Graduate School of Development Studies

Children in the Different World:
Japanese Television and Development Discourses

A Research Paper presented by:

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTERS OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Specialisation:
**Children and Youth Studies
(CYS)**

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The Hague, The Netherlands
November, 2008

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Acknowledgement

Finishing my research paper could have been impossible without cooperation from many people. First, I would like to be grateful for my supervisor Dr. Linda Herrera for her insightful advice and great support from the beginning to the end. She always encourages and pushes me think beyond the mediocrity of my master thesis. Without her my paper could not have become what it is now. I would like to thank my second reader, Dr. Dubravka Zarkov for her very critical and useful comments given in my seminars. Especially, her broad knowledge about media representation is very helpful for my research.

I would also like to thank my discussants, Kanako Ohara and Silvia Forno. They gave me unique perspectives about Japanese view points and knowledge about child issues and media representation. My gratefulness goes to friends in ISS, especially CYS colleges and the "dwellers" in the library. You were all there even in the hardest of times. All of you made this paper and studying here worth it. I wouldn't have made this far without you. I also express my thanks to Marvin Calma, my ESL teacher for improving the vocabulary and grammar of this paper. His work is very helpful for making the paper more reader-friendly.

Finally, this research goes out to my family and friends in Japan. My parents have always understood me and given me the freedom to think for myself. But still, they never abandoned me and endlessly cared for me. I also express my deepest thanks not only to my closest friends but also to everybody I have talked with at least once in Japan. All my experiences with them have moulded me to what I am now. Be it big or small, they contributed to my achievement.

With gratefulness to all the people mentioned above and pride of my achievement, I will play an active role in an arena of international cooperation.

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List of Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
HIV	Human Immune Deficiency Virus
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MC	Master of Ceremony
NHK	Nippon Hoso Kyokai
TBS	Tokyo Broadcasting System
TV	Television
UN	United Nations
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WWII	World War II

Abstract

This research explores the discourses of street children and developing countries in Japanese media representation. Through a thorough theoretical and technical analysis of an annual Japanese documentary TV program titled Sekai ga Moshi Hyaku Nin no Mura Dattara (If the World Were a Village of 100 People) featuring the lives of 3 streetchildren from 3 developing countries, I dissected the relationships of power and different existing discourses. The research shows that the TV programme represents street children as both agents and victims. Then, it discusses how the categories of Japan as 'We' and of developing countries as 'They' are constructed and maintained. These binary categories are derived and justified through recent Japanese discourses in development studies: the concepts of un-socialized and individualistic children and the idea of violent and powerless adults and institutions. The research also connects the notions of representation and power, uneven power relations between Japan and developing countries, and charity politics to reveal problems of Japanese media with respect to discourses in development studies.

Relevance to Development Studies

Media representation of children, adults, institutions and developing countries as a whole greatly influence and shape views of people in developed countries about developing countries. Despite the possibility of representing developing countries constructively, they are frequently represented in negatively as if they were violent and hopeless countries. These representations result in discourses of legitimatization and rationalization of subordinated developing countries, tarnishing the dignity and image of children and people in developing countries. In addition, these discourses perpetuate and sustain uneven power relations between developed countries and developing countries. Thus, media representation of developing countries is very relevant to development studies and should be analyzed.

Keywords

Street Children, Media Representation, Child Representation, Japanese Media, Childhood, Charity Politics, Discourses on developing countries

Chapter 1
Introduction

1.1   Research Backgrounds and Problems

This research is about discourses of street children and developing countries in Japanese media representation. I analyzed 3 episodes of the annual Japanese documentary TV program 'Sekai ga Moshi Hyaku Nin no Mura Dattara' (If the World Were a Village of 100 People) which documented children in developing countries.

Unquestionably, the media plays a very important role in shaping our view of the world and provides valuable judgements about what is right or wrong. We are educated with a very limited view of the world by firsthand experiences and inevitably rely on the media to understand the rest of the world. In other words, our view of the world and our values heavily depend on images of things represented by the media. Thus, as Kellner (1995), as a leading theorist of media culture, says, it is important to know how to understand, interpret and criticize meanings and messages of media.

Hart (1988: 12) argues that the media is a major source of information and influences public perceptions and a common sense understanding of developing countries in developed countries. However, according to Hall (1994), it is important not to regard images from media as a neutral medium. How people or practices (events) are represented depends on history, relations of power, and existing discourses provided with various strategies of representation. When representation from developing countries is considered and polarised, it will work in two ways. On one hand, Hart (1988: 14) argues that positive images are taken to be those that represent people in developing countries in a dignified manner, actively participating in the development process, hardworking, industrious and self-determined. On the other hand, the representation

has risks of leading people to misunderstand developing countries negatively, and justifies and rationalizes the subordination of developing countries like they deserve poverty and exist in a harsh reality. Through such representation, people in developed countries tend to think that 'we are their only hope' due to controlled facts in representing developing countries. Thus, images of developing countries from the media do matter in developed countries.

This argument is strongly related to why Japan is focused in this research. Japan is an influential country for development and child issues because its government and public allocate financial support for international cooperation. According to the UNICEF 2006 annual report, the organization solicits the biggest donations from Japan if the share of public is considered[1]. This means Japanese people are highly interested in child issues and are greatly influenced to solve them because of well sophisticated ways of fundraising in media and Japanese maternal attitude to help pitiful children in my opinion. However, because Japan limits foreign immigration by its geo-graphical feature as an island country and strict immigration laws, its people heavily depend on its media for its understanding of other countries especially of developing ones. Thus, Japanese media representation of developing countries and reflection of prevailing assumptions about them should be analyzed due to its big influence to field of developmental studies.

On the other hand, the issue of street children represented by the media sometimes mislead people to understand developing countries and to rationalize and justify their subordination. As Ennew (1994: 1) says, street children are widely photographed and described and they make good copy for the media with powerful images evoking pity at their plight. However, their powerless, helpless and vulnerable images from the media are treated as a symbol of poverty of developing countries, and serve to imply

inability of their families and society as a whole because representation of children as innocent implies that their victimized situations are attributed to the failure of people to care for the children (Burman 1994: 243). In other words, the representation of street children by the media reinforce existing negative and demeaning image of developing countries among Japanese people. Thus, the representation of street children has risk to 'logically' but not fairly and adequately explain their circumstances and reiterate the subordination of their countries.

In light of the debates about media discourse and representations of children in developing countries' contexts, I carry out my research to analyze how the Japanese media promotes images of developing countries by representing street children. Many of the readings point out to the negative influence of the passive image of children as victims to the understanding of people and environment of developing countries. Thus, it is imperative to investigate how and why images of street children are shaped through this research, and shows the prevailing assumptions and biases which reflect these representations and images and usually appear to be neutral facts. By analyzing the Japanese media, I expose certain media strategies which represent street children in a way which reinforce the existing image as helpless, hopeless and vulnerable children, and therefore feeding the rationale of the concept of developing countries as 'underdogs', passive and subordinated.

1.2   Research Objectives

- To analyze Japanese TV discourses on street children
- To analyze how Japanese media represents images about street children and developing countries
- To explore the assumptions about children in developing countries and developing countries itself prevailing in Japan, through the images of street children
- To contribute to the field of child representation not well researched in

Japan

1.3 Research Questions

- How does the TV program, *Moshi Sekaiga 100 Nin no Mura Dattara*, present and represent street children?

- What are the prevailing discourses of street children and ideal childhood that reflect these representations?

- How do these discourses relate to the discourses about developing countries?

1.4 Methodology, Justification, and Limitations

To illustrate Japanese media street children representation, I analyze three stories of street children in the TV programme '*Sekai ga Moshi 100 Nin no Mura Dattara* (If the World Were a Village of 100 people)' which aims at raising public awareness through documentary films about children in developing countries. Although there are five stories, three are chosen due to data availability. This research is designed through discourse media analysis and secondary data related to the topic.

In this research, discourse analysis is main method to analyze representations on TV, the most influential medium in Japan. Branston and Stafford (2006: 184) state, 'discourse analysis is interested in exploring what values and identities are contained, prevented, or encouraged in daily practices and rules of discursive formation involving not only language but other bodies of power such as image of culture or social structure in this research behind relations between Japan and developing countries' (Branston and Stafford, 2006: 184). This is deemed to be most appropriate in achieving my objectives, analyzing representations and exploring assumptions.

In addition, some representational strategies based on Hall (1997), Leudar (2004), Mejier (1993), and Zarkov (1997) serve as basic approaches to

analyze the TV programme. These are specifically stereotyping, categorization, framing and focalization. According to Zarkov, these strategies are used for maintaining the social and symbolic order; media representations, including the strategies, are the consequences of unequal power relations and simultaneously maintain unequal power relations. Thus, it should be emphasised that I focus on neither editorial processes, audiences' impressions, private lives of street children, nor the objectivity of the information in TV programme. Rather, this research looks into the notion that representations of street children are discursive practices influenced by prevailing discourses of childhood, street children and developing countries in Japan.

The Japanese subtitles used, audio effects and guest talks in the TV programme are also analyzed because they also reflect prevailing discourses. In addition, some aspects of editing which are aimed to generate certain plans of action from the audience are used as data as well.

1.5   Research Organization

This research is divided into 5 chapters. The introduction (Chapter 1) contains research background, research questions, methodology, objectives and limitation of this research. The Theoretical Framework (Chapter 2) utilizes the following concepts: childhood, media representation, and street children. The third chapter contains some factors related to Japanese society: Japanese media and TV, and abstracts of the episodes of the TV programme 'Sekaiga Moshi 100 Nin no Mura Dattara.' Chapter four shows the research findings and their analysis. Finally, in the Conclusion (Chapter 5), analysis of the TV program and theoretical bases of the topic are integrated to address the research questions.

Chapter 2
Analytical Concepts

This chapter explains the interconnectedness of media representation and discourses of childhood and street children.

2.1 Analytical Framework

Concepts of media representation (including power, charity politics, and representational strategies) and the discourses of street children, childhood and developing countries construct the TV programme. Media represents street children through the prevailing discourses of street children, childhood, and developing countries. Reflecting these discourses and concepts, representations in different levels are constructed: texts/images/sounds used in particular scenes, narrative perspective of each episode, and the purpose of certain narratives. These elements establish inter-connectedness, and are very crucial in analyzing the representation of street children.

