

# Nationalism in Question: Japan-Europe comparison of the Newspaper Discourse on the European Refugees' Crisis 2015

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## Abstract

How do countries directly and indirectly affected by the European refugees' crisis address such issues in the media? This paper attempts to compare how the discourse in newspaper articles about the European refugees' crisis in 2015 differed in two liberal democracies. It chooses the UK and Japan for comparison. Both British and Japanese newspaper articles showcased a liberal stance in their discourse about the European refugees' crisis in 2015. However, there were differing views on the root causes of conflicts and threats to peace and security regarding the crisis. The Financial Times articles set a tone promoting a humanitarian norm to accept more refugees to address to the European refugees' crisis. The incident of the death of refugees moving into Europe marked the call for a more united Europe. However, this cosmopolitan tone was far from the realistic capacity of Europe. Germany was pushing for this norm setting, but Eastern European borders were too close the frontiers of the refugees. The public opinion was showing worrying signs of the massive move of refugees into Europe. The Japanese press illustrated a similar line of conflicts in EU agenda, shifting between the setting of norms and responding to reality. The initial hypothesis for this paper was that the Japanese press would demonstrate a nationalistic tone regarding its coverage of the crisis. However, the Japanese press, in particular the Asahi Shimbun, called for more humanitarian action and political action, and to accept more refugees into Japanese territory. While there was no holistic refugee policy in Japan, and only a small number of refugees were actually accepted, the Japanese press made some influence on setting the tone toward the European refugee crisis in Japan and globally. While Japanese national identity might have prevented Japanese positive pacifism, the Japanese press called for more a cosmopolitan and humanitarian discourse than would have been expected by Japan.

**Key Word:** *nationalism, European refugees crisis, Japan, Europe, newspaper discourse*

## 1. Introduction

This paper attempts to compare how the discourse in newspaper articles about the European refugees' crisis of 2015 differed in Japan and in Europe. Looking at the current state of Europe, one can see that nationalist, anti-liberal and anti-European parties are gaining momentum all over in the European Union member states. Liberal stance is that countries determine greater number of refugee status while conservative stance is that countries

determine fewer number of refugee status. Global conflicts caused a sharp rise in the number of refugees entering Europe. Consequently, it appears that some Europeans now feel unsettled and, in response, have escalated nationalistic movements. The example for this is the far-right parties that have recently gained more support and influence within national legislatures and the European Parliament, such as the case of the 24 seats gained by the Front National in France in the year 2014<sup>1</sup> People worry that the entry of refugees might lead to fewer jobs for current residents. Also, refugees are considered a potential cause of more terrorist attacks.

Japan, on the other hand, is not a popular country when it comes to accepting foreigners. Indeed, Japan accepts very few refugees. 10,901 people from all around the world sought asylum in Japan in 2016, but only 28 were accepted.<sup>2</sup> These figures are considerable given that the number of asylum seekers is growing in Japan. There are many elements that should be discussed when accepting refugees. For instance, some asylum seekers abuse the refugee law and those who are genuinely seeking asylum are sometimes not fairly considered. However, one might argue that Japan should accept more refugees into Japan.

This paper attempts to add insights into the previous studies of national identity in face of mounting immigration. In particular, it attempts to add comparative insights to the report on the European refugee crisis, which was conducted by the UNHCR, titled 'Press Coverage of the Refugee and Migrant Crisis in the EU: A Content Analysis of Five European Countries'<sup>3</sup>.

This study was conducted so that the UNHCR and other humanitarian organizations could engage more European countries in assisting refugees through media and advocacy. Their efforts are considered to be important in setting the tone of, and to increase attention to, the refugee crisis in the latter half of 2015. However, the media was not united enough in its response. One reason for this is that each newspaper had different opinions toward the refugee crisis.

This paper attempts to provide a comparative perspective about two countries. It chooses the UK and Japan for comparison. One reason for this is that the UK was the most negative in the European survey by the UNHCR and the most polarized towards refugees and migrants. Another reason is that Japan would provide a comparative perspective on the side of Asia. Also, Japan is a liberal democratic country like the UK. These countries shall value the principal of humanitarianism. This paper will analyze articles written from May 2015 to November 2015 about the languages newspaper in both countries employed when discussing the refugees' crisis. For the Japanese case in particular, it analyses the solution to the crisis that the articles suggested. For the UK, this paper chooses the Financial Times. For Japan, it looks at the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun. These papers provide important insights into the role of each country's press culture in setting the agenda for today's refugees' and migrant crisis.

