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Sexual Harassment on College Campuses in Japan:
An investigation of actual conditions (実態状況)

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Fiona Creaser

1 3 NOV 2008

Department of East Asian Studies
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PhD Thesis
2007

Abstract

Sexual Harassment on College Campuses in Japan:
An investigation of actual conditions (実態状況)

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Fiona Creaser

Department of East Asian Studies
Durham University
2007

This thesis examines the issue of sexual harassment on college campuses in Japan and measures taken both at official and grassroots levels to combat the problem. Using competing methodologies the implications for both subjects and practitioners of researchers on sensitive subjects are analysed. Gender segregation in the Japanese school system, from the Meiji Restoration to the present day, is investigated in order to draw links between gender segregation, discrimination and the likelihood of sexual harassment at university level. Japanese legislation regarding sexual harassment is explored and the impact this has had on universities is examined. As a result of this new legislation universities were urged to establish guidelines and policies to protect themselves against both *quid pro quo* and hostile environment sexual harassment. The work of the "Campus Sexual Harassment National Network", established by the late Professor Kazuko Watanabe, is investigated. Surveys conducted by individual universities and national research groups are analysed to assess the actual conditions of sexual harassment at universities and on campuses. Visual and non-visual preventative strategies undertaken by universities are investigated and the effectiveness of sexual harassment committees and counselling services within Japanese universities are examined.

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Finally, I am indebted to my husband and my parents who have supported and encouraged me throughout the production of my thesis.

Declaration

The material in this thesis has never been submitted for a degree in this or any other university. It is based on the author`s individual research and has not previously been published.

Copyright

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Translation

Unless cited from a non-Japanese source, all translations are the work of the author.

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Preface

When I first decided to undertake my doctoral research on sexual harassment on university campuses in Japan, I knew I had a formidable task ahead of me. Initially, I had decided to examine the relationship between female faculty members and students. I intended to explore incidents of sexual harassment against female faculty members from students, concentrating on motives students felt, when sexually harassing someone with more legitimate authority than themselves. Accordingly, I designed a detailed plan, which I hoped would be the framework for my research during a two-year period of fieldwork in Japan. Before my departure for Japan, I had painstakingly deliberated on how to conduct research on such a sensitive subject in a cross-cultural setting. I had theorised and contextualised potential cultural problems and felt my research design incorporated enough flexibility to allow for unexpected hiccups along the way. However, one important point my detailed research design failed to include was that with each hiccup the focus of my research shifted and twisted until it became unrecognisable from the original design.

At first, each problem became yet another thorn in my research design, and it was difficult not to despair as I witnessed the deconstruction of carefully prepared research ideas. Yet, as time progressed I began to realise these problems represented an

added dimension of my research and each new dimension contextualised the problematic nature of my study in Japan, resulting in a collection of data from multifarious sources. It was not possible to record individual case histories about personal experiences of sexual harassment. The sensitivity of the subject meant that people were reluctant to come forward and speak openly about their own experiences. It would be extremely unethical to include personal narratives without individual consent; therefore I have attempted to reflect the seriousness of sexual harassment through descriptions at workshops and well documented, publicized cases of sexual harassment.

Reaction to my chosen research subject was often the same both in Japan and in Britain, usually people either became very afraid of what I was doing and physically backed away from me, or more often than not my research subject was deemed inconsequential and not worthy of academic research. This is not such an unusual problem for academic researchers who wish to conduct research on socially sensitive subjects. Researchers attempting to explore socially sensitive issues are often discouraged from doing so by colleagues or supervisors, a frequent reason for this being the perceived lack of significant data, necessary for sustaining advanced academic research. Researchers who are stubborn enough to pursue socially sensitive issues, in

spite of warnings from fellow academics, are easily exposed to prejudices, in the form of trivialisation of the research topic, or stigmatised pejorative connections between the researcher and the subject matter.[1]

As mentioned above, attitudes towards my research were far from encouraging, especially in the beginning. After arriving at my designated university in Japan, I immediately realised the subject matter of my research was just too sensitive for such a conservative institution. I understood the difficult position the university was in and although I felt extremely disappointed at not being able to carry out my original plan, I decided to restructure the focus of my research project and rethink my data collection methods. Altering the focus of my research from sexual harassment against female faculty to the broader topic of actual conditions of sexual harassment at Japanese universities brought a completely new batch of problematic issues, which needed to be addressed.

The first and most pressing problem I faced with was where to start looking for data about my research topic, and how to create a network of informants. My first major breakthrough came in the form of an innocuous flyer entitled: *Sekushuaru harasumento no nai kyanpasu wo!* (Say No to Sexual Harassment on College Campus!).

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[1] For example, if the research is about homosexuality then the researcher will be thought of as gay or if the research is about sexual abuse it may be presumed that the researcher is a victim of similar abuse (Lee 1993: 9).

The flyer gave details of a three-day workshop, held at Tokyo Women's Plaza,[2] organised by a group called Campus Sexual Harassment National Network (*kyanpasu sekushuaru harasumento zenkoku netto wāku*). At least two English translations of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network are in currently in use, namely: Network Against Sexual Harassment and Sexual Harassment on Campus: The National Network; the latter is also used in the abbreviated form SHOC-net (Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002; Takahashi 2003). I will refer to the network as the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network as I believe this is the most accurate translation of the Japanese in terms of the activities the network carries out.

It was because of the contacts I met in the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network that I began to achieve goals set out in my altered research design. Academics and non-academics involved with the network were genuinely interested in my research. I was invited to various universities to look at and discuss sexual harassment prevention polices, and because of this individual and collective generosity I was able to gather much data necessary for this study.

During the course of my fieldwork I was also introduced to Professor Ueno of Tokyo University, who generously allowed me use the facilities in her research office.

---

[2] Tokyo Women's Plaza is a large resource centre in Shibuya, Tokyo, it has an extensive library of Japanese and English materials about women's issues. Conferences, lectures, and seminars on subjects related to gender are also frequently held, there is also a counselling service available for women.

The sources I discovered here were invaluable in guiding me along the path I was eventually to take. What follows is the final production of my research. Although, drastically different from how I imagined, the results are nonetheless an important contribution towards research on sexual harassment at Japanese universities.

Chapter One

The Road Less Travelled: Predicaments, Plights and Puzzles Facing the Researcher of Sensitive Subjects.

After a long hot tiring day of workshops it was with mixed feelings that I sat down in the small hall surrounded by people I barely knew, still feeling like an outsider even after nearly two years of intense field work. Part of me just wanted to stand up and walk out, go home to my air-conditioned apartment and carry on the packing process for my return to Britain. I forced myself to stay, too tired to really take note of the conversations around me. Suddenly, a hush fell over the room and a young woman entered the centre stage, a narrator stood to one side, the play was about to begin.

The narrator explained that the woman in front of us was a student at a university living a normal student life until she experienced an incident of sexual harassment. This incident was performed in front of the audience and after the incident was over a large cloth bag was placed over the student's head. Each time the student experienced an incident of sexual harassment, no matter how trivial it may have seemed at the time, another bag was placed over the student's head until finally the student could hardly walk because of the amount of bags draped over her shoulders. The visual imagery of the play was profoundly powerful; each bag represented the burden sexual harassment had on the victim's psyche. Although the bags were empty the student had

so many of them draped around her she could hardly move. The full extent of the distress sexual harassment causes was plainly visible to everyone in the audience.[3]

That evening, as I was travelling across Tokyo, I began to consider what possible methods I could utilise in my thesis in order to create the same powerful message the play had sent out to its audience; namely, sexual harassment was extremely unwelcome, unwanted sexual behaviour, which should not and could not be neglected. Was it possible though, by putting pen to paper, to overcome socially ingrained prejudices and stereotypes about sexual harassment? Thus, this chapter was created as an attempt to dispel the myths and mysteries involved in doing research about such a socially sensitive and controversial subject.

Research related to sexual behaviour, in particular deviant sexual behaviour, is extremely sensitive and controversial. Subjects of this nature are more often than not taboo in the world of the researched and the researcher. Therefore, before research is conducted the researcher must feel comfortable with his or her subject and be ready to experience interesting and sometimes uncomfortable reactions to research questions, or theories posed.

---

[3] The play was performed at the eighth conference of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network.

The study of sexual harassment is no exception; sexual harassment is often trivialised by society and has, over the years, received negative press coverage. Initially, images of sexual harassment in the West stemmed from popular press and TV images of a helpless but beautiful secretary succumbing to the lecherous advances of her boss. Over a period of time new legislation in the West provided female employees with some form of redress when faced with sexual harassment in the workplace.

In 1992, because of a landmark trial in Fukuoka Prefecture, Japan, sexual harassment grabbed media attention. The trial was treated as the first trial in which a court decision was handed down because of sexual harassment.[4] It was also decided that although the victim was not the recipient of physical sexual abuse, it was impossible for her to continue her employment because of the verbal sexual harassment she had endured (Ueno 2000: 1).[5] During the same year, the term *sekuhara* became

---

[4] Tsunoda Yukiko in her article (1993) 'Sexual Harassment in Japan: Recent Legal Decisions' makes a similar comment to the ones made in Farley's publication *Sexual Shakedown* (1978), namely; although sexual harassment had recently been labelled as such, women had been subjected to this form of unwanted, unwelcome behaviour throughout history. As Tsunoda (1993: 53) clearly states:

> Indeed, the history of sexual harassment in Japan is clearly presented in Hosoi Wakizōs 1952 book *Jokō Aishi* (The pitiful conditions of women workers), the tragic story of young factory labourers who worked under oppressive conditions in the spinning and textile factories that at the time produced such crucial exports for Japan.

[5] This court case differed from previous court cases in that the company was sued as a co-defendant along with the perpetrator (Tsunoda 1993: 62). Since, the employers were also held accountable for the assailant's behaviour the Fukuoka case resulted in the inclusion of sexual harassment in the management-training curriculum and demand for a booklet on the subject by the Tokyo Metropolitan Labour and Economic Department ensued (Tsunoda 1993: 65).

popular and was often quoted in the male dominated mass media in order to ridicule females and devalue the true nature of the problem (Ueno 1997a: 1).

The term *sekuhara* itself, a Japanese abbreviation of the English term sexual harassment, was introduced into Japanese society in 1989, and the term is often used instead of the Japanese equivalent *seiteki iyagarase* (Iwao 1994: 204). Although I have not discovered any concrete evidence why the term was first coined another instance of the adoption of a loan word related to socially sensitive subjects was the title of Ochiai Keiko's novel *The Rape* (Ochiai 1985). Originally, Ochiai chose the Japanese title *Gōkan* for her novel, but the publishers rejected this term as they felt it would be too shocking for Japanese readers and she was forced to change the title to the Japanese version of the English word, namely *rēpu* (Buckley 1997: 233). Rape and sexual harassment are not behaviours, which have been adopted from the West, they have existed in Japanese society for centuries. However, by using Japanized foreign terms for these behaviours it is as if the Japanese are putting up a barrier and rejecting the notion that the problem stems from within Japan. Recently, amendments to Japanese legislation have led to an increased awareness of sexual harassment among employers,

and like their counterparts in the West Japanese employers are changing the way in which female employees are treated.[6]

It is not my intention in this chapter however, to focus on legislation and historical accounts of landmark cases of sexual harassment in Japan, these issues will be discussed later. My objective in this chapter is to examine key problematic areas the researcher of socially sensitive subjects encounters. I begin with the examination of definitions and dimensions of sensitive research subjects and the applicability of western definitions in a cross-cultural setting. In addition, there are the difficulties of accessing the desired data and focus groups, as well as having to negotiate with gatekeepers, those people who can grant access to the research topic at all levels of the research project. The issue of retaining access to data once initial admittance has been granted is explored and investigations into shifting identity patterns between the researcher and the researched, including bias and prejudices towards the researcher, are identified. Finally, I investigate the developing stages of trust between researchers and researched and the thorny issues researchers must contend with when writing about their research findings.

---

[6] In April 1999, a change in the Equal Opportunity Law meant that employers were now held accountable for incidents of sexual harassment, which occurred in the workplace.

Sensitive Issues: Definitions and Dimensions

Although, in some instances, the mere mention of sexual harassment can elicit strong emotive language and behaviours, this factor alone is not enough to define sexual harassment as a socially sensitive subject worthy of academic research. It is not enough to assume that because sexual harassment is dealing with deviant sexual behaviour, it will be seen by all as sensitive or controversial. Moreover, as mentioned previously, sexual harassment is often treated inconsequentially and *not* seen as a serious subject of research. In their article entitled 'Ethical and Professional Dimensions of Socially Sensitive Research' Sieber and Stanley (1988: 1) state:

> Socially sensitive research refers to studies in which there are potential social consequences or implications, either directly for the participants in the research or for the class of individuals represented by the research. For example, a study that examines the relative merits of day care for infants versus full-time care by the mother can have broad social implications and thus can be considered socially sensitive. Similarly, studies aimed at examining the relation between gender and mathematical ability also have significant social implications.

The article continues to describe a taxonomy which Sieber and Stanley believe may aid researchers in their analysis of socially sensitive research. This taxonomy divides socially sensitive research into the following four areas: formulation of the research question, conduct of research and treatment of participants, the institutional context, and interpretation and application of research findings (1988: 3). In addition, Sieber and

Stanley identify ten ethical issues which may occur in any of the four areas listed above. These issues cover problematic areas of privacy, confidentiality, valid methodology, deception, including self-deception, communication between the researcher and the researched, equitable treatment, scientific freedom, ownership of data, values and epistemologies, and the risk/ benefit ratio (1988: 6-8).

Virtually all of the examples Sieber and Stanley give to support their proposed taxonomy show the negative consequences socially sensitive research may have on both the researcher and the researched. The scope of Sieber and Stanley's definition of sensitive subjects is very broad and may include those subjects which might not normally be considered sensitive.

Lee (1993), in his book *Doing Research on Sensitive Topics*, develops Sieber and Stanley's definition of socially sensitive research by adding something he calls "the threat dimension;" by this he means "research which potentially poses a substantial threat to those who are or who have been involved in it" (1993: 4). The threats described by Lee are, intrusive threat, threat of sanction, and political threat. The intrusive threat refers to research in the private sphere whereby participants may feel high levels of stress discussing intensely personal aspects of their life. Threat of sanction occurs when there is the possibility that deviant activities may be exposed and

researchers are often accused of being spies for officialdom and treated with hostility by their target group. Political threat is related to research which encroaches on powerful organisations or elite members of society who have the power and the money to deflect any perceived negative research directed towards them (1993: 6-9).

In addition to the above threats participants in a particular research project may feel, Lee also discusses the potential costs or threats the researcher of sensitive subjects may be subject to (1993: 9-11). These threats may take on the possibility of real physical danger for example, research which is carried out in politically explosive or unstable communities or the researcher of socially sensitive issues may face political, personal, and or academic stigmatisation or persecution. Moreover, researchers may in some incidences be more at risk of threat by simply being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Moreno (1995) recounts a harrowing tale of being raped at gunpoint whilst conducting fieldwork in Africa. Although her research was not about a sensitive subject her experience highlights the dangers researchers face in the field. At the time of the rape her life was in danger; at the time of writing about the rape years later, potential legal consequences prevented Moreno from putting her own name to the piece of writing. She tells us:

> Just before the proofs were about to be set, Routledge contacted me and suggested that my contribution be changed to make "Yonas" even more

impossible to identify. Calling him by a pseudonym, as I had done (and continue to do) was not considered sufficient to ward off a possible slander suit against Routledge from 'Yonas'...I chose to publish the chapter using a pseudonym for myself. My use of a pseudonym is therefore not to protect my own identity but, rather (and I hope that the weighty irony here is not lost on anybody), to protect the identity of the rapist.

(Moreno 1995: 248)

The above quotation shows not only the physical risk researchers find themselves in but also the sanctions which are imposed upon the researcher when they try to publish personal experiences.

In his article entitled 'Walking the Line: The personal and professional risks of sex education and research' Troiden (1987) writes candidly about social stigmas attached to sexuality experts. He says:

> Stereotyped expectations cast sexuality professionals into several possible moulds: as questioning the unquestionable, multiply flawed, sexually unusual, unworthy of belief, undermining traditional values, or advocating the practices investigated.
>
> (Troiden 1987: 242)

Research on socially sensitive subjects is both active and reactive research; frequently the researcher is forced to find imaginative ways in which to carry out their research. Often reaction to the research project is unpredictable and in some cases extreme, pressuring the researcher to conform to the status quo or face academic isolation. Laud Humphreys (1970) for example, was seen as a "voyeur and trouble maker" (Sieber 1993: 21), and was severely criticised for his covert data collection methods in his

research about homosexual public practices (Burgess 1984: 186-189; Punch 1994: 88-89). By concentrating on his surreptitious data gathering techniques other important issues such as why were these methods thought to be necessary to the research project and how can researchers learn from this were overlooked. Sexual harassment researchers are also subject to much of the above stigmatisation and must tread with extreme caution when gathering evidence.

As a researcher of sexual harassment my investigations were questioning the unquestionable; sex in general is not openly discussed in most societies and Japan is no exception. For example, one workshop I attended was a workshop about self defence. Prior to learning and practising self-defence techniques we all sat in a circle and were encouraged to talk about any unwelcome sexual experiences we had encountered. One woman began to speak about a common but serious problem on trains in Japan: namely, being molested by perverts otherwise known as *chikan* in Japanese.[7] She recounted an incident which happened to her when she was a high school student travelling on a train, that was virtually empty. A man standing close by took his penis out of his trousers and masturbated in front of her, eventually ejaculating on her school bag.

---

[7] Almost all women who have commuted by train in Japan have at some time in their life come across a *chikan* incident. Usually this form of unwanted sexual physical abuse takes the form of groping a woman's buttocks or breasts on a crowded commuter train. Packed like sardines it is often impossible for a woman to escape until she can exit the train. Many women are too shocked or too embarrassed to shout out and all too often endure this behaviour until they can break free. A sad indictment of the prevalence of this kind of behaviour is the increase in women only cars at peak commuting times.

Suddenly, a flood of stories began to pour out of women who had experienced exactly the same thing as high school students. One middle aged women, still visibly upset by the incident, recounted how a man had ejaculated onto her school skirt and stained her skirt. The young girl, as she was then, was more worried about how she would explain the stain to her mother than anything else; in other words she was terrified of telling her mother the truth. During the first twenty minutes of the workshop these women had successfully spoken about an extremely sensitive and taboo area of their lives. In this incident by questioning the unquestionable old wounds were reopened and hopefully in most cases, if not all, were completely healed without the feelings of fear or embarrassment.

In addition to questioning the unquestionable, my research was also deemed by some to be unworthy of belief or to be undermining traditional values of Japanese society. Japanese people, both male and female, with strong views of how Japan should be portrayed to the international world, refused to openly believe my research had any validity at all. They were shocked that I was trying to study a social problem in Japan rather than studying a nice, uncontroversial aspect of the culture. I do not dispute that Japan has a rich, vibrant culture worthy of study but, like any other nation, Japan has social problems, which need to be taken seriously and tackled at an academic level.

The consequences of my research were potentially grave, and, unsurprisingly, universities were reluctant to admit sexual harassment or sexual discrimination happened on campus, for fear of tarnishing their reputations. A university's reputation in Japan is paramount to its success; competition for students is particularly fierce, and as the population declines, smaller less well-known universities have to fight to remain in business.[8] On another level sexual harassment is a deeply sensitive subject for the victims who have experienced such unacceptable behaviour. Speaking about their experiences may bring back floods of memories that they would rather forget; even if sexual harassment happened only once it can leave an everlasting impression on the human psyche. If the victim is in the middle of proceedings against the university or the perpetrator they may not feel able to speak out for fear that it will disadvantage their case, or the memories may just be too painful to recall and recount.[9]

On the other hand, a researcher may approach a topic with sensitivity and caution only to discover the topic under investigation is not perceived as 'sensitive' to

---

[8] For information regarding the declining population in Japan and its consequences see (Eto 2001; Goodman 2002; Klitsch 1994; Ogawa 1993).

[9] Kono (2001) gives a moving account about the trauma of taking a case of sexual harassment to court in one of the most infamous cases of to happen in Japan. The whole experience has had such a profound effect on her that she is now a professional feminist councillor and is dedicated to helping other victims of abuse. Bergen (1993: 208) recounts how one of the women she interviewed about marital rape became extremely distressed when recalling her experiences and had to be counselled by Bergen after the interview. During the course of my fieldwork I encountered a woman at a training course who told the story of her friend who had committed suicide because of fierce and persistent sexual harassment at work. The woman was obviously traumatised by the experience and was offered counselling by professionals; it was also a sobering reminder of the seriousness of sexual harassment and its consequences.

those people represented by the research findings. One reason for this might be that the participant's lifestyle has become the norm and so they do not consider their way of life to be sensitive or controversial. On the other hand, a topic, which might not be perceived as a socially sensitive issue, may in fact, be very sensitive to those who will be either directly or indirectly involved with the research. To complicate matters further participants in the research may have mixed opinions and views about the research subject and some may see it as sensitive, whereas others may not.

For example, with my own research, I discovered conflicting opinions about sexual harassment. Some individuals spoke very candidly about their own experiences and feelings about sexual harassment whereas others were more reticent to discuss the issue. Japanese women, in particular, were very cautious about talking to me and much of what I learnt about particular incidents of sexual harassment at universities was told 'off the record.' On the other hand, the men I met in Japan were only too willing to discuss sexual harassment with me, which on one occasion resulted in conflicting information. One male university professor informed me there was no sexual harassment or discrimination at all at his university. A female professor from the same university was too nervous to meet me face to face but did send me a letter informing me that sexual harassment and sexual discrimination against women were commonplace in the

university. The male professor gave me permission to use his identity in the final production of my thesis, but I was faced with the dilemma of identifying him and risking exposing the identity of his female colleague or keeping both identities a secret; I chose the latter.

Lee (1993a) identified the following areas as those that are more likely to be considered socially sensitive for individuals involved in the research:

> (a) where research intrudes into the private sphere or delves into some deeply personal experience, (b) where the study is concerned with deviance and social control (c) where it impinges on the vested interests of powerful persons or the exercise of coercion or domination, and (d) where it deals with things sacred to those being studied that they do not wish profaned.
>
> (Lee 1993a: 6)

The study of sexual harassment falls into the first three categories outlined above firstly, sexual harassment delves into the personal lives of individuals; secondly, it is concerned with deviance and social control, deviance because of the behaviour of the perpetrator and social control because sexual harassment is an abuse of power. On a political level, some cases of sexual harassment in Japan have impinged on the vested interests of powerful individuals, who have tried to use their reputations to manipulate court proceedings in their favour (Kono 2001).

On a more practical level individuals who have experienced sexual harassment may feel that being asked probing questions about their experiences is a breach of their

privacy, and are unwilling to cooperate with the researcher. As mentioned previously many individuals were willing to help and offer advice on an anecdotal level but were reticent to become involved any further with my work. Accessing data at all stages of the research project involved careful planning and negotiation with gatekeepers in the hope that relevant doors will open.

Accessing the Data (Negotiating with Gatekeepers)

The term gatekeeper is used to describe those people/ institutions or funding bodies who grant permission for the research to be conducted or allow a research project to be funded. Gatekeepers are present at all levels of research on sensitive subjects beginning at the political level of trying to apply for funding for the research project,[10] at the ideological level and the possibility of rejection based on moral or ethical grounds[11] and finally on a practical level of trying to persuade the people directly involved in the research to participate and cooperate with the researchers wishes.[12] In other words, the researcher must devise a way in which the research topic will be

[10] See (Nilan 2002: 20), for a detailed account of the difficulties of adapting a research project to funding application forms.

[11] Sieber (1993), refers to a research project about the sex lives of Americans and how it was thwarted before it began by powerful and influential religious groups who objected to the morality of such research.

[12] Brewer (1993)on his research about Northern Ireland, tells us how easy it was to acquire permission to conduct his research from high level officials in the police force because they were not directly involved in the research. However, it was more difficult to negotiate with the actual participants of the research as they resented the intrusion into their personal and professional lives.

acceptable to others. However, socially sensitive subjects court controversy and the acceptability of a research project is often based on a gatekeeper's subjective decision (Sieber 1993: 17-18). Like a chess player, the researcher of sensitive subjects must second-guess their opponent's next move but anticipating a gatekeeper's response to a project is no easy task. If the research design is rejected the pawns are lost before they begin to move and the game is over.

Even if the gatekeeper accepts the research design, this is not a foolproof way of accessing the desired data, as Lee points out:

> Indeed, the more sensitive or threatening the topic under examination the more difficult sampling is likely to be, because potential participants have a greater need to hide their involvement.
>
> (Lee 1993: 30)

Bergen (1993), a professional councillor, found it extremely difficult to access information on marital rape. Because of the sensitivity of the subject under investigation, Bergen decided to contact women's shelters and organisations to see if they would put her in contact with survivors of marital rape. These organisations were the gatekeepers, holding the key to the valuable research data necessary for her report. Although, these organisations were involved with the type of people Bergen wanted to interview, many refused to grant her access to their clients. She says:

> The most common reason for not granting me access to the organization is on the grounds that the center does not have any contact with victims of

> marital rape. This response is particularly distressing when it comes from battered women's shelters and rape crisis centers who have more contact with marital rape survivors than any other type of organisation.
>
> (Bergen 1993: 205)

Bergen (1993: 205) believed it was a lack of information about marital rape within these organisations which lead the gatekeepers to believe they have no contact with victims. In Japan, people were unwilling to believe sexual harassment occurred because they had never witnessed it; however, this attitude indicates a lack of understanding about the very nature of sexual harassment. Many incidents of sexual harassment happen behind closed doors making it difficult for the victims to come forward and report the incident.

Moreover, research on socially sensitive issues in a foreign county increases the risk of rejection based purely on cultural differences between one's own county and the country under examination. A gatekeeper who is a native of the country may see the research project as a cultural attack and the job of the foreign researcher then takes on an additional role. He or she must tiptoe through a minefield of cultural differences in order to gain the approval of the gatekeepers involved, and acting in an inappropriate manner can cost the researcher dearly.[13] During the course of my research, I came

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[13] Nilan (2002: 382) describes an incident in a night club in Bali; she was attempting to research young people's activities at night. Nilan decided she would be less conspicuous if she hired a male prostitute to show her around the club; he was a valuable informant but using him did open up many ethical questions:

> However, the moral dilemma of having engaged a young male sex-worker as my paid informant remains, as does the question of whether it is ethical practice to merely observe young people engaged in criminal and high-risk behaviour without warning them in any way, or notifying anyone about it.
>
> (Nilan 2002: 381)

across many gatekeepers with varying degrees of power, sometimes I was successful at negotiating access to data and at other times I was not.

Once access to data or participants was granted, maintaining access to narrators and data was often as problematic as gaining admittance in the first instance.[14] Chalmers (2002: 9) faced the same problem of retaining access to the research group in her research about lesbians in Japan. Once Chalmers had been introduced to lesbian groups she did not realise the provisional nature of her ostensible successful arrival. Although sexuality was a common point between Chalmers and the women she wanted to study, this did not mean she had automatic rites of passage to conduct her research. Kelsky (2001: 429-430) felt much the same about her position as a feminist researcher in Japan, she says:

> I see in my efforts to write an ethnography of Japanese women's internationalism a kind of "feminist ethnography as failure," in the sense that feminist alliance in the field was for the most part a possibility left unachieved, a hope left unfulfilled.

Other consequences of this action were that once people in the neighbourhood discovered what had happened, they began to ignore her. Rumours spread about a boyfriend, and even when Nilan tried to explain why she had hired the young man, she still had the feeling that she was not believed (Nilan 2002:376). Another example of difficulties encountered by researchers in cross-cultural settings is that by Curran (1993) who gives a detailed account of the difficulties social science researchers face in China, post-Tiananmen square.

[14] Ayella (1993) gives examples of difficulties researchers face when trying to do research on religious cults. Accessing the target cult can be problematic in that some cults are very sceptical of the researcher's intentions. Some researchers do gain access to the groups they want to study for example, if the researcher is already known to the group, then accessing the group may not be so problematic. Eileen Barker (1984) was sought out by the Unification Church and after negotiating for two years with the group, she was allowed to conduct research about the group on her own terms. On the other hand, Wallis (1977) presented himself incognito to the scientology cult and was forced to leave after two days. Wallis then had to explain his actions when he approached the group in an official capacity.

Both Chalmers and Kelsky felt let down by a commonality, which they felt should have unified the bond between the researcher and the researched. The researcher is a transient being, flitting in and out of people's lives, taking what is necessary and discarding what is not. Realising the differences within a similarity is possibly the most difficult aspect of fieldwork a researcher in a foreign country must come to terms with. Maintaining prolonged and intense relationships with gatekeepers and key players is emotionally draining and extremely time consuming, not only for the researcher, but also for the researched. For example, for some participants in my research, sexual harassment was only a small part of a wider spectrum of gender related activities they were involved with. For others, it was simply a matter of children and family life taking precedence over my research. Many of the women I met juggled family life with work and activism on many different projects related to sexual discrimination. During my time in the field, new legislation about domestic violence came into force, consequently, many feminist based workshops concentrated on this issue rather than sexual harassment.

Troubled Identity (The Insider Looking Out, The Outsider Looking In)

> From a symbolic interactionist perspective, the social world is composed of individuals continuously creating and recreating meaning through interaction.
>
> (Murray 2003: 380)

Human interaction follows a complex set of rules, which are in a constant state of development and change. The way we act and interact in front of lovers, family, peers, work colleagues and strangers is a multifaceted evolutionary process of self-identification. In childhood we are taught the basic rules of behaviour befitting situated social settings. From these early lessons in appropriate behaviour we are able to identify with and mark out social boundaries, something we carry over into adulthood. Working and living in a foreign environment with a different culture from the one we have been brought up in can result in feelings of loneliness and isolation, and produce high levels of stress. These symptoms, otherwise known as culture shock, result, in part, from a re-evaluation and reassessment of our already socially constructed identity back home. There is no immunisation against culture shock and the researcher, by definition alone, is not exempt from shifting identity patterns during the course of fieldwork carried out in a foreign environment.[15]

Problems of self-identification are complex; for example, post-colonial feminist researchers returning to their culture of origin to carry out academic research may feel like outsiders. Much has been written about the challenges of postcolonial feminist research in opposition to white western feminist orientated research (Parameswaran

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[15] Wolf (1996a: 7) comments upon the traditional sink or swim attitudes towards fieldwork which has often meant students are ill-equipped to deal with the realities and complexities involved in the fieldwork process.

2001). This binary discourse poses immediate problems in that it does not allow any scope for those researchers who fall into neither category. Very little, if anything at all, is written about western researchers, who after spending a substantial amount of time living and working in a foreign country, return to that country as an academic researcher. Kelsky (2000) had a similar problem when conducting her research, and her identity as a western woman married to a Japanese man in some instances hindered rather than helped with her research, she says:

> During my fieldwork, I found that both my personal convictions as a feminist, which prevented me from simply accepting informants' claims about an egalitarian, liberating West, and my personal circumstances, which directly contradicted informants' foundational beliefs in the abjection and unacceptability of Japanese men, made rapport difficult, at times impossible.
>
> (Kelsky 2000: 419)

Returning to Japan to conduct my research was like returning home; after working in Japan for a prolonged length of time, Britain felt more alien to me than Japan did. On a personal level I had more friends and contacts in Japan than I had in Britain; my identity had already shifted and I no longer felt like an outsider in a foreign land.

Foreigners entering Japan for the first time are immediately seen as an outsider and are categorised as either *gaikokujin* or *gaijin*; as a white woman from the West I fell

into the latter category.[16] However, to view my relationships with Japanese people in terms of foreigner versus Japanese is far too simplistic. To regard the research in such black and white images would not only fail to address the grey areas but, also the splashes of colour, which enhanced and developed the project. Interaction among human beings varies according to situational events taking place and being a foreigner in Japan forms the way in which people interact with you, but does not necessarily dictate social interaction at all times during the research process. The researcher acts and reacts to situations they find themselves in and likewise the participants act and react to the researcher. To ignore shifting patterns of identity and work only from the standpoint of an outsider ignores the multifarious interactions of Japanese people. It also implies that Japanese culture is impregnable, and the diametrically opposed concepts of 'us' and 'them' can never be breached.

Japanese people too are taught from a very early age how to act and interact in certain social settings; these lessons are reflected in language and actions, which clearly define those social groups closest to you as *uchi* and those furthest from you as *soto*.[17]

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[16] The usual term for a foreigner in Japan is *gaijin* (outside person) or *gaikokujin* (outside country person), the former expression is used for Caucasian foreigners and the latter is used for blacks and other Asians (Chalmers 2002: 13; Creighton 1997: 12).

[17] A Japanese child first learns the dimensions of *soto* and *uchi* as the inside and outside of the house, the outside being dirty and unsafe as opposed to the safe secure world of the inside of the house. *Uchi* can also mean ones house or ones home and the people of Osaka have taken this one step further and have taken *uchi* to mean 'I'(Makino 2002: 29). Children are thus taught to take their shoes off when entering the home, leaving the unclean outside world behind (Hendry 1995: 44).

Uchi also takes on the meaning of special involvement; *uchi* and *soto* are expressed through behaviour and language. A child will soon be able to distinguish between the inner (*uchi*) groups and wider (*soto*) circles of social interaction (Hendry 1995: 45; Makino 2002: 31). These inner and outer social groups are intricately intertwined and are expressed in the duality of the daily public (*tatemae*) and private (*hone*) face Japanese people fluctuate between. In other words, inner and outer groups are not static, immutable, life-long arrangements they are in a constant state of flux and development according to the social circles one moves in.

Throughout the duration of my fieldwork in Japan I found myself caught up between conflicting identities of outsider/insider, which was at times problematic, both on a personal and professional level. On a personal level I found my closest Japanese friends becoming increasingly frustrated at what they perceived to be my lack of direction in life. I had met my friends whilst working as a research assistant in a Japanese company and we had all begun our relationships at the same social level, namely: female corporate workers. By becoming a postgraduate and changing the direction of my career I had alienated some of my closest friends in Japan. Inadvertently, I had reminded my friends of the gender inequalities existing between Japan and Britain: I was able to do something they could not. Consequently, many of

my friends regarded my lifestyle as childish and immature and could not distinguish between their perceptions of undergraduate lifestyles and postgraduate research.[18]

Hendry, in 'The paradox of friendship in the field: Analysis of a long-term Anglo-Japanese relationship,' discusses the advantages and limitations of using friends as informants for a research project. Although my friends were not informants and socialising with them was a part of my private life, there are some similarities between my friends' behaviour and that of Sachiko in Hendry's account. During these social gatherings my friends would naturally ask me about my research and I candidly spoke openly about my work revealing my innermost opinions and ideas. Hendry points out that:

> In Japan, a friend is one of the few people likely to hear one's true opinions on a subject, ones *honne* as opposed to *tatemae*, or polite front, more commonly presented to the world at large.
>
> (Hendry 1992: 172)

I began to realise that the more opinions I gave about my research the cooler my friends' attitudes became towards me, and, eventually invitations to social gatherings

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[18] Samuel Coleman (2003: 111) mentions a similar problem of identification during the course of fieldwork in Japan, he says:

> In my birth control research, sensitivity to terminology in Japanese also proved critical to managing my image. When I began my stint in the field, I wrote up a business card that identified me as a foreign "research student" (*kenkyūsei*), the official term for my status under the Japanese university that offered me an affiliation. It drew the comment that I was "rather young" (read: too young) to be studying such a serious and sensitive topic as birth control, even though I was then thirty years old and married. I promptly changed the title on my card to "research fellow" (*kenkyūin*).

and day trips together virtually dried up. I now understand that even though my comments and opinions were more often than not positive reflections on my fieldwork, the very nature of discussing a socially sensitive topic, even in a positive light, was taboo, and as time passed my foreignness became ever more apparent. The rift created between myself and my friends narrowed slightly only towards the end of my fieldwork when things were winding down and I was making preparations to leave but it was never completely healed.

Chalmers (2002, 2002a) and Blackwood (1995) both describe the problems of shifting identities during the course of their research. Chalmers describes how she felt like an insider when everything was running smoothly and a part of the community. For Chalmers, a lesbian herself, carrying out research about lesbians resulted in the formation of close friendships, but not all friendships ran smoothly and she reminds us of the changeable nature of interpersonal relationships during fieldwork.

> While I tried to sustain friendly relations with most women I met, this does not mean that I agreed with or became friends with all the women I met and interviewed, and the nature and intensity of our relationships constantly changed. Thus, inherent in living any social reality are the contradictory, inconsistent, conflictual as well as positive emotional affinity shifts that occur over time and place.
>
> (Chalmers 2002: 11)

Towards the completion of her field research certain things began to go wrong and she tells of a sudden switch in her position to outsider, a position which left an array of

complex emotions from sadness to anger (Chalmers 2002a: 10). The withdrawal of informants from her research at such a late stage was not only a setback in her research but also a deeply personal experience too:

> On a personal level, the withdrawal of these women caused me great distress, anger and sadness as I had already been working and collecting stories for one year. More significant however was that it also resulted in the end of a number of close friendships.
>
> (Chalmers 2002: 4)

Data collection and field methodology may be influenced by gender, age, ethnic background, and personal biography of the researcher (Bergen 1993; Burgess 1984). Culter (2003: 226) makes some pertinent remarks about the influence of gender and age when conducting research in Japan. She warns that a female researcher in Japan may have to deal with certain cultural differences regarding gender and age that they may not come across in their own country. Glenda S. Roberts (2003: 310) recounts a cautionary tale of an unpleasant fieldwork experience she had with a senior colleague and his overfriendly advances towards her in her own home. As a result the avenues leading to that particular line of enquiry were deliberately closed. Previously, having worked in Japan for an extensive period of time, I was well aware of the different expectations between male and females, and I naively assumed any resistance to my research would be voiced by men not women. What I was not prepared for, however, was the backlash I received from some females I encountered along the way.

One can list numerous factors and *what if* scenarios about reactions to researchers in the field; however, to a certain degree, everybody's experiences will be different and people will encounter positive and negative reactions to their research based on a variety of reasons as the following quotation from Maurice Punch illustrates:

> Gender, and race close some avenues of inquiry but clearly open up others...In masculine worlds the female researcher may have to adopt various ploys to deal with prejudice, sexual innuendo, and unwelcome advances.
>
> (Punch 1994: 87)[19]

Male researchers may also have to find tactics to ward off unwelcome female attention. Hamabata (1990) had to act boyish and immature when surrounded by the upper class housewives, who were helping him with his research, because of their constant efforts to try and marry him off. Killick felt compelled to explain his position as a white straight male in Korea and distance himself from being identified with an image of the white straight male as a sexual exploiter of the exotic, "an image that has a firm basis in both colonial history and current reality."

(Killick 1995: 80)

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[19] Huddy, (1997) makes the interesting point that until the advent of telephone interviews to collect data there tended to be an over reliance on female interviewers as they were seen as less threatening than men.

Kondo (1990) eloquently discusses the issue of being a Japanese American and the potential problems this may cause. For example, she felt that Japanese people saw her as an oxymoron, she was both Japanese and not Japanese, and people reacted to her mistakes in the Japanese language in a less gracious fashion than they would if the person they were talking to was a non-Japanese American (Kondo 1990: 11). The result was what Kondo calls "Fragmentation of Self", by which she means the detachment of her American self from her Japanese self (Kondo 1990: 14). This splinter in her identity reached a critical point one day as she saw her reflection in a shop window; Kondo was surprised to see what looked like a "typical young housewife" staring back at her. Her reaction was extreme and the only way she felt she could create a distance from her Japanese life was to physically remove herself from her "exclusively Japanese environment" (Kondo 1990: 17). An increasing amount of research is beginning to examine the influence race has on the researcher or the researched (Kalof 2001; Thierry Texeira 2002).

In addition, living a silent dual existence because of one's sexuality is also beginning to be discussed within academic circles. For example, Blackwood (1995: 60-61) talks about her frustration about feeling compelled to keep her lesbian identity a secret from her host mother with whom she had a very close relationship. Eventually,

this frustration led her to tell her host mother the truth, that she was in fact a lesbian. Fortunately for Blackwood the revelation was accepted on the condition that Blackwood "should not engage in such practices here (meaning both her house and her country) (1995: 61)."

One Interpretation of Difference

Very little, if anything, is said about those researchers who are physically different from the average person, I was born with one hand and people's reaction to this vary greatly. Given the increasing amount of academic literature describing the background and bias of the researcher (in order to establish a framework from which the subject can be understood) is it ethical for the researcher to omit vital information on prejudices faced in the field which are a direct result of having a physical difference and not a result of gender, race, or sexuality?

Choosing not to disclose such information is understandable as it adds a new dimension to the prejudices researchers of socially sensitive subjects already face. Is it more prudent to remain faceless, hidden behind one's gender, race, or sexuality, or is there a moral responsibility to create a voice for subsequent researchers with similar differences? For someone like myself, who has grown up being different from others, it

is easy to identify both positive and negative bias related to my arm, rather than gender, however; explaining this in writing to an unseen audience is much more problematic.

The first problem is how to categorise this physical difference in a positive way, the safest and most obvious way to categorise an unusual physical difference like mine is to call it a disability. However, in my opinion the word disability is an overused and under defined term which hinders, rather than helps. By placing oneself under the huge umbrella of the disabled world, one immediately becomes genderless, sexless, and without race. Abu-Habib in her book *Gender and Disability: Women's Experiences in the Middle East*, eloquently describes the difficulties women with disabilities face when compared with men with disabilities. Although her publication concentrates on the Middle East, much of what she says in terms of prejudice and discrimination can be applied to the Western world too.

Secondly, overcoming negative western views of people with one hand and supplanting them with credible positive accounts has been impossible to do. For example; from early childhood, in the West, we are introduced to the greatest one-handed villain of all time; namely, the image of Walt Disney's Captain Hook based on the book and play by J.M. Barrie.

For most individuals the introduction of this villain perhaps has little impact on their young lives, but for someone like me it was my first introduction to the world of difference and to the prejudices one must face as a result of people's ignorance and fear.[20]

Following on from the negative image of Captain Hook we also find images of villains without hands or arms in the children's film series "Inspector Gadget" or in James Bond films. The most recent national vilification of a person with one hand in Britain is that of the Muslim cleric Abu Hamza al-Masri. I realise Abu Hamza al-Masri is an extremely controversial figure and to say emotions run uncommonly high with regard to his views would be a gross understatement. However, newspaper

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[20] Without turning this into an autobiographical account of my use of artificial arms, suffice it is to say that I personally favour the use of split hooks.

articles like the images on the following page emphasising his split hooks as a point of ridicule, cause extreme offence to people like myself. Moreover; this offence seems to be socially acceptable!

If we compare the above negative images with positive images of people who lose hands and then regain them in some robotic form as in the case with the television series "The Bionic Man" and Luke Skywalker's robotic arm in "Star Wars", then the message is clear. It is perfectly acceptable to have one hand as long as you cover it up and endeavour to look as though you have two.

During the course of my research some people's reactions to my arm directly influenced my research project in both negative and positive ways. For example,

doors were closed and introductions cancelled or doors were opened and a free flow of information was given. Both positive and negative responses were unwelcome and difficult to deal with, a negative response caused immediate pain and upset, and a positive response generated feelings of extreme discomfort that one can only imagine as how unwilling freaks feel at a freak show experience. I had no choice but to attempt to control situations as much as possible, or sidestep the most disdainful behaviour in order to acquire appropriate data for my project.

