JAPAN’S COLONIZED OTHER:
A CASE STUDY OF THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS ON THE
DEPORTATION OF A FILIPINO FAMILY

by

Yuko Bessho

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
Graduate Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education
University of Toronto

© Copyright by Yuko Bessho (2010)
JAPAN’S COLONIZED OTHER:
A CASE STUDY OF THE MEDIA REPRESENTATIONS ON THE
DEPORTATION OF A FILIPINO FAMILY
Master of Arts 2010
Yuko Bessho
Graduate Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning
University of Toronto

Abstract

This research investigates Japanese society’s gaze towards those former colonized subjects, who now reside in Japan as foreign residents. More specifically, it explores the representations, in two leading Japanese newspapers and a popular internet discussion board, of a Filipino family facing deportation in 2009. Using Foucault’s archaeology of knowledge as the main analytical framework, it examines emergent and silenced discourses in each media. While the newspapers generally reported in favour of the family, they often unintentionally constructed the child as innocent, and the parents as illegal. The internet discussion board tended to depict the family as criminals. By silencing the colonial history between the Philippines and Japan, both media outlets have failed to address the continuing neo-colonial relationships between the two nations. In conclusion, the various implications of this research on the strategies advocating citizenship rights of irregular residents are examined, by applying anti-oppressive education frameworks to the research findings.
Acknowledgements

I wish to thank everyone who helped and supported me in writing this thesis. My deepest gratitude goes to Dr. Roland Sintos Coloma, who has supported and mentored me throughout my degree, while providing me with engaging, inspiring, and encouraging feedback for my project. You are my role model. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Kathy Bickmore for her thoughtful comments and her “so what?” questions, which pushed me further. This thesis would not have been possible without the generous and engaging support from them. I have had the honour of having one of the best committees possible, and wish I knew how to adequately express my deep gratitude to them.

I am especially grateful for my family, who first led me to think about international migration issues, and encouraged me in pursing my degree in Canada. I would also like to thank Leanne Tonkin for her editing. Lastly, I wish to thank everyone who I met during my wonderful and exciting learning journey at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, and in Canada. I am sincerely grateful that I was able to meet each and every one of you.
# Table of Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgements .............................................................................................................. iii
Introduction ........................................................................................................................... 1
  Contributions of the Research ............................................................................................ 3
  The Calderon Family .......................................................................................................... 5
  Special Permit to Stay in Japan (*zairyu tokubetsu kyoka*) .............................................. 8
  The Calderon Family and the New Immigration System .................................................... 8
  Background and Position .................................................................................................. 10
Chapter 2: Literature Review .............................................................................................. 12
  Japanese Policies Towards Foreign Residents ................................................................ 12
    The first era: Colonial period ......................................................................................... 13
    The second era: End of WWII to 1980s ......................................................................... 15
    The third era: Diversification of foreigners ................................................................... 16
    The fourth era: Towards settlement? ............................................................................. 19
  Filipino-Japanese Relations ............................................................................................. 21
  Representations of Filipinos in Japan ............................................................................... 24
  Literature on the Calderon Family Case ......................................................................... 26
Chapter 3: Analytical and Inter/Disciplinary Frameworks ................................................... 28
  Discourse Analysis .......................................................................................................... 28
  How are Foreigners Conceptualized? .............................................................................. 30
    Framework #1: Contemporary citizenship .................................................................. 30
    Framework #2: Nationalism ......................................................................................... 33
    Framework #3: Historical legacies of colonialism ....................................................... 36
  Internet as a Public Sphere? ............................................................................................ 37
  Anti-Oppressive Education Frameworks and Advocacy ............................................... 39
Chapter 4: Data Collection and Methodology ......................................................................... 44
Data Collection ...........................................................................................................44
Methodology ..................................................................................................................46
Chapter 5: Newspaper Analysis .............................................................................52
Common Themes in the Newspapers .................................................................53
Theme #1: An Innocent Daughter and the Deceitful Parents ..........................54
Theme #2: Culturally Japanese Noriko .................................................................56
Theme #3: Tensions between the Best Interests of the Child versus the Enforcement of Immigration Law .................................................................58
Differences Between the Newspapers ..............................................................60
Chapter 6: Discourses in the Internet Discussion Board, 2 channel .............66
Data Presentation ...........................................................................................................66
Theme #1: The Rejection of the Family and the Supporters ..........................69
Theme #2: Comparison of the Japanese, Philippine and South Korean Governments .71
Theme #3: The Mass Media Cannot be Trusted ................................................76
Theme #4: The Proposal for Actual Actions .........................................................77
Trustworthiness of the 2 channel Discourses ..................................................79
2 channel Discourses as Subjugated Knowledge? .......................................82
Chapter 7: The Domains of Silence .....................................................................85
Comparison of the Major Themes in Newspapers and an Internet Discussion Board .85
Theme #1: The Family’s Illegality ...........................................................................88
Theme #2: Absence of the Mother .........................................................................90
Theme #3: Where is the Philippines? .....................................................................92
Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications ..............................................................96
Implications for Citizenship Policy .................................................................97
Implications for Advocacy Work Using Mass Media .........................................98
Focus on children ....................................................................................................98
Silencing of illegality ...............................................................................................100
Advocacy work. ........................................................................................................101
References ..................................................................................................................106

List of Tables

Table 1. Timeline of Events
Table 2. Numbers of Articles in Each Newspaper

List of Figures

Figure 1. The Number of Articles in Each Newspaper
Figure 2. Mechanism of Family Representation
Figure 3. Postings on the International News Section about the Calderon Family

List of Appendices

Appendix A. Glossary
Appendix B. Comparison of Calderon Family Events and the Movements in the New Immigration System
Introduction

My master’s thesis addresses the broad themes of global migration and citizenship rights. In Japan, citizenship is granted on the basis of the *jus sanguinis* (blood kinship) principle, which requires that at least one parent must be of Japanese ancestry. My research specifically explores Japanese society’s gaze towards former colonized subjects who now reside in Japan as foreign residents by looking at the ways in which they have been represented in Japanese media. A study on Japanese media representations of former colonized subjects does not intend to reveal the experiences of former colonized subjects in Japan; rather it focuses on how Japan views them.

My research has two main sets of questions. The first set of research questions tackles contemporary issues of global migration from postcolonial perspectives. How does Japan, a country which is often criticized for not adequately confronting its colonial past, view and conceptualize foreign residents from former colonized regions? What historical and contemporary discourses shape and constitute their representations? Furthermore, what are the effects of their representations in rethinking Japanese notions of citizenship and nation? Historically, Japan colonized other Asian nations prior to the end of the Second World War. Geographically, Japan is located in Asia, which is currently the second largest migration area (United Nations, 2006). Japan is a suitable case to study contemporary global migration because of its relationship between contemporary migration and the colonial past. The second set of research questions explores the possibilities and strategies in advocating for the citizenship rights of foreign residents in Japan. Today, many activists use mass media to raise public awareness on issues of international migration (Yoshinari, 2007). In what ways do the seemingly neutral and humanitarian discourses that intend to protect the irregular residents reinforce the status quo or harm the subjects they are trying to protect? Through these two sets of

---

1 In Japan, the word “immigrant” (*imin*, 移民), which connotes long-term settlement, is not preferred, especially in government publications. Instead, “foreign residents” (*teiju gaikokujin*, 定住外国人), which can be used for both short-term and long-term, is preferred. Throughout the paper, I use word “foreign residents” to show the political climate of Japan.
questions, the study has implications for official citizenship policies and advocacy strategies on citizenship rights.

In order to address these two sets of research questions, my research explores the media representations of the Calderon family, an undocumented Filipino migrant family who faced deportation charges in Japan, in spring 2009. Two leading Japanese newspapers, *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, and a popular Japanese internet discussion board, *2 channel*, are the main sites for data collection in order to fully understand the Japanese society’s gaze towards the Calderon family.

This thesis consists of eight chapters: Introduction, Literature Review, Analytical and Inter/Disciplinary Frameworks, Data Collection and Methodology, Newspaper Analysis, Internet Discussion Board Analysis, Domains of Silence, and Conclusion and Implications. The Introduction gives a brief context of the case study, as well as the significance and contributions of the study. Chapter Two, the Literature Review, gives readers additional context on Japanese immigration policies, including Japanese policies towards foreign residents, Filipino-Japanese relations, representations of Filipinos in Japan and the Calderon family case. Chapter Three, the Analytical and Inter/Disciplinary Frameworks, are divided into four sections: discourse analysis; three frameworks on how foreigners are conceptualized – contemporary citizenship, nationalism and historical legacies of colonialism; anti-oppressive education frameworks; and frameworks to understand cyber world discourses. Chapter Four, Data Collection and Methodology, describes my use of Critical Discourse Analysis. Both Chapters Five and Six on Newspaper Analysis and Internet Discussion Board Analysis are organized into emerging themes followed by discussions. Chapter Seven, Domains of Silence, examines the absent discourses in newspapers and an internet discussion board. This chapter focuses on silences, whereas Chapter Five and Six focus on the discourses that were prevalent in both of these media. The final chapter, Conclusion and Implications, addresses two issues. First, the chapter explores the implications of this research to the citizenship policies and second, it examines the implications for political and media advocacy.

---

2 Throughout the paper, I use the term “Filipinos” to mean both male and female. I deliberately use the word “Filipina” to refer to female.
Contributions of the Research

This study engages and contributes to four fields of scholarship: postcolonial studies, studies of citizenship and nationalism, media studies, and anti-oppressive curriculum studies. Here, I use the term postcolonial to mean “the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism” (Loomba, 1998, p. 12). Postcolonial studies in Japan have been under-explored and construed as discourses of minorities with personal scars (Kang, 2001). The zainichi3 Koreans are studied from a colonial perspective because their presence in Japan is a direct result of Japanese colonialism. However, new-comer migrations, especially those from former Japanese colonies such as the Philippines, are not studied from a postcolonial perspective. This neglect of the colonial perspectives partly stems from the selective memory of the Japanese colonization. In Japan, the discourses concerning Japanese colonization of Southeast Asian countries are obscured by those of East Asian countries and the Southeast Asian development discourses. This study adds to the studies of representation and global migration from the postcolonial perspective.

Furthermore, this study contributes to the scholarly literature on the construction of “Japaneseness” and Japanese identities. What constitutes someone as Japanese and non-Japanese, and how are the distinctions imagined and represented in the media? Today, the notion of the nation-state as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983/2006) is widely accepted. However, of all the multiple social forces that contribute to constructing the national imagined community, Anderson does not ask whose imagination receives the highest priority and how that prioritization plays into the exclusions and inclusions of minorities within the national space (Bannerji, 2000). By studying the representation of the Other, this study reveals the process of constructing the national imaginary in Japan.

This research also contributes to the emerging scholarship on Media Studies 3.0. According to Miller (2009), Media Studies 3.0 must “blend ethnographic, political-economic, and aesthetic analyses in a global and local way” and focus on gender, race, class and sexuality in order to find out how individuals “experience cultural and social

---

3 Zainichi literally means “staying in Japan.” Thus, this word can be used for new-comers (e.g. zainichi Filipinos), but when used by itself, it specifically means old-comer ethnic Koreans.
space” (p. 6). While Media Studies 1.0 sees audiences as passive consumers and emphasizes the power of the mass media, the audience is the most powerful agent in Media Studies 2.0 (Miller, 2009). Because this study analyzes both newspapers and internet discussion board platforms, two important media in 1.0 and 2.0 studies, and examines their interactions and influences on the representation of a diasporic Filipino family, the study fits in and contributes to Media Studies 3.0. In particular, three questions in this study contribute to the development of Media Studies 3.0. How do the neutral and humanitarian discourses in mass media that intend to protect the irregular residents actually harm them? How do we make sense of the discussions on the internet discussion board as responses to the dominant discourses in newspapers? Furthermore, what are the implications of the study findings for media advocacy?

Finally, the implications for advocacy work gained from this research benefits the scholarship on anti-oppressive curriculum studies. Here, curriculum is broadly understood as a planned or designed learning experience (MacDonald, 2000). Today, the mass media is often used as a strategy by activists to raise public awareness on issues such as international migration (Yoshinari, 2007). In what ways do the discourses of the supporters to stop the family’s deportation alter or reinforce the stereotypes of Filipinos in Japan? Several poststructuralist scholars point out that a consciousness-raising approach in anti-oppressive education can actually be harmful when used uncritically (Ellsworth, 1989; Kumashiro, 2000). Knowledge about the oppressive situations does not necessarily lead to actions to change the situation. Moreover, the consciousness-raising approach relies on the modernist and rationalist goal, which presumes that reason alone plays a role in people’s understanding. To presume that one can detach reason from people’s experiences and identities assumes the “‘mythical norm’ that assumes a White, heterosexual, male perspective” (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 39). Based on my research on how people understand media and on various researchers’ critiques of consciousness-raising approaches, what are my study’s implications for media advocacy work? I believe these questions are important to consider because the answers to them and the implications benefits both academic and activist communities.

It is beyond the scope of this study to examine the influence of mass media on global migrants themselves, although this question is extremely important. The short- and
long-term stress experienced by the migrants due to public exposure in mass media as irregular residents\(^4\) must be tremendous, especially for young people in their formative years. In addition, during the process of regularizing irregular migrants, legal action is required, and lawyers emphasize the derogatory images of their country of origin, such as low levels of education, unstable political situation and low economic development. What are the psychological effects on children hearing these derogatory representations in order to remain in the country? These are important issues that need investigation in future research when considering advocacy work that uses mass media as a strategy to raise public awareness. However, in this study, I limit myself to investigating the emergence and silence of discourses in two forms of media concerning the Calderon family deportation case.

**The Calderon Family**

In order to investigate the overarching area of inquiry, my study examines the representation of the Calderon family. The Calderon family includes Noriko, age thirteen, and Arlan and Sarah, Noriko’s parents. The Calderon family is a Filipino family who lived in Saitama prefecture, a suburb of Tokyo. Sarah came from the Philippines to Japan in 1992, and Arlan came in 1993. Both entered Japan with falsified passports. Noriko was born in Japan in 1995. In 2006, the Japanese immigration bureau incarcerated Sarah for violating the immigration law, and the immigration bureau issued the family a deportation order.\(^5\) Immediately after receiving their deportation order, the Calderon family took their case to court with the help from their lawyer, Mr. Shogo Watanabe, and fought for the voidance of the deportation order. They lost their case at the Tokyo District Court and the Tokyo High Court. They then appealed to the Supreme Court of Japan.

\(^4\) I use the term “irregular residents” (hiseiki taizaisha, 非正規滞在者) to mean people who do not have status to legally stay in a country. The use of terms such as “illegal aliens” (fuho taizaisha, 不法滞在者) and “illegal overstayers” (fuho zanryusha, 不法残留者) feeds into the construction of these residents as criminals.

\(^5\) Neither Asahi nor Yomiuri reports in detail about how Sarah was “caught” by the immigration bureau. However, the Philippine Star reported that the family was caught unexpectedly. “He did not give details on how they were discovered, but discounted the possibility that they were turned in by a fellow Pinoy in Japan. ‘Nobody snitched on us,’ he said, attributing their being found out more to the efficiency of the Japanese authorities” (Santos, 2009).
However, the Supreme Court dismissed the case in September 2008. After their loss, the Calderons asked Japan’s Minister of Justice for a special permit to stay in Japan (zairyu tokubetsu kyoka, 在留特別許可).

The Minister of Justice Eisuke Mori agreed to issue a special permit for the daughter, Noriko, alone. Over 20,000 petitions to plea for the family’s unity in Japan did not help. The family confronted two choices: return to the Philippines as a family or leave Noriko in Japan. The family chose the latter option, and Arlan and Sarah were deported back to the Philippines in April 2009. Noriko remains in Japan with her aunt, Sarah’s sister, who has legal status to stay in the country (see Table 1 for the timeline).  

Although this was not the first case of deportation that reached Japan’s Supreme Court, this case caught the media’s attention. Judging from the fact that the newspapers started reporting this case after Japan’s Supreme Court dismissed this case, the supporters needed to mobilize the public to pressure the Minister of Justice to issue the Calderon family special permits to remain in Japan. Therefore, the family supporters and Asahi Shimbun, a newspaper which was sympathetic to the family, launched a public campaign for the family. While Japanese newspapers and television broadcasts generally reported in favour of the Calderon family’s plea to remain in Japan, there were many postings on internet discussion boards that supported the decision by the Minister of Justice that resulted in the separation of the family.

**Table 1: Timeline of Events**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Events</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1992 April</td>
<td>Sarah entered Japan with a forged passport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993 May</td>
<td>Arlan entered Japan with a forged passport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 July</td>
<td>Noriko was born in Japan.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006 July</td>
<td>Sarah was arrested for having entered Japan with a forged passport.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>Tokyo Immigration Bureau issued a deportation order to the family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>The family sued the immigration bureau at Tokyo District Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 January</td>
<td>The family lost the case, appealed to the Tokyo High Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May, June</td>
<td>The family lost the case, appealed to the Supreme Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 September</td>
<td>The case was dismissed by the Supreme Court.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>The family was issued the temporary release after the case was dismissed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

6 When irregular residents are deported to their country of origin, they will not be allowed to come to Japan for a number of years. However, the Minister of Justice Mori, declared that the Arlan and Sarah Calderon may be allowed to visit Japan temporarily to meet Noriko after one year or less from their deportation.
November The family submitted petitions for the special permit to stay in Japan (zairyu tokubetsu kyoka 在留特別許可), the temporary release extended.

2009 January The temporary release extended. The Tokyo Immigration Bureau demanded the family to decide whether they all go back to the Philippines or leave Noriko behind.

February The United Nations Human Rights Committee asked the Japanese government to provide the information on this case after the lawyer, Mr. Watanabe, appealed to it.

March The temporary release extended on the 13th and 27th.

The family decided to live separately in the Philippines and in Japan. The Tokyo Immigration Bureau took Arlan in custody. The Warabi city council unanimously voted for a proposal for the family’s special permit.

April 14th The parents went back to the Philippines without Noriko.

created by Y. Bessho, using references to the Yomiuri Shimbun (2009, March 10)

There are four significant areas to consider regarding the Calderon family case. First, unlike previous Filipino media representations which are gendered, individualized, and focused on specific women, this case is a family portrait. Moreover, none of the family members is of Japanese descent. Japan privileges foreigners with familial ties to Japanese nationals in citizenship policies and mass media representations (Tsuda, 2003a). Hence, how does this family’s ethnic background influence the ways in which Japanese people view this deportation case? Second, how does this case work within and against discourses of illegal aliens, who are often categorized as ‘hotspots of violent crimes’ and ‘illegal employment’ (Takaya, 2007)? Third, this deportation case illustrates the intricate postcolonial relationship between old-comer Koreans, new-comer Filipinos and the Japanese. The internet discussion board users often wrote that the lawyer, Mr. Shogo Watanabe, who supported the Calderon family, was allegedly of Korean descent. Why would the lawyer’s ethnic background become a topic of discussion and what does this tell us about Japanese society? Finally and most importantly, this case received media attention just before the government introduced a new immigration system in Japan. The new system was a significant change that acknowledged foreigners as residents of Japan, but in turn, controlled them severely. What were the consequences of the new immigration system and the “ending” of the Calderon family case?
Special Permit to Stay in Japan (zairyu tokubetsu kyoka)

*zairyu tokubetsu kyoka* (在留特別許可) is a special permit to regularize the irregular residents in Japan. It is stipulated in Article 50 of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, and it can be issued by the Minister of Justice to those who are deemed to have reasons to stay in Japan despite their undocumented status. Unlike amnesty in some European countries in which irregular residents are automatically regularized after meeting certain criteria, the Japanese Minister of Justice considers the irregular resident’s individual life circumstances regarding issuing the special permit. Therefore, Watado (2007) calls this special permit an individual amnesty. Since 2003, the Japanese Ministry of Justice has disclosed over 120 cases that had been granted status, and 50 cases that were denied status (Ministry of Justice, 2008). In 2006, the Ministry set the first guideline for issuing this permit, and the second revision came in 2009. In 2007, the special permit was issued to 7,400 foreigners, and many of them were married to Japanese nationals (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 2009, March 15). Irregular residents are regularized through this process, and they are issued visas that suit their circumstances. Judging from the disclosed cases, most of them are given one-year visas, and they need to renew their visas before they expire.

The Calderon Family and the New Immigration System

I would like to explain what was taking place in Japan when the Calderon family asked the Minister of Justice to remain in the country. In July 2009, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised, and this was a significant historical change in foreigner control. At the same time, the guideline for issuing the special permit to stay in Japan was revised. The Ministry of Justice revised this guideline for three reasons (Nakayama, 2009). First, the old guideline was created more than two and half years ago and the ministry felt the need to revise the guideline. Second, because the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act had been revised, the immigration administration needed to move smoothly into the new system within three years. Third, the revised guideline was intended to ensure more transparency, and reduce the number of irregular residents by creating an environment that enabled the irregular residents to
appear in the immigration bureau. Because the guideline serves as a supplementary
document for the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, the second reason
was the most important of all three reasons. There are over 130,000 irregular residents in
Japan, and the reduction of this number serves the highest priority in the process of
transferring to the new immigration system (Nakayama, 2009). Because the purpose of
this new immigration system was to reduce the number of irregular residents in the first
place (Rodolphe, 2009), the revision in the guideline for issuing special permits to remain
in Japan is important.

The creation of Japan’s new immigration system and the Calderon family’s
separation are related to each other (see Appendix B for the comparison of timelines
between the Calderon family events and the events in the creation of the new immigration
system in Japan). The Japanese government started reviewing the current immigration
and foreigner registration system in 2005 (Kentaro Ando, 2009). The Ministry of Justice
and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications were the two ministries directly
involved in the new immigration system. Therefore, each ministry began reviewing the
laws and practices by setting various meetings among academics, government officials,
NGOs and foreign resident representatives from the prefectural conferences. In July 2006,
Sarah Calderon was arrested for having entered Japan with a falsified passport, and the
Ministry of Justice issued a deportation order to the Calderon family. In the subsequent
months, the family fought in court to reverse their deportation order. While the Calderon
family fought in court, the review process of the new immigration system continued at
the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications. The
officials in the ministries also decided that they would propose a revised regulation to the
National Diet by 2009. By the time Japan’s Supreme Court dismissed the Calderon case,
and the family asked the Minister of Justice for the special permit, the new immigration
system foundation was decided. During the period in March 2009 when the Calderon
family’s case received the most attention, three revised laws on the new immigration
system were introduced to the National Diet for discussion. The Calderon couple returned
to the Philippines on April 14, 2009, and three months later all three revised laws were
approved at the National Diet.
The overlap between the timeline of events affecting the Calderon family and the timeline for creating a new immigration system is a mere coincidence. However, the result that the Calderon family was not issued the special permit is closely related to the government’s intent to introduce a new immigration system. This new immigration system worked as one of the social regularities that affected the Minister of Justice’s decision on the family. Social regularities, as I discuss in detail in Chapter Three, are “powerful ‘grids’ or networks of regularities (a kind of grammar or economy similar to Foucault’s ‘complex group of relations’)” that constitute the emergence of what are defined as social problems (Scheurich, 1994, p. 301). There was no way for Japan’s Ministry of Justice to regularize the Calderon family, especially when they were trying to introduce a new immigration system with the purpose to control and reduce the number of irregular residents. However, because the case was taken up in the mass media and created a contentious discussion in Japan, and to some extent globally, the Minister compromised for a more compassionate decision. In fact, the Minister assured that the parents would be allowed to enter Japan in less than 5 years to meet Noriko.

**Background and Position**

Broadly speaking, my interest lies in globalization, migration, the lives of families, and migrants’ impact on society. I have lived in Japan, Ecuador, Indonesia and Canada, and I consider myself a migrant. However, my parents are Japanese citizens, and while identity for me is a complex matter, I relate most with my Japanese heritage. In spite of my identification with and longing for Japaneseness, people often told me that I was not Japanese enough, in school, at work, and even in my family. What, then, is Japaneseness? How do people imagine national identities and boundaries in the current era of globalization? How do race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and gender play into these imaginaries?

While holding onto my Japanese identity, I was also aware that family meant a lot to me. When asked where I belong, I used to answer that I belong to my family. Soon after I came to Canada, I watched the news about Canadian citizens evacuated from Israel due to the political turmoil. The Canadian military evacuated a woman and her daughter, but the woman’s mother was left in Israel because she was not a Canadian citizen. I was shocked to see a family separated on the basis of citizenship status. This event took place
when I first started thinking about families and migration. “The family [is] the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children” (Convention on the Rights of the Child, preamble, 4th indent), yet migration inevitably separates the family. How do people conceptualize family in the era of globalization and migration? This project is situated as a part of my ongoing life questions and inquiries about globalization, migration, family and how societies adopt to these contemporary changes. Furthermore, my hope is that this study gives readers a chance to consider the complexities and multiplicities of these contemporary issues.
Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature on subject matters that are important in analyzing the case of the Calderon family. First, I delineate Japanese policies towards foreign residents in four time periods. Second, I explain historical relationship between the Philippines and Japan, especially focusing on their colonial and postcolonial relationship. Third, I review the literature on the representation of Filipinos in Japan. Finally, although there were a limited number of resources, I introduce both scholarly and popular literature on the Calderon family case. The purpose of this chapter is to familiarize the readers with the cultural and historical contexts of Japan so that the readers have sufficient background knowledge to examine the representational politics of the Calderon family case.

