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Japan and the United Kingdom: Island Peoples Coming to Terms with their Imperial Legacy

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Japan and the United Kingdom: Island Peoples

Coming to Terms with their Imperial Legacy

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International Studies Senior Thesis

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Abstract

Similar to the United States, other colonial nations such as Japan and the United Kingdom hold prejudicial pasts that have impacted their current social climates. In contrast to the U.S.'s long-time racial hostilities, Japan and Britain's traditional institutions centered their nationalist campaigns with an anti-foreigner sentiment. The nationalist campaigns within Japan and Britain were prompted by their effort to re-establish their identities after the devastations of World War II. For Japan, conservatives prioritized the preservation of their cultural roots from foreign influence. For the United Kingdom, conservatives used imperial nostalgia to call for a revitalization of the height of their past. This ultra-nationalist rhetoric is one that unified their societies but also created a divide among those on the 'outside' from those on the 'inside.' Given Japan and the U.K.'s xenophobic attitudes in the name of national security, this thesis aims to tackle how these countries are responding to the wake of global movements that call out colonial pasts and its impact in present injustices. This thesis analyzes Japan and Britain's imperial histories, the resurgence of ultra-nationalism post-world war, their systemic prejudices against immigrants, and its effect in their popular culture and media. Based on these discussions, this thesis argues that Japan is looking forward to a future of social inclusion, while Britain continues to look back at a past of social exclusion.

Introduction

In the electronic age, known as the 1940s to the present day, globalization has become a social norm that has transformed even the most traditional societies. With the rise of immigration and an evolving global media presence, these traditional societies had to submit to outside influences. This paper will discuss how traditional cultures, specifically Japan and the United Kingdom, have reacted to this new wave of modernity.

Japan and the United Kingdom both take great pride in their legacy of empire. However, after World War II, both countries experienced a period where they had to be economically and politically reliant on the U.S. in order to rebuild from their devastation. With this, Japan and the United Kingdom eventually adopted American social concepts that were interpreted as a biased rhetoric, mainly against foreigners of color. As a result, this exclusive sentiment was practiced not only in their policy making, but as well as in their social and popular culture.

As a homogenous society, Japan does not have the same discriminatory ideals on race that is as prominent in the U.K. and in the U.S. However, Japan's discriminatory practices against other minority Asian groups and those of a lower-class status, are based on systemic beliefs that are similar to American racism. American racism ranks biology and a person's physical attributes, setting the social hierarchy on skin color with lighter skin shades on top and darker shades on the bottom. Similar to the U.S., Japan has practiced colorism in the same light among their own race with darker toned Japanese citizens being historically associated with field workers and thus, categorized in a lower-class status. The difference between Japanese discrimination and American discrimination is that Japan's sentiment is not one about race (as most of Japan's population is of Asian descent), but more so rooted against foreigners, especially

those of a lower-economic caste. Even though lighter skin tones are a preference among Asian societies, it isn't the sole motive for Japan's anti-immigrant views.

As a more multicultural society, the United Kingdom struggles with the same racial hostilities as the United States. Similar to Japan, the United Kingdom's discriminatory practices are rooted against foreigners of a lower economic class. This signals racist undertones as it categorizes immigrants who come from impoverished countries as lower-class. Overtime British society produced a racial hierarchy due to the migration of cheap labor. With the American influence, the mass media increasingly used American definitions of race instead of the initial 'insider', 'outsider' distinctions. The British, with their long history of colonization among non-western nations, have played a significant role in exploiting communities of color. This still holds true in a subtler form in how communities of color are portrayed in British tabloids.

This thesis explores how Japan and the U.K. respond to present injustices in regard to their past, especially in the wake of Immigrant rights movements and the more recent Black Lives Matter movement. While Britain refuses to acknowledge or apologize for their past and how it plays a role in their present, Japan has come to terms with their past and aims to move forward.

Methodology

Japan and Britain share many similarities in regard to their history of colonialism and that legacy in their current social attitudes. For my comparison between Japan and Britain, I centered my focus on their history and its role in their present culture. With the height of the Black Lives Matter movement erupting not just in the U.S., but on the world stage, I dove deeper on how other nations with colonial pasts, apart from the U.S., have also contributed to the anti-immigration rhetoric. The Black Lives Matter campaign has opened up a conversation of systemic racism in the U.S. and I aimed to uncover whether these same patterns are also found in the establishment of English and Japanese nationalism.

The inspiration for this topic stemmed from the Black Lives Matter movement during the Summer of 2020. The Black Lives Matter movement has expanded my understanding of how Black people are continuously mistreated, misjudged, and type casted as outsiders even in their home countries. My partner, being half Black and half Mexican, has especially made me aware of the specific injustices that I, as a White-Asian American, have never and will never be exposed to. I was planning to study abroad in Tokyo in the Spring of 2020, but due to COVID-19, I wasn't able to attend. However, while I was preparing for my trip prior to the cancellation, I was urging my partner to come visit me. His first response, however, wasn't as excited as I hoped. He asked me, reluctantly, 'how are black people treated in Japan? Will I be uncomfortable there?' He continued to explain to me the realities that Black people must consider when traveling abroad. As I tried to answer his question, I began to really ask myself, 'what is the racial attitude in Japan?' This question had me reflect upon my own upbringing when I lived in Japan for the first 10 years of my life. My mother, being a Filipina immigrant, met my American father in Japan. They later had me in Tokyo and unlike the birth right in the

U.S., Japan only allows citizenship to those with Japanese ancestry. While living there, I remember my parents, as foreigners or “gaijins” referred to by the Japanese, would be randomly stopped by police to check their legal statuses. Along with their strict immigration standards, looking back on my childhood, there was little to no diversity in the environment I grew up in. Seeing people of color outside of Asian nationalities was rare from what I could remember. Thinking back on this, I find it quite alarming that I wasn’t exposed to more diverse people and perspectives in my early childhood. With this analysis, I was intrigued to find out as to why there is this lack of diversity in Japan and what that says about Japan’s social climate.

As the Black Lives Matter and anti-police brutality movement expanded into a worldwide issue, I noticed that there were major uprisings in other colonial states - most specifically in the UK. While Japan also had Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests and rallies on a smaller scale, the U.S.’s BLM movement caused a comparable outbreak in the UK. The histories of the United States and Britain are similar in their legacy of xenophobia against people of color. Even though the Black Lives Matter movement centers on racism, racism is not much a present concept in Japan and England as it is in the U.S. The discriminatory sentiment is focused more so on the concept of the foreigner or outsider. This is still applied to the BLM movement as it stands against social injustice against marginalized cultural groups. With this in mind, I decided to use the UK in my comparative analysis with Japan to study the similarities of their foreigner relations. I found that Japan and the United Kingdom share many similarities, including: island nations with a strong naval military for colonization (Japan’s case prior to the results of WWII), a powerful sense of nationalism, hostility with their neighbors, and similar government structures. Britain has had a heavy hand in colonization among the western hemisphere and Japan among the Eastern. With Japan and Britain’s great influence in their specific regions, they

have power in affecting global social attitudes towards race and immigration. I decided to analyze the accuracy of this proposition by researching how traditional nationalist perspectives have been preserved today and whether they pose a threat to future foreigner social acceptance – specifically those who are identifiable as people of color.

To start my exploration on the topic of foreigner attitudes in Japan and the UK, I first questioned the significance of whether nationalist pride plays a role in discriminatory behavior. While nationalism can unify a country, it can also be used as a divisive tool to further disconnect a nation from ‘outsiders’. Japan and Britain are known for their strong nationalist views and I wanted to get to the root of where that came from and how it has affected the lives of minorities in these countries. With globalization becoming an ever-present influence in our society, I also wanted to explore whether these nationalist attitudes are changing or whether they are growing stronger as a result.

In this paper, I aimed to explore how Japan and Britain does identity work on their national character. In Japan’s case, their identity is centered on loyalty to their cultural roots. For the British, their identity is a reference to their imperial nostalgia. As the recent Black Lives Matter movements have forced countries to reflect on their present identities and its history, I examined the way the Japanese and British have responded.

Literature Review

While conducting my research, the challenge I faced was not the lack of information on my topic, but rather, how to narrow down the plethora of sources I found. When it came to research on British and Japanese nationalism post-world war to the present day, I discovered multiple books, news articles, documentaries, podcasts, and historical texts that made me feel quite overwhelmed in deciding which sources to use. However, two sources that I found great starting points into conducting my research on imperial nationalism in Japan and the UK was *Asahi Shimbun*'s article on Minzoku and the Yamato-Damashii spirit and Toby Hanes' *Brexit: The Uncivil War*, starring Benedict Cumberbatch.

Japanese Minzoku and Yamato-Damashii

After great conversations with my Japanese professor and advisor, Aratani Sensei, I learned about Japanese social terminologies that encompass their nationalism: Minzoku and Yamato-Damashii. From our discussions, Aratani Sensei explained, in her own words, how Minzoku is a Japanese expression that defines specialty in comparison to the 'other'. Simply put, Minzoku distinguishes Japanese people and its nation with a level of superiority over other nations. First grasping this concept, I didn't know how to clearly explain it or define it in writing. As I tried to find solid definitions of Minzoku, most sources I found were in Japanese. With the help of my Japanese professor, she was able to translate a recent Japanese article from *Asahi Shimbun* that described a clear explanation of Minzoku.¹ According to Japanese sociologist, Eji Oguma, Minzoku was an invented measure to showcase Japan as the ideal society. In a more negative light, it deems cultures that do not fit the Minzoku requirements as subordinate or less-than. This category of the 'other' can be damaging for foreigners and minorities living in Japan

¹ Oguma, Eji. Translated by Mariko Aratani. *Asahi Newspaper*. 10 September 2020.

who feel that they don't have a sense of belonging to their environment. Nationalism in Japan through Minzoku promotes this idea of separation between native Japanese and those who seek for Japanese acceptance.