Ethics of Reporting and Writing Findings: Trust, Confidentiality, and the Fear of Exposure.

Trust is a key ingredient of research on socially sensitive issues, and protection of identity is a very real fear people have when deciding to become involved in research of this kind. Steps need to be taken to gain the trust of those individuals who are to participate in the research. If care is not taken, dangers of exploitation arise as any breach of confidentiality may result in identification of the respondent, which may result in embarrassment and/or danger for the person or people involved (Brannen 1988: 552). Protecting a subject's privacy is of paramount importance; the more deviant and secretive the activity; the more the subject will fear exposure (Punch 1994: 92-93). If

trust is to be established it is inevitable that the researcher must give as well as take, and so compromise traditional theories of objectivity.[21]

There were clearly defined steps I had to go through to gain the trust of those individuals willing to help with my research. After preliminary meetings at conferences, or training courses, I handed my name card to people I thought would be interested in talking to me. I then contacted these people soon after a formal gathering, requesting to meet them in private to discuss my research. I was astounded by people's hospitality, and was taken out to dinner or for coffee and cakes and was made to feel most welcome by the majority of people I met. Bergen recounts similar experiences of being at the reciprocal end of generous hospitality from the women she interviewed:

> In fact, the women went to great lengths to be hospitable by offering me beverages and snacks. On occasion, I even joined the family dinner, which I interpreted as a strong indication that we had surpassed the traditional interviewer/ interviewee model of interaction and established a level of personal interaction.
>
> (Bergen 1993: 207)

At this personal level of interaction the conversation about sexual harassment flowed freely and individuals were willing to impart juicy bits of gossip about staff, faculty

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[21] Becker (1967: 239) argues that the dilemma of neutrality is in fact not a dilemma at all he states:
> For it [neutrality versus a valued position], one would have to assume, as some apparently do, that it is indeed possible to do research that is uncontaminated by personal and political sympathies. I propose to argue that it is not possible and therefore, that the question is not whether we should take sides, since we inevitably will, but rather whose side are we on.

members, and students. Although these snippets of information were intriguing they were said on the understanding that they would not be revealed in my thesis.

Once the researcher leaves the field they then have the difficult task of writing about their findings and producing an academically accepted piece of work. Studies on sexuality, sexual harassment, child abuse, rape, drug abuse, and crime syndicates are emotive, political, and sometimes even dangerous. Initial barriers notwithstanding, devising an academically approved archetype methodology, which incorporates sufficient flexibility to sustain the volatility of the data under examination, is a formidable task. Moreover, maintaining a standard methodology to include non-standard data is sometimes impossible to achieve, leaving the project open to criticism once it has been completed (Lee 1993: 22).

Herbert (1989) in *Talking of Silence: The Sexual Harassment of School Girls*, drew upon four different methodologies to construct a framework for her research, namely: traditional ethnography, action research, feminist research, and democratic research. She highlights the apposite and inapposite characteristics of these methodologies and the process of combining relevant theories to create an academically

recognised publication.[22] Herbert justifies her decision to use these four methodologies stating:

> The decision to combine these four particular research methods was taken in order to construct a methodology that would be able to cope with the inherent problems of collecting data on sexual harassment and it was from these methods that the principles and procedures that underpin this project were taken.
>
> (Herbert 1989: 41)

"Inherent problems" have *dogged* researchers of sexual harassment since Farley (1978) first coined the phrase in the 1970s. Media-fuelled derogatory images of sexual harassment contribute to misunderstandings and misrepresentations of the subject making it increasingly difficult for researchers to break through the wall of guilt and shame often felt by victims. Frustration is often compounded by the lack of malleable research methods, which allow for validation of materials and maximum data collection and usage.

Researching sexual harassment in Japanese universities was no exception; problems of gathering both primary and secondary data were a challenging and frustrating experience. Anxiety over correct academic methods of both primary and secondary data collection was an almost daily occurrence. Previous to entering the field, preparations had included reading material about coping with feelings of isolation

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[22] For further readings on action research see Winter (1987) and Zuber-Skerritt (1991).

and culture shock when moving into a foreign community. Nothing, however, can prepare for the intensity of actual emotions felt once in the field, or the exhausting days spent travelling on crowded commuter trains from one end of Tokyo to the other chasing a lead, which may or may not be, of importance to the final project. How then, is it possible to create a methodology, which includes all aspects of data collection without feeling emotionally compromised or cheated?

I drew upon ethnographic techniques such as participant observation and field notes. Participant observation in workshops and meetings held by the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network were particularly fruitful in that, I was able to see firsthand how the network operated and disseminated information to participants. The merits of field notes were twofold, when little or no progress was being made I felt my field notes acted as a time for reflection and rethinking research strategies. As my field research developed, writing field notes was one method of creating a link between appointments, interviews, and reflection. In addition, I gathered quantitative data in the form of surveys conducted by research groups or individual universities to use as a sample for investigating the frequency and level of sexual harassment on college campuses. Furthermore, I collected sexual harassment prevention leaflets and phone

cards in order to explore the visual imagery used by universities when attempting to create awareness of the problem.

Once the data has been collected it then has to be managed and adapted to accepted methodologies in order for it to be seen as a legitimate work. As mentioned previously, trust is a key issue in gathering data; especially sensitive data. The researcher is conditioned to promise the anonymity of the participants. Problems occur when the anonymity of a person cannot be guaranteed even with the use of pseudonyms; in this case does the researcher leave out that aspect of the research altogether and risk reliability of the reported research or do they include the research and risk a breach of confidentiality?[23] The relationship between the researcher and the participants is fraught with paradoxes in that the researched want to give secrets and be protected at the same time. The researcher, on the other hand, wishes expose these secrets. Baez (2002) believes by not exposing sexism or racism at the college where he

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[23] Benjamin Baez (2002: 38-39) makes the interesting points of confidentiality versus research results in his own experience of researching the problems people from ethnic minorities face at an academic institute. Baez had to withhold information from his research for fear that the participants would be recognised, for example in some departments the person from an ethnic minority was the only person from that minority and therefore easily recognisable.

studied, he himself, was contributing to the very same system that harboured these beliefs.[24]

Producing a well balanced and fair account of research about a sensitive issue based on material obtained in very challenging circumstances is often as difficult as obtaining the material in the first incidence. However, if progress is to be made in areas of deviance and socially sensitive subjects then research has to evolve, and develop to at least attempt to incorporate research of this nature into mainstream academic writing.

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[24] Another problem faced by the researcher is noted by Parameswaran (2001) who felt very uncomfortable at having to write up her own feelings about women who told her their own prejudicial beliefs:

> Although I felt uncomfortable with explaining women's gender oppression, I found myself denying, resisting, and avoiding writing about women's elitist views about class, religion, and race partly out of loyalty and partly out of my own difficulties in achieving critical distance. Given previous Western scholarship on India as the model example of a highly hierarchical society, I also feared that my representation of these negative views of Indian women in my work after publication in the United States would fuel ethnocentric views of Indian culture. The political goal of my project, which was to write about Indian women's experiences with and resistance to patriarchal control over their sexuality, was thus complicated by strong and unexpected scripts of privilege and prejudice. These scripts did not neatly fit into images of women's subversive resistance to patriarchy that I had repeatedly encouraged in the work of feminist media scholars.
>
> (Parameswaran 2001: 90)

Parasmeswaran was faced with the dilemma of betraying the Women's movement by exposing women's prejudices and chinks in the armour of the movement. She also had to contend with breaking from the Western stereotyped perceptions of Indian women and therefore break from the image that all Indian women are subservient to the patriarchal class system.

Chapter Two

Segregation, and Gender Stereotyping in the Japanese Education System.

By tracing the history of the national education system in Japan it is possible to see the iterative pattern of orthodox notions of gender. Despite changes in legislation to the Japanese Equal Employment Opportunity Law (*danjo byōdō hō*), Japan in some respects remains a deeply gender segregated society. Social functions and interactions are clearly defined from an early age and are reflected in language, conduct, and visual imagery. The Japanese education system supports and encourages gender divisions by capitalising on deep-rooted, preconceived notions of masculine and feminine behaviour stemming from, but not confined to beliefs based on Confucian ideas. These gender divisions, reinforced over a long period of time, hinder independent social and economic progress for Japanese women. Japanese girls, unlike boys are not expected to pursue an ambitious career orientated education, which is reflected in the low number of females entering four year degree courses, this situation is further exacerbated at elite universities where the population of female students is extremely low. In recent years, voices of protest and reform are beginning to be heard in the battle to eradicate sexist, conventionalised assumptions of male and female capabilities.

Gender Stereotyping in Education: A History

The Meiji Era was a pivotal point in Japanese history, it ended nearly two-hundred and fifty years of international isolation under a feudal system ruled by autocrats and introduced Western technology and notions of civilisation to Japan (Hara 1995: 95; Inoue 1996: 432).[25] The sweeping industrial reforms of the Meiji period successfully marked Japan as the only non-Western nation included "in the ranks of industrial empire builders" (Nolte 1991: 152). In effect, Japan embarked upon a rapid trajectory of industrial and economic development、that aimed at avoiding the same fate as other conquered, colonised East Asian nations (Hara 1995: 96).

The new Meiji government introduced nationwide political and educational reforms with the intention of creating a free and enlightened nation-state and abolishing the hierarchical class system of Tokugawa Japan (1603-1867).[26] At an idealistic level

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[25] The importance of the Meiji Era cannot be understated and is comparable to key historical events in the West, such as the English and French revolutions (Beasley 1972: 2).

[26] The kind of education one received in Tokugawa Japan depended on one's class and gender. During this period the sons of samurai were educated at domain schools called hankō, and during the mid nineteenth century gogaku were developed to accommodate the samurai class who lived outside of the feudal capitals (Okano 1999: 14). By the end of the Tokugawa period some schools included lower class students as well as those from the more elite classes. Private academies or shijuku also existed but were mainly the reserve of the samurai classes, these educational institutions precluded women; daughters of the ruling classes were educated at home by private tutors or family members (Hara 1995: 93-95). Males from the lower classes were taught by charitable, liberal minded individuals. These classes were usually held in temples giving rise to the name Temple Schools terakoya, it is estimated that around forty percent

the Meiji government promoted education for all young persons in Japan regardless of social class (Mathias 1992: 102).

In 1871, the Ministry of Education was established and the following year a compulsory four-year national co-educational system was introduced, which played a crucial role in the systematic allocation of gender roles in Japan.[27] Elaborate plans were revealed to build 53,760 elementary schools, 256 middle schools, and 8 universities; however, due to a lack of public funding these plans were not realised and by 1879 only 52% of the planned elementary schools had been built (Hara 1995: 96; Hunter 1989: 192).

In theory, it was mandatory for girls and boys to attend co-educational four-year primary schools; however, in practice it was unrealistic for girls to attend school and in 1890 only 30% of girls received compulsory education (Nolte 1991: 157). In rural areas many young girls were unable to attend school because of household chores forced upon them whilst parents went out to work. Perhaps the most arduous chore to befall young girls was taking care of younger siblings, and young girls walking to

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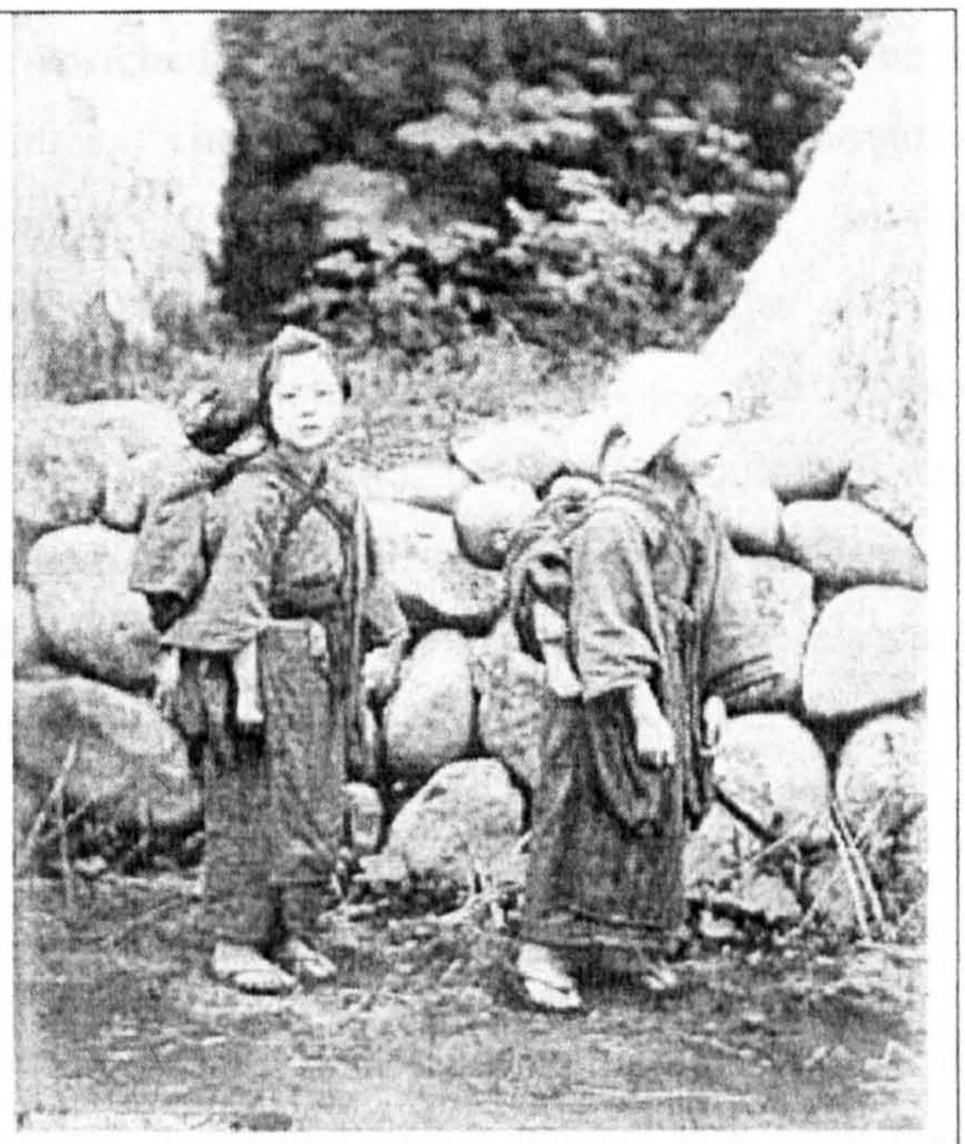
of the male populace were educated in this kind of environment and the vast majority of people if not literate themselves knew of someone literate enough to translate daily correspondence (Hunter 1989: 188). For further information on Education in the Tokugawa period see, Dore (1965) and Platt (2004).

[27] The national compulsory education system in Japan was the first of its kind in Asia (Linicicome 1999: 340).

school with a baby brother or sister strapped to their back was not an uncommon sight in Japan.

Two girls carry infants on their backs and baby sit. The infant on the back of the right girl is probably sleeping well, the face looks towards the sky. When there were many children in the family, it was the job of the elder children to babysit. (Nagasaki 1998)	

In the early stages of the Meiji reformation, women from elite backgrounds were included in the Meiji government's grand designs, and five women were among a group of young students who travelled to the United States in 1871 to study the ways of the civilised world (Hara 1995: 98).[28] This quasi acceptance of women's capabilities was short lived and by the mid 1880s it became increasingly apparent that views towards women's education were still deeply rooted in Confucian tradition. In 1887,

[28] One of the women who went to study in the United States was Umeko Tsuda, who spent ten years living in the United States; eventually after graduating from Bryn Mawr College, she returned to Japan to open up the first women's English college. The aim of the college was to provide young women with academic training and skill and emphasis was placed on individuality and creativity. (Hara 1995: 98). Today Tsuda College is still regarded as a prestigious academic institute and the memory of Tsuda Umeko lingers on, for further information about the life of Tsuda Umeko see (Tsuda College 2003).

the first Minister for Education Mori Arinori made explicitly clear the gendered roles women were expected to follow under the new regime:

> The fundamental basis for an enriched country lies with education, whose basis is with women's education. The success or failure of the country depends upon women's education. This must not be forgotten. In the process of educating girls and women, we must put across the idea of serving and helping their country. The models for women are a mother nurturing her child; a mother teaching her child; her son becoming of age and being conscripted to go to war and leaving his mother with a goodbye; a son fighting bravely on the battlefield; and a mother receiving a telegram informing of her son's death in the war.
>
> (Morosawa 1978: 23-24)

His successor Inoue Kowashi elaborated on the above sentiments by stating:

> As men and women are physiologically different, equality between them in politics does not exist. Moreover, according to the natural law, men take care of external affairs while women deal with internal matters.
>
> (Inoue 1996: 433)

As the above two quotations illustrate, prevailing hegemonic attitudes towards women's education were firmly entrenched in Japanese society at that time.

The two decades from 1890 to 1910, were important in the introduction of restrictive and oppressive state policy directed at women. Major political reforms in 1889 enabled propertied men, for the first time, to participate in the National Diet; on the other hand however, the state issued a total ban on women's participation in politics. In 1890, the cabinet enacted a law entitled the Law on Associations and Meetings (*shūkai oyobi kessha hō*), which banned women from taking part in any political

meeting or joining any political organisation, this law was redrafted in 1900 by the Home Ministry and renamed the Security Police Law (*chian keisatsu hō*); it remained in force until 1922 when it was overturned by activists in the early feminist movement (Nolte 1991: 155). New laws affecting women's rights were implemented on a nation-wide scale and for the first time in Japanese history they successfully targeted all sections of society. Thus, the Meiji government had more power over women than previous political mechanisms under Tokugawa rule.[29]

In 1890 the Imperial Rescript on Education (*kyōiku chokugo*) firmly identified the emperor as the embodiment of the spiritual unity of the nation, the emperor was the father of the nation and the Japanese people were his children (Inoue 1996: 433).

This is clearly illustrated in its opening lines:

> Our Imperial Ancestors have founded Our Empire on a basis broad and everlasting and have deeply and firmly implanted virtue: Our subjects, ever united in loyalty and filial piety, have from generation to generation illustrated the beauty thereof.
>
> (Linicicome 1999: 388)

A copy of the Rescript was placed in every school throughout the country and read aloud by the principal on important occasions, failure to defer to the rescript resulted in

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[29] In the two and a half centuries prior to the 1868 revolution, political power in Japan belonged to the Shōgun and his vassals (*daimyō*). During this period women were discouraged from participating in political activities and were confined by restrictions placed upon them by neo-Confucianism (*bushidō*). Asymmetrical power under Tokugawa rule isolated women from the upper classes and prevented them from participating in political activity, but women from the peasant class were, on the whole, not affected by these restrictions for example, well to do widows were sometimes allowed to take their husband's place on a village council (Nolte 1991: 153).

official punishment (Okano 1999: 18). The relationship between women and the home was further reinforced within this framework of national policy , under the dual notions of "good wife and wise mother" (*ryōsai kenbo*) (Hara 1995: 97; Nolte 1991: 100; Okano 1999: 18).

Boys, on the other hand, were encouraged to secure an education for the advancement of militaristic gains under the slogan "enrich the country and strengthen the army" (fukoku *kyōhei*), which was used as a rallying cry to counter threats from Western forces. Young women and little girls were expected to take care of domestic matters; at first the call for "good wife and wise mothers" only applied to the middle classes. The Meiji government did not require all Japanese women to return home from work as, at the turn of the century, returning home to look after children and take care of domestic matters was not something the lower classes could afford to do (Nolte 1991: 158).[30]

The Sino-Japanese War (1894-95) had a significant impact on education for girls, the war left many women widowed and forced to find employment. An abundance of females without necessary educational skills emphasised the need to

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[30] At the turn of the century women and young girls from the lower classes were the backbone of light industry in Japan, especially in the textile industry. In textiles 60% to 90% of the workforce were women and they produced 40% of the gross national product and 60% of the foreign exchange (Nolte 1991: 153). For more information about women working in the Japanese textile industry see, (Francks 1992; Hane 1982; Sievers 1983; Tsurumi 1990).

educate women and a six-year compulsory education system was enforced in 1907. By 1910 extensive government drives, which included the introduction of free education at elementary school level in 1900, had increased girls' attendance at primary schools to 97.4%. It was not; however, until the 1920s that enrolment in elementary schooling reached 100% (Nolte 1991: 157; Hara 1995: 99; Inoue 1996: 432; Hunter 1989: 194).

Although attendance at primary school level education was high, attendance at post-primary school level institutions for girls was still dependent upon class. The Fundamental Code of Education had provided co-education for both boys and girls at all levels but the education act of 1880 abolished co-education beyond elementary school level; girls were effectively excluded from public middle schools. In 1894 for example, only eight public girls' secondary schools existed throughout Japan (Hara 1995: 99). In 1900, the Girls' High School Law stipulated the establishment of at least one public middle school for girls in each prefecture with a four year course of study (Nolte 1991: 158). Women's education was treated with less enthusiasm than men's and was still based in Confucian ideology; the official view was that a women's place was in the home regardless of the level of education received. [31]

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[31] Confucian ideology based upon the three obediences; namely, a woman obeys her father before she marries, her husband while she is married, and her eldest son after she becomes a widow.

A typical curriculum at a middle school for girls consisted of a four-year programme following the six years spent at elementary school. However, academic standards at girls' schools were of a lower standard than those at boys' schools. Although mathematics, Japanese, and English were taught at both boys' and girls' schools, more hours were dedicated to these academic subjects at boys' rather than at girls' schools where sewing and home economics were considered the norm; girls also spent more time learning about traditional morals and ethics than boys (Inoue 1996: 434). Moreover, girls and boys received co-educational schooling only at primary school: at secondary school they were taught in single sex institutions. Textbooks were tightly controlled by the state and orthodox views upheld the belief that national education served the purpose of the nation-state; self-expression and individualism were not encouraged.

In fact, middle school level education for girls did not expand until the Taishō Era (1912-26), when an increase in girls' schools, counterpart to boys' schools enabled females from middle class backgrounds to have an education above that of primary level.[32] The Taishō period gave Japan a glimpse of liberal ideology and democracy in the form of universal male suffrage, the emergence of women's groups protesting

[32] The elitist attitude taken towards higher levels of education began to fade in the Taishō period mainly because of the rapid economic growth after the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) which resulted in the expansion of the middle classes.

against the ban on politics, and new approaches to education under the headings of New Education (*shin kyōiku*) and Liberal Education (*jiyū kyōiku*).[33] As the middle classes began to expand during the Taishō period, it became increasingly fashionable to send daughters to middle schools and as a result middle school education for girls increased. In 1912 there were 156 public and 56 private girls' schools compared with 487 public and 176 private schools in 1926. In the 1920s, the number of girls' high schools and their enrolment caught up with and exceeded the number of boys' middle schools and enrolment numbers (Hara 1995: 99).

After the Manchurian incident in 1931 and the build up of Japan's militaristic aims, ultra-nationalism hindered and eventually halted these enlightened methods of education (Hara 1995: 100). Although women now had access to high schools, access to universities was denied. Instead young women were allowed to attend private girls' colleges and by 1937, forty-three women's colleges were offering three-year courses (Hara 1995: 99). The majority of these institutions were located in urban areas such as

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[33] Educational leaders of the time such as Sawayanagi Masataro (*Seijō Gakuen*), Ohara Kuniyoshi (*Tamagawa Gakuen*) and Higuchi Choichi, were interested in child-centred education and freedom orientated education introducing the Dalton plan and project method as well as other educational ideals into the Japanese classroom. Two liberal schools were established as a reaction against restrictive government policy in women's education, these were the (*bunkagakuin*) and the(*jiyū kyōiku*), which were founded in 1921 and taught programmes which were diametrically opposed to government policy, as they also stressed the importance of individualism (Inoue 1996: 444) also see Hara (1995: 100-102) for a detailed personal account of life at(*jiyūgakuen*). The leaders of these new educational movements were also directly involved in the International Educational Movement (*kokusai kyōiku undō*), which took place between the end of the Russo-Japanese war and the Manchurian incident (1905-31); see Linicicome (1999) for a detailed discussion on these educational movements and the lives and ideas of individual members.

Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka; access to higher education was still a remote possibility for young women in rural areas.

The War Years

For British women, both the First and the Second World Wars were pivotal points in history, in both wars women were successfully deputised to jobs that were traditionally the domain of males in order to support the war effort. After the First World War women over the age of twenty-one were given full suffrage; during the Second World War in Britain, systematic employment of women between the ages of twenty and fifty successfully resulted in the creation of 2.2 million new jobs for women out of a total of 2.8 million new jobs created during the war years (Havens 1975: 918).

In Japan, however; attitudes towards utilising female labour were very different as the following quotation by Prime Minister Tojo Hideki (1941-1944) illustrates:

> That Warm fountainhead which protects the household, assumes responsibility for rearing children, and causes women, children, brothers, and sisters to act as support for the front lines is based on the family system. This is the natural mission of the women in our empire and must be preserved far into the future.
>
> (Havens 1975: 920)

The above quotation exposes the attitudes of the Japanese government especially before 1943, the Japanese nation state confident of imminent victory failed to calculate the length of the war and the drain it would have on material and human resources. The

laissez-faire attitude towards the recruitment of Japanese women during the war years was to persist until 1943 and it was not until 1944 that recruitment of young women to aid the war effort began in earnest (Havens 1975: 922).[34]

The Second World War affected all aspects of Japanese life and education was but one aspect of life under reconstruction during the war years. Until 1940 Japan still relied on western (American and British) technology for its advancements in academic research, however; the attack on Pearl Harbour and the resulting war with Britain and the United States left Japan no option but to look towards Germany for its technological advancement. The technology supplied by Germany was not the most up-to-date and so Japan was forced to rely upon its own resources for technological and scientific development (Shillony 1986: 773). Consequently, research institutions began to expand rapidly.

The war also brought about changes in education for women, in 1943, government reform saw the abolishment of separate normal schools for men and women, and these separate normal schools were to become the predecessors of prefectural

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[34] The first phase of female labour recruitment began in 1943, the women's youth groups were used to form seven patriotic labour associations, but still women's labour was seen as a temporary measure and once married women were discarded from the labour force. The second phase of female labour recruitment began on the twenty-third of January 1944, Prime Minister Tōjō introduced the creation of women's volunteer labour corps to work in aircraft and manufacturing industries. A new registration of unmarried women between the ages of twelve and thirty-nine was set up and those who were eligible to work were brow-beaten by neighbourhood association leaders (Havens 1975: 921-922).

universities. Between 1935 and 1945 the number of higher education institutions rose from 258 to 397 and the number of female students also increased (Shillony 1986: 775). Tables 2.1 and 2.2 clearly show an increase in the number of students studying science and engineering and an increase in the number of females also studying these subjects.

Table 2.1: The number of students studying science and engineering in 1935 and 1945

Year	Science Students	Engineering Students
1935	9,000	14,837
1945	30,000	85,680

Table 2.2: The number of female students studying science and engineering in 1935 and 1945

Year	Female Science Students	Female Engineering Students
1935	44	0
1945	1,470	62

The increase in the number of women studying traditionally male subjects was mostly due to the upgrading of normal schools which gave women more opportunities to study a broader range of subjects than was previously available (Shillony 1986: 775).[35] Although there was an increase in the number of students who studied in scientific and engineering fields, this increase was slight and together with the reluctance to mobilise women for munitions work elucidates the paradoxical views and

[35] In 1945, there were 10,040 women studying medicine, double the rate of 1935, and during the war four women's medical colleges were established in Nagoya, Gifu, Fukushima, and Hokkaido.

needs that Japan was faced with as the war progressed. On the one hand, the image of the virtuous Japanese housewife staying at home and taking care of the family, and of course producing future warriors, was central to national polity. This ideology contrasted greatly with the need to acquire a labour force to make up for the shortfall of labour as an increasing number of young men were conscripted.[36]

The war years did nothing to promote women's equality in education or on the labour front; instead, women were duped into believing the propaganda of the Imperial State. It was not until after the Second World War and during the Allied Occupation that women began slowly to cover ground in the equality stakes.

Post-war Education Reform

After the Second World War (1945), the allied forces in Japan implemented major educational reforms by introducing the Fundamental Education Law (*kyōiku kihon hō*) (Okano 1999: 31). In March 1946, a United States education mission sent twenty-seven members to Japan under the leadership of George D. Stoppard with a remit to recommend educational reforms, as a result, a free nine year education system for both

[36] As the war progressed, the government began to shorten the academic term of universities and colleges, universities academic term was cut short by six months and prep-schools and high schools were cut from three years of study to just two. Eventually cities became so badly bombed by the allied forces that university buildings were no longer standing, therefore towards the very end of the war study was not only an impracticality but also an improbability (Shillony 1986: 778-780).

boys and girls was introduced (Hara 1995: 103).[37] The Imperial Rescript was dropped from the curriculum at all schools and new text books steered away from politics and leaned towards more democratic ideals (Hunter 1989: 201). In 1949, under the new system, thirty-one of the women's higher education institutions were elevated to college or university level, many other existing institutions were given the status of junior colleges, and women were allowed to attend universities (Hara 1995: 103; Fujimura-Fanselow 1995: 44).

In theory, women had gained equal access to education and on paper were to be treated the same as men, article three of the Fundamental Law of Education states:

> All people shall be given the opportunity to receive an equal education corresponding to their ability. There shall be no discrimination in education because of race, creed, sex, social status, economic position, or family origin.
>
> (Smith 1987: 11)

In practice, the situation was, and to a certain extent still is very different. Prior to the introduction of the new constitution in 1946, the United States Education Mission was already beginning to outline what it perceived as necessary educational reform in Japan. One of the Mission's main concerns was the lack of adequate education for Japanese women and the rigid pre-war ideas of female pedagogy were thought to be one of the

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[37] The Japanese school system follows a 6-3-3 pattern; this means children spend six years in elementary school, three years in lower secondary school, and three years in higher secondary education. Only the first two levels of education are compulsory but over 90% of teenagers carry on to study in higher secondary schools (Kameda 1995: 110).

main obstacles to women's equality, resulting in the recommendation that all teachers be re-educated at all levels of the school system (Roden 1983: 473). To further this aim, female American advisors were sent to Japan to assist with the rapid changes in education, one advisor was Helen Hosp[38] who focused on establishing a counselling system for university women (Roden 1983: 484). Hosp ran a three-month education course for seventeen Japanese female educators at Gakugei University in Tokyo, on a personal level all of the participants of this course felt it was a great success, however; at an institutional level the results of the training course were more ambivalent. In the short term the course seemed to be very successful and concrete achievements were made. For example, the Women's Association for the University Deans was established and the seventeen participants of the course received special recognition for Tokyo University earning twelve credits each. In the long term the training course was never repeated, and the Women's Association for University Deans gradually faded away, leading the way for a male-dominated organisation of university deans (Roden 1983: 484).

Immediately after the Second World War, rapid economic reforms based on western ideology were quickly implemented in Japan; the reforms on paper provided

[38] Helen Hosp was a graduate of Goucher University College and New York University and was the Dean of Women at the University of Nebraska. She was a strong advocate of women's rights and wrote numerous articles on long term occupations for women (Roden 1983: 474).

theoretical equality between the sexes, but it took much longer to change people's preconceived notions of femininity and masculinity. Rigid male dominated educational teaching practices are still in use today and calls for training and the re-education of teachers at all levels of schooling are still being requested. Gender stereotyping of female students and their educators begins at a very early stage in the education of Japanese children.

The Early Years: Preschool, Elementary, and Junior School Education

Traditionally, in Japan, the first-born son has played an important role in the Japanese family system; it is the duty of the first-born son to look after his parents in old age. Although, in present day Japan, an increasing number of parents are being cared for by their daughters, parents still believe they can rely on their son for financial support and their daughter for emotional support. A child's life then follows a distinct pattern based on uncompromising social expectations; Fukuzawa 1994, summarises the life pattern of a Japanese child:

> Personal development in Japan is a progression through a number of predetermined social roles. This sequence establishes strong expectations of age appropriate behaviour along a predetermined developmental path. Teachers who have travelled further down the path guide students along the same road toward maturity. Along this well-worn path distinct stages mark what is appropriate for one age and inappropriate for another. Gradually the child moves from a free unrestrained existence toward one increasingly defined by social demands. Maturity is the ability to fully adapt to outside

> social realities and responsibilities that lead not to self-negation or conformity in the Japanese view, but to personal fulfilment.
>
> (Fukuzawa 1994: 84)

In her analogy of life, Fukuzawa uses the word "predetermined" to describe the social path Japanese children follow, and although she talks about "age appropriate behaviour", which is predetermined by social development; gender appropriate behaviour is also a distinct part of a Japanese child's life. Her definition of maturity is very pertinent to Japanese women and what society expects of them. Traditionally it has been very difficult for Japanese women to break from the life pattern they have been told to follow.

It is also easy to only believe in the deceptive stereotype of the Japanese female middle class urbanite, who works in a clerical capacity for a company until she becomes pregnant. Moon (1992) in her paper 'Confucianism and Gender in Japan and Korea' gives an insightful look at the developing status of Japanese and Korean female farmers. Moon explains that in Japan the agricultural population comprises of women and old people and is reflected in the expression, *sanchan nyōgyō*: farming by a grandfather (*oji-chan*), grandmother (*obā-chan*), and mother (*okā-chan*) (Moon 1992: 197).[39] Female farmers in Japan represent households at village meetings and are taking part in the public running of the farm (Moon 1992: 198). In contrast, Korean farm householders are mainly full-time farmers (*sengyō nōka*) and unlike in Japan men still

[39] The reasons cited for this pattern are migration to urban areas by young people seeking employment, and the increase in what is known as part-time farming (Moon 1992: 197).

take the leading role in farm affairs at public meetings (Moon 1992: 200). Positive development of the role of female Korean farmers is not as progressive as that of Japanese female farmers, because Confucian beliefs are more deeply rooted in Korea than in Japan (Moon 1992: 203).

Moreover, when discussing the restrictions placed upon women in Japanese society it is easy to stereotype Japanese men and see them as the polar opposite of women leading a completely separate life. Although, very little is written about the social limitations of Japanese men, Yamaguchi (1995) in his essay 'Men on the Threshold of Change' explains the ways in which Japanese men are trying to change the way they live in order to spend more quality time with their families. The pressure on first-born sons to succeed is exceptionally high and although men have more independent economic opportunities available to them the pressure sometimes proves too much and an increasing number of Japanese men are opting out of their predetermined life path and are working freelance or part-time.

Opting out of one's predestined roles, however, is no easy task, especially since the initial steps toward becoming a mature member of Japanese society begin in pre-school. Pre-school begins at the age of three and carries on until the age of six, about two-thirds of five-year olds in Japan attend pre-school, as of 1981 there were fifteen

thousand pre-schools of which 60% were private, 40% were public and only 1% were national (Lewis 1998: 18).[40] New classroom rules obliquely set out by teachers, define key Japanese social concepts such as *soto* and *uchi*. At school, children are taught to work within groups, which Peak (1989: 94) has described as group life (*shūdan seikatsu*), and in pre-school, children are taught to hold back (*enryo*), but at home parents still allow their children to express their desires and wishes.[41] Participation in group life is of paramount importance, from an early age children are taught to accept the boundaries of the group. In a class of about forty to fifty children it is the group which comes first and not the child's individual ideas (Lewis 1998: 18).

Pre-schools and elementary schools concentrate on group activity at a micro level and students soon learn that resistance is futile, as Peak observed in her study of Japanese pre-school teaching methods:

> Japanese children soon learn, however, that to seriously resist the system is to battle an army of friendly shadows. Authority resides with no one and to change the collective habits of the group requires an insurmountable effort. To escape or rebel is to sever social contact with those who provide daily companionship and the warmth of social life. The most prudent alternative is to learn the social behaviour required by group life.
>
> (1989: 123)

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[40] Pre-schools in Japan were established in the 1870s and 1880s, with the first kindergarten being introduced by the Ministry of Education in 1872, this was later followed by the establishment of Christian, Shinto and Buddhist kindergartens. The non-Christian kindergartens strayed away from the original pedagogic ideology of Christian identity, independence, and international perspective set out by their founder Fredrich Foebel (Wollens 1993: 2).

[41] Expressing one's desires and wishes in the home is a natural way of showing affection and strengthening the family bond of dependency.

Children who misbehave are excluded from the group, being excluded from the group at a macro level can lead to social deprivation and being labelled a misfit or an outcast.

In the West, individual merit and individual achievements are rewarded and individuality is something to strive for and be proud of. Therefore, from a western point of view the lack of individual merit in Japan may be perceived as inhibiting and confining. Perceived problems in Japanese pre-schools differ from perceived problems in U.S schools and are dealt with in very different ways. Problems such as hyperactivity and hitting, which are seen as behavioural problems in schools in the U.S are not seen as major problems in Japan.

Peak describes in detail how incidents of hyperactive behaviour are dealt with in Japan, the following incident is a description of such behaviour during registration time. One boy screamed out "Yes" to the teacher when his name was called out prompting other children to do the same:

> One boy has gotton out of his seat and is writing on the chalkboard. Teacher says, "If you aren't in your seat, you won't be able to draw pictures." Child returns to seat. She continued to call role. After several screams she makes a grunting sound. One boy near the beginning of the list pulls his uniform smock over his head like a ghost and looms at the girls around him. They largely ignore him, but one shows some irritation. She leaves her seat to go up to the teacher, and says something not audible, pointing at the "ghost." Teacher interrupts the role call to say, "You can't see his face can you?" As girl returns to her seat, two boys get up and begin to write on the chalkboard. The teacher ignores them until she finishes calling roll (still amid screams). After the child's last name is called, she says "Let`s see which of these two boys can get back to his seat the fastest." Boys race grinning back to their seats. After all are seated, she says, "You have to stay in your seats" [*suwateinai to dame*], then begins to introduce the drawing activity.
>
> (Peak 1989: 106)

Peak (1989: 107-111) then carries on to describe two incidences where a boy frequently hits his classmates through the day and reports on the teacher's reaction to these incidences. In the first incident the teaching assistant goes over to the boy as he is punching a classmate and pulls him gently away, all the while pretending to play with him. The teacher just ignores the problem and caries on with what she was doing. The teacher later explains that the boy is a mummy's boy who resents his younger brother and is demonstrating this resentment by hitting younger/ smaller children in the pre-school. In another incident a young four-year-old boy repeatedly hits Peak, instead of directly reacting to the behaviour Peak decides to wait and see how the teacher will deal with the situation. After a few days of seemingly ignoring the behaviour the teacher explains that some children demand attention by asking people to join in with tea parties and others want to demonstrate their willingness to play by hitting and then running away; they are indicating they want the other person to play tag with them.

Although Peak's research did not examine gender differentiation in Japanese pre-schools, it is interesting to note that the perpetrators in all of these cases were small boys. By describing the boy's behaviour we are not only given an insight into interaction between child and teacher, but also gender interaction in the schools which were observed. What were the girls doing when the boys were being naughty? One girl

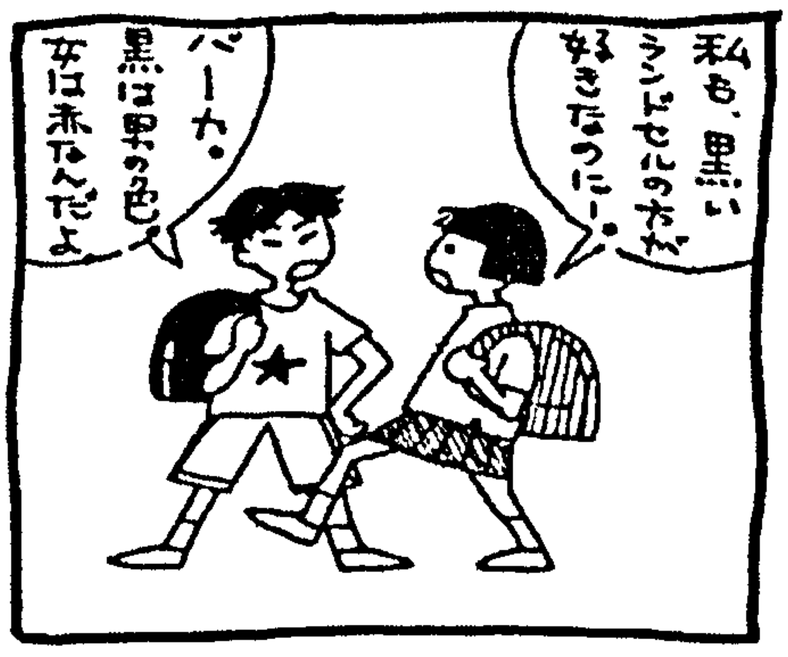
did talk to the teacher about one boy's behaviour, but the boy was not immediately reprimanded by the teacher. What effect does this have on the little boy? Are signals sent out by the teacher indicating that it is okay to annoy little girls in his class? Unfortunately, the study does not ask these questions and so it is difficult to assess the impact that the boy's behaviour has on girls and vice-verse. I believe that if this kind of behaviour is allowed to carry on without established boundaries, then little boys are definitely being sent the wrong message. It should be made clear from a young age that unruly disturbing behaviour is not socially acceptable.

In pre-school and elementary schools the majority of teachers are female, but in junior and senior schools the majority of teachers are male; senior management at all levels of education in Japan is nearly always male. Peak's (1989) description of the way in which the teachers handled certain situations also shows the degree of physicality between the pre-school teachers and the children under their care. Children were hugged, cajoled, and physically play-fought with by the teachers and teaching assistants who were all women. Although students were encouraged to do things for themselves the methods used to achieve these aims were very motherly. There seemed to be a lack of paternal father figures in the child's early development. Although my research focused on sexual harassment at university level, in one sexual harassment

related discussion I attended; a fellow discussant did mention that a female elementary school teacher she knew in Japan was increasingly uncomfortable with the physical aspect of her work. It seems some elementary school children find it difficult to break away from the culture of physically hugging and touching their teachers.

Once children begin elementary school, gender stereotyping becomes much more apparent as the following illustration shows:

Elementary school children arguing over the colour of their rucksacks:

<table>
<tr>
<td> 
</td>
<td>Girl: “I wanted a black bag too!”

Boy: “Are you stupid? Black is for boys and red is for girls!”

Caption underneath: There is no rule that girls have to carry a red bag but…</td>
</tr>
</table>

(*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: Front Cover)[42]

In the illustration above we see a little girl expressing her desire to have a black school bag the same colour as those of young boys; the small girl is abruptly told “Black is for boys and red is for girls!” This clearly illustrates how gender

[42] The illustrations on pages 70, 72, and 76 are all taken from the same source, the high school teachers association in Saitama. Although the campaign pamphlet represents just one area in Japan, I feel the illustrations do reflect problems girl’s face in schools around Japan.

institutionalisation begins in the form of colour-coded schematics at primary school level. It is not only bags which are different colours for girls but library cards, paint boxes, and pencil cases too; pink or red is the preferred colour for girls, and blue or black for boys (Fujimura-Fanselow 1995: 55).[43]

Education in Japanese junior schools is important in many ways, it is the bridge that takes children away from holistic approaches and steers them towards a lecture based text centred education (Fukuzawa 1994: 61). Education in middle junior schools is the first time Japanese students are taught by teachers, who are subject specialists in their individual subjects, the curriculum extends to many non-academic subjects including music, art, sports, field trips, clubs, ceremonies, and homeroom time (Fukuzawa 1994: 61). Teachers are not just conduits of knowledge, but they are also expected to act as counsellors and become involved in the pastoral care of pupils. The different areas of counselling teachers are expected to deal with are outlined by Fukuzawa (1994:62) they are: academic subject instruction (*gakushū shidō*), moral instruction (*dōtoku shidō*), health education (*kenkō shidō*), educational and occupational guidance counselling (*gakushū shidō*).