This paper questions how Japan and the UK differ in responding to the European refugees' crisis of 2015. There are three parts to this analysis. First, it introduces the background of the European refugees' crisis of 2015. Second, it analyses British newspaper articles. Third, it examines Japanese newspaper's articles. The hypothesis

of this paper is that Japanese newspapers take a more distant tone to the European refugees' crisis of 2015 in comparison to the British paper. Japan is geographically far from the European refugee crisis and has accepted so few refugees until recently. Europe has become more nationalistic because of the refugees' crisis. Japan's refusal of refugees might show that Japan has not sufficiently determined those genuinely seeking asylum.

## **2. The Background of the European Refugees' Crisis of 2015**

The European Union has always been a norm-setting institution. Its origin goes back to the foundation of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. The European Union strived to contribute to the advancement of peace and reconciliation, democracy and human rights in Europe because of the past world wars that severely damaged humanity. Terms such as democracy, governance and human rights were popular during the 1990s among academics for analyzing the state of the European Union.<sup>4</sup> That was the time when the European Union was formally established when the Maastricht Treaty came into force on 1<sup>st</sup> November 1993. Such an important norm setting mechanism was often criticized and contrasted when it came to the reality of the member states of the European Union.<sup>5</sup> One often asked question is why is a supposedly united Europe struggling to accept more refugees into its territory?

Looking at the definition, causes and consequences of the European refugees' crisis of 2015, one can refer to Park's analysis and writing.<sup>6</sup> What is the cause of the European refugee crisis? It is the political upheaval in the Middle East, Africa and South Asia.<sup>7</sup> According to the International Organization for Migration (the IOM), more than 464,000 migrants crossed into Europe by sea during the first nine months of 2015.<sup>8</sup> The majority are Syrians escaping from their country's four-and-a-half-year-old civil war.<sup>9</sup> They make up 39% of the total migrants arriving in Europe.<sup>10</sup> The second largest group is Afghans. They are attempting to get away from the continuous war with Taliban rebels. They constitute 11% of the total migrants.<sup>11</sup>

The problem of the European refugees' crisis is that not all migrants are refugees. Refugees are entitled to international protection, but economic migrants are not. An asylum seeker is seeking international protection under the 1951 Refugee Convention on the Status of Refugees. A refugee is a person fleeing persecution or conflict. On the other hand, an economic migrant leaves her/his home country for economic gain. Some economic migrants can pretend to be refugees. Or, refugees become economic migrants because some of them simply seek to move to richer countries. Another consideration of the European refugees' crisis is that economically fragile states such as Greece and Italy became the main entry points for refugees and migrants and these states do not have the resources to deal with the crisis. This is because these countries are close to the Mediterranean Basin, the closest access route to Europe for many refugees. The EU's eastern border countries, like Hungary, are also exposed to a migration influx. The final concern is that there are currently no long-lasting solutions to address the rights of refugees and migrants. The actions of the EU are considered ad hoc and their efforts are centralized on securing the block's borders. Having listed three major problems of the current European refugee crisis, now is the time to

look at the role of the press in shaping their country's political action to address to the European refugees' crisis of 2015.

### 3. The Response of the UK Media

This paper examines the newspaper articles of the Financial Times for UK.<sup>12</sup> The reason why the FT was chosen is because it is politically central, neither too liberal nor too conservative in its analysis. Due to time and institutional constraints, it was also the only available source for analysis. The FT is an English-language international daily newspaper with a special emphasis on business and economic news. The British press coverage of the refugees portrays different views depending on each paper's political stance<sup>13</sup>. It is, therefore, difficult to generalize the tone of British press culture. However, the FT is published and owned by Nikkei Inc. in Tokyo.<sup>14</sup> The analysis of the FT articles therefore highlights its own and unique stance and ties it to Japanese press discourse.

