

The Myth of Homogeneity: Japanese Media and the Chinese Immigrants in Japan

Maiko SAWADA

Abstract

This article has attempted to reveal how the myth of homogeneity influences the way Japanese newspaper coverage treats Chinese immigrants in Japan. Contrary to the initial hypothesis, Japanese homogenous identity does not result in the hysteric public opinion toward Chinese immigrants in Japan. In the future, it is important to advance the argument on the way to materialize the de facto multicultural Japanese society.

This article does not deal with English education. However, it explains the background explaining the reason why intercultural understanding is important. Also, the idea of multiculturalism highlights the meaningful research method using newspaper and understanding underlining policies for English education.

Keywords: Homogeneity, Japanese Media and Chinese Immigrants in Japan, Multiculturalism

Introduction

Nation-states can embrace harmonious multicultural societies comprised of immigrant Diasporas. Alternatively, societies can develop harmful relations between the mainstream public and international immigrants. First hand experiences of multicultural societies can provide a positive example to the Japanese¹. At the first instance, these countries' experiences appear to embrace the great elements of multiculturalism. Within such social contexts, human beings need to interact with the world as well as with others to construct one's own identity². This line of thinking does not concern cultural homogeneity nor does it build barriers to immigration. This is contrary to the notion of a homogenous nation-state, on which the Japanese nation-state founded itself. Nevertheless, one can soon notice the malaise that is present in such multicultural societies. For instance, the coexistence of international immigrants from the non-Western world (e.g., Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East), living in Europe and North America, has been the root cause of numerous challenges faced by policy makers.

This absence of cultural diversity is unlikely to be sustainable in the near future. In the year 2005, the Japanese birth rate fell below the death rate for the first time, beginning

what demographers predict will be an accelerated population decline³. Given the alarming decline in the country's fertility rate, the Japanese government has begun to seriously consider allowing Japanese-based companies to employ not only qualified immigrant professionals, but also unskilled foreign labor⁴. Proponents of immigration reform argue that immigrants will provide services in the health care sector for Japan's elderly population. In addition, the temporary unskilled labor is expected to help small and medium sized Japanese companies to cut labor costs and thereby remain competitive in the global economy. If this line of policy comes to fruition, Japanese society will have no choice but to learn to live with 'the others'.

One important element that can play a significant role in either facilitating or prohibiting the smooth integration of immigrants into Japanese society has recently emerged in the Japanese discourse on international migration. That is, the discourse on the way, in which the Japanese mainstream media, interacts with 'the others'. Homogenous Japan is only a myth. While the Japanese generally identify themselves as belonging to an ethnically homogenous nation-state, the fact is that Japan is far from homogenous in its makeup. Japan is a multicultural nation comprised of several ethnic minorities, including, but not limited to, Koreans and Ainus. The danger of prolonging the factually incorrect myth that Japan is a homogeneous nation presents a significant risk of creating a barrier to the successful accommodation of immigrants into Japanese society. This can be attributed to the ideology of the homogenous national Japanese identity and culture, which is contrary to the dream of a multicultural democracy. In a multiculturalist society, equitable status is extended without preconditions to distinct cultural and religious groups. One must also highlight that Japan's historically constructed identity continuously highlights the distinguished cultural frontiers between Japan and other Asian countries. Keeping such historical sensibility in mind, the aim of this thesis is to understand how this myth of homogeneity influences the way the Japanese press represents the discourse regarding Japan's Chinese Diaspora.

There is a widely held belief in the international community that Japan is a homogenous nation-state; thus, in Japan, one may feel isolated from the rest of the world. The reason for this is that unlike many Western countries that required a massive flow of immigrants for their post-war economic development, Japan did not experience the same pattern in order to achieve its economic success. This article challenges predominantly prevalent view. This article consists of four parts: 1) methodology and hypothesis, 2) the myth of homogeneity, 3) the undocumented Chinese immigrants and 4) multiculturalism VS homogenous national identity.