2.2 Media Representation

Concepts of representation and its strategies are core of this research. Hall (1997: 44) states that representation means to transmit information to people meaningfully while discourse is a system of representation, involving language and practice which entail meaning. Television, as a medium, utilizes discourses through audio-visual techniques which include images, texts, narratives and music/sound effects. Through the flow of a particular discourse, we gain knowledge about how world is constructed and viewed.

> Representation is very strongly related to 'Power'; powerful entities can control the means of producing and circulating the most important information and idea in any society (Branston and Stafford, 2006: 176). 'Representation is an elaboration of a whole series of "interests[2]", and is produced and exists in an uneven exchange with various kinds of power; political power[3], intellectual power[4], cultural power[5] and moral power[6]' (Said, 1978: 12). Entities with such kinds of power become influential on

the other entities and are able to manage them and their knowledge politically, scientifically, ideologically, or economically through representations.

'Orientalism' stated by Said (1978) is one of the most famous and most important ideas suggesting how power works in representation. Points suggested by the concept to this research are following; a powerful entity provides dichotomous imaginary categories of 'We' as the powerful and 'They' as a powerless entity which has deep historical, traditional and cultural relations through representations, judges the powerless one-sidedly by 'our' measurements, and represents 'our' superiority and 'their' inferiority. Through such representations, the powerful entity sustains and rationalizes uneven power relations between 'We' and 'They', and justifies having authority the over powerless entity achieving its 'interests'. Appling Said's arguments to the backgrounds of this research makes two things visible; uneven power relations between developed countries (especially Japan) and developing countries, and fundraising as 'interests'.

Power imbalance between developed countries and developing countries is an important concept in this research because the TV programme reflects the power imbalance. Mohanty (1997) considers the power relations and criticizes that features of people and social structures in developing countries are essentialized and judged by standards of developed countries in representations as a result of power imbalance. Then, the negative category of developing countries is provided and the hegemony of the idea - the superiority of the West - is perpetuated and sustained. These ideas give the research insights about how power imbalance works in media representations of street children in Japan as well as the representation of developing countries in general.

Charity politics should be considered as the way to achieve fundraising as the 'interest' of the TV programme in this research. In the charity campaign, children in developing countries are used as tools to evoke emotional response from donors. However, as Hart (1988: 8) states, 'Charity politics itself represents the practice and continuation of a particular set of unequal relations between charity supporter and beneficiaries and sometimes control information about children and developing countries to make certain consequences'. Additionally, Burman (1994: 243-249) criticizes that 'normalization to Northern standards very often used in charity representations causes cultural imperialism for developing countries and implies an unilineality and homogeneity in both economic and psychological models of development which ignore cultural diversities of each country. In charity representation, there has always been a conflict of interest when it comes to the relationship of public education and fundraising. Often, fundraising is the top priority. Thus, the former is neglected causing negative consequences. This research also looks into that angle.

Related to charity politics, concepts of gender should be concerned as well. Generally, masculinity embodies violence, and femininity of powerlessness in representing developing countries. In charity representations, images of children (even boys) are emasculated, so that they reinforce assumptions of their passivity and provide patriarchal relationship within and between donor and recipient countries (Burman 1994: 241). She also states that the iconography of the aid uses feminine figures although the concept of the aid is culturally masculine. These ways of representations influenced by gender discourses are used in the TV programme.

Media representation uses representational strategies perceived as 'proper' in one form or another. People or events are represented through various representational strategies (Zarkov 2008). They are employed for

maintaining the social and symbolic order resulting to unequal power relations between characters, stakeholders of the TV program. At the same time, these strategies help maintain these unequal power relations. Analysis of the representational strategy as media practices indicates how the politics of representation works because there are power relations between people, event, and places in the TV program. I analyze the data, especially focusing on four strategies: stereotyping [7], categorization [8], framing [9] and focalization [10].

2.3 Childhood

Childhood is mainly viewed by two approaches; a scientific approach and a social constructionist approach. Although the former considers childhood which consists of universal stages, the latter thinks that childhood depends on social, cultural and historical contexts of each society and the notion is important for this research because the TV programme focus on not universality of children but differences of children between Japan and developing countries. In the social constructionist approach, the discourses of Western notion of childhood are important to analyze Japanese discourses of street children and childhood. There are some discourses of Western notion of Childhood; children as little devils, children as a state of Blank, children as little angels and children as beings.

Firstly, there is a discourse of children as little devils in western countries. It comes from European Christian cultures. According to Ansell (2005: 11), 'children are seen as impish pleasure seekers who are easily corruptible and may be led into bad habits unless they are kept occupied and strictly disciplined' in this discourse. Secondly, there is a discourse of children as a state of blank. In this concept, children are seen as becoming 'right' or 'wrong' due to their surroundings, so that they should be protected and disciplined by adults. Thirdly, the discourse of children as little angels exists. Ansell (2005: 11) tells that children are innocent and passive existences. This discourse also views that children should be happy, so

that childhood is a time for play and not for work. These discourses are traditional in the Western society.

Depending on these discourses, the global notion of ideal childhood is constructed. Although the discourse of global notion of an ideal childhood is different from time to time and from place to place, according to Montgomery (2003: 68-72), the notion, especially referring to the notion of children as angels who must be raised by parents, be educated, and be protected from the adult world, is exported to other countries and standardized globally so that all countries are judged by a single set of standards. Through comparison with the global notion of ideal childhood, whether Japanese discourses of ideal childhood have been kept or standardized by the notion is explored.

Perspectives on children as both agents and victims[11] are also crucial in this research. Conventionally, children are seen as passive recipients of adults' teaching, support, and culture, and represented as victims of exploitation or abuse. The discourse has been applied to media representation, especially in the field of charity to evoke emotional response, increasing the amount of donation. However, discourses about children as agents have been well argued since 1989 when the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, which embodies the notion, was established. According to Ansell (2005: 21), it states that children are not passive victims or recipients but existences which have agency to change their own life and to create own culture. This notion provides new policy implication suggesting that children are main resources for any project (Ennew 1994: 7) and confirms the right and participation of children. Thus, representing children as agents and victims is very important for understanding children and implementing related policies.

Additionally, family and governments play a very important role for child-

hood. Ansell (2005: 65) says that family is necessary for children because it provides their immediate context. It influences children in terms of health, education and their development. However, family possibly play a negative role for children due to power imbalance between children and adults. Parental decisions are powerfully depending on concerns about their recent and future security and go to a direction that children are abused for Parent's sake. Additionally, relationship between siblings should be considered because very often the oldest sibling is forced to be sacrifice his/herself to support family due to his/her relative competency. On the other hand, a role of government should be considered. It can provide services of education, health care and protection for children. For example, a reason why the structural adjustment by IMF is blamed on issues of children is that prevailing child malnutrition, decreasing education level, increasing number of cases of child labour and so on are due to a specific government's budget cuts on public and social services, as opposed to directives by the IMF. The government policies heavily affect the welfare, much more the well-being of children. Thus, roles of the family and the government are considered when childhood is focused.

2.4 Street Children

In this research, street children is defined as 'any girl or boy for whom the street in the widest sense of the word (including unoccupied dwellings, wasteland, etc) has become his or her habitual abode and/or source of livelihood, and who is inadequately protected, supervised, or directed by responsible adults' (UNESCO 1995) for the following reasons. Firstly, an aim of this research is not to discuss the strict definition of terms. The main objective is to explore assumptions and understanding about children and developing countries prevailing in Japan using the concept of street children as a medium. Secondly, other questionable and irrelevant definitions are not included and used in this research (Okwany 2008).

Representational images of street children, its understanding, formulated assumptions and acquisition of such are strongly related to the global notion of childhood. However, the lives of street children totally challenge the notion of childhood. Street children are on the streets, a 'wrong' place to live, and very often without any assistance and support from parents or other adults. Thus, people think that street children should be removed from these areas, should be guided by adults and should be returned to their homes. Also, Montgomery (2003) states that the notion of childhood clearly views children as objects treated by the adult society. Thus, the notion of childhood and the classifications 'adult' and 'child' are very important in representing any types of children.

The dichotomy of 'Home' and 'Homeless' is vital in understanding of street children representation. Ennew (2003: 3) states 'Morally-powerful social constructions of family, home domesticity, and childhood could not exist without the construction of the 'other'- the danger of the street, the immorality of street life and, above all, 'street children' who are outside the domestic sphere and challenge the order of social existence' and 'This is the basis of the assumption that street children must be living antisocial, immoral, chaotic lives and are thus necessarily a public order problem'. In the notion of ideal childhood, children should belong to 'Home' as a part of the main stream society where children grow up, get educated and protected to become useful and conforming members of the society, and children belonging to 'Homeless' should go back to their childhood.

Some assumptions and understandings of representing street children are based on those concepts. The most important factors are stigmatizing, leading to a misunderstanding of street children, and hostility towards them. Panter-Brick (2002: 151) states that 'The term *street children* has powerful emotional overtones. Common public responses are pity and hostility to street children perceived as victims or villains'. She also

indicates that the term 'street children' has a stigmatizing effect, since the child has been exposed to the life on the streets and to delinquent behaviour. The term neither gives consideration to the experience or the testimony of the child in question nor to other facets of their identity, which do not necessarily have any relevance to the streets.

Additionally, prevailing discourses lead people to think about the eradication of street children from this 'wrong' place and their return to the mainstream society, or providing their necessities based on the notion of ideal childhood. However, programmes based on these discourses often fail because they disregard real needs of these street children or their capacity to live on streets. Additionally, Glauser (1997: 153) indicates that programmes based on these discourses concern little about where they should go. So they end up living on the streets again, and this means that programmes are totally meaningless for solving the issue of street children. Thus, the prevailing discourses tend to put street children in unpleasant circumstances contrary to the idea of adult intervention as beneficial.

The perception of street children as a problem and intervention methods and attitudes heavily depends on assumptions and discourses on street children, childhood and developing countries. On the other hand, through analysis of representational strategies, assumptions and discourses are shown because they are reflected in the method of representation.

Chapter 3
Contextual Backgrounds

This chapter of the research shows the interconnected relationships of Japanese media and television, structures and contents of the TV programme and outlines of each story through the context of Japanese media as media in a developed country.