---

[43] In the West colour is also appropriated to girls and boys, pink and blue respectively; however, these colour codifying gender practices are generally confined to babies and pre-school children, and are not included in national education policies.

Students' lives therefore, begin to shift into the public domain, and greater responsibility is placed on schools and teachers in shaping the direction of children's lives. Middle schools are a turning point in Japanese children's lives; they are the crossroads between childhood and the road towards career orientated high school examinations and career orientated tracking for university and beyond. It is also a time where students are expected to settle down and become accustomed to an academic school setting. It is also a time when gender stereotypes are reinforced and repeatedly reiterated to children. The following illustration clearly illustrates the type of physical gender segregation that Japanese children can be expected to experience during their years at junior school.

Queuing in a junior school:

順番って、先のほうが偉いように
感じるのよね。

	Teacher: "There's a health check, line up in single file. Boys at the front and girls at the back"
	Girl: "Why is it that boys always get to line up first?"
	Caption underneath: "I get the feeling those at the front are more superior [to those of us at the back]."

(*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: Front Cover)

In this illustration we see a teacher lining children up in single file, placing the boys at the front of the queue and the girls at the back; the message sent to the young girl at the back of the queue is that she is not as important as those at the front. Until recently most schools placed boys ahead of girls at registration, graduation and other ceremonies throughout the school year. Teachers began to realise that by always putting boys first they were subconsciously training children to believe boys' achievements were significantly more important than girls. Some schools now have a policy of calling out children's names in alphabetical order regardless of gender.

In 1997, the High School Teachers' Union in Saitama Prefecture, investigated the number of schools using the new system of calling children by their names according to the Japanese syllabary. They discovered that forty high schools out of a 164 (24%) used the new system of gender combined name lists; this figure decreased to 3.4% in junior high schools and in elementary schools it was 25.4% (*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: 4). In the same year in Kanagawa and Tokyo cities nearly a 100% of high schools used the gender combined name lists, in Tokyo the percentage of junior high schools using the gender combined name lists was only 3.4% and in elementary schools 25.4% (Yomiuri Newspaper 1999). We can see from the above figures that even in large urban centres such as Tokyo, junior high schools are resisting change and sticking with gender stereotyped ideas of appropriate treatment for boys and girls.

One possible reason for this may well be the importance placed upon lower secondary school education, in primary school the students are taught how to adjust to school life and much emphasis is placed on play. At junior school more emphasis is placed on academic ability, in preparation for the gruelling entrance examinations for high schools. In other words, children in junior high schools are at a transitional period in their lives, by steering children towards gender specific behaviour they are more

likely to choose a high school in accordance with socially accepted gender biased expectations.

Gender Tracking in High Schools

> No single event, with the possible exception of marriage, determines the course of a young man's life as much as an entrance examination, and nothing, including marriage, requires as many years of planning and hard work...These arduous preparations constitute a *rite de passage* whereby a young man proves that he has the qualities of ability and endurance for becoming a salaried man.
>
> (Vogel 1963: 40)

The above observation was made at a time when only ten percent of graduates from high schools went on to college, now that number has increased and pressures placed upon young Japanese men have increased immensely. It is now the case that only those graduates from top high schools will carry on their further education at top universities. Very little, if anything at all, is said about girls' education and although the above quotation was written in the early 1960s even before the second wave feminist movement in the United States, little has changed towards the education of women in the preceding decades. If one looks at the above quote from a female point of view, the *rite de passage* for women is marriage and child birth; once a woman is married she is considered a mature member of society, education is a complementary aspect of marriage and not a requirement. The illustration below shows ideological methods of gender tracking in education by echoing the pre-war rhetoric of "good wife

wise mother." In this instance, a health education teacher is reiterating traditional feminine and masculine roles by telling his students that girls will get married and boys will have to protect them.

Gender tracking in high school:

Teacher: "Girls will eventually become mothers and boys, you must protect the girls."

Caption underneath: "Isn't that a bit sexist?"

(*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: Front Cover)

The idea that a girl's education should differ from that of a boy and should concentrate more on domestic subjects is reflected in the issue of how home economics is taught in schools. In 1973, home economics was made a mandatory subject for girls in high school, but not for boys, this led to severe criticism from feminist grass-roots organisations such as the Women's Action Group and the Association for the Promotion

of the Study of Homemaking by Both Sexes. In 1980, the Japanese government was forced to take up this issue when it signed the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. Finally, in 1989, home economics became a required subject for both girls and boys in high school; however, this ruling was not enforced until 1994 (Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 54; Asahi Shin bun 1994).[44] Other forms of discrimination in schools include: school councils run by boys and female managers of baseball clubs whose job it is to wash the team's sports clothes, clean up the equipment, and prepare meals for the male team members (Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 56; Kameda 1995: 115).

Textbooks are another method of gender discrimination, the textbooks used in schools are published by private publishers, but undergo rigorous scrutiny by the Ministry of Education, yet, very little is done to check gender typecasting in text books. In 1975, a survey conducted by an independent women's group discovered major gender biases in textbooks used in schools (Kameda 1995: 112). The survey found women were depicted in traditional feminine roles, for example, women with occupations were generally portrayed as waitresses, nurses, or teachers. In English textbooks, sentences dealing with activities such as washing the dishes or baking used

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[44] For a detailed account of the issue of home economics in upper secondary education see (Kameda 1995: 111-112).

the personal pronoun "she" rather than "he" (Kameda 1995: 112). As a result of this survey some improvements have been made to textbooks, but these improvements are ambivalent, for example, men can be seen shopping for groceries, but when men appear in social science text books they appear in the role of overseer and are not actually participating in the domestic action. (Fujimura-Fanselow 1995: 54; Kameda 1995: 113).[45] Some text books on family diversity and women's independence have not received approval by the government's textbook authorisation system, and many text books developed by independent feminist NGOs have been rejected (Japan NGO Report Preparatory Committee 2000).

As students reach upper secondary school (ages 16-18), gender differentiation becomes even more apparent. Private single-sex schools are very popular at this level; however, 60% of these single sex schools, including the most competitive, are male only schools. Very few girls are found in the most competitive, elite high schools, and the most prestigious private girls' high schools tend to emphasis training in home economics or commercial studies, whereas boys are encouraged to study sciences

[45] This image is also reinforced on televised home economics programmes, which are aimed at children, although, the programmes are very informative, the young girls cook the food for the young boys, thus reinforcing gender stereotypes of women serving men (Kameda 1995: 110).

(Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 48-49).[46] In recent years, feminist scholars have become increasingly concerned with the lack of female students at top high schools pursuing academically orientated careers. They believe that career guidance counselling in schools is inadequate and does not give young women sufficient training and knowledge about the increase in equal opportunities which exist in today's labour market (Japan NGO Report Preparatory Committee 2000).

Although there is little empirical evidence substantiating feminist concerns about manipulative gender tracking practices in schools, the low number of female high school graduates entering four-year university courses (compared with men) can be taken as a reflection of inefficient school guidance procedures. School attitudes towards the education of young women often reflect parental attitudes, and parents often agree with the schools' decisions to treat boys and girls according to stereotypical notions of gender. As Smith (1987: 4) points out: "So pervasive are these markers of gender inequality that they provide the ground upon which behaviour and attitudes of men and women toward one another are ultimately based." The Japanese education system is based upon training children to pass examinations and does not concentrate too deeply

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[46] Schools in Japan are also expected to be responsible for their students' behaviour outside school and a Japanese community might judge the school, rather than the parents for the way children behave (Hill 1998: 296).

on analytical development. The majority of Japanese young people are fed facts and figures to regurgitate at a later date in their academic careers in the form of CAT tests (Henshall 1999: 112-113). They are not asked to think about or question the status quo, including orthodox views on gender.

When students reach their final year of education in Japanese high schools they have a number of choices to make, do they leave school and enter the labour force immediately, do they take a year out to apply to more prestigious universities or do they go to university directly? These decisions that students eventually take, are in part, reflections of their social background and gender expectations. The system of youth employment is very different in Japan compared with that in the West. In the West, job acquisition is usually based on students' skills, and students apply for positions which match their skills (Okano 1998: 78). In Japan, the system is quite different; high schools have a system whereby recruitment and job referrals are managed by the school through a network of information about various employers; processing students through this system ensures that almost all high school students gain employment (Okano 1998: 78).

For those students who so not wish to leave high school and go straight into full time employment there is a wealth of higher education institutions where students can

further their education for two to four years. The basis for entry into these institutions is the well-documented Japanese examination system which is commonly known as examination hell (*shiken jigoku/juken jigoku*). In brief, Japanese universities and colleges of higher education set entrance examinations for prospective students; examinations set by famous elite universities are notoriously difficult. One of the main criticisms of the examination system is the rote learning system it creates, whereby children only study for their exams and have no time to develop creative learning skills.

The exam system is seen as a fair and objective way of allocating career tracks, but this only applies to the career tracks of men and I would argue that the examination system is a way of solidifying gender segregation in Japan as in general girls are not encouraged to apply to top national and private universities. In a society like Japan, which is known as an academic society (*gakureki shakai*), where more value is placed on the name of the school or institute the student attends rather than individual students' abilities, carving out a distinguished business career independent of elite institutions is virtually impossible (Kobayashi 2002: 189).

The hierarchal nature of the system means graduates from elite high schools carry on to elite universities. A graduate from an elite university stands every chance of pursuing a high profile career. On the other hand, students from average high schools

go to average universities, and generally speaking are only able to pursue moderate careers compared with those students who graduate from elite institutions. At the lower vocational level high schools, students enter the work force immediately after graduation from high school (Okano 1998: 80).

Colleges and Universities

In 1886, the first Imperial University was established in Tokyo, it was modelled on universities in China and subjects included law, philosophy, science, medicine, engineering and agriculture. Engineering and agriculture were added to accommodate Japan's efforts at modernisation (Cummings 1998: 143). Attendance at the Imperial University was prestigious and guaranteed a secure, elite career. In 1897, a second Imperial University was set up in Kyoto. Recruitment of new staff at both institutions tended to be institutionally incestuous and still remains so today with nearly ninety percent of all academic staff at Tokyo and Kyoto Universities being former students of these universities (Cummings 1998: 144). Towards the end of World War Two five more universities were established throughout the country serving specialised areas and disciplines. The Imperial universities were established to train future political and economic leaders of Japan, while also keeping up with new western technologies

(Cummings 1998: 222).[47] The prestige of these high-ranking universities still exists today and competition to gain entry into an institute of renown is extremely fierce. Competitive pressure to enter such universities is further exacerbated by the "one chance" syndrome, which is the belief, that the only chance to secure a comfortable life is through graduation at one of these top-level institutions (Refsing: 1992).

Occupational success is related to educational success in all societies, Ross and Van Willigen (1997: 277) made distinct correlations between highly educated people and a better quality of life. Their research discovered that well-educated people were more likely to be well paid and in full-time employment, and were also more likely to be in stable relationships than poorly-educated people. They also noted that women with high education levels were more likely to postpone marriage or not to remarry after divorce or not to marry at all than those women with lower levels of education (Ross 1997: 277). Moreover, the percentage of women entering higher education has nearly reached fifty percent worldwide and in a few countries like the United States the percentage of female undergraduates has exceeded the percentage of male undergraduates (Bradley 2000: 1).

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[47] Private universities also had a hierarchy of their own but they were not seen in the same way as the imperial universities (Cummings 1998: 222).

Steelman and Powell (1991) focused their research on parental willingness to pay for higher education. They discovered that societies such as Taiwan and Japan with strong patriarchal traditions were more likely to regard the gender of an offspring as having an influence on whether they were willing to pay for education, or how much savings they were willing to put aside for education (Steelman 1991: 1525).[48] For example: in 1994, in South Korea 86% of parents desired that their sons attend a four-year university compared to 75% of parents who expressed a comparative education for their daughters (Sunhwa 1996: 181). In Japan, a reflection of this attitude can be seen in the low number of female students attending prestigious private and national universities. In 1990, only ten percent of Tokyo University and twenty percent of Waseda University students were women (Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 45-46).

The majority of female high school students in Japan pursue liberal arts courses at university or college level, whereas Japanese male high school students tend to choose physical science courses. Even when male students do choose liberal arts courses at university they tend to opt for traditional male courses such as economics or law, as opposed to foreign languages and education, which is traditionally seen as female

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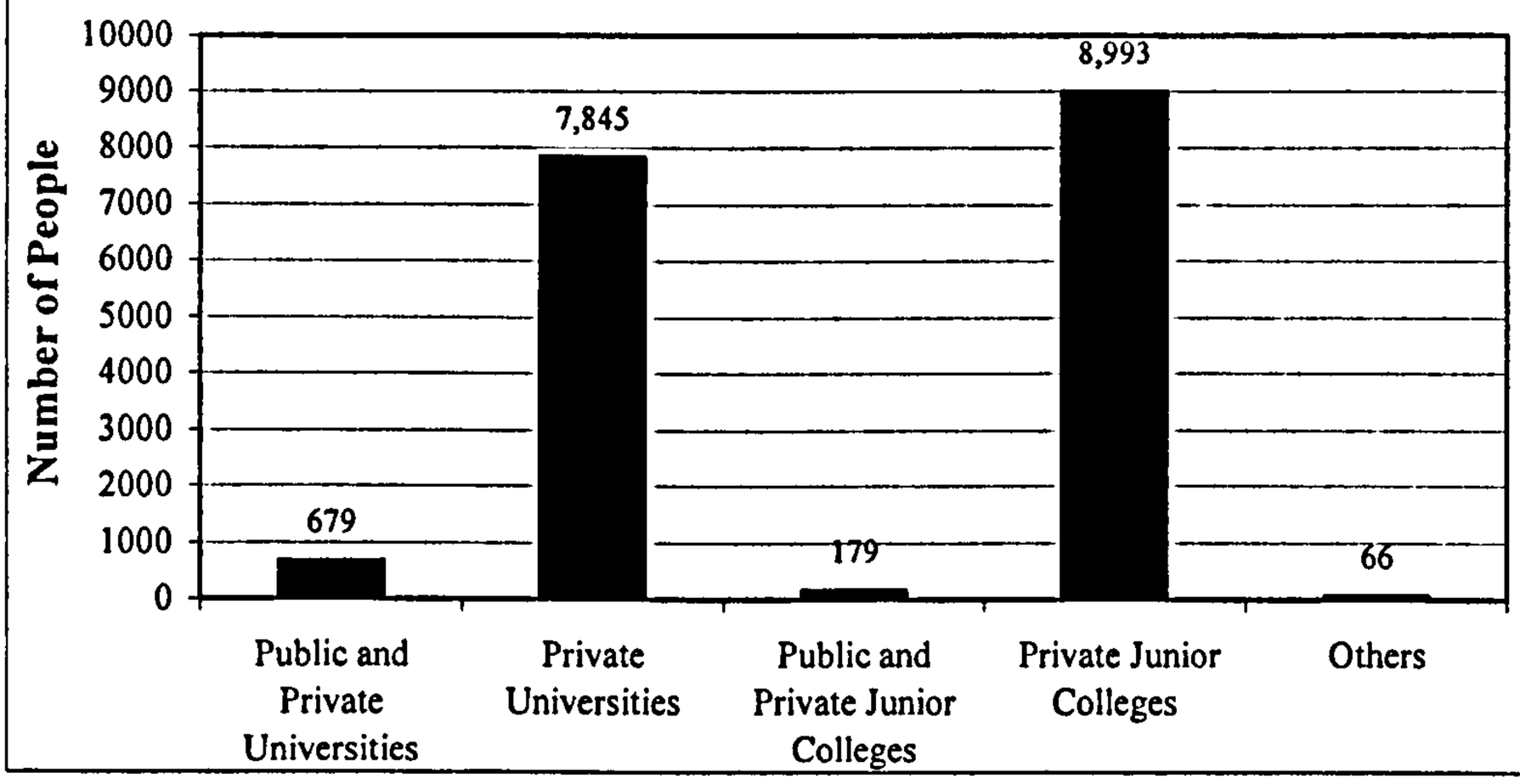
[48] By comparison, the main factors influencing willingness to pay for children's education in the United States was the number of siblings the child had, for example if a child had a large number of siblings then less money was given over to education (Steelman 1991: 1516). For more information about Taiwan and engendered education see Greenhalgh (1985), and Parish (1993).

territory (Kobayashi 2002: 188).[49] Idealisation of foreign counties, in particular the United States in conjunction with social marginalisation at home has fuelled Japanese women's imaginations to the point where they envisage the study of a foreign language and its associated job benefits abroad as a form of self-emancipation (Kobayashi 2002: 191).

Although in recent years the number of women entering four-year universities has increased and those entering two-year junior colleges has decreased, graphs A and B taken from a survey in Saitama prefecture illustrate the severity of the situation:

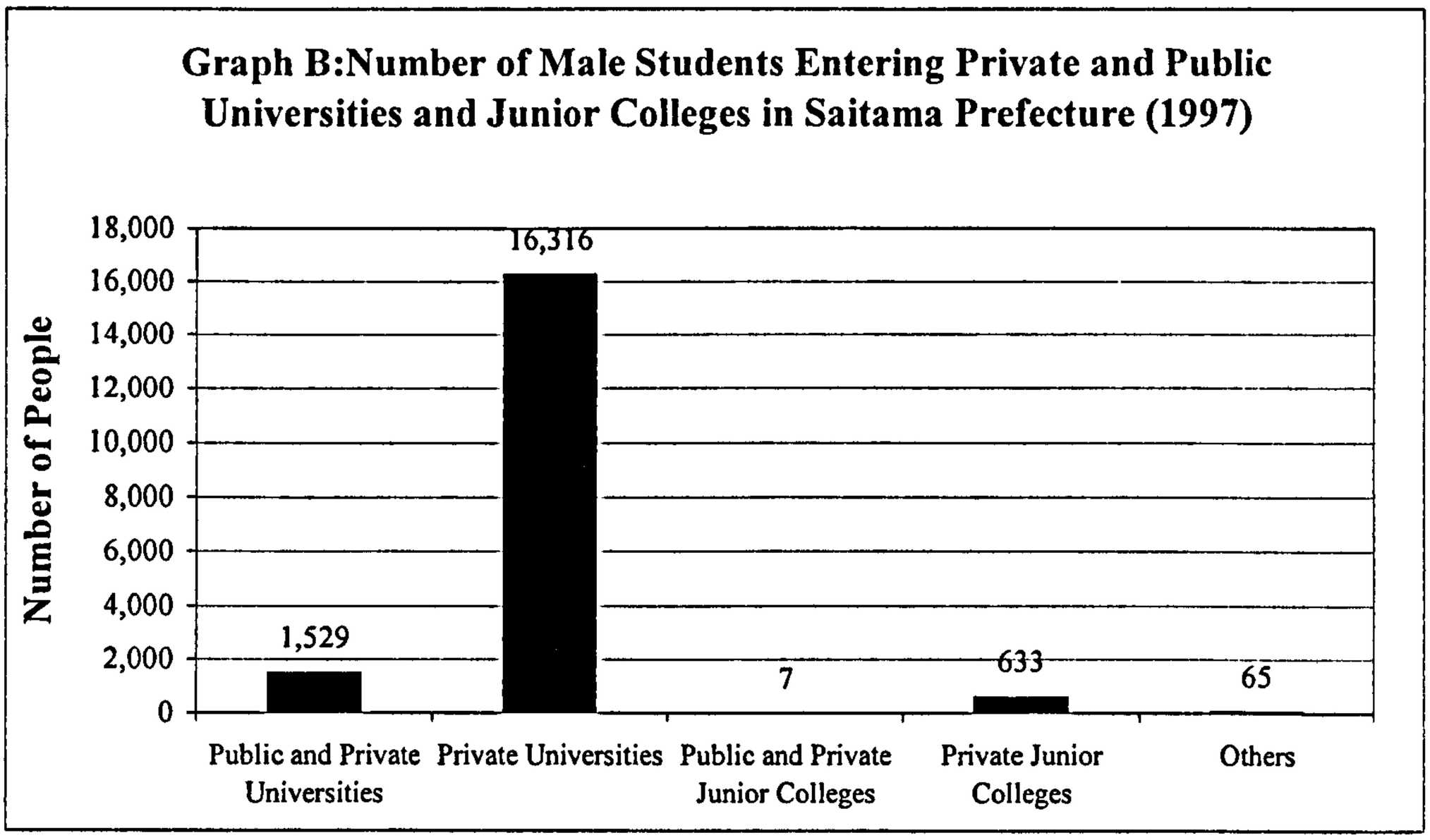
Graph A: Number of Female Students Entering Private and Public Universities and Junior Colleges in Saitama Prefecture (1997)



(*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: 63)

[49] According to The Ministry of Education 67% of all language students in University in 1998 were female (Mōnbusho 1998).

Graph B:Number of Male Students Entering Private and Public Universities and Junior Colleges in Saitama Prefecture (1997)



(*Saitama Kōtō Gakkō Kyōshokuin Kumiai* 2000: 63)

The figures show a marked discrepancy between men entering four-year universities (96.2%) and women entering four-year university courses (48%). Moreover, the majority of women (50.6%) enter private two-year junior colleges compared with only 3.4% of men who enter two-year junior colleges. Opportunities for graduates of two-year junior colleges are limited compared with those from four-year universities. When entering a two-year junior college women are instantly placed at an economic and vocational disadvantage to men. Currently, young Japanese women appear to believe that marriage is not a prerequisite to happiness yet it is still extremely difficult for them to carve out a career and many are still economically dependent on their spouses' earnings. Those women who are least likely to marry and have children

tend to be highly educated and work in traditionally male dominated fields such as engineering and technology (Goldman 1993: 198).

Entrance examinations are the only criteria for admittance to four-year universities; in principle everyone is eligible to sit the university entrance examinations and if successful, be accepted into their chosen university. Many elite private universities have secondary schools affiliated to them and children who are accepted for places at these affiliated schools are almost guaranteed places at the associated university.[50] Some schools are famous for producing students who will carry on to study at top private and national universities; the competition is so fierce that some of these schools have lower quotas for girls than for boys (Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 57).[51] Many young women have been socially conditioned for years to believe they are inferior to men so the thought of intense competition alone deters many women from applying to the top institutions. One excuse for not hiring women in large companies is that it is a waste of resources training women as they will leave the company shortly after they marry and decide to have children (Smith 1987: 17).

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[50] Henshall (1999: 110) calls this process *chain education*, the scale of the chain stretches from kindergarten level to governmental offices.

[51] For a detailed account of life at a boys' school famous for producing Tōkyō University students see Okano (1999).

Consequently, although most parents would like their daughters to receive a high school education, they do not think it is necessary for their daughters to enter into a four-year university programme (Fujimura-Fanselow 1994: 130). Parents are also more willing to invest in their son's higher education than they are in their daughters, for example, if a son fails his entrance examinations at the first attempt they are more willing to pay for him to spend a year as *rōnin*[52] while a daughter will have to make a different choice. Research by Stevenson and Baker (1992: 1654) has shown that gender was the key factor influencing monetary expenditure on higher education, even potential economic hardship was dismissed in the quest for the best education for sons. They also discovered that the effect of taking a year out to study for the highly competitive entrance examinations increased a student's chance of entering an elite university by 80%. By not allowing their daughters to take a year out to study for top university entrance examinations, parents are obstructing their daughter's independent economic development.

Schools, universities, and companies need to work together to create a fairer system of opportunities based on merit, rather than gender in order to see an increase in the number of women studying and working for prestigious institutions on a

[52] *Rōnin* is a name given to college students who take a year out from going to university to prepare for tough entrance examinations required for top universities (Rohlan 1977: 54).

comparative scale with men. Incentives for those people who wish to start a family and carry on their careers need to be implemented not only for Japanese women but for men as well. As the birth rate continues to decline and the percentage of elderly people increase, it is especially pertinent to encourage maximum labour potential from both male and female workers. However, until schools introduce a more gender free curriculum, the cycle of gender discrimination within higher levels of education and within the labour market will not diminish.

Graduate Studies in Japan

Graduate studies in Japan can be traced back to 1886, and coincided with Imperial Universities' policies about teaching, which was to provide two levels of education, one at undergraduate level devoted to teaching and one at graduate level devoted to research (Ushiogi 1998: 326). As table 2.3 below indicates, graduate students were a small minority during the pre-war years:

Table 2-3: Number of Graduate Students
(Ushiogi 1998:327)

Year	Number of Graduate Students
1886	23
1909	966
1914	293
Early 1930s	2,600

Late 1930s	2,000
Pre 1945 (1944)	2,687

Whilst undergraduate education expanded, graduate education did not take off and remained stagnant, a trend still reflected today. This neglect of graduate training schools came about because of the way in which doctorates were conferred. In 1887, a decree ordinance by the government outlined the ways in which a doctorate could be awarded; three options were available to prospective candidates, the first being five years' training followed by an exam and a dissertation, the second was no exam or training with the only requirement being a dissertation, and finally the third and obviously the most popular option was a doctorate being awarded on recommendation only, meaning that no exam *or* dissertation was necessary (Ushiogi 1998: 328). The third route was mainly awarded to those scholars who had made outstanding contributions to the development of the Japanese nation state. Once Kyoto University was established in 1898, the main method of awarding doctorate degrees was by recommendation from the university alone (Ushiogi 1998: 329). Mounting criticism of these degrees led to their abolishment in 1919, subsequently only two avenues remained open, namely; training and a thesis. Therefore, during the 1920s and 1930s more than 80% of doctorates were conferred on submission of a thesis alone.

In the post war years, universities with graduate schools have increased, but the number of graduate students in comparison to other industrialised nations remains small. At doctoral level, medicine is by far the largest field and differs greatly from those graduates in the humanities and social sciences. In the humanities and social sciences there are no clear standards on how to award a doctoral degree if those standards are clear then they are usually too high for a young researcher to complete (Ushiogi 1998: 335). This results in a high proportion of candidates who leave their research without obtaining a doctoral degree as the following figures show:

Table 2.4: The number of students who left university without obtaining a doctorate degree (1987)
(Ushiogi 1998: 335-336).

Subject	Number of students who left university without obtaining a doctorate degree (1987)
Humanities	85%
Social Sciences	78%
Natural Sciences	34%
Engineering	32%

The low number of post-graduates is also due to the lack of demand for these qualifications in the labour market. For graduates with master's degrees the labour market is limited to mainly high school teaching, and in the late 1980s, 17% of the humanities masters and 14% of the social science masters were unemployed compared with 90% of graduates in engineering who found employment. The labour market for

doctorates is even more restricted to only academic positions at government departments as private enterprises have no desire to hire people with these qualifications (Ushiogi 1998: 336).

There are two types of doctorate degree awarded in Japan, the *ronbun* doctorate and the *katei* doctorate. The former is awarded through the production of a thesis after a period of research, the latter is earned upon completion of a course (Ushiogi 1998: 336). In 1986, in the arts and humanities and social sciences, 78% of doctoral recipients were of the *ronbun* type. In total 9,156 degrees were awarded in the same year; 62% in medicine, 17% in engineering, 9% in natural sciences, and 3% in humanities and social sciences (Ushiogi 1998: 337). Although the government stipulates that a doctorate degree is the minimal requirement for full and associate professors this is largely ignored in the humanities and social sciences.

Voices of Protest

In 1998, a programme for educational reform proposed by the Ministry of Education was supposed to enhance the awareness of gender equality in education, but no proposals were put forward to actually see how these reforms were supposed to be carried out (Japan NGO Report Preparatory Committee 2000). Many barriers need to be removed to improve the situation of gender discrimination in education at all levels.

In 2000, an education reform plan for the twenty-first century was proposed by the Ministry of Education, it was named 'The Rainbow Plan' and incorporated a seven step priority strategy, but nowhere in this seven step priority strategy is the issue of gender stereotyping in primary and secondary education mentioned (Ministry of Education 2004).

At a grass-roots level teachers are beginning to realise the importance of a gender balanced education and are trying to address the situation. Voluntary educational courses are being taught to teachers in local community centres or women's centres nationwide.[53] Teachers are taking time out in social science classes to encourage children to understand the importance of equality between the sexes. Boys are taught how important it is to do housework and girls are taught to be more independent and career orientated. They are being encouraged to pursue non-traditional female subjects at school and are taught the value of an all round education. Games such as the one below, are being introduced into the classroom to increase children's awareness of gender roles:

[53] See Urano (2001) for an example of the kinds of seminars which are conducted in women's centres.

3。やってみよう ジェンダー・チェック

(生徒編) 〈東京女性財団ジェンダー・チェックより〉

スタート
やっぱり女はかわいく、男は男らしいほうがいいわね
そうかしら
そうでもない……
理科は男子、文科系は女子が向いている
男は度胸、女は愛嬌
男は度胸、女は愛嬌
男は度胸、女は愛嬌

The aim of the game is to read the statements and follow the path according to whether you agree or disagree with what is being said. The path will eventually lead you to a letter, which corresponds to a paragraph on another page telling you how gender aware you really are. The letter A indicates little gender awareness on the part of the participant, B indicates some gender awareness, and C shows a great amount of gender awareness, adult questionnaires and quizzes are also given to older students and teachers. It is hoped these small steps towards gender awareness will contribute to the decrease in sexist discriminatory practices within the Japanese school system.

However, how effective are these voices of protest? The case at Tokorozawa High school illustrates just how difficult it is for a school to stand up against government guidelines. Although the protest at Tokorozawa High School was not gender related, it is an indication of the measures local and national governments will go to in order to halt voices of dissent. Tokorozawa High school is a liberal school in Saitama, a prefecture near Tokyo, it has no school uniform and no rules about hairstyles, it promotes freedom, autonomy, and independence, (*jiyū*, *jishu*, *jiritsu*) (Aspinall 2001: 78). In April 1997, a new principal arrived at the school in a bid to normalize school procedures, which mainly centred on the refusal to sing the national

anthem and to raise the national flag (Aspinall 2001: 79).[54] The students protested at these proposals because they believed they curbed their freedom and their right to object to what they viewed as negative images of Japan. With support from parents and teachers they eventually decided to establish ceremonies of their own, rather than attend the official ceremonies. Teachers were threatened with withdrawal of pay and students were threatened with exclusion, but this still did not deter students from participating in non-official ceremonies (Aspinall 2001: 80-81). The small victories of the students and teachers were, however, short lived, a new principal was assigned to the school who agreed to hold both the official ceremony and the student celebrations. Teachers were replaced by management track teachers, teachers, who have taken the vice-principle examinations and are therefore more likely to follow government guidelines (Aspinall 2001: 89-90). In the long term, student protesters and teachers who opposed government guidelines did not win any victories.

Although the battle for gender equality is a different subject, similar government tactics could be used to stop people protesting against gender inequalities in education. In fact, it could be argued that the situation is indeed more severe, as the number of female teachers in positions of power, are few, even at elementary school

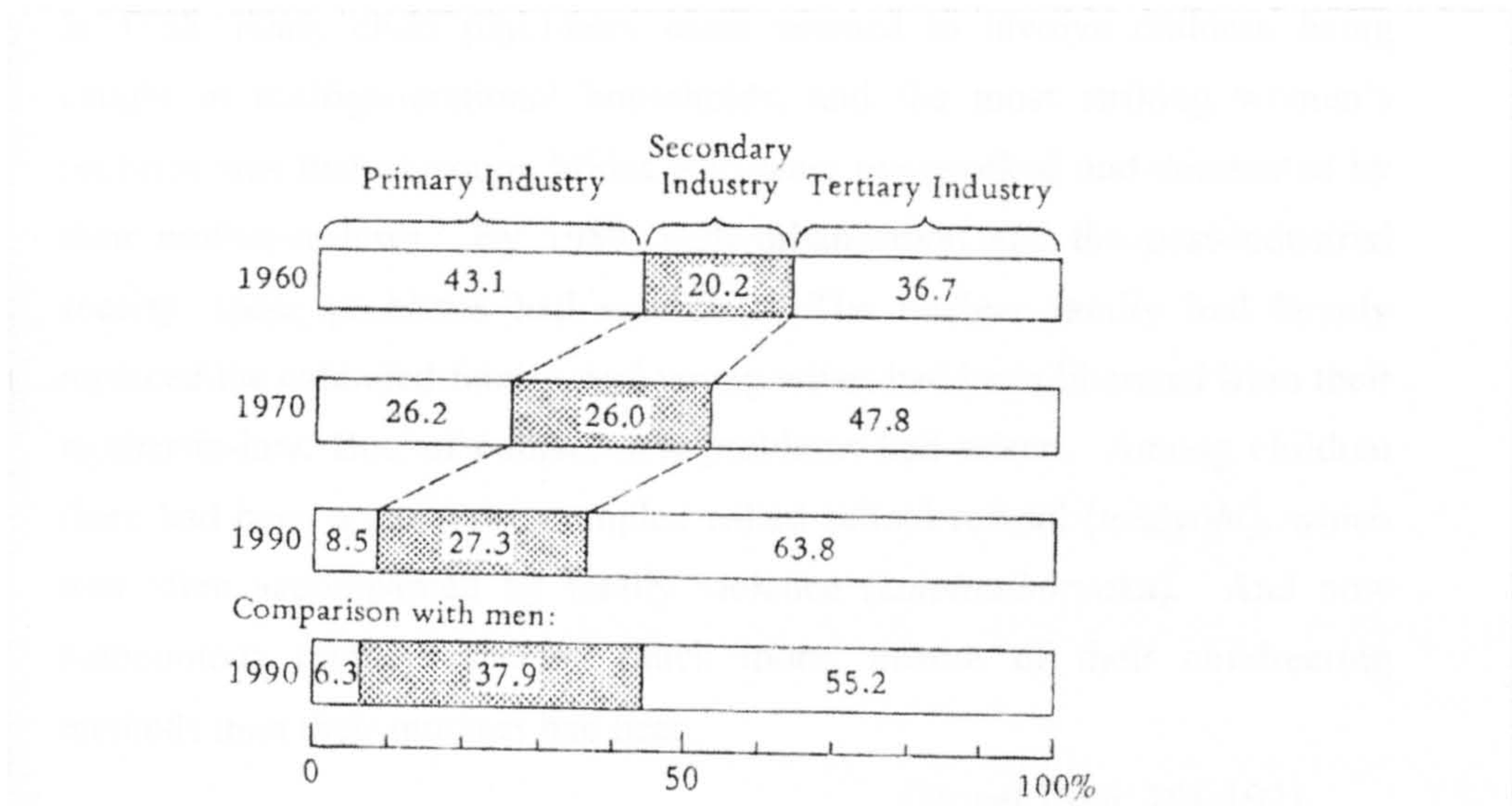
[54] In 1989, the Ministry of Education instructed all boards of education to fly the flag and sing the national anthem at school ceremonies (Aspinall 2001: 79).

level compared with men. If the central government is unwilling to tackle the issues of gender bias and discrimination in schools, then fringe group organisations trying to fight discrimination are placed in a very weak position. Gender discrimination in Japan needs to be addressed at all levels of society; however, gender segregation and stereotyping in schools perpetuates gender bias in higher education resulting in sexist work practices in the labour market. New legislation brought out to protect women in the work place is already in force and yet nothing is being done at a governmental level to alleviate sexist gender practices in education. At a grass-roots level more initiatives are being taken by teachers and feminist organisations to address gender inequality in schools, yet, these actions are extremely limited. Without active help and input from the government little can be done to change deep-rooted sexist traditional attitudes existing in today's Japanese education system.

Urban Gender Relations

Over the last five decades, significant changes and developments have occurred in relationships between Japanese men and women, both in private and in public. Changes in post-industrial Japan can be seen in statistics taken from Iwao's (1994) research. Iwao points out that in 1960, 43% of women were employed in primary work,

mainly agriculture, 20% in secondary industry and 37% in the tertiary sector as diagram2.1 clearly shows.



Source: Bureau of Statistics, Management and Coordination Agency. *Labor Force Survey* and data from the national censuses.

Diagram 2.1: Industry Distribution of Women Workers (in percentages) (Iwao 1994: 160)

By 1990, the largest number of female workers worked in the tertiary sector (mainly clerical positions) and the number of female workers in the primary sector (including agriculture) dramatically decreased to only 6.3% (Iwao 1994: 160). Japan's rapid post war development and subsequent economic boom increased opportunities for women seeking employment. The glamour of big city life lured many Japanese women from their rural origins in hope of pursuing a more sophisticated and prosperous lifestyle.

However, as Vogel has noted, the development of a post industrial urbanised Japan brought with it a new set of social problems as the following quotation describes:

> In 1958, many child psychiatry cases seemed to involve children being caught in multigenerational households, and the most striking women's problem was that of young brides who were overworked and dominated by their mother-in-laws. By 1989, with urbanisation and the post-industrial society, these problems had subsided. The nuclear family had largely replaced the extended family, and young wives had been liberated from their mother-in-law. But, of course, new problems had arisen. Among children there had been a symptom complex called school refusal (*tokōyohi*), which was often accompanied by family violence (*kateinaibōryoku*). And now autonomous mothers seemed much more, unsure of their childrearing methods than their mothers had been.
>
> (Vogel 1996: 191-192)

The time frame (1958 to 1989) Vogel talks about closely follows the same time trajectory as the statistics Iwao took from the Management and Coordination Agency. It is clear that during this time there was a major shift in the life pattern of married Japanese women, a shift away from the traditional family system founded on Confucian notions of filial piety to a more independent structure of the nuclear family. According to Vogel (1996: 193) possible reasons for modern day social stresses within the family include: the examination system discussed previously in this chapter, the emotional and physical absence of a father figure, over indulgence of children, and the intensity of the mother-child bond.

White (2002: 123) also explains what she sees as the correlation between pre-urban and post-urban Japan by stating the cause of gender divisions in modern Japanese families:

> The classical Confucian model demanded obedience to fathers, husbands, and sons within families; now workplaces, social institutions, and policies reinforce a gender bias. Behind these corporate perspectives, the model for women's lives is not Confucian but middle-class, assuming a functional distinction between men's and women's roles in the family.
>
> (White 2002: 123)

Again White's argument supports the idea that Confucian notions of filial piety have been replaced by middle class urban values based upon patriarchal corporations. In spite of legal attempts to pre-empt gender divisions within the corporate structure little progress has been made.

In 1947, the Japanese Labour Standards Law was established, which included menstruation leave, as well as restrictions on overtime, nightshifts, and dangerous jobs. By the beginning of the 1980s some women felt that the Labour Standard's Law worked against women in that it excluded them from some areas of work men were permitted to do (Iwao 1994: 176). The Labour Standards Law reflected the gender bias prevalent in Japanese society at that time, such as Japanese women were weaker than men and they were mainly responsible for household chores and child care. Consequently, women were employed only in supportive roles with a lower pay scale

to men and were often forced to leave their place of employment after they reached a certain age (Aoshima 2001: 130). In an attempt to abolish these negative stereotypes regarding women the Equal Employment Opportunity Law (EEOL) was established in 1986. Although the restrictions placed upon women in the Labour Standards Law were amended and employers were encouraged to recruit and hire based on egalitarian principles, there were absolutely no rules of enforcement and so the new law, for the most part, was ignored (Iwao 1994: 186).

When the bubble economy burst in 1992, female graduates began to experience blatant sexual discrimination in recruitment and employment practices, which led to an increase in malpractice court cases. Moreover, Japan was also under pressure from the International Labour Organisation (ILO) and the UN to change the Equal Employment Opportunity Law in order to make it easier for women to be employed on an equal basis with men (Aoshima 2002: 132). Accordingly, in 1996 amendments were made to the EEOL but as was the case in 1986, the EEOL, unlike similar legislation in other industrialised countries, only concentrates on discrimination against women and not men. Nevertheless, it was hoped that these revisions would prevent sexual discrimination by allowing women to be recruited and promoted on an equal basis to men. Moreover, changes in the law were made to improve the situation for women

who wished to have children and carry on working, as well as creating a working environment more suited to family life (*Rōdōshō Joseikyoku* 1999: 23).

Under the new revisions the practise of recruitment and employment based on *doryoku gimu* was abolished (*Rōdōshō Joseikyoku* 1999: 23). *Doryoku gimu* was a system whereby employers were able to decide the recruitment, placement and promotion of employees based on the provision that employees have an "obligation to make an effort."[55] Given that women were mainly recruited to lower positions than men, because of this system, chances of equal pay and promotion were extremely limited.

For example, employers in Japan practise a form of recruitment and employment based on a double track system, namely, the general track (*ippanshoku*) and the integrated track (*sōgōshoku*). The integrated system is overwhelmingly male, while the general track mainly comprises of women (Aoshima 2002: 142). Although, the amendments to the EEOL were supposed to eliminate recruitment and employment based on this double track system, companies have been slower to change. A survey in 1998 carried out by the Women's department of the Ministry of Health, Labour, and Welfare showed that a high percentage of finance and insurance companies still

[55] The phrase "obligation to make an effort" has been translated in different ways, for example Nakano (1996: 66) has used the term "abilities and willingness" and Kuwahara (1986) has translated it as "do the best effort duty."

practised the dual system of employment (42%), following these were real estate agencies at 15.4% (Aoshima 2002: 144).

Nevertheless, the work cycle of Japanese women is slowly beginning to change and the famous M shape is beginning to decrease and even out to form a mesa shaped curve similar to that found in France, Canada, and Scandinavian countries (Iwao 1993: 196; White 2002: 127). Diagram 2.2 shows that an increasing number of women are continuing to work even after giving birth. One more option facing Japanese women which is reflected in the changing work patterns is the increased reluctance to marry, since the year 2000, the number of marriages, for both men and women, in Japan has been steadily decreasing (*Danjo Dēta Bukku* 2006: 18). Since the Japanese bubble economy burst in 1992, Japanese people have been much more cautious about making commitments, and in the case of marriage and child rearing, the financial commitment can be seen to be a major deterrent to marriage.

