Foreign Women Living in Japan: a Survey
Part 4
Discrimination and Sexual Harassment

Cyndee Seton
要約

日本に居住する外国人女性に関する調査—その4—
差別とセクシュアル・ハラスメント

Cyndee Seton

本稿は日本に居住する外国人女性についての第4回めの調査であり、最終の調査である。パート4では彼女たちが日本で体験した差別とセクシュアル・ハラスメントの個人的な体験——頻度、典型的な例、彼女たちの応答——を取り扱う。

差別やセクシュアル・ハラスメントの体験を回答者の社会性（教育、国籍）、身分（結婚歴、職業）、日本経験（日本での居住地、居住期間）、日本語の能力（会話力、理解度）、身体的特徴（民族、年令、身長、体重、髪の毛の色、眼の色）、そして日本に来る以前の海外経験（生活、職業）等の関連において検証する。また、より深刻なセクシュアル・ハラスメントについても検証する。
Part 4: Discrimination and Sexual Harassment

Introduction

Living in a country and culture different from one's own has its problems, stresses and rewards. Problems may arise from differences in the beliefs, values, and attitudes of the two cultures—the new one and the one in which one grew up. There might be different role expectations and different expectations in the work situation. Physical differences such as race, height, body build, hair color, and eye color may set one apart and make it obvious that this person is 'not one of us.' These cultural and physical differences may lead to discrimination and sexual harassment. What might be considered custom in one culture might be thought of as discrimination and sexual harassment in another. These issues might also be a matter of personal perception, intent, and cultural context.

Aims

The aims of this part of the survey are to investigate the extent to which differing beliefs and value systems lead to an outsider's judgment of discrimination and sexual harassment. The outsiders, in this case, are foreign women living in Japan. I will investigate the respondents' personal experiences of discrimination and sexual harassment. I will also examine their experiences in relation to variables such as race, age, nationality, marital status, work status, place they live in Japan, length of time living in Japan, and language ability in Japanese. In addition, I will view their experiences of sexual harassment in terms of physical features such as height, hair color, eye color and general body build.

Method

The Survey. The questionnaire was in English. It was divided into the following eight parts: Japanese language, Characteristics of the Japanese, Discrimination, Sexual Harassment, Changes in Behavior, Life-style differences, Other time spent overseas, and Personal information.

Population. The population chosen for the survey was subject to the availability of various registers of names. I used registers of teachers in the Japan Exchange and Teaching (JET) Program, of parents and teachers at a large international school in Kobe, of members of a social club for foreign residents in Kobe, of some members of Foreign Executive Women's Club of Osaka (FEW), and also sent some questionnaires to personal friends who teach at universities in the Kansai area of western Japan. The members of the JET program live in all prefectures of Japan: on small islands, in very rural areas, in small and large towns, and in cities of all sizes.

A total of 1,250 questionnaires were mailed between April and June, 1994. By October of the same year, 584, or 46.7% of the questionnaires had been returned.

The respondents were asked various questions about discrimination and sexual
harassment in the sections "Discrimination," "Sexual Harassment," Changes in Behavior," and "Other Time Spent Overseas." They were asked if they had personally experienced discrimination and sexual harassment while in Japan, what their feelings were, where harassment took place, and to write in up to five typical incidents and one worst case incident of each. They were also asked if and how they had changed their behavior in response to discrimination and sexual harassment. Finally, they were asked to compare what they have experienced in Japan with what they experienced in other foreign countries they may have lived in. (See Appendix A for the actual questions)

Discrimination
In order to discuss discrimination, we must first look at the concepts of stereotypes, ethnocentrism, and prejudice in relation to cognitive theory, social identity theory, and socialization. The social world presents a varied and complex environment to the individual who is trying to process information. The individual cannot take in all the information so his attention is necessarily selective to relieve the burden. The individual will attempt to categorize the information and to make generalizations based on the information he has at his disposal. Abstracting out common feature patterns is the essence of generalization. In terms of people, one may put people in a social category. A person has an identity and belongs to several groups in society: family, school, work, etc. There are also attitudes and beliefs about the group which are built up within the group. Sumner in 1906 was the first to use the terms ingroup, outgroup, and ethnocentrism. He defines ethnocentrism as "the technical name for this view of things in which one's own group is the center of everything, and all others are scaled and rated with reference to it." (in Le Vine and Campbell 7) The ethnocentric syndrome is universal, in varying degrees. People hold various attitudes and behaviors towards their own ingroup and towards all others, the outgroup. Sumner says that the following are attitudes and behaviors toward the Ingroup:

1. See selves as virtuous and superior
2. See own standards of value as universal, intrinsically true.
   See own customs as original, centrally human
3. See selves as strong
4. Cooperative relations with ingroup members
5. Obedience to ingroup authorities
6. Willingness to remain an ingroup member

The following are attitudes and behaviors toward the Outgroup:

1. See outgroup as contemptible, immoral, and inferior
2. See outgroups as weak
3. Social distance
4. Outgroup hate
5. Absence of cooperation with outgroup members
6. Absence of obedience to outgroup authorities
7. Use of outgroups as bad examples in the training of children
8. Blaming of outgroup for ingroup troubles
9. Distrust and fear of the outgroup (in LeVine and Campbell 12)

Many studies of social distance and been done throughout the world, using Bogardus' initial research in 1923. This literature "supports some universal generalizations: that all ingroups, as judged by the average member, hold most outgroups at some degree of social distance." (LeVine and Campbell 15) Of course, there are differences in the rank and ordering of social distance steps, specific to groups, countries, religions. Bogardus' steps are specific to multi-ethnic, industrialized nations and include "visitor to nation, co-national, local co-resident, co-professional, friend, marriage. . . Steps that might prove of wide revelance would include admission to homes and meals, the rights of immigrants to own land, the rights to till land, and the rights of access to leadership roles." (LeVine and Campbell 16–17) It is said that "the more experience a perceiver has with the members of a given social group, the more differentiated the perceiver's representations of the group will tend to be." (Linville, Salovey, & Fischer 182) And parents play a role, too. "The more parents in a society make group distinctions in the aggression, sociability and avoidance training of their children, the more adults are likely to make these distinctions in their behavior toward groups." (LeVine and Campbell 200)

An important consequence is that ethnocentricism "leads people to exaggerate and intensify everything in their own folkways which is peculiar and which differentiates them from others. (LeVine and Campbell 8) Being in a group or putting oneself in a social category is a basis for self-identification. Individuals derive important aspects of their self-concepts from the social groups to which they belong. Also, "the greater the real differences between groups on any particular custom, appearance, item of material culture, the more likely that culture trait is to appear in the stereotyped imagery each group has of each other." (LeVine and Campbell 166)

Stereotyping, then, may be defined as "a cognitive structure containing the perceiver's knowledge, beliefs, and expectancies about a social group." (Hamilton and Trolier 142) These beliefs may be learned during one's socialization in a particular social or cultural context. I am referring to a learning process in which beliefs develop from exposure to certain kinds of information. Aspects of the social environment shape stereotype development by influencing the content of information one possesses about a certain group: information input from sources such as the family, schools, media, and government. Stereotypes may also be influenced by motivational processes or for propaganda purposes. Thus, the effects of cognition, socialization and motivation combine in a given social context to produce specific interpersonal behavior.

