to primarily Chinese students (75% of coverage), with next largest cultural contribution and crimes (at 6% each). Chinese students were positively portrayed, as discussed below. In short, the topics were few and the majority of reports were positively represented.

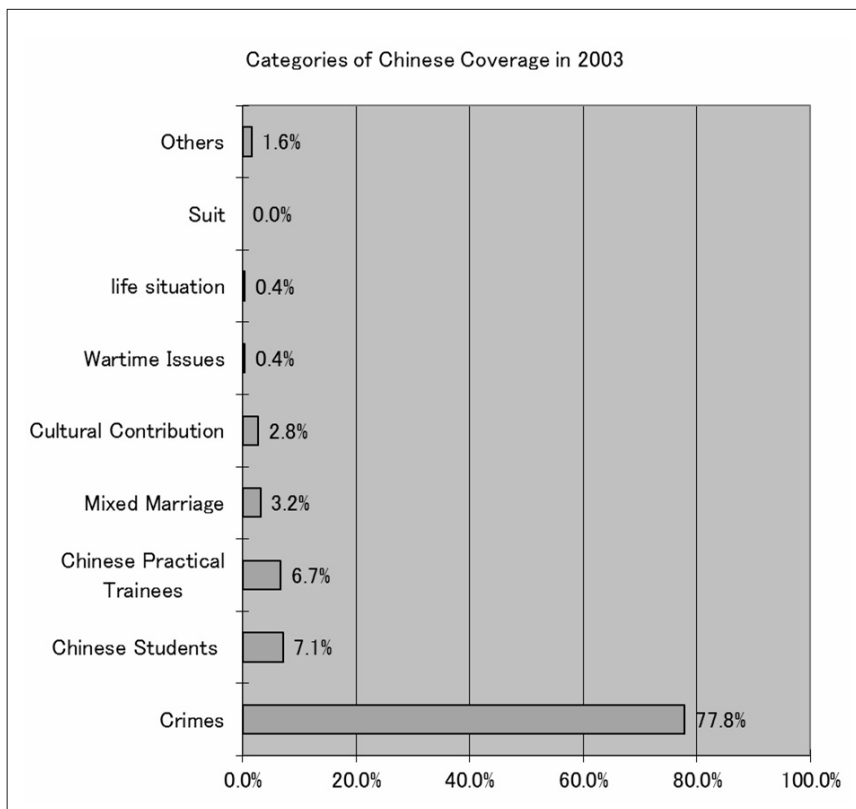


**1993:** As compared to 1988, the topics were more varied and coverage of crimes stands out increasing from 6% of stories in 1988 to 64% in 1993. Coverage of Chinese students dropped from 75% of articles in 1988 to 17% in 1993, although still the second largest topic. Even though the coverage of wartime issues, lawsuits regarding immigration and mixed marriage were still minor, these topics started to be covered.

**1998:** Crime coverage was intensely highlighted (81% of articles); all other topics had limited coverage. Positive aspects such as cultural contribution were a mere 3% of stories. Overall, Chinese coverage shifted from the relatively positive to more negative images as Chinese crime coverage dominated Chinese coverage.

**2003:** Crime coverage continued to occupy a similar position as in 1998, more than 10 times larger than coverage of Chinese students. Although Chinese practical trainees and students slightly increased versus 1998, in part this is because some practical trainees and students committed crimes while in Japan. Within Chinese crime coverage, the main theme was general crimes, 47%; next illegal entries and over-stayers, 23%; and then murders, 8%. Positive aspects were also reported in only 3% of articles, for example an article on the first