Diagram 2.2 Life Choices for Women and Men
(White 2002: 127)

Life Choices for Women and Men 127

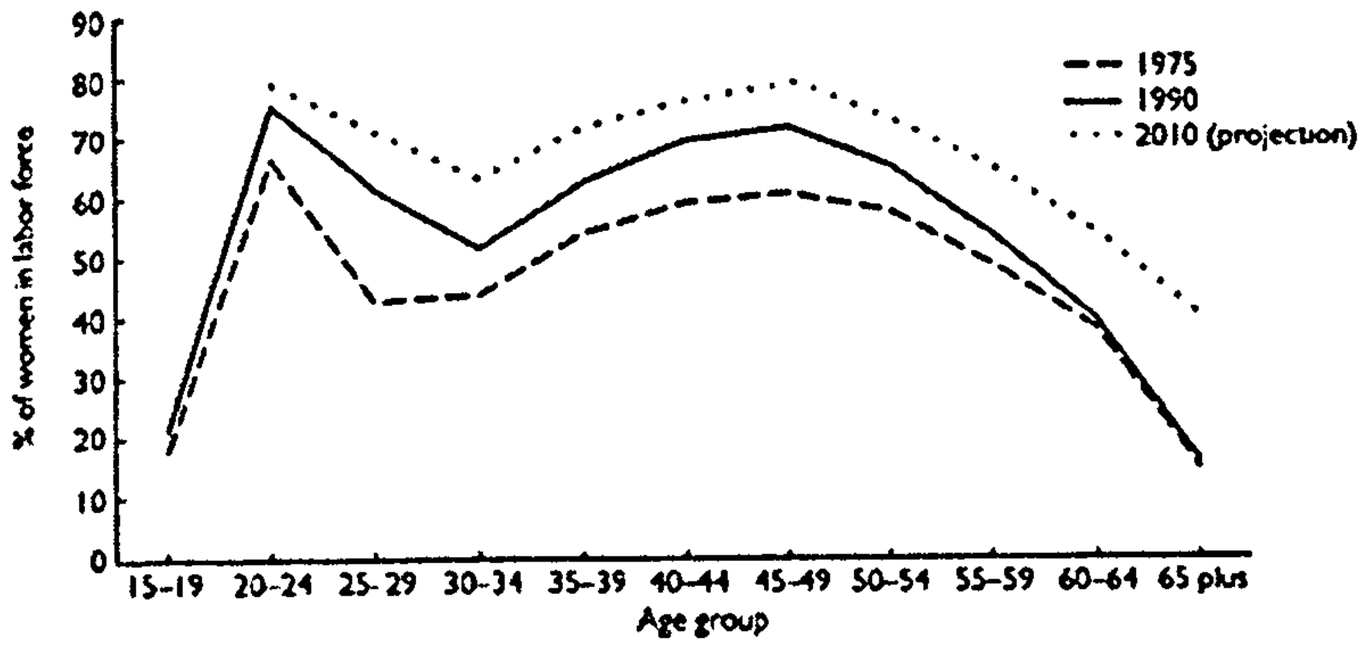


Figure 3. Labor force participation rates for women, 1975–2010: the M-curve. Data for 1975, 1990 from Sumiko Iwao, *The Japanese Woman* (New York: Free Press, 1993); projection for 2010 from *Economisto*, July 20, 1993, 29.

The age at which young people are marrying is increasing, in 2004 the average age for women to marry was 29.2 and for men 31.5 (*Danjo Dēta Bukku* 2006). In spite of this age increase, there is still a huge amount of pressure to marry in Japan and unmarried women who are thirty five or over are thought to be unlucky, or outside of the marriage market (White 2002: 123-124).

In general, the concept of a single woman being happy and living a fulfilled life is not publically acknowledged or even widely accepted. However, in reality, there is an increase in the number of women who are simply refusing to marry and are living a free and independent life away from the perceived grind of wifedom and motherhood.

These women are quite content to earn their own money, pursue hobbies, and socialise with likeminded friends. They may feel pressure to marry, but in some cases this makes them all the more determined to carry on with their bachelorette life style.

Concurrent with the increase in bachelorette lifestyles is the reluctance Japanese young people have towards childrearing. At the moment, it is thought that Japanese couples are more likely to buy small fashionable pedigree dogs than they are to have children and the number of small pedigree dogs is rumoured to outnumber newborn babies. This is not as unbelievable as it seems, all one has to do is to take a trip to the increasing number of outlet stores where shopping trolleys with child seats line up next to shopping trolleys with seats for dogs. In parks, one can often see couples pushing what appears to be a newborn baby in a pram only to find upon closer inspection that it is a small pedigree dog of some description. Restaurants are allowing dogs to sit with owners on their terraces and some restaurants have special play areas for dogs (not children). Whereas once it was nearly impossible to find a proprietor willing to accept pets (without paying astronomical fees) it is now commonplace to see apartments advertised as welcoming pets.

Single women wishing to have children and become single mothers, face extreme social criticism and often the trauma of terminating a pregnancy is more

palatable than carrying the child to full term. Recently, hospitals have created a system whereby unwanted babies can be dropped off safely and taken care of immediately, without repercussions to the parents. Although controversial, this system is being used and parents who drop the babies off in this manner are writing letters to the hospitals explaining why they can no longer look after their children.

Inadequate maternity leave and childcare leave, lack of sufficient childcare services and the prospect of having to put a child through schooling and university are all factors influencing a married couple's decision to not have children. In 2004, only 27.9% of households had children under the age of eighteen (*Danjo Dēta Bukku* 2006: 26). In 1989, the average birth rate in Japan dropped to 1.57 children and is still decreasing and has presently reached 1.34, and is predicted to be 1.32 by the year 2010 (*Danjo Dēta Bukku* 2006: 184; White 2002: 145). The main reason people cite for not wanting to have children is economic, people simply feel they do not earn enough money to sustain a family (*Danjo Dēta Bukku* 2006: 184).

Japanese women face a vicious circle if they wish to have children, maintain a decent lifestyle, and carry on working under satisfactory conditions. More often than not, husbands are still expected to work long hours leaving responsibility of juggling childcare and working hours on the mother. In addition to this, women have to put up

with unsatisfactory working conditions where they are paid less than men, and have little chance of promotion. Voices of protest are being heard and women's networks at a grass-roots level are beginning to develop a web of national support in an attempt to eradicate unfair sexist practices towards women.

The Campus Sexual Harassment National Network.

One such grass-roots organisation is the Campus Sexual Harassment National network established by Watanabe Kazuko 1997.[56] Externally, Watanabe Kazuko was the public face of the Network and, on an internal level, the knot that held the Network together. Watanabe Kazuko intended to establish a socially diverse network whereby information could be freely relayed between members and action could be undertaken to solve the problem of sexual harassment on University campuses.

> *Nettowāku to wa, kotonaru tachiba no hitotachi ga rōryoku, chishiki, kone nado wo dashiai, sorera no jōhō no jyushin to hasshin ni yotte mondai no kaiketsu wo mezasu undo hōhō de aru.* (The network is a vehicle, which aims to solve problems according to the information gathered and analysed via the gathering of connections, knowledge, and efforts of people with different viewpoints.)
>
> (Watanabe 2001: 6)

The network is divided into ten different nodes[57] (Hokkaido, Tohoku, Kanto, Hokuriku, Tokai, Kansai, Chukoku, Shikoku, Kyushu, Okinawa) each node is an

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[56]Professor Kazuko Watanabe (1944-2000) was a professor at Kyoto Sangyo University in the foreign language department. She dedicated her life to women's issues and worked tirelessly for the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network.

[57] The Campus Sexual Harassment National Network uses the word block (*burokku*) to indicate geographical areas, which together form the network. According to the principles of a network each

independent centre of activity and is connected to other nodes through newsletters and mailing lists. Although each node has volunteers to administer the running of that particular centre, it was necessary to have someone regulate the administration of the network as a whole; Watanabe Kazuko took on this role.

The main aim of the network is to act as a source of information and an advisory service about the problem of campus sexual harassment. However, within the first year of being established, each node had over a hundred cases of sexual harassment to manage. In most cases, individuals described a scenario of unwelcome behaviour and then enquired if this behaviour was, in fact, sexual harassment. It soon became evident that acting solely as a source of information and advisory service was inadequate for the demands being made. In January of 1998, at the second national meeting of the network, the possibility of expanding the focus of the network to include a system of psychological support for survivors, as well as legal support was discussed. As a result of this meeting, a book entitled *Kyanpasu sekushuaru harasumento "koe wo agetai" anata no sasae to naru tame ni* (Sexual Harassment on Campus: Support yourself "raise your voice"), (Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 1998), was published. In 1994, The Women's Studies Association of Japan led by Professor Watanabe sent a

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block is connected with all its counterparts, therefore I used the term node in preference to the literal translation 'block.'

statement to the Minister of Education outlining proposals designed to protect female academics from sexual harassment. The proclamation demanded that all academic institutions create guidelines concerning sexual harassment, and provide advisory services and places of protection for victims. It also demanded that all academic institutions provide regular training about sexual harassment to staff and students alike. Thirdly, it urged the Minister of Education to support the equal opportunity law by employing more female academics, and to actively try and eradicate the sexist hierarchical structure of universities, which in itself was a breeding ground for sexual harassment (Kitanaka 2001; Takahashi 2003). In 1996, Professor Watanabe, began discussions with the Women's Research Association of Japan, as well as the Japanese Association for the Improvement of Conditions for Female Scientists about the necessity of a national network to protect female academics and students alike against abuse in academia. (Kitanaka 2001: 110). These proposals, as well as the climate of awareness in Japan, led to the establishment of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network using Nagoya as the initial administrative base. For victims of sexual harassment the network provides a chance to share experiences with other victims of sexual harassment (Mori 2001: 123).

The Campus Sexual Harassment National Network is now an established organisation: it has very little power to prevent incidents of sexual harassment being committed, but it does act as a support system for all university members. At meetings, prevention strategies are discussed, and effective prevention measures are shared and taken back to one's own university to try. If a case of sexual harassment is to be taken to court, then members of the network will accompany the victim to the courthouse and listen to the trial thereby offering moral and psychological support. The network also acts as an invaluable resource centre for individuals wanting information on sexual harassment at universities. Because of independent organisations like the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network, awareness of the problem of sexual harassment is slowly on the increase. Furthermore, legislation introduced in 1999 regarding sexual harassment is intended to support the work grass roots organisations are already trying to accomplish.

Chapter Three
Sexual Harassment in the Workplace: A Ubiquitous Problem

During the 1980s, and to a certain extent throughout the nineties western media went into a frenzy over the economic success of corporate Japan. Japanese companies invested in factories in Britain and in the United States introducing to the West a new way of doing business (Higashi 1990; Minami 1994; Tachi 1993; Strange 1993). Not surprisingly the image the West had, and to a certain extent still has, of Japan was the stereotypical image of the Japanese businessman living and dying for his company.[58] The dominant images of Japanese women were those of good wife and wise mother as discussed in chapter two, and the reality of the Japanese career woman was not taken seriously. Young women entering four-year university courses were few and far between and successful female academics were few in numbers. Universities, like private and public enterprises were also breeding grounds for gender division, manipulation and harassment.

For centuries women have experienced sexually harassing behaviour, moreover, this unwanted, unwelcome sexual behaviour, has formed an integral part of the

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[58]This image has been propagated by popular media with films like *Rising Sun* (1993) which although set in the U.S.A has images of robot-like Japanese businessmen committing suicide rather than loosing face. However, to a certain extent the image of living and dying for ones company is true as death from overwork (*karōshi*), although not a common occurrence, does happen and is no longer limited to just men (Kumazawa 1996; Nolte 1991; Nishiyama 1992).

discriminatory process women of all cultures were, and still are, subjected to. Wise and Stanley (1987) note that words and phrases such as sexual harassment, racism, and mugging are recent additions to our lexicon. The creation of this new vocabulary came about because of people's unwillingness to accept violence and abuse.[59] The fight for equality at home and in the workplace was now firmly entrenched in both cultures.

Famous second wave feminists such as Betty Friedan (1997, 1983), Germaine Greer (1970), Simone de Beauvoir (1953), and Shulamith Firestone (1979), created a global awareness about the plethora of problems and issues women must tackle throughout their lives. One issue facing women was that of unwanted, unwelcome sexual behaviour at work. Many women found themselves having to choose between repulsive sexual advances or unemployment. Spearheaded by Lin Farley, a group of female academics finally named this unwelcome sexual behaviour. Furthermore, Farley's book entitled *Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job* (1978) was the first publication to describe unwelcome sexual behaviours women experienced in the work place. The term sexual harassment was born and quickly infiltrated its way into everyday language. Feminist organisations on both sides of the

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[59]Sievers (1983), uses the term sexual harassment to describe the treatment of women in textile mills at the beginning of the twentieth century even though the term was unknown at this point in time. Although, the phrase sexual harassment had not been coined yet, one form of maltreatment Japanese women endured in the textile mills was unwelcome, unwanted sexual attention from male employees, which in modern terms would be classed as sexual harassment.

globe began to fight to create legislation, which would protect working women from unwanted sexual advances.

Definitions of Sexual Harassment

An immediate problem began to emerge as the phrase sexual harassment was propelled into the media spotlight. It was one thing to name the unwanted behaviour, but quite another issue to create a workable definition of sexual harassment, which would stand up in a court of law. Sexual harassment was an explosive and controversial issue, denial of its very existence had been ensconced in societies throughout the world for centuries, and suddenly, what was once considered to be just a bit of harmless fun was soon to become illegal. In order for sexual harassment to be accepted as a legitimate complaint, clear definitions of sexual harassment needed to be drawn up. The United States already had procedures in place making it illegal to discriminate against anyone at work based on race, colour, religion, national origin, and sex under the 1964 Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. This was the first step in acknowledging discrimination against women in the workplace. It took a further twelve years for *quid pro quo* sexual harassment to be recognised as an illegal form of sex discrimination under title VII.

Two types of sexual harassment were eventually defined, these are, *quid pro quo* sexual harassment and "hostile environment" sexual harassment. The definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment in the United States is as follows:

> *Quid pro quo* sexual harassment occurs when an individual's submission to or rejection of sexual advances or conduct of a sexual nature is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting the individual or the individual's submission to such conduct is made a term or condition of employment.
>
> (Wyatt 2005)

Quid pro quo sexual harassment is extremely difficult to prove, a prime example of *Quid pro Quo* sexual harassment is that of a female employee being made to accept sexual advances from her boss in order to either be promoted or receive a pay rise.

The second form of sexual harassment, "hostile environment" sexual harassment is defined in the United States as follows:

> "Hostile environment" sexual harassment occurs when unwelcome sexual conduct unreasonably interferes with an individual's job performance or creates a hostile, intimidating or offensive work environment even though the harassment may not result in tangible or economic job consequences, that is, the person may not lose pay or a promotion. Employers, supervisors, co-workers, customers, or clients can create a hostile work environment.
>
> (Wyatt 2005)

Examples of "hostile environment" sexual harassment are placing nude pictures of women in and around the workplace, or making sexist derogatory comments about women in the workplace. Although this is form of harassment is easier to identify it does not mean to say that it is more proliferate than *quid pro quo* sexual harassment.

Because of the sensitivity surrounding the subject of sexual harassment defining it will always be problematic. To date, definitions have broadly fallen into two categories, namely; *priori* definitions and empirical definitions. Most definitions of sexual harassment fall into the former category and are theoretical in nature and usually take the following two forms:

> 1. This form of definition describes the nature of the behaviour and sometimes this includes the status of the persons involved, but what it doesn't do is list a set of particular behaviours as examples of sexual harassment.
> 2. The second form of definition lists specific actions but gives no formal account of the framework from which the list came from.
>
> (Fitzgerald 1996: 25)

Empirical definitions of sexual harassment tend to be used by academic researchers and are usually created from the results of a list of questions put to a group of women who are asked to describe any sexually harassing behaviour they have experienced. These behaviours are then classified into different types of harassment.

Application of the Law

Even today, thirty years after sexual harassment was first recognised as unwanted behaviour, it is extremely difficult to bring a case of sexual harassment to court, often the victim of sexual harassment has had to leave her job before she has collected sufficient evidence to support a court case. Thirty years ago in the United States it was significantly more challenging to bring a case of sexual harassment to

court and have a successful outcome as sexual harassment was more often than not treated as a personal conflict between the individuals involved rather than a form of sexual discrimination under Title VII.[60]

Although the above view may seem unthinkable today, in the early 1970s a connection between sexual harassment and employment had not yet been made. The first case in the United States to connect employment with sexual harassment was in 1976, when it was decided by the District Court that Dianne Williams was a victim of sex discrimination after she refused sexual advances from her Department of Justice supervisor and was unfairly penalised because of this. By ruling in favour of Dianne Williams *quid pro quo* sexual harassment was placed centre stage and could no longer be considered just a personal problem between two individuals (Watts 1996: 10; Kamiya 1999: 4; MacKinnon 1979: 63-65).[61]

In 1977, in a similar case to *Williams v. Saxbe*, the Court of Appeals for the District Court of Columbia Circuit overruled a lower court decision, which went against

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[60]In 1975, the case *Corne and DeVane v. Bausch and Lomb Inc.*, was described as "nothing more than personal proclivity, peculiarity or mannerism." Also in the case *Tomkins v. Public Service Electric and Gas Co.* (1976), the view upheld was that Title VII was "not intended to provide a federal tort remedy for what amounts to a physical attack motivated by sexual desire on the part of a supervisor and which happened to occur in a cooperative corridor rather than a back alley (Rubenstein 1983: 3)."

[61]For a detailed summary and analysis of prominent sexual harassment court cases in the United States see. MacKinnon (1979) and Cornell University (2005).

the plaintiff Paulette Barnes in her case of sexual harassment. Once again the case dealt with a woman who was seeking redress after her relationship with her boss disintegrated when she refused his sexual advances (MacKinnon 1979: 65-68; Kamiya 1999: 4). The original ruling decided that Barnes had not been discriminated against because she had refused to go to bed with her boss, but the final decision went in her favour with the following conclusion:

> But for her womanhood—said the Court of Appeals—her participation in sexual activity would never have been solicited. To say, then, that she was victimised in her employment simply because she declined the invitation is to ignore the asserted fact that she was invited only because she was a woman subordinate to the inviter in the hierarchy of agency personnel. Put another way, she became the target of her supervisor's sexual desires because she was a woman, and was asked to bow to his demands as the price of holding her job
>
> (Rubenstein 1983: 4; MacKinnon 1979: 67-68)

Therefore, the conclusion to the case was that Ms. Barnes had been discriminated against on the grounds of sex and the case did recognise sexual harassment as unlawful as long as sufficient evidence was produced to prove that employment retaliation had indeed taken place after sexual advances had been rejected.

The link with employment became a vital factor in deciding whether a case of sexual harassment would be successful or not in the case of *Fischer v. Flyn* (1979), the university lecturer was unsuccessful in her claim because she had not shown:

a sufficient nexus between her refusal to accede to the romantic overtures and her termination. She has not alleged that the department chairman had the authority to terminate her employment or effectively recommend the same... For all that appears, the romantic overtures were but an unsatisfactory encounter with no employment repercussions and consequently not actionable.

(Rubenstein 1983: 4)

Although it is essential to create boundaries between what amounts to personal sexual liaisons in an office environment between consenting adults, and sexual harassment, it is also important to realise that sexual harassment can take place even if employment retaliation is not experienced. Moreover, this confined view of sexual harassment does not enable women to seek redress if they are suffering from sexually harassing behaviour but have not experienced any direct employment retaliation. The options open to these women are very limited, the longer they suffer in silence the more likely they are to suffer from poor health and low self esteem, which in return will affect their performance at work. Ironically, the longer this behaviour is endured the more evidence can be collected to ensure the case goes to court, but even if a case goes to court there is no guarantee that the court will rule in favour of the plaintiff.

"Hostile environment" sexual harassment took longer to be recognised in court, in part because many of the behaviours, which fall under the umbrella of "hostile environment" sexual harassment were considered to be normal office banter between colleagues. At the time, it seemed incredulous that anyone would be offended by what

was considered harmless, flirtatious fun, we have to remember though, that in the 1970s and early 1980s women held far fewer positions of authority than they do today. The workplace was a man's domain and men were far less likely to see a sexist joke as sexist or offensive, and sexual innuendos made towards women were normal and to be endured rather than complained about. In other words, one person in the workplace may find sexual banter and jokes quite offensive, however; another person in the same office may find this type of behaviour completely acceptable. In this instance, the offended person may feel acutely reticent about coming forward to complain for fear of being named the office prude. The issue is further exacerbated because "hostile environment" sexual harassment does not necessarily mean the victim has suffered any form of employment retaliation.[62]

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[62]The first court case to recognise "hostile environment sexual harassment in the United States was the *Brown versus the City of Gutherie* case in 1980.

> A district court cited the EEOC guidelines and determined sexual harassment violates Title VII... when "such conduct has the purpose or effect of substantially interfering with an individual's work performance or creating an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment .
>
> (Goldman 2005)

In 1986, *Meritor Savings Bank FSB v. Vinson*, is a prominent illustration of *hostile environment* sexual harassment. The woman in question was made to feel unwelcome in the branch office by the branch manager, and although the woman had been promoted and therefore, had not suffered any kind of economic disadvantage, the working environment was found to be antagonistic. In 1993, in the case of *Harris v. Forklift Systems*, Inc., the manager made derogatory comments about women in front of his employees. He also made suggestions such as "If you visit a hotel with me I will show you how to increase your salary", thus creating an aggressive and hostile environment towards women. In 1998, yet another case of *hostile environment* sexual harassment came to court in *Foragher v. City of Boca Raton*, the case involved coast guards in the city of Boca Raton, in the city of Boca Raton ten percent of women are coast guards, and all received blatant derogatory verbal sexual harassment (Kamiya 1999: 5-7). In the

Creating a harmonious working environment means respecting those people you work with, by saying that only men can do a certain kind of work or that only women can do menial or clerical work does not create a comfortable working environment. Excluding women from the mainstream workforce also reduces productivity, as women employees' skills are not recognised and therefore female employees are underutilized. In Japan, legal redress against sexual harassment came much later than in the United States, but when it did arrive, much of the information and research bore a striking similarity to work in the United States.

The Situation in Japan

In recent years, an accumulation of Japanese research about sexual harassment and a number of very public court cases involving prominent public figures placed the issue of sexual harassment in the public spotlight. Japan was forced to recognise sexual harassment as a national problem, and not an issue, confined to the Western world. In April 1999, the Japanese government realised the need to amend existing laws to include sexual harassment under article twenty-one of the *Equal Opportunity Law*. For the first time in Japan's legal history, sexual harassment against a woman was not just a

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same year, a male employee took his company to court in the case *Oncale v. Sundowner Offshore Services, Inc.* The working environment was male only and the man in question had problems with his male colleagues, when he complained to the manager he was ignored. Eventually he resigned and was then subjected to verbal sexual harassment; the court decided that although all of the people involved were men the behaviour did constitute sexual harassment.

personal problem between two individuals; it was now the responsibility of the employer to make sure sexual harassment did not happen in the work place (Saiki 2001: 32). Two types of sexual harassment are defined in the new legislation; these are *quid pro quo* sexual harassment (*taikakata sekushuaru harasumento*) and "hostile environment" sexual harassment (*kankyōkata sekushuaru harasumento*). The definitions of both types of sexual harassment were adapted from definitions in the United States 'Equal Employment Opportunities Commission' (EEOC) (Saiki 2001: 33). Table 3.1 and 3.2 illustrates how closely linked the definitions are:

Table 3.1: Definitions of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment in Japan and the United States

Definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment in Japan	Definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment in the United States
"*Josei rōdōsha no i ni hansuru seitekina gendō ni taisuru josei rōdōsha no taiō ni yotte, sono josei rōdō ga kaiko, kōkaku genkyū nado no furieki wo keru koto desu.*" (Depending upon the female employee's reaction to unwanted sexual behaviour the female employee is disadvantaged through [such actions as] dismissal, demotion, or reduction in salary.) (Rōdōshō 1999: 7)	*Quid pro quo* sexual harassment occurs when an individual's submission to or rejection of sexual advances or conduct of a sexual nature is used as the basis for employment decisions affecting the individual or the individual's submission to such conduct is made a term or condition of employment. (Wyatt 2005)

Table 3.2: Definitions of "hostile environment" sexual harassment in Japan and the United States

Definition of "hostile environment" sexual harassment in Japan	Definition of "hostile environment" sexual harassment in the United States
"*Josei rōdōsha no i ni hansuru seitekina gendō ni yori, josei rōdōsha no shokugyō ga fukaina mono to natta tame, nōryoku no hakki ni jūdai na akueikyō ga shōjiru nado, sono josei rōdōsha ga shokugyōsuru uede misugosenai teido no shishō i ga shōjiru koto desu.*"(Unwanted sexual behaviour towards a female employee which creates an uncomfortable working environment for the female employee which seriously affects her abilities [at work]) (Rōdōshō 1999: 7)	"Hostile environment" sexual harassment occurs when unwelcome sexual conduct unreasonably interferes with an individual's job performance or creates a hostile, intimidating or offensive work environment even though the harassment may not result in tangible or economic job consequences, that is, the person may not lose pay or a promotion. Employers, supervisors, co-workers, customers, or clients can create a hostile work environment. (Wyatt 2005)

One major difference in the definitions of sexual harassment is the fact that Japanese legislation focuses only on sexual harassment against women and does not include men in its definition of both types of harassment. In contrast, legislation in the United States is designed to include both sexual harassment against men, and against women; it also recognises same sex sexual harassment.[63]

In Japan, sexual harassment is closely linked with gendered notions of sex and the allotted roles Japanese women and men are supposed to fulfil in society. The new legislation questions these roles and government guidelines are warning companies to take complaints by female workers seriously even if these complaints fall into what is known as the *grey zone* (*gurē zōn*), see diagram 3.1 for details.

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[63] In 1998, the American High Court had to make judgements on an unusually high number of sexual harassment cases and although the majority of victims in these cases were women the question being posed in the legal system was "Can men be sexually harassed?" (Kamiya 1999: 3). The American High Court decided that sexual harassment could be committed by anyone on anyone, for example, sexual harassment could be committed from a man to a woman, from a woman to a man, from a man to a man, or a woman to a woman. Even though the reality of the situation is that the overwhelming majority of victims of sexual harassment are females of reproductive age (Fremling 1999: 1077).

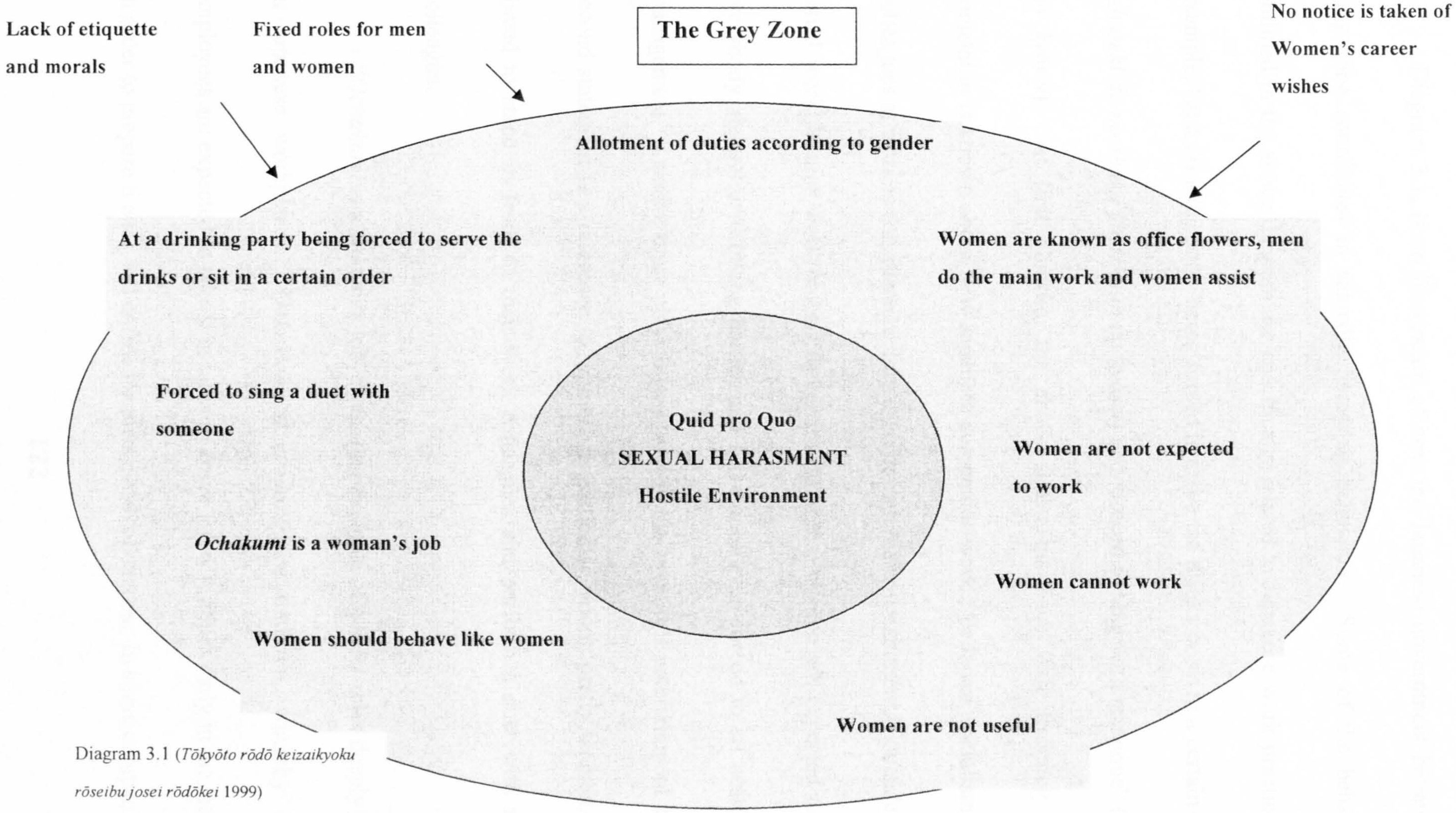

Diagram 3.1 (*Tōkyōto rōdō keizaikyoku rōseibu josei rōdōkei* 1999)

Diagram 3.1, is an illustration of how the Japanese government believes the grey zone contributes to sexually harassing behaviour. Some of the behaviours outlined in the above diagram are specifically related to Japanese work practices, for example, "at a drinking party being forced to serve the drinks or sit in a certain order" (s*huseki de no shaku ya sekijun no kyōsei*) and "forced to sing with someone" (*duetto no kyōsei*). At first glimpse, the above statements have little meaning unless something is known about how Japanese companies work. In Japan, socialising with colleagues at work is considered a duty even though the entertainment is outside of the actual workplace or work times. In certain instances, women are expected to serve everybody alcohol at drinking parties and sometimes even forced to sit near senior management. Karaoke often plays a large part in the evening's entertainment and the second statement is a reference to women, in particular, young pretty women, being forced to stand in front of their work colleagues and perform a duet with a male colleague.

"*Ochakumi* is a woman's job" is another example of gender roles deeply rooted in Japanese workplaces. *Ochakumi* is a workplace tradition, whereby female employees are expected to take it in turns to arrive a few minutes early in the morning, in order to prepare the tea and coffee for their male colleagues. In some companies not

only are female employees required to prepare the drinks, they are also obliged to serve the drinks to their male colleagues; when guests arrive in a company female employees are also expected to serve the drinks. Other duties related to *ochakumi* involve clearing and washing up dirty pots, which have been used throughout the day.

The concept of *ochakumi* has become so institutionalised that female recruits are presented with guidebooks about how to serve tea; these guidebooks are precise in their instructions and include such details as the appropriate temperature necessary for certain types of tea. Although Japanese women may feel they have to acquiesce to such duties, it is a source of irritation for them, Ogasawara (1998: 40) notes: "It was only in serving tea that women had to put aside whatever they were doing and follow the orders of men. Tea pouring reminded women they did not have control over their time."

Overcoming such biased opinions of women is a major battle in the fight to create a well-balanced and fair working environment for Japanese women.

By setting out guidelines explaining different types of sexually harassing behaviour the Japanese government hopes to change the image of Japanese female employees. The Ministry of Labour is trying to increase awareness about the role of women at work, businesses are encouraged to stop regarding their female employees as peripheral objects to be seen but not really utilised. Japanese women are still expected

to leave their place of employment once they are married, and in some cases, single women who reach the age of thirty are encouraged to leave the company in order to make way for a younger model.

By treating women according to gendered stereotypes the risk of sexually harassing behaviour in the workplace increases, some social science scholars in the United States have created a theory known as the sex role spill-over theory to explain why sexual harassment happens in the workplace (Gutek 1985). The theory assumes that workplaces are asexual, gender-neutral environments and only become sexual when employees bring their gendered notions of masculinity and femininity into the working environment. Once sexuality has been introduced into the workplace, women are then first seen as women, then secondly as workers and in a female dominated workplace men tend to take on the role of male aggressor (Rogers 1997: 216). The problem with this theory is, if employees implant the behaviour into the workplace, then the assumption is that the behaviour itself is created outside of the workplace. This in turn begs the question, to what extent are organisations responsible for sexually harassing behaviour on their premises (Rogers 1997: 216).

As mentioned previously, recent developments regarding sexual harassment law in Japan came about because of a series of very public cases of sexual harassment.

These cases made headline news in Japan in the late 1980s and 1990s. The first major case to receive public scrutiny in Japan was in Fukuoka in 1989. This lawsuit was brought to the attention of the mass media and as a result, the phrase *sekuhara* penetrated the Japanese lexicon. After the Fukuoka case and judgement in 1992, a succession of court cases followed, debates about sexual harassment had begun and evaluation and responsibility of the issue became a burning topic. The Fukuoka case was important in that the judgement recognised "hostile environment" sexual harassment, and admitted that it was the duty of the employer to change the working environment. Sexual harassment was now a problem for Japanese society as a whole and not just a problem for women (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 1). In a survey conducted in 1989 by Asahi television, seventy-eight companies out of a total of eighty said they had not thought about policies on sexual harassment at all. Since 1992, however, companies have begun to take the issue of sexual harassment seriously and have begun to investigate the problem. (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 6-7).

Previous to this landmark case, sexual harassment was seen as a slackening of discipline in the workplace, it was seen as a personal issue and sexual violence and

discrimination against women were not clearly defined within employment terminology.[64]

Reported cases of sexual harassment have risen in Japan, in 1998 the Ministry of Labour's advisory service reported 7,019 cases of sexual harassment. By 1999, this figure had risen to 9,451 in Tokyo. In 1998, reported cases of sexual harassment in Tokyo were 856; this number rose sharply to 2,310 in 1999 (Saiki 2001: 32). The above figures clearly show a marked increase in reported cases of sexual harassment in a two-year period; it is unclear whether this increase was due to an increase in actual cases or due to an increased awareness of sexual harassment by women. What was clear, was that something drastically needed to be done in order to make Japanese businesses more aware of the seriousness of sexual harassment and the devastating consequences it can have on victims of this crime.

In the year 2000, the Ministry of Labour dealt with 45,800 cases of advice. Women asking for advice accounted for 20,000 of these cases, and the Ministry of

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[64]A case of sexual harassment at Nagoya Electric Railroad Company illustrates this point: a bus driver, a family man of forty impregnated an eighteen year old woman out of office hours. The company was appalled by his behaviour and said he had brought their reputation into disrepute. This was the reason given when he was sacked from his position, in addition, the company felt affronted because they had lost a bus conductor because the young woman had decided to resign. There was no mention of the phrase sexual harassment or any damage done to the girl (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 2).

Labour had to mediate in 2,318 cases, 230 of these cases were about sexual harassment (Saiki 2001: 34). Between April 1998 and January 2000, there was a total of 301 cases of bullying reported to the Ministry of Labour, 23.3% of the complaints were made by men but an overwhelming majority of the complaints (76.7%) were made by women. Most women felt they were disliked by their colleagues in the workplace (39.4%) and the second main reason for complaints was sexual discrimination (36.6%); the majority of women felt they were being looked down upon because of their sex (Saiki 2001: 34). The main reason women cited for giving up their employment was not that they felt the work was too difficult but because they felt uncomfortable with or couldn't get on with their direct supervisors who were usually male (Saiki 2001: 34).

In the year 2000, in the Kansai region of Japan, a survey carried out by the Kansai Managers' Consultation Association [Kansai Keieisha Kyōgikai] clearly showed that businesses were willing to address the issue of sexual harassment. Fifty percent of businesses reported they had established a sexual harassment advisory service and 58% of businesses said they had made clear policies on sexual harassment (Saiki 2001: 32). One problem with carrying out this kind of survey is extracting the truth from businesses about their policies. Although half of the companies surveyed stated they had established advisory services it is not known how accessible these

services are. For example, are the services discrete enough to enable the victim to have the confidence to approach the person in charge and make a complaint with the assurance that her anonymity is guaranteed? Who is in charge of the sexual harassment advisory service, is it a man or a woman? Given that the majority of victims of sexual harassment are women, a woman may feel more uncomfortable approaching a male member of a sexual harassment advisory service. If the person in charge of the advisory service is a woman, how much respect and authority does she have in the company? Is her position senior enough to tackle the problem? Viewing women solely as victims of sexual harassment is not enough, women need to have the power to take control of the situation and fight back.

Although companies in Japan are notorious for their manner of slotting women into lower paid short-term jobs compared to men, some companies, do try and protect the civil rights of their employees. One such company is *Dentsū*, which has had programmes on human rights in the workplace since 1987. To create and maintain awareness, *Dentsū* have posters on human rights placed in, and around the company buildings; moreover, the design of these posters is renewed and updated every year, four of these posters have concentrated on women's rights and human rights news letters are sent to staff on a regular basis (Kamiya 1999: 11). An advisory service has

been set up within the company for those employees with complaints. The phone for the advisory service has a different ring tone from other telephones in the office. This means that only the person in charge of the advisory service is able to answer it. If the caller feels uncomfortable speaking over the phone, a room is available in a separate building for the sole use of listening to company employees' problems. The room has a quiet and relaxed atmosphere, and once in the room the complainant is able to talk for as long as they wish about their problems. Usually two people are sent to listen to the person with the complaint, one person to talk and listen to the complaint and the other person is present to take notes (Kamiya 1999: 15). One of the main problems in the company is with part-timers who are often called girls (*onnanoko*) or simply (*arubeito*).[65] The company has begun a new campaign recognising gender harassment and are trying to prevent their employees from treating colleagues according to traditional gendered classification (Kamiya 1999: 15).

Surveys of Sexual Harassment in the Workplace

Numerous surveys have been conducted in Japan on sexual harassment in the workplace, most of these surveys take the same format; namely, they give a list of behaviours to a target group, and ask if they have experienced or witnessed any of

[65] *Arubeito* is taken from the German *arbeit*, which means 'to work', by calling someone *arubeito* instead of using their names you are calling them 'part-timers.'

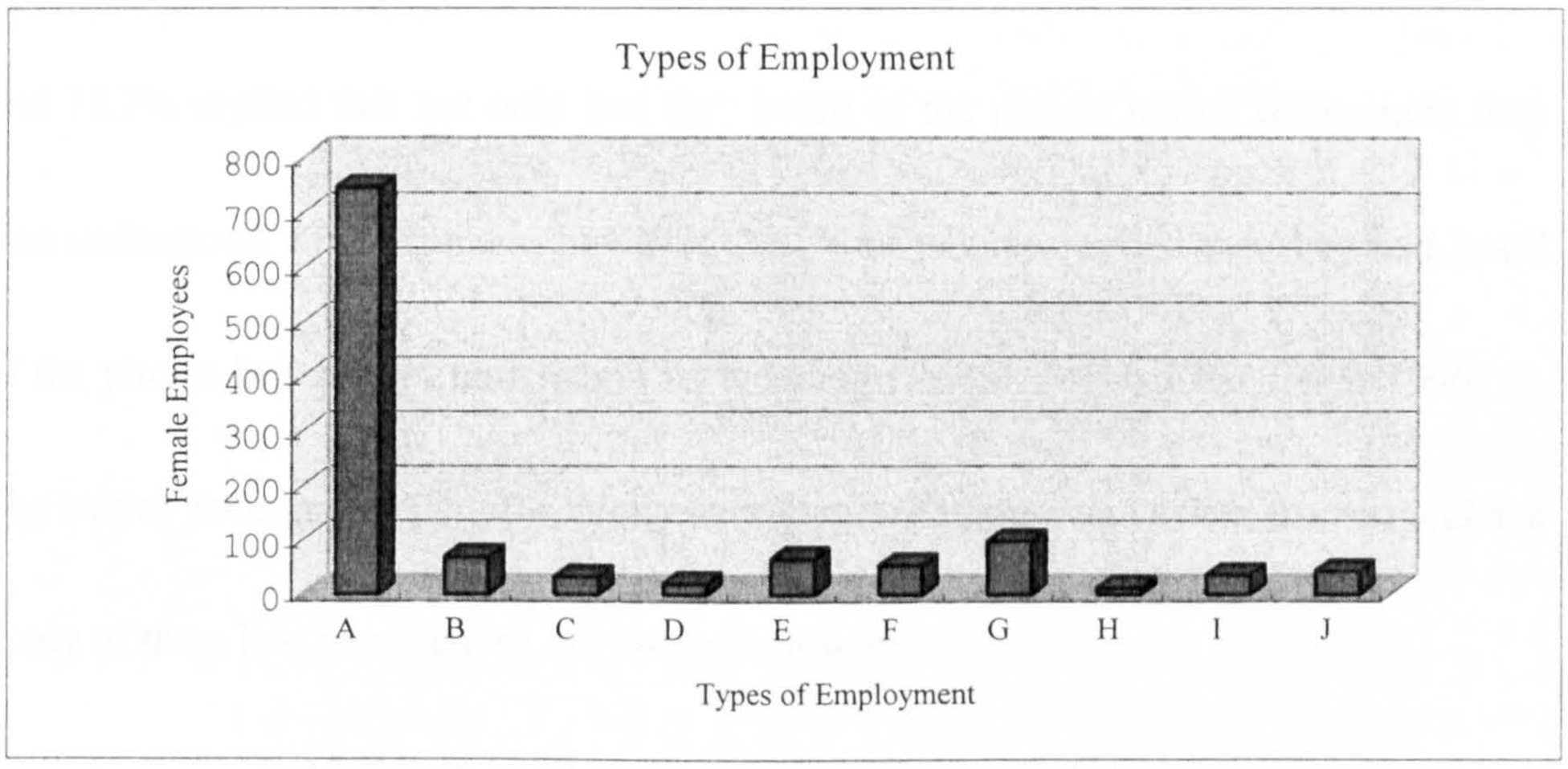
these behaviours, or if they believe any of these behaviours are sexual harassment. To illustrate how effective these surveys are I will examine two surveys in detail, one conducted by the Committee on Women's Issues of the Tokyo Branch of the Japanese Trade Union Federation [Rengō Tokyo Joseiiinkai] in 1996, and the other by the Chūbu and Nagoya's Lawyer's Union, [Chūbu Bengōshikai Rengōkai, Nagoya Bengōshikai] in 1998. The former survey targeted female employees to find out opinions and experiences of sexual harassment in the workplace, the latter survey targeted companies to find out how aware they were about the problem of sexual harassment. I chose the following surveys as examples of sexual harassment in the workplace, because *rengō* is one of the largest federations of labour unions in Japan, and I thought the data compiled would be a comprehensive sample reflective of some of the issues facing Japanese working women. To complement this I chose the second survey carried out by Chūbu and Nagoya's Lawyer's Union as I felt having a look at sexual harassment from a business perspective would complement the data taken from *rengō*.

In 1996, the Committee on Women's Issues of the Tokyo Branch of the Japanese Trade Union Federation conducted a survey on sexual harassment in the work place with the aim of creating a pamphlet on sexual harassment. The survey was

sent out to 2,500 women who were affiliated with the Union, the return rate was 48.5% (1,212 women). The majority of women who replied to the survey were in their twenties and the mean age of women who replied to the survey were 30.8 years (*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 1-3).