3.1 Japanese Media and Television

In Japan, the media is well known as the Fourth Power after legislative, judicial and administrative power, and influences greatly in shaping views and opinions regarding social issues. As Hara (1997) states, television is the most influential medium not only as a tool of entertainment but also an influencer in shaping public opinions. According to a research by NHK, Japanese watched television for an average of 3 hours and 54 minutes a day in 2000. Television is also an influential provider of common sense images not requiring complex literacy skills. So, even young people can get information from TV very easily compared with other media like newspaper.

> Television broadcasting in Japan started in 1953. Although the main role of television was entertainment, with a wide variety ranging from drama series to quiz and music shows in the early age, Hara (1997: 24) states that nowadays television has been expected to play a role of transmitting information like news and documentaries as well. There are one public TV station (NHK) and five leading private TV stations in Tokyo (Nihon TV, TBS, Fuji TV, Asahi TV, and TV Tokyo), and each TV station provides variety of TV programmes in Japan.

> The amount of information about foreign affairs is very restricted and has some biases. Hagiwara (2006: 40) mentions that Japanese TV stations provide little information related to foreign countries in news and other programmes, and there is more information about the United States,

South Korea, and China than that about other countries. Genres related to foreign countries go as far as nonfictions like news, documentaries, and variety shows compared with fiction programmes like drama series. On the other hand, broadcasting information about developed countries and developing countries, Hagiwara (2006: 40) states that there is too much negative information about developing countries such as natural disasters, accidents, and terrorism. Thus, information about foreign affairs by Japanese television is little and creates negative impressions and connotations of events in developing countries.

Media analysis of Japanese TV about foreign countries and people mainly focuses on commercials where they appear. Although the number of cultural immersion themed TV shows is gradually increasing, Hagiwara (2003: 7) criticizes that analysis on them is almost untouched. On the other hand, though there is some research about gender, analysis of children in developing countries is almost non-existent. For those points, this research is a meaningful challenge.

3.2 The TV Programme '*Sekai ga Moshi Hyaku Nin no Mura Dattara*'

This program, Sekai *ga Moshi 100 Nin no Mura Dattara*, first broadcasted in 2003, has consistently had a large audience[12]. Each documentary is comprised of two or three episodes, each with different stories. The program has been broadcasted once a year to raise public awareness of children in developing countries, involved in issues such as child labour, child soldiers and street children.

The programme categorised into the genre of documentary has been produced by one of the five leading private TV stations, *Fuji Television*. Almost all Japanese households have access to this TV station. This station also shows various kinds of TV programmes, and though variety shows and TV dramas receive the highest ratings and bigger audience

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share in general, documentaries are awarded many times due to their quality as well.

There are two segments in this program. In one of the segments, a child is presented as an individual who faces difficulties in his/her everyday life. In this part, there are very often two main characters: a child in a developing country and a celebrity from Japan. The celebrity converses and spends time with the child. Through their interaction accompanied with an explanation from a narrator, the everyday life and problems of the featured child are represented. In the second segment, other celebrities give their own opinions on the documentary in a talk show format.

The TV programme opens with a spiel by the host giving background information about children in developing countries. Then, flashes of images connected to the brief introduction about each story and a short discussion among celebrities on set follow. Just before each story, quotations from the book written by Douglas C. Lummis 'If the World Were a Village of 100 People' are shown just like the sample below

> 'If the world were a village of 100 people, what would happen? 20 people could not have enough nutrition and a person was on the point of death among 100 people.'

> 'If the world were a village of 100 people, what would happen? 25 people would not have their shelters and 17 people would not drink clean water among 100 people'

Between each story, a special commercial provided by UNICEF is presented. It asks audiences donations to the organization for such children in the stories and shows the amount of donations raised by the programme in a previous year. In Japan, UNICEF is a very well known UN organization working for children and the prominence of its name increased the reliability of the programme. For these reasons, the programme has a large influence on the Japanese' understanding of street

children and developing countries issues. After all stories are told, comments and discussion by the guest stars in the studio are shown again with the ending music.

In parts 3 and 4 of the documentary, they featured street children from Russia, the Philippines, and Argentina, each stories lasting between 40 to 60 minutes including commercials. Furthermore, many people in the academe use the programmes as a tool for lectures on morality. In fact, I watched it in my university as a part of a lecture to gain certain perspectives on studying developing countries. For these reasons, many people saw the programme and got views on of street children and developing countries issues. Additionally, in the 4th part of the programme, the former prime minister of Japan appeared as a guest. This event probably makes the programme more topical that even the head of the parliament recognizes the issues.

3.3 Outlines of Three Stories

Three stories about street children from the TV programme to be analyzed are from Ukraine, the Philippines and Argentina. This section provides the outline of each story and provides background about the findings in Chapter 4.

Table 1
Summary of Three Stories

	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3
Main character	Srawa	Manica	Nadia
Country	Ukraine	The Philippines	Argentina
Main issues	HIV/AIDS infected	Works in a dangerous place	Teenage mother
	Vulnerability to violence	Heads the household despite of age	Offspring's underdevelopment
	Lives in solitude	Poverty	Poverty
Lives with family	×	○	○
Presence of Japanese actress	○	○	×
Other important	Father	Mother	Baby

characters	One younger sister	Younger brothers	Siblings
	Hospital	Hospital	Hospital
	The police	Father (murdered)	Blood Bank

3.3.1 An HIV Affected Child in Ukraine

This story is about an HIV infected child, Srawa, in Ukraine. The story focuses on the vulnerability of a street child to HIV, violence and other unhealthy circumstances. A very significant feature of the story was that certain terms and phrases such as 'a 9-year old kid, begging, street children, escaping from the police, father's violence, HIV/AIDS, and minus 25-degree Celsius temperature' are repeatedly mentioned to reiterate the misfortune of a specific child dwelling and striving on streets.

The story starts with the meeting of a Japanese actress, Sakurai Sachiko and ends with her saying good bye to the boy. It can be separated into four chapters: Srawa's daily routine, the reason of his plight, the worsening of his HIV/AIDS, and the encounter with the actress.

Firstly, this story presents his routine on the streets and shows issues related to Srawa and the society where he belongs. He religiously gets money in reward for giving directions to the station to some travellers and for removing snow from the car, spending much of his time outdoors even in temperatures ranging from minus 25 to 30 degrees Celsius. Additionally, he tries to seek places to sleep, but all places are unsafe for him because there are police in patrol who try to capture street children for the security purposes. These are representations of his daily life on the streets.

Secondly, the reasons why he became a street child are explained in a segment about his family: violence from his father and other people. Due

to drugs, the father physically abused Srawa and his sister many times. They ran away from their father and once stayed at an institution for runaways. Then, Srawa faced bullying from older children and decided to run away from the institution, leaving his sister behind. For those reasons, he is afraid of the police because his capture means returning to his father's custody.

Thirdly, Srawa's HIV/AIDS is represented as one of the most important factors of this story. Due to lack of financial and medical support, the disease continuously spreads. Additionally, his circumstances worsened the slowly progressing disease; working under very cold temperature, eating only once in two days, and absence of place to sleep. Thus, his health is gradually failing because of HIV/AIDS, and is inevitably unstoppable.

The conversation between Srawa and Sakurai concludes the story. Through the actress's dialogue with Srawa and the actual encounter of the two, the segments mentioned are represented. The actress is shocked by the kid's story. His real situation and his telling of his own story from his perspective show how different his condition is from those of Japanese children his age. Although the over-all tone of the whole story is negative, their communication is represented as a warm friendship.

3.3.2 A Working Child in a Big Mountain of Trash the Philippines

Manica, a working child in the Philippines is the main character of this story. The story seems to mainly consider the issues of working children on streets and poverty which worsen the welfare of her family. In this story, some terms are referred to very frequently as indicating main issues: a girl working in a land fill, giving off the stench of a mixture of waste, her sacrificing herself to support her family and the threat of family disintegration.

The setting is an area with a big mountain of trash (a garbage dumpsite) in

Manila. She lives in a shanty with her family, her mother and two younger brothers, surrounded by the stench of garbage collected from the city proper. The story starts with a meeting with one Japanese adult actress named Sakai Miki, and closes with her bidding farewell to the girl. Manica's story is also composed of 3 segments: her daily routine, her family and its crisis of disintegration, and the encounter with the Japanese guest star.

Representing her daily life occupies most of the running time of this documentation. Manica always works for around 10 hours in the dangerous land fill salvaging trash which junkshops can buy. To make matters worse, her ailing mother's physical limitations put Manica in charge of the daily household chores: doing the laundry, tending her younger siblings, and accompanying her mother to the hospital for check-ups. Additionally, there is no chance for her mother to recover because of financial restrictions to buy all necessary medicines. Manica carries the all responsibilities for her family.

The crisis of Manica's family separation is the climax of this story. Her father was killed by a drunkard a year prior to the production of the documentary and her mother became sick after that. Her younger brothers are too young to help support the family. Thus, she has to work very hard. In spite of her hard working which makes her almost reaches the limits of her physical strength, her hard work does not suffice to maintain the welfare of the family, making their plight worse. For those reasons, her mother feels the limits of keeping family and decides to send the youngest brother to an adopting/foster family to reduce food expenses. Thus, the circumstances inevitably stagnate.

Communication between Manica and Sakai is also an episode of this story. The Japanese actress is also affected by her harsh reality and gives her opinion reflecting Japanese situations like in the case of boy in Ukraine.

Through their dialogue about Manica's daily life, difficulties and distresses are described. In this story, their relationship is described as very friendly one.

3.3.3 A Young Mother in Argentina

The 14 year-old young mother in Argentina, Nadia, is the main character of this story. The main theme of the story is the life and struggle of a young mother on streets. To emphasize the theme, phrases 'a 12 year-old pregnant girl', 'a 13 year-old girl giving birth', and 'a 14 year-old mother' appeared quite frequently in this documentary film. The style of representation is a bit different from the other two stories; there is no Japanese actress, and the period of the story is longer because her life for more than one year is filmed unlike the others which were documented for less than a week. The story can be divided into two segments: her pregnancy period (conception and delivery) and her struggles to raise her son.