With my analysis on Minzoku, I came across another term that served for great importance on my understanding of Japanese nationalism: the Yamato-Damashii or "the Old Soul of Japan". In King Davis Oscar's piece on "Japanese Devotion and Courage: The Spirit that Quickeneth Japan", he describes the Yamato-Damashii as an ancestral spirit that is loyal to the traditional Japanese way of life.² Similar to Minzoku, Yamato-Damashii serves as both a source for unification and division. In efforts to sustain Japanese traditions and customs from an evolving society, conservative Japanese citizens use Yamato-Damashii as a scale of purity and loyalty to the home land.

Even as someone who lived in Japan for half of my life, I never heard of these terms or expressions before. Minzoku and Yamato-Damashii gave me starting points in my preliminary discussions about Japanese culture and its strong nationalist views within it. In my paper, I will describe how these ideas have impacted Japan's hesitation on change. As a nation that prides itself on its purity and superiority on a global scale, Japan fears to succumb to values that challenge its long-established practices. With my Japanese-based sources from *Asahi Shimbun* as well as *Japan Times*, I was able to understand and define the root of Japan's nationalism. Through these Japanese perspectives, I had great direction and a steady basis to analyze the impact of these concepts on Japanese immigration standards.

² King Davis, Oscar. "Japanese Devotion and Courage: The Spirit that Quickeneth Japan." *Century Illustrated Magazine* (1881-1906) 11 1904: 139. ProQuest. 26 Sep. 2020.

UK's Brexit

Speaking with my adviser on British affairs, Professor Toulouse, I was able to get insight on the historical timeline of British nationalism and its result in the separation from the European Union. In 2016, my family and I were in London when the news broke out about Brexit. At the time, I understood generally what was happening, but did not understand the significance it would have to foreigners in the U.K. Not really knowing where to start in my research with the influx of information on this topic, I decided to watch Toby Hanes' *Brexit: The Uncivil War*, starring Benedict Cumberbatch.³ As a Benedict Cumberbatch fan, I was intrigued to find out who he was playing and his character's significance in the 2016 referendum, considering that his character was the lead of the movie. The lead character, Dominic Cummings, a name I was unfamiliar with, was the man that brought the Brexit movement to life. With influence from Nigel Farage's radical conservative speeches, Cummings used this same nationalist rhetoric but scaled it down in a way that appealed to moderate voters. He used the slogan "Take Back Control" with the message for British citizens to reclaim their money, laws, borders, and jobs from foreign occupiers (also known as: The European Union). This "me to we" campaign sparked a revival of British political nationalism that condemned the European Union for taking advantage of British trade benefits and employment. As British unemployment rose, the campaign gained traction in creating a sentiment against non-British workers that were "stealing" their jobs. According to the liberal media, the campaign had been distinguished into two routes: project fear (to remain) vs. project hate (to leave). Although neither party claimed these names, it was evident that these were the two deciding factors that determined the outcome of the

³ *Brexit: The Uncivil War*. Dir. Toby Hanes. Channel 4: HBO, 2019.

referendum. It was either staying in the E.U. in fear of change or leaving in dislike of the current system.

Brexit: The Uncivil War gave me a great starting point to explore the in-depth operations behind the right's successful political campaign to leave the European Union. In my preliminary research, this movie allowed me to have a clearer context as to how the British reached their most recent climax of political nationalism and how that has affected social tensions throughout the U.K. and their relationship with the rest of Europe. It reminded me of the same fear tactics that were used later in 2016 when it came to the U.S. presidential election. The story of Brexit became the foundation for my research as I aimed to discuss the history of Britain's imperial nationalism in order to uncover the explanation behind its recent resurgence.

Japanese Case Study

Japanese Nationalism: The Source for Unification and Division

From the legacy of a powerful empire conquering much of Asia during WWII to its conserved thousand-year old traditions, many Japanese citizens take great pride and importance into protecting their country's purity from outside influence. According to *Japan Times*, "Inwardness has long been a recognized Japanese trait. In the 17th, 18th, and 19th centuries, it was called *sakoku* (a closed country)." ⁴ The Japanese belief in their own superiority is supported not only by their rich, dominant history, but also in the long-established loyalty citizens have in honoring their ancestry and heritage. Nationalism in Japan has been an ever-present part of the Japanese identity in its prioritization of preserving the Japanese soul or *Yamato-damashii*.

The concept of the "Yamato-damashii" derives from the ancient name of Japan to represent the patriotism of Japanese cultural values and characteristics. Also known as "The Old Soul of Japan", the Yamato spirit is a revered term used to describe the loyalty and respect Japanese citizens have to the traditional Japanese way of life. "This ancestor worship of the Japanese is no superstition: it is the great essential fact of their lives...It is probably the most profound and powerful of the emotions of the race – that which especially directs national life and shapes national character." ⁵ Japanese citizens adopt this Yamato spirit as a symbolic way to honor their lineage and to also carry on the country's legacy of greatness. The stronger the Yamato spirit, the stronger the love and devotion to the Japanese homeland. To many citizens,

⁴ Hoffman, Michael. "Renewed national pride will shape Japan's future." *Japan Times*. 3 April 2011. Retrieved by <https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2011/04/03/national/media-national/renewed-national-pride-will-shape-japans-future/>

⁵ BY OSCAR, KING DAVIS. "JAPANESE DEVOTION AND COURAGE: THE SPIRIT THAT QUICKENETH JAPAN." *Century Illustrated Magazine (1881-1906)* 11 1904: 139. *ProQuest*. 26 Sep. 2020.

the Yamato spirit is the foundation that has kept and continues to keep Japan secure and powerful against foreigners for centuries.

The height of this Yamato spirit or Japanese nationalism is most evidently identified during World War II. As the leading economic and militarized nation in the East, Japanese nationalists used the successes of their past as a claim for dominance on the world stage. Although the war ended with a massive loss for the Japanese, the devastation of the U.S. atomic bombs didn't completely destroy the Japanese Yamato spirit. Instead, through devastation, the community was able to come together and rebuild. As shown in figure 2, the Japanese economic miracle from 1946 to 1954 exemplified a rapid-growth era that was attributed to the Japanese adopting a free-market capitalist system in pursuit of closing in on the West once again. Evidently, "by 1956, real per capita GDP had overtaken the pre-war 1940 level. During the recovery period, per capita GDP rose at an average annual rate of 7.1%," gaining parity with the industrial West.⁶ Even through the destruction of World War II, post-war Japan still proved itself prosperous in its ability to not let their loss destroy their prideful identity.

With this recovery period, however, the Japanese didn't rebuild solely by their own will. In exchange for U.S. aid, the Japanese had to compromise their traditional way of living. After the war, the U.S. helped the Japanese as far as giving them an economic acceleration with imported technologies and transforming their political system to Western democracy. As a result of this allied occupation, a new constitution entailed profound changes to Japanese society, including: "1. A downgrade to the emperor's status to that of a figurehead without political control and placing more power in the parliamentary system. 2. Greater rights and privileges for women, and 3. Renouncing the right to wage war, which involved eliminating all non-defensive

⁶ Testsuji, Okazaki. "Lessons from the Japanese Miracle: Building the Foundations for a New Growth Paradigm." *Nippon.com*. 9 February 2015. Retrieved by <https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a04003/>

armed forces.”⁷ One of the main sources of the Japanese economic acceleration, that was credited to the new social structure, was mobilization. Pre-war Japan upheld obstacles for citizens with lower statuses to gain a position higher than the class they were born into. With a new Western structure, a more inclusive Japanese population, which counted women and lower-class citizens, now had the opportunity to climb the social ladder. Although this proved to be a win for the general population and a major contribution to economic rehabilitation after the war, this new social inclusion in the workforce countered traditional nationalist principles. As most Japanese accepted their defeat and coped by adapting these new opportunities for economic revitalization, the nation’s Yamato-damashii was, for the first time, threatened.

On account of the U.S. occupying Japan in efforts to influence and reconstruct a new modernized society, the customary Japanese identity was slowly losing its once pure state. As Japan was thriving economically during the post-war period, culturally, globalization reduced the Japanese spirit due to the country’s dependence on foreign forces. To prevent further insecurity, right-wing nationalists in post-Cold War Japan initiated a campaign of cultural revision. “Revisionist nationalism focused on the ‘benefits’ that Japan’s colonization brought to Asia; challenged the thesis that Japan is guilty of aggression [during the war]; and denied the importance, significance, and even the validity of...[their] war crimes.”⁸ These ideals relieved some citizens of the feeling of guilt when recalling Japan’s war memory. Since then, conservatives from the Japanese Restoration party have grown to be more prominent in their efforts to resurrect imperial nostalgia. With this, the right-wing political party published a New History Textbook (*Atarashii Rekishi Kyokasho*) intended to promote a more positive view of

⁷ “Occupation and Reconstruction of Japan, 1945-1952.” *U.S. Department of State*, U.S. Department of State, history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/japan-reconstruction.

⁸ Dickson, Jordan. “Politics Shifts Right: The Rise of Nationalism in Millennial Japan.” *W&M ScholarWorks*. May 2010. <https://scholarworks.wm.edu/honorstheses/752>

Japan from the war. Even though the revised textbook paints the Japanese as victims of Western Imperialism and fails to acknowledge Asian victims of Japanese aggression, it was still approved by the Ministry of Education for the 2002 school year.⁹ Despite the New History Textbook being an extreme example of Japanese ultra-nationalism in a current context, it is important to acknowledge how nationalism is not only a means to unite a country (as shown through the Yamato spirit), but also a means to isolate from other countries as well. Although it can be used to amplify Japanese unity and patriotism, nationalism also has “deep roots in fear and hatred of the other and affinities with racism.”¹⁰ The emergence of an extremist nationalist rhetoric in the new millennium poses a limitation for the mobility of minorities and foreigners in Japan.