Graph C, is a breakdown of the type of work women in the survey did:

Graph C: A breakdown of female employees who responded to the survey by the Committee on Women's Issues of the Tokyo Branch of the Japanese Trade Union Federation



A	Office Work	F	Sales
B	Retail	G	Specialised Skills
C	Traffic, Correspondence	H	Medical, Welfare
D	Skills, Manufacturing	I	Educators
E	Services	J	No Response

(*Rengō Tōkyō Josei Iinkai* 1996: 3)

It is clear from the results of Graph C that the majority of respondents 63%, were office workers, followed by those women, who have specialised skills 8% (*Rengō*

Tokyo Josei Iinkai 1996: 3). The above results are no surprise, as mentioned in chapter two one cannot presume that the only type of working woman in Japan is an office worker, however, since the 1990s, an increasing amount of women have taken up clerical posts. The data from *rengō* is taken from a branch in Tokyo, and one would expect this work pattern in a large metropolis, as opposed to perhaps more rural areas of Japan where agricultural industries still predominate.[66]

Of those women surveyed, 98.8% had heard of the phrase sexual harassment and 75.7% replied that not only had they heard of the phrase sexual harassment they also understood what it meant; however, 23.1% of women replied that they had heard of the phrase but did not understand its meaning (*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 4). The survey then gave a list of sexually harassing behaviours and asked the respondents if any of them had experienced any of the following:

Table 3.3: A breakdown of sexually harassing behaviours

	Harassing Behaviours	**% of women, who had experienced these behaviours**
A	Comments such as 'young women are the best', or '*obasan*'[67]	39.9%
B	Attitudes which prevent women from doing certain jobs	38.3%
C	Comments such as, 'Aren't you married yet?'	36.6%

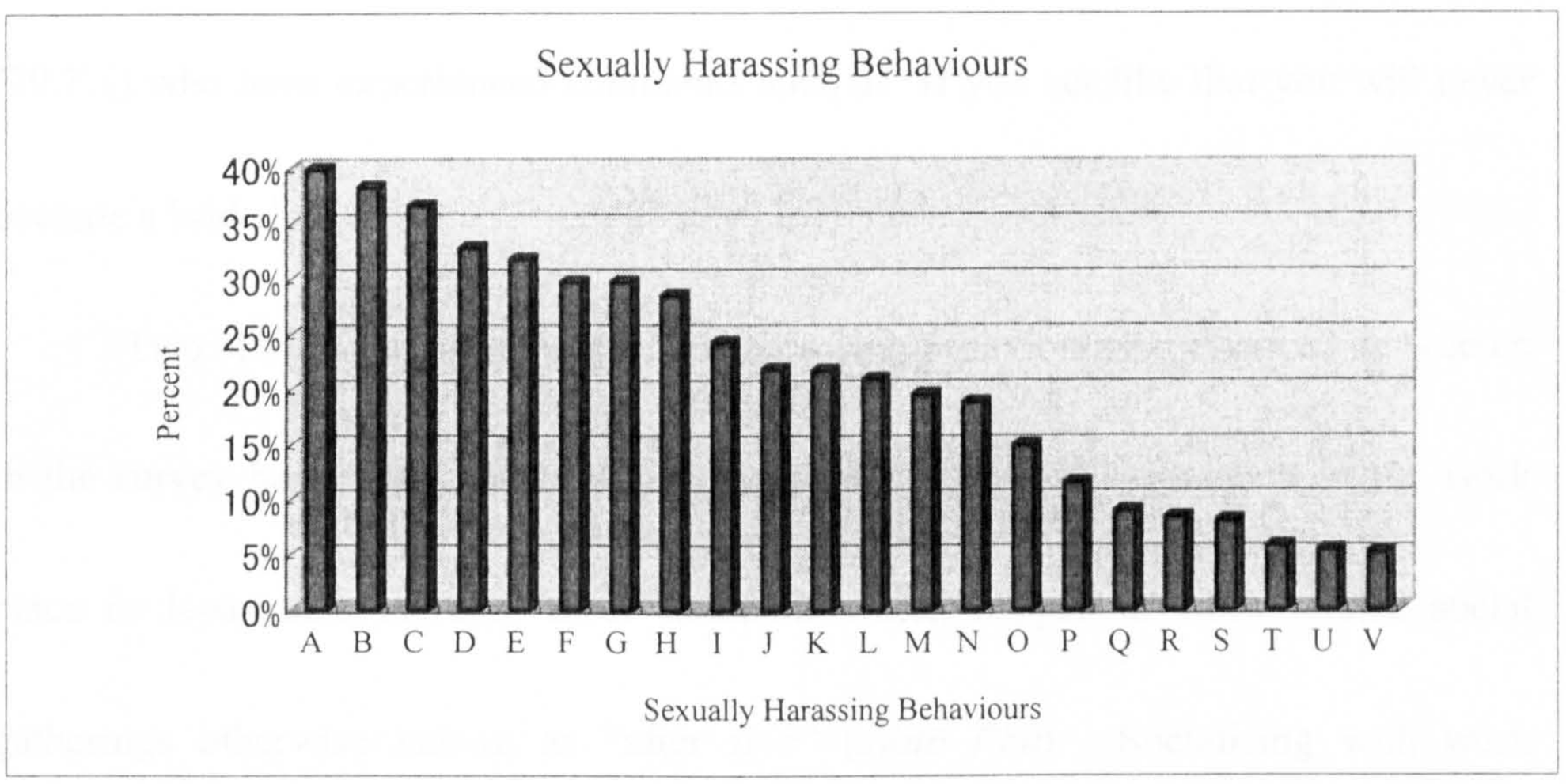
[66] Post-war Japan saw a period of rapid change both socially and economically. During the 1960s, the gross national product increased dramatically, industry changed from home based agricultural primary industries to tertiary industries. With an increase in demand for female labour, the rate of employment for women increased from 5.31 million in 1955 to 10.6 million in 1997 (Tanaka 1995: 343). Despite post-war rapid economic growth the gender divisions between the sexes increased further and women at work were expected to show deference to men and opportunities for promotion to managerial positions were nigh on impossible.

[67] Aunt (*obasan*) and girl (*onnanoko*) are derogatory terms often directed at women in the work place.

D	In a drinking environment being made to sit next to someone and link arms [with them].	32.8%
E	In a drinking environment being 'groped' or being embraced	31.8%
F	Comments such as, 'You look like a man/ you are a scary woman?'	29.7%
G	Comments such as, 'If you act like that you will never become a bride!'	29.7%
H	Using phrases such as 'our girls'(*uchi no onnanoko*)	28.5%
I	Comments about clothes and hair	24.3%
J	Comments such as, 'You are not very smart for a woman.'	21.9%
K	Women are not entrusted with work	21.8%
L	Touching a woman's buttocks/ breasts	21.0%
M	Saying a women is ugly/fat	19.6%
N	Obscene jokes/ boasting about sexual experiences	18.9%
O	Comments such as, 'You are a good worker, for a woman!'	15.0%
P	Persistent invitations for a dinner date	11.6%
Q	Women are unable to take orders/ follow instructions	9.0%
R	Pornographic material is placed in the office	8.4%
S	Comments such as, 'Haven't you had any children yet?'	8.1%
T	Receive unwanted sexual attention	5.8%
U	It's alright for a woman to take a break	5.4%
V	Comments such as 'Are you on the menopause?'	5.2%

(*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 5)

Graph D: A breakdown of sexually harassing behaviours



(*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 4)

The top three sexually harassing behaviours, which women had experienced, were socially constructed attitudes towards perceived female roles in Japanese society. The most common behaviours women had experienced were derogatory comments

about a woman's age; the obvious connotation being that it is better to have a high turnover of young (pretty) women than have a reliable work force of female employees who will not leave the company once they are married. Thirty-six percent of women had experienced unwanted comments related to their marital status. As mentioned in chapter two, although women are marrying at a later age, an unmarried woman in her thirties, is considered to be "past her sell by date." It is thought that there has to be something wrong with a woman if she cannot find herself a suitable husband by a certain age in her life. This attitude is again prevalent in the number of women (29.7%) who have experienced comments such as 'If you act like that you will never become a bride.'

Two of the most prominent sexual harassing behaviours experienced by women in the survey happened in a drinking environment. Sexual harassment in the work place in Japan also includes those incidents which happen at work related social gatherings otherwise known as "after five" (*afatā fību*). Socialising with work colleagues is taken for granted in Japan and throughout the Japanese year there are numerous occasions, whereby company employees are expected to socialise after hours. Although no one is forced to attend these social functions, pressure from colleagues and supervisors does mean that it is very difficult to be absent from these

events. Usually, these social events are accompanied by copious amounts of alcohol, which allows employees to let their hair down. Another unspoken rule during these socialising events, is that it is acceptable to make comments and act in behaviour, which is probably out of character in the workplace, as it will not be spoken about the next day. Unfortunately, this kind of environment makes ripe pickings for sexually harassing behaviour, not only can the perpetrator use the excuse of memory loss due to too much alcohol consumption, the incident may never be spoken about in the first place!

The survey also found out that the main perpetrators of sexual harassment were superiors at 31.8%, followed by administration staff at 29.6%, one's direct supervisor at 28.1%, customers at 6.6%, and someone you have to deal with during working hours was 8.7%. As we can see from the above results, the main perpetrators are people who have some sort of power over the victim and are easily able to threaten and intimidate the victim. The general age of those people who were most likely to sexually harass someone, were in their 40s at 49.3% followed by people in their 50s at 33.3% and then people in their 30s at 24.8% (*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 8-14).[68]

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[68] The majority of perpetrators of sexual harassment are men who are less willing to give up traditional beliefs about gender stereotyping. The more likely a man is to sexually harass, the less likely that person is to report to having feminine personality traits, and will have traditional attitudes towards women (Driscoll 1998: 559-567). This corresponds with what Kilanski (1998: 334) describes as hostile sexism, which falls under the category of dominant paternalism, the desire to dominate and control women, thus

Although 98% of women at the beginning of the survey said that they had heard of the phrase sexual harassment and a further 75% said that they had not only heard of sexual harassment but also knew what the term meant, 46.8% of women asked said that they had done nothing about sexually harassing incidents; they had just ignored it and only 22.3% had clearly shown their disdain and dislike for the behaviour (*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 15). This response to sexual harassment is quite common, victims of sexual harassment hope that by ignoring the problem it will go away but often quite the opposite happens. By ignoring the situation the perpetrator often feels that that they have got away with the behaviour and therefore is able to carry on with this behaviour either on the same victim or on another victim. Another possibility is that the perpetrator is not conscious that certain actions have constituted sexual harassment or have offended anyone in any way, and therefore will carry on in the same manner until someone says otherwise.

If women are going to ask for advice on what to do they are more likely to ask a friend (23.9%) or a colleague (24.3%) rather than seek out professional advice (*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 18). In Japanese society the friend or colleague sought out is more than likely to be a female and given the structures of Japanese

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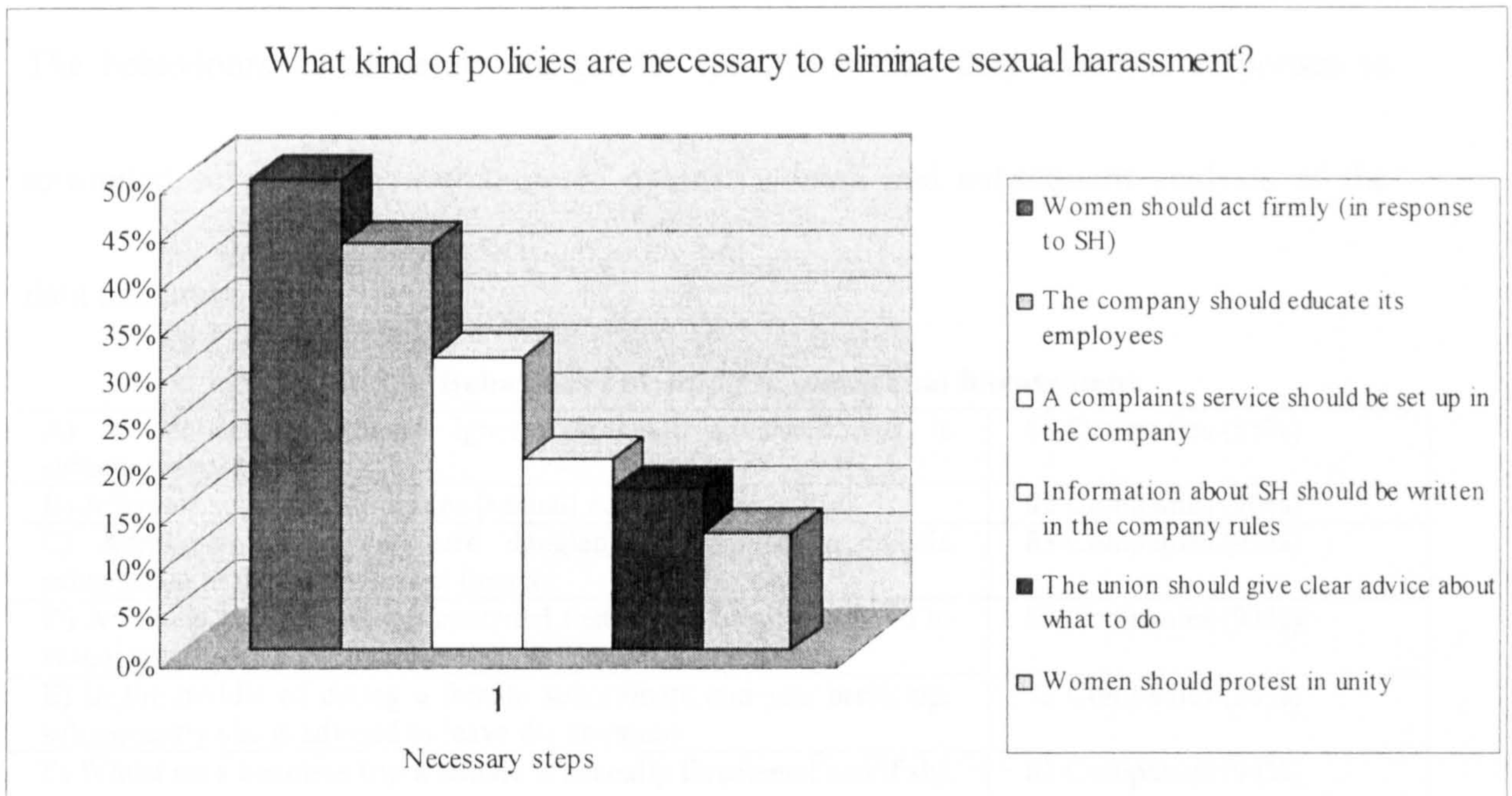
reducing women to mere objects. Men who use hostile sexism are proud of their heterosexuality and display hatred to women who use their sex to toy with men.

companies female friends and colleagues are unlikely to be in a position of power to deal with the situation and their advice may well be to ignore the situation in the hope that it will eventually disappear.

The problem with sexual harassment is that it often happens when the two parties are alone together; it is very secretive, especially in serious cases of sexual harassment which involve allegations such as sexual abuse, sexual violence and rape. Even if a third party is witness to the events they are often reluctant to come forward to speak out against the company for fear of losing their own jobs, consequently it is often the case that the victim just doesn't have enough evidence. For example in 1997, in Akita, a male university professor sexually harassed an inferior, however, it was concluded that if such an incident had really happened then surely the woman would have screamed or run away (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 6).

Despite the majority of women who were surveyed saying they would ignore an incident of sexual harassment, all of the women surveyed had very strong views on how sexual harassment should be eliminated from the workplace as the following graph shows:

Graph E: A breakdown of the kind of policies necessary to eliminate sexual harassment



(*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 22)

Many incidents of sexual harassment in Japan are related to "hostile environment" sexual harassment: this kind of sexist behaviour is commonplace in all walks of Japanese life. One fundamental cause of sexual harassment is not seeing women as business partners or as equals in society, followed by not understanding women's issues such as periods, pregnancy or the menopause.

The second survey I looked at in detail was carried out by *Chūbu* and *Nagoya*'s Lawyers Union (1998) in July 1998, 245 companies were targeted with 91 companies responding. The companies were given lists of sexually harassing behaviours from *quid pro quo* sexual harassment to "hostile environment" sexual harassment and asked

to indicate whether they thought the behaviours listed were sexual harassment or not. The behaviours listed below are gender specific in that they examine responses to unwanted sexual behaviour targeted against women and subsequent analysis of the data considers this.

Table 3.4: Behaviours of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment

A) A female subordinate ignores [sexual] advances and is subsequently ignored	60 Companies (65%)
B) A female subordinate ignores [sexual] advances and is fired	82 Companies (90%)
C) Administrative powers are dangled in front of a female subordinate in return for sexual favours	83 Companies (91%)
D) A female subordinate is threatened that if she doesn't respond to sexual advances she will not be helped with work	83 Companies (91%)
E) In the middle of dating a female subordinate and you break up, subsequently she is advised to leave the company	73 Companies (80%)
F) Whilst on a business trip a female is sexually threatened and if she doesn't respond she will not be helped at work	82 Companies (90%)
G) In a train you touch a female subordinate`s hand and if she doesn't respond she will not be helped at work	69 Companies (75%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 48-49)

Table 3.5: Behaviours of "hostile environment" sexual harassment

A) Only once asking female employees about her sexual experiences	65 Companies (71%)
B) Persistently asking female employees about sexual experiences	83 Companies (91%)
C) Only once feeling female employees breasts or buttocks	65 Companies (71%)
D) Feeling female employee's breasts or buttocks more than once	85Companies (93%)
E) During break times one person looking at pornographic magazines	15 Companies (16%)
F) During break times more than one person looking at pornographic magazines	33 Companies (36%)
G) Putting up nude calendars at work	75 Companies (82%)
H) Praising a woman on her appearance	29 Companies (31%)
I) Make comments about a woman's appearance and body	78 Companies (85%)
J) Telling a woman she has no dress sense	38 Companies (41%)
K) Leering at woman female employees bodies	58 Companies (65%)
L) Talking in a loud voice about sex	63 Companies (69%)
M) Asking female employees about the colour of their underwear	74 Companies (81%)

N) Spreading gossip/ rumours about a relationship between male and female employees	42 Companies (46%)
O) Deliberately spreading gossip/ rumours about a relationship between male and female employees	78 Companies (85%)
P) Female employees getting changed into bathing suits at company outings[69]	64 Companies (70%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 49)

Table 3.6: Behaviours of sexual discrimination

A) Calling a woman *girl* (*onnanoko*)or *aunt* (*obasan*)	41 Companies (45%)
B) Only making female employees do personnel work	42 Companies (46%)
C) Making female employees only serve tea	28 Companies (30%)
D) Forcing female employees only to drink alcohol	74 Companies (81%)
E) Not allowing female employees to do overtime	19 Companies (20%)
F) Not giving female employees any work to do	49 Companies (53%)
G) Commenting on a female employees marital status	61 Companies (67%)
H) Commenting on whether a female employee has children or not	58 Companies (63%)
I) Describing female employees as office flowers	44 Companies (48%)
J) Making derogatory comments about female employees	27 Companies (29%)
K) At an interview, asking a female employee whether she would continue to work after marriage	38 Companies (41%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 49)

Companies appeared to be most aware of those behaviours that are defined as *quid pro quo* sexual harassment; four *quid pro quo* behaviours listed elicited a response of 90% or over. The highest response came from the following two behaviours:

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[69]It is not made clear why this item is included in "hostile environment" sexual harassment, one can only make the following assumptions: the company employees are not actually going swimming, female company employees are asked to wear revealing swimwear, or finally, male employees leer at the female employees in their swimwear.

C) Administrative powers are dangled in front of a female subordinate in return for sexual favours ; 83 Companies (91%).

D) A female subordinate is threatened that if she does not respond to sexual advances she will not be helped with work; 83 Companies (91%).

These two behaviours are clearly sexual in nature and disadvantage female employees in the workplace; they are also very obvious examples of *quid pro quo* harassment, which makes the behaviour easily recognisable.

A further two behaviours listed also elicited a response of 90% these were:

B) A female subordinate ignores [sexual] advances and is fired; 82 Companies (90%) F) Whilst on a business trip a female is sexually threatened and if she does not respond she will not be helped at work: 82 Companies (90%).

Again, these behaviours are sexually explicit in nature and disadvantage the female employee in the workplace.

On the other hand, "hostile environment" sexual harassment was less easily recognisable: only two behaviours elicited a response of over 90%, these two behaviours were:

B) Persistently asking female employees about sexual experiences; 83 Companies (91%).

D) Feeling female employees breasts or buttock more than once, 85 Companies (93%).

What is surprising about these results is that if the above behaviours were conducted only once then acknowledgement of a sexually harassing behaviour dropped dramatically by 20% or over:

A) Only once asking female employees about her sexual experiences; 65 Companies (71%).

C) Only once feeling female employees' breasts or buttocks; 65 Companies (71%).

This response suggests that it is more acceptable to behave sexually inappropriately towards a female employee as long as the incident is isolated and only happens once.

One reason for this response may be different attitudes men and women have towards sexual behaviour at work. In a working environment women are more likely to perceive behaviours as sexually exploitative than men (Levesque 1998: 758). In a study by Kromey (1999) women perceived situations as more sexually harassing than men. Physical contact is also perceived differently by men and women, men see physical contact by a stranger as pleasurable but women on the other hand find it objectionable (Haworth-Hoeppner 1998: 759).

Other "hostile environment" sexual harassment behaviours which elicited a response over 80% were:

G) Putting up nude calendars at work; 75 Companies (82%).

"I) Make comments about a woman's appearance and body; 78 Companies (85%)

M) Asking female employees about the colour of their underwear; 74 Companies (81%).

O) Deliberately spreading gossip/ rumours about a relationship between male and female employers; 78 Companies (85%).

Perhaps the most shocking response by companies surveyed is their low acknowledgement of sexually discriminating behaviour. Only one behaviour; namely,

"D) Forcing female employees only to drink alcohol; 74 Companies (81%)" elicited a response over 81%, the remaining behaviours elicited an average response of just 45%. The lowest response to a behaviour was 20% whereby only 19 companies out of 91 agreed that not allowing female employees to do overtime was sexual discrimination. Often companies believe they are protecting women's rights by not asking them to do overtime, and in fact, they are not discriminating against the women they are merely looking out for female employees well being. Kilinski (1998) has coined this form of sexism as benevolent sexism. Benevolent sexism displays a paternalistic desire to protect and help women, the differences between men and women are complemented but this only serves to magnify the stereotypical gender differences between men and women. Kilianski (1998: 337) states: "Women for whom marital and parental goals take precedence should be more likely to accept or approve of benevolent sexist males because heterosexual intimacy, protective paternalism, and complementary gender differentiation are consistent with the traditional husband wife-family configuration." Given that Japanese society is strongly influenced by paternalistic ideology, many Japanese women fall into the above categorisation; however, as an increasing amount of women enter the labour force female employees are demanding equal rights.

If we look at the most frequent experience of sexual harassment women experience

A) Comments such as 'young women are the best', *aunt*; 39.9%.
B) Attitudes which prevent women from doing certain jobs; 38.3%
(*Rengō Tokyo Josei Iinkai* 1996: 5)

we can see that both of these experiences fall under the category of sexually discriminating behaviour. Moreover, companies are less likely to see these behaviours as sexual harassment as the following statistics show;

A) Calling a woman *girl* or *aunt*, 41 Companies (45%).
B) Only making female employees do personnel work; 42 Companies (46%)
(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 49).

Conflicting attitudes towards what is perceived as acceptable and non-acceptable help support a cycle of discrimination and misconduct towards female employees. The results above, appear to indicate that even if a woman were to complain about verbal sexual harassment she would receive very little support from her employer. Japanese sexual harassment legislation also supports this attitude because of its inability to adequately address behaviours that fall into the grey zone.

Many sexual harassment incidents happen out of office hours, and the companies surveyed were given a list of sexually harassing behaviours, which happen after work and asked whether this behaviour is viewed as sexual harassment.

Table 3.7: A list of sexually harassing behaviours after work

A) Inviting someone out for drinks after work	53 Companies (58%)
B) At a social gathering recommending alcohol to someone who doesn't like it	47 Companies (51%)
C) At a social gathering a female employee is forced to sit next to a male superior	58 Companies (63%)
D) At a social gathering men drunkenly 'grope' a female employee	80 Companies (87%)
E) After a social gathering a woman is harassed into a sexual relationship	80 Companies (87%)
F) On a company trip women are forced to wear *yukata*[70]	72 Companies (79%)
G) On a day off women employees are called at their home and asked to go out on a date	55 Companies (60%)
H) Requesting a female employee to sit next to a client	29 Companies (31%)
I) Stripping off in front of female employees on an company outing	66 Companies (72%)
J) At a social banquet ignoring the fact that a female employee is being groped	62 Companies (68%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 50)

The two highest responses to the behaviours were:

D) At a social gathering men drunkenly "grope" a female employee; 80 Companies (87%).
E) After a social; gathering a woman is harassed into a sexual relationship; 80 Companies (87%).

Once again these two behaviours are sexually explicit in nature and easily identifiable.

Two unusual behaviours at first sight are:

F) On a company trip women are forced to wear *yukata*; 72 Companies (79%).
I) Stripping off in front of female employees on a company outing; 66 Companies (72%).

Many Japanese companies organise an annual company outing in order to reward employees for their hard work and to foster a sense of belonging as well as

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70 A *yukata* is an informal cotton kimono for the summer season.

boost teamwork, an integral part of Japanese work ethics. These annual trips often include overnight stays in traditional style inns and can be a very enjoyable experience. Unfortunately, in some cases after alcohol has been flowing freely, Japanese males may feel their inhibitions loosen as well as some of their clothes. In most Japanese inns and hotels guests will find *yukata* in their hotel rooms; in some instances female employees may feel pressurised into wearing this garment in order to appear sexy in front of male colleagues.

Companies were then given the following list of reasons why they thought sexual harassment happened in the workplace:

Table 3.8: Reasons why sexual harassment happens in the workplace

A) Female skills and positions are not supported in the company	28 Companies (30%)
B) Men do not see women as equal partners in the workplace	53 Companies (58%)
C) Men do not realise women feel uncomfortable with sexual advances	73 Companies (80%)
D) Men / companies have long held traditional beliefs in what a woman's role and a man's role in the company are	55 Companies (60%)
E) Everyday communication between men and women is insufficient	25 Companies (27%)
F) Men have low morals	68 Companies (74%)
G) Women are not aware that they are part of the company	29 Companies (31%)
H) Women aren't resolute enough	15 Companies (16%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 50)

The highest response for reasons of sexual harassment in the workplace was; "F) Men have low morals; 68 Companies (74%)"; it is interesting to note that the companies surveyed admitted that sexually harassing behaviour is due to men and their

lack of morals in the workplace. This result however, is in contrast to a low recognition of "hostile environment" sexual harassment and sexually discriminating behaviours. One can only assume that recognition of low morals relates only to those sexually harassing behaviours that can be clearly identified as sexual harassment, because they are very obviously sexual in nature. This, in turn, leads to a lack of recognition and identification of sexually harassing behaviours, which occur in "hostile environment" sexual harassment and sexually discriminating cases. By not recognising all forms of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination Japanese companies are adding to the gender divisions in an already segregated work force.

The companies were then given a list of possible problems sexual harassment may cause for their businesses, the results were as follows:

Table 3.9: Potential problems sexual harassment can cause companies

A) It is a problem which affects the rights of female employees	62 Companies (68%)
B) It can damage a company's image	68 Companies (74%)
C) It can cost a company financially if the case goes to court	44 Companies (48%)
D) It is inevitable that the company will lose skilled men	14 Companies (15%)
E) The atmosphere in a company deteriorates and productivity decreases	79 Companies (86%)
F) It hinders women's capabilities	51 Companies (56%)
G) It is a problem between the people concerned and nothing to do with the company	2 Companies (2%)
H) It is a problem which the mass media has created and has nothing to do with Japan	4 Companies (4%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 51)

Eighty-six percent of the companies surveyed replied that the most damage sexual harassment could do to a company would be to decrease productivity and create a bad working atmosphere. Again, this is in contrast to the lack of recognition for "hostile environment" sexual harassment. "Hostile environment" sexual harassment is the kind of harassment, which is likely to slowly chip away at the working environment, creating an environment which is very uncomfortable for female employees to work in. Interestingly, only 48% of companies thought sexual harassment would be a problem if a case went to court, perhaps the reason for this low percentage is the slow judicial process in Japan which makes it very difficult to bring cases of sexual harassment or sexual discrimination to court.

A further two lists were then given to the companies to agree or disagree with, these were entitled: "What would the companies reaction be if a case of sexual harassment were to occur?" and "What sort of preventative methods need to be in place in order to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace?"

Table 3.10: Reactions to an incident of sexual harassment

A) The Company would investigate the situation	85 Companies (93%)
B) With the cooperation of personnel affairs the company would come to some sort of arrangement	43 Companies (47%)
C) Depending on the results of an investigation the male employee would be punished	47 Companies (51%)
D) Accept the female employee's resignation	1 Companies (1%)
E) The male employee would be given a warning	10 Companies

	(10%)
F) Persuade the people concerned to come to some sort of agreement	6 Companies (6%)
G) Female workers are told to tolerate the situation	0 Companies (0%)
H) The company does nothing about the situation	2 Companies (2%)
I) The company would consult a lawyer for advice	21 Companies 23%

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 51)

Table 3.11: Necessary steps needed to prevent sexual harassment

A) Complaints advisory service needs to be set up	57 Companies (62%)
B) Employees need to be trained in prevention methods	50 Companies (54%)
C) Carry out a survey, or training awareness between men and women	30 Companies (32%)
E) Write clearly in the company guidelines that sexual harassment is forbidden	51 Companies (56%)
F) Punish those people who carry out sexually harassing behaviour	46 Companies (50%)
G) People at the top of the business need to change their ideas	21 Companies (23%)
H) When an incident of sexual harassment occurs the company seeks the advice of a lawyer or another professional	15 Companies (16%)

(*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 53)

Ninety three percent of companies said that they would investigate a complaint of sexual harassment if one were made. However, given that most companies surveyed recognised only extreme forms of sexual harassment, it does not necessarily mean that they will take any concrete action for the complaint. Thus, only just over half of the companies surveyed said they will punish the culprit, but only if internal investigation proved that the accused was indeed guilty.

In contrast to this poor result, 62% of companies thought that sexual harassment was a problem serious enough to warrant an advisory service, although the survey does not specify what kind of a mandate such a body should have. Fifty-four

percent of companies thought their staff ought to be trained in sexual harassment prevention methods, and 56% of companies believed guidelines on sexual harassment ought to be clearly written out in company guidelines. It is encouraging to note that over a half of those companies surveyed believed in taking positive steps to eradicate sexual harassment from the workplace.

Out of the companies surveyed only twelve replied that they had measures in place to prevent sexual harassment from happening in the workplace, forty-six companies replied that they did not have any prevention methods in place, and thirty-two companies said they were investigating prevention methods at the moment (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 53). More encouragingly, were the seventy-five companies that were aware about the change in sexual harassment legislation, and fifty-one of these companies realised they were liable if an incident of sexual harassment took place in their company (*Chūbu Bengōshikai & Nagoya Bengōshikai* 1998: 54). Although, there seems to be a high degree of awareness about the changes to the law, companies seem to be unwilling to create concrete solutions to prevent sexual harassment happening in the working environment.

Chapter Four
Universities in the Limelight: Sexual harassment is no longer only a problem only of the business world

During the 1990s, high profile incidents of sexual harassment at Ryukyū University, Yamagata University, Mie University, Tenri University, and Hiroshima Shūdō University made headline news and highlighted the need for reform in the education system (Kitanaka 2001: 10). In 1993, one of the most notorious cases of sexual harassment to emerge was known as the Yano Case (*Yano jikken*) and it involved a distinguished professor at Kyoto University and a former student. Professor Yano was the director of the Centre for Asian Studies at Kyoto University and amidst allegations of sexual harassment resigned from his position in 1993 (Asiaweek 1999). The accusations of sexual harassment also included rape, and the grim details of the case sent shock waves through the Japanese academic profession (Ono 1993).

The Yano Incident

Kōno Otsuko[71] worked as a secretary at Kyoto University, the head of the Centre for Asian Studies was the internationally renowned South East Asian specialist, Professor Toru Yano.[72] Ms Kōno complained she was sexually abused and harassed

[71]Kōno Otsuko is a pseudonym.
[72]Professor Toru Yano was an eminent scholar at Kyoto University as well as being the head of the prestigious South East Asian Centre he was a member of the Swedish Academy of Science, which is in charge of selecting Nobel Prize winners (Nakamura 1994).

by Professor Yano over a long period of time. The allegations made against Professor Yano shocked and divided the academic community between those who could not believe such a well-respected scholar would do such a thing, and those who thought it was about time such corruptness was exposed. Ms Kōno's allegations were the result of a culmination of complaints and investigations made about Professor Yano over a prolonged period of time.

Charges of sexual harassment against Professor Yano began in January 1993, when Professor Yano interviewed a woman for a secretarial position. During the interview, which took place in a hotel, Professor Yano said to the woman: *Tsukareta watashi wo itawari, toki ni ha sōi ne wo suru koto mo hisho no shigoto de aru* (When I am tired I want to be taken care of and sometimes I would like you to sleep with me as part of your secretarial duties) (*Kyoto Daigaku Josei Konwakai* 1996: 3). When the woman refused this proposition, Professor Yano threatened to sack the woman's sister who also worked in the South East Asian Research Centre (*Kyoto Daigaku Josei Konwakai* 1996: 3). The woman and her sister later complained to the Research Centre and Professor Yano was forced to sign a memorandum, in front of two faculty members, stating that the incident in January would never happen again. After this incident, seven secretaries working for Professor Yano, resigned from their positions,

over a period of a few months one of these secretaries cited sexual harassment as the reason behind her resignation. An investigation was eventually conducted into Professor Yano's behaviour, which resulted in four victims handing in personal testimonies of their experience to the university investigation committee; one of these victims was Kōno Otsuko (Kyoto University Female Academic Society 1994: 3).

It was now becoming clear that Professor Yano had used his position of power to sexually harass women in his research office (Yomuri Newspaper 1993). Professor Yano was taken to court for the repeated sexual harassment of Ms Kōno and was forced to pay compensation for the pain he had caused.

At the time, the story received much media coverage arguably, because of Professor Yano's erratic and somewhat eccentric actions after the allegations came to light rather than because of the nature of the complaint itself. As mentioned previously, after the allegations were made against him, Professor Yano resigned from his position at Kyoto University and retreated to *Tōfukuji* temple in Kyoto for a month, much to the annoyance of the Association of Faculty Members who Demand a Thorough Investigation [in to the incident] (*Tettei kyūmei wo moromeru daigaku kyōin no kai*) who sent a petition to the temple demanding that Professor Yano leave his refuge and face the charges made against him (Mainichi 1993). On emerging from his

spiritual refuge he stated that his resignation was invalid and demanded to be reinstated at and threatened to sue Ms Kōno for slander and defamation of character.

Events took yet another bizarre twist when Professor Yano's wife threatened to sue Ono Kazuko, a faculty member at Kyoto University for slander and defamation of character. Professor Ono was the representative of the Kyoto University Female Academic Society at the time of the allegations. She wrote to the president of the university demanding an investigation into the alleged incidents of sexual harassment and also wrote an article in the newspaper about Professor Yano and the complaints made against him (Ono 2001; Ōtani 2000). These charges were eventually dropped and once the case was lost Professor Yano transferred to a university in Vienna eventually dying at the age of 63 (Asiaweek 1999).

Two books have been written about the incident, one by the victim Kōno Otsuko entitled *Kuyamu koto mo hajiru koto mo naku kyōdai Yano kyōju jiken no kokuhatsu* (*Nothing to regret, nothing to be ashamed of: The prosecution of Professor Yano from Kyōto University*) (Kōno 2001). This is a cathartic personal and moving account of the young victim's ordeal describing in detail the process of bringing Professor Yano to court and the emotions involved in following through with such a prosecution. Finally, Ms Kōno tells us how she is rebuilding her life as a feminist

councillor in the hope that she can help and advise other victims of sexual harassment who might find themselves in a similar situation to herself. In contrast, *Kyōdai Yano jiken: kyanpasu sekuhara saiban no touta mono* (*Kyoto University and the Yano Incident: questions about the campus sexual harassment court case*),. Ono, ed., (1993) is a factual account of the whole incident including relevant materials of the circumstances leading up to the court case as well as the court case itself.

The above example illustrates the complications involved in cases of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination. At the time of the Yano case there was no law protecting Japanese women from sexual harassment in the work place. The prosecutors argued that the abuse and sexual harassment Ms Kōno experienced was a breach of her human rights. The situation was further exacerbated because the victim was fighting against a prominent member of society. Professor Yano used his celebrated position to abuse and manipulate Ms Kōno and other women in his employment. Once his conduct was discovered he used his position to control the court case by suing numerous people for defamation of character. In this instance, it did not work and Professor Yano felt he had no other option but to retreat to Vienna to carry out his research there. The case of Professor Yano at Kyoto University was not the only case to make headline news.

The Case at Naruto University of Education[73]

Naruto University of Education is situated in Tokushima prefecture on the beautiful island of Shikoku. It is located in Naruto City famous for its whirlpools and the university prides itself on being an innovative university training teachers "from nation-wide schools through advanced course work and research in graduate programmes" as well as having elementary school courses for undergraduates (Naruto University of Education 2003). From 1996 to 1999, Naruto University of Education was rocked by claims of sexual harassment by a former student, who brought a civil case of sexual harassment against a professor working at the university.

On the 16th of October 1996, a former postgraduate student at Naruto University of Education in Tokushima prefecture filed a civil action suit against Professor A of the same university. She claimed Professor A, who was her MA supervisor, sent her seventy letters over a period of one year. His behaviour caused her to have a breakdown and prevented her from furthering her education to PhD level. The postgraduate claimed ¥5, 500,000 in compensation and asked for a solution to be found within the university. Subsequently, the university established a committee to

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[73]Material related to the sexual harassment case at Naruto University is based on a collection of news paper articles which can be found in a collection of materials from the 8th annual conference of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network (2002). The first reference refers to the Newspaper article from which the information was taken and the second reference refers to the conference proceedings and the page number from which the article can be found. To make things easier on the eye, where necessary, I have placed the conference proceedings reference at the end of each paragraph with the relevant page numbers.

investigate the allegations. Above is but a mere sketch of what eventually turned out to be a long and complicated court case spread over three years.

The frame within which the drama is played out is a classic example of a professor who abuses his authority and the difficulties the victim has in receiving recognition for her suffering. Like the Yano case this case of sexual harassment came to light before amendments were made to include sexual harassment in the Equal Opportunity Law. Therefore, the student went to the University for help, but received little sympathy, and so felt she had no choice but to file a civil suit against Professor A (Yomiuri Newspaper 1996; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 20). It is only when the details of the case are examined is it possible to gain insight into the politics and prejudices integral to cases of sexual harassment.

The Student's Story

The student in question began an M.A course at Naruto University of Education in 1994, choosing a number of lectures by Professor A. In 1995, letters began to arrive at her parents' house; at first the content of the letters was about university life, but gradually they became sexual in nature. In total, Professor A wrote seventy letters to the student. In one of the letters Professor A made references to the student's make up and in another she was told to leave her course citing the only

reason she came on the MA programme was to find a boyfriend; Professor A also called the student at home. The student approached Professor A and asked him to stop sending her letters, her pleas were ignored. Consequently, she began to be absent from her classes and was diagnosed with slight depression. In total she was absent from university for six months and was unable to progress onto a PhD course (Yomiuri Newspaper 1996; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 20).

The student complained she had been taken advantage of and felt she was unable to complain to the university at the time as Professor A had the authority to decide whether she passed or failed her MA (Yomiuri Newspaper 1996). She also claims Professor A used his position to force her to go out to dinner with him and that in 1995, Professor A sent her ¥1, 000,000 in an envelope for a holiday, which the student sent back immediately. When Professor A passed the envelope to the student with the money inside he said "*Dōfu no mono ha semete mono kimochi desu*" (Only my feelings [for you] are enclosed), the student claims it was this action, which proved his intent (Tokushima Newspaper 1997). It was after this incident that the relationship between the student and Professor A became worse. The student eventually decided to demand ¥5, 500,000 in compensation, because of the immense stress and pressure she

suffered as a consequence of Professor A's actions (Tokushima Newspaper 1997a; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 20-27).

Professor A's Story

Professors A's lawyer stated that although Professor A did send letters to his student it was not his intention to sexually harass, Professor A wrote letters and made phone calls to encourage her to study and subsequently made a counter claim for slander (Tokushima Newspaper 1996, 1996a; Asahi Shinbun 1996; Yomiuri Newspaper 1996a). Professor A denied passing money to the student and at dinner the topic of conversation was limited to work, and as the student did not object to being taken out to dinner, then it could not be sexual harassment (Yomiuri Newspaper 1997; Tokushima newspaper 1997; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network2002a: 21-25).

The Position of Naruto University of Education

The first response of the president of Naruto University of Education was to make a statement claiming that Professor A was a dedicated professor who had merely overstepped the boundaries of student teacher relations. Thirteen female academics petitioned the University to act on the case, and the president of the University set up a committee of seven people to investigate the accusations, the Ministry of Education

was also informed (Yomiuri Newspaper 1996a). The president wished for a speedy conclusion to the allegations, and insisted Naruto University of Education was trying to regain trust between students and faculty. Professor A stopped giving lecturers as it was thought his lecturers on human rights and education were inappropriate given the circumstances (Tokushima Newspaper 1996; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 20-21).

Eventually, Professor A was suspended for twelve months: a disciplinary measure for sexually harassing a former student; colleagues also advised him to resign. The investigating committee in charge of examining the evidence decided that a twelve-month suspension against Professor A was appropriate disciplinary action. The president then made it clear that even if Professor A were to return to work he would be unable to supervise students. Fifty-five faculty members out of sixty-eight voted in favour of the twelve-month suspension. The Ministry of Education said the twelve-month suspension was the longest they had had to date, the longest suspension they had had up till then was only three months (Tokushima newspaper 1997; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 27).

The Plot Thickens

On the 17th of March 1997, Professor A accused the student of defamation of character also demanding ¥5,500, 000 in compensation. Professor A claimed the student circulated slanderous rumours about him around Naruto University of Education. In response to this allegation the student stated that the investigation committee set up by the President of Naruto University of Education asked her for the said information. The case then becomes a minefield of accusations: the student accused Professor A of sexual harassment, who in return accused the student of defamation of character, who then accused Professor A of unjustly placing a claim for compensation (Tokushima Newspaper 1997c; Yomiuri Newspaper 1997a). Professor A then wrote a statement to the personnel department stating that he believed his punishment was unfair and that he always encouraged the student to do her PhD (Tokushima Newspaper 1997d; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 28-29).

Concerns of the Student's Family

The mother of the former postgraduate was questioned and said her daughter did not carry on with a PhD because of the telephone calls made to the house and the letters Professor A sent to the house. The letters and the phone calls made her

daughter stop eating and have a breakdown. The mother believed if her daughter did nothing about the situation the pain would remain with her forever. She felt her daughter was too afraid to speak out about Professor A as she thought any complaints would have a negative effect on her graduation (Tokushima Newspaper 1997e; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 31).