Japanese Policies Towards Foreign Residents

This section provides a brief context regarding migration to Japan and the rights of foreign residents. International migration is one of the key characteristics of today’s society. Out of approximately 190.6 million international migrants around the world, 53.3 million are in Asia, making Asia the second largest migration area, next to Europe (United Nations, 2006, p. 29). Japan is no exception to the global trend of international migration. The number of registered foreign residents in Japan reached its highest number in 2007, at 2,152,973 or 1.69% of the total population in Japan (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2008). It is quite common in the Japanese literature to classify foreigners into two groups: old-comers, the zainichi Koreans and Taiwanese descendents who reside in Japan as a result of Japanese colonialism, and new-comers, who migrated

---

7 Currently, foreigners who wish to stay in Japan for more than 90 days must be registered at local municipals (excluding diplomats and U.S. military personnel). Japan classifies foreign residents into three categories based on their status: employment; study; and civil status or position. The last category includes spouses and children of Japanese citizens or permanent residents, and long term residents (teijusha 定住者). The long term resident status is given to Indochinese refugees, nikkeijin (Japanese descendents overseas), and others who need humanitarian consideration. People who enter with worker and student visas have certain limitations over their activities, but people with civil status or position are free from these limitations. Usually, foreigners can apply for the permanent resident (eijusha 永住者) status after residing in Japan for at least 10 years and providing proof of good citizen behaviour/disposition. Special permanent resident status is only given to zainichi Koreans and Taiwanese and their descendents.
to Japan after the 1980s during the economic boom. While the number of new-comers is growing, the number of old-comers is decreasing. This trend shows the demographic shift in foreign residents from the colonial periods to the current era of globalization. Here, I use colonialism to denote the period of Japanese imperialism from 1872 (when Japan occupied Okinawa) to 1945 (the end of the Second World War (WWII)).

For this study, I classified conceptualization of the foreigners and Japan as a nation into four eras: modernization to the end of WWII (1868-1945), post-WWII to the start of the bubble economy (1945-1980s), bubble economy to the early 2000s and the first decade of 2000s. The first era is the colonial period when colonized Asians were considered imperial subjects while Westerners were considered enemy or threats who would colonize Japan. The second era is the post-WWII period when foreigners residing in Japan were mainly former colonized Koreans and Taiwanese, and they were oppressed by the Japanese government and society. In the third era, with the rise of the bubble economy, other foreigners, including Filipinos, came to Japan to work. During this period, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised, which enabled nikkeijin, Japanese descendants overseas (mainly from Latin America) to work and stay in Japan without any limitations. These foreigners were considered foreign workers. Even though some of them had families and lived in Japan for a considerable amount of time, they were regarded as temporary workers by the Japanese society. However, discourses regarding their status have started to change slightly within the past few years. The Japanese government started to use the term “foreign residents,” and political parties and business sectors also began to use the term “immigrants.” Both terms acknowledge foreigners as residents of the community and connote long term settlement. In the next sub-sections, I examine the four eras further in context.

**The first era: Colonial period.** From 1868 to 1945, Japan sought to colonize other Asian lands to expand its territory. Japan established a modern Western-like nation-state form of government in 1868 after the Open Door policy was imposed by Western colonial powers. The Tokugawa shogunate regime, which lasted for 205 years (1603-

---

8 The decline in the number of old-comers has several reasons. First, some zainichi Koreans choose to naturalize. Second, many of them are getting married to Japanese citizens, and their children choose to obtain Japanese nationality.
implemented the Close Door policy in which contact with the overseas was extremely restricted except for limited areas, such as ports in Nagasaki and Yokohama. However, by the mid 19th century, the Tokugawa regime opened its ports and signed unfair treaties with Western colonial powers such as the United States, the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands and Russia. This “opening” of the country caused political uncertainty within Japan and ultimately resulted in a civil war between the Tokugawa regime and the group seeking a new government under the Emperor. The Emperor group won the civil war and established the Meiji government in 1868. The Emperor became the head of the state and the Japanese as one nationality was bound under the Emperor’s rule. The family registration system was created in 1872 and the nationality law was codified in 1899. The family registration system, koseki 戸籍⁹, which still continues today, plays a significant role in distinguishing who is Japanese and who is not. Koseki is neither a nationality nor a resident registration. Koseki is deeply rooted in the imperial system, and lists people who are ruled by the Japanese Emperor yet excludes the Emperor’s family and people who are outside of this social system, such as foreigners (F. Sato, 1988). Here, I use the term imperial to connote the rule of the Emperor in colonial times. In order to promote the registration, the government announced that people who were not in the family registration system would no longer be considered Japanese nationals, and therefore would not be protected by the government (F. Sato, 1988; Hayao, 2007). During this period, the conceptualization of Japan as one nation was disseminated through the legal systems, schooling and other techniques.

From 1868 to 1945, under the rule of the Emperor, people were considered imperial subjects and had Japanese nationality. However, people in Taiwan and Korea only had limited rights. The distinction between imperial subjects with full rights and subjects with limited rights was possible using the above koseki system (Tanaka, 1991). During the colonial period, Japanese lands were distinguished between inside land, naichi

---

⁹ Interestingly enough, people who were required to register for the koseki included almost everybody residing in Japan in 1872. Although the indigenous Ainu people and those from Western nations were excluded, this policy included descendents from Korea, China, and other Asian areas. Hayao (2007) aptly points out that the birth of the Japanese, which originates in this koseki system, was based on the principle of residents, rather than ethnicity. Although the current interpretation and implementation of koseki is based on the jus sanguinis principle (blood kinship), the origin was based on jus soli, a soil based citizenship.
内地, and outside land, *gaichi* 外地. Different laws were enacted in these two areas. What is now Japan was considered inside land and the Korean Peninsula, Taiwan and South Sakhalin were considered outside land. People were not allowed to move their *koseki* from outside land to inside land, or vice versa. The combination of *koseki* and the distinction between inside and outside lands shaped the assimilation and alienation policies toward colonial subjects in Japan (Tanaka, 1991).

**The second era: End of WWII to 1980s.** Policies toward foreigners in Japan after WWII are distinguishable by the two target populations: old-comer Koreans and Taiwanese and new-comers to Japan after the 1980s. The government policies enacted during this second era were targeted towards the ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese who resided in Japan as a result of colonization. These old-comers were under surveillance and control, while at the same time, severely assimilated. Two seemingly opposing notions, alienation and assimilation, are the key concepts to understanding policies and regulations toward former colonial subjects in Japan (Tanaka, 1991).

After WWII, Japan was controlled by the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (SCAP) from 1945 to 1952. In August 1945, approximately 2,400,000 Koreans resided in Japan. Of these, approximately 40% returned to Korea by 1950, but due to political instability in the Korean Peninsula and the strict property and currency restrictions imposed on them by the Japanese government upon their return to Korea, many Koreans stayed in Japan (Kim, 2008). The SCAP and the Japanese government deemed Koreans and Taiwanese residing in Japan as threats to public safety and social order because of racism and political situations at that time (Kashiwazaki, 2000; Kim, 2008; Tanaka, 1991). In addition to Japanese society’s persistent prejudice and racism towards Koreans, the Japanese government wanted every Korean and Taiwanese person to leave Japan to eliminate any kind of minority problems. On the SCAP side, *zainichi* Koreans and Taiwanese were considered would-be communists since a communist regime and a socialist regime were established, respectively in mainland China and in the Northern part of the Korean Peninsula (IO editorial, 2006).

Consequently, the Japanese government began to deprive the *zainichi* Koreans and Taiwanese of their rights. In December 1945, Japan terminated their voting rights.
This action was implemented by distinguishing whether or not a person had a family registration, koseki, in Japan. In 1947, the Alien Registration Order regarded zainichi Koreans and Taiwanese foreigners, even though they had Japanese nationality, and ordered them to be registered as foreigners. In 1952, when the San Francisco Peace Treaty took effect and Japan regained its sovereignty, the Japanese government declared uniform loss of nationality to its former colonial subjects (Kashiwazaki, 2000; Tanaka, 1991). At the same time, the Japanese government implemented severe assimilation policies toward former colonial subjects. One of the most prominent assimilation policies was the repression of Korean ethnic schools. Ethnic Koreans in Japan created the schools after WWII to regain their deprived ethnic traditions and languages (IO editorial, 2006; Kim, 2008). However, these schools were banned, and the children were ordered to attend Japanese schools.

Zainichi Koreans gradually gained denizenship (Kashiwazaki, 2000), and they now have special resident status that distinguishes them from the new-comer foreigners. Denizens are “foreign citizens with a legal and permanent resident status” who enjoy civil and social rights, but not electoral rights at the national level (Hammar, 1990, p. 15). Korean permanent residents contested inequitable treatments such as alien registration, fingerprinting and employment restrictions on public sectors and have advocated for voting rights. Although they do not have suffrage rights, zainichi Koreans have gained status of denizens through numerous struggles and lawsuits.10

The third era: Diversification of foreigners. The 1980s saw a new phase in Japanese immigration policies. As a consequence of severe assimilation policies towards Korean and Taiwanese residents, “foreigners” were invisible in Japanese society until the early 1980s. The 1980s saw a dramatic shift in the demographics of “foreigners” when their presence became visible. Accepting Indochinese refugees at the end of the Vietnam War in 1975 had a big impact on the Japanese policy, even though Japan initially accepted only 500 refugees (Kashiwazaki, 2000; Tanaka, 1991). The economic boom and serious labour shortage in the 1980s led many foreign workers, including Filipinas, to

---

10 As of 2010, the voting rights for permanent residents in Japan are being discussed at the Japan’s legislative body.
come to Japan. The revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990, which issued long term visas to nikkeijin (Japanese descendents overseas), led more “foreign” workers to migrate to Japan (Kajita, 1994).

The end of the Vietnam War in 1975 caused the displacement of persons and created a huge refugee population from the area. Although the number of refugees permitted to settle in Japan was small (500 people by 1979 and 10,000 people by 1991), their arrival had tremendous effects on the social rights of foreign residents (Kashiwazaki, 2000; Tanaka, 1991). Once accepting refugees for settlement, the Japanese government was obliged to sign and ratify international treaties and conventions such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights and the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Because these treaties required governments to equally treat citizens and foreign residents, the government was compelled to change internal laws and regulations to meet such requirements. These changes included the removal of eligibility restrictions based on nationality from the national health plan, national pension and public housing. Traditionally, the social welfare system in Japan only targeted “Japanese nationals residing in Japan.” The residence requirements excluded Japanese nationals living overseas, and it excluded alien residents in Japan by having nationality requirements (Tanaka, 1991). It is worth noting that although zainichi Koreans and Taiwanese had been demanding these rights, it was not their struggles that had direct impact on these changes. The external forces, accepting the Indochinese refugees and preparing for their settlement, had more impact in changing Japanese society.

Officially, Japan only accepts skilled labour and does not accept unskilled foreign labour (Yamawaki, 2006). However, certain types of visas enable foreign workers employment in fields that result in unskilled labour. Kajita (1994) points out the “double standards” in the Japanese government’s attitudes toward foreign workers. Three types of visas – student, entertainer and trainee visas – had long been criticized to be highly problematic (Kajita, 1994; Kashiwazaki, 2000). People who enter with one of these three visas tend to work in conditions that violate human rights. For example, many Filipinas enter with entertainer visas to work in the entertainment industry. Together with the Japanese government’s intent to increase the number of international students, the
boundary between students and workers blurs (Kajita, 1994). Trainee visas under training and technical internship programs were intended to transfer technology to developing countries, but people who entered under trainee visas were forced to work in underpaid and exploitive working conditions (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2008). However, the revised Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act of 2009 allowed trainees better protection under the Japanese labour rights.

Another status considered a “double standard” is the “Spouse or Child of a Japanese National” category. In 1990, the Japanese government revised the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. This revision issued long term visas (up to three years and renewable after that) for Nikkeijin (Japanese descendents) to work in any occupation (Kajita, 1994). Because this status does not restrict Nikkeijin’s activities in Japan, a burgeoning number of Japanese descendents from Latin America migrated to Japan. What is interesting here is the extended interpretation of the jus sanguinis principle (blood kinship principle). According to Kajita (1994), the principle has gradually loosened. Before the 1990 revision, an applicant was required to submit proof that all of the family members within consanguinity of the second degree were Japanese nationals. It was then loosened to prove that one of the consanguinity of the fourth degree be a Japanese national.\footnote{Consanguinity of second degree means the following: your siblings, your grandparents, your spouse’s siblings, your spouse’s grandparents and your grandchildren. Consanguinity of fourth degree means the following: your cousin, your great-aunts and great-uncles, your great-great-grandparents, your great-great-grandchildren, and your grand-niece or grand-nephews.} After the 1990 revision, the principle was further loosely interpreted; only one of the consanguinities of the sixth degree was needed to prove that the applicant is a descendant of a Japanese national (Kajita, 1994). The consanguinities of the sixth degree mean the following: great-great-grandfather/grandmother, the siblings of the great-great-grandfather/grandmother, grandfather/grandmother’s cousins, your parents’ cousins’ child or your cousin’s grandchild. Therefore, if an applicant could prove that one of his or her above relatives was a Japanese national, the applicant could be qualified as nikkeijin. Moreover, these important interpretations and changes had been made by the government administration without much discussion, and few government officials were aware of the consequences of the changes, such as the large number of nikkeijin coming to Japan seeking employment (Kajita, 1994).
definition of nikkeijin as a person with a drop of Japanese blood shows the strong belief in blood kinship as the basis for Japanese-ness and Japanese citizenship among the Japanese government officials.

**The fourth era: Towards settlement?** Until 2006, the Japanese national government only had immigration policies that addressed issues of border control, but had no settlement policies despite the growing number of foreign residents (Yamawaki, 2006). Japan does not have a unified, coherent immigration and citizenship policy; rather, various laws, regulations, and policies work in tandem to manage Japanese nationality and citizenship (Kashiwazaki, 2000). In some cases, each ministry has competing policies with one another (Surak, 2008). In 2006, however, the governmental Council on Economic and Fiscal Policy decided to consider integrated foreigner settlement policies across ministries. In 2009, the Office for the Coordination of Policies on Foreign Residents was established in the Cabinet Office of the Government of Japan to connect and coordinate each ministry’s policies (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2009).

Recently, there are advocates in the political and business sectors pushing for the settlement of immigrants in Japan in order to combat the declining labour force and aging population. For example, a group of politicians in the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan proposed a plan to accept 10 million immigrants in the next 50 years (Toda, 2008). A group of politicians in the Democratic Party of Japan, which became the ruling party in 2009, had proposed a similar plan five years prior. In the business sector, Nippon Keidanren, a business federation, has been a constant advocate for the acceptance of migrant workers in Japan. It calls for comprehensive "Japanese-style immigration policies" including settlement, in the interest of being competitive in the global economy and tackling the declining population (Nippon Keidanren, 2008). Their arguments focus extensively on immigrants as initiators of a boost in the economy. However, their use of the word imin (移民, immigrants) created open discussions on the settlement policies in Japan. Previously, people had been reluctant to use the word because it connotes long-term settlement.

In terms of the legal system, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised in July 2009. The main revision concerned the integration of the two
immigration control policies (Tagaya, 2009). Previously, there had been two laws that regulated foreigners: the Alien Registration Act and the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act. While the Alien Registration Act focused on residential control, the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act focused on immigration and emigration. However, these two acts did not work together. For example, because the Alien Registration stipulated that every foreigner must be registered with their local governments, “overstayers” (those who were violating the immigration act) could register as foreigners at local governments and receive an alien registration card, which enabled them to open bank accounts or have cell phone connections (Tagaya, 2009). This alien registration system was also used by local governments to provide administrative services to foreigners living in the area. Therefore, it was possible for irregular residents to live in between the two regulations. In the revised act, foreigners who would stay in Japan for more than 90 days would be issued a Residence Card, which would enable the government to control their resident information in an integrated way; this is intended to enhance government services to foreigner residents (Tagaya, 2009). The target population for this Residence Card are the new-comers to Japan. Old-comer Koreans and Taiwanese, who have the special permanent resident status, are exempt from being issued this card.12 The Alien Registration Act would be abolished accordingly when the new regulation comes into effect. In accordance with this abolishment, foreigners would be incorporated into the Basic Resident Registration system, of which currently every Japanese citizen is a part. This change is significant because the Japanese government decided to control both Japanese citizens and foreign residents in one system. In the revised act, the foreigners with a Residence Card are called “medium-to-long term residents,” and this naming also reflects the change in the conceptualization of foreigners from temporary residents to more long-term settlers. The officials at the Immigration Bureau of Japan boast that with this new regulation, the legal regulations are ready to work with the foreigner increase (Kikawa, 2009). Similarly, the bureau officials boast that the new regulation has enormous significance in opening a new era by abandoning the Alien Registration which began soon after the end of WW II (Kentaro Ando, 2009).

12 However, this exemption was achieved through the protests from zainichi Koreans with special resident status. In the original version, people with special resident status were part of this regulation.
Critiques of this new regulation arose from foreigner residents themselves and human rights activists. For example, Rodolphe (2009) argues that the new regulation is nothing but enhanced foreigner surveillance, and that this regulation stems from the conceptualization of foreigners as would-be-criminals. A clause which stipulates foreigners must carry their Residence Card at all times, and that there would be criminal charges if they do not, is scrutinized (Japan Liberties Union, 2009; Rodolphe, 2009). One of the purposes of this new regulation is to strengthen control over irregular residents (Rodolphe, 2009), and thus the irregular residents will likely ask for individual amnesty or face deportation in the future. The fact that irregular residents and people who are waiting for their refugee status will be excluded from basic administrative services such as education and health care because of their irregular status is also scrutinized (Japan Liberties Union, 2009). How to face irregular residents and their humanitarian needs are problems that need to be solved before this new regulation is enacted (Tagaya, 2009). This new act will be enforced within three years starting in July 2009.

Filipino-Japanese Relations

When Japan colonized Asian nations between 1872 and 1945, it employed the slogan, Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere (dai toa kyouei ken 大東亜共栄圏), in order to justify colonization. Its purpose was to supposedly free Asian people from Western colonizers and create an Asian regional alliance under Japanese leadership. The Philippines came under direct Japanese military control from January 1942 to October 1943. Although the Philippines declared independence in 1943, this regime was often called a puppet regime because the Japanese military practically controlled the Philippines. During the Japanese occupation of the Philippines from 1942 to 1945, the Japanese military massacred Filipinos. Approximately 120,000 people (76 % were civilians) and over 23,000 Americans (97 % were military) died in massacres and tortures (T. Sato, 1994). In August 1945, when Japan lost the Second World War, the Philippines became a Commonwealth of the United States. In July 1946, the Republic of the Philippines was given independence by the United States.

After WWII, the Philippine and Japanese bilateral relations were shaped by the United States’ foreign policy, especially in the context of the Cold War (T. Sato, 1994).
In 1956, Japan started payment of war reparations to the Philippines. This reparation quickly changed its form into foreign aid, which facilitated the expansion of Japanese corporations into Asian countries. Today, Japan is the biggest Official Development Assistance (ODA) donor in terms of both loans and grants to the Philippines. In 2007, 37% ($3.6B US) of foreign loans and 32% ($229M US) of grants to the Philippines came from Japan (Embassy of Japan in the Philippines, n.d.). However, interest payments on foreign loans burden the Philippine economy, and more than 20% of the country’s expenditure was paid as interest to foreign debt in 2008 (Bureau of Treasury, Philippines, 2008). The vicious cycle of structural dependency on foreign loans slows down the Philippines’ economic development. “The instabilities imposed by the political economy of globalization” force many Filipinos to work abroad in search for better employment (Parreñas, 2005, p. 18). However, the structural dependency of the Philippine economy in relation to the Japanese ODA is not emphasized in Japan. This situation is attributable to the characteristic of Japanese journalism which only reports issues that are closely related to Japanese national interests or business (Toh, 2002). Because of this characteristic and complicity, the Japanese mass media do not report issues that reveal Japan’s involvement in creating global structural dependency. Therefore, rather than focusing on global structures that force Filipinos to work abroad, the representation of Filipinos in Japan tends to depict their individualistic monetary motive as their free choice.

According to 2007 statistics from the Immigration Bureau of Japan, Filipinos are the fourth largest group of foreign residents and constitute 9.4% of the registered foreigners in Japan (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2008). Of the Filipinos in Japan, 81% are female, most of whom are in their 20s to 40s (Somusho Tokeikyoku, 2008). This gender imbalance is mostly due to the entry of Filipinos to Japan through entertainer visas or marriage. The Japanese and the Philippine governments have a bilateral agreement in which Japan can legally recruit entertainers from the Philippines, known as

---

13 8,726,520 Filipino migrants were estimated to reside in 198 countries in 2007, which accounts for 10% of the Philippines’ total population. In addition, the remittance sent to the Philippines by Filipino workers abroad reached $12.8 billion US in 2005 (Kanlungan Center Foundation, n.d.).

14 The largest group is Chinese, followed by Koreans and Brazilians (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2008).
Overseas Performing Artists (OPA) program.\textsuperscript{15} Marriage between Filipino and Japanese citizens is another characteristic of Filipino migration to Japan.\textsuperscript{16} In 2000, the largest percentage (31.11\%) of international married couples (kokusai kekkon, 国際結婚) in Japan was between Filipina women and Japanese men (Somusho Tokeikyoku, 2004).

However, Filipinas entering with entertainer visas through the OPA program decreased dramatically after the U.S. State Department published \textit{Trafficking in Persons Report in 2004}. This report had a tremendous effect on Japanese immigration policies especially in relation to Filipino migrants. The report placed Japan on the Tier 2 watchlist, describing Japan as “a destination country for Asian, Latin American and Eastern European women and children trafficked for the purposes of forced labor and sexual exploitation” (US State Department, 2004, p. 96). Although activists and researchers had been asserting the severe working conditions of Filipinas, the Japanese government never took any action to remedy the situation until this external pressure from the U.S. government. Similar to the external pressure to accept the Indochinese refugee settlement in the 1970s, the external pressure is significant in changing the Japanese national policies towards foreigners. As a result of this report, the Japanese government tightened issuing entertainer visas in 2005.

Due to this restricted policy, after 2005, the number of people entering Japan with entertainer visas dropped significantly. The number of OPA hiring in 2007 in Japan was less than 1/15 of the peak number in 2004 (Kanlungan Center Foundation, n.d.).\textsuperscript{17} Nagata (2007) assumes that Filipinos who used to enter with entertainer visas may be returning to work on other visas, such as the temporary visitor visa that is valid up to 90 days. It has been pointed out by various researchers that the migrants’ legal status reflects their working conditions (Asis, 2008; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). If Nagata’s estimate is valid,

\textsuperscript{15} This program started in 2003 between the Philippines and other countries to legally hire Filipino entertainers. Japan remains as the top country that hires Filipinos through the Overseas Performing Artists (OPA). Recently, South Korea is becoming a major player in new OPA employment (Kanlungan Center Foundation, n.d.).

\textsuperscript{16} International marriage and entertainer visas are not necessarily separate phenomena because some Japanese men married Filipinas who came to Japan and worked with entertainer visas.

\textsuperscript{17} The number of Filipinos hired through the OPAs was 57,605 in 2003, increased to 70,628 in 2004, then dropped to almost half in 2005 which was 38,533 people, 6,672 in 2006, and 4,592 in 2007 (Kanlungan Center Foundation, n.d.).
these migrants suffer severe working conditions without any recourse to claim their human rights. These restrictions by the Japanese government are not rendered to combat human trafficking; rather they attempt to exclude foreigners from receiving basic human rights and use them as temporary, disposable and cheap labour (A. Nagata, 2007). By restricting the number of the OPAs, the Japanese government is avoiding the responsibility to protect their rights. Although regulations on employers, such as setting minimum wages for Filipino entertainers, are commendable, the fact that these entry restrictions are imposed in the name of protecting human rights makes this action by the Japanese government all the more vicious. The creation of these regulations is precisely an example of how the state controls and exploits poor migrants.

**Representations of Filipinos in Japan**

Gender, class and race play significant roles in the representation of Filipinos in Japan. In the early stages of nikkeijin’s (Japanese descendents overseas) migration, their favourable images circulated in the Japanese mass media due to the assumption that they were culturally similar because of their shared Japanese ancestry (Tsuda, 2003a). In contrast, Filipinos are constructed as total aliens who do not arouse sympathy. Filipinos and the Philippines are associated with “prostitution, immoral women, illegal workers with expired visa, barefooted street children, unstable political system, etc” in the Japanese mass media (Ito, 2005, p. 64). The typical Filipino representation in contemporary Japanese media is a young Filipina working as a bar hostess who dreams of marrying a Japanese man. This representation was established and continues to be reinforced because of the gendered migration caused by the OPA program and the Japanese perception of the Philippines as a poor developing country.