In the documentary, Nadia's age when she got pregnant is mentioned right in the beginning of the story. She was only 12. After her parents abandoned her when she was 8 years old, she lived on the streets, gaining money from scavenging though trash, looking for anything that can be sold. Her boyfriend ran away after knowing the fact that she is conceiving, and thus she had to give birth to the baby alone. In spite of her very young age and small body, she had a Caesarean delivery. She named her baby Javier. After, Nadia returned to her life on streets and again begged foot passengers for money for her and her baby.

Nadia's struggle is caused by her 5 months old baby's incomplete development. The doctor says that Javier is faced with incomplete development and may possibly acquire a physical disability in the future because of malnutrition. Torn between the need to support her child and love for the child, she faces a dilemma. She chose the former. Her income

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by begging money and selling trashes is not enough for sustenance and medication for her baby. Thus she decides to work as a maid.

A struggle to increase her income is described as her difficulty in her life. Nadia goes from one house to another offering her services as a maid but is rejected again and again. Once she finds a job in a house, she is fired within a few fours. The reason is she already has a baby. As her last resort, she decides to sell her blood to a government-funded blood bank but the blood bank denies Nadia's favour because she is too small and the government bans every blood bank from taking blood from citizens under 16 years old. Thus, all her struggles failed and she is puzzled what to do.

Chapter 4
Children in the Different World

Analyzing how street children are represented and exploring recent Japanese discourses on street children, ideal childhood and developing countries are the research objectives. The TV programme, Sekaiga Moshi 100 Nin no Mura Dattara, represents street children in many ways reflecting recent Japanese discourses of the ideal childhood directly and indirectly. In this chapter, firstly, presentation and narrative style of the lives of street children in the documentary are analyzed along with the theory of children as agents and as victims. Secondly, I analyze representations of certain social groups and members of these groups in relation to developing countries as a whole. Actually, ways of representation differs in certain levels: with individuals and institutions, or male and female. Thus, to consider how the TV programme show developing countries, I establish three categories for the detailed analysis: the section of the individual which shows representations of children and adults in developing countries, institutions that contain representations of family and the government, and finally developing countries as a whole. Lastly, the recent Japanese discourses of an ideal childhood and how Japanese think about developing countries and Japan itself can be shown through the analysis of ways and attitudes of representations and comments of Japanese stars and the narrator.

4.1   Street Children in Representation

This section focuses on protagonists of street children (Srawa, Manica, and Nadia) are represented. Ways of representations are categorized into two sections depending on the theory of children as agents or victims. Thus, how the protagonists are represented as agents or victims and tension of representational ways between representing agents and victims are considered.

4.1.1 Street Children as Agents

Media representation very often ignores the agency which street children or even children in general, have. However, this TV programme adapts a narrative

of street children as agents representing their agencies especially in three aspects: children capable of livelihood, children having strategies and faculties for survival, and children who are virtuous and possess strong fighting spirits.

Generally, children are believed, expected and perceived to be very dependent on their family or adults. However, street children are represented as independent with the ability to be self-supporting. All the featured characters in the stories are never dependent on adults, at least, in terms of making a living. Srawa from Ukraine earns money by begging and removing snow from cars. Manica from the Philippines salvages potentially saleable trash purchased by junkshop traders. She even supports her family financially, not to mention doing the household chores and babysitting her two younger brothers. Nadia from Argentina makes money through picking up garbage and begging for alms then later starts to search for a job as a maid to support her baby and even tries to sell her blood in a blood bank. All three children are described not as mere passive receivers of assistances from other people but as children who can independently generate income and even whom some other people around them are dependent on.

Survival strategies and faculties which the children have are represented in a way to describe their unique ways to live and unimaginably special knowledge about life on the streets. Directing travellers to the Kiev Central Station, outrunning the police, and searching for places to sleep are shown in the story of Srawa. He guides passengers to the right train platforms in exchange for money. In this scene, the narrator of this story mentions that he knows every nook and cranny of the station. Going up a pipe is also shown as his special talent which only light children can have for running away from the police. He shows his face with confidence, and the Japanese actress is surprised and praises him, even calls him 'Spider-Man'. Sleeping in a tunnel is in the same way of representing skills as

astonishing and impressive. The Japanese actress describes a tunnel as a 'secret base' and emphasises the uniqueness of how he sleeps. These representations show his skill and knowledge to cope with difficulties and stress; skills which are described using words familiar with Japanese (Spider-Man and secret base).

This method of representation can also be noticed in the stories of Manica and Nadia as well. When Manica scavenges for saleable trashes she cooperates with other street children working in the trash mountain because the amount of garbage she collected is not enough for selling. In return, she distributes income to other street children evenly. It displays her ability for financial management and a strategy to harmonize with other members of her small community of children in the dumpsite. Furthermore, taking care of the family is also an important factor in both cases of Manica and Nadia. Manica does all the chores along with tending her brothers and mother, all tasks within her tight daily schedule. Nadia, on the other hand, trains her baby to stand up as well as accomplish chores at home. These representations show their struggles against the vicious, repetitive cycle of tending and house chores and strategies to deal with difficulties in their respective lives.

Additionally, emphasis on their virtues and strong spirits as street children is a method to introduce their agency. Srawa expresses his affection through wishing for the safety of his sister when he talks about her with the Japanese actress. Also, a remarkable scene worth recognizing is Srawa sharing his food with the Japanese guest star. Srawa is worried that the actress might be hungry. In these scenes, the narrator emphasizes his 'kindness' and toughness saying that;

'Logically speaking, Srawa should think about himself first instead of anybody else. But he is also concerned about his sister's safety. He is a very kind boy wishing for the happiness of his sister in a harsh

reality…He is anxious about the actress because he thought that she was hungry as well. Considering that he is malnourished and is slowly being killed by HIV, he still takes care of the actress.'

The same factors are stressed through the familial relationships of Manica and Nadia. In the story of Manica, it is most obvious that she decides to work harder for her family after the crisis of disintegration in her family although she already has very long working hours. Her devotion to keep her family alive is expressed as a symbol of her 'kindness' and strength of spirit, as roughly translated from the documentary:

> 'Manica chose the way to devote everything to support her family when her father died and her mother became sick. The poorest girl in the big trash mountain is the kindest   and the most strong-minded person.'

The story of Nadia likewise shows these elements through comparison of her periods of conception and post-pregnancy. Becoming a mother is a symbol of tender-heartedness in this case. Like the story of Srawa, the narrator stresses those factors as well, referred to in this part:

> 'Nadia became matured because she is a mother now.'

Such images of children who can independently make a living, who have their own survival strategies in the most unpleasant environment, and who remained kind and kept a strong mind and spirit summarise representations of street children as agents. Through different, ingenious ways to gain money, unique strategies and knowledge, and values that stayed intact despite of the harshness of their realities, a narrative which stresses children as agents is told.

4.1.2 Street Children as Victims

Although I displayed the narrative of children as agents, there are much more expressions related to narratives of children as victims in the documentary. In typical ways of charity representation, protagonists are presented as starving

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children who symbolize qualities of dependence, passivity and illness that aim to solicit care (Burman 1996: 176). However, in addition to the representation, street children are portrayed as victims due to several factors: natural adversity, imbalance of power, lack of knowledge, and social exclusion and stigmatization.

Srawa faced natural adversity in the form of the freezing temperature and a disease (minus 25 degree Celsius temperature and HIV/AIDS) which are repetitively mentioned by the narrator and repeatedly appeared in the subtitles. When Srawa gets rid of snow on cars, the voiceover states that the freezing temperature strikes his weakened body. It is also expressed that the boy's health is gradually failing due to his HIV while he stands helpless to stop its progress. On the other hand, stench from the huge and perilous trash mountain and the scorching heat of the sun are faced by Manica. These natural adversities brought by the physical environment are mentioned lots of times in the narration. The Japanese actress even emphasizes how bad the smell is and looks very displeased. Although natural adversity is invisible and beyond human control (climatic conditions, diseases, stench etc.), the narrative style and expressions from the guest star created a visualization of the harsh circumstances and environment of street children.

Street children are also described as victims of power imbalance between children and adults. In the story of Srawa, this factor is displayed in several ways: escaping from the police, bullying by older children which he also experienced on the streets as older street children take his sleeping area from him. Firstly, the boy is shown as victims of the police. He always has to flee from the police that he never sleeps well. The fleeing also makes him tired contributing to the progress of his HIV/AIDS. Secondly, older children around Srawa are also represented as people victimizing him. Bullying made Srawa run away from the institution and caused the boy's

separation from his sister. Older street kids taking his sleeping spot results to him looking for less comfortable and less warm places to retire worsens the boy's health. The case of Srawa displays street children as victims of power imbalance most obviously.

Besides that, there is a common way of representation which shows street children as victims by abuse of power by adults as seen in the disintegration of street children's family caused by adults. Nadia was abandoned by her family and Srawa escaped from his father due to violence. Manica is faced with the separation from her youngest brother by her mother's decision although she wants them to be together. In these scenes, children have no choice to do but to be obedient to or escape from adults. They are abandoned or dealt with as adult-owned property. To sum up this method of representation (children as victims of power), the narrative of children as possessions of adults and the narrative of children as victims of power abuse by adults seemingly exist.

The TV programme represents street children as victims of lack of knowledge and education. Srawa does not know the dreadfulness of HIV/AIDS and the importance of a medicine which delays the virus progress. That is why he escapes from the hospital and denies advice to take care of himself. In the episode of Nadia, lack of knowledge is viewed in her struggle against her baby's incomplete development. She does not understand the importance of breastfeeding for child development, so that she stops it very early. The doctor analyzes that this causes the baby's incomplete development and blames Nadia for negligence of her responsibility as a mother. Absence of knowledge is more clearly told as dropping out from school in the story of Manica. These representations indicate that lack of knowledge and education makes street children vulnerable to harm brought about their physical environment.

Two narratives of representation related to the narrative of children as victims are shown in the TV programme: children as the excluded and children as the stigmatized. Obviously, street children are excluded from different aspects of society but the TV programme shows their situations more specifically. This narrative is created by two representational strategies, framing and categorization. There are many images which show each child alone. For example, Srawa's many actions such as begging, sleeping, walking, and working are represented in his story. However, a lot of images of his actions show that he is doing them alone. Besides that, there are very few hints that he is friends with other street children by the narrator and the main character himself. Clearly, for an objective to emphasize his loneliness and exclusion, the representational strategy of framing excludes images and comments that suggest good relationship with other street children.