The findings of this research will be useful for conducting comparative studies with other media, immigration policymakers and scholars. For instance, the analysis can illustrate interesting comparative perspectives about soft borders, such as Japan's with those of Europe. The soft borders reflect the security frontiers, which are drawn according to the

constructed notion of identity that differentiates one from the others⁵. What is more important, this can provide useful insights and advice for Japan's future diplomacy vis-à-vis China. A large part of this paper analyzes the way in which Japan's major daily newspapers, *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, have covered the Chinese immigrants in Japan⁶. This will be done with reference to Japan's broader diplomatic channels and its immigration policies.

Chapter 1: Methodology and Hypothesis

This thesis attempts to answer the following question: How did the myth of homogeneity influence the way, in which the Japanese press represents the discourse about the Chinese Diaspora in Japan? The analysis will be largely concentrated on the media's inclusion and exclusion of the Chinese Diaspora in Japan in their news coverage. The analytical framework adopted by this thesis included the examination of the way the Japanese public perceives the Chinese Diaspora by looking at the Japanese press discourse since the 1980s. The research was conducted through the analysis of newspaper articles published by *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*⁷. The analysis demonstrates that conflict exists between the homogenous and multicultural discourse. Contrary to the initial hypothesis, Japan's homogeneous national identity does not necessarily result in the hysterical public opinion toward Chinese Diaspora in Japan⁸. On one hand, the homogenous discourse demonstrates the critical view of discrimination against illegal Chinese immigrants in Japan⁹. On the other hand, the homogenous identity does not appear to prevent the de facto practice of multiculturalism — the acceptance of Chinese immigrants within the Japanese local community. Examination of these two aspects in particular reveals that the Japanese press articles over the last twenty-five years demonstrate that the homogenous national Japanese identity faces great criticism and pressure to change and reflects the exigencies of reality. Moreover, it manifested the difficulty of developing a multicultural policy that can eventually supplant the homogenous national identity.

Chapter 2: The Myth of Homogeneity

This focus of this thesis rests on the Chinese immigrants in Japan amongst other foreign and ethnic minorities. They were selected because the growing rate of Chinese nationals residing in Japan is remarkable in comparison with other ethnic groups in the last twenty years¹⁰. In addition, Japan's national identity has been somewhat contested as the presence of the People's Republic of China continue to grow in the region¹¹. The growing presence of Chinese nationals in Japanese society, which began toward the end of the Cold War, will present a new challenge to the Japanese public and their widely held belief in a homogenous national identity¹².

The homogenous national identity is reinforced by the discourse of the *Nihonjin* scholars¹³. This school of thoughts suggests that Japan is an ethnically and culturally homogenous country, which had experienced no aggressive conflicts with other countries. Similarly, it emphasizes the group-oriented character of the Japanese people. What is also important to note is that *Nihonjin* scholars suggest that all Japanese are linked to the imperial family, whereby the emperor led Japan's traditional religion. Shintoism was partially responsible for triggering military oriented Japanese nationalism, which resulted in Japan's involvement in the Asia-Pacific war. The extent to which Japan's nationalism could develop with regard to the Chinese Diaspora shall be analyzed in the future. However, according to *Nihonjin* scholars, it appears that ethnic homogeneity is one of the essential elements that glue Japanese society together.

The idea that Japan is ethnically and culturally homogenous is still something, with which Japanese citizen could identify themselves. It is clear that Japan was one of the few industrial countries that had no more than a minor presence of foreign nationals¹⁴. It appears peculiar that while most of the Western industrialized countries were preoccupied with immigration driven issues beginning in the 1980s, the Japanese government authorities were affirming their homogenous national identity. Indeed, the homogeneity was an important identity of post-war Japan. It was a driving force that moved war-torn Japan forward, which had some positive consequences, such as advancing postwar Japan's economic recovery and distributing wealth to the rural area. Analyzing the influence that this myth of homogeneity could impose on Japan's new challenge of integrating its immigrant population thereby becomes very interesting and indeed necessary at this stage.