In the 1980s, Japanese feminists and human rights activists started to construct Filipinas as victims to be protected who came from a poor Third world country (Go, 1999; A. Nagata, 2007; N. Suzuki, 2003). Filipinas were often referred to as Japayuki-

---

18 The notion that the Philippines is dangerous became widely circulated in the late 1980s. This view became popular due to the abduction of the Manila branch manager of a Japanese trading company (Shimizu, 1996). Although the major culprits in this case and other Japanese killings in the Philippines were Japanese, these facts did not become big news, thereby reproduced the image of the Philippines as dangerous.
san, meaning Asian women who work in the sex industry in Japan. This term originated from karayuki-san, Japanese women who went to other Asian countries as sex workers in the 19th century (Kasama, 2002). Because of feminist criticisms that the term Japayuki-san was discriminatory, the term was replaced with Filipina (フィリッピーナ), a phonetic transcription of the word Filipina in Japanese in the 1990s. However, the term still carried the connotation of women working in the sex industry (Kasama, 2002). Although these activists shed light on the severe working conditions that many Filipinas faced, they also problematically depicted Filipinas as victims without agency.

In the 1990s, the discourses around Filipinas changed dramatically. The non-fiction book Men who Loved Filipina by Kei Hisada (1989), and the television drama based on this book, had a significant impact on the representation of Filipinas (Go, 1999; Kasama, 2002; Shimizu, 1996). Instead of victims, Filipinas were represented as cunning and sturdy Asian women who would do anything for money. From then on, the construction of the deceitful Filipina and the faithful Japanese men, just like the characters in the Men who Loved Filipina, became popular in other TV drama, manga, fictions and non-fiction literature. Although objections from Filipina community groups arose around these depictions, the debate between them and media producers gave the impression that it was a matter of the producers’ freedom of expression (Kasama, 2002).

Unlike Brazilians or Peruvians in Japan, the Filipino networks in Japan are open-ended networks encompassing the Japanese partly due to the international marriages between the Filipinos and the Japanese nationals (A. Nagata, 2007). In this sense, the vantage point of family is important when considering Japanese citizenship regime and multiculturalism. This focus on family is in contrast with the cases in North America where multiculturalism is considered as intergroup relationships among various ethnic groups. (Haines, Minami & Yamashita, 2007; Ito, 2005). However, the representations of Filipinos in Japan had been highly individualized and gendered. In relation to this dominant representation of Filipinas, and referring back to the Calderon family, how did the Japanese mass media represent the Calderon family portrait? No one in the Calderon family had Japanese nationality, which was also different from the stereotypical images of Filipinas in Japan. Hence, how did this family demographic influence the way the Japanese people view the deportation case?
Literature on the Calderon Family Case

Because the Calderon case is relatively new, there has not been a lot of scholarly work written about it. In my search for writings about the Calderon family other than the newspapers and internet discussion boards, I found two scholarly articles in legal journals and two articles in opinion magazines. In terms of scholarly work, both legal scholars questioned the dichotomised framework of “rigid enforcement of law versus the humanitarian considerations” posed by the Japanese mass media (Koki Abe, 2009; Morishima, 2009a). I discuss detailed analysis of these arguments further in Chapter Five: Newspaper Analysis.

Although not published in scholarly venues, two articles in liberal and conservative opinion magazines addressed the Calderon family case. The liberal magazine, Sekai, published Nishinaka (2009)’s reportage on the Calderon family and other undocumented families. This reportage was in favour of regularizing undocumented families and was critical of the Japanese government’s immigration policies. On the other hand, Keita Ando (2009)’s article in the conservative magazine, Seiron, argued that the mass media reporting on the Calderon family case, which he called pitiable reporting (okawaisouni” hōdō, 「お可哀相に」報道), was biased in favour of the family. His supporting evidence pointed out that the mass media did not report the court’s verdict, which ruled that the family was insensitive to adhere to Japanese immigration law since many of the Calderon’s extended family members were irregular residents. He critiqued the mass media reporting and claimed that the regularization of irregular residents should be considered only in exceptional occasions. For him, granting the special permit to nearly 10,000 people every year was too much.

As seen above, discussion arose regarding the ways in which the Japanese mass media reported the Calderon family case along with the pros and cons of the deportation order. The fact that three out of four authors who wrote articles about this case questioned the mass media’s reporting shows that people felt uncomfortable with the ways the mass media reported this case. As Keita Ando (2009) aptly points out, what made the mass media omit the court verdict in their reporting? How did the dichotomised framework of
“rigid enforcement of law versus humanitarian consideration” come about? These questions are considered in Chapter Five: Newspaper Analysis.

This chapter examined the literatures required in order to analyze the representational politics of the Calderon family. The four time periods of the Japanese immigration policies provided cultural and historical contexts to understand how Japan conceptualized its “foreigners.” The Filipino-Japanese relations highlighted the relationships between the two countries from colonial and postcolonial perspectives, which are not often emphasized in Japan. The chronology of the Filipina representations in Japan is important when analyzing the gendered representations of Sarah Calderon as well as when examining representational politics in advocacy work. Further discussions on the literature regarding the Calderon family are provided in later chapters. The next chapter addresses the analytical and inter/disciplinary framework I used in this study.
Chapter 3: Analytical and Inter/Disciplinary Frameworks

This chapter provides analytical and inter/disciplinary frameworks that are used in this study. First, I review Foucauldian discourse analysis which was central to my study. Second, I investigate three frameworks on how Japan conceptualizes foreigners. Third, I examine the frameworks in relation to understanding the internet and the public sphere in order to analyze the internet discussion board in my study. Last, in order to draw implications for advocacy work from my findings, I examine anti-oppressive education frameworks. This chapter serves as a basis for my study because I draw from the theories discussed here to interpret discourses in the newspapers and internet discussion board about the Calderon family.

Discourse Analysis

Foucauldian discourse analysis is a methodological approach that I use to analyze my research data. Rather than judging which discourses capture the Calderon family’s reality, my analysis focus on the social, political and cultural factors which contributed to the emergence of certain discourses on the Calderon family and their lawyer, Mr. Watanabe. By focusing on the representation of the Calderon family and Mr. Watanabe, my work shows the power dynamics and knowledge production of the Other in Japan. The media coverage on the Filipino migrant family does not tell us about them per se; rather, it enables us to examine the Japanese society’s attitudes toward them. As Foucault argues,

> Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true. (Foucault, 1980, p. 131)

According to Foucault, archaeology of knowledge is a methodology that connects discourse, knowledge production and power. It seeks to make sense of the present by paying attention to the discontinuities and ruptures of history. Rather than tracing the origin of a particular event, it is important to pay attention to the external factors that
allow the event to gain credibility. For instance, the origin of the *jus sanguinis* principle in Japan was originally based on resident status rather than ethnicity (Hayao, 2007). However, by going through certain points in history, it gained credibility as a mechanism to maintain the notion of *pure blood*. This kind of analysis illustrates what Foucault means by paying attention to the discontinuities or ruptures of the history. These ruptures show the power dynamics in society and the social factors which enable certain knowledge to gain legitimacy.

In Foucault’s definition, discourse is “the always-finite and temporally limited ensemble of ... statements alone which were formulated” (Foucault, 1998, p. 307). Adding to that definition, Hall (1997) defines discourse as “a group of statements which provide a language for talking about – a way of representing the knowledge – a particular topic at a particular historical moment” (p. 44). There are four regulatory principles of discourse analysis: *reversal, discontinuity, specificity* and *exteriority* (Foucault, 1972, p. 229). By *reversal*, Foucault emphasizes the importance of tracing the past to understand the present, which he calls the *history of the present*. *Discontinuity* and *specificity* are central in the way he views history. Foucault does not view history as a linear continuity; instead, he sees it as a series of discontinuities and ruptures; history is “the transformation of discontinuity” (Foucault, 1998, p. 300). For Foucault, *truths* are only valid in a particular historical context. Therefore, my analysis focuses on the specificity of the Calderon family representation from 2008 to 2009 and on the *truths* about Filipino migrant families at this moment in history in Japan. By *exteriority*, Foucault means the external conditions that enable a particular discourse to gain more authority than the other. This notion is similar to “archive” which he defines as “the series of rules which determine in a culture the appearance and disappearance of statements, their retention and their destruction, their paradoxical existence as events and things” (Foucault, 1998, p. 309). In other words, it is important to examine the social regularities and rules of a society in order to investigate the emergence and absence of certain discourses.

With the above four principles in mind, my discourse analysis focuses on the social regularities that enabled the emergence of particular discourses on the Calderon family and Mr. Watanabe. For example, the influence of the *jus sanguinis* principle is examined as one of the social factors. I also consider the absence and silences of certain
discourses. This notion of silence is foregrounded in Chapter Seven, in which I devote the whole chapter to discussing what has been silenced in Japanese media.

**How are Foreigners Conceptualized?**

This section looks at three analytical frameworks on how *foreigners* are conceptualized in contemporary Japan. The first analytical framework deals with contemporary citizenship scholarship regarding the state’s power over international migrants, and how international migrants without much economic capital are conceptualized as potential social threats. The second framework deals with national identity and national ethos, and analyzes the process through which ethnic minorities are excluded from the national ethos. The third framework describes how the historical legacy of colonialism affects the way the Japanese people conceptualize other Asians. These three frameworks are not mutually exclusive, but intertwine with each other. The first framework shows the effect of globalization on contemporary citizenship, and it reminds us that international migration is a global issue. The second framework on national identity and national ethos is important when considering the exclusion of certain groups is essential for building modern nation-states. Finally, by considering the historical legacy of colonialism, I provide the cultural and historical context of imagining foreigners in Japan.

**Framework #1: Contemporary citizenship.**

The first framework explains how foreigners are under state surveillance and how this protocol influences a host society’s conception of foreigners. While some scholars claim that the nation-states’ boundaries are blurring because of globalization (Appadurai, 1996), others claim that national governments still remain powerful in regulating people’s movements. For example, Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) assert that although nation-states are influenced by global power dynamics, they still remain the “most important governance site for allocation and regulation of citizenship rights, responsibilities and burdens” (p. 13). In a similar vein, Asis (2008) states that governments create the boundaries between three types of migration – legal, unauthorized, and trafficking – through regulations, laws and policies, but the roles of governments are not fully
considered in the current literature. My study does not examine the roles of government by looking at governmental publications. However, I investigate the roles of government in defining citizens and non-citizens through the ways in which irregular residents are represented in mainstream newspapers and an internet discussion board. Therefore, my study contributes to this area of scholarship in a methodological sense, by demonstrating other venues to study the roles of government. Using this framework of contemporary citizenship, I investigate how the public reacts when irregular residents, who are considered security threats by the government and the public, claim their human and civil rights.

As more and more people move around the world, many governments are trapped in the liberal paradox (Hollifield, 2004). While governments implement open door policies to attract desirable, highly skilled immigrants to encourage economic growth, they also close their borders to undesirable immigrants. This paradox occurs because of the strong influence of neo-liberalism – characterized by such notions as individualism, competition, accountability, less government intervention – on contemporary citizenship (Joshee, 2004; Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). The neoliberal agenda of selecting desirable immigrants comes with the exclusion of undesirable immigrants, and it deepens the citizenship division between elite migrants and migrants without much economic capital (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). Therefore, social class plays a critical role in contemporary citizenship. While elite migrants enjoy the privileges of flexible citizenship (Ong, 1999), poor migrants are bound to various governmental regulations. The Calderon family was a working class family. Their possibility to live together as a family in Japan solely depended on the Minister of Justice’s verdict after the Supreme Court dismissed their case. In reporting the Calderon family case, how did the Japanese mass media and the internet discussion board represent the government’s intentions to criminalize irregular residents? Did they question the state’s arbitrary power over the screening of international migrants?

Although the traditional sense of territorial, national citizenship has become “old-fashioned” (Ross, 2007, p. 297), especially in the global citizenship education literature, it is important to keep in mind that there are people who are left without basic citizenship rights. In most cases, the state uses undesirable migrants as cheap and disposable labour
without protecting their rights. One example is the restricted policy on issuing entertainer visas to Filipinas. Because of this restricted policy, some Filipinas may be working in Japan in irregular ways, which makes it hard for them to claim their human rights. In this sense, they are not only undesirable, but also invisible because, although the Japanese government does not officially accept low-skilled workers, it does so from side doors and back doors (Kajita, 1994). Because these undesirable workers do not appear as workers in governmental statistics, their claims for human rights are silenced. In spite of their invisibility in claiming rights, foreigners are visible to the Japanese public as security threats.

In Japan, the government, mass media, and the general public associate foreigners, especially those without status, with crimes and threats to public safety. The mass media expressed interest in capturing the lives of foreign workers from multiple perspectives during the first few years following the revision of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act in 1990, which enabled nikkeijin to work in Japan. After these few years, the media’s interest shifted to reporting stories on illegal aliens or illegal overstayers (Takaya, 2007). In the first few years, the mass media favourably framed nikkeijin as cultural-Japanese who valued the old traditions, in a belief that nikkeijin and ethnic Japanese people living in Japan share similar values because of the shared Japanese descent (Tsuda, 2003a). However, when the Japanese mass media realized that nikkeijin were actually foreign to ethnic Japanese people because of the cultural and linguistic differences, the mass media reporting shifted to the alienation of the nikkeijin and other foreigners. The focus was solely on these migrants’ illegality, and in-depth reporting capturing their motivations in working in Japan or their life styles was scarce. As a consequence, according to a survey by the Cabinet Office in 2006, out of 84.3% of the respondents who answered that Japan’s public safety declined in the past 10 years, 55.1% of them attributed the reason to the increase of crimes by foreigners (Cabinet Office, Government of Japan, 2006). However, the percentage of crimes by foreigners in Japan has not seen much change in percentage; it has remained between 1.4% and 2.11% for the past 5 years (National Police Agency, 2008). Some scholars attribute this false perception of foreigners to misrepresentations by the mass media and to false
advertisements by the police. How does the public react when irregular residents, who have been highly visible as security threats, claim their invisible rights? The Calderon family case must be considered from these contemporary discourses surrounding the foreigners in Japan.

In Japanese society, blood lineage is considered to be one of the strongest citizenship identities. For example, the favourable mass media representation of nikkeijin in the early stages of their migration stemmed from the assumption that the nikkeijin and ethnic Japanese living in Japan were similar due to their shared ancestry (Tsuda, 2003a). This belief in blood lineage as the citizenship identity created two representational exclusions: it portrayed other immigrants as completely aliens, and the expectation to be similar to ethnic Japanese stigmatized the Japanese Brazilians to be “inadequate” Japanese (Tsuda, 2003b, p. 201). However, scholars question the assumption that citizenship identity is singular, and assert that people have fluid, shifting and multiple identities (Kumashiro, 2000; McKenzie, 2006; Ross, 2007). What would the representational practices look like if the fluid, multiple and shifting identities are taken into account?

Framework #2: Nationalism.

The second framework deals with the national ethos and the process of Othering. If we think of a nation as an imagined community (Anderson, 1983/2006), people with diverse backgrounds who live within this imagined community are also categorized into imaginary groups: majority and minority. This categorization is a recent invention that originates from the statistics, censuses, and population maps in the 17th century (Appadurai, 2006). Appadurai uses the concept of “anxiety of incompleteness” (p. 8) to theorize the reasons why violence against minorities occurs:

Numerical majorities can become predatory and ethnocidal with regard to small numbers precisely when some minorities (and their small numbers) remind these majorities of the small gap which lies between their condition as majorities and the horizon of an unsullied national whole, a pure and untainted national ethnos.

---

19 In 2000, the Tokyo Metropolitan Police published and distributed a flyer stating “call 110 (emergency phone number) if you suspect a person to be Chinese.” The Chinese embassy protested the circulation of this flyer, which was later discarded (Asahi Shimbun, 2000, December 26).
This sense of incompleteness can drive majorities into paroxysms of violence against minorities. (Appadurai, 2006, p. 8)

If we take Japan as an example, after WWII, the concept of Japan as a homogenous nation became widely circulated as opposed to the perception of Japan as a heterogeneous nation which was prevalent during the colonial period. This homogenous myth gained dominance because it matched the mood of Japanese who lost confidence in handling international relations after WWII (Oguma, 1995). The anxiety of incompleteness to accomplish this homogenous myth was embodied by Koreans and Taiwanese who were compelled to remain in Japan after the war. It was in this context that the identity of Japanese as a homogeneous nation became predatory by mobilizing the anxiety of incompleteness.

Appadurai (2006) defines “predatory identities” as “identities whose social construction and mobilization require the extinction of other, proximate social categories, defined as threats to the very existence of some group, defined as a we” (p. 51). The Japanese government implemented severe assimilation policies after the war, such as banning ethnic Korean education and forcing children to enrol in Japanese schools. Many zainichi Koreans had Korean names, but used Japanese names (tsumei, 通名) in society to escape severe racisms. In addition, until 1984 naturalized people were strongly advised by the administrators to change their names into Japanese style names during their naturalization process (Kim, 2008). Because of the visual similarities in appearance among ethnic Koreans, Taiwanese, and Japanese, and the usage of Japanese-style names, most ethnic minorities became invisible in Japanese society. Japan’s predatory identity as a homogenous nation gained credibility among the public and facilitated the invisibility of minority populations. However, it is also important to note that the assimilation policies in Japan were developed together with alienation policies. Social assimilation of immigrants did not necessarily translate to equal citizenship status. The Japanese government declared uniform loss of nationality to its former colonial subjects after WWII, which enabled the government to control them as foreigners. Therefore, while the ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese became invisible through severe assimilation policies by

---

20 It is not clear why this unwritten custom was abolished this year.
the authorities and their own efforts to escape racism, they were clearly defined and controlled as different populations.

Although the myth of Japan as a homogenous nation has lost its appeal today with the increase of visible new-comers starting in the 1980s, the Japanese policies toward foreign residents remains as continued subjugation (Oguma, 1995). Policies no longer actively attempt to assimilate foreign residents by treating them equally or totally excluding them; rather these policies ignore foreign residents and fix them in a marginalized position in society. As Oguma (1995) articulates, when the number of ethnic minorities became too large to ignore, Japan tried to integrate them, but when the number became small enough to ignore, it treated ethnic minorities as a nuisance. This neglect is also fuelled by what Sayad, an Algerian sociologist who studies Algerian immigration in France, articulates as “migrants’ illusion.” The illusion is a result of the belief that migrants are staying to work temporarily and would someday return to their countries of origin; therefore they would not need political or citizenship rights. Sayad sees this perspective on migrants as non-existent beings at the core of the problems concerning migrations (Sayad, 2006, as cited in Mori, 2007). This neglect of foreign residents reinforces the fantasy of an imagined community as essentially a space only for Japanese descendants and the belief that they are granting foreigners the privilege of a temporary stay. Therefore, a discourse that foreign residents who contribute to Japan can stay and those who cause disturbances should leave is a clear manifestation of a don’t disturb us mentality. As was expressed in the 2006 survey about public safety which views foreigners as security threats, these feelings are the manifestations of an exclusionary psyche in which our (read: Japanese) safety is being threatened by them (read: foreigners) (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001). According to that mentality, foreigners should be invisible and not cause disturbance to the ethnic Japanese because Japan is a space for ethnic Japanese. In this sense, the Calderon family’s demand to stay in Japan was perceived as a disturbance to the Japanese. In Japanese history, the loss at WWII was a critical discontinuity, one of the four regulatory principles of discourse analysis by Foucault. Although the myth of the homogeneous nation has lost its appeal today, it still haunts Japanese society by changing its form into the don’t disturb us mentality. Little discontinuities, such as accepting Indochinese refugees and the revisions in the
Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, have occurred which influenced discourses about foreigners in Japan. However, more substantial discontinuity to alter the Japanese homogeneous myth has yet to occur.

**Framework #3: Historical legacies of colonialism.**

The previous frameworks described how foreigners are conceptualized in contemporary contexts. The third framework asks how the historical legacy of colonialism impacted the way former colonizers view former colonized subjects. In this section, I introduce two major frameworks: colonial mimicry (H. Bhabha, 1994) and Orientalism specific to Japanese culture (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001; Kang, 1996). Colonial mimicry "is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" (H. Bhabha, 1994, p. 86). Cheng (2001) calls this mimicry a “built-in failure” (p. 106), since the colonized subjects can never become colonizers. I employ this concept of colonial mimicry in order to analyze the representation of Noriko in the newspapers.

Several scholars note that Japan uses its own form of Orientalism toward Asian countries (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001; Kang, 1996). Even though Japan is located geographically in Asia, it has long sought to identify with the West and differentiate itself from the rest of Asia. While the West still functions for Japan as both a role model to be emulated and a threat to be feared, Japan continues to see the rest of Asia as its inferior. This mentality is observable in the tendency by the Japanese government to follow the Western external pressures (e.g. accepting Indochinese refugees, the U.S. State Department’s *Trafficking in Persons Report*) that resulted in changing national government policies. However, no matter how hard Japan tries to identify with the West by adopting the techniques of Western Orientalism toward Asia, it is viewed as part of the Orient by the West. Thus, in order to remove the inferiority and stigma that Japan has taken on from Western views, Japan needed to Orientalize Asia to show its superiority (Kang, 1996). This prevalent Japanese mentality began at the beginning of the Meiji era when Japan sought to be a modern nation (1868), and the Japanese military used this concept to colonize the other Asian nations (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001). Even after WWII, this perspective is alive in contemporary Japan. For instance, Kiyoshi Abe (2001) describes how Japanese travel
magazines orientalize Southeast Asian countries by encouraging Japanese readers to adopt the French or British colonizer’s gaze in enjoying the resort destinations while forgetting its own colonial past. The tendency of newspapers to value Euro-American news over news from other Asian countries is another example (Toh, 2002). This concept of Orientalism specific to Japanese is central in my analysis of Japanese media discourses on Filipinos and Koreans, who are both Asians and colonized by Japan. This lens is especially important in order to analyze the subtlety of Asian Orientalism (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001) because Japanese newspapers often refer to the international community, when discussing Japan’s backwardness in human rights issues. How was the hierarchy of the West, Japan, and the rest of Asia seen in the reporting of the Calderon family deportation case?

**Internet as a Public Sphere?**

Although I examine newspapers and an internet discussion board in this study, the media that are used in advocacy include a variety of other sources, such as televisions, radio, books, brochures, websites and so on. Understanding the communication characteristics of each media is crucial when thinking about the advocacy strategies. This section reviews some of the important interpretative cautions that are specific to cyberspace discourses.

With the rise of internet technology, many scholars study its impact on communication styles. Some scholars use the metaphors of “electronic commons” or “virtual public space” (Jones, 2008, p. 430) to refer to cyber space. This school of thought sees the potential of the internet as a democratic space for public discussions, a mechanism that allows for the ideal “public sphere” (Habermas, 1989). Unlike the traditional mass media, such as newspapers, televisions or radios, which is one way and authoritative, the internet has enabled traditionally marginalized groups to raise their voice and contributed to the development of communities (Graham & Khosravi, 2002). For instance, Mr. Watanabe, the Calderon family lawyer, had a weblog that expressed his views about why the Calderon family should stay in Japan, which were not always expressed clearly in the mass media. However, with the popularity of the internet, there are critics who argue that the internet is not as democratic as previously hoped for. For
example, anonymity on the internet reinforces various kinds of hate speeches because people do not take responsibility for what they say (Nakamura, 2002). As Jones (2008) states, people should problematize “the assumption that technologically mediated spaces are politically neutral when, in fact, racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination are not left behind within our bodies” (p. 432). I support the latter argument that the cyberspace is not free of various discriminations and hate speeches. As I argue in Chapter Six, my data showed that racist discourses proliferated in the internet discussion board.

In terms of political participation and democratic decision making, Sunstein (2001) points out that because of users’ selective information collection, which became easier with the rise of internet technology, a collective discourse bias is likely to happen, which he calls polarization. What Sunstein (2001) describes as polarization can be seen in the exclusionist nationalist discourses in the internet in Japan. It has been pointed out that extreme political messages on the internet are used as communication tools that would enhance communication, neta (ネタ), rather than the speakers’ own political beliefs (Kitada, 2005). The discussion participants sometimes comment based on what makes the discussion more interesting, rather than their political beliefs, in order to experience a heated discussion on the internet. This excitement or intensity of a particular topic in the internet discussion boards is called matsuri (祭り), a festival. Thus, in order to experience the festival-like excitement on the internet, the discussion participants engage in discussions that cause polarization.