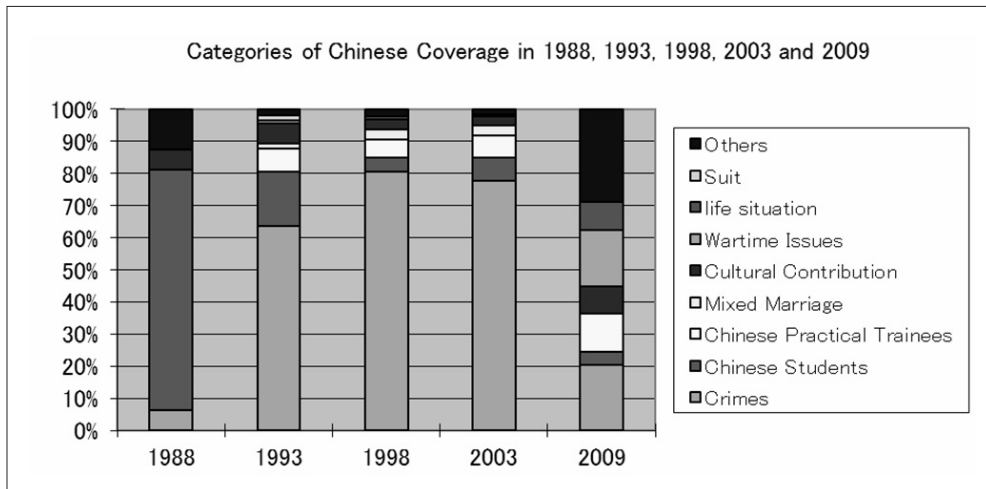
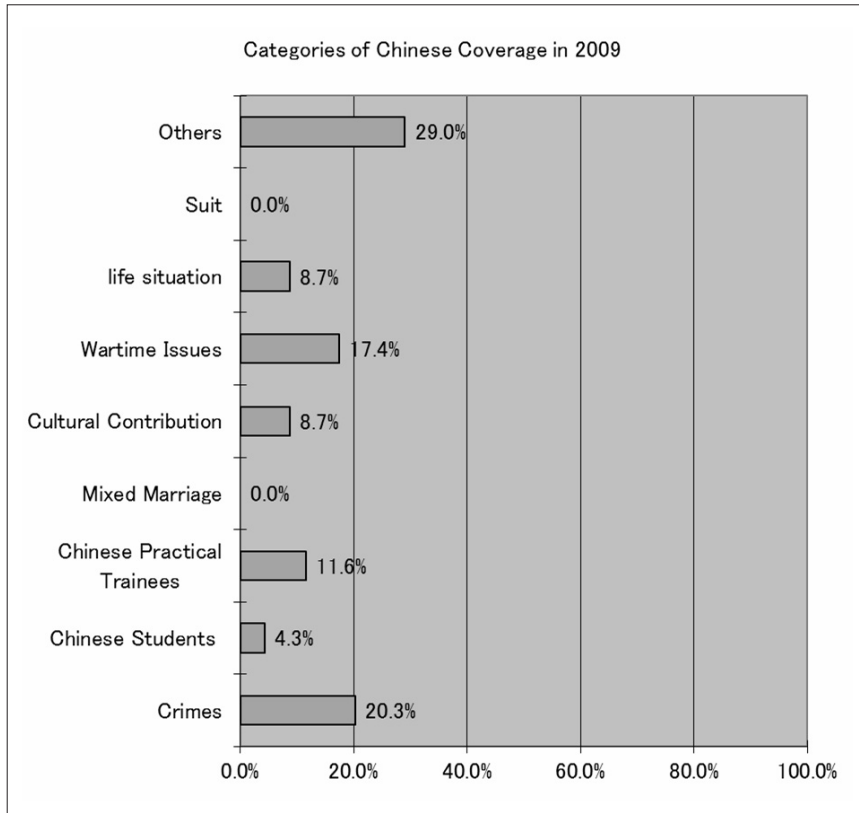


appointment of a Chinese doctor at prestigious Kyoto University. However, in short, the Chinese immigrants were portrayed with an intense crime image.

**2009:** As compared to prior years, a wide variety of themes were covered. Crime remains the largest, but accounting for a much lower proportion of articles. The overall tone of the articles is more neutral and positive as including greater coverage of economic and cultural cooperation.

In summary, the categories of coverage were limited in 1988 and became more diverse. Coverage of crimes increased in the early 1990s and then remained high until 2009. The total coverage of Chinese students and crimes was almost constant for many years, at around 80-85%. Although reports of students in 1988 were mainly positive, those in later periods tended to be negative. One reason is the increased reporting on crime cases committed by Chinese students. In short, media coverage of Chinese shifted to a negative perspective for an extended period of time, with highlighting of crimes, but most recently has had a more balanced coverage.





### (3) Editorial Analysis

Editorials are potentially influential as representing opinions of the newspaper and are placed on the front page to attract reader attention. Although the number of editorials that

refers to Chinese has not changed much, the content has changed over time.

In 1988 four editorials contain the key word Chinese, and one refers to Chinese students in Japan: "A Chinese documentary in China"; "A war history on the WWII memorial day on August 15th"; "Diplomatic relations with Japan and China"; "The Political Situation in China". One editorial argued that amicable relations with China are crucial for peace in Asia; hence, Japan should make steady efforts towards trustworthy relations with China. The overall tone was positive towards Chinese students, as considered a bridge between Japan and China.