The Court Case

Professor A spoke to a full court to deny any claims of sexual harassment made against him, during the three hours in which he was questioned he did not once look at the female former postgraduate. Professor A was questioned about his role as supervisor, his influence over the student, and letters he sent to her house. Professor A stated that if the postgraduate obtained the required credits she would pass her M.A and it was not his decision alone whether she passed or failed her thesis. As far as the letters were concerned he said he could not remember much about the content of them (Tokushima Newspaper 1997b; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 31).

Professor A filed for damages of ¥30, 000,000 against the female student for defamation of character and he also demanded a public apology to be printed in a newspaper. He also filed for damages of ¥150, 000,000 against the president of the

university and twenty-two other professors for defamation of character. He claimed the letters and the dinner invitations were related to the student's work and were not sexual harassment, he also claimed it was her lack of spirit which prevented her from carrying on to a PhD course. He claimed the president of Naruto University of Education was biased towards the victim and circulated information regarding the case throughout the university and then decided upon a twelve-month suspension (Tokushima Newspaper 1998; Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 33).

In addition, Professor A filed a claim against the student's parents demanding compensation of ¥20, 500,000 for defamation of character. He also tried to claim damages of ¥ 10,500,000 from a former male student. In return, the male student said his thesis was plagiarised by the professor in five places and reported it to the university. The female student's father was sued because he wanted Professor A dismissed from the University and also wanted the University to reform so that a similar incident could never happen again while the mother was said to have spread falsehoods about Professor A (Tokushima Newspaper 1998a; Campus sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 33).

Professor A claimed damages of ¥30, 500,000 against the president of Naruto University of Education and three other college professors for saying he plagiarised another student's thesis. Once again, he demanded a public apology in a newspaper. He claimed ¥30, 500,000 in damages against two representatives of a support group supporting the former student who sent a statement to the Minister of Education outlining the incidents of sexual harassment (Tokushima Newspaper 1998a; Campus sexual Harassment National Network 2002a 34).

The Result

In court the Dean of Naruto University of Education admitted a postgraduate is unable to graduate without their supervisor's approval, and said a professor could if he or she wishes obstruct the graduation of a student (Tokushima Newspaper 1998c). The Dean also acknowledged it was possible to change course during mid-term but this was extremely difficult to do (Yomiuri Newspaper 1998). Finally, the court ruled Professor A must pay the student ¥ 2,200,000 in damages and squashed the professor's appeal. The former student was relieved at the outcome and the president of the University thought the outcome was a just one; Professor A was reinstated at Naruto University of Education after his twelve month suspension (Campus sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 34-35).

It took three years for the student to win her case of sexual harassment. During this time Professor A had filed over forty claims against his former student, her family, the president of the university, professors of the university, and the mass media for defamation of character. Twenty cases are still being disputed in the Tokushima regional court (Tokushima Newspaper 1998a; Campus sexual Harassment National Network 2002a: 37).

The above case illustrates the quagmire of accusations, counteraccusations and abuse that cases of sexual harassment produce. The cases at Kyoto University and Naruto University of Education highlight how difficult it is to bring a case of sexual harassment to court, once a victim has made a claim, the alleged perpetrators only redress is to claim for defamation of character. Moreover, as both cases show, the alleged perpetrators are willing to do almost anything, and sue almost anyone in order to clear their names.

It soon became clear to the female academic community that a network of support was necessary to help victims of sexual harassment deal with the minefield of allegations and slander they may face if they decided to take a case of sexual harassment to court. As a result the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network was established. In addition, universities were placed under enormous pressure to

create awareness of sexual harassment on campus. This pressure increased once amendments to the Equal opportunity Law were put in place. This resulted in universities creating their own guidelines and policies regarding sexual harassment and investigating the situation through surveys targeting faculty and students.

Chapter Five

Identification and Measurement of Sexual Harassment on University Campus

Methodology:

As mentioned previously in chapter one, gathering data for a subject as sensitive as sexual harassment was fraught with frustration. The main method of identifying actual conditions (*jittai jōkyō*) of sexual harassment on college campus was through surveys conducted by individual universities or by research groups. The Campus Sexual Harassment National Network compiled a bibliography of surveys about sexual harassment on campus, this list, although not exhaustive, is quite extensive and was one method of data collection (see appendix one). Obtaining the surveys from this database was not as straightforward as I had initially thought. For example, some surveys were no longer in publication, while enquiries about an early survey resulted in the author telling me her report was not really about sexual harassment and should not be on the list.[74] Reluctance of universities to send data to a stranger or their lack of knowledge about a survey, or lack of knowledge about where a survey was filed were additional problems I encountered. The surveys I collected for this chapter were the only ones available to me for analysis and are by no means a

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[74]Apparently, I was not the first person to call the author to enquire about her work and she was becoming increasingly impatient with the amount of interest her survey had generated.

finite investigation into sexual harassment on university campuses in Japan. Nevertheless, they do give an indication of the conditions of sexual harassment at universities as well as showing how universities in Japan are trying to deal with the problem. The surveys were conducted from the year 1996 (before alterations regarding sexual harassment were made to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law) to the year 2002.

Initially, the surveys collected were to be used as a springboard from which I could conduct my own survey and compare and contrast the results. However, given the limitations discussed in chapter one this was to prove impossible. The institution to which I was affiliated, considered surveys on sexual harassment far too sensitive. Eventually I decided to work with data already obtained by individual universities and organisations.

Once I was satisfied with the data I collected, I was then faced with the task of how to analyse this data. I decided to group the surveys into two sections, the first section are those surveys conducted by individual universities and the second section are those surveys conducted by research groups (see table 5.1). In section one, each survey was designed by the sponsoring university to examine the actual conditions of

sexual harassment on campus and was carried out by various groups/organisations within the university.

Consequently, the surveys differ in format and arguably in accuracy, as in many cases it is not clear if the people who were assigned the responsibility of carrying out these investigations were sufficiently qualified to do so. Section two, examines those surveys conducted by research groups, these surveys tend to investigate not only sexual harassment but also sexual abuse and violence with the exception of a *Monbushō* sponsored research group, which targeted all types of universities throughout Japan, in order to investigate the level of awareness of sexual harassment.[75]

[75]Although I have included this survey in the above list as I believe it is too important to leave out the contents of the survey will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Table 5.1: Aims and Methods of the Surveys Collected

Group One: Surveys conducted at individual universities			
University	**Target**	**Aim**	**Method**
Kyoto University (1996) (***Kyoto daigaku josei konwakai* 1996**)	Female faculty	Collect opinions of a few female faculty	Names of staff were taken from the university list and staff at the university, as well as retired staff or staff who had transferred were targeted
Kyoto University (1996) (***Kyoto daigaku josei konwakai* 1996**)	Female students	Find out actual conditions of sexual harassment	Students who had graduated in 1993 were contacted by post
Tohoku University (1997) (Tohoku University 1997)	Undergraduates and postgraduates	Not indicated	Not indicated
Tokyo Toritsu University (1998) (Asakura 1998)	Faculty members and postgraduates	To obtain opinions and ideas about sexual harassment from faculty members and postgraduates.	The survey was sent by internal mail to 623 faculty members who replied by ordinary post. 1249 postgraduates, with the exception of those postgraduates from the physical education department were sent their surveys via ordinary post
Shizuoka University (1999) (*Shizuoka daigaku kyōshoku iinkai kumiai 1999*)	Faculty/ staff/ postgraduates and undergraduates	To find out about actual conditions of sexual harassment and give faculty members the opportunity to voice their opinions	Questionnaires were sent out to the target population and then returned. (No indication whether this was by internal or external post)
Hitotsubashi University (2001) (Kimoto 2001)	Undergraduates and postgraduates	To find out actual conditions of sexual harassment and to aid creating preventative guidelines	Questionnaires were sent to students but there is no indication whether they were sent by internal or external post
Hiroshima University (2001) (Nakamaru 1999)	Postgraduates	To investigate the real state of harassment within the university	Students were randomly selected from all courses and sent a copy of the survey by post and replied by post
Tohoku University (2001) (Tohoku University 2001)	Undergraduates and postgraduates	Not indicated	Not indicated
Ochanomizu University (2002) (*Ochadai de sekushuaru harasumento wo kangaeru kai* 2001)	All Postgraduates	To investigate actual conditions of sexual harassment within the university.	The survey was placed inside envelopes and sent by internal mail throughout the university and replies were sent by post
Yokohama National University (2001) (***Yokohama kokuritsu daigaku danjo kyōdō sankaku 21 purojekkuto*** 2000)	Undergraduates and postgraduates	To investigate actual conditions of sexual harassment within the university	The survey was sent out through the post as well as being distributed to students during class time
Tokyo University (2001) (***Tokyo daigaku kōhō iinkai*** 2002)	Students, faculty members, and staff	Survey was conducted to support the harassment advisory service within the University	The survey was sent by post to all female faculty members and a random selection of 700 male faculty members (including part-time workers) and 700 male and female auxiliary staff. 800 undergraduates were randomly targeted (excluding 1st years) and 800 postgraduates were randomly targeted (including international students)

Group Two			
Research group	**Target**	**Aim**	**Method**
National Research Institute of Police Science (1998) (Uchiyama 1998)	High school and university students	To find out the degree of sexual abuse high school and university students have experienced, and the degree to which this abuse has affected their lives	The survey was distributed in class in high schools and universities in the Tokyo Metropolitan area
National Research Institute of Police Science (1998) (Uchiyama 1998)	High school and university students	Examines the likelihood of students tolerating this behaviour and whether they would report such behaviour or not	The survey was distributed in class in high schools and universities in the Tokyo Metropolitan area
Japanese People and Violence Study Group (1998) (Iwao 1998)	University students	Find out the level of sexual violence against young people	Surveys were given out during class time at universities in the Tokyo metropolitan area, Nagano prefecture and Tokushima prefecture.
Research Group on Campus Sexual Harassment. (2002) (Ida 2002)	Universities	To investigate the level of awareness of sexual harassment within universities in Japan	Public, national, and private universities were sent a questionnaire. From those universities which replied, seven representatives in charge of sexual harassment provisions were interviewed on a voluntary basis

Discussion:

As mentioned previously, the majority of surveys were conducted in order to find out about the actual conditions of sexual harassment within a university, nine surveys in total indicated this as the main aim for conducting the survey. Only one university (Hitotsubashi University 2001) out of these eight followed on from this reason to say the results of the survey would aid them in establishing sexual harassment prevention guidelines. Two of the universities (Tokyo Toritsu University 1998 and Shizuoka University 1999) said that the aim of the survey was to also find out faculty members' opinions about sexual harassment.

The majority of the surveys targeted their focus population by post; sending questionnaires out by post assures a higher degree of anonymity for the respondents than by sending them out via internal mail. This is especially important when dealing with extremely sensitive subject matter such as sexual harassment. The disadvantage of this method is the high cost incurred, particularly if the target group is large, as stamped addressed envelopes also must be included. Five surveys did not indicate what methods were used to gather information, raising questions and doubts about the effectiveness of the survey and results. Only two surveys were conducted by internal

mail and in both situations the respondents were able to return their questionnaires by post; finally, three of the surveys were carried out during class time.

Compared with the previous methods of distribution, class controlled distribution assures the highest response rate, and is convenient and cost effective. However, by using this method of questioning, anonymity is not assured and therefore does not guarantee the target group will answer the questions truthfully compared to if they had completed the questionnaires in the privacy of their own home. Although this method does assure a high response rate it does not guarantee accurate results; therefore it is questionable whether this type of method is appropriate for surveys of socially sensitive topics unless the environment was strictly controlled.[76]

Table 5.1 clearly shows that students are the most popular and most obvious target population to investigate.[77] Thirteen out of the fifteen surveys collected, targeted students; because of the transient nature of student life, using students as investigative guinea pigs is relatively easy. Students are the largest body of individuals at university; they study for an average of four years and therefore, are more likely to answer a questionnaire truthfully as it is unlikely their identity will be compromised.

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[76]Even in a strictly controlled environment it is doubtful that the results will be accurate as a controlled atmosphere may pressurise the target group further, and thereby skewer the replies.

[77]Kyoto University (1996), and Tokyo Toritsu University (1998), targeted female members of the university only, whereas all of the other surveys targeted both male and female members.

Faculty on the other hand, are permanent fixtures within the university and compared to men, female faculty, are in a minority, therefore, when investigating a sensitive topic like sexual harassment, anonymity cannot be assured. Although the ephemeral nature of student life is advantageous in collecting quantitative data on sexual harassment, it is precisely because of the transient nature of student life, which makes students more vulnerable to sexual harassment. In Japan, faculty have an extraordinary amount of power over their students; this is especially the case with post-graduates and research students. Faculty members are able to introduce students to lucrative employment positions and research opportunities; therefore, it is of paramount importance to be on good terms with your professor. Abuse of this power can place a student in an uncompromising situation: the student must choose to either ignore the professor's unwelcome sexual attention, or to complain and run the risk of damaging a promising career, before it has even started.

Students are not the only high-risk group at university; young faculty often employed on temporary, fixed term contracts are also more likely to experience sexual harassment than older tenured faculty. Promotion to tenure track is dependent on high quality teaching and research; if materials are withheld, unless intolerable sexual behaviour is tolerated, promotion may well remain a distant unattainable dream.

Administration staff are also at high risk of becoming victims of sexual harassment. Administration departments are managed in the same way as a business, and have a strong male hierarchy. The surveys analysed in chapter three have already shown the problems female employee's face in the workplace and there is no reason not to assume that the same problems would not be faced by female administrative staff on campus.

Identification and measurement of sexual harassment

Studies of sexual harassment at universities across the United States have shown that the percentage of undergraduate and graduate women who have experienced sexual harassment is between 20% and 40% (Benson 1982;Cammaert 1985; Wright Dzeich 1990; Glaser 1986; Kelly 2000; Mckinney 1988; Rubin 1990). Studies on sexual harassment against faculty have reported that between 6% and 50% of female faculty have experienced sexual harassment (Carrol 1989; Fitzgerald 1991; Grauerholz 1989; Gruber 1990; Kelly 2000; Mckinney 1990; Seals 1997; Terpstra 1989). A survey conducted by the National Union of Students in Britain in 1987, showed that 95% of female respondents had experienced sexual harassment, 65% of these incidents involved touching, pushing and grasping (Bagihole B 1995). The surveys I collected in Japan clearly showed that sexual harassment occurred, but the

extent of sexual harassment varied according to the university. Moreover, the different structures and approaches universities used in their surveys, made it difficult to focus on a specific percentage.

The figures above are an indication of the prevalence of sexual harassment, but figures alone do not tell the whole story. When designing a questionnaire about sexual harassment it is important for the researcher to gather as much accurate information as possible. This requires careful planning and structuring of questions so as not to mislead the target group and yet the questions must be clear, simple, and straight to the point. The problem, however, when designing a questionnaire about sexual harassment is recognising the respondent's level of knowledge about the subject. For example if the question "Have you ever experienced sexual harassment?" is put to someone with no knowledge or little understanding of the problem then the respondent is likely to reply "No". This does not necessarily mean that the respondent has never experienced sexual harassment; in fact, the opposite may well be true, but the respondent may not know that unwanted sexual attention is actually sexual harassment. Therefore a high percentage of respondents replying "No" may skewer the results.

On the other hand, too much information may lead to accusations of bias and may also confuse the respondents if too much technical jargon is used. It is crucial to

find a middle path to follow and to draw upon, if necessary, at a later date. Fitzgerald (1991: 164), raises the issue of the difficulty of obtaining concrete data on the extent of sexual harassment on University campuses she says: "As a result of the differing methodologies and definitions that have been utilized, it has proven quite difficult to compare results across studies and to achieve some clarity concerning both the base rates and the dimensions of the phenomenon" (Fitzgerald 1991: 164).

To combat these difficulties two empirical definitions of sexual harassment are frequently used in the United States. The first definition was designed by Till (1980) and describes five behaviours, which cover the broad spectrum of sexual harassment, the second definition by Fitzgerald (1991) replicates and abbreviates Till's definitions of sexual harassment into a more manageable framework.

Till's definitions of sexual harassment

Till 1980	**Fitzgerald et al (1988)**
Generalized sexist remarks	(Gender harassment)
Inappropriate and offensive, but essentially sanction free sexual advances	(Seductive behaviour)
Solicitation of sexual activity or other sex-linked activity by promise of reward	(Sexual bribery)
Coercion of sexual activity by threat of punishment	(Sexual coercion)
Sexual crimes and misdemeanours	(Sexual imposition)

(Paludi 1991: 6)

The above five definitions were the framework for the construction of the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire designed by Fitzgerald and her colleagues

(Fitzgerald 1991, 1993). Although the questionnaire takes the respondent through all levels of sexual harassment, the phrase sexual harassment is not used until the end "Have you ever been sexually harassed by a professor or instructor?" (Paludi 1991: 20). By not mentioning sexual harassment until the end of the questionnaire it is possible to not only gather data on the frequency of sexual harassment but also on levels of awareness of the issue.

For example, at one university surveyed by Fitzgerald (1988), it was discovered that approximately 28% of female administrators had experienced unwelcome sexual behaviour, which could legally be interpreted as sexual harassment but only five percent thought this behaviour was sexual harassment.

The Sexual Experiences Questionnaire is very thorough and detailed with regard to sexual harassment of students by faculty members. The limitations of the questionnaire (the fact it does not include peer sexual harassment, same sex sexual harassment, or sexual harassment by students towards faculty) can be overcome in that it can easily be restructured according to the target group under scrutiny. Although the questionnaire covers all behaviours described by Till's definition it does not include such questions as where the behaviour took place and the frequency of the behaviour,

it also does not enquire about the reaction to the incident and the effects the incident had on the victim.

Given that the legislation regarding sexual harassment is very similar to legislation in the United States, and given that the term and whole concept of sexual harassment is taken from the United States, I automatically assumed that the surveys conducted on campus sexual harassment would follow the same format as those conducted in the United States. I was surprised, therefore, to discover that the surveys I collected did not take the Sexual Experiences Questionnaire as a base from which to conduct their research. Unfortunately, not all of the surveys I collected included the original questionnaire in the final report, but from the results of the surveys it is possible to obtain a picture of how the survey was constructed and conducted.

Although the surveys in section one differed in format, five main areas were covered, namely: awareness of sexual harassment and university prevention policies, people's experiences of sexual harassment, the reaction to the incident, perpetrators of sexual harassment, and the affects sexual harassment had on the victim.

Levels of awareness of sexual harassment and university prevention policies

Tokyo Toritsu University (1998), Tohoku University (2001), Hitotsubashi University (2001), Yokohama National University (2001), Ochanomizu University

(2001), and Tokyo University (2002) all enquired about the level of awareness of sexual harassment amongst their target groups. Each university had different methods of trying to discover how aware people were of sexual harassment on campus; for example, as table 5.2 shows, Tokyo Toritsu University (1998) directly asked members of the university how much they knew about sexual harassment:

Table 5.2: Level of awareness of sexual harassment at Tokyo Toritsu University (1998)

Level of awareness of sexual harassment (%)	Male postgraduates	Male faculty	Female postgraduates	Female faculty
Know a lot about sexual harassment	8%	9%	14%	16%
Know something about sexual harassment	65%	73%	71%	84%
Don't know very much about sexual harassment	23%	15%	14%	0%
Know nothing about sexual harassment	1%	0.5%	0%	0%
Other	3%	2.5%	1%	0%

(Asakura :1998)

As table 5.8 shows female postgraduates and faculty knew more about sexual harassment than their male colleagues. Both male and female faculty knew more about the sexual harassment than postgraduates. Male faculty knew marginally less than female faculty about sexual harassment and the percentage of faculty and postgraduates knowing nothing at all about sexual harassment was exceptionally small.

Instead of asking about levels of awareness of sexual harassment, Yokohama National University asked undergraduates and postgraduates if they had heard of the phrase *sekuhara* and how much they knew about it. Sixty-six percent of respondents had heard of the phrase *sekuhara* and 32% said they were interested in finding out

more about the problem. The survey then asked the target population how they thought Japan was dealing with the issue of sexual harassment, 48.3% of respondents replied that there was not enough knowledge of sexual harassment in Japan and something should be done to increase the levels of awareness. A disturbing 25.7% of respondents said they thought *sekuhara* was just a trend and people were being far too sensitive about the problem. This is a clear indication that a substantial number of individuals still have little knowledge about the seriousness of sexual harassment.

Both Shizuoka University, and Tokyo University gave their target population a list of behaviours and asked respondents to say whether or not they believed the behaviours were sexual harassment (Shizuoka University 1999: 15; *Tokyo Daigaku Kōhō Iinkai* 2002: 7-8). The behaviours listed covered the spectrum of Till's categories of sexual harassment, from gender harassment to sexual imposition with some additional Japanese twists. For example, both universities wanted to know if asking a woman to serve tea or clean up is considered sexual harassment, along with asking someone to sing with them at karaoke. At Shizuoka University 32% of respondents thought that asking a woman to serve tea or clean up was sexual harassment and 62% of respondents thought forcing someone to sing with you at

karaoke was sexual harassment. Table 5.3 shows the results at Tokyo University for the same behaviours:

Table 5.3: Sexually harassing behaviours

Behaviours	Sexual harassment	Sexual harassment but only if the incident is repeated	Not sexual harassment	Don't know/ no reply
Asking someone to serve tea or clean up (students)	15.1%	30%	43.4%	11.5%
Forcing someone to sing at karaoke with you (students)	39.1%	35.3%	15.4%	10.2%
Asking someone to serve tea or clean up (staff)	15%	29.5%	40.8%	14.7%
Forcing someone to sing at karaoke with you (staff)	45.8%	38.6%	9.2%	6.7%

(*Tokyo Daigaku Kōhōlinkai* 2002: 7-8)

Forcing someone to sing karaoke with you is far more likely to be considered sexual harassment than forcing someone to clean up or serve tea. Here we can see a fundamental difference in the way behaviours are perceived in Japan and in Britain. In Japan, the majority of karaoke nights are spent with friends in a karaoke box having a few drinks. Therefore, if someone is unwillingly forced to sing karaoke in such a confined space with colleagues who are drunk, this behaviour is considered unacceptable by many Japanese.[78] On the other hand, in Britain, karaoke is usually sung in pubs on designated nights of the week and being forced to sing a duet with a colleague would be more likely to be seen as an embarrassing incident rather than an infringement of one's sexual rights. In Britain however, being forced to serve tea or

[78] There was one reported incident of a 19 year old being gang raped by five members of Teikyo University's rugby team in November 1997. The case was settled out of court (Japan Times 1998).

clean up because of one's gender would more likely be viewed as a form of gender harassment than in Japan.

In addition to enquiring about the levels of awareness of sexual harassment, individual universities also attempted to measure knowledge about prevention policies within the university. At Tohoku University (2001) postgraduates and undergraduates were asked if they knew anything about the University's advisory service: table 5.4 shows the results:

Table 5.4: Knowledge about advisory service

Knowledge about the university advisory service	Male undergraduates	Female undergraduate	Total	Male postgraduates	Female postgraduates	Total
I know about the university and the department's advisory service	16.9%	17.8%	17.2%	23%	34%	25%
I know about the university advisory service	32.8%	37.2%	34%	28.2%	28.7%	28.3%
I know about the department's advisory service	3.7%	7%	4.6%	6.3%	8 6%	6.7%
I don't know about either	46.3%	38%	43.9%	41 9%	27.3%	39.2%

(Tohoku University 2001: 14 and 24)

Both female undergraduates and postgraduates knew more about departmental and university advisory services than their male peers; however, a high percentage of students didn't know anything about either advisory service. This is a worrying result as it is vital for students to know where they can go, and to whom they can turn to in case they experience unwelcome sexual behaviour. This lack of knowledge about advisory services was not only limited to Tohoku University (2001). Sixty-seven

percent of students at Ochanomizu University also had no knowledge of their advisory service, 62.2% knew nothing about guidelines, and 61.4% did not know about the sexual harassment prevention committee (*Ochadai de Sekushuaru Harasumento wo Kangaeru Kai* 2001: 8-9). These figures indicate that a more vigorous campaign of awareness needs to be introduced across university campuses in order to empower students and faculty into action.

Experiences of Sexual Harassment

Two favoured methods of measurement were used when assessing the prevalence of sexual harassment on campus, the first being to directly ask respondents if they had ever experienced sexual harassment or not. The second method was to give respondents a list of sexually harassing behaviours and ask if they had experienced any of them. Asking respondents directly if they have ever experienced sexual harassment may seem to be the most direct and simplest form of measuring 'actual conditions' of the behaviour. However, unless universities included a definition of sexual harassment with the questionnaire, respondents' answers are not likely to be a truthful representation of the situation. Shizuoka University attempted to bypass this problem by giving their respondents a third option to encircle, namely, "unclear as to whether it was sexual harassment but have experienced unwelcome sexual behaviour"(*Shizuoka*

Daigaku Kyōshoku Iinkai Kumiai 1999: 5). This option allows those respondents who do not understand what sexual harassment is to be able to explain any unwanted behaviour they have experienced.

The majority of students at Kyoto University, Shizuoka University, Tohoku University (2001), Hiroshima University, and Yokohama National University had not experienced sexual harassment, Kyoto University 69.7%, Shizuoka University 82.6%, Tohoku University (2001) 90.6%, and Yokohama National University 85.8%. Kyoto University had the highest percentage of respondents who said they had experienced sexual harassment at 24.7%. At Shizuoka University the combined percentage of those who had experienced sexual harassment and those who had experienced unwanted sexual behaviour but were unsure whether this behaviour was sexual harassment was 12.9%, which was similar to Yokohama National University (11.5%).

The surveys also clearly showed the different experiences between males and females at university. In 1997, Tohoku University examined the different experiences of sexual harassment between male and female postgraduates and undergraduates as table 5.5 illustrates:

Table 5.5: Experiences of sexual harassment of male and female postgraduates and undergraduates at Tohoku University (1997)

	Have experienced sexual harassment	Have not experienced sexual harassment
Male undergraduates	2.6%	95.1%
Female undergraduates	20.5%	78.4%
Male postgraduates	4.4%	93.4%
Female postgraduates	32.3%	66.1%

(Tohoku University 1997: 129)

The table shows that both female undergraduates and postgraduates are more likely to be sexually harassed than their male peers, and postgraduates are more likely to experience sexual harassment than undergraduates. In 2001, Tohoku University conducted a survey on sexual harassment with the following results:

Table 5.6: Experiences of sexual harassment between male and female students at Tohoku University (2001)

	Female experiences		Male experiences		Total	
	Under-Graduates	Post-Graduates	Under-graduates	Post-Graduates	Under-graduates	Post-graduates
Experienced sexual harassment from the opposite sex	14%	26.3%	0.8%	0.4%	4.5%	5.2%
Experienced sexual harassment from the same sex	0.4%	1%	1.5%	2.4%	1.2%	2.1%
Experienced sexual harassment from both sexes	1..2%	2.4%	0.3%	0.7%	0.6%	1%
Never experienced sexual harassment	84.5%	69.4%	97.1%	95.4%	93.5%	90.6%

(Tohoku University 2001: 14 and 24)

Table 5.6 shows that females are more likely to be sexually harassed than males and postgraduates are more likely than undergraduates to be sexually harassed. An interesting point to note about the above results is that although females are more likely to be harassed than males, males are more likely to experience sexual harassment from the same sex than they are from the opposite sex. Because the survey follows a different format from the previous one it is difficult to tell whether the prevalence of sexual harassment among students has risen or not. The above example of two different surveys conducted at the same university is an illustration of the importance of having a uniformed method of measuring sexual harassment if one is to compare situations over any length of time.

Once again, at Shizuoka University more female students had experienced sexual harassment (16.8%) than those female students who had not experienced sexual harassment (6.8%). If we include those students who had experienced unwanted sexual behaviour but were unsure whether this behaviour was sexual harassment or not, the percentage of females who had experienced sexual harassment at Shizuoka University increases to 47.9%. The same results were explicit at Hiroshima University whereby 27.8% of females had experienced sexual harassment compared with 2.2% of males.

Types of Sexually Unwanted Behaviour

Seven universities from group one gave respondents a list of unwanted sexual behaviours to circle, the following table is a breakdown of these behaviours. The behaviours listed by the universities were similar if not the same; not all universities wrote exactly the same unwelcome behaviours, as table eight clearly indicates. In order to create a sense of continuity the behaviours have been divided into four groups, namely: "hostile environment" sexual harassment, *quid pro quo* sexual harassment, gender discrimination (gender sexual harassment) otherwise known as the grey zone[79] in Japan, and finally those behaviours which depending on interpretation could be either "hostile environment" sexual harassment or *quid pro quo* sexual harassment.

[79]See Chapter three for an explanation of the grey zone.

Table 5.7: Types of sexually unwelcome behaviour experienced by respondents

Hostile environment Sexual Harassment	Kyoto University	Shizuoka University	Hitotsubashi University	Hiroshima University	Ochanomizu University	Yokohama National University	Tokyo University (faculty & staff)	Tokyo University (students)
Being forced to listen to conversations about sex	44 (7%)					10 (30.3%)		
Lecherous looks/ leering	10 (2%)				54 (34%)	8 (24.2%)		
Placing nude photograph or posters in public view, screensavers	35 (6%)	16 (22%)	5%	5%		1 (3%)		
Letters, phone calls, emails of a sexual nature	7 (1%)	22 (31%)				2 (6.1%)		
In public (scantily dressed women on notice boards etc)			12.5%				60 (n=516)	96 (n=516)
Attitude and behaviour of a sexual nature				25%			162 (n=895)	196 (n=895)
Oppressive atmosphere					13 (8.2%)			
Environment					25 (15.7%)			
Quid pro Quo Sexual Harassment								
Physical violence			6.1%				54 (n=702)	42 (n=197)
Using position/status to force physical contact	5 (1%)	12 (17%)		15%				
Using position/ status to demand dates or a sexual relationship	7 (1%)	2 (3%)	5..3%	15%	40 (25.2%)	Dates 9 (27.3%)/ sexual relationship 3 (9.1%)	63 (n=623)	109 (n=623)
Sexually violent behaviour							8 (n=197)	7 (n=197)
Forcing someone to do something sexual							166 (n=623)	164 (n=623)
Attempted rape	3 (1%)							
Rape	2 (0.3%)							
Gender Discrimination (The Grey Zone)								
Lecturer makes unwelcome comments about appearance or clothes	12 (2%)							
Expecting women to serve alcohol or tea and clean up	75 (13%)					2 (6.1%)		
Adverse comments about female researchers/ low evaluations	40 (7%)					3 (9.1%)	40 (n=304)	49 (n=304)
Saying women are spoilt and pampered	92 (16%)							
Unwelcome conversations about private life, clothes and appearance	47 (8%)	26 (36%)		40%		14 (42.4%)		
Rumours about private life, clothes, body, and appearance	31 (5%)					1 (3%)		
Uncomfortable comments about sex and		30 (6%)		25%				

age								
Uncomfortable jokes/ teasing of a sexual nature		32 (44%)				5 (15.2%)		
Uncomfortable comments about relationships		13 (18%)		30%				
Uncomfortable comments about family		7 (10%)						
Gender stereotyping (because you are a woman/ man)		17 (24%)						
Allotted roles based on gender			15.2%			Work limited 1 (3%)		
In public (scantily dressed women on notice boards etc)			12.5%				60 (n=516)	96 (n=516)
Forcing someone to sing karaoke with them				10%				
Persistently hanging around someone						12 (36.4%)		
Hostile environment or Quid pro Quo Sexual Harassment								
Kissing		9 (13%)		15%				
The lecturer touches your body for no reason	3 (1%)							
Deliberate touching of body	15 (3%)	24 (33%)	12.6%	60%	48 (30.2%)	Hair shoulders 13 (39.4%)/ breasts buttocks 7 (21.2%)		
Forcing someone to drink alcohol				20%				
Asking someone to be their girlfriend				45%				
Verbal sexual harassment			20%				221	260
Sexual harassment from supervisor			5.9%					
Sexual harassment experienced at work or during studies							99 (440)	59 (n=440)
Research activities					15 (9.4%)			
Other	24 (4%)	10 (14%)	1.9%	20%				

As table 5.7 shows, the majority of unwelcome behaviours fall into the category of gender discrimination. As discussed in chapter three many of these behaviours fall into the grey zone in Japan. Although these behaviours are unwelcome and may be persistent, the victim has no legal redress, because punishment for these behaviours are dependent upon the company or business. Unwelcome conversations about private life, clothes and appearance seem to be the most frequent unwanted behaviour that people have to endure on campus. This is closely followed by uncomfortable banter and comments about age, sex, and gender.

The most frequent "hostile environment" sexual harassment behaviour appears to be lecherous looks/ leering at victims on campus, followed by placing nude photographs or posters around campus. Hitotsubashi and Tokyo University both listed sexual harassment in public as part of their list of unwanted behaviours. Examples of this form of sexual harassment included scantily dressed women on notice boards, sitting next to someone reading pornographic material in a public place, or having pornographic material put in your post box. This kind of behaviour although quite prevalent in Japan, is hard to judge, as some people may see it as offensive and include it within their definition of sexual harassment, but other individuals may not be affected by it at all. I have included this behaviour in both the "hostile environment"

sexual harassment and gender discrimination categories as I feel they can be defined as either. Scantily dressed women in pornographic magazines and pamphlets, result in a prolific negative image of womankind, which to some individuals may contribute to a hostile environment. It is difficult to escape from these images as they are publicly advertised *and* privately invade your homes in the form of pornographic leaflets.

The most common unwanted behaviour in the *quid pro quo* category was individuals using their positions to demand dates or sexual relationships. All seven universities listed this as an unwanted behaviour, a substantial amount of respondents had experienced this behaviour at Hiroshima University (15%), Ochanomizu University (25.2%), Yokohama University (27.3%/ 9.1%), and Tokyo University (10.1% faculty & staff/ 17.4% students). Although other universities Kyoto (1%), Shizuoka (3%), and Hitotsubashi (5.3%) had lower percentages of people experiencing this behaviour, the very fact that this behaviour existed at all is quite disturbing. The behaviour itself would be distressing for the victim and the consequences of refusing such demands can be high indeed. Refusal of these demands may result in the victim being turned down for promotion, or in the case of a student the loss of employment or research opportunities. Physical violence, using position/ status to force physical contact, and sexually violent behaviour are also behaviours, which appear to happen

with some degree of frequency. The final group are those behaviours, which can be either "hostile environment" sexual harassment or *quid pro quo* sexual harassment depending on the interpretation of the behaviour. For example, kissing can be seen as "hostile environment" sexual harassment if it was a peck on the cheek and there were no adverse consequences connected to it. Alternatively, it can be seen as *quid pro quo* sexual harassment if kissing is forced upon another person unwillingly because not to comply would result in loss of employment, studies, or promotion.

Some universities were not content with just examining experiences of sexual harassment, they also tried to find out what experience was the most painful for the victim. Table 5.8 shows what the victims feel to be the most painful experiences of sexual harassment. Verbal harassment was felt by a large number of respondents to be the most uncomfortable experience of sexual harassment. Thirty-three percent of male respondents at Hitotsubashi University were uncomfortable with this type of behaviour compared with 20.4% of female respondents. Furthermore, both students, faculty, and staff at Tokyo University also felt verbal harassment was the most uncomfortable form of sexual harassment. Hiroshima University was the exception, 30% of respondents felt that actually bodily violence was the most uncomfortable form of sexual harassment. Ten percent of respondents at Hiroshima University replied that verbal

harassment was their most uncomfortable experience of sexual harassment. If we include behaviours such as sexual comments about one's body, relationships, and clothes within this category of verbal harassment, then the percentage of respondents who feel most uncomfortable about verbal sexual harassment rises to 25%. This is similar to the results of the survey carried out in chapter three by the Committee on Women's issues of the Tokyo Branch of the Japanese Trade Union Federation. In this survey, nearly 40% of female employee's felt that verbal sexual harassment was a source of unwelcome behaviour and it appears that similar unwelcome verbal sexual harassment is a source of irritation on campus too.

Table 5.8: The most uncomfortable experiences of sexual harassment

The most uncomfortable experiences of sexual harassment	Hitotsubashi University		Hiroshima University	Tokyo University (students)	Tokyo University (staff)
	Male	Female			
Verbal Sexual Harassment	33.8%	20.4%	10%	220	193
Visual Sexual Harassment	2.2%	3.4%			
Touching body	12.5%	21.7%	30%		
Bodily Violence	8.1%	13.2%		49	45
Forced to go on a date/ become girlfriend/ boyfriend	3.7%	6.4%	5%	95	
Jobs allotted according to gender	14%	13.2%			
Sexual harassment from supervisor	2.9%	6%			
Sexual harassment from the general public	19.9%	14%		49	28
Other	2.9%	1.7%	5%		10
Kissing			10%		
Sexual comments about body, relationships			5%		
Unwelcome comments about clothes and appearance			15%		
Sexist attitude and behaviour			20%		
Uncomfortable sexual behaviour				142	102
Forcing someone to do something based on sex				107	109
Sexual harassment experienced at work or during studies				32	67
Member of staff sexually harassing a student/postgraduate				35	20

Witnessed or Heard of Incidents of Sexual Harassment

Combined with asking respondents if they had ever experienced sexual harassment some surveys asked if they had ever witnessed or heard about incidents of sexual harassment. The aim of this question is to discover the extent of sexual harassment on campus; however, this type of question does have its disadvantages. Although many people might have heard or witnessed an incident of sexual harassment, there is no indication whether each respondent has witnessed a different incident of sexual harassment or the same one. For example, in the case of environmental sexual harassment ten people may have witnessed one incident of sexual harassment occurring in the office. These ten people then reply that they have seen an incident of sexual harassment at work; based on this data it may appear that sexual harassment is prevalent within the university when in actual fact it isn't. Rather than indicate the prevalence of sexual harassment on campus I would argue that this question is an indication of the level of awareness of sexual harassment on campus.

Table 5.9: Results of those people who had witnessed or heard about an incident of sexual harassment

University	No	Yes	Yes, but unsure whether it was sexual harassment or not
Kyoto University (1996)	40.5%	49.4%	N/A
Shizuoka University (1999) total	69.9%	21.2%	9%
Shizuoka University (1999) female	62.7%	25.5%	11.4%
Shizuoka University (1999) male	74.6%	17.8%	7.3%
Hiroshima University (2001) male		13.2%	
Hiroshima University (2001) female		11.1%	

The percentage of those respondents who have witnessed or heard of sexual harassment at Kyoto University is virtually double the number of those who said they had experienced sexual harassment (24.7%). At Shizuoka University the number is nearly three times as much as those people who said they had experienced sexual harassment (7.4%). If we add those respondents who had witnessed or heard of unwanted sexual behaviour but were unsure whether it was sexual harassment or not the percentage increases to 30.1%, which is double the percentage of those respondents who answered that they had experienced sexual harassment plus those who had experienced unwanted sexual behaviour but were unsure whether it was sexual harassment or not (14.1%).

At Shizuoka University the number of female respondents who had witnessed or heard of sexual harassment is higher than those who had experienced sexual

harassment, 25.5% and 16.8% respectively. At Hiroshima University the results are the opposite and the number of respondents who had witnessed or heard of incidents of sexual harassment is actually lower than those who had experienced sexual harassment, 11.1%, and 27.8%. At both universities, more male respondents had witnessed or heard of incidents of sexual harassment than had experienced sexual harassment.

Perpetrators of Sexual Harassment

The next logical step for universities to take would be to find out who the perpetrators of sexual harassment were. As I have already mentioned it has already been reported by Tohoku University (2001) that males are more likely to experience sexual harassment from other males rather than females. Research has also proven that females are more likely to experience sexual harassment from the opposite sex than the same sex. The universities in section one were trying to discover exactly who was more likely to sexually harass than others. Table 5.10 shows a breakdown of perpetrators of sexual harassment.

Table 5.10: Perpetrators of sexual harassment

Perpetrators of sexual harassment	Kyoto University (p.19)	Tohoku University (1997)						Tohoku University (2001)						Shizuoka University	Hitotsubashi University	Ochanomizu University	Yokohama National University	Tokyo University		
		Undergraduates			Postgraduates			Undergraduates			Postgraduates							Students	Faculty	Administration staff
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total							
Faculty members		0.6%	2%	1%	1.5%	17.1%	4.6%	20%	11.1%	13.6%	0.4%	34.6%	33.6%	25.8%	4.9%	39.5%	1 3%			17.1 %
Professor	4													15%					56.8%	
Lecturer	1													5%				7.8%		
Part-time lecturer	1																			
Supervisor															3.6%	18.4%		9.7%		
Assistant	2													1.7%						
Other academic staff														4.2%						
Office staff	1											2.8%	2%	20%			1 3%	1.5%	8.1%	46%
Part-time office staff														1.7%						
Other university staff														0 8%		5.3%		4 8%		

Someone outside of the university														10%			24.2%			
Colleagues	9	1%	6.6%	2.5%	0.4%	2.9%	0.9%	12%	22.2%	19.3%	8.9%	6.5%	7.2%		37.3%		9.1%	36.2%	20.5%	22.1 %
Students[80]	3														6.3%	2.3%			11.9%	9.1 %
Senpai[81]	5														38.9%		42.4%	30.2%		
Kōhai															5.5%			5.7%		2.7 %
One person in the research office		0.6%	0.5%	0.6%	1.1%	12.9%	3.5%													
One person in university clubs		0.8%	8.6%	2.9%		1.4%	0.3%													
Everybody in the research office		0.2%		0.1%	0.4%		0.3%													
Everybody in the university club		1 0.2%	2 1%	3 0.4%																
***Senpai* in research office**								8%	9.5%	9.1%	15.6%	22.4%	20.4%							
***Senpai* or colleague in the research office**								4%	3.2%	3.4%	11.1%	15%	13.8%							
***Senpai* in a university club**								12%	33.3%	27.3%	15.6%	6.5%	9.2%							
***Senpai* or colleague in a university club**								20%	7.9%	11.4%	11.1%	1.9%	4.6%							

[80] Shizuoka University has listed students as follows: *senpai* 12 (10%), peers 8 (6.7%), *kōhai* 1 (0.8%), pupils 2 (1.7%).

[81] The word *senpai* refers to a senior member in an organisation or a club and *kōhai* refers to someone who is a subordinate.

Table 5.10 gives some indication of the types of perpetrators at universities; it is difficult to pinpoint who the main perpetrators of sexual harassment on campus are, given that the universities have produced different lists for categorising perpetrators. For example, at first glance, faculty and colleagues appear to be the main perpetrators of sexual harassment on campus, as all universities listed faculty and colleagues as potential perpetrators. As mentioned previously, faculty have immense power over their students, especially postgraduates, therefore, if these figures are true the consequences of sexual harassment are very grave indeed. For example, just over seventeen percent of female postgraduates at Tohoku University in 1997 had experienced sexual harassment from faculty and this figure increases to 34.6% in 2001. In 1997, 2% of female undergraduates reported experiencing sexual harassment from faculty at the same university and this figure increases to 11.1% in 2001. I believe this is a clear indicator of the rise of awareness of sexual harassment among students at universities in Japan. Reported incidents of sexual harassment will continue to rise in line with levels of awareness.