The Japanese Anti-Immigration Rhetoric

Ultra-patriotism in Japanese purity has led to an opposition against foreigners. With the rise of globalization post-World War II, foreign migration into Japan became a threat to Japanese purity and the Yamato spirit. While the Yamato spirit inspires a self-sacrificing love for Japan, *Minzoku* is the other side of nationalism that gives a reason for the Japanese to disassociate from foreigners. According to Professor Kevin Doak, a board executive for the Society of Japanese studies, the term *Minzoku* refers to the notion that the Japanese state and culture is exclusive only to Japanese natives because of its unique, superior features that the ‘others’ would not be able to understand.¹¹ The concept of *Minzoku* is used by nationalists to determine whether a specific nation is deemed equal to the Japanese. The three conditions of *Minzoku* include: 1.

⁹ Masalski, Kathleen Woods. “Examining the Japanese History Textbook Controversies.” *Japan Digest*. Indiana University. November 2001. <http://spice.stanford.edu/docs/134>

¹⁰ Anderson, Benedict. “Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.” London: Verso, 1991. Print. 141.

¹¹ Doak, Kevin M. “What Is a Nation and Who Belongs? National Narratives and the Ethnic Imagination in Twentieth-Century Japan.” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 102, no. 2, 1997, pp. 283–309. *JSTOR*, www.jstor.org/stable/2170825

Independence – a culture without influence from the outside, 2. No internal conflicts, 3. A history of more than a thousand years.¹² If these requirements were not met by other ethnic groups, there is a social superstition that Japan's Minzoku is superior in comparison.

Minzoku idealized Japan's image and thus promoted national unification while also creating an anti-foreigner sentiment. This concept becomes a greater limitation to the mobility of foreign migrants in Japan and their status in the working and social culture. This was most evidently seen in the example of Korean, Taiwanese, and Chinese labor populations in Japan. Even when Japan occupied Taiwan and Korea in 1895 and 1910, the Japanese never considered Taiwanese and Koreans to be equal citizens of their empire or to possess Minzoku.¹³ To the Japanese, these populations were naturally considered to be burdens to the state. As a result, they faced much discrimination in their work as slave laborers during the war. After gaining residency and work permission post-World War II, Korean, Taiwanese, and Chinese populations still received harsh treatment by their Japanese peers. However, according to *Asahi Shimbun*, “Japanese people [were too preoccupied with] being victimized by West, [that they] were hardly conscious about their own discrimination. With the term ‘racism’ being a European concept, Japanese didn’t consider their prejudice to be associated with race because Koreans [Taiwanese and Chinese] had the same skin color as Japanese.”

The discrimination brought on by the Japanese is certainly one about ethnic discrimination and the concept of the ‘outsider,’ rather than one solely based on race and skin color. Minzoku sets a criterion as to which populations can be considered “in” or “out” of Japan’s exclusive bubble. The resistance to foreigners is one mainly defined as the threat of

¹² Oguma, Eji. Translated by Mariko Aratani. *Asahi Newspaper*. 10 September 2020.

¹³ Oguma Eji. *Asahi Newspaper*.

outside influence. These sentiments are a product of Japan's aim to preserve their superiority or Minzoku pride.

As globalization was on the rise, Japan was facing the prospect of an influx of foreign workers. With already having a significant Korean and Chinese population providing low-skilled labor, the Japanese aimed to limit the migration of even more outsiders in fear that they would disturb national peace. The Immigration Control Act even reiterated this anti-immigration rhetoric by prohibiting the "entry of unskilled workers partly because of fear that such an influx might endanger the racial homogeneity and harmony of Japanese society."¹⁴ However, as globalization became the new reality and as more Japanese youth refused to work in undesirable occupations, the Japanese submitted to the acceptance of foreign labor. In addition, due to the declining birth rate and aging population, Japan needed a cost-efficient source of labor in order to keep up with their economic expansion.

Despite their labor shortage, the Japanese government refused to officially open its doors to unskilled workers. In the revised Immigration Control Act of 1990, the Japanese government opened its doors to professional, skilled foreign labor and maintained the long-standing ban on unskilled labor. With these restrictions, Japanese companies and corporations created a side door around the Immigration law in what became known as 'trainee programs.' The trainee programs recruited foreign labor from Southeast Asia and Latin America to be trained by Japanese companies for them to 'legally' pass as skilled foreign labor. This led to an influx of foreign labor that were exploited by Japanese employers as they never received skills training, proper wages, basic worker rights, and quality working conditions. As a result, migrant workers in a socially conservative Japan also received "inadequate medical and unemployment insurance,

¹⁴ Tsuda, Takeyuki. "Reluctant Hosts: The Future of Japan as a Country of Immigration." *Research and Seminars: Migration Dialogue*.

housing discrimination, lack of social support services, and difficulties for immigrant children in Japanese schools.”¹⁵ In fear of getting caught by Japanese officials, illegal immigrants suffered in silence in fear of deportation, paying costly fines, and prison time. Furthermore, compared to the mobility of workers from Japanese descent, foreign migrants trapped in these conditions have restrictions to the type of work they can do. These jobs, as shown in figure 3, include low level jobs that contribute to the economic oppression of minorities in Japan.

Even with professional, skilled labor being more widely accepted, their level of mobility isn't much different from unskilled workers. Although skilled laborers are working white-collar positions with better working conditions, Japanese firms resist hiring foreign executives to secure that higher positions are uncontaminated by foreign dominance and remain purely Japanese. As of October 2019, according to the Ministry of Health, Labour and Welfare, Japan has hit a record number of 1,460,463 foreign workers residing in Japan. With a rising number of immigrants and a declining Japanese birth rate, Japan will have to come to terms with issues of their own discrimination as the cause for ethnic purity will soon be unattainable. If Japan continues to refuse openly admitting unskilled migrant laborers, it will be confronted by an increasing flood of illegal immigrants, thus indirectly promoting the human rights abuses that this entails.

This fear of migrant workers diminishing the successful Japanese workforce is also related to the fear of immigration contaminating the authenticity of Japanese society. In regard to citizenship laws, Japan has upheld a principle of blood and descent that entails that if a child was born in Japan, at least one parent must be Japanese in order for the child to gain Japanese citizenship. Additionally, when it comes to citizenship laws on marriage, foreign spouses

¹⁵ Tsuda, Takeyuki. “Reluctant Hosts: The Future of Japan as a Country of Immigration.”

married to Japanese citizens also have citizenship access. Other than these two principles, it is near to impossible for a foreigner to gain Japanese citizenship, even as a permanent resident. These two traditional standards for citizenship displays the nation's idealist ethics. These ethics will soon have to be altered for a better quality of life for those who are not Japanese citizens but still contribute to their society.

Due to the rise of immigration in recent years, "46 percent of the Japanese public already want the government to seriously crack down on illegal workers (up significantly in 10 years)." In order to prevent this rise of xenophobia and the anti-foreigner sentiment, Japan will have to accept the inevitability of more immigrants residing permanently in Japanese society and the eventual changes that come with it. Some of these eventual changes will expand the rights of migrant workers as they demand for "better access to schools, housing, medical and social services, and political representation."¹⁶ Instead of subjecting minorities to social and economic oppression, the Japanese government, including its citizens, should practice strategies to promote social inclusion. According to Menju Toshihiro, the managing director of the Japan Center for International Exchange, he writes that Japan has actually implemented better social inclusion policies in their 2019 immigration reform that "officially opens its doors to lower-skilled and semi-skilled foreign workers." Under the amended Immigration Control and Refugee Recognition Act, foreigners will have the opportunity to gain a worker's permit in Japan for five years.¹⁷ Although the act does not allow lower-skilled workers to bring their families, this gateway will allow them the opportunity to develop their skills and eventually upgrade their residence status. With this new system in place as well as the implementation of more social

¹⁶ Tsuda, Takeyuki. "Reluctant Hosts: The Future of Japan as a Country of Immigration."

¹⁷ Toshihiro, Menju. "Japan's Historic Immigration Reform: A Work in Progress." *Nippon.com*. 6 February 2019. Retrieved by <https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a06004/japan%E2%80%99s-historic-immigration-reform-a-work-in-progress.html#>

integration measures, Japanese citizens will have to accept the economic benefit of foreign labor.¹⁸ Especially with the Japanese population declining, Japan will have to face the fact that they will soon become a country not just of Japanese purity and tradition, but also of an evolving modern society of immigrants.

A New Era of Diversity in Japanese Popular Culture

Japan's social animosity towards immigration parallels their fear of the threat of diversity to their pure state. Due to Japan being a racially homogenous society, the common Japanese view of their nation is based on ethnicity. Japan's discrimination is not to be confused solely by race, but more related to the ideas of 'insiders' and the minority 'outsiders.' 'Inside' is Japan and all other countries are 'outside.' According to the CIA Factbook, as of July 2018, "98.5% of Japan's residents are citizens while only 1.5% are foreigners."¹⁹ This minority foreign population, or also referred to the Japanese as "gaijins," living in Japan are scapegoats, vulnerable to social exclusion for simply their categorization as foreigners. In addition to an anti-foreigner sentiment, however, like most Asian countries, Japan has also practiced colorism.

Historically and presently, there has been an evident preference for lighter skin tones in Japan. Lighter skin is a universally idealized feature that plays into Japanese standards of beauty or 'normalcy.' An old Japanese proverb, "Fair skin hides seven shortcomings," exemplifies a Japanese myth that believes that whiter skin shades are more desired because it can mask flaws. In other words, "a fair skinned woman looks beautiful even if her other features are not good enough."²⁰ Similar to the rest of the world, Japan measures beauty on the basis of Euro-centric

¹⁸ Hayakawa, Iwate. "Labor Law and Policy Issues Relating to Foreign Workers in Japan." *Labor Law Review: Iwate University*. Vol. 7, no. 3. Summer 2010.