Stereotypes may be positive or negative. These sets of beliefs may be used when judging people, or prejudging people, only on the basis of their group membership. Prejudice is defined as "the prior negative judgment of the members of a race or religion or the occupants of any other significant social role, in disregard of the facts that contradict it . . . and an affective, categorical mode of mental functioning involving the rigid prejudgment and misjudgment of human groups." (Jones 61)
Discrimination is simply being treated differently. There may be positive discrimination. One can be treated well on the basis of being a member of a social group, for example, a movie star. Yet, the word discrimination usually has negative connotations. Thus, another definition of discrimination is “Those systematically differential behavior outcomes associated with social categories. It is seen as following from the prior negative judgments characteristic of prejudice.” (Jones 172) And from this negatively defined discrimination come various -isms: sexism, ageism, and racism. Racism “results from the transformation of race prejudice and/or ethnocentrism through the exercise of power against a racial group defined as inferior, by individuals and institutions with the intentional or unintentional support of the entire culture.” (Jones 172) Not only racism, as specified by Wilson, but also sexism and ageism have three levels: institutional, collective (or cultural), and individual (or interpersonal). For Wilson, institutional racism occurs when a subordinate racial group is denied equal participation in “associations or procedures that are stable, organized, and systematized (e.g. the electoral process, residential patterns, and formal education).” (34) Collective racism refers to less formal group and societal norms that reinforce collective acts. Individual racism is “a given person’s set of attitudes (that members of the minority group are culturally or biologically inferior to the dominant group and therefore should be exploited or discriminated against).” (Wilson 34)

Discrimination in Japan

There is status inequality in Japanese society with regards to age, gender, class, caste, and ethnic identity. I would like to touch upon three ideas in this section: Confucian ideals, how the national consciousness of the majority of Japanese was formed from Meiji times and how the modern idea of “other” is continued.

Japan is a hierarchical society. De Vos (1992) maintains that the Confucian hierarchical family tradition “still unconsciously permeates the thoughts and feelings of contemporary Japanese.” (2) In Confucian thought, the “proper natural-social order depends upon the cultivation of the self, obedience in relation to father, deference to those older, service to the lord.” (De Vos 34) Women were to obey their fathers, husbands, and sons. Apprentices were to obey their masters. Younger people were to defer to their elders. All were encouraged to endure hardship.

Today one understands there are differences in gender roles from remarks like “women should, women shouldn’t,” and when one sees specific jobs and duties, such as cleaning off the boss’s desk or serving tea in the office, being tied to one sex or the other. Age grading is still around, too, with younger members of clubs deferring to older members (sempai/kohai), hiring primarily young people to start working in mainstream jobs in a company, and often stipulating the age range in a job description. Deference is still shown by bowing, seating arrangements in a Japanese restaurant, in who gets served first or who uses the bath first in some families. Thus, Confucian ideas of age and gender continue in some form or other in Japan today.

Japanese seem to have a strong national consciousness. There seems to be an overlap
in the concepts of nation, race and ethnic group. How did this consciousness develop? Weiner goes back to Meiji times when Japan was becoming a nation. He views national consciousness as a precondition to the development of nationalism and says it “implies the existence of historically embedded and culturally transmitted assumptions concerning the imagined community of the nation and its citizens.” (1) Fujitani says that there were “organized efforts by the new Meiji state to infuse a heterogeneous population with a sense of homogeneity and community.” (77–106) This national identity was “forged from both indigenous and imported elements, and rested upon the assumed unique qualities and capacities of the Japanese minzoku.” (Weiner 433–442) He goes on to say that the concepts of ‘race’ and nation occupy "the dominant paradigm of minzoku" and were regarded as naturally occurring phenomena. "The naturalization of culture... re-cast the meaning of ‘Japoneseness’ in powerful images of the enduring purity and homogeneity of the nation, the family, and Japanese way of life." (2) Added to this was Takakusa’s culture of Japanese blood. Kada, much later in 1940, argued for “a biological or genetic basis for the distinctiveness and superiority of the Japanese people” (in Weiner 3) Thus, the sense of nation, minzoku, was a manifestation of common ancestry rather than shared culture.

Adding this notion of common ancestry and blood to nation made it easier to single out those of different ancestry. This brings us to the concept of ‘other’ or, in terms of discrimination, ‘excluded other.’ If one has a notion of what a civilized Japanese society and person are, then one can presume the opposite, measure the opposite by the same standard, find it wanting, feel superior to it and discriminate or exclude this opposite in some way.

These standards were used within and without the nation. Within Japan, the standards have been used to exclude the Burakumin, the descendants of the Eta and Hinin outcasts of the Tokugawa period. The urban and rural poor were often identified by certain assumed physical or cultural characteristics. In the early twentieth century, the urban slum was depicted as the opposite of bunmei (civilization) as if they were the descendants of a remote foreign race. People were led to believe that the rural poor had a different physiognomy, smelled similar to animals and were likened to worms and insects. The Ainu population were dehumanized as primitive savages. (Weiner 9–10)

Those from outside Japan, the Koreans, Chinese, and Ryukyuans/Okinawans were regarded as coming from uncivilized countries. In various expositions held in Japan from 1903 to 1912, detailed and scientific information about the ‘racial’ character, behavior, and habits of these people were given. These images were also used in novels and children’s comics such as Shimada Keizo’s Boken Dankichi (Dankichi the Adventurer) in the 1930’s. (Weiner 13).

All of these groups have been signified as distinct and inferior ‘races’ and excluded from mainstream society, without reference to color, which usually signifies ‘race’ to Westerners. Thus, the lines dividing class, caste, ethnic identity and race are often blurred. Weiner would add “cultural determinants (religious values, language, patterns of social and economic organization), rather than genetic or physiological markers. . . . to
signify the existence of an immutable and homogeneous Japanese identity.” (xiii)

In 1980, the Japanese government initially submitted a document to the Human Rights Committee of the United Nations which denied the existence of minority populations in Japan, thereby obliterating 3 million or more Burakumin, Ainu, Chinese, Koreans, and Ryukyuans/Okinawans in Japan. (Thomas 224)

How is the idea of a homogeneous Japanese identity learned today? National–racial–cultural stereotypes are learned through socialization in the family, schools, through government pronouncements, the written word (novels, essays, comic books, textbooks, magazines, newspapers) the media (radio, television) and advertising. Advertising is all around us, on billboards, on trains and buses, in magazines, on television. It is hard to escape.

Advertising in Japan is often called 'mood' advertising because it attempts to communicate a special mood or elicit a special emotional response, rather than explain much about the product being sold. How is race depicted in these ads? There are many non–Japanese used in advertisements; most of them are white, a few black, and the rare Asian.

White foreigners are often depicted in a fantasy world, as exotic and as misemono (things to look at). White women often appear in ads for beauty products and in fashion as a standard of beauty. They are often portrayed as exotic and sexy, sometimes appearing nude in ads for everyday mainstream products. A member of Osaka Dentsu's advertising branch says," advertisements can't use Japanese women for such nude scenes because it is too realistic, so gaijin [white foreigners] are used." (in Creighton 218) The images of whites are also used to break social conventions or to show traits considered negative by Japanese values. It may be in the field of romance. White foreigners are also used to portray romance by holding hands and kissing in love scenes. Until recently, one didn't see Japanese couples holding hands or kissing in public. Or it might be by appearing selfish or individualistic. Sometimes whites are shown speaking in stumbling, heavily accented Japanese or as clumsily inept while attempting a traditional Japanese pursuit or custom, such as using chopsticks. Thus, stereotypes of whites may also help to reinforce what is Japanese, or non–white. Of course, ads such as these also dehumanize whites and suggest that only real Japanese can perform Japanese arts or customs adequately. (Creighton 214–226)

The few Blacks who are used in ads are mostly celebrities from the world of sports or music. The very few unknowns are highly caricatured and portrayed as low–class, foolish, uneducated or comic. (Creighton 222)

Asians are rarely used in advertising. They appear mostly in ads for Chinese foods or cleaning products, giving rise to a stereotyped role of “not clean work.” (Creighton 226)

Stereotypes are learned in many places, and many racial stereotypes may be learned from the use of non–Japanese in advertising, either stereotypes of that 'other' group or of one's own group: the opposite of the foreigner is the Japanese.
Results

Below are the results in terms of percentages of responses to the question, have you been discriminated against while in Japan.

Table 1

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the following tables and percentages refer to those 73% of the total sample who responded “yes,” they had been discriminated against.

Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of discrimination</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Daily (1-8 times)</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weekly (1-5 times)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly (1-5 times)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly (1-10 times)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Basis of discrimination</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Race</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nationality</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese language ability</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical characteristics</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital status</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Seriousness of discriminatory behavior</th>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Major</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minor</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Regarding frequency, one can see that some women are fairly constantly reminded that they are different.

Respondents were asked to check one or more reasons why they thought they were discriminated against. Some checked only one, but the majority checked from two to four, while a few checked every one on the list. The foreign women seem to feel that they were discriminated against most because they were women. The similarity in percentages for race, nationality, Japanese language ability reflects the Japanese idea of blending of these categories and perhaps can be construed to mean “not Japanese.” It is interesting that these three are so close together. Of those who checked physical characteristics, 81% were either tall, blond, redheaded, or buxom or some combination of these; 5% were Asian. A few wrote in other reasons. Less than 1% wrote in imperfect cultural understanding, job position, religion, having a foreign boyfriend (by an Asian), being a vegetarian and being handicapped.

Concerning seriousness, 92% of the women considered the incidents as minor. One respondent wrote that although she thought the incidents minor, they do add up and sometimes seem major as a group.
Typical instances of discrimination. What were these incidents? I asked the respondents to write in up to five of what they considered as typical examples of discrimination that had happened to them. I did not want heresay; I wanted actual personal experiences. They were later asked to write in what they considered the worst incident. A very few wrote that I did not define discrimination clearly in my questions; I was hoping that their examples would define discriminatory behavior.

Table 5
Typical instances of discrimination

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>refused entry</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not helped</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excluded</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stared at</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not treated as responsible</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>treated as having no ideas</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>called gaijin</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>isolated on the train</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>insulted</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no taxi</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being talked about</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>not talked to</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>refuse to understand</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rude behavior</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>made to serve tea</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>body talked about</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being called cute</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being pointed at</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asked personal questions</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>being yelled at</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To go through Table 5, many foreign women have been refused entry to places such as restaurants, hotels, youth hostels, culture centers, even to a hut on Mount Fuji. They have also been refused entry into schemes, such as not being able to get a video store card, grocery store card, credit cards, bank cards, or car insurance. Clerks avoid helping or serving them in shops and other people with jobs serving the public will not help them. Some have been excluded from groups at work and work meetings and sometimes information about their jobs is not passed on to them. They are stared at by people on the street. At work, these women are treated as if they were not responsible employees and are perceived of as having no ideas that would be of benefit to the workplace. People shout gaijin at them, point at them, insult them, talk about them in front of them, and are rude to them. On public transportation, some people will not sit next to them and so the seats on either side of them are empty, even if the train is crowded. They find it hard to get a taxi to stop for them or, if there is a taxi stand, the first taxi may drive away empty to avoid having them as a customer. Some people refuse to speak to them and others refuse to try to understand what may be poor or excellent Japanese, perhaps having the mistaken belief that Japanese cannot come out of a foreigner’s mouth. Being called ‘cute’ is not a compliment to a foreign woman over the age of 15; something some Japanese are not aware of. Some women have been asked very personal questions such as the size of various parts of their bodies, how often they have sex, what they are like in bed, etc. Finally, some people think that if they speak Japanese more loudly, the foreigner will understand so a few women reported having been yelled at in the supermarket, at the train station, by the police and one reported someone shouting “Foreigner, go home” to her on the train.

Since there were so many examples of typical instances reported, I have grouped the
remainder into categories related to being a woman, being a married woman, being a foreigner or non-Japanese, and being an Asian. These were written in by less than 1% of the women who felt they had been discriminated against, from one to six women.

A few of the women were told they were not allowed to do something such as play on a company team, smoke, drink, take a business trip alone, drive a car or, even, work because they were women. They found it difficult to be issued a credit card, had a lower income than men doing the same job, were treated differently at work, given less respect at work. They were told it was 'men first', were addressed in overly-familiar terms, and were the targets of sexual innuendos. They were told “women should...” be able to cook, for example, and two reported being grouped with children in an outing.

One married woman was told she needed her husband’s signature on a document, that hers was no good. Another reported being excluded from her husband’s work group. A third reported receiving no child benefits, money, from her job because she was married.

Because they were foreigners, a few women mentioned being asked to ride in the back seat of the car, received comments on their use of chopsticks, were treated suspiciously in shops and followed around the shop to be sure they didn’t steal anything, were not allowed to buy something in a shop, paid higher prices, and weren’t given a free gift as others. A few wrote of being laughed at when they tried to speak Japanese, were spat at, were presumed to have AIDS and had Japanese children snatched away from them by their mothers. Garbage was thrown into one’s swimming pool and onto another’s roof. They had problems with banking and said it was difficult for them to buy property, as well as get a bank loan. Finally, two or three reported not having their work contracts extended, having to be fingerprinted, having to get a re-entry visa every time they left Japan and of police harassment.

The Asian–Americans felt the white, gaijin Americans got all the attention. They also mentioned that Japanese didn’t really believe they could speak English natively and also that Japanese had very high expectations for them with regards to knowing Japanese language and culture. This is what Dorinne Kondo, an anthropologist, experienced when she worked in Japan. She writes of reactions towards her, “As a Japanese American, I created a conceptual dilemma for the Japanese I encountered. For them, I was a living oxymoron, someone who was both Japanese and not Japanese. Their puzzlement was all the greater since most Japanese people I knew seemed to adhere to an eminently biological definition of Japanese. . . . a person of Japanese ancestry who cannot (speak flawless Japanese) meets with what generously could be described as unpleasant reactions.” (11)

Again, 92% of the women who responded that they had suffered discrimination felt these instances to be minor, while 8% felt them to be major, especially those related to work and government. And these minor things can add up and cause stress.

Worst incidents of discrimination. The respondents were then asked what they thought was the worst case of discrimination they experienced. 9% replied being refused
entry, 2% being yelled at, and 2% being attacked physically. Less than 1% mentioned being cheated, spat at, and one reported her neighbor tried to get her thrown out of the apartment building. They also mentioned sexual innuendos, peeping Toms, unwarranted and unsolicited touching, flashers and physical attacks. They reported being fired and having no job support at work. Finally, one mentioned problems with health authorities when she had dysentery and another problems with the police when involved in an accident. When one woman went to the police to make a report that she had been the victim of a pickpocket, they told her that women often lose things and that there are no pickpockets in Japan!

There is no doubt that these are all instances of discrimination, many minor and some very major, as viewed by Westerners. Yet, would many Japanese think these are instances of discrimination? Might they cite poor ability in English, lack of experience with foreigners, different customs and manners, individual personality characteristics, drunkenness, ignorance, different values, different businesses practices, different institutional guidelines for citizens and non-citizens and different laws as the source of these instances of interpersonal discrimination? And would they be right? Article 14 of the 1946 Japanese constitution prohibits discrimination in political, economic and social relations because of race, creed, sex, social status or family origin. It is a legal document. Yet, discrimination exists. Law and everyday practice do not necessarily mirror one another, and the law has not produced dramatic changes in everyday life. Is it the cultural context which defines discrimination? Is it socialization within a culture which allows a person to interpret an act as discriminatory or not? These are difficult questions to answer.

Changes. The respondents were asked if they had changed in any way in order to avoid discrimination. The results are in Table 6.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Change of behavior</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many replied that they could not change the fact that they were a woman, their race, physical appearance, their nationality. The 30% who replied yes, were asked to write in the changes that they had made. Their replies are in Table 7.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Changes to avoid discrimination</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>act Japanese</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be more conservative</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explain discrimination</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>learn Japanese</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be more polite</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be more aggressive</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avoid contact</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smile more</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be unfriendly</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no drinking</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Other changes reported by less than 1% were to stop flirting, to be more alert, to avoid being alone, to have no eye contact, to give out no information about oneself, to lose weight, to be more tolerant, to pretend one didn't speak Japanese, to give a blank stare, and to work harder.