In 1993 seven editorials referred to Chinese, and one was related to the Chinese in Japan: "Mao's Popularity in China"; "Issues of Japanese Descendants in China"; "Disaster Prevention on the Day of the 70th anniversary of the Great Kanto Earthquake"; "English Education in Japan"; "Human Rights in China"; "Chinese Recovery from its Defects led by Developments of its Market Economy"; "Chinese Political and Economical Relations with Taiwan". One editorial effectively uses the Chinese as a role model, contrasting Chinese student's ability to speak English to the Japanese and calling for revision of English education in Japan.

In 1998, two editorials referred to Chinese: "'Transparent' political system strengthens trust between Japan-China" and "Quitting the Idea 'I do not do even though I know I have to do.'" The second article was about Japanese students who try to improve the natural environment and how Chinese students in Japan supported them.

In 2003, five editorials referred to Chinese. They related to Chinese economy, wartime issues, and escaping from North Korea to China. Two of them referred to Chinese in Japan. Chinese students tended to be negatively portrayed: "Study More, Foreign Students". The other editorial was "Working with China: Change Ideas '03", which said that the Japanese would have to learn to work with the Chinese given economic expansion and would not be able to say, "Having Asians as our bosses is a humiliation." This demonstrates how Japanese nationalistic sentiment generates conflict as China emerges.

In short, editorials that covered the Chinese in Japan concentrated on Chinese students. The tone changed over the period from positive towards negative, from contributors to improving China-Japan relations and Japanese society to illegal immigrants and economic competitors.

### **3. Comparing Chinese with Koreans, Brazilians and Filipinos in 2003**

This section compares the media coverage of Koreans, Brazilians and Filipinos in Japan in 2003, and then contrasts this with coverage of Chinese.<sup>16</sup> The year 2003 was selected as there were no symbolic national events that may affect the number and content of reports.

**(1) Headline Analysis:** The overall number of articles referring to the ethnicities was 2,704 of which 576 had a headline reference to ethnicity.

**Table 2. The Number of Foreigners, Articles and Headlines Referring to Ethnicity in 2003**

Ethnicity	Population in Japan		Articles		Articles with headline referring to ethnicity	
	Number	% mix	Number	% mix	Number	% mix
Koreans	625,422	42%	681	25%	83	14%
Chinese	424,282	29%	1,561	58%	402	70%
Brazilian	268,332	18%	293	11%	76	13%
Filipinos	169,359	11%	169	6%	15	3%
Total	1,487,395	100%	2,704	100%	576	100%

The Chinese foreign population was 29% of the four ethnicities, but its share of news reports was more than double, at 58%. Also, the proportion of articles that explicitly referred to ethnicity in the headline varied significantly: highest for Chinese (70% of articles) and Brazilian, and least visible for Filipinos.

**(2) Body Text Analysis:** First, coverage of Koreans was mixed. Murders represented 24% of stories; social activities and cultural contributions, 20%; crimes, 20%; violation of the immigration law, 18%; foreign students, 7%; and meetings and events related to wartime Japan, 6.7%. Murder coverage was all about Koreans that had killed Koreans. Most of social and cultural activities were about Korean ethnic gatherings (e.g., events at Korean ethnic schools). Another theme was political relations between Japan and North Korea.

Brazilian coverage can be divided into two major categories. Crime coverage included 49% of reports on light crime, such as robbery at convenience stores, and 14% on murder cases, in which murderers and victims were mainly both Brazilian immigrants. Cultural and social activities accounted for 24% of reports, including 10% on soccer: Brazilians were represented as immigrants whom Japanese and local government supported and involved in local society.

Filipino coverage included 36% of articles on crime, including murder, illegal business, and smuggling of stimulants. The second largest coverage, 21% of articles, was on illegal entries and workers. The next largest category, with 14% of articles, reported on how Filipinos live in Japanese society through introducing their activities.

**(3) Editorial Analysis:** One example was about Brazilians and Koreans reporting on the high school baseball game season during the summer with the title “Go to Hot Ground: High School Baseball Tournament.” It explained how the foreign high school students contributed to their teams, and how baseball culture, originally from the U.S., has become one of the major Japanese sports. In particular, it mentioned that, “Baseball in Brazil, where soccer is extremely popular, is Japanese culture that Nikkei Brazilians have supported” and those *Nikkei* participated actively in the summer high school baseball game tournaments. It also describes how a Korean student from Kyoto Korean School addressed the crowd before the game with a speech in Korean.