It is argued that the UK is one of the countries where mainstream political actors are unwilling to make the case for more liberal policies for accepting refugees.<sup>15</sup> In such a country, it is often left for NGOs, the UN and journalists themselves to make the case.<sup>16</sup> This can be seen in many FT articles. In essence, one can see a rather liberal stance regarding the refugee crisis. In the sections below, this paper will prove this by citing several major instances in chronological order.

First, the FT provided a rather generous consideration to the European response to the EU quota system. In May 2015, the European Commission suggested a plan of a "distribution key". It relied on a formula that takes into account a country's population, economic output, unemployment rate, and how many refugees and asylum seekers it had accepted since 2010. The plan, however, gave rise to opposition among EU member states. However, one FT article written by a UN special representative for International Migration<sup>17</sup> stated "most Europeans are neither mean-spirited nor racist. They do not want to see families perishing in the sea. They want their governments to be in control of who enters Europe, and how. European leaders can deliver this while doing right by international law, and without undermining the union's economy and foreign relation."<sup>18</sup> In my view, this has set the neutral tone. It is neither too nationalistic nor too humanitarian. It respects the value of human rights while securing the interests of countries of asylum. As long as it is well regulated, the press discourse encouraged people to support the EU's plan to accept the refugees according to the quota system.

Second, another FT article mentioned a critical stance to the closure of EU borders when Hungary closed its border to Syrian refugees. In June, there was an increase in the number of the Syrian refugees coming through Hungary. The government of Hungary expressed an intention of building a fence to avoid the further entry of refugees into the country. The FT expressed a critical stance towards this policy and provided global insight into addressing the European refugee crisis. A letter to the editor discussed the root causes of the refugee crisis: "These are the global inequalities that need to be addressed through a comprehensive reassessment of the economic, political and social models that have brought us to this point, recognizing that we have a responsibility to create

the conditions for societies to prosper worldwide within the finite resources of the planet.”<sup>19</sup> This article’s critical tone toward those who refused the entry of the refugees into EU was meant to make FT readers upset with Hungary.

Third, in late August, a report described the death of refugees in Austria, who died frozen to a train track. This resulted in a surge in criticism about the negative European attitude toward the influx of refugees into their territory. To address this issue, an FT article on the 28<sup>th</sup> August highlighted Angela Merkel’s discourse on Germany’s asylum seekers, which leaned in a liberal direction.<sup>20</sup> It noted that ‘there is popular support for accepting refugees, apart from a vocal far-right minority’.<sup>21</sup> It also cited Ms. Merkel’s comment that the human rights of refugees shall be respected and that ‘there can be no tolerance of those who question the dignity of other people’<sup>22</sup>. This article set a humanitarian tone toward the acceptance of refugees into Europe.

Fourth, on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, the world saw a photograph of a 3 years old Syrian boy on a beach who had drowned in the Aegean Sea. This photograph was posted in newspapers in many countries, including the UK. FT articles responded to the picture by criticizing the disarray of the EU. It also highlighted UK PM David Cameron’s ‘refusal to accept a bigger share of refugees fleeing to Europe’ and agreed with the opinion that this restrictive stance posed ‘an awkward political challenge ahead of a looming EU referendum’.<sup>23</sup> ‘The opposition Labour party too has pointed to “heartbreaking” images of toddlers’ bodies washed up on Turkish beaches and insisted Britain accepts more Syrian refugees’.<sup>24</sup> In the UK, any decision to admit more refugees could compound Mr. Cameron’s political problems. ‘Images of mass migration in Europe would make it harder for Mr. Cameron to make the case for Britain to remain in the EU’<sup>25</sup>. The FT also contrasted the EU’s heartless struggles to deal with the arrival of thousands of non-EU citizens fleeing war and persecution<sup>26</sup>. The crisis threatened the bloc’s ambition of greater integration and solidarity<sup>27</sup>. Angela Merkel, the German chancellor, cast the crisis as a test of the entire European project’s values. She noted that ‘if Europe fails on the question of refugees – if the close link with universal civil rights is broken – then it won’t be the Europe we wished for’<sup>28</sup>. This article questioned the state of liberal democracy in the UK and the EU, and it called on the UK to continuously accept more refugees.