Results and variables. I wish to look at the overall results and to investigate whether there were any large differences among the 73% in terms of what might be called socialization (education, nationality), status (marital, work), Japan (place of residence, length of time in Japan), Japanese language (ability to speak and understand spoken Japanese), physical characteristics (race, age, height, body build, hair color, eye color) and previous experience overseas (living, working).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8</th>
<th>Table 9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Discrimination and education</td>
<td>Discrimination and nationality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>New Zealander</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>American</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>Canadian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>British</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Asian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Other</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>European</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, the people who finished graduate school had a slightly higher percentage; however they were a relatively small part of the entire sample.

A higher percentage of New Zealanders, Americans, and Canadians reported discrimination and a lower percentage of Australians, British, Asian, others and a very low percentage of the Europeans in the study reported being discriminated against. I wonder if the differences in nationality reflect a higher personal or national sensitivity to discriminatory behavior. I also wonder if the lower than average reporting of discriminatory behavior is due to interpretation of discriminatory behavior, to greater expectations of being discriminated against, or to certain nationalities not being subject to that behavior. Added to this, I wonder if Asians also look more like Japanese than others and so receive less, or if they just expect more discriminatory behavior directed towards them.

| Table 10                                     | Table 11                                     |
| Discrimination and marital status            | Discrimination and marriage partner          |
| single/divorced                              | married to a Japanese                        | 80%                                      |
| married                                      | married to a non-Japanese                    | 61                                       |
Table 12
Discrimination and work status

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time work</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Married women found less discrimination than single or divorced women. Women married to Japanese reported a higher than average of discrimination than women married to non-Japanese.

Homemakers and retired people reported the least discrimination, mothers with children and students and part-time workers reported less than the average, and full-time workers reported higher discrimination than average.

Table 13
Discrimination and place of residence

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>79%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 14
Discrimination and length of time in Japan

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Period</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 6 months</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos.- 1 year</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2 years</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–5 years</td>
<td>70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–10 years</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11–20 years</td>
<td>82%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 years</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Slightly more women living in the country and in towns felt they had been discriminated against a little more than those living in the city. People in the country sometimes have no experience of foreigners living among them.

Higher than average were those living in Japan from 6 months to a year, and from 6–10 years and from 10–20 years. One might say that the longer one lives in a country, the more chance there is to experience discrimination. Yet the over 20 year group does not bear this out. Could it be a willingness to ‘call a spade a spade’ in certain groups and maybe the over 20 year group attributes discrimination to custom and has learned to live with it?

Table 15
Discrimination and speaking ability in Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fluently</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 16
Discrimination and ability to understand Japanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ability</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>74%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

75% of those who said they spoke no Japanese at all reported discrimination. It would be easy to say that they imagined it because they did not understand the language,
but what can one say about the 83% who reportedly speak the language well? It might be a different level, one can always understand rudeness and gestures, if not the words of a language. Again, the percentage of those who reportedly understood very well and well was higher than average and 10–12 percentage points higher than those who understood a little or not at all. In the section on changes, 13% of the 30% who said they did make changes thought that if they learned Japanese, they might eliminate discrimination. These results do not bear that out.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 17</th>
<th>Discrimination and overseas living experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lived overseas</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not lived overseas</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Previous experience living or working overseas did not made any difference in reporting discrimination in Japan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18</th>
<th>Discrimination and overseas work experience</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Worked overseas</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not worked overseas</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 19</th>
<th>Discrimination and age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20–29</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–49</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–59</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 20</th>
<th>Discrimination and race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 21</th>
<th>Discrimination and height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 ccm.</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 22</th>
<th>Discrimination and body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 23</th>
<th>Discrimination and hair color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 24</th>
<th>Discrimination and eye color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown/black</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey/blue</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green/hazel</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Women in the 40–49 age group reported less than the average and in the 50–59 age group much less. There was only 1 person over the age of 60 in the study.

All the Negros in the study reported discrimination. They were only 1% of the total sample. One can say they were discriminated against more or are more sensitive to discrimination. Certainly the image of Blacks in Japan is not complimentary. Also, there are relatively few Blacks in Japan and Japanese have had little direct experience with them. There was no large difference among the groups referring to height. Buxom women reported more discrimination than the other groups. Buxom has several mean-
ings; it can mean 'large breasted', 'plump' or be a euphemism for 'fat'. I could not think of a polite way to ask about breast size on the questionnaire, but from various unsolicited comments which were added, most of the women did understand buxom to mean 'large breasted'. Women with black hair reported less discrimination than those with brown, blond or red hair. Women with grey hair received the least; perhaps grey hair gets more respect and less discrimination. Women with dark eyes reported a bit less discrimination than average.

Lastly, those foreign women who had lived and worked overseas were asked if they experienced discrimination in another country foreign to them and if they did, how they would compare that discrimination to what they had experienced in Japan.

Table 25
Discrimination in other foreign countries

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>37%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 26
Discrimination, Japan compared with previous foreign countries

| More blatant, less subtle | 51% |
| Less blatant, more subtle | 33  |
| Same                       | 16  |

37% of those who had lived or worked in a foreign country before felt discriminated against, where 73% of those who live in Japan from Table 1 felt discriminated against. Only 16% felt that discrimination was the same here as in a previous foreign country. 51% thought the type of discrimination much more blatant than in other countries and 33 less blatant and more subtle.

How does one sum up the discrimination the foreign women experienced in Japan? It exists. Discrimination exists in some form or other in every society. Are they more sensitive to it because they were brought up in a different cultural context, mostly in multi-cultural and multi-racial societies? Were they, for the most part, a member of the majority in their own societies and find themselves part of a minority for the first time? That they feel the incidents were minor shows that they are willing to adjust to a new culture. That 27% said they have had not been discriminated against either shows that it does not happen to everyone or, again, that people are willing to overlook some incidents and to learn to live with the Japanese. Then there is positive discrimination which I did not ask about in the questionnaire, yet 6% wrote that they benefitted from being foreign in Japan, of special kindnesses and attention they had received. They were angry with me for not emphasizing the good side of being treated differently. Perhaps it all balances out in the end, yet there are still cases of being spat at, or yelled at, or of being refused entry, or of being denied a credit card or loan. These make it not only less pleasant and more stressful to live in Japan but are also serious injustices which need to
be redressed.

Sex discrimination and sexual harassment

Sexual harassment is a form of behavior resulting from discrimination based on sex. Sexism can be defined generally as "the oppression or 'inhibition of women' through a vast network of everyday practices, attitudes, assumptions, behaviors, and institutional rules." (Young 180) Lott says it is "structural and systematic, and results in the privileging of men." (13) MacKinnon has noted that sexism in society results in its being 'so much a part of the omnipresent background of life that a massive effort of collective concentration is required even to discern that it has edges." (90)

Lott has made a model of sexist responses to women which is a funnel-shaped spiral, wide at the top. The responses range from least serious at the top of the funnel to most serious at the bottom. They are "Humor, Put-Downs, Pornography, Institutional Exclusion, Personal Distancing, Insult, Harassment, Intimidation, Sexual Coercion, Sexual Abuse, Physical Abuse, Murder." (19) Sexual harassment, then, is one form of discriminatory behavior.

It is difficult to state exactly what sexual harassment is because there is the legal aspect to think of. To take a case to court for prosecution requires precisely detailed documentation and hard evidence. Even then, various states within the United States and various countries may view the same behavior as sexual harassment, outrageous behavior or merely as bad manners, depending on the lawyers, judges, and cultural context. "Paula Jones's sexual harassment lawsuit against [President] Bill Clinton has been thrown out in a stunning victory for the president of the United States. A federal judge, Susan Wright, rules that Ms. Jones's lawyers had failed to demonstrate that she has a case... there are no genuine issues for a trial in this case. While the court will certainly agree that plaintiff's allegations describe offensive behavior..." (The Scotsman, April 2, 1998: 1)

Sexual harassment, "most broadly defined, refers to the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power." (MacKinnon 1) It has often been defined in the context of work. It may be a single encounter or a series of incidents. It may extend along a continuum of severity and unwantedness. It may include "verbal sexual suggestions or jokes, constant leering or ogling, brushing against your body 'accidentally,' a friendly pat, squeeze or pinch or arm against you, catching you alone for a quick kiss, the indecent proposition backed by the threat of losing your job, and forced sexual relations." (MacKinnon 2) Persistent innuendo is another form of sexual harassment.