In addition, the historically constructed nature of the Japanese national identity assisted the Japanese in being able to distinguish themselves from China. Historically speaking, one can find great influence of Chinese culture on Japanese civilization. Indeed, Buddhism formed a fundamental component of Japanese civilization and culture. As Japan became exposed to the conduct of the Western great powers including the imposition of unequal treaties on regional power China, the regional power, and the colonization of other non-Western countries, Japan found itself in a state of insecurity, fearing that it too could potentially be colonized. It was during this period of time that Japan attempted to establish itself as a strong industrial modern nation-state, complete with military power, and modeled after the Western powers. In doing so, the government eliminated any Chinese influences on Japanese civilization. Also, the government of Japan, however, deliberately used Shintoism as to unite and mobilize the population. By linking the imperial family and the religion of Shintoism religion, the Japanese were able to identify themselves with a common ethnic and cultural heritage.

However, Japan's homogenous national identity was analytically inconsistent with the realistic presence of the ethnic minorities. Given that Japan colonized Taiwan and Korea, one can observe that Japan was not an entirely homogenous country. It actually had

ethnic minorities including Ainu, Ryukuan, ethnic Koreans as well as Chinese. Nevertheless, they remained invisible in Japanese society until 1990s when a number of authors challenged this view. In analyzing the origin of the Japanese nation-state, one can find no historical evidence to prove that 'Japan' existed prior to the seventh century. Also, the conception of Japanese race only appeared in the mid 19th century when the Meiji government established the modern nation-state in Japan.

This homogenous national identity, however, will be challenged in the near future. We can see that the important fall in birth rates and the harsh competition that Japanese companies are facing are two significant factors contributing to an increasing number of the foreigners in Japanese workforce. As a result, we may see an interesting development in the government's discourse regarding the recruitment of foreign laborers in the very near future. If an immigration policy in favor of accepting immigrants comes to fruition, Japanese society will have no choice but to live side-by-side with foreigners. The greater presence of diversity within Japanese society certainly challenges the ethnically homogenous national identity. Nevertheless, the recent developments in the discussion of a multicultural Japan have been limited in scope¹⁵. In particular, the discussions do not appear to consider the way in which multiculturalism can be materialized at the political level. Indeed, the increasing presence of diversity within the Japanese society intrinsically challenges the somewhat engrained ethnically homogenous national identity. Attempting to understand how these changes are perceived by the Japanese public, and the reaction they have to the increasing inflow of Chinese immigrants thereby becomes very important, and is what gave rise to this research.

Chapter 3: The Undocumented Chinese Immigrants

What has become apparent is that the Japanese press can perpetuate discriminatory attitudes towards the Chinese immigrants in Japan. Japanese public opinion highlights a critical view of the presence of the undocumented Chinese in Japan. In particular, the Japanese press highlights the criticism against Chinese smugglers¹⁶. What is more, the Japanese public is increasingly concerned about Chinese nationals who legitimately reside and work in Japan. Kaoruko Yamamoto, a pioneering scholar in the study of the media representation of foreigners in Japan, suggests that news reports on the illegal Chinese immigrants in Japan tend to escalate the anti-Chinese attitudes in general¹⁷.

These public media criticism have placed Japanese politicians to strengthen police enforcement of the undocumented foreign residents in Japan including those of Chinese nationalities. These stricter measures reflect the concerns held that the illegally residing and working low skilled Chinese Diaspora deteriorates the long-established Japanese social security. It reflects the idea that longstanding internal peace can be attained only through social cohesion¹⁸. Indeed Japanese immigration law reflects this, strictly limiting the entry

of non-Japanese nationals who do not have adequate qualifications to work and reside in Japan.