Fifth, another FT article presented the tone of accepting refugees directly from the war torn regions, but not from the EU. On 7<sup>th</sup> September, the FT wrote that ‘the UK would offer to resettle Syrians directly from refugee camps in Jordan, Lebanon and Turkey, but not those who have already reached the EU. Likewise, Britain was not joining an EU quota system being drawn up this week by Jean-Claude Juncker, of the European Commission, for countries who are part of the Schengen passport-free zone.’<sup>29</sup> Mr. Cameron’s response was, however, criticized, offering his British audience something positive. The UK at that time had resettled 216 Syrian through its ‘vulnerable persons relocation scheme,’ with a further 5,000 who had traveled by their own means having been granted asylum by the UK between the start of the crisis in early 2011 and the second quarter of 2015.<sup>30</sup> However, the FT articles detailed criticism to Mr. Cameron’s different stance towards the refugee crisis, emphasizing that Syrians should be resettled directly from camps and that the UK had spent 1bn pounds on aid to Syria, more than any other EU country, but less than the US.<sup>31</sup> ‘Although the prime minister spent much of the day in front of

refugee children in camps and schools in Lebanon and Jordan, his key audiences were elsewhere: public opinion in Britain and the leaders of other developed countries.<sup>32</sup> This FT article criticized the UK prime minister for being less concerned about refugees than his public and colleagues from other developed countries.

Finally, a FT article suggested that ‘solidarity’ is needed to address the refugee crisis<sup>33</sup>. ‘The release of images of the dead Syrian boy resulted in the EU’s political figures setting humanitarian norms even though the reality to respond to the waves of asylum seekers became very difficult. The FT articles suggested the concern that the EU was ‘paying a heavy price for its failure to forge a common approach to the migrant crisis’.<sup>34</sup> In such a situation, Britain was alone in refusing to accept asylum seekers from the front lines of the EU migration crisis after Denmark bowed to pressure and joined the “burden sharing” efforts. This was even after responding to a groundswell of public sympathy over the biggest migration across Europe in half a century, Mr. Cameron last month agreed to provide refuge to 20,000 Syrians over the following five years.<sup>35</sup> This FT article set a tone that encouraged the UK to accept more refugees from countries such as Syria on humanitarian grounds.

Such liberal politics, however, did not last long. By 15<sup>th</sup> September, Hungary has closed its border on the Serbian side. On the September 16<sup>th</sup> September, it used the tear gas on refugees, and the situation escalated. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> and 23<sup>rd</sup> September, the EU opened an ad-hoc commission and a heads of state summit and agreed upon the compromise of a quota system for accepting refugees. The focus was on the European frontier and how to stop the refugee influx on the border between Europe and Turkey.<sup>36</sup> On the 1<sup>st</sup> of October, the German public demonstrated increasing resentment toward refugees. They showed concern to the influx of the refugees into Europe. On the 5<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> of October, the head figures of the EU and Turkey’s President Erdogan, met and conversed. The executive director of the EU suggested that the EU would assist Turkey financially as well as advance negotiations in accession if Turkey could stop the entry of refugees into the EU. On 17<sup>th</sup> October, a candidate for Mayor of Koln faced aggression because he was campaigning for the protection of refugees. On 18<sup>th</sup> October, the political figures of Germany and Turkey, Merkel and Erdogan met for talks. Merkel lowered the firm stance toward the accession of Turkey into Europe. On 13<sup>th</sup> November, a terrorist attack occurred in Paris. The right-wing parties of the EU member states accelerated their negative stance toward the acceptance of the refugees into Europe.

In summary, in the year 2015, the political debate over refugees was greatly influenced by public opinion on the death of refugees attempting to enter Europe. Until August 2015, one could see a realistic tone among the EU member states. However, the end of August saw the death of refugees in a refrigerated train car and 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2015 saw the report of the images of the drowning Syrian boy. These stories contributed to the intense cosmopolitan and humanitarian norm setting among the EU member states figures and public. However, the move of a massive amount of refugees into Europe made the EU member states and public have more realistic and nationalistic opinions. The Paris terrorist attack marked a point of rising negative opinions about the acceptance of refugees into Europe. In the year 2016, the UK decided via national referendum that the UK would withdraw from European Union. Recent EU affairs seem to be deeply troubled. The role of the liberal press is now challenged. It is more

difficult to shape more liberal politics for accepting greater number of refugees in their territory.