¹⁹ CIA World Factbook. https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/docs/summary/JA_general_one_pager.pdf

²⁰ Tsujimoto, Nana. "White Skin Covers the Seven Flaws." *Japan Sociology*. 1 November 2014. Retrieved by <https://japansociology.com/2014/11/01/white-skin-covers-the-seven-flaws/>

features. When the U.S. occupied Japan after the war, a lot of their concepts of a racial hierarchy were adopted into Japanese society. Japan being influenced by western ideals displays how the Japanese feel a sort of equity with white foreigners (for their similar *Minzoku*) and less with the classifiable darker ethnic groups, even those of Asian descent.

A controversial example of this is the crowning for Miss Universe Japan in 2015. As half black and half Japanese, Ariana Miyamoto became the first mixed race or “hafu” to represent Japan in the Miss Universe beauty pageant. Due to Miyamoto’s foreign mixture, there was criticism from Japanese nationalists that claimed that she wasn’t the best choice for representing the country because she wasn’t ‘Japanese enough.’ Referring back to the concept of *Yamato-damashii*, even though Miyamoto was born and lived in Japan her whole life, her physical appearance deemed her *Yamato-damashii* as contaminated by her foreign black mixture. In an interview with Al Jazeera America, Miyamoto explains her struggles of always feeling like an outsider in her own community and her experiences of being bullied because of her appearance. She continues to describe that her motivation for competing in Japanese beauty pageants was to honor her late high school classmate, who was also a black “hafu”, due to suicide.²¹ While “hafus” of white mixtures can still blend into Japanese society, black or non-white “hafus” encounter a different experience due to their unfamiliar appearance in comparison to Japanese norms. With Ariana Miyamoto challenging widespread traditional values, she is paving a new social norm for other “hafus” or foreigners fighting for social equity in Japan.

In this Japanese concept of the “other” in reference to ethnic divisions, the 2020 global Black Lives Matter Movement has indicated that adverse ethnic relations in Japan is an issue that cannot be swept under the rug any longer. Wakako Fukuda, a Japanese feminist and activist,

²¹ Saberi, Roxana. “Miss Japan Challenges the Norm.” *Al Jazeera America*. YouTube. 28 September 2015.

participated in the Black Lives Matter peaceful march in Tokyo and recounts how there were over 3,000 participants that joined in solidarity with protestors in the United States. However, the march soon became a headline to call attention to Japan's own issues of anti-blackness and its anti-foreigner sentiment. Shortly after the march, Fukuda read comments on Twitter of people wishing there were more Japanese people that attended. Fukuda responds to these comments questioning, "How can you tell who's Japanese and who's not? ... Are you saying that because these people that you saw at the march don't look like you? ... So you assume that they're not Japanese or not from here... That is problematic."²² The idea of a common ethnic identity within the Japanese community is what hinders Japan from accepting ethnic diversity as the new norm. Japanese culture is not so much a factor of ethnicity, but more so of tradition, language, and customs. If a foreigner or a non-traditional Japanese person were to adopt the Japanese way of life, then they should feel supported by the Japanese community to do so. Rather than promoting exclusion, the Japanese government has to recognize that ethnic purity is not the end-all of Japanese culture.

Through this, Japanese nationalists must acknowledge their part in ethnic mistreatment in order to solve the issue. A public figure who is shedding light to these very important issues of American racism and Japanese colorism is Japanese tennis professional, Naomi Osaka. Naomi Osaka, with her own experience of looking "different" in a homogeneous society, is using performative measures to spark the conversation of racism and the mistreatment of black people globally. As shown in the picture below, Osaka wears seven different masks, inscribed with the names of deceased victims from the hands of law enforcement, for each match won in the 2020 US Open. In an interview, Osaka explains that her message through the masks is to spread

²² Fukuda, Wakako. "Black Lives Matter in Japan – Protests, Marches, and What Comes Next." *Unseen Japan*. YouTube. 22 June 2020.

awareness of the mistreatment of black communities.²³ According to the newest issue of Time magazine, Naomi Osaka is one of the most influential people of 2020 for her courage to stand against racial injustice on a public forum. Although her discussions on the black lives matter movement isn't particular to discrimination in Japan, as a Japanese figure, she is still opening up the conversation for her community to reflect on their own xenophobia. On account of biracial Japanese figures vocalizing their stories of mistreatment and serving as an inspiration to others who are going through their same struggle, these open discussions about the acceptance of ethnic diversity will shape the future image and ethics of Japanese society.

²³ Martinez, Jose. "Naomi Osaka on Masks Honoring Police Brutality Victims: 'The Point is To Make People Start Talking.'" *Complex*. 12 September 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.complex.com/sports/2020/09/naomi-osaka-masks-victims-of-police-brutality>

British Case Study

British Nationalism: The Source for Unification and Division

Contemporary British culture has upheld a successful economic and cultural legacy in their history of imperialism and colonization across the globe. Their colonial rule over parts of Africa, Asia, and the Americas, etc. provided valuable raw materials, manpower and strategic bases for the development of the British empire. As the British empire grew in power, so did British nationalism and their superiority complex to all foreigners. This conviction for British supremacy was amplified more so when King Henry the VIII established the Church of England. The establishment of the Church of England during the sixteenth century ensured that the crown had full control over its citizens both on the basis of law and religion.²⁴ This strengthened British identity and its national and religious loyalty to the crown. While other European monarchies faded throughout the centuries, the preservation of the British royal family exemplified the success of the conserved British way of life. Even through historical adversities, the British managed to protect themselves from the threat of obscurity due to their strong nationalist ideology. However, Britain's golden age took a drastic turn by the end of 1945.

Despite winning World War II with Western allies, the British empire was economically destabilized and underwent a period of austerity. The result of the war left the British to not only lose control of their colonies but have greater dependence on the United States. As the British national debt rose from 760 million to 3500 million pounds, colonies became too much of an expensive liability for the British to continue supporting.²⁵ As a result, independence from British rule swept across the Caribbean, Asian, and African regions. With this economic

²⁴ "History of the Church of England." *The Church of England*. Retrieved by <https://www.churchofengland.org/more/media-centre/church-england-glance/history-church-england>

²⁵ "Age of Austerity – Life After War." *BBC Bitesize*. Retrieved by <https://www.easybib.com/mla8/website-citation/search?q=https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/zgmf2nb/revision/1>

downturn, Great Britain also began to be heavily reliant on U.S. loans to recover from their 30% loss of their total wealth from the war.²⁶ From losing their colonial control and holding on to the U.S. as an economic crutch, the British Empire and its global strength turned obsolete. In efforts to reclaim their political dominance on the world stage, Great Britain interfered in what became known as the Suez Crisis of 1956. Although located in Egypt, the Suez Canal was being fought over between Egyptian forces and Israeli-French-British invaders. The leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev “railed against the invasion and threatened to rain down nuclear missiles on Western Europe if the Israeli-French-British forces did not withdraw.”²⁷ With word of this, U.S. President Eisenhower also issued warnings against western allies to withdraw from Egyptian territory. In the aftermath, “Britain and France, once the seat of empires, found their influence as world powers weakened as the United States and Soviet Union took a more powerful role in world affairs.”²⁸ This event showed the British that they no longer had sufficient influence to extend their forces throughout the globe without the approval of the U.S. They further realized that the cost of winning World War II was that Britain was now just another European country. The Suez Crisis illustrated the weakening of British leadership and international authority. It wasn’t until the 1970s and 80s that the United Kingdom finally found an economic rebound and a resurgence of national pride.

After the fall of economic and political dominance in the 50s and 60s, the UK saw a great revival in the subsequent years through the collaboration with the European Union in 1973. In the wake of immense suffering following the second world war, the United States provided the Marshall plan or European Recovery Program to help finance rebuilding efforts in Western

²⁶ “Age of Austerity – Life After War.” *BBC Bitesize*.

²⁷ “Suez Crisis.” *History.com Editors*. Retrieved by <https://www.history.com/topics/cold-war/suez-crisis>

²⁸ “Suez Crisis.” *History.com Editors*.

Europe. Reassembling European relations, France decided to create a customs union with Germany, Belgium, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands to ensure lasting peace in Europe. This customs union later became what is known today as the European Union. Great Britain first eschewed membership in the EU, but the United States “supported the idea of a customs union in 1947 and continued to give backing to French schemes of West European regional organizations.”²⁹ The EU first thrived by creating an internal market with the free movement of goods, people, services and capital throughout Europe. Through integration, it established common monetary policies and the common currency, the euro.³⁰ Due to the EU growing economically faster than the UK, the United Kingdom finally joined the European Union in 1973 after three attempts. The European Union also extended to 27 other European nations and worked well to create greater financial stability, growth and prosperity across Europe. Joining the European Union while still preserving the British pound, the United Kingdom saw a noticeable halt to their economic decline. Membership in the EU helped Britain improve economic performance by increasing trade, bringing stiffer competition for companies, encouraging foreign investments, and allowing EU citizens to work and pay UK taxes. With European nations collaborating with each other instead of against each other as separate entities, they were able to establish a system that benefitted all.

“The great British reversal”, on part of the UK’s EU membership, is also credited to Margaret Thatcher’s economic reforms in the 1980s. From 1979 to 1990, Margaret Thatcher served as British Prime Minister and was known for transitioning the UK’s political economy from a social democracy, like the Germans, to becoming Neo-liberal, like the Americans. She

²⁹ George, S (1994), *An Awkward Partner: Britain in the European Community*, Oxford University Press (2nd edition).

³⁰ Campos, Nauro, and Fabrizio Coricelli. “Britain’s EU Membership: New Insight from Economic History.” *VOX, CEPR Policy Portal*, 3 Feb. 2015, <https://voxeu.org/article/britain-s-eu-membership-new-insight-economic-history>

believed in the British Inheritance in what she described as “a man’s right to work as he will, to spend what he earns, to own property, to have the state as servant, and not as master.”³¹ With this philosophy, Thatcher reduced state intervention by privatizing nationally owned enterprises.³² During a time of high unemployment rates and high inflation, Thatcher implemented conservative economic policies that essentially raised productivity, created jobs, defeated inflation, and restored prosperity in the middle class. These policies of “Thatcherism” revived the idea of a property-owning democracy and restored Britain’s standing in the world. Margaret Thatcher further amplified British power in her involvement in the Falklands War against Argentina. She sent in the British navy task force to the South Atlantic to restore their territorial control on the Falkland Islands against Argentinian “invaders.” Thatcher’s military victory as well as her contributions to the UK’s economic revival prompted a resurgence in national pride.