Ogiue (2008) identifies three types of users in internet discussion boards. The first player is a political game player with high political agendas, who considers whether or not the statement or topic is ideologically correct. The second player is an emotional game player, who considers whether or not the statement is emotionally acceptable. This player has strong feelings or attachments to the topic. The third player, literacy game player, does not have special political agendas or have strong feelings toward the topic. However, this player pretends to be angry or concerned because she or he has fun participating in matsuri, a festival. These three players shape the cascade phenomenon, a convergence in people’s opinions. It explains how people who used to have various opinions are influenced by other discourses and make decisions contrary to their own beliefs. This phenomenon is more likely to occur in cyber space. Knowing these three
types of figures helps me better understand the knowledge production mechanism about the Calderon family in cyberspace. The Calderon family case involved all aspects of the three players. First, in terms of the political aspect, how the Japanese government should handle the irregular residents’ amnesty was a political agenda. Second, in terms of the emotional aspect, the Calderon family case involved the family’s emotional separation, which evoked people’s sympathy. Finally, in the discussions about the Calderon family case, there were literacy players who participated in the discussion in order to enjoy “the festival.” How these three players on the internet enabled the appearances and the disappearances of certain discourses in cyberspace is an important question to consider.

Foucault’s insight that power has no centre is embodied in this example. No central player shapes public opinion; rather multiple players influence each other to form a cascade phenomenon. As Foucault articulated, intentions of individuals did not matter in the development of the human sciences (Foucault, 1972). The same insight holds true in the discursive formation in cyberspace. Ogiue (2008) concludes that it is not fruitful to pursue the motivation or intentions of internet users for making certain statements because the rationale for their action may not be based on their beliefs and, even if we analyze their rationales, other players may deny them. Taking an account of these cautions regarding the discursive formations in cyber space, what are the possibilities of creating democratic discourses that account for both the internet and the mass media? What kind of implications does this discursive formation in cyber space have for the advocacy work in the mass media?

**Anti-Oppressive Education Frameworks and Advocacy**

Finally, I review the anti-oppressive education frameworks in order to examine what the politics of representation in advocacy projects can learn from these frameworks. In this study, curriculum is broadly understood as a designed learning experience (MacDonald, 2000). Design refers to the intended and unintended effects of learning experiences. In curriculum studies, various scholars have provided various definitions for the word “curriculum.” Some limit their definition to formal schooling while others expand their interest to include anything related to education or various human activities. In this study, however, I limit the scope to what we learn and how we learn (Egan, 1978).
Following Foucault, *what* and *how* we learn is always situated in power dynamics of the society. Therefore, it is important to interrogate the power relations that are embedded in the knowledge production mechanisms, mechanisms that enable certain knowledge to gain credibility as truth and that silences others as false. Unlike Marxist approaches which conceptualize power as top-down, Foucault conceptualizes power as circulating and stresses the importance of analyzing power from the bottom through an “ascending analysis of power” (Foucault, 1980, p. 99). In this study, I see newspapers as a form of curriculum that educates the public about particular topics and the internet discussion board as responses to such curriculum. Although discourses on the internet discussion board are also considered curriculum because of its influences to the discussion participants and readers, the appearance and disappearance of the discourses are not planned or controlled by an individual or an organization. Furthermore, most discourses in the internet discussion board that I analyzed exist in relation to the mass media (Hirai, 2007; Kitada, 2005). Therefore, rather than looking at the internet discussion board as curriculum, I limit myself to seeing it as people’s reactions to the planned curriculum in mass media.

Since advocacy work is connected to educating the public, what and how we learn from public media discourses and people’s reactions have profound implications for advocacy work. Scholars, activists and advocates around the world face similar challenges in the politics of representation and advocacy. As Hesford and Kozol (2005) indicate, the challenge in advocacy work is “how to avoid reproducing the spectacle of victimization while also not erasing the materiality of violence and trauma, and recognizing the interdependence of material and discursive realms” (p. 13). In order to meet such a challenge, I turn to literature on anti-oppressive education. In particular, I base my analysis on Kumashiro (2000)’s articulation of four approaches to anti-oppressive education.

Kumashiro classifies the existing anti-oppressive education theories into four approaches: Education for the Other, Education about the Other, Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering, and Education that Changes Students and Society. He defines oppression as “a situation or dynamic in which certain ways of being (e.g., having certain identities) are privileged in society while others are marginalized” (p. 25),
and refers to “Others” as “groups that are traditionally marginalized in society, i.e., that are other than the norm” (p.26). His central argument is that the amalgamation of the four approaches is necessary to achieve anti-oppressive education; at the same time, educators and researchers always need to look beyond the existing frameworks.

Here, I explain Kumashiro (2000)’s frameworks in relation to advocacy projects. The first approach, Education for the Other, seeks to provide focused, therapeutic, supportive, and empowering services to people who face oppression. However, it implies that the Other is the problem, and focuses too much on individual rather than social structural issues. NGOs which support and provide services to immigrants are included in this category.

The second approach, Education about the Other, encourages the mainstream society to learn about dominant descriptions of marginalized groups. This type of education tends to present dominant narratives of the Other by positioning the Other as the expert, and to reinforce the dichotomy of “us” versus “them.” The problem with this approach is that it privileges individual empathy as its final goal. Although empathy is important, because oppression is also caused by the social structures, it is problematic in a sense that it does not challenge the systemic and structural status quo. As I argue later in detail, the way newspapers reported the Calderon family case is an example of this approach. The newspapers, especially Asahi Shimbun, were active in writing articles that arouse readers’ empathy to the Calderon family. Yet, they did not challenge or critique the structural factors that lead Filipinos to work abroad.

The third approach, Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering, can be called critical pedagogy. It takes a critical perspective on how certain groups are marginalized or privileged, and how these relations are legitimatized by social structures. It aims to transform the hegemonic structures and ideologies by critiquing the social structures that cause oppression. However, it relies on a rationalist consciousness-raising approach, which does not always lead to action to change the situation. As discussed earlier in Chapter Two, feminists and human rights activists advocated for changing the severe working conditions of Filipinas in Japan in the 1980s. However, this advocacy work also resulted in the victimized representation of Filipinas. This advocacy work can be classified as a combination of Education about the Other and Education that is Critical
of Privileging and Othering. Although it sought to critique the social structures that marginalize Filipinas in Japan, it also reinforced a dominant narrative of who Filipinas are.

According to Kumashiro (2000), these three approaches have two main problems. The first problem is that these approaches do not address the multiple and contesting identities. They all assume that identity is singular, and that oppression or empowerment has the same effect on all people who are categorized to have that particular identity by the mainstream society. The second problem is the assumption that education is predictable. The assumption that educators are able to assess the learners’ learning path and outcome is problematic because both teaching and learning entails a great deal of uncertainty and uncontrollable arenas. For example, the third category, Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering, assumes that there is a “right” way to be critical, when in fact, educators might actually impose their own viewpoints. In order to address these problems, Kumashiro turns to the last approach, Education that Changes Students and Society.

Education that Changes Students and Society, takes a post-structural and psychoanalytic approach to analyzing oppression. Here, oppression is seen as a complex, multiple, interconnected and situated phenomenon. This approach looks at knowledge production and tries to alter discourses and citational practices. The following quote shows the essence of this approach: “[W]e are not trying to move to a better place; rather we are just trying to move” (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 46). Kei Hisada (1989)’s non-fiction book that changed the representation of Filipinas into cunning and sturdy Asian women is an interesting advocacy case to examine. She sought to de-victimize the Filipinas by presenting alternative representations of Filipina. Yet, the Filipinas in Japan strongly opposed this alternative representation by a Japanese woman. While it sought to alternate the victim discourse and gave agency to the representation of the Filipinas, it also became another dominant discourse about Filipinas. In this sense, this work is another example of Education about the Other. However, I argue at the same time that this case can also be an example of the Education that Changes Students and Society, because the controversies among the Filipina activists and the media producers including Hisada showed that particular representations can be contested. Kumashiro (2000) emphasizes
the importance of repeating the discourse *with a difference* in the fourth approach. In this sense, Hisada tried to represent a different view of Filipinas, and the Filipina activists opposed to that representation. The controversies among them educated the public about the contested nature of the representations and the lived realities.

In politics of advocacy, it is extremely important to consider “how experiences of violation and suffering are represented, by whom, in what venues and for which audiences” (Hesford & Kozol, 2005). Kumashiro (2000)’s framework on anti-oppressive education enables us to examine the different approaches to advocacy and representational politics by focusing on how the oppression is conceptualized and how to bring about change. As Kumashiro states in the fourth approach, what would an advocacy look like if the advocates abandoned the idea of moving to a *better place*, and incorporated the idea that the advocacy should just try to *move*?

In this chapter, I discussed the main analytical frameworks that I use in investigating how the mass media and the internet discussion board portrayed the Calderon family case. Foucauldian notion of discourse and archaeology of knowledge are the main framework throughout the study. For instance, the methodology I chose to engage with has its foundation in the Foucauldian notion of discourse, and I examined my data using various Foucauldian concepts. Each theoretical framework on how foreigners are conceptualized – contemporary citizenship, nationalism and historical legacies of colonialism – are used to analyze discourses on the newspapers and internet discussion board. Engaging with various theories to analyze the discourses in cyberspace is helpful in my analysis of the internet discussion board. I especially draw from and critique Ogiue’s framework on three types of users in Chapter Six. The challenge in the advocacy work is to avoid the victimization of the subjects while attending to violence and oppression (Hesford & Kozol, 2005). Anti-oppressive education approaches would be useful to the future advocacy because these approaches help us situate various forms of oppression and address the ways to work against them.
Chapter 4: Data Collection and Methodology

In order to investigate the representation of the Calderon family, I engaged in Foucauldian archaeology of knowledge and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) using two sets of data: newspaper articles and a popular internet discussion board. Specifically, I chose to engage with Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) in CDA, which contextualizes discourses historically and socio-politically. This chapter explains my data collection methods, methodological issues and four steps in DHA I used to analyze data.

Data Collection

I chose newspapers and an internet discussion board as data sources in order to understand Japanese society more comprehensively. I was first interested in this case because of the drastic difference in the discourses that were produced in the Japanese mass media and cyber space. Newspapers alone neither reflect the national psyche, nor does the internet discussion board. However, by combining these two, I was able to better analyze the Japanese national psyche towards global migration and citizenship issues. Here, national psyche is broadly understood as an atmosphere or feeling in the nation toward a specific topic.

Among the five major newspapers in Japan, the study focuses on the two largest newspapers: Yomiuri Shimbun (読売新聞) and Asahi Shimbun (朝日新聞). Yomiuri Shimbun has the largest national circulation, which is 10,016,894 for the morning edition, and Asahi Shimbun has the second largest, which has a circulation of 8,042,799 for the morning edition (Japan Audit Bureau of Circulations, 2009).21 Although these newspapers are fairly similar in terms of style and content because of the competition to attract readers (Toh, 2002), there is a general understanding among the public that Asahi Shimbun takes a liberal perspective whereas Yomiuri Shimbun is more conservative. My time period of analysis was between October 2008, when the articles about the Calderon family first appeared, and July 2009, when the Ministry of Justice revised the guidelines for the special permit to stay in Japan. I identified 72 newspaper articles – 43 in Asahi and 29 in Yomiuri – for this research.

---

21 The circulation figures are based on the number of newspapers sold.
Japanese newspapers tend to report news sensationally and torrentially, which creates a boom of interest on a specific topic at a specific time (Toh, 2002). This interest involves over-reporting on a certain topic at a certain time, but once the boom is over, the topic is typically abandoned. For the Calderon family case, this boom occurred from March to April 2009. Concentrating on this time period, I paid attention to other socio-political factors that may have influenced the way people reacted to this case. I also focused on three actors: staff journalists, experts on immigration matters and the readers. Newspapers often present researchers’ or “experts’” (yushikisha, 有識者) perspectives to the readers. By paying attention to the columns and opinions expressed by them, I was able to determine which perspectives the newspapers selected and favoured. Analyzing the newspaper sections on letters from the readers, although there were not many, enabled me to examine which voices get published. Studying the letters and staff journalists’ articles, I was able to determine the messages that the newspapers tried to convey to the readers.

One of the largest internet discussion boards in Japan, 2 channel (2ちゃんねる) is a rich field for analysis of discourses on the internet. Boasting over 8.8 million users, this anonymous discussion board has numerous threads on diverse topics (Web Advertising Bureau, 2008). However, 2 channel is perceived negatively as a criminal hot spot or lawless area by the mainstream mass media because there were some incidents in which people announced crimes in 2 channel. One must be able to understand the slangs that are specific to 2 channel in order to participate in the discussion. In addition, drawings called the ASCII art or Shift JIS art are frequently used in 2 channel, although I did not include them in my analysis. The mainstream mass media regard these unique communication styles as immature. Yet, an analysis of 2 channel offers an opportunity to examine discourses that never appear in mainstream mass media. Because there were numerous threads concerning the Calderon family deportation case, I have specifically chosen threads on the international news section. The international news section deals with international news and foreign affairs in general, and includes Japanese domestic news in which people from those countries are involved. All the threads that I analyzed derived from existing mass media news sources. This choice of threads enabled me to analyze how the users reacted to the news produced by the mass media. I collected 35
threads, with total of 5,276 postings, for this research. Kitada (2005) states that 2 channel is a space that links the users’ ironic and sceptical views towards mass media and their inclination to communicate among themselves. Discourses on 2 channel will not be mainstream public opinion because the communication within it must always distance itself from and be critical of the mass media (Hirai, 2007). Keeping these cautions in mind, I focused on how the Calderon family was represented in 2 channel in relation to its mass media representations. Therefore, my basic position in analyzing the discourses in 2 channel was that 2 channel does not exist in and of itself; rather 2 channel exists in relation to the discourses produced in mass media. Three players identified by Ogie (2008) – political game player, emotional game player, literacy game player – were also used as an analytical framework in analyzing the threads.

I collected the newspaper articles through Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun’s database, which were available through the East Asian Library at the University of Toronto. The 2 channel data were collected through the internet. Because I had to search for the past threads, I paid a fee to access data. All the collected data were written in Japanese and my fluency in Japanese and English facilitated the collection and analysis of the data. Because I discuss the issues of mistranslation in Chapter Seven, I am aware that translation from one language to another can sometimes cause confusion and misunderstanding. In order to avoid confusion and to give readers enough contexts, whenever I translated a newspaper article or threads in the internet discussion board, I provided the original Japanese statements in footnotes.

Methodology

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)’s central purpose is to “critique … dominant discourses and genres that effect inequalities, injustices and oppression in contemporary society” (Van Leeuwen, 2009, p. 278). CDA researchers adopt the Foucauldian notion of power as a systemic and constitutive characteristic of society. Following the Foucauldian notion of discursive power, texts are not seen as a manifest of a single power; rather they are seen as a site of struggles by multiple competing powers. CDA has been criticized for

---

22 In the reference list, I only provide entry URL for 2 channel because not all past threads have URL.
privileging the analysts’ own interpretations of texts without valid evidences (Widdowson, 1995). Therefore, it is important for CDA analysts to make explicit their own position on how to engage with data and justify theoretically their interpretation of data (Van Leeuwen, 2009; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). In addition, my challenge lies in how to analyze and substantiate the silenced discourses. Although Foucault mentions the importance of silenced discourses, he does not mention how to investigate and substantiate the silenced discourses. Rather, he only focuses the social regularities that enabled certain discourses to emerge. Therefore, the methodological challenge in this study is how to substantiate the silence. In this way, I extend the Foucauldian methodology of archaeology of knowledge. In order to address the critique to CDA, I have made my positions clear in the Introduction and throughout the thesis. I also analyzed the data in relation to various theories, either by applying them or by critiquing them. In terms of substantiating silence, I quantified articles whenever I can (e.g., in Chapter Seven, Sarah’s absence was compared to Arlan and Noriko’s existence).

Different people notice different silences. If other researchers were to analyze the datasets I examined for this study, they would find silences that I would not have noticed. Therefore, researching silence is inevitably related to the researchers’ positions and research questions.

Of the various CDA methodologies, I decided to adopt the Discourse-Historical Approach (DHA) which has been extensively developed by Ruth Wodak, a critical discourse analyst based in Lancaster University. DHA is an interdisciplinary and problem-oriented methodology which seeks to analyze society through the relationships between fields of action, genres, discourses and texts. Compared to other CDA methodologies, DHA focuses on the socio-political dimensions of data analysis rather than cognitive aspects, and situates discourses in a historical context. It does not rely on grounded theories; instead, theories are used to develop adequate understanding of social problems (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). The principles of triangulation are central to DHA; empirical observations, theories/methods, and background information must be linked and re-visited during the investigations. Intertextuality and interdiscursivity of texts, genres and discourses, as well as recontextualization are important in DHA.

Intertextuality explores links between several texts. This study explored the relationships
between the emergence and circulation of discourses in different newspapers and the internet discussion board. Interdiscursivity refers to the interconnection of different discourses. For instance, discourses on Filipino migrants in Japan are connected to discourses on immigration, citizenship, and national security. In addition, recontextualization, another important concept in DHA, seeks to analyze how certain discourses gain new meanings when they are decontextualized from original contexts and recontextualized in new contexts. This concept explains how raw data, such as the Calderon family and Mr. Watanabe’s press conference, or the opinions of legal and immigration experts are selectively organized to support claims in newspapers or in the internet discussion board. This notion also speaks to the discourses produced in 2 channel that are based on Filipino newspaper sources. Intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization supplement what Foucault (1972) calls exteriority as one of the four regulatory principles of discourse analysis. Exteriority refers to the external conditions that enable certain discourses to proliferate. These three notions refer to how certain discourses proliferate by looking at the relationships between texts, discourses and contexts. Therefore, intertextuality, interdiscursivity and recontextualization are useful in identifying the specific details on exteriority. I chose to utilize this methodology because of its focus on socio-political aspects, and because similar topics on migration and national ethos have adopted this methodology (e.g., Heer et al., 2008; Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

My research was a combination of the three steps of DHA analysis (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009) and comparative analysis of the newspapers and the internet discussion board. Therefore, it was a four-step approach of analysis. First, I identified the topic, which is discourses about the Calderon family; second, I identified dominant themes in the newspapers and internet discussion board by focusing on the texts themselves; third, I analyzed these themes in historical, political and social contexts; and fourth, I compared and contrasted the dominant themes that emerged in the newspapers and the internet discussion board. After comparing the dominant themes, I revisited each text again.

First, I identified the contents and topics in the discourses surrounding the Calderon family as Filipinos and as irregular migrants. After identifying specific contents and topics of the discourse, I investigated the discursive strategies used in the texts. In
this second step, the following guiding questions from Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 93) were especially helpful.

1. How are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?
2. What characteristics, qualities and features are attributed to social actors, objects, phenomena/events and processes?
3. What arguments are employed in the discourse in question?
4. From what perspective are these nominations, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are the respective utterances articulated overtly; are they intensified or mitigated?

Through these guiding questions, I identified dominant themes in each source. This second step extends the Foucauldian analysis. Traditional Foucauldian analysis focuses on the macro perspectives and often leaves out the analysis of the texts themselves. Therefore, this micro focus on texts complements the traditional Foucauldian analysis in order to analyze discursive formation. In addition to the above questions, in order to understand how certain words are used in contexts, I conducted key-words-in-context concordance analysis although this method was not part of the DHA methodology. This analysis situates words in the context, and finds what kind of words appear within the range of words that appear before and after the specific word. For example, through this method, I identified that the word “Calderon” was frequently used in the internet discussion board with the negative connotation of “criminals.” As coding schemes, I categorized discourses into four types: discourses about the Calderon family, supporters, mass media and the government. From these categories, I reorganized them into themes depending on the data types. Because the newspapers emphasized the representations of the Calderon family, and the roles of the government, I identified three major themes: an innocent daughter and the deceitful parents; culturally Japanese Noriko; and the tensions between best interests of the child versus the enforcement of immigration law. For 2 channel data sets, I identified four themes: the rejection of the family and the supporters; comparison of the Japanese; Philippine and South Korean governments; the mass media cannot be trusted; and the proposal for actual actions. In the second stage of newspaper analysis, I also paid attention to three actors: staff journalists, experts on immigration matters and the readers. By paying attention to these three actors, I was able to examine
the perspectives that the newspaper selected and favoured. Similarly, in analyzing 2
channel, I paid attention to the three different players – political game player, emotional
game player and the literacy game player – on the internet discussion board, as identified
by Ogiue (2008). This framework enabled me to analyze cyber space discourses because
in cyber space, people often state what they do not necessarily believe in (Kitada, 2005;
Ogiue, 2008). Overall, the second step to identify dominant themes was an inductive
thematic analysis in which I start with the data rather than a preset hypothesis. Because
the content and the quality of the information are different in two sources, the newspapers
and the internet discussion board were coded separately.

In the third step, I revisited Foucault’s notion of archives. Social rules and
regularities that determined a particular discourse to emerge were examined from the
following aspects of social, political and historical contexts (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 118):

1. Social actors and fields of political action
2. Communication obstacles and misunderstandings
3. Contradictory validity claims imbued by political or ideological orientation
4. Salient topics and discursive features
5. Aspects of historical change
6. Interdiscursive relationships, particularly overlaps with other discourses
   (such as discourses about globalization, migration or freedom/liberalism)

In the final step, I compared and contrasted the themes that emerged from both
sources. My intention here was not to simply compare the themes in these two media;
rather I was interested in the intertextuality of these media in the discursive formation. To
achieve this goal, I chose the internet threads that originated from the mass media sources.
This step enabled me to examine the dynamic interactions between the two media in
conceptualizing foreigners, as well as to capture a more comprehensive picture of the
Japanese society’s gaze toward foreigners. This comparison step also enabled me to study
the silenced discourses in each media. Through these four steps, I answered my two main
research questions: How does Japanese society conceptualize the former colonized
subjects who now live in Japan? What are the implications for the media advocacy work
in claiming irregular residents’ rights?

This chapter delineated the data collection methods, methodological issues and
four steps of DHA in analyzing the representation of the Calderon family. I explained
that the methodological challenge for all CDA analysts was to make explicit of their own positions because CDA had been criticized for not substantiating the claim adequately. The four steps of the analysis helped me identify the themes, analyze the texts itself, analyze the texts in relation to macro perspectives and compare the themes in each media. The next two chapters address the analysis of data sets in newspapers and an internet discussion board. Chapter Seven is devoted to the silenced discourses. The readers should be aware of the methodological challenges I described in this chapter when reading the following three chapters.
Chapter 5: Newspaper Analysis

This chapter explores how the story of the Calderon family was represented in two Japanese newspapers. I analyzed the two leading Japanese newspapers, Asahi Shim bun (N=43 articles) and Yomiuri Shim bun (N=29 articles), in this research. They were selected on the basis of broad circulation and different ideological stances. Yomiuri has the largest circulation in Japan and is generally considered politically and ideologically conservative. Asahi has the second largest circulation and attracts a liberal readership. The average letters per article was 664 letters in Asahi and 581 letters in Yomiuri. As you can see from the figure and table below (Figure 1, Table 2), Asahi was more actively reporting the Calderon family case. It is also clear that most articles in both papers concerning the Calderon family appeared in March 2009. However, when I broke down the number of each paper into the local and national circulations, I found that the Asahi Saitama prefecture local circulation (where the Calderon family lived) was constantly reporting on this case, especially November 2008 through March 2009.

Figure 1: The Number of Articles in Each Newspaper

---

23 The Japanese language measures length by the counting the number of characters.
Table 2: Numbers of Articles in Each Newspaper

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Oct-08</th>
<th>Nov-08</th>
<th>Dec-08</th>
<th>Jan-09</th>
<th>Feb-09</th>
<th>Mar-09</th>
<th>Apr-09</th>
<th>May-09</th>
<th>Jun-09</th>
<th>Jul-09</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Articles in Asahi Shimbun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saitama</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Articles in Yomiuri Shimbun</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saitama</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of articles increased significantly in March 2009 when the family decided to separate and live in different countries on March 7, 2009. However, because Arlan once again asked the immigration official to allow his family to remain together in Japan, immigration authorities on March 9, 2009 took Arlan into custody. The immigration authorities discharged Sarah and Noriko until March 16, 2009, but told the family that if they did not make a decision by March 13, 2009 the family would be deported to the Philippines. This dramatic separation of the family caught the mass media’s attention, which contributed to the burgeoning number of stories reported in March 2009.

**Common Themes in the Newspapers**

From steps two and three of the Discourse-Historical Analysis, which examined the texts and situated them in broad cultural, historical and political contexts, I identified two common themes in the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun* newspaper reports.

1. An innocent daughter and deceitful parents
2. The tension between the best interests of the child versus the enforcement of an immigration law

Theme #1 delineates how each member of the Calderon family was represented in the newspapers. Although the family was generally represented as good neighbours, my
close analysis revealed that while Arlan and Sarah were depicted as illegal aliens who should be held accountable for their actions, Noriko was constructed as culturally Japanese and therefore should remain in Japan. Theme #2 highlights the tension between the best interests of the child to stay with her family in Japan and the enforcement of Japanese immigration law to deport her parents back to the Philippines.

**Theme #1: An Innocent Daughter and the Deceitful Parents**

In both newspapers, the Calderon family was generally described as good neighbours who were immersed in their local community. The emphasis was on the ordinariness of the family and that they lived peacefully. Both newspapers introduced quotes from their neighbours, friends and colleagues to show that the family was immersed in their local community. For example, articles said Noriko was a cheerful 7th grade student, who had a lot of friends and loved music, Arlan was described as a hard-working leader in the company he worked for, and his subordinates loved and admired him. Sarah was depicted as a housewife who took care of her family (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, March 12).