Some people use the term sexual harassment more loosely in a social context, not in the strictly defined work context. This might include the behavior already described by Lott as sexual discrimination.

Sex discrimination and sexual harassment in Japan.

"Nowhere in the industrialised world do women enjoy equal status with their male
counterparts in the labour market. Sexual inequality in employment appears to be a universal phenomenon but evidence seems to indicate that Japan represents an extreme case among the advanced industrialised nations.” (Lam 17) This inequality in the work force comes from two sources, the perceived role of women in society and the structure of the economic system which through its marginalization of women serves to devalue work in their eyes, thereby continuing a vicious circle.

Women's role in society.

The Education Ministry's embrace, in Meiji, of ryosai kenbo (good wives and wise mothers) showed the family to be a woman's proper sphere and a woman's natural vocation to be the education of her children. (Kondo 267) Her devotion was to be to the uchi (household) and not to outside affairs, which was left to the men. This thinking prevailed until the first phase of industrialization (1894-1913) when women were necessary for industrialization in textile and other factories. The core industry during this time was the textile industry and it is estimated that in 1909, women comprised 86% of the work force in this industry. (Takahashi 1983, in Lam 7) Most of these women were young and from backgrounds of rural poverty. For them, work outside the home was not incompatible with devotion to the uchi, for it became a demonstration of filial piety; they could send their meager earnings back to help their families and were one less mouth to feed at home. They would also go home after a few years and get married. (Kondo 269) Young rural girls would also work as servants in households in the larger towns and cities. There was female labour in the coal-mining industry and in nursing or as care assistants in hospitals. The money from these jobs were sent back to the family or saved with thoughts of the future wedding and motherhood. Women were not expected to spend all their lives at these jobs. They were expected to get married and be good wives and wise mothers to their children. Only women married to shop owners, merchants and farmers were expected to help with the business as an extension of their household duties. The ideal from Meiji times continues today in what Hendry calls the role of the professional housewife. (224) Their activities are to take care of their own home and family. They send the proper seasonal presents and maintain good relations within the family and neighborhood. “The task of rearing chilen is taken extremely seriously, particularly in the early years, and it is not thought to be a good idea to employ substitutes from outside the family to help out.” (Hendry 228) Mothers read books on childrearing, attend PTA meetings, help out at kindergartens, and many become an 'education mama' taking the child to extracurricular classes, supervising the child's studies at home, and encouraging the child to do well. Since the educational system in Japan is “the once chance for social mobility, and the main chance for the children of professional people to follow in the footsteps of their parents,” and since entry into a good university is the main criterion for future employment, it follows that this professional housewife and education mama are roles that many aspire to. (Hendry 229) This housewifely role fits neatly with the ideology of the ie, (continuing Japanese household) in which each member is expected to do what needs to be done for the benefit and well
The Japanese employment system and women workers. Women, as previously noted, were needed in the textile factories and did various other blue-collar, low-paying jobs. They worked in factories and on the farms during World War II out of necessity. Since then, many have worked at Japanese companies. The Japanese labor market may be termed an internal labor market. Doeringer and Piore (1971) define this market as "an administrative unit within which the pricing and allocation of labour is governed by a set of administrative rules and procedures." The workers productivity is a function of on-the-job training, experience, and length of service. It has a limited number of entry points, mainly at the lower levels as the higher level jobs are filled from internal sources. Wages reward those with longer terms of service. The primary sector is the main one in the economy characterized as the internal market with job security and internally recruited promotions; the secondary sector includes jobs which require little skill, are low paid and have limited prospects for promotion and a high turnover rate (in Lam 31–33) This is what happens in Japan. The companies have the lifetime employment system and the nenko system of wages and promotion and divides the employees into core workers and others. Most of the core workers receive extensive job training, expect lifelong employment and promotion within the company. Very few women are given these jobs. Women were traditionally, and in some companies still, expected to stop work when they marry or when they are pregnant. The companies think it useless to give them choice jobs when they will not stay very long. Core workers are often expected to change location within and without the company; they would be switched from section to section and from an office in one city to the company's office in another city or town in order to gain experience. Women often stay in the same section and in the same location; therefore, they can't gain the experience necessary to be promoted. The jobs given to women are often what people in society see as woman's work, that is, jobs which support the men's work such as typing, filing, tidying the male employees' desks, serving tea; work that is similar to a wife's role in the family. Their salaries also reflect the fact that they are not core workers; they receive less money and fewer benefits. Often women are expected to live at home. While some companies do have dormitories to house young female employees, even then, the rules of the dormitory may differ from the rules in the dormitories for the young male employees. This was the case with Brother Industries in Nagoya when Jeannie Lo, an American anthropologist worked there while gathering data. Some prohibitions were written, others unwritten, such as not smoking or drinking in the dorm and not having a car. The males were allowed to smoke, drink and have cars. (70) Brother Industries believed that, as the guardian of the women, "it has to uphold their moral and physical well-being inside and outside the workplace." (71) This harks back to the concept of the workplace as that of a family and back to Meiji times when the textile workers lived in dormitories under miserable conditions with no freedom. Many women realize that they are given fewer responsibilities than their male co-workers but accept them as a natural part of Japanese life. (Lo 86–87)
When the Equal Employment Opportunity Law came into effect in April 1986, some women had high hopes. The law prohibits discrimination against women in vocational training, fringe benefits, retirement and dismissal. However, the law merely exhorts employers to comply and has little provision for punishment. Yet, some companies did try to change their policies. Some have introduced changes in the recruitment and conditions of employment for new entrants; others have introduced a new selection system called 'career tracking' which gives entrants the choice of starting in the managerial track (sogoshoku) and the clerical track (ippanshoku) and some firms have added an additional tract for specialist employees (senmonshoku). (Lam 128–129) A survey conducted by the Women's Vocational Institute in September 1987 of forty firms in the finance, insurance and banking sector found that only 1.3 per cent of the women employees were in the managerial track, while the clerical track was exclusively occupied by females. (Lam 131) Lam concludes that "Most of the changes introduced, however, have been ad hoc and partial and could, at best, open up limited career opportunities for a small number of women. (115)

Women's attitudes towards work. Young women may not choose the managerial track if given the choice because they are thinking of getting married someday and quitting when they have a family. Others may just want a job to do something to fill in time instead of staying at home. Others may be demoralized when they work a while and see that their jobs as office ladies do not entail much responsibility. They may have wanted a career, but feel they will never be given a decent chance and so give up or endure. The Meiji idea of a woman's role and endurance is still strong.

Jeannie Lo conducted a survey among 200 unmarried women who had joined Brother Industries from 1983–1986, with proportional educational levels. The answers to the question," Why do you work?" depended on individual lifestyles: those who lived in their own apartments will work to pay for their living expenses, while those who lived in the dormitory were more likely to spend money on leisure or to save for marriage. 'To use my skills' was chosen as first choice by 12.8% and second choice by 11%. (118) Lo concluded that their answers suggest the two dominant trends of thinking about life choices were that most women prefer either marriage or work. "The women who prefer marriage look upon it as a means of escape from their working lives in the offices or factories. They want to leave the company at their first possible chance—when they marry. Women who do not mind working plan to quit their jobs when they have a child — they believe that it is impossible to juggle work with their responsibilities as mothers — and find another job when their children are grown up and no longer need to be looked after." (119)

Given that most women do give up their jobs in favor of marriage or motherhood, what happens later? Many mothers find that they do want to work either for monetary reasons or out of boredom once the children are in school and do not need them so much. When they want to rejoin the work force, however, they find that many companies have shut the doors to them because they are too old, not fresh out of school. Married women
then must take part-time jobs. Part-time jobs often do not pay as well as full-time jobs, nor do they provide many fringe benefits. Kondo says, "the striking element here is the notion of part-time work as getting out of the house and earning some money. The content and the place of work were merely incidental... Contribution to the uchi through money earned outside, in the solo sphere, was expected as an expression of their commitment to their families. This was permissible, even desirable, so long as the women's expressed motivations were guided by culturally shaped definitions of domesticity." (262) In one sense, part-timers thereby expand the definition of women's proper place. Part-time work also gives them the flexibility they need to execute their family duties, and Kondo says that none of her co-workers seemed to yearn for opportunities to become full-time employees. (276) Employers generally often point to these attitudes as justification for hiring part-time workers and keeping women in low-paying jobs with little hope for promotion.