In the story of Manica, she is described as the excluded and the stigmatized. Although she has a mother and younger brothers, she has to do all the chores by herself not to mention making a living at the same time. There are very few scenes showing that the members of family help her. This means that Manica is alone and excluded even from her family in terms of support. On the other hand, there are representations showing that Nadia is stigmatized by people living in a city area. The narrator and the Japanese actress tell facts that Manica and all people living in the big trash mountain are thrown boos and even stones by people in the city area when they go to the city. Due to the experience from people in the city, Manica asks the Japanese actress that 'Do you think I am stinky?' This episode suggests that she stigmatizes herself. Thus, there are representations about the excluded and the stigmatized in the story as well.

Nadia is represented as the excluded and the stigmatized too. A way to express her as the excluded is the same as the case of Manica. Although

Nadia lives with her sister and brother, there is no scene to show their support to her when she is faced with some difficulties. In the point that she has her baby, the way of representation seems to be different from that of Manica. However, an infant can not help her and even sometimes described as her burden because of the narration telling that Nadia is fired due to fact that she has a baby already. Thus, in a point of no support, Nadia is also described as the excluded from family. On the other hand, she is shown as the stigmatized through her struggle as she scouts for any employer. For example, many scenes represent that people reject her application due to her being a young mother on the streets. Living on the streets and being a young mother are dealt with as symbols of the stigmatized in these scenes. To sum up, these representations display Nadia as the excluded and the stigmatized.

Clearly, the narratives of children as the excluded and children as the stigmatized are created by categorization and framing. The representational strategy of categorization shows that there are at least two categories: one being the excluded/included and/or the second being stigmatized/normalized in each story. The strategy of framing excludes certain people to make relationship of street children with others invisible. It also shows street children as excluded from those invisible people out of the frame. Thus, these narratives are organized by categorization and framing.

To sum up, TV programme displays many images suggesting children as victims of natural adversity caused by the physical environment, imbalance of power, lack of knowledge and education, social exclusion and stigmatization. These representations reflect the narrative of children, which consist of sub narratives (children as possessions of adults, children as victims of adult's power abuse, children as the excluded, and children as the stigmatized), as victims. Through the narratives and the

representational strategies, the image of children as victims are constructed and created in the TV programme.

4.1.3 The Tension Between Agents and Victims

The TV programme presents street children both as agents and as victims. However, there is tension between children as agents and victims and the medium's methods of representation of them are not balanced. I analyze that the tension is strongly related to the tension between public education, fundraising as a problem of charity politics and 'interests' of the TV programme.

Representing children not only as victims but also as agents is an unexpected result for a pre-assumption of the research. That is why many articles which I have read focus on problems of representing children as victims and do not mention representing children as agents. I consider that the most influential factor to the difference is the global movement about discourses of children as agents by UNCRC. For example, along with the movement, UNICEF and Save the Children established the ethical guideline of media representation of children suggesting the discourses of children as agents. To carry out public education about children's rights, the way of representation is necessary and inevitable in media dealing with child issues. For that reason, I analyze that the TV programme represents children as agents aiming at public education.

However, the programme undoubtedly emphasizes children as victims than as agents because a lot of factors are more focused on the discourse of children as victims: more episodes about the victim, attitudes of Japanese stars to children, and so on. I analyzed it is because the TV programme is more interested in fundraising for the following reasons: firstly, as Burman (1996: 173) mentions, representing children as victims is able to gain more donation from an audience. Images of suffering children gain strong emotional responses because the audience not only feel the

drive to help but also recognize their superiority as adults and as people of developed countries. As a result, people become willing to give donations. Secondly, Burman (1996: 173) also states that cultural abstraction of children from social practices prevents the audience from thinking about the relationship between the children's harsh reality and their comfortable lives. This promotes a sense of guilt. As an effect, the way of representation encourages people to give donation in the easiest, most possible way. Actually, the TV programme represents children in a very individualistic manner; only focusing on their private problems but not on the social structures causing the issues. The TV programme uses clearly these fundraising-oriented ways of representations. Thus, the discourse of children as victims is more emphasized to accumulate more financial aid.

To sum up, the ways of representation in the TV programme are strongly related to the tension between public education and fundraising. As a result of negotiating the tension, agencies of street children are represented as individuals with power, not to improve nor change their harsh reality but to survive and adapt; street children are 'survivors' who are not just passive victims but also victims with agency to survive. Thus, it can be concluded that the way of representing street children is influenced by the ulterior motive of generating funds, which is not only in the TV programme but also in any forms of media representation in charity campaigns. It is obvious that uneven power relations between charity supporters and beneficiaries inevitably exist.

4.2   Individuals in Developing Countries

In this section, representations of individuals in developing countries are analyzed. There are some tendencies and differences in representing children around protagonists, male adults and female adults. Thus, through analyzing them as such, prevailing Japanese assumptions about individuals in developing countries is explored.

4.2.1 Un-socialized Children

In the previous section, I delved into street children as main protagonists (Srawa, Manica and Nadia). Adding to that, other characters around the protagonists are also considered in this section. To emphasize children as victims of social exclusion, very few other children appear in the TV programme. However, some assumptions are shown from scarcity of exposure given to then in the documentary.

Firstly, children are existences who have their hands full with income generation and the welfare of their family, causing less beneficial interaction with other children. For example, in the cases of Manica and Nadia, some children are represented as members of their family. However, there are very few or almost no parts in the documentary showing those other children giving support to the protagonist. Manica's brothers are described as not doing any chores because of their age. On the other hand, Nadia's older sister and younger brother are shown in her story. In this case, her siblings were not presented as assistants. Explanations seem to be that her sister has a baby and preoccupied with raising him up like Nadia. The brother is too young to help, similar to that of Manica's situation, so cooperation is almost not feasible. Thus, from these representations and presentation in the documentary, common assumptions can be deduced: although children are believed as good by nature, children in developing countries are extremely concerned about their and their families own survival, resulting to a more individualistic rather than collective or supportive action due to not conducive circumstances and environment for such actions.

Secondly, the TV programme describes children as the un-socialized. There is almost no scene depicting children socializing other than with family of the protagonists. While one reason of the way is reflecting the narrative of children as the excluded, the other is an assumption that

children in developing countries are the un-socialized. For example, Srawa is usually shown in the frame evoking loneliness. Although he mentions that he sometimes spends time with friends, there are very few shots showing his friends and no scenes showing him talking with other children. On the other hand, in the story of Manica, there is a scene that exhibits socialization with other children working in the mountain. However, this socialization is limited to selling trashes together and splitting the income evenly. After, Manica leaves other children as soon as their business is finished. The scene shows the meeting as very business-like and no real communication among children. To sum up, the assumption that children are not socialized in developing countries comes out from representing children in developing countries. The assumption is very opposite regarding lives of children in Japan. Japanese children are always socialized through the compulsory education system.

In conclusion, there are two assumptions about developing countries regarding to presentation of children in the TV documentary. First, children are very much preoccupied with moneymaking and the welfare of their respective families. Second, children are not socialized. Children in developing countries are assumed to be the opposite of children in Japan.

4.2.2 Adults to be Blamed

Ways of representing adults in developing countries are very different from those of children. This difference even exists in the comparison of sexes. Some assumptions of adults in developing countries are reflected in the TV programme. This section explains assumptions about male adults, female adults, and adults as a whole in developing countries.

By using the discourse of gender, the documentary represents male adults and female adults differently: male as a symbol of violence and female as a symbol of powerlessness. Srawa's father is a clear example of this way of representation. When descriptions about the father are focused,

expressions of violence such as recurrent physical violent acts towards Srawa (beating) and substance abuse causing such violence are highly noticeable. The police are the other character representing male as a symbol of violence. A policeman chases and beats Srawa. On the other hand, Manica's father is represented in a slightly different way. 'Manica's father was killed by a drunkard' is repeated a few times or so. Although different from Srawa in terms of his father being the agent or doer of violent acts, both are the same in the point of fathers related to violence. Manica's father was on the receiving end, causing his demise an object of violence. Additionally, there is an expression that adults working around Manica fail into a truculent mood. This also emphasizes male adult's violence. Thus, I conclude that male adults in developing countries symbolize violence.

On the other hand, female adults in developing countries are represented as a gendered symbol of powerlessness. Manica's mother and a female doctor are good examples. The mother has been sick for a long time and totally dependent on Manica for everything. A female doctor sees the mother but expressed her inability to cure her. Female adults in the story of Srawa and Nadia are represented in the same way. There is a scene that female local staff advises Srawa to go to the hospital. Instead of heeding the advice, he denies the idea and leaves the woman. Female adults appear as a doctor and staff of the blood bank in Nadia's story. Although they extend their help to Nadia in the form of words, they can't significantly alleviate her situation. Thus, from these representations, it can be said that female adults in developing countries symbolise their powerlessness especially in terms of improving the lives of street children.

To sum up, adults in developing countries are represented as symbols of violence (male) and powerlessness (female). The TV programme shows that they cannot, and at times, do not do anything to improve the lives of

street children. Sadly, they, at some point, worsen their lives. These representations of adults (violence and powerlessness) also reflect other assumptions about developing countries as a whole.

4.3 Institutions in Developing Countries

'Sekai ga Moshi 100 Nin no Mura Dattara' (If the World Were a Village of 100 People) also presented social institutions. An important institution is the family since the relationship between children and their families is a theme of the documentary. On the other hand, the roles of their governments are represented indirectly through some protagonists. Thus, how these institutions are represented is analyzed in this section.

4.3.1 Family as Dream Breaker

Family as an institution in developing countries is described through contrasting two idealistic images of family: the Japanese discourse of an ideal family and the main protagonists' family where they want to return to. From these representations, family in developing countries are shown as an institution far from the ideal.

> The Japanese discourse of an ideal family is mentioned in the beginning of the documentary to contrast realities of family in developing countries.
>
> > 'What images of family do you have? You may have images where family members, your father, your mother, your brother and your sister are all smiling. You may have warm and loving conversations sitting around the table with them. However, that is a common sense only in our Japan.'
>
> The Japanese discourse of ideal family shows that family should be a warm and loving institution and all members of family should be present. However, the TV programme represents families of protagonists which are far different from Japanese images of family. Srawa and Nadia are separated or abandoned from his family. In Manica's family, there is no smile and no father, and it faces with a crisis of disintegration. Thus, an

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institution of family in developing countries is described totally differently from that in Japan.