Table 5.10 clearly shows that victims of sexual harassment are not only students and faculty, but administrative staff also fall prey to unwanted sexual attention. From the sample of surveys gathered, two universities targeted faculty and students

(Kyoto University, Tokyo Toritsu University), two universities targeted faculty, administrative staff and students (Shizuoka University, Tokyo University), and seven universities targeted students (Tohoku University 1997, 2001, Hitotsubashi University, Hiroshima University, Ochanomizu University, Yokohama University). Therefore, it is difficult to define or visualise a concrete hypothesis about who are most likely to be the victims of sexual harassment on university campuses in Japan.

It appears that universities still believe sexual harassment is mainly a concern for their students and protecting students is of paramount importance, hence the reason why most of the surveys gathered targeted students. One can understand the reasoning behind this; students make up the largest part of a university and they have very little power in comparison to faculty and in some cases administration staff. The majority of cases of sexual harassment happen to someone with less power than the perpetrator, therefore from a universities point of view, students are most at risk. Nevertheless, cases of sexual harassment such as the Yano incident (discussed in chapter four) clearly show the importance of protecting the academic community in its entirety.[82]

As the Yano case illustrates, it would be extremely unwise to presume only students fall victim to unwanted sexual behaviour, and in this respect universities in Japan

[82]Ms Kōno was employed as a secretary at Kyoto University when she became the victim of an appalling tirade of sexual harassment.

would benefit from investigating sexual harassment across the whole of the university campus, and not only students.

Sexual harassment from colleagues is far more likely to be "hostile environment" sexual harassment or gender discrimination than *quid pro quo* sexual harassment. "Hostile environment" sexual harassment and gender discrimination, although easier to define, are difficult to report, especially if other people in the room do not think the behaviour is sexually offensive in anyway. Moreover, in the case of "hostile environment" sexual harassment, or gender discrimination, it is more difficult to complain about the behaviour in private and the risk of the victim being seen as a troublemaker is high.

Reaction to and Effects of Sexual Harassment

Table 5.11 shows the reactions to sexual harassment: the percentage of respondents who protested against the behaviour is relatively low for all of the universities. It is encouraging to note that at Tohoku University; the numbers of respondents who protested in 1997 (undergraduates 2.1%, postgraduates 4.4%) has increased in 2001 (undergraduates 30.1%, postgraduates 23.8%). It is also interesting to note that in 1997 undergraduates were less likely to protest against unwelcome sexual behaviours than postgraduates; however, the situation has reversed in 2001.

Although students are finding their voices and becoming more intolerant of sexual harassment, postgraduates are becoming less vocal. One possible reason for this may be the downturn in the Japanese economy which means there are fewer jobs available to postgraduate students. Therefore, postgraduates may lack the confidence to protest if they fear career opportunities may be damaged as a result. This is reflected in the reaction "protested but still had to tolerate the behaviour", once again at Tohoku University more students were forced to tolerate unwelcome behaviour in 2001 than in 1997. Undergraduates were more likely to protest against sexual harassment than postgraduates in 2001. Although the numbers are relatively high in this instance, protesting against such behaviour was not effective as the students were forced to tolerate the behaviour anyway.

Table 5.11: Reaction to the incident of sexual harassment

Reaction to the incident of sexual harassment	Kyoto University (p.19)	Tohoku University (1997)						Tohoku University (2001)						Shizuoka University	Hiroshima University [83]	Ochanomizu University	Yokohama National University	Tokyo University	
		Undergraduates			Postgraduates			Undergraduates			Postgraduates							Students	Faculty & staff
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total						
Ignored Incident	14													26 22.2%	40%	12 30%	9 27.2%	43.5%	38%
Tolerated behaviour																		20.7%	24.1%
Avoided the perpetrator	2													30 25.6%	25%		18 45%		
Protested	3	3 0.6%	12 6.2%	15 2.1%	5 1.8%	10 14.7%	15 4.4%	6 23.7%	16 31.4%	22 30.1%	10 26.3%	21 22.8%	31 23.8%	16 13.7%	20%	7 17.5%	7 21.2%		

[83] Hiroshima University asked for the reaction of the victims to the most painful experiences of sexual harassment only.

Protested but still had to tolerate the behaviour		7 1.4%	17 8.8%	24 3.4%	7 2.5%	9 13.2%	16 4.7%	8 36.4%	21 41.2%	29 39.7%	16 42.1%	28 30.4%	44 33.8%						
Asked the person to stop												3 3.3%	3 2.3%	6 5.1%			11 33.3%	20.3%	18.3%
Hinted that the behaviour was unacceptable																		14.5%	17.1%
Asked for advice (unclear from whom)															25%	22 55%	5 15.2%		

Asked for advice from family members		1 0.2 %	3 16%	4 0.6%	1 0.4%	1 1.5%	2 0.6%	2 9.1%		2 2.7%	2 5.3%	6 6.5%	8 6.2%	5 4.3%					
Asked for advice from friends/ supervisor		1 0.2%	7 3.6%	8 1.1%	2 0.7%	4 5.9%	6 1.7%	2 9.1%	10 19.6%	12 16.4%	19 16.2%	4 10.5%	22 23.9%	26 20%					
Asked for advice from someone outside of the university (Police/lawyer)									1 4.5%	1 2%	2 2.8%								

Asked for advice from a member of staff									9 7.7%										

At two universities—Hiroshima and Tokyo University—respondents who ignored incidents of sexual harassment were nearly 40% or over, these percentages are higher than any of those respondents who said they protested against sexual harassment. Those respondents who said they avoided the perpetrator were also relatively high: Shizuoka University 25.6%, Hiroshima University 25%, and Yokohama National University 45%. Although people are beginning to speak out about sexual harassment there are still a substantial number of individuals who tolerate it. Friends, supervisors, and family are the most popular choices if people want to ask for advice and very few individuals seek advice from outside of the university. A disturbing fact was that in all of the university surveys in section one, no one thought to ask for advice or help from the university advisory services. In recent years an increasing number of universities have established various advisory services and mechanisms within universities with the specific aim of combating sexual harassment but these services are pointless if they are not properly advertised or if people don't feel confident enough to use them.

Effects of Sexual Harassment

Table 5.11 reflects the difficulty of assessing the effect of sexual harassment on victims, the long list of side effects shows how unwelcome behaviour can result in

multifarious consequences. Not all universities listed the same effects for their respondents to reply to, but there were some effects of sexual harassment which all universities deemed important to add to their list. All universities in table 5.11 listed physical or mental suffering as a side effect of sexual harassment, symptoms victims may suffer from include headaches, insomnia, or a change in appetite, either eating too much or not enough.

Undergraduates at Tohoku University (2001) appear to be the least affected by incidents of sexual harassment. What is even more interesting about this data is that female undergraduates from Tohoku University (2001) were significantly less affected by incidents of sexual harassment than their male peers (28% male and 52.1% female). From this evidence it seems that female undergraduates at this university are becoming stronger at dealing with incidents of sexual harassment compared with male undergraduates. Apart from Tohoku University (2001), no other university came close to reaching fifty percent of students not affected by sexual harassment.

Table 5.12: The effect sexual harassment has on the victim

The Effect sexual harassment has on the victim	Kyoto University (p.11)	Tohoku University 1997						Tohoku University 2001						Hitotsubashi University		Hiroshima University	Tōkyō University	
		Undergraduates			Postgraduates			Undergraduates			Postgraduates						Students N=1,549	Faculty & Staff 1,318
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female			
Loss of interest in studies/ damage to studies	21	3 0.6%	4 2%	7 1%	4 1.4%	5 6.1%	9 2.4%	2 8%	1 2.1%	3 4.1%	4 7.7%	8 7.1%	12 7.3%			10%	28	59
Standard of work is affected																		80
Stop research/ studies	8																29	
Be afraid of/ hate going to University	15	2 0.4%	4 2%	6 0.8%	4 1.4%	8 9.8%	12 3.2%	4 16%	5 10.4%	9 12.3%	7 13.5%	29 25.9%	36 22%	12.3%	20.4%		89	115
Take time off	8	4 2%																
Think about changing the place of study	10	6 0.8%																99
Take a break from studies	1																	
Become withdrawn	1													2.1%	4.8%		4	14
Wonder why it happened														18.3%	13.9%		75	47
Change place of study	2																	
Be afraid of the opposite sex	3													26.7%	64.2%		169 (includes same sex)	76 (includes same sex)
Distrust men	10																	
Feel														45%	4.8%			

uncomfortable around members of the same sex																		
Loss of confidence	20													4.2%	16.3%	25%	66	
Begin to hate meeting people	11														2.4%	15%		
Begin to suffer physically/ mentally (headaches, insomnia)	8	2 0.4%	4 2%	6 0.8%	3 1%	4 4.9%	7 1.9%	1 4%	0	1 1.4%	3 5.8%	5 4.5%	8 4.9%	10.2%	9.8%	5%	49	38
Lack of appetite																5%	44	15
Consider suicide/self harm	3													12.3%	15.4%		8	11
Planned suicide or self harm																	2	5
Blame oneself														20.4%	20.4%		72	45
Disadvantaged over decisions about grades/ course		3 0.6%	0	3 0.4%	0	1 1.2%	1 0.3%	2 8%	0	2 2.7%	2 3.8%	3 2.7%	5 3%					
Relationships in the research office became worse		3 0.6%	4 2%	7 1%	5 1.7%	7 8.5%	12 3.2%	1 4%	3 6.3%	4 5.5%	9 17.3%	14 12.5%	23 14%					
Began to feel anxious and unsafe		2 0.4%	11 5.5%	13 1.8%	5 1.7%	9 11%	14 3.8%	7 28%	8 16.7%	15 20.6%	10 19.2%	27 24.1%	37 22.6%	38.7%	52.9%	15%	130	83
Stop going to club activities														20.4%	12.2%			
Feel angry														8.1%	9.8%	70%	140	128
Feel angry and ashamed																	272	221
Feel unable to do anything														10.2%	4.8%	15%	65 (having witnessed the incident)	47 (having witnessed the incident)
Keep reliving																20%		

the incident and feel afraid																		
Panic for no reason																5%		
Took the opportunity to protest														2.1%	0.7%			
Feel ashamed because you did not protest																	76	67
No real effect		9 1.7%	27 13.6%	36 5%	6 2.1%	4 4 9%	10 2.7%	7 28%	25 52.1%	32 43.8%	14 26.9%	21 18.8%	35 21.3%			10%	176	118

Ten percent of students at Hiroshima University said they became disinterested in their studies after experiencing an incident of sexual harassment; this figure was followed by postgraduates and undergraduates at Tohoku University (7.3% and 4.1% respectively). Faculty and staff at Tokyo University were more affected by sexual harassment than students (4.4% faculty and staff and 1.8% students); faculty and staff at Tokyo University reported a decline in their standard of work after an incident of sexual harassment had occurred. These results are especially worrying as the majority of surveys conducted targeted students. Therefore the majority of data collected about sexual harassment on campus only reflects the situation of students and does not consider the impact such behaviour may have on faculty or staff. Such a distortion of results can have far-reaching implications; for example, universities may concentrate on protecting their students from sexual harassment but not faculty or staff.

The effect of sexual harassment on faculty and staff at Tokyo University can be seen in the number of faculty and staff who replied they were afraid or hated going to university after the incident (115) compared with students at (89). The percentages for those respondents who began to hate going to university are significantly high for postgraduates at Tohoku University 2001 (22%) and female students at Hitotsubashi University (20.4%). Again data from Tohoku University 2001 reveals interesting

results for male undergraduates; 16% of male undergraduates reported that they began to hate going to university compared with only 10.4% of their female peers. This suggests that more research needs to be done on the effect of sexual harassment amongst male students as it appears that under certain circumstances incidents of sexual harassment have profound effects on male students.

Female students at Hitotsubashi University were more likely to feel anxious and unsafe as a result of sexual harassment than any other respondents from the other universities. A high percentage of male students (38.7%) also said they felt anxious and unsafe after an incident of sexual harassment. This was closely followed by undergraduates (20.6%) and postgraduates (22.6%) at Tohoku University 2001. At Tokyo University student respondents (8.3%) felt more anxious and unsafe than faculty or staff (6.2%).

Looking at the above figures, the effects sexual harassment has on campus is a high indicator of the need to address the problem of unwelcome sexist and sexual behaviour within the university. Adequate prevention methods need to be in place to educate individuals so that incidences of unwelcome sexual behaviour are eradicated.

Surveys Conducted by Research Groups

As mentioned previously, research conducted by research groups tended to concentrate on sexual violence and abuse against students rather than sexual harassment. I have decided to include these in my study as many of the behaviours studied do fall into either category of *quid pro quo* or "hostile environment" sexual harassment.

With the exception of research conducted by the aforementioned Research Group on Campus Sexual Harassment (2002), which examined levels of awareness of sexual harassment among universities in Japan, the remaining three surveys measured levels of sexual abuse and sexual violence by asking respondents to circle any unwelcome sexual behaviour they had experienced from a list provided. All three surveys concentrated their studies on high school students or university students or both, and the methods used were the same. The surveys were distributed in the classroom and students were asked to fill out the questionnaires during class time.

The first survey conducted by the National Research Institute of Police Science divided a list of behaviours into three categories; criminal behaviour, sexual harassment, and other. It measured experiences of sexual harassment of both male and females and included actual numbers and percentages. The first report 'Experiences of

Sexual harassment among University and High School Students' covered the following areas: experiences of sexual violence, most uncomfortable experiences of sexual violence, recognition levels of uncomfortable behaviours, perpetrators, reaction to the incident, and the affects of the incidents.

The second survey carried out by the National Research Institute of Police Science investigated high school and university students' attitudes towards sexual violence and covered the following areas: attitudes towards certain behaviours, reasons behind contacting the police, reasons for not contacting the police, affect on the victims. A high percentage of the respondents of the survey stated they would not contact the police in the event of a criminal offence being committed.

The main reason for this was because the respondents did not want to tell the police or the court details of the incident (see table 5.13):

Table 5.13: Reasons why the police were not contacted

	Male			Female		
	Twenties	Teenagers	Total	Twenties	Teenagers	Total
Actual numbers	80	123	203	80	248	328
Didn't want to tell the police or the court details of the incident	65.0%	65.0%	65.0%	66.3%	80.7%	69.8%
The perpetrator might take revenge	2.5%	6.5%	4 9%	18.8%	17.9%	16.5%
Lose respectability	12.5%	14.6%	13.8%	22.5%	37.2%	30.2%
I don't want people around me to know	41.3%	47.2%	44.8%	68.8%	88.5%	75.6%
Relationships with people around me might become worse	20.0%	17.1%	18.2%	10.0%	29.4%	22.0%
Victims never win regardless of the path they take	28.8%	39.0%	35.0%	36.3%	38.1%	34.1%
It might inconvenience the people around me	2.5%	8.9%	6.4%	8.8%	17.9%	14.0%
Even if you complain to the police they won't do anything	26.3%	19.5%	22.2%	12.5%	33.9%	25.6%
Contacting the police is troublesome	3.8%	4.1%	3.9%	13 8%	20.6%	17.1%
Don't want anything to do with the police	11.3%	13.0%	12.3%	10 0%	17.4%	14.0%
Other	30.0%	27.6%	28.6%	6.3%	6.4%	5.8%

(Uchiyama1998: 48)

A high percentage of females did not want to give details of the incident to the police or relate these incidents in court (twenties 66.3% and teenagers 80.7%). Teenagers were especially reluctant to relate the incident to the police; one reason for this may be parental attitudes. Parents may feel that a public display of the incident is a shame on the family and something, which is better forgotten about than dragged through the courts. Therefore, when examining attitudes towards sexual violence among young people; it would also be beneficial to examine parental attitudes towards incidences of sexual violence. A further reason why people are reluctant to report incidences to the police is illustrated in chapter four and the public interest in the court cases of incidents of sexual harassment at Kyoto University and Naruto University of Education. This type of intense media scrutiny may be just too much for most people to bear.

The Japanese People and Violence study group covered similar areas of sexual abuse against students the main difference being the inclusion of separate questionnaires for male students as well as female ones, as it was thought that males and females would perceive sexual harassment in different ways (Iwao 1998: 3). The following are the main areas covered for both female and male students:

Female students	**Male students**
Experiences of sexual harassment and reactions to it	Sexual encounters/ experiences with women
Opinions and attitudes towards unwanted sexual attention on campus and prevention methods	Details of these incidents, reactions to them, and emotions at the time
Opinions and attitudes about sexual violence	Opinions and attitudes towards unwanted sexual attention on campus and prevention methods
Attitudes towards the victim and the suspected perpetrator	Opinions about sexual issues
Personal information	Experiences of sexual harassment and reactions to it
	Opinions and attitudes about sexual violence
	Attitudes towards the victim and the suspected perpetrator
	Personal information

(Iwao 1998: 8)

In addition to the questions female students were asked, male students were asked questions about sexual experiences and opinions about sexual issues. Posing such questions to male students opens up the possibility of harnessing male attitudes towards women in order to see if these attitudes contribute in any way to the sexual harassment of women. On the other hand, examining male sexual experiences towards females is a one-dimensional view of sexual harassment and ignores the multifaceted issues encircling the problem. Ignoring women's opinions about sexual matters and

experiences reproduces the stereotypical image of women as victims and males as predators. [84]

Conclusion

The surveys and data collected during my fieldwork in Japan clearly indicate the rigorous efforts some universities are making in order to examine and combat sexual harassment on campus. The results illustrate the need to create a method of measurement, which can be used as a framework for universities to work with when composing questionnaires and surveys about sexual harassment. I would suggest that rather than asking respondents if they have experienced sexual harassment and expect them to reply with a simple yes or no answer, a standard list of unwelcome sexual behaviours should be agreed upon and drawn up for respondents to encircle if they have experienced the kind of behaviour.

It would be beneficial if a formatted questionnaire covering the areas discussed above were sent to all universities in Japan to give to members of the university to complete. [85] It would be advantageous to incorporate a degree of

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[84]Craig R. Waldo et al. (1998) investigated the adaptation of existing methods of research about sexual harassment to create a more male friendly methodology. Most research on sexual harassment in the United States investigates sexual harassment against women by male perpetrators (Fitzgerald 1991; Gutek 1985; Mary Thierry Texeira 2002).

[85]Such a questionnaire could be formatted by The Ministry of Education or formatted through a group such as the Research Group on Campus Sexual Harassment, or an organisation like the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network.

flexibility into the framework of the questionnaire to comply with the target group, for example, questions put to undergraduates would differ from those put to postgraduates, faculty or staff.

I suggest it would also be beneficial to create a separate questionnaire and survey format for male students as results of the surveys have indicated that males do indeed experience different unwelcome sexual behaviours than females. I also believe it would be beneficial to investigate same sex sexual harassment because male students in particular appear to be at risk of this form of harassment. A closer look at perpetrators of sexual harassment, the frequency of behaviours and where these behaviours took place would also enable universities to establish a more concrete picture of the prevalence of sexual harassment university campuses.

At present, the vigorous efforts of individual universities and research groups attempting to access actual conditions of sexual harassment on campus are commendable, but lack a national workable organised framework. If such a framework were to exist, pinpointing the vulnerabilities in the higher educational system would be easier and creating practical, sustainable and user-friendly prevention guidelines, policies, and advisory services would become a reality.

Chapter Six
Sexual Harassment Prevention Policies in Japanese Universities.

The previous chapter explores how universities investigate the level of sexual harassment on college campuses through surveys, which target students, faculty, and staff. In addition to data collected through surveys, a substantial number of universities have created their own sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines or alternatively are in the process of writing sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines. Methods of dissemination of these policies and guidelines vary from university to university; posters, leaflets, and the internet are the main forms of media targeting students. Posters and leaflets are strategically placed in areas frequented by students; leaflets and cards the same size as a credit card with information on them are sometimes handed out to students at the beginning of each academic year. In some cases, guidelines and policies on sexual harassment are written at the back of annual academic diaries. Faculty and staff are given information on sexual harassment at meetings as well as being sent university policies and guidelines.

Using these various techniques ensures that information is available to all members of the university. However, it is up to the individual whether they read and digest the information at hand. Although it is impossible to accurately estimate the

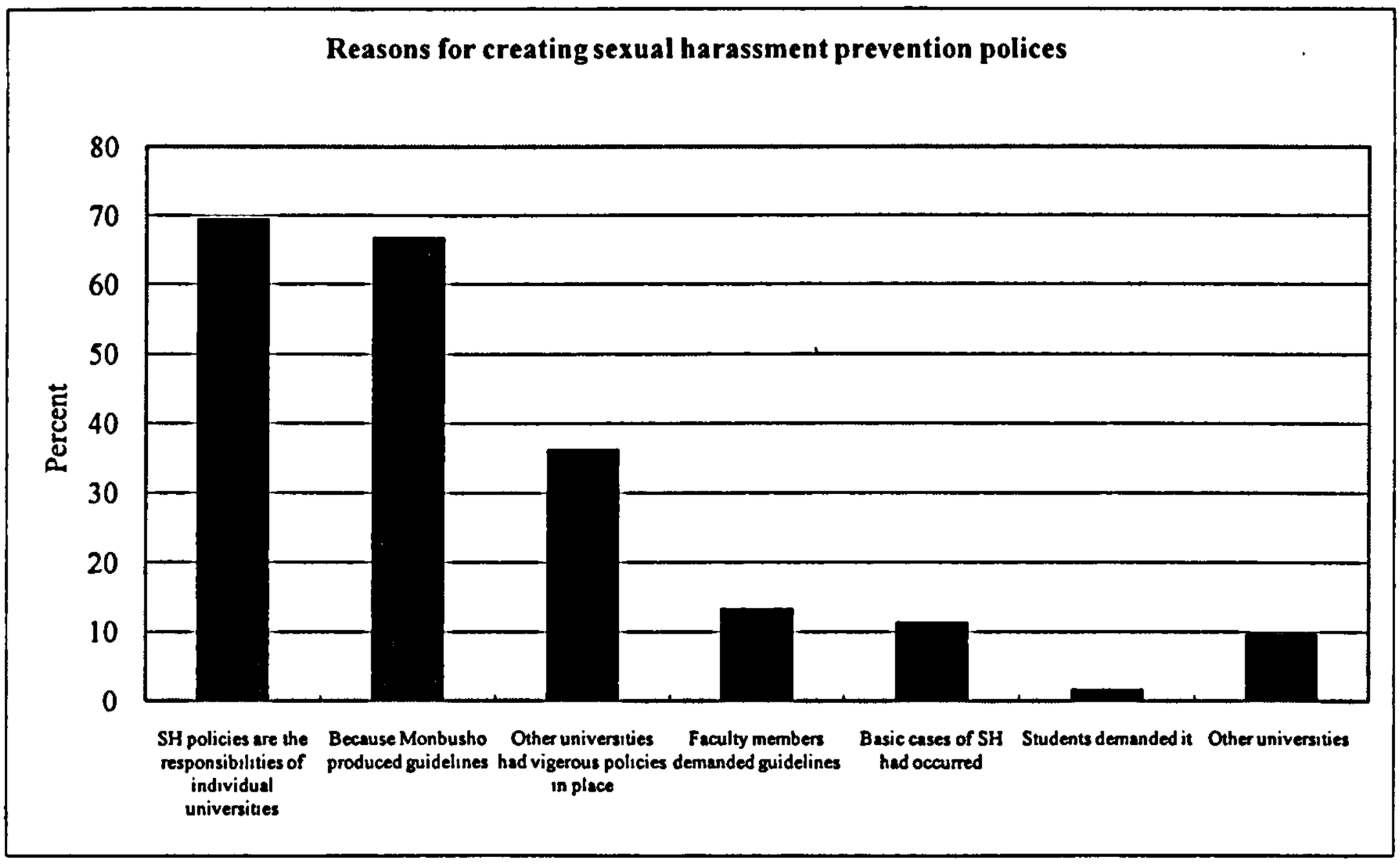
success rate of sexual harassment prevention policies, it is possible to investigate the lengths universities will go to in order to maximise awareness of such a delicate topic.

Creating Sexual Harassment Prevention Policies

In 2002, the Research Group on Campus Sexual Harassment carried out a survey with the aim of investigating levels of awareness of sexual harassment among universities. The survey was sent to all universities in Japan and showed that 69.3% of universities believed the creation of sexual harassment prevention policies was the responsibility of individual universities (Ida 2002: 9).[86] The following graph shows the breakdown of reasons why universities decided to create their own prevention policies:

[86] This survey differs from my recommendations about a standardised questionnaire for faculty, staff and students in the previous chapter in that this survey did not target individual members of a university but instead targeted the institution. In contrast to this the questionnaire I proposed in the previous chapter would target individual members of the university to find out actual conditions of sexual harassment in Japan.

Graph F: Reasons for creating sexual harassment prevention policies



(Ida Kumiko2002: 9)

The second most popular reason for creating sexual harassment prevention policies was the fact that the Ministry of Education created their own guidelines regarding sexual harassment.[87] The same survey also showed that the majority of universities had already created sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines (72.3%), however; a substantial number (27.7%) had no guidelines or policies at all. (Ida 2002:

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[87] In March 1993, The Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology, hereafter referred to as The Ministry of Education, published the following policies about sexual harassment, *Monbushō ni okeru sekushuaru harasumento no bōshi nado ni kansuru kitei* (Regulations Regarding Sexual Harassment Prevention Policies within the Ministry of Education) and *Sekushuaru harasumento no bōshi nado no tame ni monbushō shokuin ga ninshikisubeki jikō nit suite no shishin* (A Guide about Items Ministry of Education Employees should be aware of Regarding the Prevention of Sexual Harassment). These publications were a result of the National Personnel Authority (*jinji*) had created their own regulations and sent them to all ministerial and government offices (Otani 2000: 114). Coincidently this was the same year in which charges were being brought against Professor Yano at Kyoto University.

10). The majority of universities that already established guidelines did so after The Ministry of Education published their guidelines and not before.

In 1984, a similar survey in the United States, showed that 66% of respondent institutions had written sexual harassment prevention policies and 46% had grievance procedures designed to deal with sexual harassment (Robertson 1988: 794).[88] The majority of universities with sexual harassment grievance procedures in the United States were large public universities, because by law all public schools in the United States have to have policies on sexual harassment. Most universities in the United States had created their sexual harassment policies in the years 1981-82 or later (Williams 1992: 52). Although a reason for the sudden rush to establish guidelines and prevention policies from 1981 is not made; implicit legal guidelines for sexual harassment were established in 1980, when the Equal Opportunity Commission (EEOC) issued Title VII Guidelines on sexual harassment in the workplace and 49% of universities stated they defined sexual harassment from the above guidelines

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[88]Given the size and number of universities in the United States compared with those in Japan the sampling techniques for both surveys differed. The survey conducted in the United States randomly selected the majority of their universities (568 out of 668) from 3,253 universities listed in the 'Education Directory of Colleges and Universities 1981-82.' The authors chose accredited co-educational schools only and the two largest universities in each state were also included in the survey (Robertson 1988: 793). In Japan, all four year private, public and national universities were targeted (Ida 2002: 1).

(Robertson 1988: 805). One can conclude from this that Japanese universities, like those in the United States, felt pressure from governmental offices to create sexual harassment prevention policies on campus.

In addition to guidelines set out by the Japanese government, universities are able to draw upon a substantial number of books published in Japan about discrimination, sexual violence, and sexual harassment in order to create and establish adequate sexual harassment prevention policies. Books such as "*Sekai kara mita nihon no josei to jinken, nihon no danjo byōdō*" (*A Global Perspective on Human Rights and Japanese Women: Equal Opportunities between Men and Women in Japan*) (Yoshioka 1997) examine different aspects of life which affect women in Japan, including the problem of sexual harassment in the work place. "*Sabetsu hyōgen wo kangaeru*" (*Thinking about Discriminatory Expressions*), (Ozaki 1995) examines discriminatory expressions in Japanese, an important point of consideration when new amendments to the Equal Opportunity Law regarding sexual harassment also includes verbal sexual harassment. In her book "*Seisabetsu to bōryoku*" (*Violence and Gender Discrimination*) Tsunoda Yukiko not only looks at sexual harassment on campus, but

also mentions sexual abuse against minority groups in Japan, such as sexual violence against homosexuals, lesbians, and transgendered individuals (Tsunoda 2001).[89]

More specialised publications about campus sexual harassment can also be found at meetings and gatherings organised by the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network and demand for such publications at these meetings is high (Tsunoda 2002; Shintani 2000; Numazaki Ichirō 2001; Association of Legislative Research 2000; Kyoto Sangyo Daigaku 2000).

Kaneko Masaomi, Deputy Director, Office of Labour Policy, Tokyo Metropolitan government has written many books specifically about sexual harassment. In *Shokuba sōdanin no tame no sekuhara bōshikanzen manyuaru* (*A Complete Sexual Harassment Prevention Manual for Advisors in the Workplace*) Kaneko covers a wide range of topics about sexual harassment, from clarification of the confusion, which sometimes surrounds the problem, to how to deal with an incident of sexual harassment when it occurs. He gives detailed accounts of how to interview the perpetrator and the victim and what kinds of advice and procedures should be used for specific cases (Kaneko 2000b). "*Jirei, hanrei de miru sekuhara taisaku*" (*Sexual Harassment*

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[89]Sexual violence, abuse or harassment against minority groups in Japan is very rarely written about or discussed, however this lack of recognition of minority groups was introduced at a training course I attended from the 29th to the 31st of August 2001. At the very end of the three day course, as people were about to leave, the inclusion of minority groups when creating prevention policies was mentioned and it is clear that more research needs to be done by Japanese and international scholars on sexual abuse of minority groups.

Measures: a look at leading cases) is similar to the previous publication, but includes a whole chapter dedicated to concrete examples of different kinds of sexual harassment, which can occur in the workplace (Kaneko 2000).[90] Kaneko (2000) also wrote "*Kōmuin no sekuhara bōshi manyuaru*" (*A Sexual Harassment Prevention Manual for Public Workers*), this manual takes a slightly different look at sexual harassment in that it talks about how sexual harassment is treated by the media and how to deal with cases of sexual harassment which obtain media attention.[91] Finally, in his book "*Sabakareru otokotachi sekuhara kokuhatasu no yukue*" (*Men who have been Judged: the outcome of accusations*) Kaneko takes a look at many questions which are frequently raised by men about sexual harassment (Kaneko 2001). If universities were to use the wealth of material available to them (above are just a few examples of the amount of publications available) then they would be able to create solid sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines.

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[90]These explanations cover a wide range of incidents from the importance of not neglecting incidents of sexual harassment to incidents of sexual harassment which happen after hours and the importance of recognising how certain sexual behaviours can greatly affect females in the workplace (Kaneko 2000: 87-137).

[91]Media attention can be disastrous for the people involved in cases of sexual harassment as well as for the institution as chapter four illustrates Clair Robertson (1988) has the following advice for universities who are ill equipped to handle cases of sexual harassment:

> Nothing is more disastrous to an institution or humiliating to the people involved than an egregious case that has festered for years and then becomes public knowledge or the centre of a law suit. Initiate the survey before (and not because of) such an incident (Robertson 1988: 809).

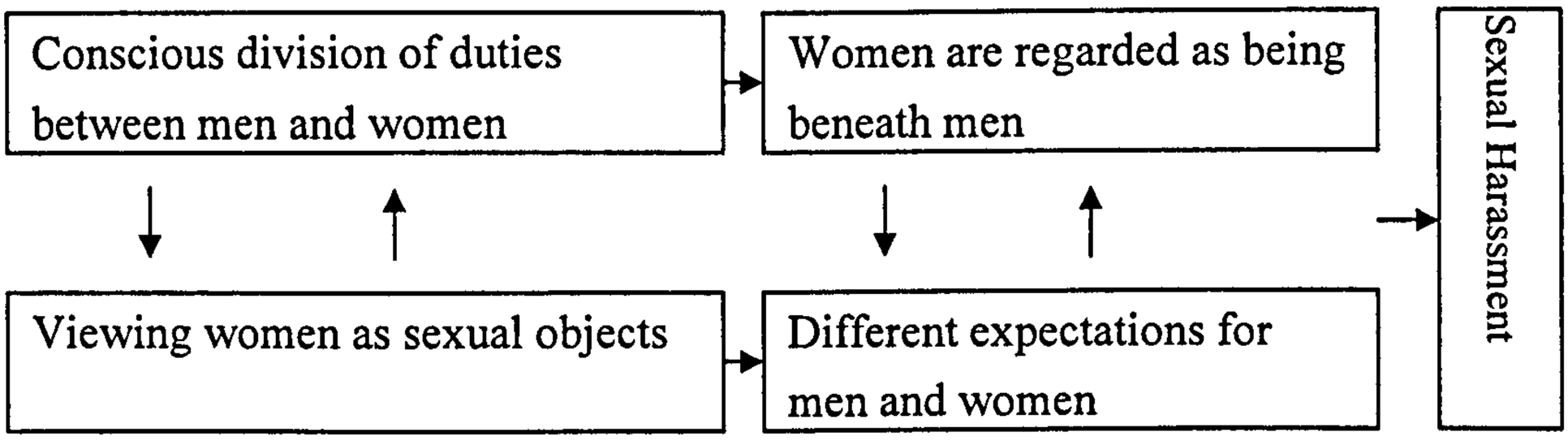
Creating an Effective Sexual Harassment Prevention Policy

> An internal Grievance procedure may save time, minimize emotional and financial expense, and be more sensitive to all persons involved.
>
> (Brandenburg 1982: 326)

If an incidence of sexual harassment occurs, grievance procedures within the university are a much better route to follow than procedures involving outside interference and court cases. Most universities would like to avoid this at all cost. If adequate procedures are in place and an incident of sexual harassment is handled promptly and correctly usually all parties concerned will accept this path rather than involve outside aid (Remick 1996: 235).

Kaneko (2000a) advises that the very first step towards dealing with sexual harassment is to clearly define the position of females within the working or academic environment.[92] Often sexual harassment is a result of preconceived ideas about male and female roles in society as diagram 6.1 shows:

Diagram 6.1: Preconceived ideas about men and women: (Kaneko 2000a: 35)



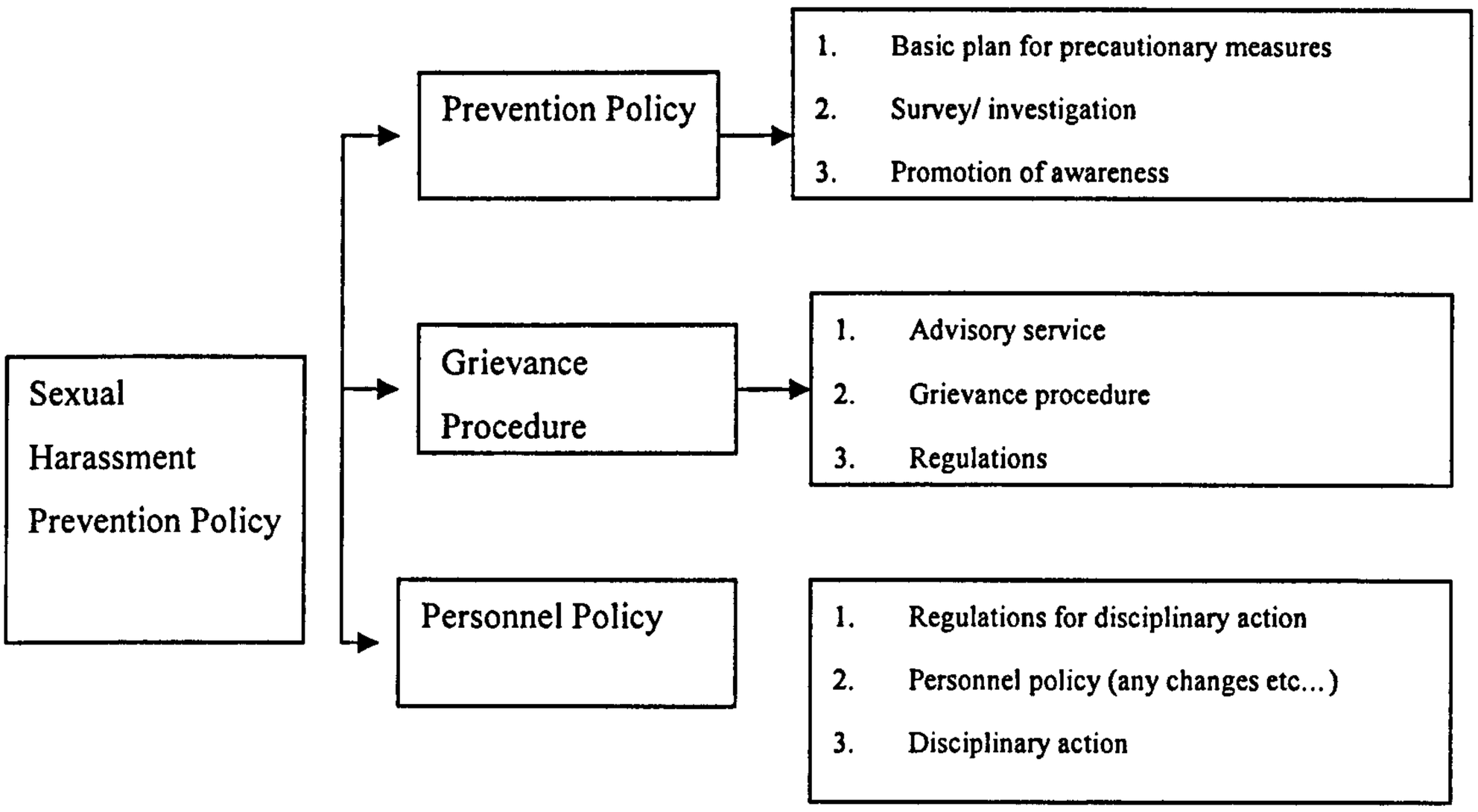
[92]Kaneko (2002a) maintains that there are only three steps needed to create effective sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines.

By allotting duties according to gender, females are at risk of experiencing sexual harassment, as more often than not, they are assigned domestic duties such as serving tea or cleaning up, duties which are regarded as beneath men. Coupled with this, women are sometimes seen as sexual objects at work; they may be expected to dress in a certain way and act in a certain way, which leads to different expectations for men and women. How, then, can these observations in the workplace be applied to creating effective sexual harassment prevention policies at university?

At first glance this initial step appears to be logical and easy to follow, however, universities often have the problem of defining a student's position within the university. Sexual harassment on campus is not taken as seriously as sexual harassment in the workplace because the disadvantages within the workplace are more obvious than those on campus. In the workplace a victim of sexual harassment is at risk of losing their job and therefore livelihood, whereas it is thought that a victim of sexual harassment at university will only lose a couple of grades, but no overall damage to their career will occur (Ōtani 2000: 144). Therefore it is extremely important to stress the seriousness of sexual harassment within a policy and make it very clear that "sexual harassment must be understood as an exploitation of a power relationship, rather than as an exclusively sexual issue"(Brandenburg 1982: 332). The

problems students face when they become victims of sexual harassment are not only limited to the loss of a few grades, they face a substantial loss of educational opportunities and they are potentially identified as a trouble maker (Biaggo 1990: 220). The consequences of such severe retribution may force the student to quit their studies all together. As discussed in chapter two; female students in Japan are already under pressure to study gender appropriate subjects such as home economics as well as being underrepresented in the most elite universities. Therefore, in addition to establishing a fair and representational recruitment policy it is important for universities to ensure female students are treated equally with their male colleagues in the classroom, in assessment, and at every other educational opportunity.

Once the position of female students' faculty and staff is clearly defined and the president of the university has made it explicitly clear that sexual harassment is not going to be tolerated, a clear and well thought out prevention policy needs to be created. According to Kaneko (2000a: 43) the second step to providing a good sexual harassment prevention policy is to make sure the policy will include the following three essential ingredients, a clear prevention policy , a grievance procedure, and a personnel policy. In the correct order these key aspects should create a solid policy as shown in diagram 6.2 below:



(Kaneko 2000a: 44)

It is important to have the prevention policy, grievance procedure, and personnel policy operating as independent units and even if the organization is small, the three units of the sexual harassment policy should be allotted to different people in order to avoid confusion and errors. Leaving the complete work of the sexual harassment policy to a single individual is ineffective and allots that individual too much responsibility. It is advisable to present a clear image of the responsibilities of each section as diagram 6.3 illustrates:

Prevention measures ←	Female representative/ training representative/ public representative/ section representative
Grievance procedure ←	Representative from the advisory section (Labour advisor, disabled advisor, life advisor etc…) (Female managers/ female staff representative/ lawyer or counsellor/ health representative)
Personnel policy ←	Personnel section representative

(Kaneko 2000a: 45)

The Campus Sexual Harassment National Network suggests the following check list, to evaluate sexual harassment prevention policy guidelines. Those points with a ◎ behind them are worth five points and those points with a ○ behind them are worth three points. Universities are able to use this check list against their own guidelines to see how highly they have scored and what parts of their guidelines need to be amended. The network tested this information out on the following universities with these results: Oita University 92 points, Toho Gakuen University 77 points Kyoto Keizai University 64 points and Waseda University 52 points (Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002b: 99)

Purpose and definition	1. Damage to human rights. ◎ 2. Adequate definition. ◎ 3. Reference to power relationships. ◎ 4. Reference to various forms of sexual discrimination. ○ 5. Outline criteria for judging a case of SH. ○ 6. Responsibilities of the advisory service. ◎
Advice	1. Organisation of advisors. ○ 2. Establishment of the victim's position. ◎ 3. Treatment of the incident and separation of duties. ○ 4. Confidentiality and recording methods. ○
Treatment of incidents and grievance procedure	1. Committee in charge of dealing with the incident. ◎ 2. Function of the mediators. ○ 3. Independent neutral fairness of service. ◎ 4. Protection. ◎ 5. Listen to the opinions of the victim. ◎ 6. Disciplinary action. ○
Prevention	Promotion of awareness of SH. ◎ 2. Training. ○
Related items	1. Location of responsibility. ◎ 2. Protection of the victim's physical and mental wellbeing. ◎ 3. Confidentiality. ◎ 4. Prevention of revictimisation. ◎ 5. Prevention of rumours. ○ 6. Flexibility. ○

(Diagram 6.4: Sexual Harassment Check List: Campus Sexual Harassment National Network 2002b: 99)

Both of the above recommendations may differ in format and layout but essentially the same points are covered. The main points to consider when creating guidelines and prevention policies can be broken down into three categories.

1. Definition
2. Advisory service
3. Methods of prevention

In the United States the advice on prevention policies and guidelines is similar to that in Japan, Clair Robertson (1988), lists the following as indispensable when creating a sexual harassment prevention policy:

1. Find out how prevalent sexual harassment is at your university by conducting a survey.
2. Adopt a policy which meets the approval of faculty, senate, administration, and trustees.
3. Policy procedures should include formal and informal methods of resolution.
4. Teaching assistants should be subject to the same formal and informal procedures that apply to faculty.
5. The prevention policy, procedures and number of complaints should be published every semester.
6. Statistics of complaints should be recorded, and attempts should be made to identify persistent offenders.
7. Educate teaching personnel and administrators about their role in discouraging harassing behavior.
8. Solicit support from the graduate school as postgraduates are more vulnerable than undergraduates to sexual harassment.
9. Assure faculty that the risk of false reporting is minimal in comparison to the damage to students' careers.
10. Students must be assured they will not be penalized for reporting an incident of sexual harassment.
11. The university ought to publicize and enforce a consistent set of sanctions for sexual harassment offenders.