However, a closer analysis of representation of the family revealed that the parents were also depicted as illegal aliens whereas the daughter was represented as an innocent girl who should remain in Japan. Such media representations are similar to previous representations of irregular residents who asked for special permits to remain in Japan (E. Suzuki, 2009). The NGOs which support irregular residents claim that they have rights as people who contribute to the Japanese society regardless of having a child. However, in order to seek wider support from the host society, emphasis was placed on the children’s efforts as hard-working students who want to continue learning in Japan, and not on the efforts of these children’s parents (Ibid). The media reporting also followed this tendency perhaps because of the prevailing notions in Japan that children are innocent and that they cannot choose their parents. Thus, the representations of children tended to be favourable whereas their parents’ irregularity was conversely emphasized.
Figure 2 explains how this mechanism works by using the metaphor of a light and a shadow created by the sun. In this metaphorical explanation, the newspaper is understood as the sun, the representation of Noriko as an object that the sun highlights, and the representation of the Calderon couple as in the shadow of Noriko’s representation. The more the newspapers emphasized Noriko’s Japanese-ness and innocence, the more they also highlighted the parents’ irregular entry into Japan. Thus, the parents’ shadow existed in relation to the child’s light and innocence, and the newspapers created these divided family representation. The word “illegal” appeared in almost every article as a way to briefly summarize the Calderon family case, and became a constant descriptor of Arlan and Sarah Calderon. Noriko, who was born and raised in Japan and only spoke Japanese, was portrayed as an innocent victim of her illegal parents. This victim discourse manifested in comments such as “Poor Noriko (kawaiso, かわいそう)” in the interviews with neighbours, classmates or “experts.” While the newspapers indirectly represented the parents as deceitful Filipinos who used falsified passports to enter Japan, they represented the daughter as a faithful culturally-Japanese girl. This set of representations strikingly resembles the previous set of representations of deceitful Filipinas and faithful Japanese men in the 1990s as discussed in Chapter Two. In the previous representations, Filipinas were represented as sturdy and cunning women who would cheat on innocent Japanese men; therefore Japanese men were victims of Filipinas. In the representations of the Calderon family, culturally-Japanese Noriko was a victim of her sturdy Filipino parents who entered Japan with falsified passports. This representation can be seen as a reversal of the colonial history and war. Before the end of the WWII, the Japanese military invaded the Philippines; therefore Filipinos were victims of Japanese
colonialism. However, these contemporary representations completely reversed the colonial history, and the innocent culturally-Japanese person became victims of cunning and deceitful Filipinos. These sets of representations are in line with what Kiyoshi Abe (2001) calls an exclusionary psyche that our (read: Japanese) safety is being threatened by them (read: Filipinos). This exclusionary psyche is reinforced and fuelled by the Japanese mass media’s tendency to forget the colonial past.

**Theme #2: Culturally Japanese Noriko**

The emphasis on Noriko’s Japanese-ness was clear in *Asahi*’s reports on the press conference. The Calderon family and their lawyer, Mr. Watanabe, held several press conferences throughout the Calderon’s case. However, unlike other press conferences, which mostly targeted the Japanese mass media, this press conference was different. It was held in February 2009 at the Foreign Correspondents’ Club of Japan by request of a British journalist (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2009, February 11).  


In contrast to the depiction of Noriko, Arlan was framed as one who cannot become Japanese. *Asahi* published a follow up report that included an interview with Arlan in the Philippines on April 26, 2009 (Matsui, 2009). In this article, the author, who is stationed in Manila, introduced quotes from newspapers in the Philippines indicating that not only does Arlan speak Japanese fluently, he looks Japanese, and that there was even misinformation that Arlan could no longer speak Tagalog. Furthermore, Matsui

---

24 This press conference was effective in catching the attention of the international community, and it should be understood as a similar strategy to appealing this case to the United Nations Human Rights Committee.


26 The *Philippine Star* stated “Arlan not only speaks Japanese fluently, but even looks Japanese, with slanted eyes, fair complexion, crewcut hair and bushy eyebrows” (Santos, 2009).

27 The *Philippine Star* reported that in an interview at the Manila airport, Arlan could barely speak English and answered questions in Tagalog (Santos, 2009). This statement and the above statement (footnote No. 25) by the *Philippine Star* seem to suggest the alienation technique of Arlan by the Filipino
added his own impression about Arlan saying, Arlan “loves Japan from the bottom of his heart” and included Arlan’s direct quote, “I cannot show this town to Noriko. Japan is beautiful and everybody works diligently. People here do nothing and waste their time.” To Matsui, Arlan’s words “sounded like a Japanese person who saw a slum for the first time” (my emphasis). Matsui stated that there was no doubt that a huge change occurred in Arlan from his life in Japan, which transformed Arlan to be like a Japanese person. Then, the author continued “weren’t there any ways to accept a foreigner who had been so immersed in Japan?” (my emphasis). In his conclusion, Matsui encouraged Noriko to visit “her parents’ country” to find its attractive and charming culture. Noriko’s quote “I am Japanese” and the description of the Philippines as “her parents’ country” were used effectively to refer to Noriko’s cultural Japanese-ness. However, the discourses about Arlan assumed that Arlan can never become Japanese. In other words, he can look or sound like a Japanese person, but he remains a foreigner, a distinct Other.

How do we make sense of Noriko’s representation as a “culturally-Japanese” girl? Homi Bhabha (1994) introduces the concept of colonial mimicry, which “is the desire for a reformed, recognizable Other, as a subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite” (p. 122). He calls this “almost the same, but not quite” phenomena as an “ambivalence of mimicry” (emphasis in original) (p. 123). This ambivalence turns colonial subjects into “‘partial’ presence” which refers to an “incomplete and virtual” subject (p. 123). I argue that the representation of Noriko as a culturally-Japanese Filipina is a manifestation of the colonial mimicry discourse.

In the newspapers, Noriko was almost Japanese, but not quite. Although she was born and raised in Japan and could only speak Japanese, she cannot become a Japanese national until she turns 20 years old and go through a naturalization process. Japanese citizenship is granted only on the basis of blood kinship or through naturalization. This
representation of Noriko suggests the ambivalent appearance of *jus soli* (birthright citizenship) principle in a country of strong *jus sanguinis* (blood kinship citizenship) principle. Following Homi Bhabha, I use the word ambivalent in order to show the subjects’ incompleteness. If we suppose a complete national subject as an adult Japanese national, Noriko is fixed into a partial subject position in double senses: as a child and as a Filipina. As a 14-year-old girl, she was an incomplete subject because of her age and her nationality. This conflicting situation constructed her as an ambivalent colonial mimicry subject.

**Theme #3: Tensions between the Best Interests of the Child versus the Enforcement of Immigration Law**

In both newspapers, the overall discourse presented was a conflict between the best interests of the child and the enforcement of Japanese immigration law by punishing her parents. Noriko was born and raised in Japan, and she could only speak Japanese; therefore the family supporters and the newspaper authors believed that her best interest was to continue living in Japan with her family. In this context, the child’s right to family unity under the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child was discussed in courts and in mass media. The Calderon family lawyer, Mr. Watanabe, embraced this argument, and was stated: “No matter how peacefully they are living, if it is only parents, there is no other way than to go back. However, we must protect the child. Protecting the child’s rights leads to the protection of the family” (*Asahi Shimbun*, 2008, November 20). On the other hand, the couple had entered Japan with forged passports 16 years prior. To Japanese immigration authorities, this falsification action was “more vicious than overstayers” (*Yomiuri Shimbun*, 2009, March 15). How does and should Japan balance this conflict between the best interests of the child and the enforcement of the

---


immigration law? Regardless of their different ideological stances, this question was the central theme in the Calderon family case newspaper reports.

However, this media-driven dichotomy was called into question by two legal scholars: Koki Abe from Kanagawa University and Akio Morishima from Nagoya University. Both scholars argued that the dichotomy posed by the mass media gave the impression that it was against the law to allow irregular residents to stay in Japan. Yet, because Japanese immigration law stipulates individual amnesty, it was not appropriate to represent this case in this dichotomised way (Koki Abe, 2009; Morishima, 2009a).

Morishima (2009a) classified how Japanese society conceptualized law into three categories. The first category was force by the state power. The second was general rules to keep the public order. The third category was positive judgement towards the value of rules such as justice and virtues. He asserted that in general, Japanese mass media have tended to view the law in a rigid and formalistic way (the first category), and that when the law and the needs of the society (the second and the third category) do not match, they tended to seek for solutions other than law, such as political decisions. Despite the fact that Japanese immigration law indicates that the decision to regularize irregular residents rests on the Minister of Justice, the mass media made it sound as if this decision making process itself (not the result of the decision) was a political decision that was not stipulated in the immigration law. For instance, Asahi’s headline read “Minister of Justice Mori should take a decisive step” (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, March 12). The fact that the mass media preferred to represent the decision as a political one was one of the evidences that the Japanese mass media viewed the law as rigid and inflexible. Koki Abe (2009) argues that although the mass media represented the national immigration law as an absolute power, in theory, the national immigration law serves under the international human rights laws and obligations. He critiques the verdicts in the Calderon case which stated that the child’s best interests and the family’s rights could only be considered within the framework of the national immigration system (Koki Abe, 2009).

In March 2009, the family decided to live separately in Japan and the Philippines. Unlike the British Broadcasting Corporation headline, “Girl chooses Japan over parents”

---

(BBC, 2009, April 14), which explicitly focused on Noriko’s will and decision, the Japanese newspapers did not focus on Noriko’s decision. For instance, *Asahi*’s headline read, “the Calderon parents to go back to the Philippines leaving the daughter behind” (N. Ito, 2009), and the *Yomiuri*’s headline read, “Only the daughter to stay, a decision ‘for the future’” (March 14, 2009). Therefore, both newspapers, regardless of their ideological stances, gave the impression that the decision was more of an order from the immigration authority. In other words, the readers received the message that the Calderon family had little or no agency as decision makers. This tendency may be related to the Japanese language structure in which subjects actors are not necessarily specified; thus it becomes hard to determine who does what. The Japanese language structure plays an important role in thinking about DHA analysis’ first question, “[H]ow are persons, objects, phenomena/events, processes and actions named and referred to linguistically?” posed by Reisigl and Wodak (2009, p. 93). The Calderon family was referred to as agency-less subjects in their decision making partly due to the Japanese language structure, which does not specify the subject actors. All these newspaper representations contributed to the image of a weak family fighting against the strong state power.

**Differences Between the Newspapers**

The previous section discussed the common themes in the two major newspapers’ coverage of the Calderon family case. This section explores the themes that diverged. As discussed in the previous section, the central question in both newspapers was, how does and should Japan balance the conflict between the child’s best interest and the strict

---

33 「カルデロンさんの両親、長女残し帰国へ 埼玉・在留不許可の比人一家」 (N. Ito, 2009), 「比一家、長女だけ残留『将来のため』決断 親類の下、同じ中学に」 (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, March 14).

34 For example, in order to translate the following example, I added [they] or [their] because the subjects was not specified in the Japanese article. The readers can assume that the subject of the sentence is the Calderon couple, but the Japanese language can function without the subject. “Filipinos in Minami-cho, Warabi city, Arlan Cruz Calderon (36) and his wife Sara (36), who had been issued a deportation order because of the illegal entry, went back to their original country. Although [their] hope to remain in Japan with their 8th grade daughter, Noriko (13), did not come true, [they] repeated the words of gratitude”. 「不法入国で強制送還となった蕨市南町のフィリピン人、カルデロン・アラン・クルズさん（36）と妻サラさん（38）が13日、帰国の途についた。中学2年の長女、のり子さん（13）と3人で日本に残りたいという願いはかなわなかったが、何度も感謝の言葉を述べた」 (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, April 14).
enforcement of immigration law? Yomiuri’s response to this question was that the government’s action was “a realistic action considering the immigration control policies which should be rigorous” (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, March 15).\(^{35}\) Asahi, on the contrary, believed that the child’s best interest should prevail over the enforcement of law, and that the government should have permitted the entire family to stay in Japan (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, March 12). The liberal Asahi was actively advocating for the Calderon family’s regularization while the conservative Yomiuri was rather reluctant in their regularization.

Reflecting these basic understandings, each newspaper favoured different opinions. Yomiuri was more open to reporting diverse opinions by readers and interviewees. For example, out of four “experts” who commented on this case, one (a former immigration bureau official) supported the Ministry of Justice’s decision, one (an NGO worker who supports foreigners) was against it, and two (a university professor and an NGO worker) proposed alternative solutions (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, March 10; Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, March 14). Their alternative solutions included an opinion that the mother could have stayed in Japan to ensure the child’s rights and an opinion that an alternative penalty was an option versus deportation. In contrast, in Asahi, all three experts (a university professor and two different NGO workers) were clearly against the decision and called for the family to be allowed to remain in Japan (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 27; En’yo, 2009; N. Ito & Seki, 2009). In addition, in Asahi, the negative opinions about the family’s stay in Japan were reported in depersonalized ways, while the positive opinions identified the speakers’ affiliations and sometimes names. In terms of the letters to the editor, Yomiuri published two letters and Asahi six.\(^{36}\) Of Asahi’s six letters, two were published in the national circulation and four in the local regional circulation. In both Asahi and Yomiuri, one letter for each opinion (one against the Ministry’s decision and one for the decision) were published in the national circulation. However, in Asahi, out of six letters published, only one was against allowing the family to stay in Japan. Asahi’s publishing decisions clearly favoured the letters to the editor that

\(^{35}\) 「（略）厳格であるべき出入国管理の中で、現実的な対応をしたといえよう」(Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, March 15).

\(^{36}\) Apart from the letters to the editor, Asahi also published one haiku (a form of a short poetry in 17 letters), which focused on the sadness of a 13 year old girl being separated from her family.
were in line with its position, which was to allow the entire family to remain in Japan. The newspaper which was generally considered liberal, namely Asahi, was trying to converge opinions into its position, while the relatively conservative newspaper, Yomiuri, published more diverse opinions. Yet, because Asahi’s goal was to regularize the family, its articles had to present converging opinions regardless of people’s positions.

Here, the line between advocacy and indoctrination becomes blurry. In their articles about the citizenship education in Canada, Sears and Hughes (2006) define indoctrination as “the closing down of alternatives through the promotion of single, unassailable views and the shunning of evidence,” and education as “the opening of possibilities through the exploration of alternative understandings, the critical application of evidence and argument and the development of the skills and dispositions necessary to act on the possibilities” (p. 4). Compared to education, advocacy is more geared toward influencing or convincing others, but convincing advocacy works are grounded in thorough evidences. Yomiuri and Asahi both presented the letters to the editors as their evidences to support their positions. The newspapers’ desire to present themselves as objective and evidence-oriented manifests in their usage of the letters to the editors. However, Asahi’s publishing decisions to favour the letters that were in line with its position shows the blurry line between indoctrination and advocacy.

The two newspapers further differed in how they reported the press conference at the Foreign Correspondents’ Club of Japan. Asahi published the headline “I am Japanese,” while Yomiuri used milder expression to report the same incident. Asahi included the following as Noriko’s direct quote following the provocative headline: “I was born in Japan. My heart is also Japanese. Please let us stay” (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 11). Is one considered Japanese if she was born in Japan, or must one of her parents be Japanese? Does one have to be “Japanese” in order to live legally in Japan? Asahi provokes the readers by publishing the phrase “I am Japanese.” In contrast, Yomiuri never included this strong phrase. Instead, Yomiuri introduced the following as Noriko’s direct quotes: “I want to live together with my family in Japan,” “In order to continue studying in Japan, I am asking [you] to let me stay with my family” (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, February 11).

37 「日本生まれの私は心も日本人。どうか受け入れてほしい」 (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 11).
Perhaps, the phrase “I am Japanese” was more acceptable to readers of Asahi, which is considered more liberal than Yomiuri. In addition, the Asahi’s goal to regularize the Calderon family enabled it to publish such a provocative title.

Compared to Yomiuri, which used a more “factual” based reporting style concerning this case, Asahi articulated an emotional narrative reporting style that made this case a “story.” This reporting style was especially prevalent in the Asahi article published in the local Saitama edition, which reported the family’s parting at the Narita airport. “A month had passed after making a difficult decision. Three of them tried to act as casual as possible. Yet, they cherished their moments together as a family. [The couple] occasionally looked into the pictures which they could see Noriko’s growth and the three of them slept together with Noriko in the middle. ... Noriko, who had skipped classes to be the airport with her parents, looked jubilant and was taking pictures of the lobby by the cell phone camera. A change occurred in her about an hour before the boarding time. Her eyes welled up with tears. The parents wiped her tears with their hands and hugged her over and over, reluctant to be separated” (N. Ito, 2009).

Most articles published in Asahi included at least one or more quotes from the Calderon family members, which were often in contrast with the quotes by the Minister of Justice or the Tokyo Immigration Bureau officials. Arlan’s emotional quote, “If Noriko weren’t 13 years old, my wife and I could go back [to the Philippines] at any time. But 13-year old Noriko cannot do anything; she needs her father and mother,” contrasted Minister of Justice Mori’s, “It was decided that the entire family cannot get the special permit to remain in Japan. We told him this” (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 14). In another

---

38 「『家族と一緒に日本で暮らしたい』（中略）「のり子さんは『日本で勉強を続けるために両親と一緒に暮らさせてほしい』と話した」（Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, February 11）。

「苦渋の選択から1カ月。3人は努めて普段通りに過ごしてきた。それでも、ときにのり子さんの成長が見て取れるアルバムの写真に見入ったり、のり子さんを真ん中に川の字になって寝たり、親子3人の時間を大切にしてきた。（中略）学校を早退し、両親と一緒に空港に来たのり子さんは、携帯電話でロビー内の写真を撮ったりして明るい表情を見せていた。曇ったのは搭乗時刻の1時間ほど前。顔はだんだん涙でぐしゃぐしゃになった。両親は、あふれ出るのり子さんの涙を手でふいてあげながら、強く、何度も何度も抱きしめ、別れを惜しんだ」（N. Ito, 2009）。

40 「『のり子が13歳じゃなければ、私も妻もいつでも帰れる。13歳ののり子は何もできないから、お父さん、お母さんが必要です』（中略）閣議後の記者会見で森法相は『一家全員での在留特別許可はしないと決定している。その旨の告知をした』と述べた」（Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 14）。
article, Minister of Justice Mori commented after the cabinet meeting at the conference: “We will grant the daughter a special permit to remain in Japan if she wants to continue her study under appropriate supervision, such as relatives.” In response, the Calderon couple said, “If we could choose and decide as such, we would have decided much earlier” (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 28). By drawing this contrast, Asahi drew a picture of the powerless Calderon family begging the powerful Ministry of Justice. This representation could be classified as Education about the Other (Kumashiro, 2000) in which the mainstream newspaper journalists presented a dominant narrative of Other (the Calderon family). Although the journalists sought to critique the powerful government, they represented the Calderon family as powerless and feeble without agency. The representations of the Japanese government and its agency in relation to its citizens and foreigners is another theme worthy of future research.

In terms of how the Philippines was represented, Asahi provided more context regarding the Philippine economy and its problems as an emigrant country. Although neither newspaper reported on that matter during the period when the case was most hotly debated, Asahi published a belated acknowledgement of this issue in late April 2009. In this follow-up article, which included an interview with Arlan after he returned to the Philippines, Matsui (2009) wrote that instances like the Calderon family case was not rare in the Philippines, where “10 % of the total population works overseas” and “approximately 20,000 people are being deported from overseas in 6 months”. Although this article did not refer to the Japanese involvement in the Philippines’ “global structural dependency” (Parreñas, 2005, p. 18), it still gave some context for understanding the current economic situation in the Philippines. Hence, the readers were able to presume Sarah and Arlan Calderon’s reasons for migrating to Japan. Without this context, especially in the “factual” Yomiuri, the readers would be left only with Arlan’s descriptions of the Philippines as an “unknown, fearful, jobless country.”

41 「森英介法相はこの日の閣議後の会見で、アランさん一家の去就について『親族など適切な監護のもとで学業を続けたいのであれば、長女には在留特別許可を出す』と表明した。ただ、夫妻は『そんな選択と決断ができれば、もっと前にしている』と述べた」(Asahi Shimbun, 2009, February 28).

42 「フィリピンは人口の1割の約900万人が海外で働く出稼ぎ大国」。(中略)海外から強制送還される人も半年で2万人近い」(Matsui, 2009).
This chapter highlighted three emerging themes in *Asahi and Yomiuri*. The first theme was the contrast between the innocent Noriko and the deceitful parents. Using the shadow metaphor, I explained how highlighting Noriko’s innocence creates the representation of the deceitful parents. The second theme was the culturally Japanese Noriko. I applied the concept of colonial mimicry (H. Bhabha, 1994) to argue that the representation of Noriko was the manifestation of the ambivalent *jus soli* principle in a strong *jus sanguinis* country. Regardless of the ideological stances, both *Asahi* and *Yomiuri* presented a tension between the best interests of the child and the enforcement of immigration law. Using various techniques, the newspapers presented the picture of the weak Calderon family begging the strong Minister of Justice. This representation, I argued, was one example of the Education of Other (Kumashiro, 2000), in which the mainstream journalists presented the readers with the dominant and simplistic view of the Calderon family. The next chapter examines the discourses on the internet discussion board.
Chapter 6: Discourses in the Internet Discussion Board, 2 channel

This chapter examines the representation of the Calderon family situation in the internet discussion board, 2 channel. The four themes I found are discussed in this chapter. Then, the discussion moves on to the trustworthiness of the discourses on the internet. How seriously should educators and advocates take the discussions in the internet discussion board? As the internet becomes more accessible to a wider audience, how can the cyberspace be a space for democratic discussions?

Data Presentation

Among the numerous discussion threads that were posted in 2 channel about the Calderon family, I decided to focus on the threads that were posted in the international news section. The international news section deals with international news and foreign affairs in general, and includes Japanese domestic news in which people from those countries are involved. All the threads that I analyzed derived from existing mass media news sources. In the international news section at 2 channel, a user would post an online article to start a discussion in each thread and then others would respond. Some threads were more popular than others attracting close to 800 postings, while the least popular thread only had 24 postings. The maximum number of postings in 2 channel is 1,000; therefore, when the postings reach 1,000, users must create a new thread. However, in this case, none of the threads exceeded 1,000, partly because new articles were published frequently and the users could post them to start a new discussion. The time range of the postings in each thread was between 0 and 60 days. Out of 35 threads, 18 of them were written in less than 10 days. Most postings were one to three lines long, and with few exceptions, the threads were exclusively written in Japanese. Because 2 channel is an anonymous discussion board, I could not specify the number of the users in each thread.

43 It is worth noting that international news that concern China, South Korea and North Korea have their own separate discussion space. Therefore, this international news section deals with news that do not concern these three countries in East Asia.
By choosing threads that were closely related to the news sources, it became easier to contrast these threads with the timeline of events in the newspapers. Moreover, it enabled me to analyze which topics gained the most postings. There were 35 threads, composing a total of 5,276 postings, concerning the Calderon family case in the international news section of 2 channel. Out of 35 threads, 22 original mass media news sources derived from newspaper online websites, including tabloid papers. Other sources used by 2 channel users included TV websites, an NGO website and news websites that were not directly related to mainstream newspapers or broadcasting corporations.\textsuperscript{44}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure 3: Postings on the International News Section About the Calderon Family</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>number of postings on each thread</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009/02/14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dates in Figure 3 show the date when the thread started. It is clear from Figure 3 that the discussion threads on the international section of 2 channel about the Calderon family gained popularity from late February to mid March 2009, and were reactivated in April 2009. The period between February 2009 and March 2009 was when the case received the most media attention because the family had to decide whether to return to

\textsuperscript{44} 13 out of 35 threads base their source in Mainichi Shimbun or Mainichi Broadcasting. Mainichi Shimbun is generally considered to be liberal, similar to Asahi. This considerably large proportion may be a coincidence, but it is fair to say that this choice of sources fuelled the number and the quality of responses by the 2 channel users. In 2008, Mainichi Shimbun was criticized for posting an inappropriate article in its English website, that gave a degrading image of Japan. This incident became a very controversial topic in the 2 channel (Ogiue, 2008). Many 2 channel users remember this incident, and are especially critical toward the Mainichi Shimbun. Other news websites included: Asahi Shimbun, JCAST TVwatch, Livedoor News, Manila Bulletin, NHK online, Nikkan Sports, Okinawa Times, Philippine Star, Saitama Shimbun, Sankei MSN news, Tokyo Shimbun, Yahoo News (original source in Sankei Shimbun), Yomiuri Shimbun, and 47 News (in alphabetical order). The NGO website is from Amnesty International Japan, which issued a statement to condemn the Japanese government’s actions.
the Philippines as a family or to leave Noriko in Japan. The Calderon couple returned to
the Philippines in April 2009. This pattern was in line with the reporting by Asahi and
Yomiuri. The newspapers’ timeline of events, mass media reporting and responses by 2
channel users all corresponded with each other.