**Table 3: Ethnicities and Titles of Editorials**

Ethnicity	Title of Editorial and Date
Chinese	Study More, Foreign Students (11/5)
	Working with China: Change Ideas (1/14)
Korean	Don't Disperse Families-Restriction of Foreigners (11/09)
	Mercy for 44 Years: Escaping from North Korea (1/31)
	React to Refugee's Wishes (2/20)
Korean and Brazilian	Go to Hot Ground: High School Baseball Tournament (8/17)

In summary, there were significant differences in coverage of the three ethnicities, as compared to Chinese. First, in terms of the number of articles, Chinese coverage dominated and Chinese ethnicity was much more emphasized. Koreans and Brazilians were less emphasized and Filipinos were invisible. Second, Koreans and Brazilians tended to be portrayed with a positive perspective; on the other hand, the coverage of Chinese and Filipinos focused on the negative aspects, such as crime. Hence, Chinese coverage was distinctive in terms of the quantity of articles, emphasis on ethnicity, and proportion of negative coverage.

#### **4. Coverage of Key Topics**

This section considers how the coverage changed over time of some key topics.

##### **(1) Chinese Students in Japan**

Regarding Chinese students, the content of the coverage was positive in 1988 as they were considered diligent students and bridges for good China-Japan relations. The articles supported Japanese financial help to Chinese students, given the difference in currency value.

In contrast in 1998 the media focused on covering those Chinese students who came using fake student visas for working purpose. An article on 6th June said, "... 'After the harsh life, forever happy life will come.'", claiming this was the reason why Chinese foreign students came to Japan. Also, 80% of foreign students were Chinese and 70% of them had a part-time job, and that "their goal was to work, not to study...."

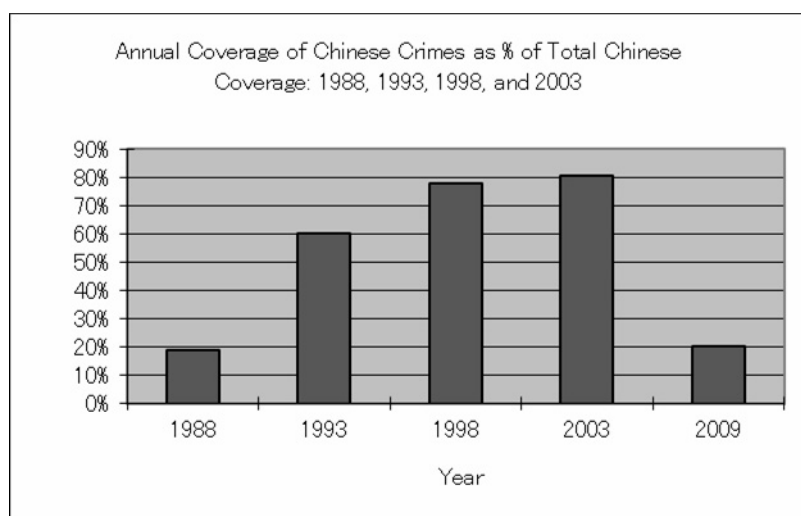
In 2003, the articles tended to identify Chinese students as those people who came to Japan with the purpose of committing crimes. Most articles did not mention that the Chinese who did commit crimes were a very small proportion of the Chinese: though readers may know this, they nonetheless may receive negative images regarding the Chinese in general.

In 2009 the overall coverage is about aspects of Chinese culture and follow up reports on a murder case by Chinese students in Japan. Although the topics are a mix of positive and negative aspects, the intensity of Chinese student coverage decreases.

In summary, the reports on Chinese students have generally shifted from focusing on positive to negative aspects such as committing crimes, illegally working, and then over-staying as illegal workers after graduating from school.

## (2) Chinese Crimes

From 1988 to 2003 the number of articles about Chinese crimes dramatically increased 68 times. Before the late 1990s the media tended to use the term "foreign crimes." Usage of the term "Chinese crime" (*Chūgokujinhanzai*) was zero until the early 1990s. However, since the late 1990s, "Chinese crime" has become a standard term, and media use this and so identify ethnicity. In addition, if the criminals came from Fujian province in China, this region was mentioned. In contrast, "Korean crime" appeared only one time from 1975 to 2003.