However, it does not signify that Japan is necessarily closed society toward the foreigners. For instance, the Japanese government simultaneously encourages the entry of foreign students to increase Japan's wider international exchanges since the 1980s¹⁹. This program made it easier for Chinese students to come to Japan. Also, it aimed to strengthen the positive self-image of the Japanese by receiving an increasing number of Chinese nationals in their country. Nevertheless, there were problems attached to the new program, which involves the interaction of foreigners from different economic backgrounds. The Japanese press illustrated the difficulty of managing the accommodation of Chinese students due to the fact that many of them become socially and economically marginalized. Preoccupied with part-time jobs to finance their studies, many Chinese students were frequently absent from their schools²⁰. One may, thereby, argue that the Japanese public is increasingly feeling insecure about the socio-economically marginalized Chinese students who can deteriorate Japanese social security²¹.

The homogenous national Japanese identity appears to be reinforced as Japan's relations with China deteriorate. For instance, the newspaper articles that report on the Tiananmen Square incident highlight the political frontier residing between Japan and the People's Republic of China. These articles illustrate that the Japanese public feels sympathetic towards the Chinese Diaspora in Japan and accept that political shelter should be provided to them. However, Japan's intensified competition with the People's Republic of China in the region contributes to raising popular nationalism against Chinese nationals in Japan who do not share the same affiliation to the Japanese imperial family. Combined with the public hostility felt towards foreigners in relation to the deteriorating social security and cohesion, we can observe a rising intolerance towards the Chinese Diaspora in Japan. It appears that the Japanese public continues to support the historically constructed homogenous national identity, considered crucial for ensuring Japan's social security. As such, the Japanese public has developed an intolerant attitude towards illegal Chinese immigrants residing in Japan. In sum, analysis of the Japanese media discourse of the Chinese Diaspora in Japan portrays use of the homogenous national identity as a legitimate rationale for restricting the entry and stay of Chinese unskilled laborers in Japan.

Chapter 4: Multiculturalism Overrides the homogenous National Identity

One shall not neglect that the Japanese press also provides however an inclusive angle in relation to Chinese immigrants in Japan. The last chapter concentrates on the analysis of the inconsistency between the homogenous national identity and the development of a de facto multiculturalism. The analysis finds that Japan's homogenous national identity is not automatically linked with the intolerance towards all Chinese immigrants in Japan.

Rather, it was directed more specifically at the illegal Chinese Diaspora. One can see the spread of human rights notion with regard to the socio-economic marginalization of the Chinese Diaspora in Japan. For instance, one article illustrating a Chinese criminal suggests that the social isolation could be one reason, for which this Chinese person committed murder²². Japanese public generally demonstrates moral supports for overcoming socio-economic inequality. In addition, the Japanese local government provides the necessary access to social-welfare service demonstrating that the Japanese local authorities place greater importance on human rights than nationality. Following this line of thoughts, the Japanese press also illustrates favorable supports for the assurance of human rights for Chinese trainees whom are not protected by the labor law. In similar vain, Japanese press also illustrates that social cohesion is assured not through the ethnically triggered national identity, but through the fundamental institutions that allow foreign residents to participate in the broader political and social process²³.

Moreover, the development of a *de facto* multicultural practice with regard to the Chinese immigrants in Japan can be observed. One has to underline the difficult process of learning the Japanese language, culture and social system that Chinese Diaspora has to go through²⁴. To address these issues, the Japanese press portrays a positive view toward the local authorities for providing additional services to Chinese immigrants in order to facilitate their learning²⁵. Moreover, Japanese local authorities acknowledge the efforts of certain Chinese Diaspora in Japan to facilitate their own integration into Japanese society²⁶. Moreover, another article praises the development of Chinese ethnic medias in further facility the integration of Chinese nationals into Japanese society.

The Japanese government also encourages a positive view regarding the presence of qualified Chinese nationals, through Chinese cultural and social networks, in Japanese society. The Japanese public looks favorably upon well-qualified Chinese who take an important position in the society, providing them with acceptance and respect in Japanese society. Chinese in Japan who facilitate relations with the People's Republic of China are also favored particularly in views of China's growing economic importance and Japan's desire to strengthen their bilateral relations. Thus, the idea of a homogenous national identity does not necessarily need to rule out the growing development of *de facto* multicultural societies.