Interestingly, a thread that had the most postings – nearly 800 – begun on March
12, 2009 cited the Manila Bulletin website, based in the Philippines, as its source. The
second largest thread derived from Tokyo Shimbun on February 27, 2009. The third
largest thread again cited a newspaper based in the Philippines, the Philippine Star on
April 17, 2009. What does this tendency – the threads that had the largest amount of
postings cited the Filipino newspapers – tell us about the discourses in 2 channel? I
discuss later in this chapter that the users’ strong distrust toward Japanese mass media
and their desire for alternative discourses led to this choice of articles. Other than these
two Filipino news sources, the rest cited Japanese newspapers or TV broadcaster’s
websites. The English articles in these Filipino newspapers were briefly translated into
Japanese by 2 channel users on the first postings of each thread. Discussed later is the
fact that these translations were not always accurate, which caused confusion among 2
channel users.

The emerging themes in 2 channel were identified by looking at the frequency of
words in the whole 2 channel data sets, and by careful analysis of the top three popular
threads. I identified four major themes as follows:

1. The rejection of the Calderon family and their supporters
2. The comparison of the Japanese, Filipino and Korean governments and
   societies
3. The Japanese mass media cannot be trusted
4. The proposal for actual actions against the Calderon family

The themes are in the order of frequency, and theme #1 was especially dominant
throughout the discussion. Each theme was not independent from the others; rather, they
were interconnected and either reinforced or conflicted with each other.
Theme #1: The Rejection of the Family and the Supporters

This theme consisted of two distinct but similar discourses. The first discourse was that the Calderon family were criminals; therefore they should go back to the Philippines. The second discourse was that the family supporters and the lawyer were not trustworthy. This theme was the most dominant in my 2 channel data set. Unlike the newspapers which represented the Calderon family as good neighbours who were immersed in the local community, the majority of users in 2 channel represented the Calderons as criminals. Terms such as “illegal stay” (fuho taizai (不法滞在), 602 times), “illegal entry” (fuho nyukoku (不法入国), 410 times), “criminals” (hanzaisha (犯罪者), 403 times) and “crime” (hanzai (犯罪), 331 times) appeared in the top 20 most frequent words used in the whole 2 channel data set. The key-words-in-context concordance of the whole 2 channel texts showed that the five words that were most commonly used with the word “Calderon” were “family” (ikka, 一家), ”Noriko”(Noriko, のり子), ”couple” (fusai, 夫妻), “band, ring, gang”(ichimi, 一味), and “Japan”(nihon, 日本). The word “ichimi” in Japanese already has a negative connotation that means “a set of criminals.” By calling the Calderons ichimi, the users were assigning pejorative meanings to them.

Because the predominant argument in 2 channel was that the Calderon family were criminals, 2 channel users showed no sympathy towards the Calderon supporters and Mr. Watanabe. The Calderon supporters’ claim that this was a case of human rights denial was taken negatively; to 2 channel users, human rights should not be an excuse for illegality. The family supporters were often referred to as jinken-ya (人権屋), which connoted yakuza who would act arrogantly by using the claim to human rights. “Left wing activists” were another target of 2 channel users. Left wing activists, human rights activists and jinken-ya were used interchangeably in the discussion board. Some users claimed that these activists were one of their “real enemies.” Quotes such as the following showed this attitude: “Let us not get lost in bashing the Calderon family, although they make me want to throw up. Our real enemies are the dubious supporters at the back and the masugomi (combination of mass media and garbage), which manipulates
information” (2 channel, 2009, April 20, thread 34). As will be discussed in the next section, 2 channel users strongly trust the order of law despite their depiction as criminals or would-be criminals by the mainstream mass media. Recall the dichotomy that the newspapers presented in reporting this case: between the child’s best interests and the enforcement of the Japanese immigration law. In keeping with this dichotomised conceptualization, 2 channel users understood human rights as something that erodes Japanese law, even though both international treaties and Japanese law stipulated human rights.

There were also postings stating that Mr. Watanabe, the lawyer, was of Korean descent. The typical right wing discourse in Japan bashes ethnic Koreans, which will be discussed further in detail. To internet right wingers, both the human rights activists and the ethnic Koreans are quasi-enemies. Therefore, if the supporters were of Korean descent, that made it easier for the 2 channel users to attack them. Motivated to do so, some 2 channel users tried to search for information to prove that Mr. Watanabe was an ethnic Korean. Some postings raised Mr. Watanabe’s past cases in order to infer his ethnicity and his political position. Some postings revealed Mr. Watanabe’s supposed previous cases in which he used his supposed Korean-style name. Information does not mean anything in itself; it becomes useful and meaningful because people search for it and give meanings to it. In this case, 2 channel users searched Mr. Watanabe’s professional history which accumulated on the internet and gave new meanings to them. Namely, the users collected “evidences” related to Mr. Watanabe to refer to his ethnicity and his political stance. Because of the internet, users could easily search for information on people’s past, which had not been widely and easily accessible before. The internet and being able to search a person’s professional history work as a disciplinary technique. In a disciplinary society, social norms are internalized within an individual and people are self-regulating themselves (Foucault, 1977). Today, people are extremely conscious about what gets published about them in the cyber world, because this information accumulates (and thus creates a database of ourselves) and becomes available to

45 「カルデロン一家には、正直反吐が出るが、矛先を間違えてはならないね。 真の敵は、裏で暗躍する怪しげな支援団体と情報操作をするマスゴミだよ 」 (2 channel, 2009, April 20, thread 34).
everybody. The development of searching technology, and the creation of global database on the internet, is one of the social regularities that enabled this discourse to proliferate.

**Theme #2: Comparison of the Japanese, Philippine and South Korean Governments**

Theme #2 consists of three different ideas concerning the governments and the societies of each state. The 2 channel users categorized the three governments in the following way: Japan is a society ruled by law, but the Japanese government was incompetent in handling the Calderon family case. The Philippine government acted rationally because it released a statement stating that they would take care of the Calderon family if they were to return to the Philippines. The South Korean government was the most incompetent of the three governments, because it did not care about the zainichi Koreans living in Japan.

Although not reported in the Japanese newspapers, the Philippine government released a statement stating the Philippine government would extend humanitarian assistance to the Calderon family if they were to return to the country (Luci, 2009). The 2 channel users welcomed this statement because it matched their assertion to deport the Calderon family. Similarly, they also expected the Philippine government to further restrict their emigration control and to never let the Calderon couple leave the country once they had returned. Compared to the “rational” Philippine government, 2 channel users portrayed the Japanese government as incompetent in handling this Calderon family case. The majority of 2 channel users stated that the government should have acted more rigorously and deported all three family members because the Calderon couple had broken Japanese immigration law. In addition, they asked, why did the immigration authority let the illegal aliens live in Japan for 16 years? To them, this fact proved the Japanese immigration authority’s incompetence.

The discourse on the South Korean government may seem odd because the Calderon case had nothing to do with the South Korean government. However, this type of bashing towards ethnic Koreans (and Chinese) is quite typical of the internet right wingers in Japan (Kitada, 2005; Tsuji, 2008). They argue that most zainichi Koreans living in Japan are not descendants of those who were forced to come to Japan for labour. They assert that most Koreans who had been forced to come to Japan before and during
WWII had already returned to the Korean Peninsula soon after WWII, and that those currently living in Japan were those who came or remained voluntarily (Zaitokukai, n.d.). Therefore, they argued, zainichi Korean’s special status and benefits in Japan should be eliminated and that they should be deported to Korea. 2 channel users’ logic was that if the Japanese government could not deport the Calderon family to the Philippines, the government will never be able to deport the ethnic Koreans to Korea. For 2 channel users, ethnic Koreans in Japan were living in Japan and disturbing Japanese society. The following quotes show this view: “Zainichi Koreans are incomparably more villains than the Calderon family. They need to be excluded by the Japan Self-Defence Forces” (2 channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25), or “Zainichi Koreans are distorting Japan. By letting the Calderon family stay in Japan illegally, they are making strategic actions in advance to refuse the deportations of the Koreans in the future” (2 channel, 2009, May 6, thread 25). These users assumed that the South Korean government, unlike the Philippine government, would not issue any statements about the diasporic Koreans returning to Korea: “I think better of the Philippine government than I did before. Compared to this, are zainichi Koreans abandoned by their home country? I hope everybody can go back to their home country soon” (2 channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25). Although the Calderon case had nothing to do with the South Korean government, 2 channel users connected them so that they could shift the discussion to their familiar bashing to ethnic Koreans and the South Korean society. These racist comments were made throughout the 2 channel discussions. Loomba (1998) asserts that the notion of race was socially constructed through colonial encounters. Following this notion, I use the word racism to note oppression based on race, which was constructed through Japan’s colonization of the Asian nations, including the Korean Peninsula and the Philippines.

“[T]he Internet is a place where race happens; even in the absence of users of color, images of race and racialism proliferate in cyberspace” (Nakamura, 2002, p. xii).

46 「在日朝鮮人はカルデロンなんか比較にならんほどの悪人ばかり 自衛隊で排除しないとどうしようもない」 (2 channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25), 「日本を歪めるのは、在日朝鮮人勢力だろ。カルデロン一味を違法に居座らすことによって、将来、朝鮮人の国外退去を拒否するための布石を打ってるんだ」 (2 channel, 2009, May 6, thread 25).

47 「フィリピン政府、見直したよ。それに比べて在日朝鮮人は祖国に見捨てられているのかい？みんな早く祖国に帰れるといいね」 (2 channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25).
Nakamura (2002) goes on to state that the racism we encounter in everyday life exists and becomes more significant in cyberspace. The argument that online space reflects our everyday lives is becoming more dominant in academia (Punday, 2000, as cited in Nakamura, 2002). Similarly, Tsuji (2008), in his survey towards heavy internet users, states that individuals who make radical claims in cyberspace believe so to some extent in their real life. He asserts that the internet discussion board gave an opportunity for them to express their opinions, which had been previously silenced by mainstream Japanese society. In fact, a group that opposed the supposed “privileged rights” of the zainichi Koreans marched in the Calderon family’s neighbourhood to condemn their illegality and advocate for their deportation. Some 2 channel users showed sympathy toward this anti-Korean group and called others to join this group. On the other hand, many 2 channel users cared about the topic not because they had a strong agenda, but because they simply wanted to enjoy participating in the heated discussion (Kitada, 2005). In this process, a cascade of phenomenon is likely to occur, in which people are led to opinions that they don’t necessarily support (Ogiue, 2008). Reisigl and Wodak (2009) point out the “communication obstacles and misunderstandings” (p. 118) as one of the examples of the social contexts that determine the emergence of discourses in DHA. Here, I want to add that characteristics in communication styles can also serve as the social contexts. The tendency in the internet discussion board to discuss for the sake of having fun works as the social regularities that enabled the racist discourses to proliferate. The more the discourses became racist, the more discussions became intense. This communication characteristic of the internet discussion board worked as a disciplinary technique that governed how individuals behave in the discussion (Foucault, 1977). The 2 channel users were not ordered to behave in a certain way by a powerful individual. Rather, they had internalized and individualized this internet discussion board norm; one must make the discussion intense and exciting. This norm became one of the social regularities that led 2 channel racist discourses to proliferate.

Racist discourses proliferate in the cyber world, and these discourses vary in each society. In the Japanese context, it appeared in the form of racism toward ethnic Koreans due to the ongoing colonial history and current relations between the two nations/ethnic groups. Stereotypes and racism toward Filipinos, on the other hand, were constructed in
globalization and economic (un)development discourse rather than in Japanese colonial history as part of the selective narrative of WWII. While the Korean Peninsula is strongly associated with the history of Japanese colonialism through “curricula” of Japanese mass media and formal schooling, the Japanese colonial relationship with the Philippines is not much emphasized in Japan. Due to this selective narrative by various “curricula” in Japanese society, people tend to forget that Japan once colonized the Philippines, and only focus on the current relationships. This tendency was observed both in the newspapers and discussions in 2 channel.

Given the fact that 2 channel users expressed distrust towards the Japanese government, what do they believe in? The keywords that most frequently described the Japanese society in 2 channel were “law-abiding nation” (hochi kokka, 法治国家) and “law.” To 2 channel users, the law was a fixed and absolute power that everyone must follow. Therefore, the Calderon couple, who had entered Japan with falsified passports, were constructed as criminals, and the supporters of the family were represented as untrustworthy people who had tried to distort the rule of the law by claiming human rights for the Calderons. Some users even argued for the permanent disqualification of the lawyer because, to them, a professional practising law should not distort the “given” meaning and purpose of the law.

This phenomenon is ironic because while the 2 channel users are often constructed as criminals by the mainstream mass media, they almost blindly trusted Japanese law. It was perhaps the users’ strong distrust to fluctuating human beings in mass media and government that prompted their loyalty to rigid law. Although the dramatic change in Japan’s ruling party occurred later than this case in September 2009, there was a national uncertainty toward what was happening in the country. Democratic Party of Japan won over the Liberal Democratic Party, which had been the ruling party for more than 50 years except for a few years in the 1990s. The mass media often reported political uncertainties and the possibility of a new regime before the actual election. Perhaps this feeling of uncertainty and anxiety worked as some of the social regularities that enabled people to cling onto the apparent certainty of law. “[F]ear is a response to a specific threat and therefore has a definite object,” and “anxiety is diffuse, it is free floating: lacking a specific object” (Giddens, 1991, p. 43, 44). In this sense, there
was also anxiety around what would happen if the government had let the Calderon family remain in Japan. This sense of anxiety toward the future manifested in the following sentiments in a letter to the editors in Asahi published on March 15, 2009: “The family’s deportation was inevitable as a law-abiding country considering the parents’ crime to enter Japan with falsified passports and staying in Japan illegally. If we do not deal with this problem properly, the number of illegal entries and illegal stayers would only increase” (T. Nagata, 2009). This unknown consequence of the Calderon family case prompted many 2 channel users to oppose the family’s request to stay in Japan, and these sentiments were supported by discourses mobilizing the power of law.

Referring to a national survey of 26,524 people by Matsumura et al. (2005), Morishima (2009b) asserts that the notion of rights is not familiar to many Japanese and that people prefer to have good relationships with neighbours rather than claiming rights. According to the survey, 43% of the respondents answered that they did not fully understand the notion of rights, 80.1% answered that people should not claim their rights if the relationship becomes awkward and 82.7% answered that it is more important to have a discussion than to claim rights.

Traditionally, Japanese society was made up of homogeneous uchi-societies (ウチ社会), such as villages (Morishima, 2009b). Uchi literally means inside, and the opposite of uchi is soto, outside. In order to keep the order of the inside-society, people followed the general social rules, and if a problem occurred, they preferred to seek out discussion or make arrangements so that they would not distort good relationships. This attitude is in contrast with the Western notion of law and contracts, in which people created rigid contracts beforehand in order to resolve conflicts. In fact, the Japanese word

---

48 「偽造旅券による入国と不法滞在という親の犯罪による一家の強制送還は、法治国家であればやむを得ないことではないか。このような事案をきちんと対処しなければ、不法入国や不法滞在は増えるばかりであろう」 (T. Nagata, 2009).

49 The question states, “I do not fully understand the word ‘rights’” 「私は、権利ということばをよく理解できません」, “People should not claim their rights and have awkward relationship with others” 「権利を主張してまわりの人とギスギスすべきでない」 and “It is important to have discussions rather than claiming rights” 「大事なのは権利よりも仲良く話し合うべきだ」 (Matsumura et al., 2005, as cited in Morishima (2009b))
for rights (kenri, 権利) and obligations (gimu, 義務) are translations of legal terms from Western nations (Morishima, 2009b).

Because of the general unfamiliarity with the notion of rights, the newspapers, especially Asahi, advocated for rights in order to educate readers. However, at the same time, this unfamiliarity and allergy to the notion of rights led many 2 channel users to assert the family’s deportation. To them, the Calderon family claiming their rights disturbed Japanese society. Recall Morishima (2009a)’s three categories of law in Japan: the first category as force by the state power; the second as general rules to keep the public order; and the third as positive judgement towards the value of rules such as justice and virtues. 2 channel participants used the word “law” to mean the first category, in this case, a force by the state power. To them, human rights were not considered as a part of law. Therefore, to 2 channel users, Japan as a law-abiding nation and people’s unfamiliarity with the notion of rights was not contradictory. This proliferation of law discourse is important for advocacy work. Irregular migrants are irregular because they do not conform to immigration law. Current advocates base their work on the human rights model, but if people, such as 2 channel users, are resisting the human rights’ discourses and supporting the rigid law enforcement, the gap between advocacy work and people’s perceptions will further widen. If people resist the mass media human rights’ curriculum, as is the case in this study, there must be room for change, especially in the “how” of the curriculum. Wasn’t there a better way to teach about the violation of human rights in the newspapers?

Theme #3: The Mass Media Cannot be Trusted

The other dominant theme in 2 channel discussions concerned the Japanese mass media’s untrustworthiness. To 2 channel users, the Japanese major newspapers and TV shows did not report this case fairly because their reporting on the Calderon family was too favourable. This distrust toward the Japanese mass media clearly manifested in the usage of the word masugomi (マスゴミ), kasukomi (カスコミ) or biased reporting (偏向報道). The words masukomi (mass communications, マスコミ) and masugomi (マスゴミ) both appeared about the same number of times (145 times and 134 times respectively) in the discussion board. The word masugomi derives from the combination
of the Japanese words *masukomi* (mass communications) and *gomi* (garbage). Similarly, *kasukomi* is a combination of *kasu*, – crap – and *masukomi* – mass communications. These coined terms show the users’ attitudes toward mass media; they see the Japanese press as garbage or crap. This finding is in line with previous research on 2 channel, which argue that 2 channel is a place where users share their ironic views toward the mass media (Hirai, 2007; Kitada, 2005). Some users correctly pointed out in the discussion threads that the Japanese mass media had not reported the Philippines government’s stance on this case. As was clear from my analysis of the *Asahi Shimbun* and *Yomiuri Shimbun*, these two newspapers reported this case solely as a domestic problem, and left out Filipino perspectives. The fact that the two threads, whose original source had been from newspapers in the Philippines, received much more postings than those based on Japanese sources also reflects the 2 channel users’ distrust of Japanese mass media. This fact should be understood as the 2 channel users’ desire for silenced discourses in Japanese newspapers. However, I would like to be clear that their distrust of the Japanese mass media and desire for Filipino perspectives do not necessarily mean that they trusted the Filipino media sources more. Rather, the 2 channel users were bored with the existing Japanese newspaper discourses; therefore when “new” Filipino perspectives were introduced, they jumped on them to partake in the matsuri, festival. This finding is also in line with Kitada (2005)’s assertion that political messages on the internet are used to enhance communication, and that it does not necessarily reflect users’ beliefs. Any topics that would increase excitement in the discussion would be consumed in the internet discussion board.

**Theme #4: The Proposal for Actual Actions**

Although the numbers were fewer, there were some postings that called for 2 channel users to take actual actions. The purpose of these actions was to oppose the Calderon family’s residency in Japan. The proposed actions included calling the lawyer’s office to protest, calling politicians against the Calderon family’s case in order to show their support and writing letters of protest to the Ministry of Justice. Of these, the most frequent and spoof proposal posted was to report other allegedly irregular residents to the Immigration Bureau in order to receive a 50,000 yen (CAD 450 equivalent) reward.
Article 66 of the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act stipulates that the Minister of Justice can offer a reward of less than 50,000 yen to someone who reports a violation of the immigration law if a deportation order is issued based on the report. Based on this law, the Immigration Bureau set up a system where people could call, email or write letters to report where irregular residents work or live. Copies of Article 66 were posted many times in the discussion board with the message to encourage readers to report allegedly irregular residents.

How do we make sense of the fact that this governmental “hunt” of allegedly irregular residents (in fact, the posting said “it’s the time for illegal hunters”) was advertised through a non-governmental internet discussion board? Since popular mass media considers 2 channel the complete opposite of lawful order, Foucault’s notion of governmentality is helpful in unpacking this phenomenon. For Foucault, governmentality refers to how people govern themselves; thus the function of the government does not necessarily have to originate from the state. Foucault (2000) defines one aspect of governmentality as follows:

The ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses, and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security. (Foucault, 2000, p. 219-220).

The postings on 2 channel to turn in allegedly irregular residents illustrated the tactics of the governmentality toward the irregular residents as the target population. It suggests that the people who govern the irregular residents are the Japanese-speaking people, given the fact that the 2 channel postings and the information section at the Immigration Bureau’s website were written in Japanese. Not many people read the Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act articles. However, by being posted in the internet discussion board, Article 66 of the act became widely accessible to 2 channel users. 2 channel is a perfect place to post the Article 66 because many users associated the Calderon family with criminals, and were likely to actually turn in the irregular residents, compared to Asahi readers. Applying the notion of governmentality, two target populations were defined as follows: irregular residents who should be turned in to the immigration bureau and 2 channel users who were likely to turn in the irregular residents.
This phenomenon reveals how governmentality tactics were efficiently infiltrated to individuals in the cyber world.

**Trustworthiness of the 2 channel Discourses**

Now, I would like to discuss the trustworthiness of internet discourses. To what extent should educators and advocates seriously consider the arguments made in the internet discussion board? Are discourses in 2 channel a “graffiti in toilet” or the “open and diverse public discourses” (Kitada, 2005)? It has been argued that the topics posted on 2 channel are just boosters to keep the discussion going (Ibid). On the other hand, it has also been argued that individuals who make racist assertions toward Korea and China in cyber space hold these beliefs to some extent in real life (Tsuji, 2008). However, from my analysis, the majority of 2 channel participants (although it was difficult to know how many were participating because this discussion board was anonymous) seemed to be engaged in matsuri, a festival. Recalling Ogiue (2008)’s categorization of three types of users in internet discussion boards, the majority of 2 channel participants seemed to fit into the third category, literacy game player. Literacy game players do not have any political stance or strong emotions toward any topic. Instead, they are interested in participating in the festival-like discussion situation. An example of this situation is characterized in a thread titled “Japan should not give in to the Calderon family’s demands,” which cited the Manila Bulletin newspaper website.\(^5\) What is interesting about this thread is that the first user posted a mistranslation and only gave a partial translation of the whole article, which gave readers a skewed impression. Although several users pointed out the mistranslation and corrected it, most users did not appear to be bothered with the mistranslation and the discussion went on based on this mistranslation.

The original article, published in the Manila Bulletin on March 11, 2009, stated that the Philippine government would extend humanitarian assistance to the Calderon family if they were to return to the country (Luci, 2009). The latter half of the article described the situation of the family, the involvement of the United Nations, and

\(^{50}\) 「フィリピン政府「日本はカルデロン一家の要求に屈するべきではない。」(2 channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25)
introduced a quote from an Amnesty International official stating that the Japanese government’s action was against the Convention on the Rights of the Child of which Japan was a signatory. The latter half of the original article was similar to the discourse in Japanese newspapers. However, this section was initially omitted in the Japanese translation in the first posting (the full translation of the article was provided by other users during the discussion). The following paragraph in the original article made this article unique, and the thread eventually proliferated based on this paragraph:

The source said the Philippine government couldn't give in to the couple's request to remain in Japan because it would only send the wrong signal to the international community. "What can we do? They're asking to stay in Japan. Does it mean that they don't want to stay in the Philippines?" he asked. (Luci, 2009, para 4).

This paragraph was mistranslated as follows: “According to the Philippine government, the Japanese government should not have given in to the couple’s demand because the ‘compassionate ground’ by the Japanese government to the family would only send the wrong signal to the international community. ‘Do they not want to return to the Philippines?’ the Philippine government is wondering.” Here, I highlight that the subject of the sentence switched from the Philippine government to the Japanese government. I explain the switching of the subject in the next chapter in order to discuss the silenced discourses. Whether this mistranslation was intentional or not, most users agreed with this comment by the Philippine government. The users wrote that the Philippine government was the only decent and rational (matomo, まとも) actor in this case, and their opinions of the Philippine government improved, that the Philippine government rock (kakkoii, かっこいい). This mistranslation is an example of “communication obstacles and misunderstandings” (Reisigl & Wodak, 2009, p. 118), one of the social contexts in the DHA. It also exemplifies recontextualization, which refers to how certain discourses gain new meanings in different contexts. Here, the original article

\footnote{「フィリピン当局によれば、日本政府のカルデロン一家への「温情」は国際社會に誤った認識を与えるだけであり、夫妻の要求に屈すべきではなかったと言います。 「カルデロン一家はフィリピンに戻りたくないんですでしょうか？」と当局は疑問に思っています。」(2channel, 2009, March 12, thread 25).}
published in the *Manila Bulletin* gained a new meaning through mistranslation in the 2 *channel* discussion board.