On the other hand, family is described as broken dreams of protagonists. Srawa mentions that his dream is living with his family again; father is recovering from drag addicted and his sister and mother are coming back to family. Manica states that her dream is living with her family without suffering from the poverty. Nadia cherish her photograph of the time when she lived with family together because it reminds her of warm memories. All these representations state shows that protagonists think family which they want to return to and dream of being together with members of family. However, represented family is far from their wishes and dreams. The institution is full up with violence or sacrifices and abandons protagonists to survive by the poor and other factors. Thus, the TV programme shows that family in their dreams never come true or come back again.

To sum up, an institution of family in developing countries does not play an expected role not only from the perspective of Japan but also from the perspectives of protagonists. However, adults as members of family are violent or powerless, so that representations suggests indirectly that people in developing countries cannot do anything to let family become ideal one or even destroy it.

4.3.2 Violent and Powerless Goverments

Local governments are also represented as an institution in developing countries which is expected to help but can do nothing or even give violent situations to children. They are symbolized by some antagonists: the police, the asylum, the hospitals and the blood bank. Through analysis, portrayal of local governments is described in the TV programme and assumption related to this representation is described.

Firstly, local governments in developing countries are represented as violent institutions. This way of representation is remarkable in the story of Srawa. The local government is symbolized by the police and the asylum. The police are always male along with the gender narrative and abuse violence against Srawa. The police beating child is an unthinkable case, so that its violence is emphasized. According to Holland (1992: 166), 'the damaged body of a child stands unreasoning violence that adults cannot leave behind', so that the behaviour emphasize violent local government. On the other hand, the asylum is also shown as a symbol of the government and the episode of Srawa's bullied by older children there stresses its violence. For these representations, local governments are described as violent institutions, which are far from that in Japan, and even make worsen lives of children in developing countries.

Secondly, the governments are represented as helpless institutions for children. In both stories of Manica and Nadia, they go to the hospital to let mother or baby see doctors but the institution does not improve their life at all. Additionally, in the episode of Nadia, the blood bank appears and she goes there to ask to sell her blood as her final resort to gain money but the institution disapproves her suggestion due to violation of the law. These representations indicate that a number of services and laws provided and implemented by the local governments are not helpful for children. This fact is also indirectly mentioned by Manica's mother: 'We are always suffering, but nobody helps us'. This line is a contradiction considering Japanese case. At least, the Japanese government provides basic services to help suffering people following the laws of fundamental human rights. Thus, in developing countries, local governments are represented as powerless institutions in improving lives of children and suffering people, and be very different from and worse than Japanese government.

In conclusion, the local governments are described as violent and institutions with no power to help. Unfortunately, they can even worsen lives of children. Additionally, their differences from Japanese government and their faults and incompetence as governments are represented indirectly. From these representations, assumptions about developing countries can be deduced: governments in developing countries are too powerless to save children and suffering people, so that a third party, in this case a visiting actor, is needed to improve their lives.

4.4   Developing Countries in Representation

The TV programme featured the developing countries Ukraine, the Philippines and Argentina and presented them in very particular ways. Ways of representation erase significant features which each country has and pigeonholed them in one category as 'They, Developing Countries' contrary to the category of 'We, Japan'.

4.4.1 Developing Countries as the Faceless

The TV documentary shows very few inherent characters which can easily identify each country. Therefore, Ukraine, the Philippines and Argentina become faceless countries lacking in distinctive identification. Although there are some representations about a particular location (the big trash mountain in the Philippines) and a serious social issue (the Chernobyl disaster in Ukraine), these locations only served as settings which are necessary for story-telling. In addition the disaster gives only a bad impression. Through analysis of these representations, assumptions about developing countries are clarified.

One of the ways to make a country faceless is erasing its own culture lexicographically defined as being composed of music, food, visual arts language and so on. Looking into the soundtracks they used, all songs are in English, for example, 'You Raise Me Up'. There seems to be no identifiable Ukrainian, Philippine or Argentinean music in the

documentary. Another example is language. The TV programme is dubbed in Japanese, so that it never shows the language of each country. Additionally, there is another way to erase or hide a particular country's visage not only by erasing distinctive features of each country but also by showing popular Western culture instead of their own cultures. This way of representation is remarkable in the story of Manica. In the story, there is a scene that her oldest brother says 'I want to eat a hot dog' when he is very hungry and fed up with eating only rice once every three days. Although there are some famous Filipino foods such as adobo, the very Western food is presented. For these ways of representations, unique cultures of developing countries are erased and replaced by Western culture in the TV programme.

Additionally, absence of male adults erases the culture of a developing country. Holland (1992: 152) states that 'they signify culture and tend to locate a picture in its geographical context.' However, in the TV programme, there is almost no presentation of male adults in the screen, especially around the main characters (Srawa, Manica and Nadia) aside from a few shots presenting male adults as strangers or the police. In addition, the narrator only mentions Srawa's father many times. Due to the way of representation, audience can gain less information about the culture of each developing country. Thus, male adults are absent from the image of the TV programme to avoid giving contexts of children to audience.

The other way to make developing countries faceless is excluding social structures. In every story, problems which protagonists are faced with are described as the high number of street children, HIV/AIDS, poverty, and so on. However, there is no provided explanation about why these problems happen. For example, in the story of Srawa, the narrator mentions that there are many street children in Ukraine but never

mentions why. In the story of Manica, her family are suffering from poverty and that the big trash mountain is a symbol of poverty. However, it is not said why they suffer from poverty or why many of the poor work and live in that mountain. In the episode of Nadia, the narrator states that there are many single and young mother living in the slums but never mentions why as well as in the other stories. These ways of representation which show problems superficially exclude social structure in each country.

To sum up, the TV documentary rendered developing countries faceless in various ways with a representational strategy (framing), very obvious through these methods: excluding their own cultures and social structures and inserting Western culture in a frame. For these representations, assumptions about developing countries come out. The first one is an assumption that there is no particular difference among developing countries. The second assumption is that people in developing countries want to have things of the West. It feeds the idea of Western culture as superior to cultures in developing countries, should therefore be accepted.

4.4.2 Developing Countries as the Different World

The TV programme reflects an assumption that developing countries are, to some degree, seem homogenous and creates the sole category of 'Developing Countries' through the ways of representations making developing countries faceless. Then, the programme creates a category, 'We', opposite to the category of 'Developing Countries' as 'They' to emphasize an assumption that developing countries are belong to a 'Different World' from 'Our World'.

To stress the difference, a typical way of categorization as a representational strategy is used in the TV programme continuously: the dichotomy of 'We' and 'They'. For example, the master of ceremony uses the pronouns 'We' and 'They' quite a number of times. He uses them to

apparently make contrast and stress differences between 'our world' and 'their world'; how different their world is from our world.

'I would like to know how ignorant "we" are about the lives of children in developing countries and how difficult lives "they" spent throughout this TV programme.'

'There are children living in harsh surroundings in developing countries. There are "their" harsh realities which "we" have never imagined yet.'

'Images of family are a just common sense in "our" Japan.'

'The fact that people are happy to find trashes is unthinkable from view of "our" world'

Additionally, the Japanese stars in the stage also mentions differences of developing countries using the dichotomy.

'Stuffs that we call as trashes are valuable for "them".'

'I can understand that for "them", there is no room to consider morality.'

Through this part of the hosts spiel and statements of the guest stars, categories of 'We' and 'They' are created.

The other way to emphasize the dichotomy is presenting Japanese actresses with people in developing countries. There are two ways of representations. The first one is expressing comments on things in developing countries by the actresses.

'Srawa's life is really unimaginable.'

'I cannot think that Manica and I live in the same world at the same time.'

'Smell is too bad in this trash mountain. Probably, we Japanese, especially sensitive people to smell, cannot withstand it.'

'Manica's house would not be called as a house considering "our" standards of living.'

These comments are also stressing differences between Japan and developing countries using words 'We' and 'They'. The other way to stress differences is the appearance and behaviour of the actresses on camera. The Japanese actresses wear clean clothes when they meet Srawa or Manica, even on the streets or the big trash mountain. This presentation makes contrasts, so that it emphasizes superiority of 'We' and inferiority of 'Them' in terms of a universal difference of cleanliness and dirtiness. Additionally, the actresses' crying also suggests the differences. Sometimes the actresses cry because they are shocked by the harsh realities of street children. This behaviour indicates that lives of children in developing countries are too bad to see without shock. Thus, the Japanese actresses also play a role to stress differences between Japan and developing countries, to create opposite categories 'We' and 'They' and to put superiority and inferiority to them.

In conclusions, categories of 'We' and 'They' are created by showing contrasts between Japan and faceless developing countries in the TV programme. Then, superiority and inferiority about two categories are indicated in various ways of representations. From these findings, some assumptions are formed: 'Developing Countries' is totally different from and inferior to Japan.

4.4.3 Charity Politics in the TV Programme

In previous sections, some specific representational techniques of developing countries are found. However, the reason why such are used is not clear yet. Thus, in this section, the reason is analyzed from the generic perspective, especially the charity politics of representation. As analyzed in the previous chapter, the TV programme is much directed to charity rather than public education.

Firstly, individuals in developing countries are described as the un-socialized, the violent and the powerless, and institutions are presented as

the violent and the powerless. Clearly, the TV programme essentializes negative aspects of developing countries through representing individuals and institutions. Mohanty (1997: 272) states that 'when women are placed within social and economic structure defined as "developing" by Western standards, implicit images of the "average Third World women" and "Third World difference" are produced.' When this theory is applied to the TV programme, average Third World individuals and institutions are negative aspects are magnified. As a result of providing negative images of average Third World individuals and institutions, a specific kind of communication between the TV programme and audience come into effect; any individuals and institutions in developing countries are un-socialized, violent and powerless, so that they are powerless and incapable of improving child welfare. Thus, we, people in developed countries, are indirectly educated to alleviate the plight of poor children in developing countries.