Britain’s strong national identity from its imperial legacy was impaired after the destruction of World War II. The negative economic effects of the war brought on the realization that the UK was no longer a powerful force on the world stage due to its dependence on American aid and its loss of control over their empire. As the British economy struggled, so did the British national identity. It wasn’t until the UK joined the European Union in 1973 and Margaret Thatcher’s economic revival during the 80s that the British were reestablishing their proud role in the world. Following the tumultuous times of the 1970s and 1980s, Britain entered the 1990s with great optimism in rebuilding Britain’s global influence. To create this sense of nostalgia in reinventing past successes to the present, Tony Blair ran his Labour Party’s 1997 election campaign on the term, “Cool Britannia.” “Cool Britannia” referred to the Brit-pop

³¹ Ferguson, Niall. “Margaret Thatcher: The Woman Who Saved Great Britain.” Prager University. *YouTube*. 6 Jan 2020.

³² Ferguson, Niall. “Margaret Thatcher: The Woman Who Saved Great Britain.”

movement: 1990s rock bands such as Blur and Oasis, 60s inspired fashion, and young British artists and magazines. The London scene, particularly, was culturally thriving as “a viable home to the kinds of creative people who made everything happen.”³³ London was put back on a map as a hub of influence, competing against other powerhouse cities of the time like New York City and Tokyo. With this economic and cultural boom, the UK revived itself back to the top again and caused a rise of contemporary British nationalism as a result. Although this rediscovered nationalism united the country and resurged feelings of euphoria that have long been lost among the British people, it also caused divided feelings against those who weren’t of British descent. In his article entitled “Cool Britannia: Where did it all go wrong?”, John Harris questions whether the heightened patriotism of 1997 sowed the seeds of Brexit. Harris highlights that the most glaring feature of Cool Britannia was its evident whiteness. He goes on to answer that once things are introduced to a culture (in this case, the rise of white British nationalism in its global popularity), there is no telling where they will end up. In the issue of Brexit and Britain’s position on immigration, conservative parties used a similar strategy of a nostalgic campaign to strengthen British superiority.

British Anti-Immigration Rhetoric

The post-world war II period saw a significant foreign migration into the UK and a shift of their ethnic demographic. According to Randall Hansen’s analysis of citizenship and immigration in post-war Britain, the mass migration was the cause of Britain’s necessity for cheap labor. As the British detached themselves of their colonial power over parts of Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean, they realized that they still needed their labor to rebuild their struggling economy. Britain’s imperial downsizing called for the British Nationality act in 1948

³³ Harris, John. “Cool Britannia: Where did it all go wrong?” *NewStatesman*. 1 May 2017. <https://www.newstatesman.com/1997/2017/05/cool-britannia-where-did-it-all-go-wrong>

which allowed the free entry of immigrant workers from former colonies.³⁴ This gave populations from India, Pakistan, and the Caribbean the opportunity to flee their home countries for a seemingly better life in the western world. However, this foreign migration did not come without opposition from British conservative forces. With the influx of foreign workers from the British Nationality Act of 1948, the UK tried to scale it back by rapidly implementing immigration controls in 1962.³⁵ These controls became a reflection of the public's anti-immigrant rhetoric that arose with concern that foreigners were stealing British jobs and were creating greater uncertainty on Britain's national identity.

Britain's national identity prior to the war was one of great pride for their imperial strength. After the war, however, the UK had to come to terms that they were no longer a global powerhouse in comparison to their American allies. When the UK struggled economically in having to rebuild from the war, they had to rely on the US's financial assistance as well as cheap foreign labor. This mass migration of foreign labor transformed the ethnic demographic of Britain and forced citizens to adapt to this evolving, unorthodox, modern society. For British conservatives, this posed as an issue to the traditional British way of life. The first well-known public declaration against the migration of foreigners and this shift of modernity was infamously documented in Enoch Powell's "Rivers of Blood" speech in 1968.

Enoch Powell was a British politician who served as a conservative member of Parliament from 1950 to 1974. In a Conservative Association meeting in Birmingham, Powell delivered a speech entitled "Rivers of Blood" which became one of modern British history's most divisive addresses. In this speech, Enoch Powell urges to stop the further inflow and

³⁴ Hansen, Randall. "Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain." Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

³⁵ Hansen, Randall. "Citizenship and Immigration in Post-War Britain."

promote the maximum outflow of immigrants. He states, “we must be mad, literally mad, as a nation to be permitting the annual inflow of some 50,000 dependents, who are for the most part the material of the future growth of the immigrant-descended population. It is like watching a nation busily engaged in heaping up its own funeral pyre.”³⁶ Powell continues to denounce the idea of integration and the dangers of enacting the Race Relations Act of 1965.³⁷ He claims that immigrants were receiving an exuberant amount of privileges that can only lead to more chaos for British nationalists, who may, in turn, become the future minorities in their own ever-changing society. The aftermath of Enoch Powell’s inflammatory speech led to a lot of push-back not only from the general public but as well as from his conservative cabinet. The reality of fascism was still a living memory for a lot of Britons during the 1960s, and thus, they ostracized Powell for his strong condemnation against the entry of Commonwealth immigrants. This eventually resulted in the end of his political life. However, “Rivers of Blood” did appeal to some audiences who resonated with Powell’s concern over the future of Britain’s open immigration policies. Years later, the National Front (NF), a far-right, fascist political party in the UK, implemented some of Powell’s anti-immigrant rhetoric in their political campaign. However, without a strong political figure, the party was unable to gain mainstream public recognition. It wasn’t until the great crash of 2008 where British right-wing nationalists finally gathered an influential, political front with a strong following.

After joining the European Union in 1973, the United Kingdom further expanded the immigrant entry-way in the EU’s 1992 implementation of the free movement policy. The free movement policy offered rights to EU citizens to enter and reside freely in any European Union

³⁶ Powell, Enoch. “Rivers of Blood.” Conservative Association Meeting. 20 April 1968. Birmingham, England.

³⁷ According to the UK Parliament, the Race Relations Act of 1965 was the first piece of legislation in the UK to address the prohibition of racial discrimination in public places. The legislation classified hatred on the grounds of ‘color, race, or ethnic or national origins’ an offence.’

state. This offered foreign European nationals the opportunity to “enjoy equal treatment with (British) nationals in access to employment, working conditions and all other social and tax advantages.”³⁸ As more and more foreigners migrated into the UK with opportunities that seem almost surpassing those of native British residents, the public began to accumulate a xenophobic sentiment. This became ever-present after the financial crisis of 2008. The recession lasted for five quarters and was the deepest recession since the Great Depression of the 1930s.³⁹ According to Professor John Van Reenan from the London School of Economics, over that period, “hundreds of thousands of businesses have shut down and more than a million people lost their jobs.”⁴⁰ He goes on to state his concern over the UK’s projected poor economic growth and rising unemployment. As the 2008 economic downturn affected especially the British working class, these populations desperately needed to feel prioritized by their government.

Newly elected United Kingdom Independence Party leader Nigel Farage used this vulnerability as a means to revive his campaign of far-right British nationalism. This campaign, however, was interpreted by some as a project of hate. An example of this was his claims of “health terrorism” during a general election where he stated that non-British nationals were taking advantage of the UK’s National Health Service. He strongly emphasized that Britain needed to put British people first again, instead of extending government services to foreigners.⁴¹ Similar to Enoch Powell, Farage also received negative responses from the public. However, despite his divisive rhetoric, Nigel Farage’s message resonated with a significant population that

³⁸ “Free Movement of People.” *EuropeanMigrationLaw.edu*. Retrieved by <http://www.europeanmigrationlaw.eu/en/free-movement-of-people>

³⁹ “Economics: The Global Financial Crisis.” *Economic and Social Research Council*.

⁴⁰ “Economics: The Global Financial Crisis.” *Economic and Social Research Council*.

⁴¹ “The Nigel Farage Story.” *BBC News*. 4 July 2016. Retrieved by <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-politics-36701855>

felt they were being treated as second class citizens in their own society. Eventually, UKIP became the third largest political party in the UK.⁴²

With a solid, political party to support his anti-immigrant sentiment, Nigel Farage had a mainstream platform to influence xenophobia among the British public. This sentiment was further amplified after the refugee crisis of 2015, where roughly 39,000 refugees from the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa migrated into the UK. This sparked a major divide among the British public as some turned against the influx of cheap foreign labor thinking they were undercutting wages and increasing Britain's unemployment.⁴³ Especially with the upcoming 2016 referendum, conservatives were concerned with *The Observer's* report that Turkey will join the EU and one million Turkish people will come into the UK in the next eight years.⁴⁴ The right's 'Vote Leave' campaign used this as an incentive for British people to take back control of their borders in blocking the mass immigration.

For the Brexit referendum, it became prominent that Farage and UKIP influence prompted the UK to separate from the European Union. In figure 14, Farage poses in front of a Brexit campaign poster that illustrates a migration of immigrants presumably coming into the UK. The poster states boldly, "Breaking Point. The EU has failed us all." It is evident that this rhetoric was successful as 52% of the British public voted to leave.⁴⁵ With this result, the UK is now planning a new immigration policy that adapts a point-based system. In what is to be implemented in 2021, the new Points-Based Immigration system will require both EU citizens and non-EU citizens to fit certain criteria in order to access employment and residency in the

⁴² "The Nigel Farage Story." *BBC News*.

⁴³ *Brexit: The Uncivil War*. Dir. Toby Hanes. Channel 4: HBO, 2019.