In spite of this, however, it is a great challenge for Japanese immigration policy makers to develop a multiculturalism that can supplant the historically constructed homogenous national identity. The inconsistency with the homogenous national identity of a *de facto* practice of multiculturalism and the spread of human rights is not yet well known in the international community. There is a prevalent view that Japan is an ethnically and culturally homogenous nation-state, which is isolated from the rest of the world²⁷. This is so despite the fact that Japan has shown great hospitality to an increasing number of Chinese tourists²⁸. The memory of Japan's ethnically triggered invasion in China during the time

of the Asia-Pacific War stands between Japan and the People's Republic of China. To facilitate Japan's relations with the People's Republic of China and the rest of the world, the myth of the homogenous national identity must be advertised as analytically non-factual.

Conclusion

Looking to the future, scholarly attention should further develop the way that multicultural policies can be materialized in Japanese society; a society, which has historically distinguished itself from Chinese culture. If Japan decides to remain as a great industrial country, the aging population will demand further Chinese immigrants. It would not be wise, however, to allow the entry of Chinese unskilled workers without first developing an effective multicultural policy. Thus, the discussion should go beyond whether or not to increase diversity within Japanese society. Instead, it should investigate the ways, in which multiculturalism can be developed within the Japan's historical context, so as to ensure as smooth a transition as is possible towards what seems is inevitable — a multicultural Japanese society.

Notes

- 1 Charles Taylor, *The Politics of Recognition in Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1994).
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/suikei06/index.html> (accessed 16th March, 2008). In the year 2006, the nation's fertility rate in this nation of 127 million rose slightly, after dropping to a record low of 1.25.
- 4 Sharon Noguchi, « Finding Home: Immigrant Life in Japan », *Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2349> (accessed 14th January, 2008).
- 5 For instance, the soft border is one of the central analytical frameworks used to understand European security policy.
- 6 See for example, Anne Demo, *Policy and Media in Immigration Studies*. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*. 7.2 (2004) 215-229. This article exposes several scholarly works that analyze the immigration policies and the representation of immigration through media discourse. It includes *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation* by Leo Chavez. Los Angeles: University of California (2001). To understand better the difference between the category of practice and the category of analysis see Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper. *Beyond 'Identity'*. *Theory and Society* 29: 1-47, 2000. Netherland: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000.
- 7 The research was initially established in the following four steps. First, this research covered the time period from around the end of the Cold War to the present (1.1.1988-31.12.2007). Second, this thesis attempted to identify major issues that can be found in the discourse of the Japanese national press regarding the Chinese Diaspora in Japan. Third, the thesis referred to the major immigration policy reports published by the Japanese government and other policy recommendation reports issued by the Japan Federation of Economic Organization over the last two decades. Fourth, the thesis attempted to take a critical view that Japan is a quasi-

homogeneous nation-state, and how this homogenous identity influences upon the way the Japanese press represents the discourse about the Chinese Diaspora in Japan.