Secondly, the representational methods of erasing culture and social structure of developing countries are analyzed. An objective of the representational way is to prevent the audience from gaining a lot of information and to evoke emotional response from them for the charity purposes. In relation to that, Holland (1992: 156) states that presentation of a distinctive culture and social structure give audience understanding about developing countries, sometimes even allowing them to doubt uneven power relationship between 'We' as developed countries and 'They' as developing countries behind the representations. If people in developed countries question the imbalance of power, they would realize the relationship between their status and the process of impoverishment that leads children to difficult situation. As a result, the amount of donation might decrease. The main objective fails because the audience feels threatened and hesitates to donate. Thus, to avoid such consequence, culture and social structure are erased and children are represented in an

ambiguous world of inadequate information. Finally, the status of wealthy donors is never challenged.

Related to the representational way of framing (erasing culture and structure), describing donation as the only given solution should also be taken into consideration. Although institutions in developing countries are represented in the negative ways (violent and powerless), there is no indication of providing solutions to the issue, except for financial aids. This is a very clearly simplified solution. However, there is another explanation to this: to prevent the undermining of the uneven power relationship between developing countries and developed countries. If specific and effective solutions for issues of street children are in question, it is inevitable to explain social structures resulting to too much information in the part of the audience. Additionally, a simplified solution, in the form of donations, sustains the status of any citizen in developed countries as individuals with ability to improve lives of children in developing countries through financial help. Thus, donation as a sole solution maintains the status of the audience in two ways: maintaining the status quo of their economic superiority and their identity as special existences capable of extending help to less fortunate children in developing countries.

These representations in the TV programme are obviously guided by charity as the best interests of the powerful entity 'We'. Many pieces of information are excluded and included to achieve the best interests through judgement by Western standards. As a result, it is logically explained in the TV programme that 'They' as people in developing countries cannot help and even worsen situations of children in developing countries. On the other hand, the superiority of the audience is sustained through hiding the relationship between the lives of the audience and the represented children, and providing the simplest solution

to address the issue. Thus, behind the representations, the uneven power relation between developed countries (as 'We' are donors) and developing countries (as 'They' are beneficiaries) is sustained and perpetuated.

4.5 Japanese Discourses

This section analyzes the representation in the TV programme from the Japanese perspective. An interesting point is that the TV programme is provided by Japanese producers aiming at Japanese audience, resulting to the presence of unique discourses and ideas based on Japan's. Firstly, the Japanese discourse of ideal childhood is shown to reflect the representations of main protagonists. Secondly, how Japanese view developing countries and think about Japan itself in development field are also taken into account.

4.5.1 Japanese Discourses of Ideal Childhood

This section shows recent discourses of ideal childhood in Japan. The existence of street children is a problem because it challenges those discourses. Main protagonists in the documentary are also portrayed as problems. Clearly, one of the reasons is that their separation from their families. In opposition, an aspect of Japanese ideal childhood discourses is that children should be with their parents and family. However, there are more elements to be analyzed in the TV documentary to prove more aspects of the discourses.

In the section of street children representation, several factors related to children as agents and victims are found: agents with means of livelihood, survival strategies and 'kindness' as well as victims of natural adversity, adult power, and social stigmatization. Reactions from the Japanese guest actors and even the narrator reflect recent discourses in Japan. Thus, through analysis, Japanese discourses of ideal childhood are explained.

Firstly, representational methods about children as agents capable of livelihood and possessing survival strategies, and as victims of natural adversity are analyzed. Apparently, survival tactics are described as positive

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if the guest stars and the narrator praises are taken into account. Thus, there may be a factor that views children with their own culture and intelligence. This means the notion of children as 'beings' exist in Japanese discourses. On the other hand, these discourses seemingly disagree to the idea of children as agents capable of livelihood. Scenes of working children are narrated as the subjects being victims of natural adversity. This narrative is used to emphasize that labour exposes children to an unhealthy environment. Representation is apparently negative and seems to reflect a negative stance from Japanese discourses point of view. Furthermore, in Nadia's segment, other girls her age are better-off in contrast to her job-seeking struggles as a maid. This representation means that children should play. Thus, the discourses include a factor that children are not for work but for play.

Secondly, the notion of children as kind and strong-hearted agents is considered. The Japanese actresses are surprised because these children remain good-natured in spite of their plight. Japanese believe children are innately good although there is possibility of changing. The narrator, for instance, praises Manica saying she is the kindest girl. Thus, the discourse of children as kind and strong hearted agents is utilized because the notion is accepted positively.

Thirdly, there is no doubt that children as victims of adult power and adult possessions are also portrayed as such. For example, although a part of the narrative blames the Srawa's father and the police for violence, there is no question that Nadia was abandoned and Manica's mother tries to separate her youngest brother from family. In the case of Manica, the crisis of family disintegration is always expressed not as 'her mother tries to abandon the brother' but 'the bonds of family are nearly broken by their harsh reality'. This representation seems to view that poverty breaks the bonds, not the mother's decision to give the younger of the youngest boy

to another family. Additionally, after the story of Nadia, a Japanese star in the set mentions that adults with good sense should improve her life. To sum up, although there is doubt about terms of adult abuse and exploitation in the narrative, those of children as adults' possessions and objects of adult's behaviour seem to pose no problems. Thus, I came to a conclusion that the Japanese discourses of childhood include the following standards: children should be protected by adults, children are treated as objects, and children should be free from abuse and exploitation.

Lastly, some factors of Japanese discourses are found by reflecting on the representations of children as the stigmatized. In the TV program, representations of Manica and Nadia are in complete opposition. Although the Japanese actresses and guests at the studio are shocked by and criticize her being stigmatized, there is no doubt against being stigmatized in the case of Nadia. Furthermore, certain terms and phrases which emphasized her minor age , 12-year-old pregnant girl, giving birth at the age of 13 and being a 14- year-old mother, were presented as problems. I analyzed the reason of these different representations: why Nadia loses her innocence through becoming mother while Manica has not from working despite her age. Thus, I conclude that there is an element of innocence in the Japanese discourses about children.

From these findings, the reason why Japanese think that the issue of street children is a problem from the perspective of the Japanese discourse of ideal childhood is clarified. Firstly, their working outside is against Japanese laws and moral standards. Child labourers, even those almost of legal age, are sometimes given negative ideas from the moral perspective of Japanese society. More and more people get higher education, and very young workers are uncommon. Thus, street children are judged as 'outsiders of the main stream society' by Japanese discourses of an ideal

childhood. In other words, why the issue of street children is perceived as a problem is constructed by Japanese legal and moral normative.

Secondly, people in charge of child protection do not adhere to their responsibilities. Due to expressions of children's innocence and adult's abuse and exploitation, the formulation is built; (1) innocent and kind children cannot be held responsible for the circumstances and environment they are in (although there is no space to doubt it in the TV programme), (2) adults around children are supposed to protect them from potential harm and hardships, (3) but adults do not take their responsibility, even worsening children's lives. Failing to take responsibilities is viewed as a very negative behaviour by Japanese norms because it is against the notion of children as possessions of adults that accompanies strong responsibility child protection. Thus, failure to take responsibility of child protection is problematic from the Japanese discourses of ideal childhood.

In conclusion, from the Japanese perspective, street children live 'outside the main stream society' but adults responsible for children's welfare cannot let them return to the 'main stream society.' Adult protectors and solutions to help and improve the lives of street children in developing countries are not present. Thus, the issue of street children is a problem from the Japanese perspective.

4.5.2 Japan in the Development Field

In the previous sections, specific ways of representations and assumptions about developing countries are found. Through them, how Japanese think about developing countries and Japan itself in the development arena is analyzed.

To begin with, who provides the TV programme aiming at whom should be specified. Clearly, one who produces the TV programme is an entity which is very charity-oriented through previous analysis which shows charity as the best interest of the programme. On the other hand, along with the objectives of charity, relatively old and rich and middle class Japanese are the main target audience. It is clear due to statements by the master of ceremony. As described before, the MC mentions the ideal images of a family and contrasts with the reality in developing countries; every member of the family has a warm conversation while sitting around the dining table. However, this is no longer the common case of Japanese family because more and more mothers work outside the home and many children go to preparatory school in present Japan. Thus, it is found that the statements are directed to people who experienced the traditional ideal family with their parents and with their children. Most of them are relatively old, middle class Japanese who realize the differences of their family and that of developing countries'. This provokes nostalgia and an immense emotional response. The targeted group is based on a very logical choice because the group has enough financial sources not to mention they comprise the biggest demographic group. In other words, to evoke emotional response from this group is the best way to increase solicitation. Thus, it is concluded that the TV programme is provided by a very charity-oriented entity and targets relatively old rich and middle class groups in Japan to gain financial aids.

The Japanese perspective of 'them' (developing countries) and 'ourselves' (Japan) is also a vital part of this analysis. Firstly, the assumption 'there is no difference among "developing countries"' revealed in the previous section is analyzed. This finding is strongly related to the representational way of framing which erases cultures and social structures in developing countries. Although this point is considered from the perspective of charity politics before, it should be analyzed from the Japanese perspective as well. An interpretation of this representational method is that Japan has

little interest in 'developing countries' except for a big interest in charity of the TV programme. Historically, there are minute economic, political and cultural connections between Japan and 'developing countries'. On the contrary, although China can be categorized as a developing country by the definition, media representations of this country are different from those other 'developing countries'. Hagiwara (2006) states that representation about China is different from that of other foreign countries because of the strong historical relationship that binds it with Japan. Historical relationship between Japan and other entities constructed and being constructed by power relationship strongly influence ways of representations. The same explanation can be applied to the representational way of developing countries as 'Otherness' from economic and political perspectives because relations between Japan and represented countries are also weak in those senses. Thus, as oppose to Orientalism, 'Otherness' in the TV programme is constructed by those which have relatively weak relationship with Japan. In other words, Japan is not interested in 'them' except for charity, so that developing countries are represented as 'Otherness' in ahistorical, apolitical, and decontextualized ways.

Secondly, the assumption that 'developing countries' are inferior to Japan is considered. Previous sections discussed that in the TV programme, negative expressions about developing countries are repeated in individual and institutional levels because characteristics of individuals and institutions in Japan contrast those in developing countries: children are socialized, adults are not violent and not powerless, and institutions have enough power and capability to maintain good circumstances for children. Like other concepts of 'otherness' such as Orientalism, through describing the negative characteristics of the 'They', positive characteristics of the 'Us' are also implied. This representation affirms the Japanese's feeling of superiority over developing countries.