⁴⁴ Daniel Boffey and Toby Helm. "Vote Leave Embroiled in Race Row Over Turkey Security Threat Claims." *The Observer*. 21 May 2016. Retrieved by <https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2016/may/21/vote-leave-prejudice-turkey-eu-security-threat>

⁴⁵ *Brexit: The Uncivil War*. Dir. Toby Hanes.

UK.⁴⁶ These criteria include an approved job offer, efficient, high quality skills, and proficiency in English. If an applicant has a high degree in all three of these requirements, then they have a better chance of gaining entry into the UK. However, because it is based on a point-system, this leaves a lot of room for rejection, especially against more low-skilled immigrants or refugees. This systemically xenophobic policy is made to deliberately filter out the ‘undesirables’ and revive an imperial nostalgia. This new future is a dangerous example for not only other powerful nations to follow, but for nationalists in Britain who believe it is okay to target the vulnerable.

Backlash to Diversity in British Popular Culture

Following Brexit, with influence from the conservative party, British popular culture started to lay the groundwork for reversing the nation’s negligence towards their own native populations. Instead of government policy catering to foreigners, conservatives emphasized the importance of reviving Britain’s former glory and its old-fashioned way of life. This included the prioritization of British nationals and the further exclusion of non-British nationals. The Windrush Scandal of 2018, became the greatest example of this ethnic exclusion. Thousands of people who belonged to the Windrush generation were categorized as illegal immigrants, denied access to NHS treatment, stripped of their jobs and pensions, and were even threatened with detention or deportation. The Windrush generation are known as those who came to the UK between 1948 to 1971 from Caribbean countries to help fill post-war UK labor shortages. BBC News reports that “the influx ended with the 1971 Immigration Act, when Commonwealth citizens already living in the UK were given indefinite leave to remain.”⁴⁷ However, the Home

⁴⁶ “The UK’s Point-Based Immigration System: an introduction for employers.” *Gov.UK*. 19 November 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/uk-points-based-immigration-system-employer-information/the-uks-points-based-immigration-system-an-introduction-for-employers>

⁴⁷ “Windrush Generation: Who are they and why are they facing problems?” *BBC News*. 31 July 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.bbc.com/news/uk-43782241>

Office kept no record of their arrival and even went so far as to destroy their landing cards. With this, the Windrush generation lived in the UK without proper work permits or certificates that could prove their legal British citizenship. As a result, many were left fearful of their status and in 83 cases, even removed from the country. This unfair treatment was allowed by the ‘hostile environment’ immigration policy that was designed by the Home Office “to make staying in the UK as difficult as possible for immigrants in the hope that they will voluntarily leave.”⁴⁸ As the scandal broke out in 2018, Prime Minister Theresa May was forced to apologize to the Windrush generation and their descendants for their unjust treatment by the UK government and its ‘hostile environment’ immigration policy. It is evident that the UK government is at fault for ethnic profiling and establishing policy against the rights of Caribbean descendants to remain in the country. Although they have been compensated by the government, the Windrush generation as well as non-British residents are worried that a scandal like this can happen again. The unfair treatment of the Windrush generation showcases how the UK’s long history of xenophobia is still intertwined in modern politics.

Along with British politics, the British media has also been guilty of giving xenophobia a mainstream platform. This can most evidently be seen in the case of the media’s treatment of the Duchess of Sussex, Meghan Markel. Before officially joining the royal family, Meghan Markel was already under fire for not fitting the public’s standard. Being a divorcée, American, and biracial, Markel was far from the traditional royal mold. With this, Meghan was never given a chance to be accepted as she faced immediate scrutiny by the mainstream media. The British media was determined to narrate a negative image of the new Princess by attacking her for almost anything – whether it was her fashion choices, her estranged relationship with her father,

⁴⁸ “Windrush Generation: Who are they and why are they facing problems?”

her racial and occupational background, etc. The root of this negative criticism accounts to the fact that Meghan is so different from the white institution she married into. As a black woman, she received condemnation not because she did anything wrong, but because the public didn't want to acknowledge or fix their own intolerance.⁴⁹ In obvious examples of the *Daily Mail* calling Meghan "straight outta Compton" and gang-affiliated to the more the subtle examples of being referred to as "exotic" and less dignified in comparison to Princess Kate Middleton, it is plainly visible how Markel was forced into exile due to the media's discrimination. Although she was already disliked, Meghan Markel further amplified the public's disapproval when her and Harry made the decision to leave the royal family in 2020. In a poll done by *Vox*, the majority of people thought it was Meghan's decision to separate from their royal responsibilities rather than a joint one.⁵⁰ This displays how the British media is so reluctant to come to face with their own biases that they have to solely blame and constantly oppress the black woman. As a subject under the public eye, Meghan Markel was trapped in a cycle of public criticism no matter what she did. She was left with almost no choice but to separate herself from the unrealistic pressures of the British royal image. As a biracial woman marrying into an institution seen as a symbol of white privilege and the abuses of colonialism, a lot of Britons of color and non-British residents thought of her as a beacon of hope and potential change for the societal norms of the future. However, with her exile, it is evident that Britain's ultra-nationalism still needs to be tackled and addressed.

Following the momentum of the Black Lives Matter Movement in the US, Britons of color also used this awareness campaign to protest against similar prejudicial attitudes in the UK.

⁴⁹ Goodfellow, Maya. "Yes, the UK media's coverage of Meghan Markel really is racist." *Vox*. 17 Jan 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.vox.com/first-person/2020/1/17/21070351/meghan-markle-prince-harry-leaving-royal-family-uk-racism>

⁵⁰ Goodfellow, Maya. "Yes, the UK media's coverage of Meghan Markel really is racist."

The police brutality and unjust murders of innocent black victims in the US resonated across the globe and made other countries step-back and re-evaluate their role in combating discrimination in all forms. *The Guardian* reported that “more than 260 British towns and cities held protests in June and July - from Monmouth in south Wales to Shetland in Scotland. British historians described them as the largest anti-racism rallies since the slavery era and at the heart of many of these protests was a new generation of young black Britons.”⁵¹ Inspired by the movement in the US, British Black activists marched in solidarity and in the mission to raise the public’s understanding of the social injustices that have and still are occurring in the UK. These protests have shed light on how ethnic minorities in the UK have felt unheard and mistreated in social and professional settings. These marches called for the abolition of police brutality, better Black history education, and closing the gap on ethnic as well as racial health disparities and economic inequalities.⁵² However, some Britons countered these rallies claiming that racism is not as much of an issue in the UK as it is in the US. Current Prime Minister Boris Johnston responded to these protests stating that the “UK is not a racist country” and that demonstrations have been “subverted by thuggery.”⁵³ In these responses, it is clear that British conservatives are reluctant to face their uncomfortable history as well as their current biases. Instead of acknowledging and addressing their cruel history of colonialism, conservative British natives have overshadowed these negative elements of their past by only highlighting the imperial strength of the British empire. Through this, the British have yet to recognize or apologize to ethnic minorities for their

⁵¹ Aamna Mohdin and Lucy Campbell. “How Black Lives Matter has inspired a generation of new UK activists.” *The Guardian*. 13 November 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/nov/13/how-black-lives-matter-has-inspired-a-generation-of-new-uk-activists>

⁵² Aamna Mohdin and Lucy Campbell. “How Black Lives Matter has inspired a generation of new UK activists.”

⁵³ Woodcock, Andrew. “Black Lives Matter: Boris Johnson says UK ‘not a racist country’.” *The Independent*. 8 June 2020. Retrieved by <https://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/politics/boris-johnson-uk-racist-country-black-lives-matter-protests-colston-a9554356.html>

unfair treatment from not only the past, but its translation in the present. It is apparent that the Black Lives Matter protests that have erupted throughout the UK represent a national xenophobic issue that also show racist undertones. The recent anti-racism demonstrations and its emergence of young activists provide a sense of hope for the future of Britain in opening the conversation of ethnic understanding, acceptance, and inclusion.

Discussion and Analysis

Japan and Britain, as showcased through the case studies, share many similarities in regard to their imperial histories, their dependence on US aid after the war, and the contemporary rise of ultra-nationalism after their economic revitalization. Their anti-immigration sentiment, a product of Japanese and British ultra-nationalism, gained precedence in their media and ignited a campaign for natives to protect their ethnic purity. With the imported ideas of American racism, Japan and Britain overtime subconsciously inherited an alienating sentiment with racial undertones against low-skilled foreigners. As a result of Japan and Britain's xenophobia practiced through political parties, leaders, and the press, global human rights movements such as the Black Lives Matter campaign have called out nations to reflect on their own social injustices.

The difference between the two nations is how they respond to the present in regard to their past. Due to Japan having less popular conservative parties, Japan's younger generation have a greater influence on the public. This progressive generation reflects on their past with guilt and with an aim to move forward with a new era of social inclusion. On the other hand, as the UK has a more popular conservative influence, Britain responds to their past by refusing to acknowledge it. It is evident through my research that conservatives in Japan and Britain have a divisive social attitude toward immigrants and non-natives. However, these elements are amplified more so in the British case study rather than the Japanese case study.

The Legacy of their Imperial Past

Japan and the United Kingdom share a commonality of their controversial imperial legacies. These island nations are contemporary examples of isolationism, not just because of their geography but as well as their political and social ideals against foreigners. This form of

isolationism is a product of their imperial nostalgia. Japan dominated the Eastern hemisphere during the 20th century and the United Kingdom dominated the West, especially during the 19th century. Up until World War II, both Japan and the UK considered themselves as untouchable empires for their impact on colonization. The war became a turning point for the two nations because for the first time, they had to rely on the United States to rebuild their economy and eventually, update their political philosophies. Despite the setback, Japan and Britain were able to place themselves back on the world stage as influential global powers. This climb back to the top regained a national pride that was previously lost after the war. Although this national pride within Japan and Britain united their countries in ways that boosted their population's morale and imperial nostalgia, it also caused a great divide among those of local descent who want to protect their home and jobs from 'invaders.'