- 8 This thesis initially attempts to prove that the Japanese press accurately represents the discourse highlighting insecurity about granting rights to Chinese Diaspora. This assumption was derived from three important elements: 1) previous experience of other immigrants receiving countries, 2) historical experiences of the Chinese Diaspora in Japan, and 3) national and state centric characteristics of the Japanese press.
- 9 This thesis initially attempts to prove that the Japanese press accurately represents the discourse highlighting insecurity about granting rights to Chinese Diaspora.
- 10 Ministry of Justice, *The Figures of the Foreign Nationals Registered as of the End of the Year 2007, Heisei 19 nenn matsu Gennzai ni Okeru Gaikokujin Torokusya Tokei ni Tsuite* (accessed June 7th, 2008). According to figures released by Japan's Ministry of Justice in 2007, Chinese nationals represent 28.2% of all foreign nationals residing in Japan, thereby making them Japan's largest minority group.
- 11 Aristide R Zolberg. « International Migration in Political Perspective », in *the Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2006), 65.
- 12 One could see a sharp rise in the number of Chinese nationals in Japanese society beginning in the 1980s. In the year 1950, there were only 40,481 Chinese nationals registered as residents in Japan. In the year 2007, the total number of Chinese residents reached 606, 869. It was the first time the number of Chinese exceeded that of Koreans, who used to be the major minority group in the postwar Japan. See also Glazer, Nathan. *We Are All Multiculturalists Now* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998). Ministry of Justice. White Paper 1981.
- 13 An increasing number of scholars, such as Eiji Oguma in *Myth of Homogeneity*, challenge the idea of a homogenous Japanese identity. They argue that the homogeneous identity merely facilitates the Japanese ability to identify them to the common nation-state.
- 14 John Lie, *Multiethnic Japan* (London: Harvard University Press, 2001). In general, industrialization and international labor migration cannot be considered separately. By that time, the major Western industrialized countries such as France and West Germany were already preoccupied with major immigration issues. In these countries, foreign unskilled labor was recruited for the postwar economic development of the 1960s.
- 15 Chris Burgess, « Multicultural Japan ? Discourse and the Myth of Homogeneity », *Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/products/topdf/2389> (accessed January 14th, 2008). For more information see, Hiroshi Komai, *Migrant Workers in Japan* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995), Miyajima and Kajitta, *Gaikokurodoshu kara Shimin e: Chiii Shakai no Shiten to Kadai kara, From Foreign Workers to Citizens: From the Perspective of Local Society* (Tokyo: Yuhaku, 1996). Weiner and Hanami, *Temporary Workers or Future Citizens ? Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).
- 16 Asahi Shimbun, 29th August 1998.
- 17 Yamamoto, *Japanese Two Mirrors*, 8. Toward the end of the Cold war, one could see a relative increase in the flow of foreigners from developing countries, including the People's Republic of China. Amongst these foreigners, some were undocumented residents. It was for this reason that Japanese authorities and political leaders, for the first time, engaged in the immigration issue. In particular, nationality is a useful tool to distinguish the Japanese from the Chinese. This facilitates the restriction of the entry and residence of Chinese nationals in Japan. On the 6th January 1989, the Ministry of Justice has established the committee for the foreign unskilled labor. On the same year, the Liberal Democratic Party has established the committee for the immigration policy.
- 18 Saskia Sassen, *Guests and Aliens* (New York: The New Press, 1996). XIV. See also Jyun Wada. « The Wholistic Immigration Policy for Foreign Nationals in Japan. ». *Nihonn heno Gaikokujin*