Recently, the media has started to specify the different types of Chinese crimes. For example, the articles refer to specific terms such as “Picking,” “Samtân Mawashi” and “Yakiwari” to explain the methods used in Chinese robberies to break into private residences: 28 articles used the term “picking” in their body reports in 1999, however, this increased to 358 in 2000 and 633 in 2001. Overall, the media repeated Chinese crime reports with more detailed descriptions without using any strong adjectives, such as ‘brutal’, ‘terrible’ and so forth. Hence, the Japanese were able to form detailed Chinese crime images through this information. In 2002 the total number of foreign crimes increased 17.8% and that of Japanese crimes 18.5% in one year.<sup>17</sup> On balance, the increase in Chinese crime does not seem to explain the degree of emphasis on Chinese crime in the media. Indeed, most recently crime has accounted for a smaller proportion of coverage.

### **(3) Comparison of Coverage of Japanese and Chinese Murder Cases**

This section compares two cases of whole families being murdered, one by Chinese and the other by Japanese. *Asahi Shimbun* continuously reported, with 141 reports, for the Chinese murder case. It did not report obvious racial criticism. Since August 1st 2003, when the police agency suggested that the murderers may be Chinese, the coverage started to include terms such as “Chinese/China”, “foreign student”, and the Chinese names of suspects/murderers in their headlines and reached 75% of the coverage that included these words. Reports tried to explain the brutal details. For example, one report quoted the story that the father asked the murderers to save his daughter. However, the murderer just ignored the request and killed the daughter in front of the father in order to steal a small amount of money. On the other hand *Asahi Shimbun* reported 44 times on the Japanese murder case. The articles provided basic information about this incident, but not as detailed as in the Chinese case. Thus the main difference across the cases is the significant differences in the levels of details provided which contributes to constructing images and understanding of the cases.

In summary, the shift towards more negative coverage of Chinese is evident not just in the number of articles but also in the type of content, with much use of detailed explanations providing additional emphasis on the Chinese.

## **5. Possible Factors Affecting Representation of Chinese in Japan**

### **(1) Government Interpretation and Press Club**

According to the 2002 *White paper of National Police Agency*, foreigners’ crimes were few compared to Japanese crimes, but increasing at a faster rate. The whole foreign crime section in the white paper identified only two ethnicities: Chinese and Brazilians. The only examples given of foreign crimes were Chinese cases. For example, the first paragraph of

the foreigners' crime section warned that "...Foreign crime groups such as those made up of Chinese are especially conspicuous..." Also, "Five Chinese students broke into house and wounded/killed two people. One of the victims was a guardian for one of these youths"<sup>18</sup> which emphasizes the Chinese as violent and ungrateful. Even though the readers would know that not all Chinese are like this, the images could remain.

The media coverage reflects government perspectives. Japanese media receives most government related information from the government press club (*kishakurabu*). Thus if the government identifies the ethnicities then often also the media. The government provides more detailed information on foreign crime information, in particular on Chinese crimes; however, they do not criticize Chinese crime cases. It could be said that the government and the media silently stimulate anti-Chinese sentiment amongst the Japanese, as well as warning that society has become insecure.

## (2) Journalists

According to the author's interview of a chief reporter for the series of "Nippon no Anzen" (Security in Japan) of *Asahi Shimbun* that ran throughout 2004, the larger amount of Chinese crime coverage is just in response to higher reader attention, which reflects the increasing Chinese crime rate. He also says that the media does not portray negatively the Chinese immigrants and students, with no difference on how to report across nationalities.<sup>19</sup> An editor of *Asahi Shimbun* argues that the way of reporting does not differentiate across ethnicities, although there is a tendency for a certain ethnicity to perform a certain type of crime, such as Chinese students' crimes, Korean pickpockets operating in large groups, or Iranian's forged telephone cards. For example, Chinese students are not negatively represented. Coverage of Chinese crimes reflects the size of Chinese immigrant community and the number of crimes, not because they are Chinese. Also, Japanese crimes tend to be more subtle and discreet; however, Chinese crimes tend to be more violent and the victims are normal Japanese people. Therefore, the average Japanese person feels threatened.<sup>20</sup>

In short, journalists argue that the Chinese are not differentiated from other ethnicities in terms of coverage. Chinese crimes are reported just because the number of crimes has increased. However, as seen in the previous section, 'Chinese' are apparently much more emphasized as compared to other ethnicities through the repeating of Chinese crime coverage and the reporting of details when referring to Chinese. Hence, this suggests journalists *unconsciously* create the negative perspective of the Chinese.