With the rise of globalization, more migrants were moving into Japan and the UK to gain a piece of their economic success. This caused a lot of backlash among conservatives who interpreted it as a threat to native British and Japanese jobs and government benefits. However, where was this concern when they took advantage of other countries to build their empires during the 19th and 20th centuries? In Japan, the anti-immigrant sentiment was reflected through the cultural taboos of 'Minzoku' and the 'Yamato-damashii' or Japanese Spirit. Comparatively for the British, this narrative was prompted by political figures, like Enoch Powell and Nigel Farage, and right-wing parties, like the National Front and the UK Independence Party. These terms and figures represent how ultra-patriotic identities in Japan and Britain can incite exclusivity against foreign minority groups.

The Impact of Divisive Politics

As strong empires, Japan and Britain struggled with a blow to their prideful identity after their economic decline from the war. In order to regain a sense of national identity from their reduced place in the world, Japan and the UK initiated a nationalist campaign against outsiders. Japanese and British nationalism can be a tool for unity as well as one for division against foreigners. This scapegoat political tactic, which derives from the more conservative angle, creates a separation between those on the 'inside' and those on the 'outside.' Through this campaign, an anti-immigrant sentiment is realized to keep the 'outsiders' out for the protection of those on the 'inside.' American racism, in another light, is rooted in biology and the preference for Euro-centric features. Japanese and English discrimination is based more so on the preservation of ethnic purity, with implications of colorism.

Although Japan and the UK share many similarities, they also hold differences in their population diversity and the means of how they implement their anti-immigrant ideals in their respective societies. The most obvious difference between Japan and the UK is that Japan is a homogenous society with most of the population being of Asian descent. Due to this, racism wasn't brought to Japan until the end of World War II when the West introduced the idea of a racial hierarchy to the Japanese. The importation of the West's discriminatory beliefs on race is still a fairly new concept to the country. Although Japan's prejudice does not equate to Euro-American style racism, their xenophobia against foreigners and colorism against lower-class citizens are just as wrong.

On the other hand, for the United Kingdom, they have had more popular conservative outlets that have promoted a xenophobic narrative among the public. Having right-wing leaders such as Nigel Farage have a solid, political platform on the United Kingdom Independence Party,

gives validity to anti-foreigner thoughts. This is dangerous because opinions can be interpreted as facts by some listeners. The greatest example of this persuasive political campaign is from the 2016 referendum, where 52% of UK citizens voted to leave the European Union. The leave side's "Take Back Control" slogan convinced voters that leaving the EU would revitalize Britain's imperial nostalgia. Instead of prioritizing the cooperation with neighboring European states, the result of leaving the European Union meant centering the focus back on Britain. Prior to Brexit, the EU upheld a Free Movement Policy, which meant all goods, people, and services were able to cross freely between member states. Now with this policy lost, right-wing politicians will implement a Points Based Immigration system by the end of 2020. Rather than a more open policy, the Points Based system only allows people that fill the requirements of having an approved job offer, efficient skills, and proficiency in English. This system filters out low-skilled workers and lower-class immigrants which can be seen as systemically racist.

The Response to their Past through Modern Media

In their efforts to recreate imperial nostalgia with influence from Americanism, the Japanese and British media portrays a biased narrative of low-skilled, foreign people of color. Similar to the United States, Japan and the UK have a problematic history of instituting oppression on the vulnerable. In contrast to the United States, Japan and the UK does not intentionally practice racism, but rather xenophobia, colorism, and classism. Through these cases, however, it implies singling out ethnicities of color who generally fit these criteria. In Britain, this is identified in African, Caribbean, and Asian minority groups. In Japan, although they are also among the Asian race, minority Korean, Filipino, Chinese, and Vietnamese populations are not classified in the same regard as native Japanese. In addition, this is also applied to Japanese outcast groups, such as 'hafus' and Hisabetsu Buraku, those that engage in

undesirable occupations. These minority populations, however, are essential to British and Japanese economy and social culture.

The public's treatment against Ariana Miyamoto, showcases Japan's hesitation against an evolving society that allows foreign inclusion. Although she is a native Japanese, Miyamoto was still considered an outsider for her foreign appearance and un-pure Yamato-Damashii. Despite these sentiments, her crowning as Miss Japan 2015 represents a new wave of diversity that is to come for Japan. This is greatly identified in Naomi Osaka, a well-decorated 'hafu' Japanese tennis player, who is using her platform to shed light on the injustices against black people. Along with the influence of a younger, Japanese population, Osaka's popularity among the country signifies the future of Japan. The Japanese do not want to constantly apologize and be reminded of their losses from the past, but rather aim for future successes which includes a more modern, diverse demographic.

Recent events in the United Kingdom that include Brexit, the Windrush Scandal, and Meghan Markle's exile, showcases a traditional country that refuses to change. Instead of looking to the future like Japan, Britain still lives in the height of their past. Despite the EU providing the UK an economic crutch after the war, the British decided to leave because of their belief that they were superior in terms of what they brought to the table compared to their European partners. This severed union showcased how Britain is solely concerned with their own advantage instead of the welfare of their European community. The concern for their own advantage was even applied against their own ethnic Caribbean minority in the Windrush Scandal of 2018. The Windrush scandal, where the British government created a hostile environment for legal Caribbean immigrants, represented a political prejudice against certain ethnic minorities that represented lower-class workers at the time of their migration into the UK.

This showcased how the anti-immigrant sentiment was one that was initially xenophobic, but later had supplemented American racial biases against foreigners of color. Another example of this was the media's treatment against Meghan Markel, the Duchess of Sussex. Due to her unconventional appearance as an American, a divorcée, and Black biracial woman marrying into the British royal family, Markel became a victim of the media's conservative disdain for change. The constant public harassment through various media outlets forced Meghan Markel into exile. Her exile symbolized Britain's backlash of diversity and their unwillingness to adapt to the modern age of inclusivity. Even in the wake of the global Black Lives Matter movement where younger generations are denouncing colonial pasts, Japan has made efforts to increase their awareness while the British deny that there is even an issue.

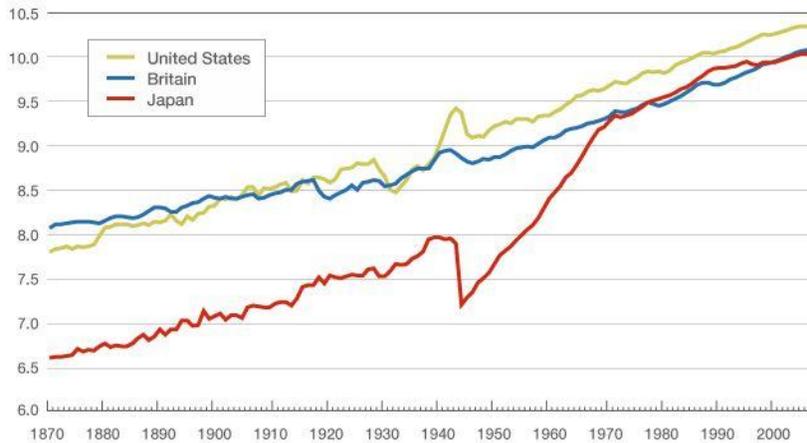
While both nations should instill a sense of pride for their country, they should be cautious of whether this pride is being used against vulnerable communities. While Japan's national character is centered on loyalty to their traditional roots, Britain's national character is centered on reinventing the past to the present. It is important for these nations of great influence to be conscious of their role of past prejudices in order to promote understanding and unity not just within their individual countries, but as a global community. Despite their controversial history and strong cultural roots, Japan is transforming its rhetoric to fit the progressive pattern of the future. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, is ignoring the faults of their past by reinventing a nationalist utopia. This paper argues that Britain remains stagnant and oblivious to their discriminatory practices, while Japan owns their past with intentions to socially advance.

Appendix



Figure 1 Map of Japanese colonization during WWII. Highlighted in red, it is a visual display of Japan's powerful empire.

Growth in Real Per Capita GDP in Japan, Britain, and the US, 1870–2008
(Natural log of per capita GDP in 1990 international Geary-Khamis dollars)

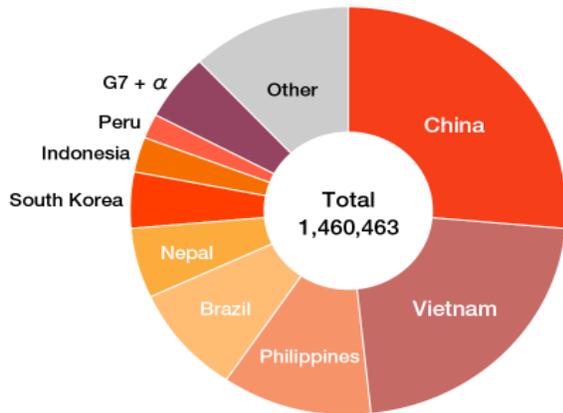


Source: The Maddison-Project
(<http://www.ggd.net/maddison/maddison-project/home.htm>, 2013 version).

nippon.com

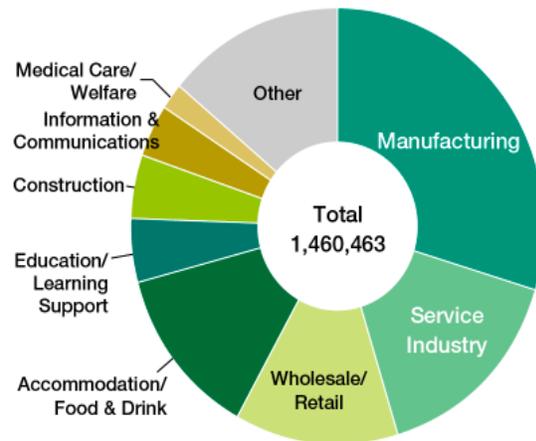
Figure 2 A graph highlighting in red Japan's economic miracle after the war and its economic competition with the U.K. and the U.S.