- Ijyu ni Sogoteki na Iminn Seisaku no Kakuritsu wo. 16th June Shukann Toyo Keizai. 16th June 2001 http://www.kuis.ac.jp/icci/member/wada/ronko/010616_t.pdf (accessed 7th March, 2008). The author argues that the foreign labors also find themselves isolated from the society even through they reside in Japan long enough.
- 19 Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/culture/hito/koryu_1.html. (accessed 16th March 2008). Nakasone Cabinet (1982-1987) set the project for increasing the number of the foreign students in Japan (100 thousands) for turning of the 21st century on the 21st June 1983.
- 20 For example, see Asahi Shimbun, 5th November 1988, Asahi Shimbun, 22nd October 1988, Yomiuri Shimbun, 28th May 1998. In the early 1980s, a number of language schools were established. Many of them were unqualified. A director of Japanese language school was arrested for presenting false residential documents to obtain the students visa for Chinese students.
- 21 Asahi Shimbun, 13th August 2006. According to National Police Agency, 45% of the foreigners who were arrested for the violation of the criminal code were Chinese. See also Ministry of Justice, The Office of the Immigration, The Reports of the Overstay People (February 2008) and Yomiuri Shimbun, 2nd March, 2005. In the year 2007, the number of the foreign nationals illegally staying in Japan reaches the total of 94,585 (male: 76,378 and female: 73,407). It has increased by 21,054 (12.3%) from the previous year 2006. Among these foreigners illegally residing in Japan, those from the People's Republic of China consists 16.7% of the total foreigners arrested for the illegal residence. It is certain that there are some serious cases that would make Japanese citizen also illegal such as murders and the use of drugs. The majority of the mass smuggling of the illegal immigrants who were arrested by Japanese authority were Chinese (701/770).
- 22 Yomiuri Shimbun, 28th August 1988. Yomiuri Shimbun, 13th March 2003. See also Asahi Shimbun, 3rd February 2007. The article points out that Chinese women married to Japanese have constant feeling of isolation.
- 23 Arudou Debitou. «Japan's Future as an International, Multicultural Society: From Migrants to Immigrants.» *Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2559> (accessed January 14th, 2008). See also Cabinet Office (Japan), the PRS. *The Opinion Pole on the foreign labor in Japan*. The majority of Japanese think that Japan should accept the foreigners if one can guarantee the social-welfare conditions. Also, Keizo Yamawaki et al. «The Condition for the Immigration Receiving States», *Iminn Kokka Nihonn no Jyoken. Meiji Daigaku Shakaigakka Kenkyuj Discussion Paper Series*. No. J-2000-6. Institute of Social Sciences: University of Meiji. See also, Yasuo Takao. *Foreigners' Rigts in Japan. Beneficiaries to Participants*. Asian Survey, Vol. 43, No. 3 (May-Jun, 2003), 527. Japanese government has dramatically extended social benefits to foreigners in recent years. By 1986, a wide range of social benefits was available to registered foreigners under 13 different national laws.
- 24 See for example, Lie, *Multicultural Japan*, 22. And Japan Federation of Economic Organization. *The Policy Outline for the Third Immigration Regulation. Daisannji Nyuukoku Kannri Kihonn Keikaku ni Okeru Jyuyou na Kadai to Konngo no Hoshinn*. <http://www.keidanren.or.jp/japanese/policy/2005/010.html> (accessed 18th March, 2008). Also Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. The Articles Relating to the Employment of the Foreign Labor. <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/bunya/koyou/gaikokujin.html>. Please not that the difficulty is not particular to Chinese nationals. It also concerns Japanese Brazilian and other Asian ethnics.
- 25 Yomiuri Shimbun, 29th May 2002.
- 26 Kibe, 426.
- 27 Takamichi Kamata, *Internationalization and Identity. Kokuusaika to Identity*. Tokyo: Mineruba, 2001, 1.