Behind uneven power relationship, the discourses of superior Japan and inferior developing countries are constructed. Then, the question is raised: What constructs uneven power between Japan and developing countries? From analysis of the research, it can be said that Japanese feel their superiority in terms of moral and economic power. Moral uneven power relationship can be viewed from repeated indirect expressions that 'they' cannot do but 'we' can do. The power allows audience to legitimize measurements of developing countries from 'our' values indirectly. Additionally, it can be found that Japanese think their superiority in terms of economy because of repeated expressions focusing on economic aspects such as the simple solution of giving monetary help and emphasis on protagonists' poverty. Focus on such aspects suggests that there is a prevailing Japanese idea about unilineality in economic and philosophical models of development which ignore cultural diversities of each country (Burman 1994). On the other hand, another fact about cultural power relationship is analyzed; Japanese do not think that Japanese culture is inferior to Western culture and is not universal and superior to culture of developing countries. This element is found from expressions excluding culture in developing countries by not Japanese culture but Western culture. To sum up, the discourse of Japanese superiority and developing countries' inferiority is constructed by moral and economical power imbalance, and perpetuates the uneven power relations through reproducing negative representations of developing countries repeatedly.

Finally, a Japanese attitude to developing countries is analyzed. Actually, in uneven power relationship, what kind of position Japan want to keep is matter in the development field. In all stories, not only chosen stories in this research but other stories, only actresses appear in scenes. I analyze that these representations mean the Japanese preference of maternal attitude to developing countries due to background of Japan. Before WW II, Japan tries to imperialize developing countries. However, this masculine attitude causes 'disaster' to Japan and has been regretted until

now. From past lessons, I think that Japan prefers feminine attitude to developing countries. Due to uneven power relationship, Japanese feminine attitude symbolise not powerless but powerfulness female, mother. This preference of attitude is also viewed from relationship between protagonists and actresses; actresses play the role as pseudo mothers instead of disappeared and sick mothers of protagonists. Thus, it is concluded that Japanese attitude to developing countries is very maternal. These representations liken relationship between Japan and developing countries to that between mother and child behind uneven power relationship; mother as Japan which is able to 'develop' child as developing countries which cannot grow by themselve.

To sum up, how Japanese view developing countries and think about the position of Japan in development field is found. Firstly, Japan is interested in the category of 'developing countries' only in terms of charity because of little economical, political, and cultural relations with it. Secondly, Japanese think that Japan is superior to developing countries in not cultural but moral and economic power. Finally, Japan prefers keeping maternal position to developing countries.

Chapter 5
Conclusion of the Research

The representations of street children in developing countries covered by the TV programme achieve charity oriented discourses, feeling of superiority by Japanese to developing countries, and finally the sustainment and perpetuation of maternal, uneven power relationship between Japan and developing countries. These are accomplished through various discourses: street children as survivors, children as the un-socialized, adults and institutions as symbols of violence and powerlessness, and developing countries as the faceless and inferior 'otherness'. As a conclusion of this paper, research questions are answered through findings and analyses. In addition, the problem of Japanese media in respect to development studies is also mentioned.

5.1 Answering Research Questions

In this section, all questions are given answers followed by my opinions on the matters.

1. 'How does the TV programme present and represent street children?'

The protagonists are represented as 'survivors', not as passive victims but victims with the agency to survive. These street children are presented as both agents and victims, with capability of livelihood, unique survival strategies, and strong and kind heartedness. At the same time, they are also victimized existences of natural adversity, uneven power between children and adults, lack of knowledge, social exclusion and stigmatization. Unexpectedly, children are agents. This discourse is based on the arguments of child rights and public education oriented. However, because representations are lean towards fund raising, aspects of being victims are more emphasized.

Fund generating programs for children in developing countries often utilize the victimized images of children. Ironically, UNICEF, an advocate

of children's rights, and the notion of agency cooperates strongly in the production of the TV programme. This suggests that charitable organizations depending heavily on donations for the purpose of superficially supporting children's rights use the conventional way of stressing children as victims for more effective fundraising endeavours. In effect, this does not educate the public about children's rights and children's agency. With regard to this issue, I analyze that Japanese comprehension about the importance of children's agency for development is quite low.

2. 'What are the prevailing discourses of street children and ideal childhood that reflect theses representations?'

Certain elements of the Japanese discourse of childhood are reflected in the documentary: a) Childhood is the time when children are not for work but for play, b) Children are innocent and at the same time have own culture and strategy for living c) Children should not be abused and exploited and d) Children are possessions of adults. Through Japanese discourses of ideal childhood, discourses of street children are constructed. The issue of street children is a problem because their spatial location challenges Japanese norms. They should return to 'Home', a symbol of the main stream society and ideal childhood. Unfortunately, it's virtually impossible to achieve for developing countries.

In chapter 2, two problems are consequences of representing street children: stigmatization and the misleading approach to the issue of street children. Stigmatization of street children, despite the positive presentation of street children as devients, leads audiences to the idea of them as pitiful existences, symbols of poverty in developing countries. On the other hand, the Japanese public are at risk of neglecting prospective, long-term solutions to the issue of street children because the TV programme does not present structural causes and alternative solutions to

the problem. Thus, the audience knows only that street children spend harsh lives. Their mere existence is not explained. Even solutions are not suggested. Japanese education about street children is limited to only the knowledge of the problem.

3. 'How do these discourses relate to the discourses about developing countries?'

Through analysis of the TV programme, a lot of discourses about developing countries are found. Clearly, the discourses are complementary to those of Japan's because developing countries are pigeonholed to the category of 'Otherness'. Through discourses of individuals and institutions symbolizing developing countries as individualistic, un-socialized, violent and powerless, and discourses of developing countries as 'faceless' without social structures and own cultures, these countries are viewed as the exact opposite of Japan. These representations are produced by the moral and economic power imbalance between Japan and developing countries and show the Japanese maternal attitudes to the countries. Thus, these discourses about developing countries perpetuate and maintain Japan's maternal relationship with developing countries, resulting to power imbalance. However, there are also problems in power imbalance.

5.2 Problems of Japanese Development Discourses

This section delves into the problems of Japanese development discourses in Japanese media. Behind the uneven power relationship between Japan and developing countries certain concepts are taken into consideration: legitimization of subordination, excessive essentialization and polarization, degradation of children's and people in developing countries' dignity, and very limited and negative sources of information in Japan.

Firstly, street children's images in Japanese media play a role to legitimate the subordination of developing countries and to perpetuate uneven

power relationship. Representing children in harsh conditions without recognizing individual cultural and structural backgrounds of developing countries induce overgeneralization: All children in "developing countries" are in the same plight. In addition, as the first hypothesis, images of powerless adults and institutions incapable of child protection also contribute in legitimating and rationalizing subordination of developing countries. Furthermore, these representations maintain the images of superior Japan and inferior developing countries. To sum up, the problem is that children's images are abused to maintain the status quo of uneven power relationship between Japan and developing countries.

Secondly, in relation to the previous argument, Japanese media tarnishes the dignity of children in developing countries while they hide under the cover of protecting them. Child protection and welfare organizations set guidelines of media representations of children to stress the dignity of children. However, in reality, media take adults, institutions and developing countries as a whole into the targets of criticism. After all, this lowers the dignity of children in "developing countries", being criticized indirectly. From a charity oriented point of view, this strategy works best for fundraising. Undeniably, the possibility that these representations contribute to help many children through bigger donations is not disregarded. On the other hand, doing so sacrifices children's dignity as well as the dignity of people in developing countries. Solving the conflict between fundraising and public education is very difficult. However, I stress that media representational methods which truly protect the dignity of children and all people in developing countries are required.

Thirdly, notions of excessive essentialization and polarization behind Japanese media representations are also problems. The previous chapter shows that developing countries become faceless, and the uni-lineal economic processes and philosophical development are implied through

the TV programme. These concepts, like debunked theories of the past, caused some misconceptions in the field of development studies. They are very outdated compared to recent development discourses recognizing cultural and social diversity, even of developing countries. Additionally, the polarization of the superior Japan and inferior developing countries raises risks of Japanese arrogance and exclusivity from developing countries. Thus, notions of essentialization and polarization are problems in two points: They blind Japanese about modern approaches in development studies and cause arrogance and exclusivity among the unaware Japanese public.

Finally, what I fear the most is that Japanese have almost no choice but to rely on broadcasted news that sensationalizes tragedies and the charity oriented media representations. The kind of public education that Japanese receive from media focuses much on people in the most unacceptable and hazardous of environments and circumstances. As a result, people in my country remain ignorant about the reasons of such conditions plus the other aspects of the culture these developing countries have. Ironically, contrary to the title "If the World Were a Village of 100 People", the TV programme represents children as if they would live in a "Different World" without no commonality with Japan. Not only as a researcher but also as a Japanese, I cannot stop being critical and sceptical about recent media representations of children in developing countries.

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Notes

[1] Japan 133,940 - (1,000 US dollar), the second biggest donor is Germany - 132,750 (1,000 US dollar), the third is the Netherlands - 71,660 (1,000 US dollar).

[2] 'As scholarly discovery, philological reconstruction, psychological analysis, landscape and sociological description' (Said 1978: 12)

[3] 'As a colonial or imperial establishment' (Said 1978: 12)

[4] 'As with reigning sciences like comparative linguistics or anatomy, or any of the modern policy sciences' (Said 1978: 12)

[5] 'As with orthodoxies and canons of tasete, texts, values' (Said 1978: 12)

[6] 'As with ideas about what 'we' do and what 'they' cannot do or understand as "we" do' (Said 1978: 12)

[7] The strategy of taking a few (essentialised, exaggerated, simplified) characteristics (of a person/group), generalizing and fixing them as true representatives of the given person/group (Hall, 1997)

[8] The strategy of reducing complexities and to simplifying varieties of positions (dual oppositions), and puting an actor into certain levels of category like individual, institutional or abstract (Leudar et al, 2004)

[9] The strategy of defining reality of the event; the strategy of inclusion and exclusion or the visibility and invisibility of some factors in certain ways.

[10] The strategy of controlling relationship between the subjects of vision and what is viewed or between the story character and the story narrator

[11] Whether children are rightly represented as agents or victims does not matter. Children can become both victims and agents in the same time like adults

[12] Every episodes of the programme has gained very high viewing rates, more than 15% (This means more than 15% of all households watch the programme), which is considered to be quite remarkable considering that is a documentary-format TV programme.