Several users pointed out the foolishness of the proliferation of this thread based on a mistranslation. They provided the accurate translations and stated: “Don’t believe in the first mistranslation” (*2 channel*, 2009, March 13, thread 25), “This thread is not even close to the original source. ... It is sinful to create a thread on a totally different source” (*2 channel*, 2009, March 13, thread 25), and “This must be intentional rather than a mistranslation, but this is awful” (*2 channel*, 2009, March 15, thread 25). However, these comments were ignored by the majority of users. Most users did not appear to care whether or not the statement was accurate. What mattered to them was that the discourse appeared, and that they were able to use it to their advantage. Whether or not the first user intended it, the mistranslation matched the mood of 2 *channel* users; as a result, the thread proliferated. This thread exemplifies the typical matsuri, festival on the internet discussion board. The aim of the discussion was not to engage in serious discussion; rather, it was just to have fun.

This discursive formation in the internet discussion board reminds us of Foucault’s regimes of truth in which each society establishes its own form of truth through various mechanisms (Foucault, 1980). In this case, people’s *indifference to truth* worked as a mechanism to establish a regime of truth. Other than a small number of truth-seekers who tried to find legitimate information, most 2 *channel* users were not concerned with the Philippine government’s statement content. The more accurate translation would make the discussion less appealing; therefore most 2 *channel* users dismissed the accurate translation. Their indifference to truth legitimized certain discourses as truth (in this case, that a Philippine government official stated that the Japanese government should not concede to the Calderon family’s demand); therefore creating a regime of truth in this thread.

---

Looking at the discourses on 2 channel, it was hard for me to categorize the users into three types as Ogiue (2008) proposed. Ogiue (2008) proposed to categorize the internet discussion board users into political game players, emotional game players and literacy game players. However, there were many instances where the first two categorizations, political and emotional players, converged. Many users’ word choices were violently emotional, yet they were asserting political claims to deport the Calderon family. For instance, how do we categorize the following statement? “What’s wrong with these illegal residents? They make such arrogant statements. If they don’t want to be deported, take proper procedures.”

Ogiue (2008)’s categorization presume that one can distinguish and separate what is emotional and political. However, as many feminist scholars have critiqued, this separation between private (emotional) and public (political) spheres rests on the gendered assumption that historically barred women from civic participation (Arnot & Dillabough, 1999). Although Ogiue (2008)’s categorization of the literacy player was useful in analyzing 2 channel discourses, my analysis revealed that the political and emotional players were converging and that it was not fruitful to separate the two.

2 channel Discourses as Subjugated Knowledge?

The doubts toward human rights and the hostile attitudes toward ethnic Koreans in 2 channel are interpretable as subjugated knowledge proliferating in the internet. For Foucault, subjugated knowledge is local knowledge that is disqualified and illegitimazatized by dominant global discourses (Foucault, 1980). Because subjugated knowledge is knowledge that is silenced, disqualified and illegitimazatized, I often think of it as a source of empowerment for traditionally marginalized populations. When people say “subjugated knowledge” and “dominant discourses,” there are value judgments attached to them: subjugated knowledge as good and dominant discourses as bad (e.g. local people’s resistance towards neo-liberalism). However, what I saw in my analysis of 2 channel contrasted what is common seen: bad discourses resisted good dominant discourses. By good discourses, I mean discourses considered to promote public good in

53 「なぜこの不法滞在者。 ずいぶんと傲慢な言い方をなさるじゃないですか。 強制退去されたくなかったら、正規の手続きを取り。」 (2 channel, 2009, February 27, thread 4).
today’s society. By bad discourses, I mean discourses considered to promote hatred or racism. In mass media, racist discourses are changing into seemingly neutral discourses and becoming harder to pinpoint without careful examination (Adeyanju & Neverson, 2007). The discourse of human rights as liberatory practice and its legitimacy is also becoming dominant globally (Suarez & Ramirez, 2004). The proliferation of exclusionist and racist discourses in 2 channel are understandable as resistance to dominant discourses in mass media. In this sense, I am in line with Kitada (2005) who asserts that nationalistic and anti-mass media discourses in 2 channel emerged as antagonism towards the dominant discourses of postwar democracy in Japan. However, I make it explicit that analyzing the discourses on 2 channel as subjugated knowledge does not mean we should tolerate racist and exclusionist discourses. As Foucault states, “[w]here there is power, there is resistance”, and the “points of resistance are present everywhere in the power network” (Foucault, 1990, p. 95). Parallel to the notion that there is no single power, there is no single resistance; rather “there is a plurality of resistances” (p. 96). Putting value judgments aside, discourses on 2 channel are manifestations of the resistance towards globally dominant human rights discourse.

If we want to advocate for foreigners’ rights based on human rights discourses, the question then becomes, how do we move from here? We cannot silence or disqualify the discourses just because they do not conform to our versions of truth. This silencing act will only contribute to the totalitarian nature in the process of creating its own regime of truth. In thinking about how to move forward, it is perhaps helpful to think through Foucault’s view of resistance. “Resistance does not necessarily mean denying. It is a process of creation. Creating and recreating, changing the situation, be willing to join that process. That is resistance” (Foucault, 2001, as cited in Hakoda, 2009).

The conceptualization of 2 channel discourses as subjugated knowledge and the internalization of the norm to increase excitement in the discussion within the individuals had two effects. The first effect was the self-construction of the users as contra-mass media and government with a “more critical perspective.” The second effect was the advocacy of actual political actions to turn in irregular residents. The 2 channel users’

---

desire to distance themselves from the mainstream mass media discourse partly stemmed from the marginalization of the 2 channel discourses as subjugated knowledge from the mass media. Thus, the users ridicule the mass media by claiming that they have “more critical perspective” on the issues. On the other hand, by internalizing the norm to increase the excitement in the discussion, the users immersed themselves into racist discourses, or to call users to turn in allegedly irregular residents. Compared to other proposed actions, this call to turn in irregular residents was less serious, which led me to conclude that users proposed this action to have fun. Because 2 channel was an anonymous discussion board, I could not specify the users’ gender, race, class or sexuality, which are important factors to consider in Media Studies 3.0. However, by focusing on the socio-political context on how 2 channel discourses were perceived by the mainstream mass media, I analyzed how 2 channel users experience and negotiate their relationship with the mass media.

This chapter discussed the dominant discourses in the internet discussion board, 2 channel, using Foucauldian notions of regimes of truth, governmentality and subjugated knowledge. I described four major themes: first, the rejection of the Calderon family and their supporters; second, the comparison of the Japanese, Philippine and South Korean governments and societies; third, the Japanese mass media cannot be trusted; and finally, the call for actual actions to turn in irregular residents. Then, I argued that 2 channel is not a space for a serious discussion by applying Ogiue’s framework on three types of internet discussion board users to my data. In 2 channel, the purpose of the discussion was to have fun, rather than to engage in a productive discussion. Finally, I argued that 2 channel discourses were interpretable as examples of resistance to the globalized human rights discourses. This chapter and the previous chapter on the newspaper analysis examined discourses that appeared in two forms of media. The next chapter explores what has been silenced.
Chapter 7: The Domains of Silence

While the previous chapters focused on the emergent discourses, this chapter mainly explores what has been silenced in the discourses regarding the Calderon family’s situation in the newspapers and the internet discussion board. After a brief comparison of the major themes between the two forms of media, I discuss their silences. According to Foucault, “in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality” (Foucault, 1972, p. 216). Following Foucault’s hypothesis, discourses proliferate by distributing what can be said while silencing others. Silences tell us what kind of knowledge is illegitimatized or devalued in a society. Therefore, in order to investigate the discourses around the Calderon family and foreign residents in Japan, it is crucial that I examine the domains of silence. Behind the proliferation of certain discourses, what has been silenced and what do these silences tell us?

Comparison of the Major Themes in Newspapers and an Internet Discussion Board

In contemporary migration, the citizenship division between the elite migrants and migrants without much economic capital deepens through the state neoliberal agenda of selecting desirable migrants (Stasiulis & Bakan, 2005). The discourses in the newspapers and 2 channel converge in the production of a dyad between desirable and undesirable foreigners. These two seemingly different categories of people stem from the same roots and they are only different in terms of which category to classify the Calderon family. Foucault reminds us that the operation of power “is not ensured by right but by technique, not by law but by normalization, not by punishment but by control, methods that are employed on all levels and in forms that go beyond the state and its apparatus” (Foucault, 1990, p. 89). Normalization is a technique to categorize and punish people who are other than the societal norm (Foucault, 1977). Normalization of who is considered to be a desirable foreigner for the Japanese society is disseminated through the government, media and other organizations. Recently, many statements released by major political organizations, such as the Democratic Liberal Party, Democratic Party of...
Japan and the Nippon Keidanren (business organization with political power), stated that Japan must accept more foreign workers in order to combat the declining population and labour force. In these statements, the productive foreigners are those who would contribute to the Japanese economy. In this light, the good neighbour discourses in the newspapers are in line with these statements. It follows then that, other than breaking the Japanese immigration law when entering Japan, the Calderon family are productive and desirable foreigners who contribute to the Japanese economy. On the other hand, the image of the desirable foreigners in 2 channel was of those who would contribute to the Japanese society and be law-abiding. The Calderon family was classified as undesirable because the couple broke Japanese law. From this example, I observed the interdiscursivity of different discourses, and intertextuality between newspapers, internet discussion board and statements by the political organizations. Discourses on the Calderon family in each media were shaped and influenced by related discourses on migration created by the political organizations.

At first glance, the discourses in the newspapers and those in 2 channel were dramatically different in terms of the how they represented the Calderon family. While the Calderon family was generally represented as good neighbours in the newspapers, they were represented as criminals in 2 channel. However, a close look at the representation in the newspapers revealed that Arlan and Sarah were more likely to be depicted as criminals or deceitful and illegal migrants who should be held accountable for their actions. Noriko, in contrast, was represented as an innocent and culturally Japanese girl who should remain in the country because she was a victim of her greedy parents. This victim discourse was prevalent in the 2 channel thread which originated from the Philippine Star newspaper article. The original article reported Arlan’s interview at the Manila Airport indicating that he hopes Noriko would petition the Japanese government so that the couple could live with her when she turns 16 or 18 (Santos, 2009). Some 2 channel users showed pity towards Noriko who “were used by her parents as their life cards.” Thus, even though there was a difference in how the family was represented between the newspapers and the internet discussion board, the

55 However, Yomiuri Shimbun was hesitant in dismissing the Calderon couple’s irregular entry compared to Asahi.
parents were negatively depicted, as criminals or greedy, while the daughter was positively represented. This pattern was the same in both media.

Another convergence was the construction of this case as a domestic problem. As I argued in the previous chapter about the mistranslation of the *Manila Bulletin* article, through mistranslation, 2 channel users slipped the subject of the sentence from the Philippine government to the Japanese government. In the original article, the Philippine government did not agree to the Calderon couple’s request to remain in Japan. However, the document was mistranslated to indicate that the Japanese government should not concede to the couple’s request. Despite the 2 channel users’ desire for alternative discourses, they were also constructing this problem as a domestic problem, just as the newspapers did. By praising the Philippine government based on inaccurate translation, the users critiqued the Japanese government’s position. Even though they seemed to be engaged with the Filipino source, they were “using” this source only to back up their positions in order to bash the Calderon family and the Japanese government. Here, concepts of intertextuality and interdiscursivity used in the DHA analysis are helpful in understanding this phenomenon. Intertextuality explores the links between several texts, the discourses in 2 channel and those in newspapers. Interdiscursivity refers to links between different discourses. The discourse that the Japanese mass media cannot be trusted, which was one of the defining characteristics of discussions in 2 channel, was connected to the discourse in newspapers to construct this problem as a domestic problem. Even though the 2 channel users’ strong distrust towards Japanese mass media and their desire for Filipino perspectives, they were still strongly affected by the discourses created by the newspapers.

I discussed the convergence of the major themes in both media by focusing on the representations of the family and their implications of those representations. In the next section, I move on to the domains of silence and explore what was silenced in the two media. In particular, I discuss three main silences: the family’s illegality, absence of the mother, and the absence of the Philippines. In the first silence, I examine how and why the newspapers silenced the fact that many of the Calderon’s extended family members were irregular residents. In the second silence, I explore the absence of Sarah Calderon, who was represented significantly less compared to her husband and daughter, both in the
newspapers and internet discussion board. Finally, I argue that the Philippines was absent and that the newspapers redefined the Calderon family as irregular residents who happened to have Filipino nationality.

Theme #1: The Family’s Illegality

As Keita Ando (2009) aptly pointed out, neither Asahi nor Yomiuri reported in detail about the court verdicts, including that of the Supreme Court. Both newspapers only referred to them briefly, by saying that the family lost their case and that the initial deportation order issued to the family would not be voided. According to the verdicts, however, many of the Calderon’s extended family members, including Arlan and Sarah’s parents and siblings, had either entered in irregular ways or overstayed their visas in Japan (Keita Ando, 2009). Drawing upon this fact as evidence, the Tokyo District Court ruled that the family lacked the sensitivity to follow immigration rules. Keita Ando further questioned the decision that Noriko would live with her aunt, who was also an “ex-illegal resident” (p. 264). This silencing illegality is especially strange for Asahi, which had published longer and extensive articles (almost 1.5 times more articles than Yomiuri) on the Calderon case. The newspapers’ silence on the family’s illegality seems strange because the fact that many of the Calderon’s extended family members were irregular residents could have given readers a completely different impression of this case. Had the newspapers reported the said facts, the readers may have gotten the impression that “the whole family was conducting illegal entries” (Keita Ando, 2009). This omission is problematic in two ways. First, it further reinforces the binary between desirable and undesirable foreigners. Second, it averts the readers’ attention from the factors that led the family to perform such illegal acts.

Foucault (1972) explained that there were three types of “rules of exclusion” (p. 216). The first was a prohibition; the second was a division and a rejection; the third was the will to truth. The second type helps to make sense of the silencing of family’s

---

56 Noriko’s aunt overstayed in Japan, but she was regularized because she was married to a Japanese man (Keita Ando, 2009).

57 「（略）判決の断罪ぶりは『不法入国は家族ぐるみ』と言われているに等しい」(Keita Ando, 2009).
illegal. The Japanese society creates a division between desirable and undesirable foreigners, and it tries to classify every foreigner into this binary. This binary, however, excludes certain discourses that do not fit into this binary. One must be either desirable or undesirable. In an effort to portray the Calderon family as good neighbours who should be granted status, Asahi purposefully omitted this piece because the image of illegal relatives would not fit the good neighbour image. The Japanese society classifies successful foreigners as model minorities, while depicting those deviating from societal norms as criminals (Yamamoto, 2007). By focusing solely on the model minority side of the family’s life, and silencing discourses that deviate from that discourse, the newspapers sent a message that only a “good” foreigner could stay. Moreover, the criteria for defining good and bad were shaped by Japanese society (note how Noriko’s classmates, Arlan’s colleagues, and the family’s neighbour who had commented on their “goodness” were all appeared to be ethnic Japanese). After all, it reinforces the notion that Japan is a country ruled by Japanese people, and that only good foreigners are allowed to stay, with permission from the Japanese people.

The focus on the model minority side and the omission of the family’s illegality also averts the readers’ attention from factors that had led them to perform such acts. The newspapers did not report on the reasons that led the Philippines to become an emigrant country, at least when this case was hotly debated. Asahi published a follow-up article about this case, and referred to the Philippines as an emigrant country, but it did not go further to address the Philippine’s global structural dependency or Japan’s economic involvement on this issue. Overall, the couple’s irregular entry into Japan was represented as an individual choice. Had the newspapers reported that most of the extended family members had been in Japan illegally, it might have helped the readers to consider the structural causes that led the family to “choose” this path.

On the other hand, the discourse about the Calderon extended family’s illegality proliferated in the internet discussion board precisely because it was silenced in the newspapers. There were postings that revealed the extended family’s irregular entry into Japan, and they were represented as criminal gangs. Again, these representations were not accompanied by analysis of the structural dependency of the Philippines. Moreover, as mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, 2 channel is not a place for serious political
discussion. In 2 channel, everything, including the news, exists as material for the discussion (Kitada, 2005). The exchange of ridicules using whatever material the users can find is the typical communication style in 2 channel. Therefore, the discussions in 2 channel are superficial; quick-to-gather information that might serve as a potential hot discussion topic (i.e., most of the extended family members were illegal residents), but deeper discussion on the topics chosen rarely occurs (i.e., what made the family emigrate in the first place?). In this sense, my argument is in line with Ogiue (2008), who asserts that the communication style in internet the discussion board is like a game, and Kitada (2005), who maintains that the exchange of ridicules constitutes the core of the 2 channel communication style.

**Theme #2: Absence of the Mother**

In both newspapers articles and the 2 channel discussions, the absence of the mother, Sarah, was strikingly significant. In 2 channel, she only appeared as a name. In the newspapers, she was directly quoted only twice in Asahi and once in Yomiuri. Although some comments were attributed to both Arlan and Sarah, compared to Arlan’s and Noriko’s direct quotes, Sarah was quoted significantly less and more briefly. Here are two examples: “Arlan said ‘We want Noriko to study in Japan for her future. She cannot live by herself, so three of us want to live together.’ Sarah also said, ‘We are not changing our minds’” (Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, February 27). “On the morning of their separation. ‘I’m leaving,’ [said Noriko], ‘Take care,’ [said Sarah]. It was a usual morning scene of Noriko going to school with her friends, but ‘My heart goes out to her all the more,’ said Sarah” (Asahi Shimbun, 2009, April 14). In addition, there were no descriptions of Sarah’s personality. This lack of description was in sharp contrast to representations of Noriko and Arlan, which included comments on their personalities by their friends and colleagues. Instead, Sarah only appeared in photographs and as a name, with occasional explanations that she came to Japan a year earlier than Arlan, that her

---

58 「アランさんも『のり子の将来のために日本で勉強させたい。のり子はまだ自分で生活できません、3人で暮らしたい』とし、妻のサラさん（38）も『気持ちは変わらない』と話した」(Yomiuri Shimbun, 2009, February 27), 「別れの日の朝。『行ってきます』『行ってらっしゃい』。のり子さんが友人と登校するなにげない光景だったが、『格別に愛おしく思えた』とサラさん」(Asahi Shimbun, 2009, April 14).
arrest in 2006 for her irregular status was the trigger for the family’s deportation order and that Sarah’s sister who is married to a Japanese man and has a legal status will take care of Noriko. There was no indication of Sarah’s previous occupations or how she was “caught” by the immigration bureau in 2006.

This absence of Sarah can be analyzed from three perspectives: practical problems of the journalists, existing discourses of Filipinas in Japan, and patriarchy in Japanese society. The first perspective looks at the access to information by mainstream journalists. It was easier for journalists to interview Arlan’s colleagues and Noriko’s classmates, since their communities were predominantly Japanese-speaking. However, it was perhaps hard to determine for mainstream journalists where a “housewife” built her own community especially if she was a “foreigner.” As mentioned in Chapter Two, foreigners are likely represented in the framework of illegality, and in-depth reporting that captures their lifestyles is scarce in Japan (Takaya, 2007). In addition to the difficulty accessing the Filipino community because of the language barrier, perhaps the mainstream journalists were not used to covering the story of a housewife, let alone a foreign housewife.

The second perspective considered Sarah’s absence in relation to the prevailing discourses of Filipinas in Japan. Sarah did not fit into the typical Filipina representations in Japan, which were young women who worked in pubs as hostesses or women who were married to Japanese men. Sarah was a housewife who took care of her Filipino husband and her Filipino daughter. Foucault’s third category of rules of exclusion, the will to truth, is helpful in thinking about Sarah’s absence from the discourses in the two forms of media. The will to truth, which Foucault also calls as the will to knowledge, gains institutional support and “tends to exercise a sort of pressure, a power of constraint upon other forms of discourse” (Foucault, 1972, p. 219). In this case, with the power of the newspapers and internet discussion board to circulate discourses, the description of Sarah, which did not conform to the existing discourse of typical Filipinas, was excluded from the media. This case provided an opportunity to help people learn about the diversity of Filipinas in Japan, but instead the alternative discourse was silenced because it did not fit into the already established discourses. This observation supports Braham (1982)’s argument that the media presents news in a way that conforms to the society’s
norm so the readers and viewers can understand the news. Through this exclusion, the already dominant discourse about the Filipinas in Japan was preserved and reinforced.

In the third perspective, we can also see this exclusion as privileging the male authority figure in Japanese society. Arlan’s comments were significantly longer than Sarah’s, whose comments were used to support his comments. Arlan served as the family’s spokesperson, a typical male authority figure in a Japanese family. In addition, despite the fact that both Noriko and Sarah were Filipinas in Japan, they were represented differently. Noriko was constructed as a strong, brilliant girl who would briskly answer journalists’ questions. On the other hand, Sarah was depicted as a feeble woman who needed her husband’s support. This was clearly manifested when the Tokyo Immigration Bureau took Arlan into custody. Her comments which were published in Asahi Shimbun lacked autonomy: “Sarah, who held a press conference after Arlan was in custody, said disappointingly ‘We can’t decide [whether to go back to the Philippines or to leave Noriko behind] right now.’ Her voice was halting and she only said, ‘We want to make a decision through discussion’” (N. Ito & Seki, 2009).59 In other words, Sarah was always complementary to Arlan and Noriko. This feeble representation of Sarah did not match the previous Filipina representations in Japan, who were mostly depicted as sturdy, cunning women. Because of the contradiction between the predominant representation of Filipinas and Sarah, Sarah was excluded from the newspapers. By excluding her, the newspapers unintentionally reinforced the prevailing narrative of Filipinas. A predominant exclusion of Sarah and the representation of Sarah as a feeble woman (in little that were published), reinforce the already established discourses about the Filipina in Japan (Filipinas are cunning and sturdy) and women in general (women stand behind their husbands because they are weak).

**Theme #3: Where is the Philippines?**

Interestingly, the Philippines was absent in the newspaper articles. Although the Calderon family was referred to as a “Filipino family” in every article, this attribute was

---

59 「アランさんが収容された後、記者会見したサラさんは『それでも、いまは決められない』と、落胆の表情を見せた。声もとぎれとぎれで、『相談しながら今後を決めたい』とだけ話した」 (N. Ito & Seki, 2009).
not represented as their main characteristic. The lack of information to contextualize the Philippine economic situation reinforced this tendency; thus the family was constructed as irregular residents in Japan who happened to have Filipino nationality. Similarly, the voices from the Filipino community, both in the Philippines and Japan, were absent in the newspapers. This silence was pointed out by a couple of 2 channel users, and this was one of the reasons why the threads which had Filipino news sources had the most postings in 2 channel.60 The newspapers never reported the voices of the Filipino community in Japan or how the Philippines government responded to this situation.

People who appeared in the newspapers always had ethnic Japanese-names, except for the Calderon family themselves. Having ethnic Japanese-names does not necessarily mean that the person is an ethnic Japanese person, because many ethnic Koreans and Taiwanese have Japanese-style names in order to escape the severe racism. Nonetheless, the newspaper representations emphasized the relationship between the Calderon family and the ethnic Japanese people. The relationship was represented in either ways: supposedly Japanese people supporting the Calderon family, or the Japanese authorities demanding the deportation to the Calderon family. This case was completely constructed as a domestic problem even though global migration was part of the issue. Here, we can observe another form of the will to truth. The newspaper editor’s will to construct this problem as a domestic problem silenced Filipino perspectives.

The Filipinos constitute the fourth largest foreigner group in Japan (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2008). In addition, the Filipino networks in Japan are open-ended networks that encompass the Japanese (A. Nagata, 2007). Why, then, did none of the Filipino community members appear in the newspapers? The fact that voices from the Filipino community were ignored by the mainstream newspapers is an evidence that the Calderon family was redefined as representative of irregular residents who happened to have Filipino nationality. Furthermore, because their nationality did not matter to the newspapers, the colonial relationship between the Philippines and Japan was also absent. This redefinition of the Calderon family as simple “irregular residents” resulted in

60 This silence also led the 2 channel users to accuse the Japanese mass media for not adequately reporting the Philippines side of the story; therefore leading to the untrustworthiness of the Japanese mass media.
masking the continued relationship between the colonial past and the current global inequality. This case was also constructed as a domestic problem in 2 channel discussion despite the 2 channel users’ desire to distance themselves from the mass media discourses (Hirai, 2007). Thus, they were also contributing to silencing the Filipino perspectives although they were “using” the Filipino newspaper source to start a discussion.

If the Philippines were absent from two forms of media discourse, what about the European countries? European countries were discussed as the model that Japan should follow. For example, both Yomiuri and Asahi mentioned that in some European countries, the standards for amnesty were clear; thus Japan should clarify its standards as well. In this context, Japan was represented as being in the process of developing the membership of its civil society. Europeans states as the leading states in terms of the development of the civil society, followed by Japan and the Philippines as the emigrant country which sends away its people rather than receiving foreign nationals. This representation of looking up to Western states while looking down upon other Asian states is completely in line with the Japanese form of Orientalism (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001; Kang, 1996). While European countries were represented as the model to follow, voices from the Philippines or the Filipino community in Japan did not have the news value for Japanese newspapers. They were considered not worth reporting by the mainstream mass media. Although Asahi published a follow up article that referred to Filipino news sources after Arlan and Sarah Calderon were deported to the Philippines, the article argued that this case did not receive much attention because there were too many families facing similar situations in the Philippines. Thus, even this article contributed to the notion that the Filipino voice had less news value, and reinforced the hierarchical positions among the West, Japan and the Philippines.