#### 4. The Response of the Japanese Media

In contrast to the section on the UK, this part of the paper focuses on two major Japanese newspapers, the Yomiuri Shimbun and the Asahi Shimbun, the biggest newspapers in Japan in terms of circulation<sup>37</sup>. Both the Yomiuri Shimbun and the Asahi Shimbun are Japanese newspapers published in Japan. While the Yomiuri Shimbun is conservative and sometimes considered to be a center-right newspaper, the Asahi Shimbun is considered to be the most progressive among the five major Japanese newspapers.<sup>38</sup>

The analysis of this research demonstrates that Japanese newspaper discourse was not much different from stories published in the FT in general trends. Contrary to the initial hypothesis, Japanese media illustrated a similar tone to the FT. Of the two papers, one could not see such a one-sided nationalistic discourse in the way the European Union was dealing with the movement of the refugees into Europe. However, it showed Japanese response to the European refugee crisis, which can be considered rather nationalistic. To compare with the articles of the FT, this section concentrates its analysis on the discourse that the Japanese press proposed regarding the European refugee crisis.

This section briefly introduces the discourse of Japanese press. The analysis demonstrates that the role of public opinion is limited when it comes to changing the legal system of Japan and to accepting more refugees. This is similar to the case of the FT in Europe.

First, the Japanese newspapers stated that both the UK and Japan should accept a greater number of refugees. They highlighted that the UN and UNHCR acknowledged that Japan should accept more refugees from war-torn countries such as Syria. In early May 2015, the Asahi Shimbun wrote of the decision of the EU to apply the quota system of accepting the refugees.<sup>39</sup> For this, the Yomuri Shimbun portrayed a critical stance toward the UK.<sup>40</sup> In June, a representative of UNHCR and the UN called on Japan to accept more refugees.<sup>41</sup> In later June, one could see the difficult decision of the EU to agree on the quota system of accepting refugees.<sup>42</sup> In August, the Asahi Shimbun started to discuss why the screening of refugees is so strict in Japan as the Ministry of Justice decided on a plan to accept foreigners in the following 5 years.<sup>43</sup> The discussion of Japanese newspaper set a generous tone toward the EU quota system and provided a critical tone toward the Japanese government for not accepting as many refugees.

Second, the Japanese press, like the FT, pushed a humanitarian tone regarding the incident where the Syrian boy died on a Turkish beach. In early September, the Asahi Shimbun and the Yomiuri Shimbun reported on the humanitarian response of the UK government to this tragedy<sup>44</sup> The British and European public opinion was moved dramatically by this incident.<sup>45</sup> This cosmopolitan attitude resulted in the EU policy to accept more refugees. It saw the arrival of trains in Germany, carrying refugees, who were welcomed by the citizens there.<sup>46</sup>

Some articles from early September highlighted the mass arrival of refugees to Europe, in particular to Germany. At around the same time however, the Yomiuri Shimbun reported on France's control of illegal immigrants while mentioning the French government decision to accept 24,000 refugees in 2 years term<sup>47</sup>. The dominant discourse was, however, to support government intervention favorable to a humanitarian response.

Third, a Japanese newspaper articles suggested European and Japanese financial aid to neighboring countries in the refugees' countries of origin as a way to secure peace and security in the Middle East. In late September, the EU decided to aid refugees financially to avoid the further entry of refugees into Europe by supporting the neighboring countries in Middle East and Africa.<sup>48</sup> The Asahi Shimbun and Yomiuri Shimbun noted that the aid to the neighboring countries of the refugee-producing countries is important.<sup>49</sup> The reason for this is because, the papers suggested, is that these are the countries that accept the largest number of refugees. To address peace and security in the world, Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, in New York, mentioned that there are domestic issues such as women's rights and advancement that should be addressed before the refugee issue<sup>50</sup>. Many opinions to the editors of both papers criticized PM Abe's stance. That is because Prime Minister Abe relied only on financial tools and did not demonstrate consideration to those asylum seekers seeking genuinely international protection. In the UN General Assembly, PM Abe promised financial help to the refugees, but did not mention anything about accepting refugees in Japan. Unlike PM Cameron, PM Abe did not consider accepting more refugees, even after the humanitarian incidents. In Japanese mainstream political discourse, one could not see any positive sign of accepting more refugees in Japan from the war-torn countries in Middle East and Africa. Such Japanese newspaper coverage represented Japanese refugee politics. It does not sufficiently determine those genuinely seeking asylum. Such nationalistic tone might have been influenced by European experiences. Humanitarian responses caused the rise of anti-immigrant politics in many European countries, such as Greece.<sup>51</sup> This was also true in Germany. There was growing concern about accepting many refugees and about the seemingly endless movement of the refugees.<sup>52</sup> Some feared that refugees would take the jobs of German people.<sup>53</sup>