Ratio of Foreign Workers by Nationality



China includes Hong Kong, and G7 + alpha includes Russia, Australia, and New Zealand. Compiled by *Nippon.com* based on data from the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare.

Foreign Workers by Industry



Compiled by *Nippon.com* based on data from the Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare.

Figure 3 Demographic charts that represent the ethnic minorities in Japan and the common occupations they are subjected to.

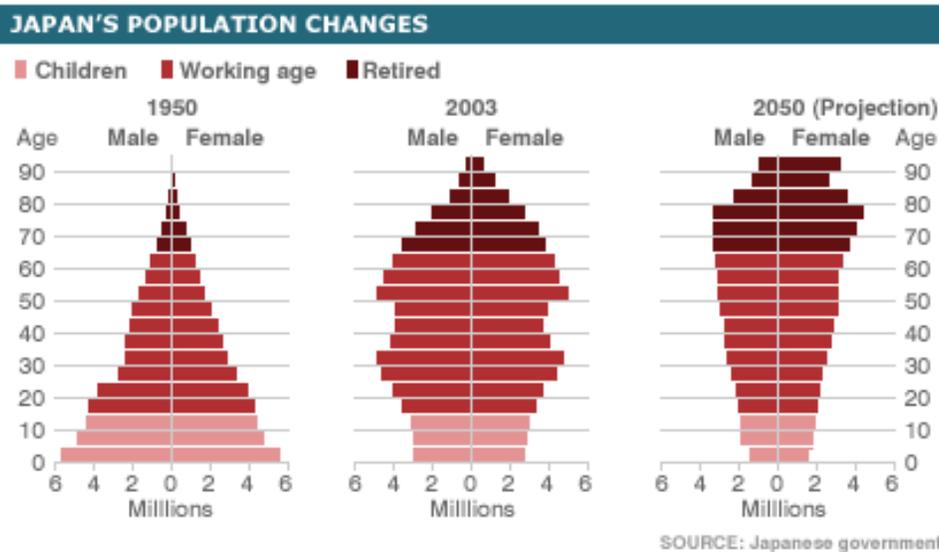


Figure 4 Three charts that display Japan's population changes from 1950 to 2003 to 2050 projections. The charts show a projected rise of an older Japanese population and a decrease of a younger Japanese population.



Figure 5 Ariana Miyamoto, the first half black contestant to be crowned Miss Universe Japan 2015.



Figure 6 Naomi Osaka during the 2020 US Open. 7 Matches, 7 Masks, 7 Names. A performative stance against racial injustice.

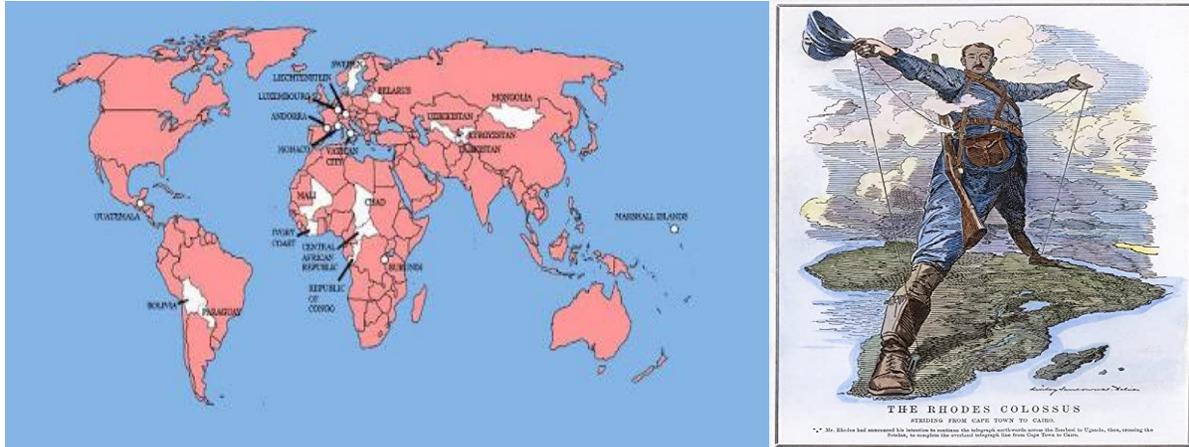


Figure 7 & 8 Map of all the countries that Britain has invaded, highlighted in pink. According to an analysis in Stuart Laycock’s new book, *All the Countries We’ve Invaded: And the Few We Never Got Around To*, Britain has invaded about 90 percent of the countries around the globe. This visualizes the strength of the British Empire and its influence across the world stage. Paired with the iconic editorial cartoon entitled “The Rhodes Colossus,” representing Britain’s scramble for Africa during the height of British colonization.

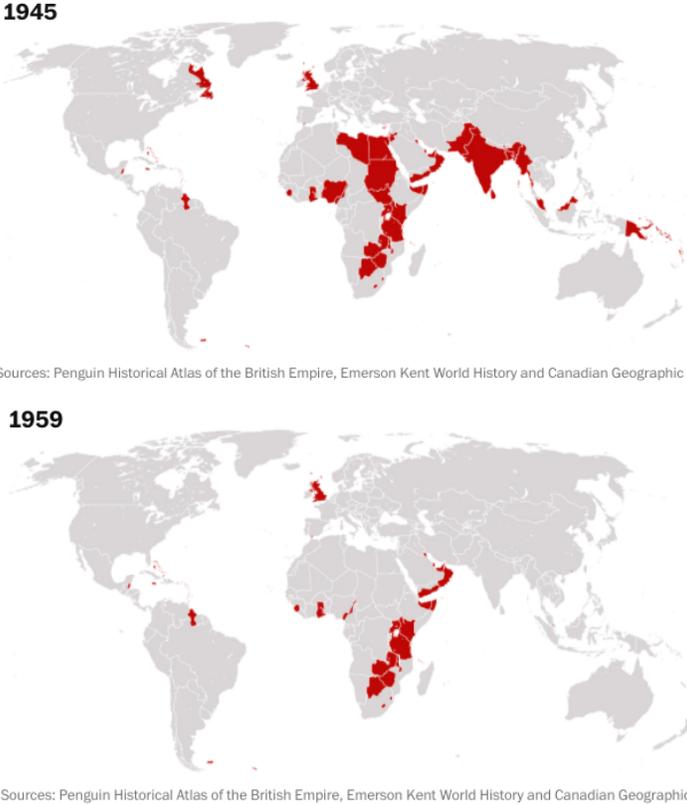


Figure 9 Map of the British Empire before and after World War II, highlighted in red. The noticeable downsize is a reflection of the UK’s economic and political downturn.



Figure 10, 11, & 12 1990s Magazine Covers illustrating “Cool Britannia” – the modern global popularity of British culture that sparked the resurgence of British nationalism.

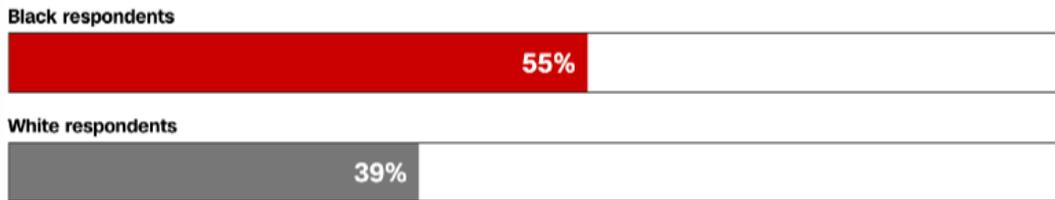


Figure 13 Anti-Immigration Protestors and Supporters of Enoch Powell march in the streets of London. 1972.



Figure 14 UK Independence Party Leader Nigel Farage poses in front of a Brexit Campaign Poster that resembles Nazi Propaganda.

Most Black Britons don't trust the government to prevent another Windrush-type scandal



Note: Black in this survey refers to those who identify as Black or Mixed/Black African or Mixed/Black Caribbean

CNN Source: Online survey conducted by CNN/Savanta ComRes between June 12 and 14, 2020.
 Margin of error for "Black" is ±8.2 points. For "White," it is ±3.1 points.
 Graphic: Henrik Pettersson, CNN

Figure 15 The result of a survey done by CNN that reports what percentage of British residents believe that another Windrush-type scandal can happen again. Although the Windrush scandal represents Britain's anti-immigrant sentiment, it has racial undertones in its exclusion of specifically Black Caribbean descendants. This graph showcases how other Black Britons respond to this situation.

EXCLUSIVE: Harry's girl is (almost) straight outta Compton: Gang-scarred home of her mother revealed - so will he be dropping by for tea?

- Prince Harry's new girl, *Suits* star Meghan Markle, is from Crenshaw, LA
- Crenshaw has endured 47 crimes in the past week - including murder
- Gangs, including the Bloods, count the neighborhood as their territory
- Markle's social worker mom, Doria Ragland, lives in the run-down area
- And the actress's aunt, Ava Burrow, is in nearby gang-afflicted Inglewood

By RUTH STYLES IN LOS ANGELES FOR DAILYMAIL.COM and SHEKHAR BHATIA IN LONG ISLAND, NEW YORK FOR DAILYMAIL.COM

PUBLISHED: 04:41, 2 November 2016 | UPDATED: 07:48, 2 November 2016

Figure 16 Racist DailyMail headline using Meghan's familial background to perpetuate a Black "thug" stereotype on the Princess.



Figure 17 A comparison between two *MailOnline* headlines that cover the same story about Princess Kate and Princess Meghan, but in two different perspectives.



Figure 18 Black Lives Matter Protest in London led by young activists.



Figure 19 “A Surge of Power 2020.” Artist Marc Quinn replaces a statue of slave trader Edward Colston with Black Lives Matter protestor in the UK city of Bristol.

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