Kondo found sexual harassment on the job in the form of touching behavior and sexual innuendos. She writes of women's roles where she worked, "Women could act as companions and maternal figures for the young men, but sometimes they were cast in the culturally specific form of eroticized mother. . . . Breasts, too, are eroticized maternal symbols with more maternal connotations than would be the case in the United States." (295) And she continues, "This sexual banter enacted our appropriate gendered identities. For men, it reinforced a sense of masculinity as embodied in the sexual appropriation of women and performing for women. Women were expected to be appreciative audiences and erotic objects. We women all knew how to play our appropriate identities, and thus we participated in the construction of our gender. In so doing, we inevitable facilitated our own subordination. . . . No one seemed to think it inappropriate that all of us were defined in these ways." (297) And so the vicious circle continues.

Results

Below are the results in terms of percentages of responses to the question, have you been sexually harassed while in Japan.

Table 27
Sexually harassed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>64%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the following tables and percentages refer to those 64% of the total sample who responded "yes," they had been sexually harassed.

Table 28
Frequency of harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Daily (1–4 times)</th>
<th>1%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weekly (1–5 times)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monthly (1–4 times)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yearly (1–10 times)</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 29
Place of Harassment

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>On public transport</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eating or drinking establishments</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At work</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At enkai (office parties)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>At home</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the phone</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>While shopping</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In public offices</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>On the street</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 30
Feelings when harassed

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feeling</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Angry</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disgusted</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surprised</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amused</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As to frequency, a very few were harassed on a daily or even a weekly basis. The majority were harassed on a yearly basis.

Respondents were asked to check as many places as applied. Many have been harassed on public transport, as have many Japanese women. Bars and restaurants are another place where women were harassed. 28% wrote in enkai or office parties and this combined with ‘at work’ suggest that the women were thinking of harassment in connection with work, bosses, authority figures. ‘At home’ might overlap with ‘on the phone’ which respondents had written in. A relatively low per cent were harassed on the street or in public offices. Other places where women were sexually harassed include hotels, movie theaters, weddings, beaches, in an elevator, at a hospital, museum and while in someone’s car, while sightseeing, at a friend’s house and while on a homestay. In short, anywhere.

When asked to check one or more of the feelings, they often checked more than one and some wrote in other feelings. Most were angry and disgusted and surprised at the same time. A few were even amused. 7% of those who were sexually harassed wrote in intimidated, threatened, frightened and panicked. 4% wrote in impotent, vulnerable, helpless, isolated and frustrated. 3% wrote in invaded, abused, violated, shocked and nauseated. Another 3% wrote in upset, hurt, humiliated and embarassed. 2% wrote in lost, confused, betrayed, and disappointed. 1% wrote in indifferent, resigned, and here we go again. As can be seen, the responses to sexual harassment go deep to the core of the woman. Most of the adjectives they wrote in show strong emotion. Added to the experience is the feeling that they are in a foreign culture, and perhaps do not know enough of the language to get help if it is needed. Sexual harassment can be a very distressing experience for women.

I asked two more questions in this survey in the section on sexual harassment. The first asked if they had was Have you ever been ‘mashed’ on public transportation. The next question asked how often they had been ‘mashed’. My choice of the word ‘mashed’ was unfortunate; it was too slangy and many did not understand the meaning. Some took it to mean touch or otherwise harassed, others thought it was similar to ‘smashed’ or ‘squashed’ and meant packed in tightly. Some wrote that they didn’t understand the meaning. So I have thrown these two questions out.
Typical instances of sexual harassment. What were these incidents? I asked the respondents to write in up to five of what they considered as typical examples of sexual harassment that had happened to them. I did not want heresay; I wanted actual personal experiences. They were later asked to write in what they considered the worst incident. A very few wrote in that I did not define sexual harassment clearly in my questions; I was hoping that their examples would define sexual harassment.

Table 31
Typical instances of sexual harassment

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Touching, grabbing the body</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Talk about the body</td>
<td>31%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual innuendos</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal questions</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being followed</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catcalls</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being approached</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Being asked for sex</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obscene phone calls</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invading personal space</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flashing</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rude gestures</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

More than half of the women complained of unwanted touching and grabbing, as well as verbal harassment in the form of talking about their bodies or sexual innuendo. Asking questions of a personal nature is generally not acceptable according to Japanese etiquette. However, thinking that foreigners are frank, Japanese often ask inappropriate questions. The questions here, though, refer to asking about bust, waist, and hip measurements as well as detailed questions about sex. Being followed can be frightening if one is alone at night, not knowing the language well enough to call for help; it can also be annoying. Being asked for sex was often mentioned in connection with money and gave the impression that the woman was a prostitute. Invading personal space is again something that Japanese usually do not do with their own people; people usually keep some distance away from others. 6% of the women were flashed at. Under 1% of the women who said they had been sexually harassed wrote in having their underwear stolen from the washline, doorbell ringing pranks, having personal property destroyed, having pornography left at their door, having someone try to break into their apartment or hotel room, having peepings toms around their apartments and being physically attacked.

Worst instances of sexual harassment. When asked to write in the worst incident of sexual harassment, some just put an arrow to one of the typical incidents, left it blank or did indeed write of an experience. See Table 30 below.

Table 32
Worst incidents of sexual harassment

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Touching, grabbing the body</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men masturbating</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical assault</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Unwanted touching, grabbing, hitting was written in my 25% of the women. Having men run after them or across from them on public transport masturbating was found to be disgusting. Being physically thrown off a bicycle and assaulted, attempting to run two women down with a car or to hit another with a van, or being the victim of attempted rape were harrowing experiences. Equally frightening for 5 women were men who tried to enter their apartment or houses. Others wrote in very rude gestures and one woman was the victim of the unprofessional conduct of a physician. They were all visually, verbally or physically harassed.

There is no doubt that these are all instances of sexual harassment, many minor and some very major, as viewed by Westerners. Yet, would many Japanese think these are instances of sexual harassment? Or only how one acts when with women, especially young women? Or with foreign women who Japanese may think have loose morals because they are portrayed that way in advertising? Or how bosses act? Or just how one acts when drunk?

Drunkeness is clearly a case where there are clashing cultural values. In Japan, one is not normally held responsible for what one does when drunk. People are very good at forgetting and overlooking what might have happened the night before at the party. This is not the case in Western countries where many of these women come from. One is responsible and people do remember disgraceful behavior. Here are four respondents’ comments on their feelings about drunken behavior. The first wrote, “When drunk, Japanese blow off their unacceptable behavior.” The second wrote, “In an enkai situation, where any form of behavior, be it towards women or men is socially acceptable. . . all because one can ‘do as one please’ when drunk and therefore be excused.” The third wrote, “At enkais and on other social occasions when alcohol has been consumed, men get really letchy and their hands start to wander. I hate the way this sudden change comes over them and they assume it’s okay to behave that way. If they’re not trying it on with me, it’s any other woman in the room—and the terrible thing is how all this malling is accepted and condoned, however much the women hate it. It’s degrading and I find it hard to live amongst. I cannot respect the men I work with.” The last one wrote, “I also find the behavior of older, respectable Japanese men (40’s and up) appalling compared with elsewhere I’ve lived. They are grown men, old enough to be my father, but they make passes at me and other women my age. I find the acceptance of this type of behavior almost to the point of perverse. Unlike this, in my Saipan culture, older men, even drunk, are always considered protectors and uncle types, not sukebe [lecherous].”