28 Japan's Economic Federation, 1st January 2003.

Bibliography

- Asahi Shimbun, 22nd October 1988.
 Asahi Shimbun, 5th November 1988.
 Asahi Shimbun, 13th August 2006.
 Asahi Shimbun, 3rd February 2007.
 Brubaker, Rogers and Cooper, Frederick. *Beyond 'Identity'*. Theory and Society 29: 1–47, 2000. Netherland: Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000.
 Burgess, Chris. *Multicultural Japan ? Discourse and the Myth of Homogeneity*, *Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/products/topdf/2389> (accessed January 14th, 2008)
 Chavez, Leo. *Covering Immigration: Popular Images and the Politics of the Nation*. Los Angeles: University of California, 2001.
 Glazer, Nathan. *We Are All Multiculturalists Now*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998.
 Taylor, Charles. *The Politics of Recognition in Multiculturalism: Examining the Politics of Recognition*. Princeton: Princeton University, 1994.
 Takamichi Kamata, *Internationalization and Identity*. Kokusaika to Identity. Tokyo: Mineruba, 2001, 1.
 Keidanren. Japan's Economic Federation. *The Policy Outline for the Third Immigration Regulation*. Daisannji Nyuukoku Kannri Kihonn Keikaku ni Okeru Jyuyou na Kadai to Konngo no Houshin. <http://www.keidanren.or.jp/japanese/policy/2005/010.html> (accessed 18th March, 2008)
 Komai, Hiroshi. *Migrant Workers in Japan* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1995).
 Lie, John. *Multiethnic Japan*, London: Harvard University Press, 2001.
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs. http://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/gaiko/culture/hito/koryu_1.html. (accessed 16th March 2008)
 Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/toukei/saikin/hw/jinkou/suikai06/index.html> (accessed 16th March, 2008).
 Ministry of Health, Labor and Welfare. The Articles Relating to the Employment of the Foreign Labor. <http://www.mhlw.go.jp/bunya/koyou/gaikokujin.html> (accessed 16th March, 2008)
 Ministry of Justice, *The Figures of the Foreign Nationals Registered as of the End of the Year 2007*, Heisei 19 nenn matsu Gennzai ni Okeru Gaikokujin Tourokusya Toukei ni Tsuite (accessed June 7th, 2008).
 Ministry of Justice, The Office of the Immigration, *The Reports of the Overstay People* (February 2008).
 Ministry of Justice. White Paper 1981.
 Miyajima and Kajitta, *Gaikokurodosha kara Shimin e: Chiiki Shakai no Shiten to Kadai kara, From Foreign Workers to Citizens: From the Perspective of Local Society* (Tokyo: Yuhaku, 1996).
 Noguchi, Sharon. *Finding Home: Immigrant Life in Japan*, *Japan Focus*. <http://japanfocus.org/products/details/2349> (accessed 14th January, 2008).
 Oguma, Eiji. *Myth of Homogeneous nation*. Tanitsu Minzoku Shinwa no Kigen. Tokyo: Shinsyosha, 1995.
 Saskia Sasen, *Guests and Aliens*, New York: The New Press, 1996.
 Wada, Jun. *The Wholistic Immigration Policy for Foreign Nationals in Japan*. Nihonn heno Gaikokujin Ijyu ni Sogoteki na Iminn Seisaku no Kakuritsu wo. 16th June Shukann Toyo Keizai. 16th June 2001. http://www.kuis.ac.jp/icci/member/wada/ronko/010616_t.pdf (accessed 7th March, 2008)
 Weiner and Hanami, *Temporary Workers or Future Citizens ? Japanese and U.S. Migration Policies*.

- New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- Yomiuri Shimbun, 28th May 1998.
- Yomiuri Shimbun, 28th August 1988.
- Yomiuri Shimbun, 29th May 2002.
- Yomiuri Shimbun, 13th March 2003.
- Yomiuri Shimbun, 2nd March 2005.
- Zolberg, Aristide R. «International Migration in Political Perspective», in *the Migration Reader: Exploring Politics and Policies*. Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publisher, 2006. 65.

単一民族神話： 日本メディアと在日中国人移民

澤 田 舞衣子

要 旨

この論文は、「日本人同質性の神話」が、いかに日本の新聞メディアにおける在日中国人に対する報道に影響を与えたかという問いに応えようところみた。分析の結果は、当初の仮定とはことなり、「日本人同質性のアイデンティティー」は、在日中国人に対するヒステリックな世論には繋がってはいないというものである。将来的には、多文化化する日本社会をいかに実現化するかの議論が必要とされるという結論を得た。

本論文は英語教育に関するものではない。しかし、英語を手段とする「他文化理解」と「多文化理解」が必要な背景を説明するという副次的成果も得ている。さらに、先入観を持たずに他文化と接するべきとの、Multiculturalismという「文化的少数者」が尊重されるべきという本論文の考え方は、論文の基礎データとして新聞を用いるという方法と共に、英語教育のポリシーの理解を助ける効果を期待できる。

キーワード：均一性、日本メディアと在日中国人移民、多文化主義