## Conclusion

As discussed earlier, the recent political and economical developments in China potentially threaten some Japanese, and, together with the historical relation and issues

between China and Japan, may affect media representation of Chinese in Japan. In particular, the meaning of Chinese is created through *repeating* reports and reporting the *details* of situations, rather than using particularly strong *language*. This *tacitly* creates the meaning of the ethnicity. The arguments of Hall and Jackson are useful to consider the Japanese media representation of Chinese. First, as Hall argues, I find that in the Japanese media, political and media power together with Japanese homogeneity *tacitly* construct the meaning of the racial image of Chinese through focus on ethnicity and pattern of crime coverage. However, Hall's argument is less helpful to examine precise aspects and topics covered because he argues from an overall perspective rather than with regard to specific aspects and topics. Second, Jackson says that language creates meaning of race. He focuses on explicit language such as usages and expressions of words that have strong meanings. However, the Japanese media repeats negative facts committed by Chinese rather than using explicit negative words to abuse them. Chinese negative representations have become more prominent, starting in the early 1990s, but by 2009 there are some indications it may be changing. Meanings of Chinese is not fixed but contested, negotiated at the juncture of history, politics, economics, social and cultural relations.

## Notes

- 1 This paper is an abbreviated version of a thesis written for Master of Arts in Japanese Studies at Stanford University, supervised by Professor Miyako Inoue and, unofficially, by Professor Harumi Befu.
2. *Race: The Floating Signifier and Representation and the Media*, Stuart Hall, Media Education Foundation, 1996, videocassette.
- 3 Peter Jackson, *Maps of Meaning* (London and New York: Routledge, 1989), 132-154.
- 4 Class Lecture of "Globalization and Japan" by Professor Befu at Stanford University, 3 May 2004.
- 5 Harumi Befu, *Globalization as Human Dispersal*, ed. Hirabayashi, Kikumura-Yano, and Hirabayashi (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 6-18. Andrea Vasishth, "A Model of Minority" in *Japan's Minorities*, ed. Michael Weiner (London and New York: Routledge, 1997).
- 6 *Asahi Shimbun*, 11 November 2003.
- 7 Hiroshi Komai, *Nihon no Gaikokujin Imin* (Tokyo: Akashishoten, 1999), 29.
- 8 Homare Endo, "Nihonno Ryugakusei Ukeireseisaku Oyobi Chugokujin Ryugakusei no Genjyoto Hatenseinikansuru Kosatsu" (<http://www.obirin.ac.jp/unv/plan/siryousyu/endo.pdf>).
- 9 Jeff Kingston, *Japan in Transformation 1952-2000* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 45-49.
- 10 The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan (<http://www.mofa.go.jp>). Y Wakamiya, *The Postwar Conservative View of Asia* (Tokyo: LTCB International Library Foundation, 1999).
- 11 Alan Lawrance, *China Under Communism* (NY: Routledge, 1998), 82-93.
- 12 *Tokyo Yomiuri Shimbun*, 27 September 2002; *Gendai Chugoku Library* [database online], accessed 1 November 2004 (<http://www.panda.hello-net.info/keyword/a/oda.htm>); *Yomiuri Shimbun*, 11



- September 2002; and *Asahi Shimbun*, 27 September 2002.
- 13 Zhuo Nansheng, *Nihon no Ajiahodo to Ajiaron* (Tokyo: Nihonhyoronsha, 2003), 110-111.
- 14 Harumi Befu, Internationalization of Japan and Nihon Bunkaron. In Mannari and Befu (eds.) *The challenge of Japan's internationalization* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1983), 232-265. Andrew Miller, *Japan's Modern Myth* (Weatherhill, 1982).
- 15 Eiji Oguma, *Tanitsuminzokushinwa no Kigen: Nihonjin no Jigazazo no Fukei* (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 1995), 104, 362-364, 368-369.
- 16 Most articles in *Asahi Shimbun* coverage do not differentiate Brazilians and *Nikkei* Brazilians.
- 17 *Keisatsu Hakusho Heisei 14 nen* (The White Paper of National Police Agency in 2002), (Tokyo: National Police Agency, 2003).
- 18 *2002 White paper of National Police Agency* (Tokyo: National Police Agency, 2003).
- 19 Interviewed by the author, 9 August 2004.
- 20 Interviewed by the author, 23, 31 July, and 8 August 2004.

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