Much of the drunkenness occurs at enkais or office parties and employees are asked to attend; for some attendance is mandatory, others are pressured to attend. Enkais are within the realm of work. There is also a clash of generations. Many of the women are young; many of the bosses older. They have been socialized very differently, in different times. The Japanese word sekuhara comes from English, is fairly recent and certainly was not around when the older Japanese men were growing up or young men. Is this any excuse for outrageous behavior?
Changes. The women were then asked if they had changed their behavior as a result of being sexually harassed and how they changed their behavior.

Table 33
Change of behavior

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 34
Changes to avoid sexual harassment

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Avoid men</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid offending person</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be more careful</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be unfriendly</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid enkai (office parties)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid men on public transport</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avoid being alone</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Be more aggressive</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not drinking at parties</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No eye contact</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave parties early</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

55% of the foreign women said they did not change their behavior in any way in order to avoid sexual harassment. Comments they wrote include the following: "I can't change the Japanese mindset and that's the problem", "a person's own behavior rarely invites sexual harassment rather it is the other person's behavior and attitude that leads to harassment", and "I can't change the fact that I'm a young woman."

Many of the women started to avoid men, either those who had sexually harassed them in the past, men in general, and in certain situations such as on public transport. They also became more careful in certain situations, acted unfriendly and more aggressively. And parties, where harassment is likely to occur, were either avoided altogether or were left early. If they are coerced into going to an office party, then no one can fault them.

Other responses which 1% or less wrote in were stopping flirting, stopping telling or listening to sex jokes, stopping going to bars. At home, a few stopped answering the door, stopped answering the telephone, stopped giving anyone their phone numbers, closing the curtains when they are at home and hanging their underwear inside. Other said they hit back when grabbed, carry an alarm, joined a sports club and self-defense classes, and stopped jogging on the street. A few take more taxis at night. They also developed interpersonal behaviors such as pretending not to understand, ignoring the offending person, mocking the person, threatening the person, reporting the person.

Results and variables. I wish to look at the overall results and to investigate whether there were any large differences among the 64% in terms of what might be called socialization (education, nationality), status (marital, work), Japan (place of residence, length of time in Japan), Japanese language (ability to speak and understand spoken Japanese), physical characteristics (race, age, height, body build, hair color, eye color) and previous experience overseas (living, working).
Table 35  
Sexual harassment and education  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graduate school</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 36  
Sexual harassment and nationality  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Zealander</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A smaller percentage of women who had finished graduate school reported sexual harassment than university graduates.

New Zealanders had a much higher percentage of reporting and perhaps awareness of sexual harassment; while Americans, Australians, British and Canadians had percentages closer to the average. The Europeans had a low percentage. No one of Asian nationality reported sexual harassment. I wonder why Europeans have a low percentage. Do they view the behavior as simply bad manners or as an annoyance, is sexual harassment not much in their national consciousness, or were they simply not harassed? I do not know. No woman of Asian nationality said she suffered from sexual harassment. It could be that they look like Japanese women and so were not approached, yet Asian-Americans reported being sexually harassed and certainly Japanese women are harassed, too. Perhaps it is the consciousness which is lacking. Only 2% of the respondents were Asian, so it might also have been the small number in the sample.

Table 37  
Sexual harassment and marital status  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single/divorced</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>38%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 38  
Sexual harassment and marriage partner  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marriage Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>married to a Japanese</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married to a non-Japanese</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 39  
Sexual harassment and work status  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Status</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Student</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homemaker</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Full-time work</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>37%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of those who were sexually harassed, 75% were single. Married women reported sexual harassment much less; perhaps they are not in much contact with Japanese men in a work context or they may have been with their husbands at the parties. Those women with a Japanese husband reported being sexually harassed nearly twice as much as women with a non-Japanese marriage partner.
Students and full-time workers reported slightly higher than average instances of sexual harassment, indicating that many were thinking of sexual harassment in the work or school context. They also have more contact with Japanese men in those contexts. Part-time workers reported less harassment. Part-time workers are not usually invited to office parties. Non-working homemakers and mothers with children under 18 were a much smaller group of those who were sexually harassed. They might go to parties with their husbands or be with their children in public.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 40</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and place of residence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Country</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 41</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and length of time in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 6 mos.</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos.-1 year</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-2 years</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-5 years</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10 years</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11-20 years</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 20 years</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those living in towns had higher than average numbers while those in the country and cities had less than average percentages. One respondent wrote, "Men in small towns have only been exposed to Western women in pornography." Cities, however, have extensive public transport systems and many Japanese women have problems with molesters on trains and subways during the rush hour, so much so that Osaka policewomen are sometimes riding the subways hoping to catch molesters.

Length of time in Japan showed those in their first year in Japan had higher percentages than average, but those with the highest percentage were those living in Japan from 11 to 20 years; being in the country longer gives them a longer period during which something can happen. Those in the 3-10 year range and longer than 20 years had much smaller than average percentages. So the various so-called internationalization programs currently in vogue seem to have little result in the lowering of sexual harassment or in raising consciousness. One respondent wrote, "People don't realize what sexual harassment is, therefore men always plead ignorance in Japan."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 42</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and speaking ability in Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fluently</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 43</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and ability to understand Japanese</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very well</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>So-so</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A little</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not at all</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who speak Japanese fluently and well, as well as those who understand Japanese very well and well are above the average in percentages. Those who speak and
understand ‘not at all’ were far below average in reporting that they had been sexually harassed. Perhaps understanding Japanese well helps understand the sexual innuendo better.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 44</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 45</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>20–29</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30–39</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40–49</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50–59</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 46</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 cm.</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 47</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 48</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and hair color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 49</th>
<th>Sexual harassment and eye color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown/black</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey/blue</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green/hazel</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One often wonders if physical characteristics play an important role in sexual harassment. If white Caucasians are some sort of standard of beauty in advertising as Creighton suggests, and if they are used in pornography as one respondent suggests, and if blonds have more fun as American hair color advertising suggests, then do they receive more than the average share of sexual harassment? As for race, this has not been borne out in this study because Blacks reported a higher percentage of sexual harassment. Caucasians and Asians reported average percentages.

Younger women reported a higher percentage than average, with those in the other age groups reporting lower than average percentages. One might expect younger women to either receive more attention because they are young and they might have had less time to develop ‘stand-offish’ behavior. Maybe the men think they are a push-over because they are young. One must also consider than the young women were socialized starting in the 1970’s when consciousness of sexual harassment was being developed in their countries.

Tall women had a slightly higher than average percentage and short women a lower percentage.

72% of buxom women were sexually harassed and those with average body build were slightly less than average. Comments by two women are “in other countries my
breasts are considered normal" and "breasts are open property on television."

Although 64% of the women in the sample reported that they had been sexually harassed, 87% of the redheads in the sample reported they had been victims. Blonds were slightly higher than average with 69%, with brown hair slightly less, black hair even less and grey hair considerably less, but not a total zero.

Eye color showed very little difference, with brown or black eyes receiving less than average harassment. Grey–blue or green–hazel were slightly higher than average with 67 and 66% respectively.

Table 50
Sexual harassment and overseas living experience

| Lived overseas | 62% |
| Not lived overseas | 67 |

Table 51
Sexual harassment and overseas work experience

| Worked overseas | 60% |
| Not worked overseas | 66 |

Table 52
Sexual harassment, Japan compared with previous foreign countries

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>More</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Less</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is only a 5 and 6% difference between those who have lived and worked overseas before and those for whom Japan is a first time overseas experience. I had thought that maybe those with more experience would not see certain behaviors as sexual harassment. This was not the case.

36% the women who had been overseas thought that there was more sexual harassment in Japan than in other countries foreign to them while 22% thought less and 32% the same.