On the other hand, the Calderon family became the representative Filipinos in 2 channel. In fact, many comments stated that the users now have bad impressions of Filipinos because of the family. Some 2 channel users blamed the Filipino community in Japan for not strongly demanding that the Calderon family return to the Philippines (2 channel, 2009, May 7, thread 34). According to those users, the Filipino community should have dealt with the criminals within its community. That way, the Japanese
society would not have to deal with a criminal family. Judging from these comments, most 2 channel users identified themselves with ethnic Japanese and engaged in constructing the Calderon family as distinct, inferior Others. Zainichi Koreans were also constructed in a similar way. These forms of xenophobia toward other Asians remind us of Kang (1996)’s analysis of Japanese Orientalism. In order to remove the inferiority and stigma that Japan has taken on from Western views, Japan needed to Orientalize Asia to show its superiority.

In this chapter, I mainly argued what had been silenced in two forms of media I analyzed. By investigating the silenced discourses, I identified how and why certain discourses were illegitimatized and devalued in the contemporary Japanese society. In particular, I argued three silences: silencing the family’s illegality, absence of the mother, and absence of the Philippines. The newspapers silenced the courts’ verdicts that ruled the family’s irregularity in order to emphasize the family’s immersion into Japanese society. The mother’s, Sarah’s, absence reinforced the prevailing stereotypes of the Filipinas in Japan and women in general. The perspectives from the Filipino community or from the Philippines were silenced by the newspaper editors to construct this case as a domestic problem. These three silences were analyzed in relation to the Foucauldian “rules of exclusion,” namely, the division and the will to truth. The third silence, the absence of the Philippines, was also analyzed using the Japanese Orientalism framework. Although I emphasized the intentionality of the newspaper editors, I also stated that intentionality was not always present by discussing the absence of the Philippines in 2 channel discussions. In fact, I want to highlight, as Foucault (1972) did in his delineation of the development of human sciences, that the intentions of the individuals or organizations does not matter. Intentions create the unintended silences, and these unintended silences have implications both for citizenship policies and advocacy. The last chapter of this study explores the implications of the emergent and the silenced discourses on citizenship policies and advocacy work projects.
Chapter 8: Conclusions and Implications

My study focused on the representations of the Calderon family in the Japanese mass media and internet discussion board in order to examine the Japanese society’s responses to issues of global migration and citizenship. I asked two sets of research questions in this study. First, how does Japan view and conceptualize foreign residents from former colonized nations? In both newspapers and the internet discussion board, there was no explicit mention of Japan’s colonial relationship with Filipinos. Instead, the Calderon family was mostly constructed from globalization and economic perspectives. This colonial silence obscured the continuing link between the current globalization and the colonial past, namely the neo-colonial reality. The discourse represented divisions within the Calderon family: Arlan and Sarah as deceitful Filipinos and Noriko as innocent and culturally Japanese. I argued that colonial mimicry discourse (H. Bhabha, 1994) and Japanese Orientalism (Kiyoshi Abe, 2001; Kang, 1996) were present in the representation of the Calderon family in both media.

In the second set of questions, I asked what the findings implied for citizenship policies and advocacy work in Japan. This chapter addresses these questions. Here, advocacy work refers to any projects that intend to educate the public about the social injustice, and to change the situation. Therefore, I include both the newspaper journalists and the supporters of the Calderon family. I illustrated how the seemingly neutral and humanitarian discourses in mass media may unintentionally harm the subjects they are trying to protect. For instance, I examined the divided family representation by using the metaphor of sun, light and shadow. Emphasis on Noriko’s innocence was intentional in the newspapers, but highlighting Arlan and Sarah’s illegality was its unintentional effect. Moreover, in their efforts to regularize the Calderon family, the supporters and Asahi Shimbun relied on articulating the hardships the family would likely face in the Philippines, which unintentionally reinforced the derogatory image of the Philippines. What are the implications of these unintentional effects of good intentions for advocacy work projects?
Implications for Citizenship Policy

Japan adheres to the *jus sanguinis* principle, in which citizenship is granted on the basis of blood kinship, rather than place of birth. Therefore, Noriko, who was born in Japan, needed to go through the naturalization process in order to acquire Japanese citizenship. The mass media reported in favour of the Japan-born, Japanese-speaking and culturally-Japanese Noriko when her family faced a deportation order. In contrast, the Philippine-born parents were depicted as *illegal* aliens who should be held accountable for their actions. I called this phenomenon a representation of an ambivalent *jus soli* principle in a strong *jus sanguinis* country. Although Noriko did not have Japanese citizenship, the mass media represented her as an innocent, culturally-Japanese child who would someday contribute to Japanese society. In this sense, the child was considered a desirable citizen of the imagined community in comparison to her parents. If we look at the newly revised guideline for issuing special permits to stay in Japan, the highest priority is given to those who have familial ties with Japanese citizens, who have school-aged children, those who are severely ill or those who need to look after family members who are severely ill (Immigration Bureau of Japan, 2009). The fact that adult “foreigners” worked hard and contributed to the Japanese economy was easily ignored or dismissed, while their children became one of the determining factors in “compassionate” governmental decisions.

If Japan-born children were thought preferable in comparison to their irregular parents, had Japan adopted the *jus soli* principle in granting citizenship, would the “ending” of the Calderon family story have changed? If Noriko had had Japanese citizenship, could she have stopped her parents from being deported? The answer is probably no. Even in the United States, which implements the birthright citizenship principle, the citizen-child has no power to stop their parents from being deported (J. Bhabha, 2003). For example, the Board of Immigration Appeals in the USA states that “the mere fact that an alien’s child is born in the United States does not entitle the alien to any favoured status in seeking discretionary relief from deportation” (Villena v. INS 622 F.2nd 1352, 1359(9th Cir. 1980) as cited by J. Bhabha, 2003). Why does the citizen-parent have the right to sponsor their child from their original country, while the citizen-child does not have the right to do so for her or his parents? J. Bhabha (2003) attributes
this “radically asymmetrical” (p. 55) relationship between adult and child citizenship to contemporary notions of citizenship as adult-centred. While most people acquire citizenship at birth, whether by blood-kinship or due to place of birth, many citizenship rights are suspended until they become adult. Children are thought to be ‘future’ citizens rather than actual citizens (Macedo & Young, 2003, p. 1). Yet, the primary concern expressed in discussions around immigration and citizenship in developed nations does not focus on the abuse of the child’s rights; rather the primary concern expressed is about the “so-called ‘abuse’ of birthright citizenship to secure immigration advantages for undocumented or criminal alien parents” (J. Bhabha, 2003, p. 56). The pressures for immigration control outweigh the value of citizenship policy in the current era of globalization.

**Implications for Advocacy Work Using Mass Media**

One of my motivations in starting this research was to probe the sharp contrast between the favourable mass media reporting and the overwhelmingly negative opinions posted on the internet. The negative opinions about the Calderon family were not limited to 2 channel; they were seen in people’s blogs, comments and Q &A websites. How do we make sense of this contrast, and what are the implications for advocacy work using the mass media? In previous chapters, I discussed that the emerging and silenced discourses in two forms of media regarding the representations of the Calderon family case. This section focuses on two aspects – children and silencing illegality – in order to examine their implications for advocacy work and their use of media.

**Focus on children.** In the process regularizing irregular residents, the Japanese mass media tended to focus on children in order to garner support for regularizing the family from the wider community. This tendency in representational politics was illustrated in the Calderon family case, in which Noriko received much more favourable attention than her parents. The more the mass media emphasize the children’s innocence and immersion into Japanese society, the more their parents’ supposed irregularity stands out. In fact, both newspapers reported that there were “children” living in Japan facing situations similar to the Calderon family. As a result, supposed irregular residents who do not have children would be excluded from the standard guidelines for a special permit,
and instead, carry the stigma of being known as hotspots and the cause of crimes (E. Suzuki, 2009). This style of reporting dismisses the fact that irregular residents have worked hard and supported the Japanese economy just like the other workers. Both newspapers referred to Arlan as a hard working person, but his and Sarah’s 16 years of work were placed in the background in order to foreground the discourses about Noriko’s innocence.

This media focus on children may also be encouraged by international treaties ratified by Japan. Mr. Watanabe’s main claims in the Calderon case was that their deportation order was against the child’s best interests, and that it was against the Convention on the Rights of the Child which Japan had ratified. Mr. Watanabe fought for the family’s unity based on the international treaty of which Japan is a signatory. Then, in order to change this tendency to focus on the child’s innocence and disregard the irregular residents’ hard work, I think Japan should ratify the international treaty that addresses migrants’ rights. As a migrant-receiving country, Japan has the obligation to acknowledge the migrant’s membership and secure their rights. For example, the United Nations’ International Convention on the Rights of all Migrants and Members of their Families is an international treaty that is intended to protect the rights of migrant workers, including irregular migrants. As of January 2010, 58 countries had either signed or ratified this treaty. However, most of these signatories are migrant-sending countries. None of the developed, migrant-receiving countries, such as Japan or Canada, has signed or ratified it. This treaty was first introduced in 1990, but it took 13 years for it to be enforceable, in 2003 when the minimum number of 20 signatures was met. Stasiulis and Bakan (2005) state that the refusal of migrant-receiving countries to sign or ratify this treaty shows their resistance toward the “transnational citizenship that would impinge on states’ rights to control their bodies” (p. 211).

In fact, Japan has been implementing policies to control foreigners, and reduce the number of irregular residents, by slowly depriving them of their rights. In 2012, Japan’s new immigration system will take effect. If the government does not work on ensuring the basic rights of irregular residents, they will have reduced rights, such as medical rights and access to education, under the new regulation. Although protecting children’s rights is extremely important, the focus could also include irregular workers because the
current trend seems to disregard their contribution to the Japanese economy. As we have seen in this study, unequal attention of the voices of the migrant workers and their children further reinforced the division within the family. The shadow metaphor I used in explaining the phenomenon highlighted how the favourable representation of children came with the unfavourable representation of the parents. This shadowed representation may influence how the public views irregular residents. The evidence collected in this study, viewed through Foucault’s concepts of exteriority and discontinuity, suggests the possibility that media discourse that highlighted Noriko’s innocence were influenced by the Convention on the Rights of the Child. Then, there is also a possibility to shift the discourse to highlight irregular residents’ contributions to the economy in the direction of acceptance if Japan ratifies the United Nations’ International Convention on the Rights of all Migrants, which is intended to protect the migrants’ rights.

**Silencing of illegality.** In Chapter Seven, I argued that the newspapers had deprived the readers of the chance to explore the global structural dependency of the Philippines, by obscuring the fact that many of the Calderon family’s extended relatives had also been irregular residents in Japan. By silencing that fact, the newspapers gave the impression to the readers that family members’ migration was individually motivated rather than derived from a structural problem. However, global migration, especially from South to North is a structural problem because of the predictable pattern in which the powerful North benefits at the expense of the South. As we have seen in the newspaper representation of the Calderon family, this tendency to represent migration as based on individual motivation not only dismisses the complexities and urgency of contemporary migration, but also averts our eyes from the factors that contribute to global structural dependency. The newspapers and the internet discussion board also silenced the colonial relationship between the Philippines and Japan. By silencing the colonial history, they allowed the readers and users to forget the neo-colonial reality. Japan’s presence as the top donor to the Philippines rests on this colonial relationship between the two nations. What was originally war repatriation to the Philippines changed its form into foreign aid, and it facilitated many Japanese corporations to expand their business in the Philippines (T. Sato, 1994). Despite these neo-colonial relations, the
Filipino migrations to Japan were framed as individually motivated that had nothing to do with this colonial history.

Neither the newspapers studied here nor posts in 2 channel discussed Japan’s role in creating the global inequalities that were leading to migration to Japan from countries such as the Philippines. The discussion on 2 channel centred on the irregularity of the family; therefore, these discourses implied that the solution to this problem was to get rid of this one criminal family from Japan. For 2 channel users, the problem was framed as this one particular family, and not global inequality. Even the newspapers, which tried to bring this argument into a broader perspective, the discussion centred on creating clear guidelines for issuing special permits to stay in Japan. Thus, the newspaper authors’ solution to this problem was to create a clearer framework on who we (read: Japanese) allow as the residents of Japan. Either proposed solution addressed only the individual or the domestic problem. Neglecting the global aspect of this case misses larger problems of global economic inequality. Yet, precisely because the problem to be tackled was seen as too complex, global migration issues were excluded from the problems and the solutions considered in both sets of media.

Advocacy work. In this study, I examined discourses in the newspapers and the internet discussion board. I argued in Chapter Five that the lines between indoctrination and advocacy were blurry in the newspapers partly because of their desire to be objective. Compared to other forms of advocacy media, which clearly present their positions, the newspapers did not explicitly state their positions, except in the editorials. This situation fuelled many 2 channel users to conceptualize the mass media reporting as “biased reporting.” Keeping in mind these characteristics of each media, I now turn to analyzing the advocacy work using the anti-oppressive education framework.

Going to back to the framework of anti-oppressive education by Kumashiro (2000), advocacy work for children’s rights studied in this research can be classified into a combination of Education for the Other, Education about the Other, and a part of the Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering. The advocacy work attempted to address the specific needs of the Calderon family by using the human rights discourses (Education for the Other). At the same time, the advocacy work also attempted to educate the public that the child had a right to be united with her family (Education about the
and it challenged the state’s arrogance in not following the international treaty that it had ratified (Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering). Yet, it did not fully critique the global structural inequality and Japan’s involvement in it. The problem with the Education for the Other approach is that it assumes that the Other is the problem and does not account for the multiple factors that cause oppression (Kumashiro, 2000).

Seen from this light, the human rights discourse assumes that the factor that hinders the protection of human rights is the problem. Therefore, this discourse deludes the public that if the human rights were achieved, the problem would be solved. In contrast to this view, in many instances, oppression is not caused by one single violation of a human right.

Furthermore, advocacy based on the violation of human rights essentializes the subject and reiterates its injuries (Brown, 1995). This critique is similar to Kumashiro (2000)’s critiques of the second approach, Education about the Other. By presenting the dominant view about the Other and positioning the Other as the expert, this second approach essentializes the Other by the mainstream society gaze. In fact, in the process of claiming the family’s legal status in Japan, advocates had to rely on articulating the hardships the family would likely face in the Philippines. These arguments were presented as Arlan’s comments, which positioned him as the expert on the Philippines. In the newspapers, he constantly claimed that there were no jobs in the Philippines and that Noriko would not fit into the education system in the Philippines. These remarks reinforced the derogatory image of the Philippines to the Japanese public. In fact, many 2 channel users posed questions about why the family hated the Philippines so much.

Perhaps, those dilemmas mentioned above demonstrate the limits of advocacy work based on human rights. Future advocacy work, presenting a more critical and structural perspective, as Education that is Critical of Privileging and Othering (Kumashiro, 2000), could shed light on the larger issue of global inequality. This path could help the public be critically engaged in the topic of global migration, rather than solely viewing the situation as a domestic problem as was the case in the newspaper representation of the Calderon family. Moreover, Kumashiro (2000) might suggest that advocacy workers could also add a focus on Education that Changes Students and Society. Although the creation of alternative discourses has not yet happened, the
alteration of citational practices, one of Kumashiro (2000)’s examples of the Education that Changes Students and Society approach, is occurring in the immigrant advocacy arena. Advocates for irregular residents are using the word ‘irregular residents’ as opposed to ‘illegal residents’. Unfortunately, the newspapers and the internet discussion board were using the word ‘illegal residents’ or ‘illegal stay’ more frequently than the term ‘irregular residents;’ perhaps because of resistances to these words from people who claim immigration rules have the highest priority.

Even though the discussions in 2 channel were not always serious, I still believe that educators concerned about equity for migrants to Japan could benefit by acknowledging 2 channel users’ viewpoints. Educators and advocates could help media readers to develop skills in taking these responses to the point where we could have constructive discussions. The goal of advocacy work for global migrants is to achieve an equitable society for all. To meet this goal requires media readers and participants to be attentive to what writers and readers privilege and silence. Ellsworth (1989)’s question, “What diversity do we silence in the name of “liberatory” pedagogy?” (p. 299) is applicable to this case. Silencing discourses on the internet just because they are not “serious enough” would work as another form of creating regimes of truth (Foucault, 1980). It would only contribute to reproducing discourses that only account for what is already legitimatized and accepted in the mainstream society. As Ellsworth (1989) and Kumashiro (2000) emphasize, it is important to recognize that all knowledge is partial and to keep exploring what has been silenced. This strategy may not move towards “a better place” (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 46), but a better place from whose perspective? Defining “better” simply imposes the way to be. I pointed out three silences that I observed in both newspapers and the internet discussion board: the family’s illegality, absence of Sarah Calderon, and the absence of the Philippines. Even if these silences were to be addressed and became salient in the emergent discourses, that situation will not be the goal. There are many other unnoticed silences; furthermore, addressing the observed silences may also create other silences. “[W]e want to constantly become, we want difference, change, newness” (Kumashiro, 2000, p. 46). Being attentive to silence is crucial, but it is also important to acknowledge that there is no “better” way in the advocacy projects, but rather, the strategy of constantly becoming is the goal.
Hesford and Kozol (2005) remind us of the importance of historicizing advocacy work that tends to be universalistic and does not account for specific contexts. Similar points have been made by Wendy Brown (1995) who calls this problem “the paradox between the universal idiom and the local effect of rights itself” (p. 97). The advocacy work taken up by the mass media deprived the Calderon family of their Filipino ethnicity. They were redefined as irregular residents who happened to have Filipino nationality. Although this redefinition had certain effects in shaping discourses about the broader problem of how Japanese society faces irregular residents, it also represented the family as “one of them.” Such an “ahistorical, acultural, and acontextual” (Brown, 1995, p. 97) representation could allow readers to forget that the family is alive at this moment. After the flood of media attention, their lives continue. Yet, people who are not directly affected by the Calderon family deportation tend to forget this basic fact. “Representation is not only a matter of ‘speaking about’ but also of ‘speaking for’” (Beverly, 1999). In doing so, Kumashiro (2000) warns us not to be trapped in the conceptualization of oppression as static, which tends to present a dominant view about the Other from mainstream viewpoints. Following Foucault’s notion of specificity, certain discourses gain prominence in a specific historical and social context. By contextualizing the representation historically and socially, the advocacy work can avoid the derogatory generalization.

In the Introduction to this thesis, I stated that the study would contribute to four fields of scholarship: postcolonial studies, studies of citizenship and nationalism, media studies, and anti-oppressive curriculum studies. I would like to end the thesis by making recommendations, based on my study, for what future advocacy could look like in relation to these disciplines. I argued throughout the thesis that both newspapers and internet discussion board discussion lacked a recognition of the colonial relationship between Japan and the Philippines, and presented Filipino migration to Japan in the framework of an economic and temporary labour plan. My study showed that both newspapers’ intentions to protect the irregular residents may harm the irregular residents by providing the readers with the dominant narrative of the Other. I argued that this type of advocacy, which I categorized as Education for the Other and Education about the Other (Kumashiro, 2000), was problematic because it situated the oppression as static
rather than historically and socially situated. Therefore, I argued that, in agreement with Kumashiro (2000)’s investment in his third and fourth approaches to anti-oppressive education, the advocacy work must always be historically and culturally contextualized in order to acknowledge our partialness. What this strategy means, from a postcolonial and media studies perspective, is that advocacy project for the Calderon family or any other migrant families must situate the representation of the family’s migration history in the context of the neo-colonial and global economic structures. Restricted immigration control in North that targets the migrants from South is another form of neo-colonial reality. This strategy to examine the contemporary migration in the context of continuing neo-colonial relationship between North and South, would allow and encourage readers to question the validity claim that the pressures for immigration control outweigh the citizenship policy in the time of globalization.
References


Toh, L. S. (2002). Nihon no masukomi to ajia [Japanese mass media and Asia]. In H. Kano, H. Kano, & M. Ogura (Eds.), Higashi ajia to nihon shakai (pp. 73-108). Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai.


Yomiuri Shimbun. (2009, February 11). Fuho taizai de kokugai taikyo kakutei "tokubetsu zairyu kyoka wo" firipin jin oyako ga uttae [deportation order issued due to the illegal stay "special permit to stay in Japan" pleas the Filipino family]. Retrieved from https://database-yomiuri-co-jp.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/rekishikan/


Yomiuri Shimbun. (2009, March 14). Hi ikka, chojo dake zanryu “shorai no tame” ketsudan shinrui no moto, onaji chugaku ni [Filipino family, only the daughter to stay, a decision “for the future”. [she] will go to the same school under the supervision of her relatives]. Retrieved from https://database-yomiuri-co-jp.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/rekishikan/

Yomiuri Shimbun. (2009, March 15). Zairyu tokubetsu kyoka kijun ga nai kara fushin ga shojiru [Special permit to stay in Japan, the absence of clear criteria causes the distrust]. Retrieved from https://database-yomiuri-co-jp.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/rekishikan/


**Appendix A**

**Glossary**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Meanings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>jus soli</em></td>
<td>Soil-based or birthright principle in granting citizenship. Place of birth determines your citizenship. This principle is usually combined with the <em>jus sanguinis</em> principle in order to accommodate people who are born outside of the country from parents who hold citizenship.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>jus sanguinis</em></td>
<td>Blood-kinship principle in granting citizenship. In order to get the Japanese citizenship, one of your parents must have Japanese citizenship or go through naturalization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naturalization</td>
<td>A process for individuals to change their citizenship. In most countries, this process is only valid for people who are considered to be adult (20 years old in Japan and 18 years old in Canada).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>foreign residents</td>
<td>Short-term and long-term settlement foreigners living in Japan. The Japanese government uses this word in governmental publications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(teiju gaikokujin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>immigrants (imin)</td>
<td>There is no set definition by the Japanese government, but generally, it connotes long-term settlement in a country outside of the country of birth. Therefore, the Japanese government is reluctant to use this word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irregular residents</td>
<td>People who do not have the legal status to stay in a country. Often used as “illegal aliens” or “illegal foreigners,” but these words feeds into the construction of these people as criminals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix B
Comparison of Calderon Family Events and the Movements in the New Immigration System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Calderon Family Events</th>
<th>Movements in New Immigration System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1990</td>
<td></td>
<td>Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act was revised which made possible for nikkeijin to work in Japan without many regulations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992 April</td>
<td>Sarah came to Japan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993 May</td>
<td>Arlan came to Japan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995 July</td>
<td>Noriko was born in Japan.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td></td>
<td>Local governments asked the national government for the review of Alien Registration Act because it is hard for them to use the registered data to provide municipal services.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td></td>
<td>The national government started the reviewing the Alien Registration Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006 July</td>
<td>Sarah was arrested for having entered Japan with a forged passport.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006 November</td>
<td>Tokyo immigration bureau issued a deportation order to the family.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2006 December</td>
<td>The family sued the immigration bureau at Tokyo District Court.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007 January</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Ministry of Justice started reviewing the immigration system.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2007 May</td>
<td></td>
<td>The foundation for the new immigration system was decided that the Immigration Act will cover foreigners’ status, while creating a new registration system for the foreign residents. The timeline was set for submitting the various laws by the 2009 National Diet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 January</td>
<td>The family lost the case, appealed to the Tokyo High Court.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event Description</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 March</td>
<td>A report “Proposals for the new immigration system,” which became the foundation for the revised Immigration Act came out from the Ministry of Justice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 May</td>
<td>The family lost the case, appealed to the Supreme Court.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 September</td>
<td>The case was dismissed by the Supreme Court.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 October</td>
<td>The first newspaper reporting by Asahi came out.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 November</td>
<td>The family submitted petitions for the special permit to stay in Japan to the Ministry of Justice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008 December</td>
<td>A report on the new foreigner registration system came out from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 January</td>
<td>The Tokyo Immigration Bureau demanded the family to decide whether they all go back to the Philippines or leave Noriko behind.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009 March</td>
<td>The Warabi city council unanimously voted for a proposal for the family’s special permit, the Tokyo immigration bureau took Arlan in custody.</td>
<td>The revised Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act (出入国管理及び難民認定法), the revised Special Act on the Immigration Control of, Inter Alia, Those Who Have Lost Japanese Nationality Pursuant to the Treaty of Peace with Japan (日本国との平和条約に基づき日本の国籍を離脱した者等の出入国管理に関する特例法) and the revised Residential Basic Book Act (住民基本台帳法), were submitted to the National Diet for discussion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009, April 14</td>
<td>The parents left Japan without Noriko.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009, July 8</td>
<td>All three revisions were approved at the National Diet.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009, July 10</td>
<td>A new guideline for the special permit to stay in Japan was released from the Ministry of Justice.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Created by Y. Bessho, using references to the *Yomiuri Shimbun* (2009, March 10) and Kentaro Ando (2009).