Fourth, the firm stance of the Japanese government policy and PM Abe's reaction to the European refugees' crisis did not follow Japanese public opinion. Japanese public opinion as expressed in both newspapers, showed that many citizens believed that Japan should start affirmative action policies to accept more refugees in general.<sup>54</sup> People in Japan overall accept diversity and want a holistic refugee policy in Japan.<sup>55</sup> To align with the tone of Japanese public opinion, the head of the UNHCR argued that Japan should not care if a crisis producing refugees is far from Japan or not, but about how vulnerable they are when deciding the acceptance of the refugees.<sup>56</sup> Given the geopolitical distance between Japan and Syria, however, it appears difficult to influence the legal system of Japan even though the public opinion in Japanese newspaper discourse is rather favorable toward accepting refugees who are genuinely seeking asylum. Overall, the role of the Japanese liberal press and public opinion is rather limited in shaping the political momentum and the liberal policy of accepting the refugees.

Finally, the limited role of the liberal press and public opinion in shaping refugee policy demonstrates



in Japan and the UK the need to reflect on humanitarian norms. Dr. Sadako Ogata, a former head of the UNHCR, suggested that Japan should accept more refugees. She is very concerned that there is a great discrepancy between Japan and the rest of the world. She finally added that Japanese education needs to be sensitive enough about humanitarian norms.<sup>57</sup> Her argument might not be realistic regarding the present Japanese education and legal system and challenges refugee politics in Japan. Also, this paper focuses on the European refugee crisis and the refugees coming particularly from Syria. The situation in Asia such as in Afghanistan and Myanmar, territories closer to Japan, were not considered in this paper. Therefore, in the future, it would be an interesting point of analysis to look at cases of how Japanese newspapers discuss refugees coming from Asian countries to Japan.

## 5. Conclusion

Both British and Japanese newspaper articles demonstrated a liberal stance in their discourse about the European refugees' crisis of 2015. However, there was some limitation in discussing the root causes of conflicts and threats to peace and security. The FT articles tended to set a tone of making humanitarian norms to accept more refugees to address to the European refugee crisis. The incidents of the death of refugees moving into Europe marked the call for more a united Europe. However, this cosmopolitan tone was far from the realistic capacity of Europe. Germany was leading for norm-setting, but Eastern European borders were to closed as frontiers for refugees. Public opinion was showing worrying signs regarding the massive move of refugees into Europe. The Japanese press displayed a similar line of conflicts in EU agenda setting between the setting norms and responding to reality. The initial hypothesis was that Japanese press portrays distant tone to the refugee crisis. However, contrary to the initial hypothesis of the author, the Japanese press, in particular the Asahi Shimbun, called for more humanitarian action and political action to accept more refugees into Japanese territory. While there was no holistic refugee policy in Japan, and only a small number of refugees accepted, the Japanese press was to make a greater influence on setting the public tone toward the European refugee crisis. This was highlighted by some of the opinions shared in the paper, including those made by Dr. Sadako Ogata. While Japanese national identity might have prevented Japanese positive pacifism, the Japanese press called for a more cosmopolitan and humanitarian discourse. However, the Japanese newspaper discourse did not make much influence on changing the Japanese government's policy and law regarding the acceptance of refugees into Japanese territory. It was also not clear from this survey to what extent the newspaper discourse represented the public opinion of Japanese people vis-à-vis the European refugees' crisis of 2015. Looking to the future, one could find ways to explore media discourse about how refugees could bring the benefits to the countries that accept them. While there are some good practices in Japan of accepting refugees into local communities, there were few instances where reporting focused on the benefits that asylum seekers and migrants could bring to host countries. Finally, a comparative study on the refugee flow into Japan, such as that of refugees from Asia, and how Japanese newspapers respond to it as to create refugee

policy would bring an interesting insight to the future of this study.