Physical characteristics and outrageous behavior. I wondered if physical characteristics had any bearing on the more outrageous behaviors of touching or grabbing breasts and hips, flashing and being the object of masturbation. I will look at the physical characteristics in terms of percentages of those who reported these behaviors. (See Appendix C for tables)

The highest percentages of those who wrote of touch as a typical or worst case experience were the following in each category: 91% Caucasian, 42% in the 160–170 cm. height range, 56% of average build and 53% with brown hair. The highest percentages of those who wrote of flashing were the following: 90% Caucasian, 48% in the 160–170 cm. height range, 67% with average body build, and 40% for both blond and brown hair.
The highest percentages of those who wrote of being objects of masturbation were the following: 97% Caucasian, 56% in the 160–170 cm. height range, 56% of average body build and 44% with brown hair. So Caucasians, those between 160–170cm., those with average body build, and those with brown hair seem to be the larger number of recipients of these outrageous behaviors, yet all categories of women have suffered from these outrageous behaviors.

Conclusion

Discrimination and sexual harassment exist in every culture, to a greater or lesser extent. Citizens and nations have a greater or lesser consciousness of the issues involved and stricter or less strict laws, enforced or unenforced, against these behaviors.

People have learned the beliefs, attitudes and values of their cultures. When anyone goes to live in another culture, there are bound to be stresses arising from the differences of cultures. Yet just because a person is different in a culture, there is no necessary reason for him to suffer from discriminatory behavior or for her to be sexually harassed.

Japanese culture is different from Western cultures and its people have been socialized in it. Foreign women do not like being on the receiving end of discriminatory behavior or sexual harassment. They sometimes see Japanese women endure, accept, or put up with sexual harassment and marvel at Japanese women. But they sometimes feel sorry for them for having to put up with it or feel confused as to why some Japanese women do accept it.

Western women have been socialized differently. They wonder if socialization and culture can be so strong as to make people ignore what is happening or to make them feel as if they deserve receiving such behavior simply because it is their place in society. As one woman puts it," I'm a woman, a Caucasian, a foreigner, and unmarried. To the Japanese men that makes me the lowest of the low." Another writes, “I don't fit the woman category here.” They are aware that they are different. Yet, even so, they still do not accept discriminatory behavior and sexual harassment as their due. Discrimination and sexual harassment are issues that deserve more consciousness on the part of the Japanese. One can never be thought of as ‘international’ if one thinks that human rights are the property of one nation or one sex alone.

That the majority of foreign women in this survey have come to Japan to live shows some interest in the culture and the fact that many of them have positive attitudes and feelings towards the Japanese after living here shows that they are unwilling to let the behavior of a few, or more than a few, to cloud their overall experience of this country. For this, I feel they should be commended.
Appendix A

These are the questions from the survey pertaining to discrimination, sexual harassment, previous overseas experience and personal information.

III Discrimination

11. Have you been discriminated against while in Japan? Yes ( ) No ( )
12. If yes, how often have you been discriminated against? Please estimate.
   ________ times a day  ________ times a week
   ________ times a month  ________ times a year
13. What was the reason for the discrimination? Check more than one, if you like.
   nationality ( ) race ( ) sex ( ) age ( ) marital status ( )
   physical characteristics ( ) Japanese language ability ( )
   other (write in) __________________________________________
14. How do you consider most of the incidents? major ( ) minor ( )
15. Describe some typical incidents that have happened to you. Continue on another page if you like.
   a. ______________________________________________________
   b. ______________________________________________________
   c. ______________________________________________________
   d. ______________________________________________________
   e. ______________________________________________________
16. Describe the worst incident that has happened to you.
   ______________________________________________________________________________________
   ______________________________________________________________________________________

IV Sexual Harassment

17. Have you been sexually harassed while in Japan? Yes ( ) No ( )
18. If yes, how often have you been sexually harassed? Please estimate.
   ________ times a day  ________ times a week
   ________ times a month  ________ times a year
19. Where were you sexually harassed?
   on public transport ( ) in eating and drinking establishments ( )
   while shopping ( ) at work ( ) at home ( )
   in public offices ( ) on the street ( )
   other (write in) _________________________________________
20. How did it affect you? I felt...
   disgusted ( ) angry ( ) surprised ( ) amused ( )
   other (write in) _________________________________________
21. Have you ever been "mashed" on public transport? Yes ( ) No ( )
22. If yes, how often were you "mashed" on public transport?
   very often ( ) often ( ) sometimes ( ) seldom ( ) never ( )
23. Describe some typical incidents of sexual harassment that happened to you. Continue on another page if you like.
   a. ______________________________________________________
   b. ______________________________________________________
   c. ______________________________________________________
   d. ______________________________________________________
   e. ______________________________________________________
24. Describe the worst incident that happened to you.

________________________________________________________________________

V Changes in Behavior

29. If you have been discriminated against, have you changed your behavior in some way to avoid discrimination? Yes ( ) No ( )

30. If yes, in what way(s)?
   a. ________________________________________________________________
   b. ________________________________________________________________
   c. ________________________________________________________________
   d. ________________________________________________________________
   e. ________________________________________________________________

31. If you have been sexually harassed, have you changed your behavior in some way to avoid sexual harassment? Yes ( ) No ( )

32. If yes, in what way(s)?
   a. ________________________________________________________________
   b. ________________________________________________________________
   c. ________________________________________________________________
   d. ________________________________________________________________
   e. ________________________________________________________________

VII Other Time Spent Overseas

35. Excluding Japan, have you lived in a country other than your own? Yes ( ) No ( )

36. Have you ever worked in another foreign country? Yes ( ) No ( )

37. Did you encounter discrimination in another foreign country you lived in? Yes ( ) No ( )

38. How would you compare discrimination against yourself in another foreign country with what you may have encountered in Japan?
   More blatant here ( ) Less blatant here ( ) About the same ( )
   More subtle here ( ) Less subtle here ( )

39. How would you compare sexual harassment against yourself in another foreign country with what you may have encountered in Japan?
   More here ( ) Less here ( ) About the same ( )

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Appendix B

These are percentages for the entire sample population, taken from information given in Section VIII “Personal Information’ of the questionnaire.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>American</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealander</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30–39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>40–49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>50–59</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational background</th>
<th>Race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High school</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>university</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>graduate school</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>86%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Height</th>
<th>Hair color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 cm.</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>43.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eye color</th>
<th>Body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brown/black</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey/blue</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green/hazel</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Marriage partner</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>single</td>
<td>75.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>married</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>divorced</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to a Japanese</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married to a non-Japanese</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Work Status</th>
<th>Length of time in Japan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Full-time work</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part-time work</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mother</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>homemaker</td>
<td>2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>student</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>retired</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under 6 mos.</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 mos.–1 year</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2 yrs.</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–5 yrs.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–10 yrs.</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–20 yrs.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20+ yrs.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time expected to stay in Japan</td>
<td>Place they live in Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1–2 years</td>
<td>City 57.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3–5 yrs.</td>
<td>Town 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6–10 yrs.</td>
<td>Country 14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10–20 yrs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indefinite</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forever</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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Appendix C

These are the tables for the outrageous behaviors of touching, flashing and masturbation with regard to the physical characteristics of race, height, body build and hair color.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>Touch and race</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>1</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>Touch and height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 cm.</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 3</th>
<th>Touch and body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4</th>
<th>Touch and hair color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5</th>
<th>Flashing and race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6</th>
<th>Flashing and height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 cm.</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7</th>
<th>Flashing and body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 8</th>
<th>Flashing and hair color</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9</th>
<th>Masturbation and race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negro</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caucasian</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>3</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10</th>
<th>Masturbation and height</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Under 150 cm.</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150–159 cm.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160–170 cm.</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 170 cm.</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 11</th>
<th>Masturbation and body build</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Buxom</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slim</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12</th>
<th>Masturbation and Hair color</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blond</td>
<td>39%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Red</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>0</td>
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Works Cited


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