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### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Huffing Post. [https://www.huffingtonpost.com/elinadav-heyman/sudden-rise-of-far-right-\\_b\\_5512961.html](https://www.huffingtonpost.com/elinadav-heyman/sudden-rise-of-far-right-_b_5512961.html) (Last Accessed on the 16<sup>th</sup> February, 2018)

<sup>2</sup> For more details about the figure in the Japanese language, see: <http://www.moj.go.jp/content/001217009.pdf> (Last Accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2018).

<sup>3</sup> For more details about the report, see: <http://www.unhcr.org/56bb369c9.pdf> (Last Accessed on the 6<sup>th</sup> January 2018).

<sup>4</sup> Ichikawa.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Park.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> IOM.

<sup>9</sup> The figure is for the year 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Park.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

<sup>12</sup> I will refer to the Financial Times as the FT from now on.

<sup>13</sup> Berry et al, pp.10

<sup>14</sup> It was founded in 1888. The Financial Times has an average daily readership of 2.2 million people worldwide. FT.com has 4.5 million registered users and over 285,000 digital subscribers, as well as 60,000,000 paying users..

<sup>15</sup> Berry et al, pp. 11

<sup>16</sup> Ibid.

<sup>17</sup> The Financial Times. London Edition May 22, 2015, pp.9

<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

<sup>19</sup> The Financial Times, USA edition June 19, 2015, USA editions, pp.8

<sup>20</sup> Ibid, pp.3

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid.

<sup>23</sup> Financial Times, London Edition September 3, 2015, pp.2

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Financial Times. London Edition September 5 2015, pp.9

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Financial Times. London Edition September 7 2015, pp.2.

<sup>30</sup> Financial Times. London Edition. September 8, 2015, pp.3

<sup>31</sup> Financial Times, London Edition. September 15, 2015, pp.3

<sup>32</sup> Ibid.

<sup>33</sup> Financial Times, London Edition, September 23, 2015, pp. 11

<sup>34</sup> Financial Times, London Edition. September 18, 2015, pp.10

<sup>35</sup> Financial Times, London Edition, September 19, 2015, pp.7

<sup>36</sup> Ichikawa.

<sup>37</sup> In 2010, the Daily was the number one in the list of the world's biggest selling newspapers with a circulation of 10,021,000. In June 2010, Asahi Shimbun was selling 7.96 million copies for its morning edition and 3.1 million for its evening edition.

- <sup>38</sup> There are the Yomiuri Shimbun, Sankei Shimbun, Nihon Keizai Shimbun, Mainichi Shimbun and Asahi Shimbun.
- <sup>39</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, May 14, 2015
- <sup>40</sup> The Yomiuri Shimbun, May 15, 2015, pp.6
- <sup>41</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, June 19, 2015, pp.3 and June 21, 2015, pp.8.
- <sup>42</sup> The Yomiuri Shimbun, June 27, 2015, pp.7
- <sup>43</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, August 23, 2015, pp.10
- <sup>44</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 5, 2015, pp.13 and the Yomiuri Shimbun, September 5, 2015, pp.7<sup>th</sup>
- <sup>45</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 5, 2015, pp.13.
- <sup>46</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 7, 2015, pp.3
- <sup>47</sup> The Yomiuri Shimbun, September 6, 2015, pp.7 and September 8, 2015, pp.3
- <sup>48</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 24, 2015, pp.13 and September 25, 2015, pp.13.
- <sup>49</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>50</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 27, 2015 and the Yomiuri Shimbun, September 11, pp.7
- <sup>51</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, October 4, 2015, pp.8
- <sup>52</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 11, 2015,
- <sup>53</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, September 29, 2015, pp.16
- <sup>54</sup> The Yomiuri Shimbun, September 8, 2015, pp.7
- <sup>55</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, October 9, 2015, pp.14
- <sup>56</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, November 1, 2015, pp.13
- <sup>57</sup> The Asahi Shimbun, November 27, 2015, pp.1
- <sup>58</sup> Ibid.

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