(Robertson 1988: 809-811)

And Biaggio and Brownell (1990) recommend the following:

1. A memorandum from the president of the university should be distributed throughout the university.
2. Materials should be designed to educate people about their rights.
3. Adequate procedures must be designed to handle complaints.
4. A system to monitor and evaluate procedures should be implemented.

(Biaggo 1990: 218-219)

Claire Robertson's advice is detailed and very precise in the outlining of a productive sexual harassment prevention policy. It is particularly interesting to note her recommendation of gaining support from the graduate school as postgraduate students

are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than undergraduates. As mentioned in previous chapters the same can be said of Japan whereby a postgraduates supervisor not only has an extraordinary amount of power over their students grades, but also supervisors are often the gatekeepers to further study or a career with a reputable business.

Biaggio and Brownell's recommendations are vaguer than Robertson's but still the essential components are visible, a definition from the president, and adequate advisory service, and the establishment of a grievance procedure

Once the first and second stages in creating the prevention policy are complete the final stage in the process is treating the policy with the seriousness it deserves. This means taking action to create awareness of sexual harassment throughout the organization, this can be through distribution of posters or pamphlets or through training workshops or seminars. Ideally, awareness of the problem would encompass both of the above options and everybody in the organization would be included in the process.

Concerns about Sexual Harassment Prevention Policies

> There is a great deal of nervousness, bafflement, tension, fear, and sometimes outright hostility involved when the subject of sexual harassment is raised among university personnel.
>
> (Robertson 1988: 799)

Although the above statement refers to personnel staff in the United States the same mixture of emotions is seen in Japan when the subject of sexual harassment is discussed. As part of my research I wrote and visited many universities requesting to have a copy of sexual harassment policy of guidelines. Many universities were willing to help giving as much information as I asked for and indeed in some cases much more. Some universities treated me with skeptical suspicion even after I had explained my intentions and the nature of my research. At conferences and speeches I attended about sexual harassment the same question was constantly asked, usually by a male: "What happens if the victim is not telling the truth?" Usually this question was justified by the observation that many Japanese female students were spoilt, selfish (*wagamama*), and a false accusation of sexual harassment may occur as an act of revenge against an innocent member of staff.

The concern about false accusations was also a main worry amongst those institutions surveyed by Robertson—78% said false accusations were their main concern (Robertson 1988: 799). Sexual harassment prevention policies should have a well balanced procedure which not only gives a voice to victims of sexual harassment but also protects faculty and staff against false accusations. This balance does not seem to have been struck as a vast majority of students are more likely to ignore the

situation rather than report it. I argue, it is therefore more appropriate for universities to create an awareness amongst faculty, staff, and students about sexual harassment and related guidelines.

Applying Sexual Harassment Guidelines and Policies

As previously mentioned, collecting sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines from individual universities proved, in some incidences, to be quite difficult. At first I sent out letters of self-introduction to the personnel department at a random number of universities. If no reply came within a few weeks I would then call the universities and ask if they had received my correspondence and if they could fulfill my request. In the majority of cases a phone call and a brief conversation in Japanese was all it took to gain the confidence of the institution, and the information I requested was sent forthwith. As well as written and telephone enquiries, I also visited universities in person where, I was introduced to relevant members of faculty or staff and was allowed to collect materials necessary for my research.

Table 6.1 shows the universities which responded to my request for information and allowed me to have copies of the sexual harassment prevention policy.

Table 6.1: A list of guidelines and prevention policies at Japanese universities

1. Fukui University (Fukui University 1999)
2. Meiji Gak*uin* University (Meiji Gakuin University 1998)
3. Mie University (Mie University 1998)
4. Kochi University (Kochi University 1997)
5. Ehime University (Ehime University 1997)
6. Tottori University (Tottori University 1997)
7. Kyoto Kyōiku University (Kyoto Kyōiku University 1997)
8. Kyushu University (Kyushu University 1998)
9. Nagoya University (Nagoya University 1997)
10. Nihon Fukushi University (Nihon Fukushi University 1998)
11. Musashi Institute of Technology (Musashi Institute of Technology 1999)
12. Takaoka Junior College (Takaoka Junior College 1998)

It was no surprise to discover that the sexual harassment prevention policies at the above universities followed a similar pattern to each other, and covered the three main components discussed above, definition, advisory service, and methods of prevention. Rather than describe each policy in turn I have chosen to examine three policies from Nihon Fukushi University, Meiji Gakuin University, and Kyushu University. The policies at these three universities are representational of the prevention policies collected from other universities.

Nihon Fukushi University

Nihon Fukushi University advises students about how they can avoid incidents of sexual harassment and sexual abuse, for example, they are told not to walk in quiet places with little lighting and if they do so they should carry a spray or a buzzer (Nihon Fukushi University 1998: 1). In addition, Nihon Fukushi University advises students

to go to hospital and have an examination for sexually transmitted diseases and to take a pregnancy test in the unfortunate event they are raped (Nihon Fukushi University 1998: 2). The definition Nihon Fukushi University gives for sexual harassment is taken directly from government guidelines, and there are three places listed where students are able to go and seek help if they become victim to sexual harassment. These places are; the student consultation room (*gakusei sōdan shitsu*), the nurse's room (*hoken shitsu*), and the student life centre (*gakusei seikatsu sentā*) (Nihon Fukushi University 1998: 2). The university then goes on to say that it will listen to the experience carefully from the point of view of the victim and, if necessary, it will introduce the victim to doctors or counselors outside of the university (Nihon Fukushi University 1998: 2). The university will base its decision after a thorough investigation of events has been carried out and appropriate action will be taken.

Meiji Gakuin University

Meiji Gakuin University has a policy that only deals with sexual harassment and does not include incidences of sexual abuse. Like Nihon Fukushi University, Meiji Gakuin University has taken their definition of sexual harassment from government guidelines (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 1). Meiji Gakuin University not only outlines rules and regulations about sexual harassment, but it also explains

how the sexual harassment committee is selected. The committee is made up of twelve faculty and four staff. Faculty are appointed by the chairman and are approved by their heads of department, the staff are also appointed by the chairman and are approved by the head of their section (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 1). The committee consists of male and female members and membership lasts two years after which it is not possible to be reappointed (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 1). At Meiji Gakuin University there appears to be only one place students may turn to for advice, this place being the student advisory section. The sexual harassment advisors are the same people who belong to the sexual harassment committee and any student is able to choose whom they wish to consult about an incident of sexual harassment (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 3).

Meiji Gakuin University also outlines the procedure it will take if the information given to the advisor is deemed serious enough to warrant further investigation. Where the advisor decides that the contents of the case brought forth are extremely important, they will immediately inform the chairman of the sexual harassment human rights committee. The chairman, with the victims permission, will then arrange a meeting with the alleged perpetrator(s) and will act as a mediator between the parties until the issue is resolved (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 3). The

investigation committee will finish their investigations within three months and report their findings to the chairman. Based upon these findings the Human Rights Committee will directly contact the head of the relevant department and request that necessary procedures/ disciplinary action be taken (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 3). Once again confidentiality is assured and the victim's identity will be protected at all costs (Meiji Gakuin University 1998: 4).

Kyushu University

The sexual harassment prevention policy at Kyushu University is very clear and simple, the message sent clearly discourages sexual harassment on campus. The policy is broken down into three parts, namely: the purpose of the policy, a definition of sexual harassment, and finally the University's sexual harassment prevention policy (Kyushu University 1998: 1). Although the definition of sexual harassment is not taken directly from government guidelines, it is still very clear and covers the essential elements of the different types of sexual harassment and the damage sexual harassment can do to the victim (Kyushu University 1998: 1). Once the initial message of the prevention policy is understood the next step Kyushu University takes is to give examples of sexual harassment so that those who read the policy are able to immediately recognize an incident of sexual harassment if and when one occurs. The

examples of sexual harassment which are given cover both *quid pro quo* examples of sexual harassment and "hostile environment" examples of sexual harassment (Kyushu University 1998: 2). The third part of the prevention policy at Kyushu University covers the responsibilities of the sexual harassment committee. As is the case at Nihon Fukushi University, the chairman and the heads of relevant departments are responsible for the selection of the committee (Kyushu University 1998: 4). The convenient way in which Kyushu University has set out the prevention policy makes it more accessible to all members of the university.

Not everyone will read through prevention policies, there is the possibility that a high number of staff and faculty will just glance at the first page, decide the policy is not relevant to them and file it away somewhere or simply place it in the bin. Because Kyushu University has put all of the relevant and the most important information on the first page in an easy to read bullet point format, even those people who do disregard the policy will have digested the basic facts about the importance of stopping sexual harassment on campus.

Creating Awareness of Sexual Harassment on Campus

On the 29th of August 2001, Takahashi Akiko, a librarian at Waseda University and an active member of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network, gave a

speech about how Waseda University finally decided on the design of their leaflet promoting awareness of sexual harassment on campus.

Initially, the design below was one of the first designs to be used, although difficult to see, the question "*Sekuhara tte nani?*" (What is sexual harassment?) runs down the image of what appears to be a woman's body.

(Waseda University 1999)

Immediately after this pamphlet was published, voices of protest began to be heard at Waseda University. People, including Ms. Takahashi, were angry at the design because they thought it sexualised the problem of sexual harassment and therefore gave the wrong image. The pamphlet proved to be too provocative to remain in circulation and was eventually swapped for the more modern but plainer design below:

(Waseda University 2001)

As one can see from the image above, the leaflet is very plain and relates a clear and simple message. The fact that the Japanese version also uses the English phrase 'Stop! Sexual Harassment.' makes the image all the more eye catching.[93] The colour blue is also very neutral, and the fact that there are no pictures or designs on the leaflet allows no room for misunderstandings or misinterpretations.

What is interesting about the original 1999 design for Waseda University is the resemblance it has to the current design at Tokyo University as the two illustrations on the following page clearly show.

The leaflet at Tokyo University depicts images of what appears to be both men and women in sexual and provocative poses. The bold colours of red and orange add to the erotic imagery and are complemented by the main image of smouldering blue. It is not known whether there have been any voices of protest over the leaflet at Tokyo University. The above illustration reflects the sensitive nature of sexual harassment and the complexities which are connected with it. On the one hand, a university finds it unacceptable to display a pamphlet, which is seen to be erotic, and on the other hand another university seems to have no problem with it.

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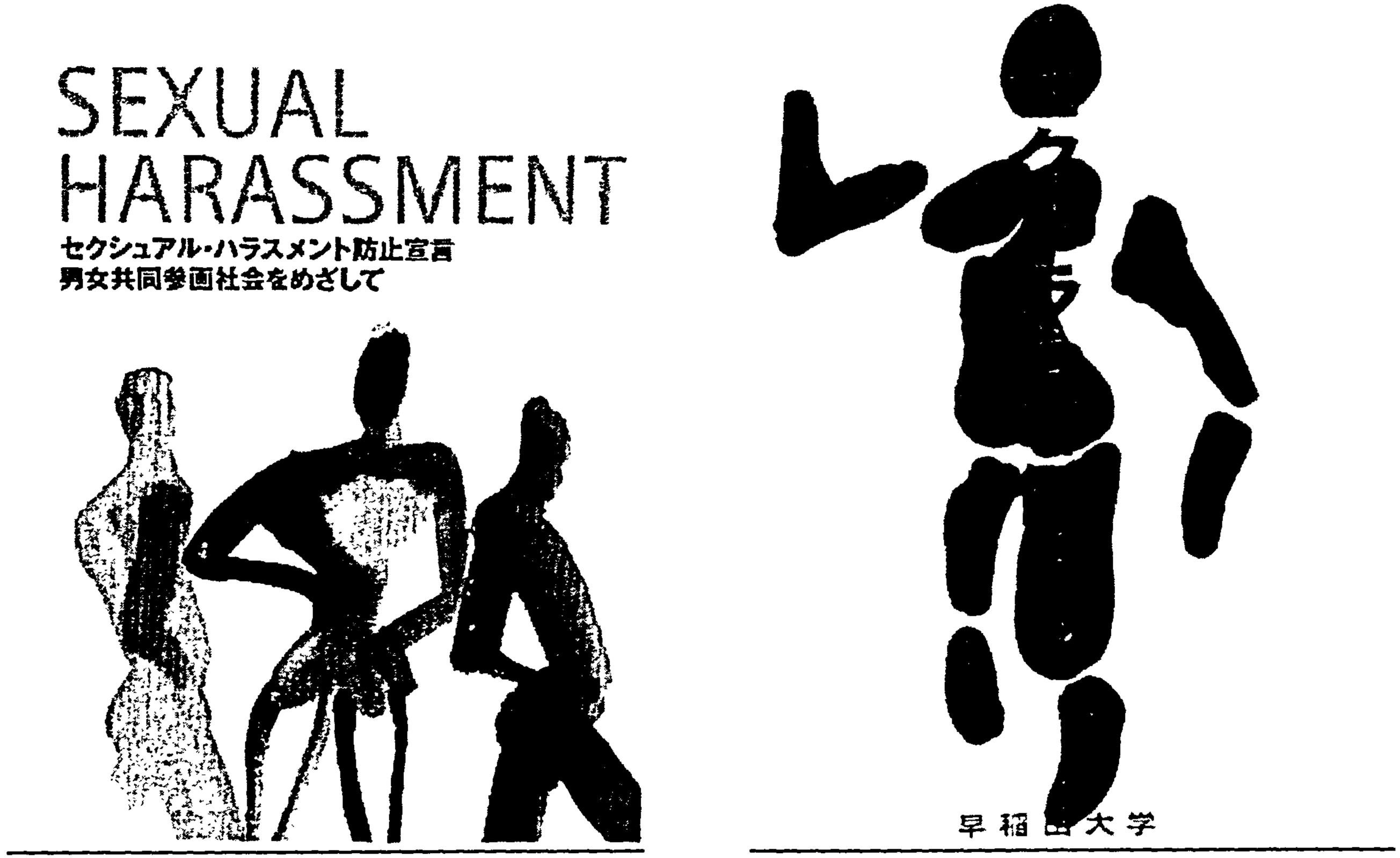
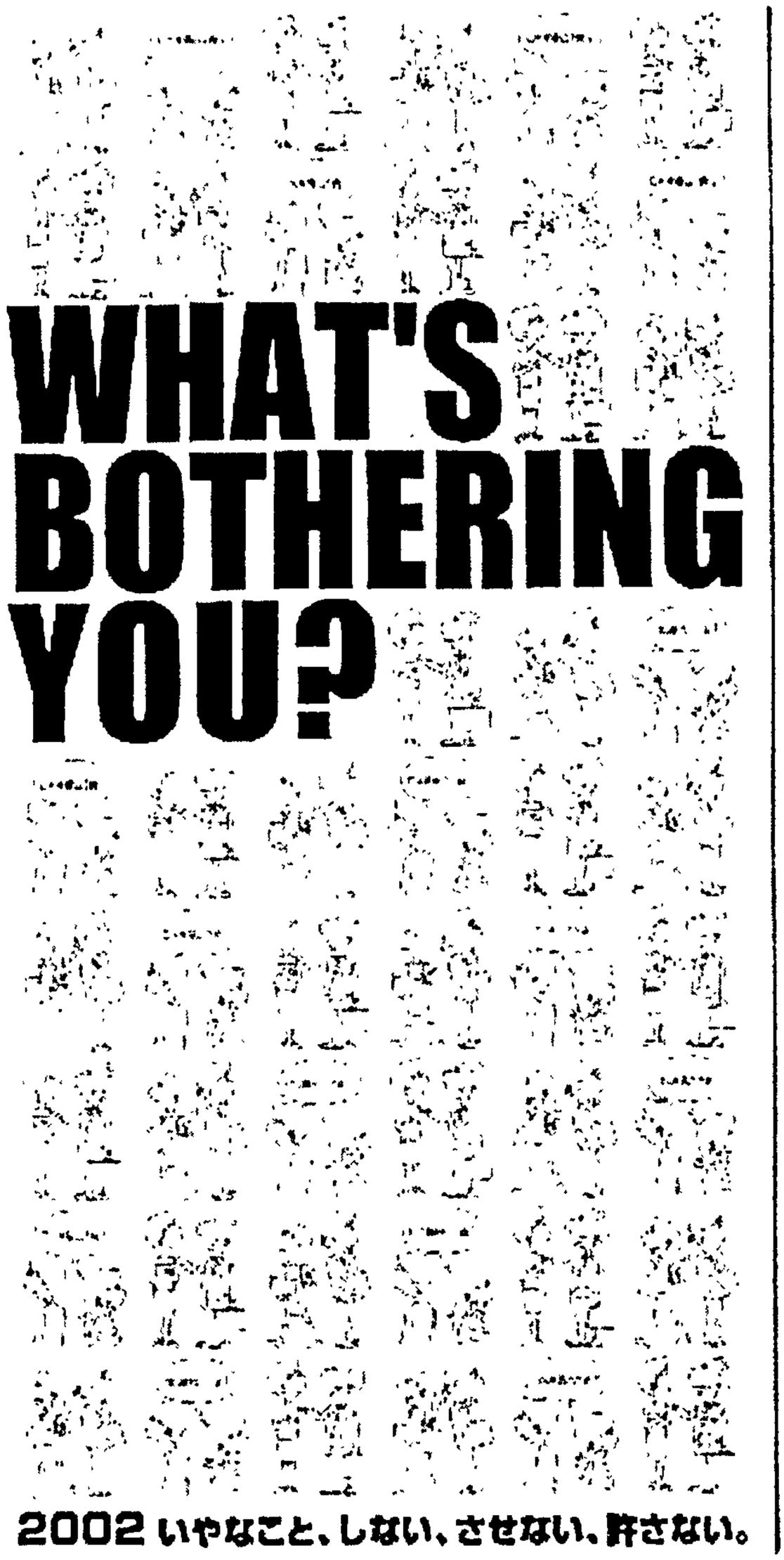
[93]Waseda University also has leaflets about sexual harassment in Chinese and Korean.



(Far left Tokyo University 2000 and next to it Waseda University 1999)

Like Waseda University, other universities also took care not to design a leaflet about sexual harassment with too much imagery. The following designs from Keio, Rikkyō, and Tokyo Keizai Universities are similar to that of Waseda University. The title of the leaflet at Keio University may be difficult for some Japanese students to understand. The connection between the title 'What's bothering you?' and the subject matter is vague and it is only when the leaflet is opened out that the message of the leaflet is made clear. In comparison the leaflet from Rikkyō University is very clear. The large letters in English in the background makes the subject of the leaflet immediately apparent, and the Japanese writing in bold leaves no doubt as to the subject matter. Finally the leaflet from Tokyo Keizai University is the only one which uses no English at all and the message is clear and to the point.



(Keio University 2002)

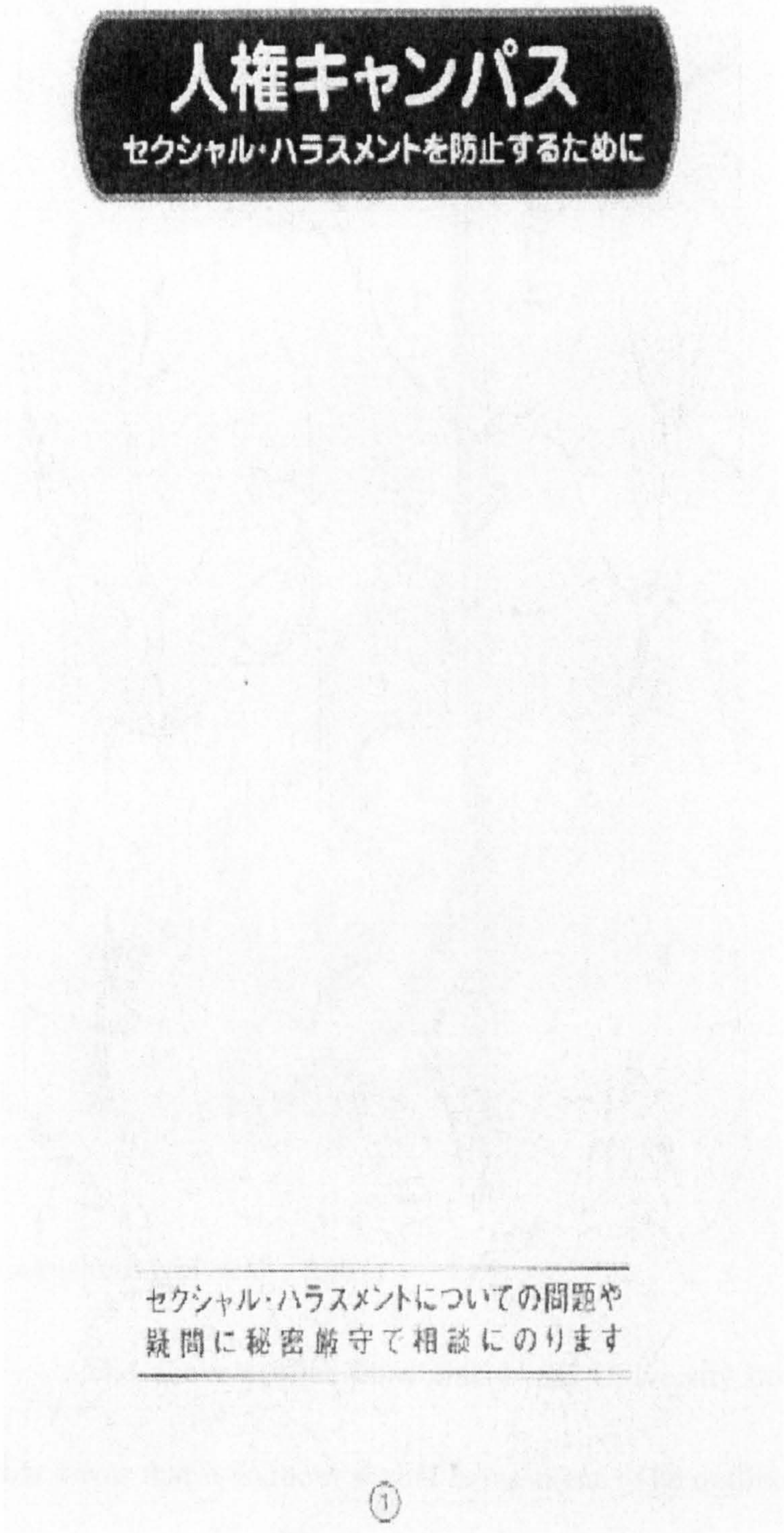
As well as handing out leaflets to students, students at Keio University are issued handy, credit card sized cards with information on who to contact if they experience sexual harassment.

BEST COPY

AVAILABLE

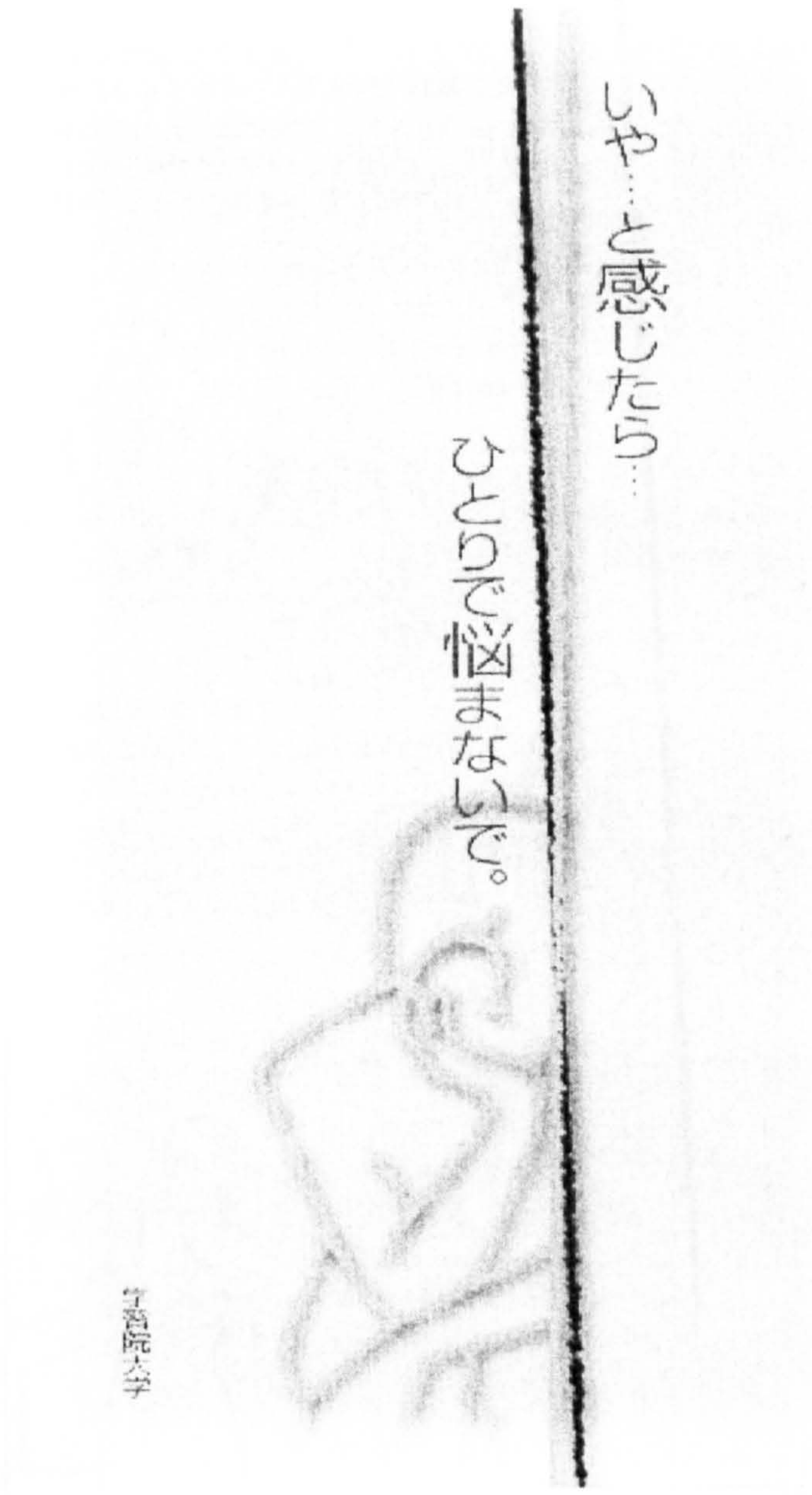
TEXT IN ORIGINAL IS
CLOSE TO THE EDGE OF
THE PAGE

(Rikkyō University 1999)



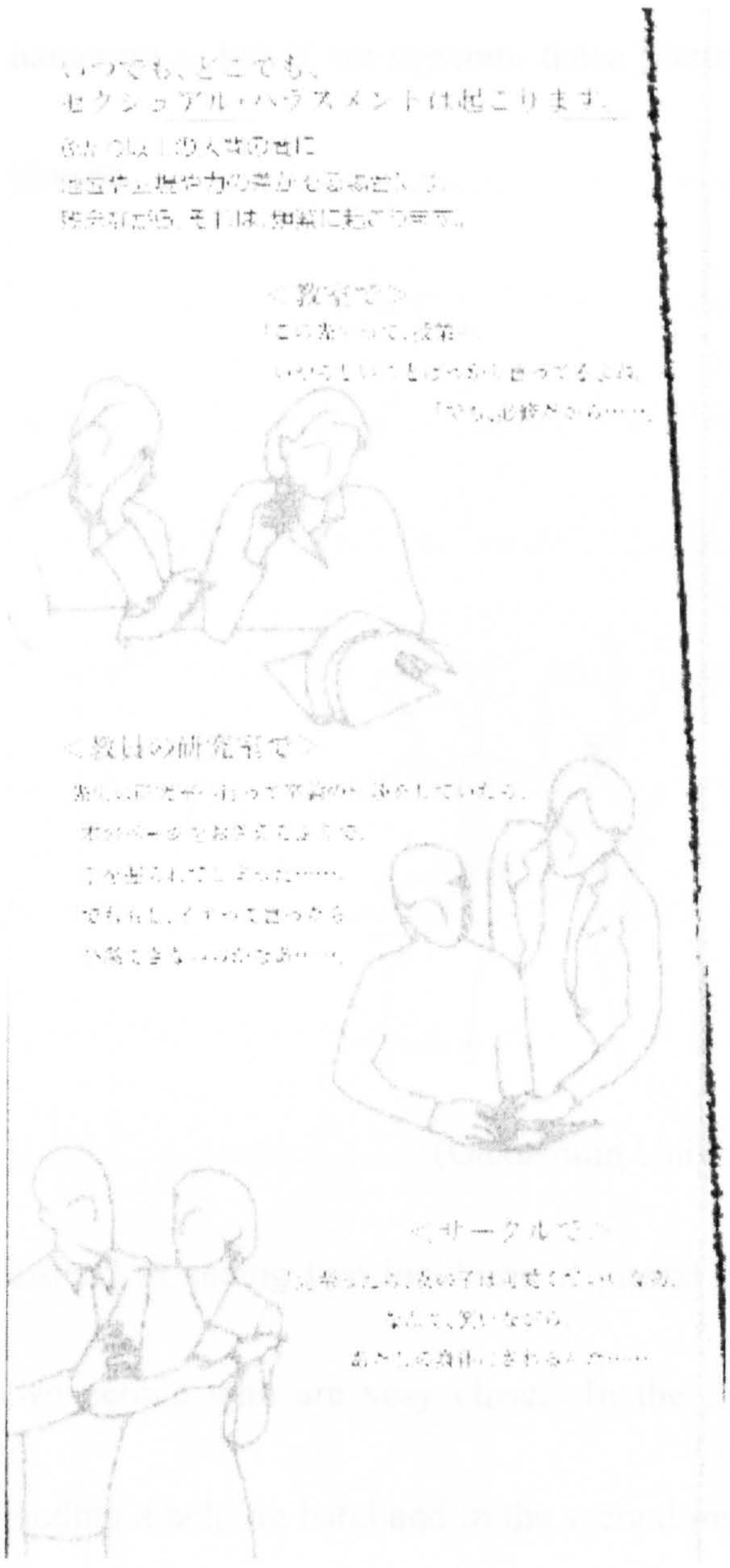
(Tokyo Keizai University 1999)

Other leaflets collected had more intricate designs on them:



(Gakushuin University 2001)

The above leaflet from Gakushuin University does not explicitly state on the front cover that it is about sexual harassment. The outline of the figure in the picture is quite forlorn and the sex of the figure is ambiguous. It is also quite erotic in the sense that the figure seems to be naked. However, further imagery is not so vague.



(Gakushuin University 2001)

The figures clearly depict a male and a female, and the writing next to the pictures explains the different forms of harassment experienced by the female. The second and third pictures show a man physically touching a woman in what is described as sexual

harassment, but if we separate these pictures from the writing, the meaning becomes blurred.

(Gakushuin University 2001)

Instead of seeing two incidents of sexual harassment, we observe what appears to be two people who are very close. In the first image the man might seem as if he is lending a helping hand and in the second image the man and woman might appear to be lovers. Nothing in these pictures may convey the threatening and malevolent nature of sexual harassment. It was precisely this kind of imagery that Takahashi condemned in her speech.

All of the leaflets contain condensed versions of the sexual harassment prevention policies. The leaflets define sexual harassment and then follow on to inform

the students how and where they can get help. On the back of most of the leaflets are the advisory service contact numbers for students to call.

Those universities in Japan which are trying to prevent sexual harassment on campus are putting much time and effort into creating prevention policies and promoting awareness. At an official level it appears that Japanese universities are constructively trying to fight sexual harassment on college campus. However, prevention policies alone are not enough to stop sexual harassment on campus, a change in attitudes towards female staff, faculty and students is also needed. In a country where gender stereotyping is strong and difficult to shake off, accomplishing a gender free society without discrimination or sexual harassment may seem to be an impossible task. Even though some of the imagery in the leaflets published by universities on sexual harassment may not be the most appropriate for the topic, a step forward has been taken in trying to warn people of the insidious nature of sexual harassment on campus.

Conclusions

Throughout the production of my thesis numerous people have asked me the title of this project, once I tell them; the first questions asked are usually the same. British people immediately ask, "Is sexual harassment a big problem in Japan?" and Japanese people usually ask, "Doesn't sexual harassment happen in Britain? Why did you choose Japan to study this kind of topic?"

The former question is the easiest out of the two to answer. I usually reply, "Sexual harassment probably happens as often in Japan as it does in Britain." This answer is usually sufficient to satisfy, and leaves the person thinking about sexual harassment in Britain as well as in Japan. By answering in this way, I hope to put the problem into perspective and illustrate that sexual harassment is not only confined to one country but is a global issue. The latter question is more difficult to answer. Most of my working life has been spent in Japan, so when I decided to study sexual harassment, investigating the situation in Japan seemed to be the most logical step. Adequately explaining these feelings to Japanese people, with the exception of my Japanese friends, is difficult; I am seen as a white Western woman, who has dared to examine an aspect of Japanese society, which most people feel is best hidden. Another worry for Japanese people is that my research will only illustrate negative sides of

Japanese society, and my thesis will be full of "Japan bashing" and promote the West as an ideal place to live. This was never my intention and I hope my thesis reflects upon the positive as well as the negative.

Attempting to change the status quo

National and international battles have been fought by Japanese women to eradicate long established sexist practises on the home front and carve a niche for themselves in international circles. A niche not solely based on Western feminist theory and principle. At times Japanese feminist voices have courted much controversy, for example in 1984, at the Australian Asian Studies Conference in Melbourne.

> In response to a question from the floor, Ueno Chizuko stated that Japanese women have a far greater awareness of the value of motherhood than "Western" women, a position I have heard her reiterate in various situations since then. Her statement created quite a furore at the time, and several Australian feminists commented on the essentialism of the claim. Ueno countered that the concept of *bosei* was not a simple equivalent of the English "Motherhood" and had to be understood in the context of its development and application in the specific environment of Japan.
>
> (Buckley 1997: 37-38)

As a mother and a feminist, I cannot say I wholly agree with Ueno's initial statement regarding the value of "Motherhood". I believe the concept of "Motherhood" is itself in a continuous state of development due to changing lifestyles in a world experiencing rapid globalization. However, Ueno's qualifying statement regarding the concept of *bosei* in a Japanese sense is worthy of merit, what works in the West may not in the

East and vice versa. Ide Sachiko's response to Sandra Buckley's comment illustrates the difficulty Japanese feminists feel they must face, when trying to explain ideas pertaining to Japanese society:

> I think that, on the whole, American feminism has been critical of placing too much emphasis on the link between female identity and the maternal or nurturing role. This has possibly led to a devaluing of the maternal role. This would have to be one of the basic differences between Japanese and American feminists.
>
> (Buckley 1997: 37-38)

Much has happened in the world since Buckley's publication; however, the above examples illustrate not only differences of opinions of feminists from different countries, but also reflect stereotypical beliefs of West and East. A non-Japanese, non-western colleague of mine often expresses the main reason why she is not a feminist; namely, she feels she is too feminine to be a feminist. This sort of attitude supports distorted ideas about feminist theory and ideology. There may be some truth in what Ueno and Ide believe about "motherhood" and American feminists, but it should not be taken as the whole truth. Nevertheless, comments by Japanese feminists cannot be ignored on the basis that they do not fit into any western feminist framework. Therefore, a very cautious approach needs to be applied when generalising about lifestyle conditions of Japanese women, especially if an idea or situation appears to be in direct conflict with one's own western beliefs. I have thus attempted, throughout the

production of this thesis, to treat the subject matter with due care, and to be sensitive to Japanese interpretations of sexual harassment. This does not mean to say I agree with all interpretations but to merely disagree without any attempt to understand or clarify can lead to misunderstandings.

In Chapter One I have attempted to clarify situational reflections and discuss my own naiveté in the initial stages of my fieldwork. Initially, I assumed that as a woman, researching sexual harassment, a bond between myself and the women I came into contact with would automatically be created. This unifying force of righteous indignation, at what essentially is abusive behaviour towards women, would create a web of support and encouragement. Instead, what I was faced with were deep rooted, historical, national, and international schisms, which were, profoundly shocking. In my eagerness to start my fieldwork, I had failed to register or even acknowledge the possibility of domestic political issues between members of the academic and/or feminist community. In addition, my foreignness in every sense of the word added yet another political dimension to a project that by its very nature courted controversy. These initial setbacks, notwithstanding, I soon began to discover that Japanese women, whether they claimed to be feminists or not, were seriously attempting to change their

social status and lifestyles. Moreover, they were fighting on their own terms and not on terms created by the Western world *per se*.

From this standpoint, I believe that Ueno was correct in her assessment of "motherhood" when she stated it needed to be "understood in the context of its development and application in the specific environment of Japan" (Buckley 1997: 37-38). A mistake often made when thinking about Japanese women is that they are weak and subservient compared with women from other countries, especially the West, and that Japanese feminism doesn't really exist in any concrete form. Bunch points out in the forward to *Voices from the Japanese Women's Movement*: "Too little is known about feminism in Japan in the rest of the world. Even today, I meet people who seem surprised that it even exists in a country so commonly identified with strong patriarchal traditions. Yet feminism in post-war Japan has a long and ardent history" (Bunch 1996: *xiii*).

Due to the nature of my research project, feminists I encountered were faculty, students, or staff members at Japanese universities. All of whom took the issue of sexual harassment and sexual discrimination very seriously and many of the women I met dedicated much of their spare time working on matters pertaining to sexual harassment. The dedication to the improvement of women's lives by women Japanse women is not recognised nationally or internationally. For example, I recently presented

a paper entitled 'Problematic and Pragmatic Approaches to the Study of Socially Sensitive Subjects', one of the many questions following the presentation resulted in a discussion about Japanese women and in particular, Japanese feminists. I found it extremely difficult to convince some people in the audience that Japanese feminism did indeed exist and women were actively seeking ways in which to readdress established gender imbalances. I felt that even though my audience showed an interest in what I had to say, some people found it very difficult to overcome their own preconceived stereotypical ideas about Japanese women.

One resource method to assist Japanese women, women's groups, and networks are the numerous women's centres situated in Japan. I have already mentioned Tokyo Women's Plaza as a central hub of feminist activity; however, there are many other women's centres that held speeches, seminars, and workshops about sexual harassment. The reason for establishing women's centres is to promote a gender equal society and create empowerment for women. The following mission statement from the women's centre in Kanagawa reflects the mission statements of other women's centres in the country.

> Kanagawa Women's Centre is promoting empowerment of women and equal participation of both women and men in all aspects of the society. The centre envisions a gender-equal society where every person can express and exercise one's individuality and ability regardless of one's gender. For the

realization of this "gender-equal society", the centre carries out a variety of activities. The Centre is committed to protect and promote the human rights of women through working on the issues such as violence against women (VAW) and sexual harassment and providing services to assist self-sustainability of women.

(Kanagawa Women's Centre 2008)

The very fact that the centre includes sexual harassment in its mission statement shows how serious the problem is. It would be quite easy to be cynical about these women's centres by questioning their effectiveness in creating a more gender equal society. The success and limitations of women's centres in Japan is worthy of an independent extended research project, but without this data to hand I can only recount personal experiences and perceptions of the women's centres I visited during my fieldwork.

The women's centres I visited throughout my fieldwork were situated in and around the Tokyo area, this area of Japan is densely populated and therefore the women's centres were in my mind always busy and full of activity. Whether this is due to the sheer numbers of the local populace using the centre or not, again I cannot say but it would do well to be included in a research project. On a positive note, I felt that the centres were being put to good use by women and I also think such centres would be of great benefit if they were widely adopted in Britain.

The importance of women's centres can be observed in the following quotation taken from an article about domestic violence in the Japan Times newspaper: "The new

law requires state and local authorities to try to prevent violence and protect victims from abusive partners. It urges prefectural governments to encourage women's centres to provide advice, support, counselling, emergency protection and refuge to victims of domestic violence" (The Japan Times 2001). This quotation reflects the importance the government places on women's centres to disseminate information and I argue they are one important medium of information for Japanese women of all ages and lifestyles.[94]

Throughout my thesis I have discussed the work women are doing through the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network and, as I have stated previously, it is extremely difficult to recapture a moment, a feeling, a reaction and retell that experience on paper. The dedication with which members of the network carried out their commitment to eradicate sexual harassment was extremely impressive. Although the network had no power over individual cases at individual universities, the level of support on a professional and friendship level created a strong sense of hope, solidarity, and empowerment among members.

The Campus Sexual Harassment Network is but one of many networks created by Japanese women, a similar network has been established for female teachers in schools. Moreover, towards the end of my stay in Japan a network to combat academic

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[94]Women's centres are now beginning to open their doors to men. For example, Tokyo Women's Plaza has opened a hot line for men once a week, and some centres are changing their names to include men but men have been slow to take up the facilities on offer (Hoffman 2003).

harassment was beginning to take shape and increase in momentum; the network is entitled Network for the Action Against Academic Harassment and their bulletin is entitled 'NAAH Letters.' Awareness of academic harassment has increased and in 2002 Yokohama National University and Hiroshima University investigated the proliferation of academic harassment on their campuses.

Academic harassment, coined by Ueno Chizuko as *akahara,*[95] is written and spoken about in connection with sexual harassment, at times the boundaries between the two are often blurred, and it becomes difficult to distinguish whether the author or speaker is discussing academic harassment or sexual harassment.

Academic harassment concentrates mainly on sexual discrimination in academia and differs from sexual harassment in that it does not necessarily have to be sexual in nature. Female researchers face the same pressures all working women contend with such as juggling childcare, family life and careers. In addition, they also work for large institutions such as universities or research centres where the administration can be tyrannical and autonomous, leaving little scope for redress if one is a victim of academic harassment (Ueno 1997a: 5). Ogoshi formed a group in June 1998, to combat

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[95]This is a play on words and supposed to emulate the frequently used abbreviation of sexual harassment namely; *sekuhara*. The usage of the term *akahara*, however, has not gained in popularity and many people outside of this field of research have probably never heard of the term, compared with those people who have heard of *sekuhara*.

academic harassment she was experiencing at Nara University. Ogoshi was the first person to bring a case of academic harassment through the judicial system, and on the 11th of October 2000, at the Osaka district court, Ogoshi was successful in her fight against Nara University (Ogoshi 1999: 1-2).

On March 24th in 1998, Ogoshi filed a lawsuit of 5.5 million yen against a professor in her department and against Nara Medical University, citing she had suffered four and a half years of bullying from the said professor. Ogoshi was a studious academic with numerous publications to her name and her research was considered a major part of the department's work; that is until a new professor was appointed in 1993. The new professor allegedly took an immediate dislike to Ogoshi and the situation was exacerbated when Ogoshi became the representative of the Association of Research Associates.[96] On September the 22nd, two days after the Association of Research Associates was established the said professor in a meeting falsely stated:

> Professors are capable of firing teaching staffs. Professors and the Chancellor are authorized to appoint research associates and therefore have the rights to fire them at will. Instructors, associate professors, and professors are appointed by the governor and the higher your position is, the harder it gets to be fired.
>
> (Ogoshi 1999: 1-2)

[96]This movement was formed to stop the exclusion of research associates, instructors and associate professors from faculty meetings.

The professor began to make rules which were perceived to be potentially threatening towards the Association of Research Associates, such as not being able to leave your desk for more than half an hour without stating a reason or using Ogashi's office and equipment without her permission. Eventually the Association of Research Associates became less active as most of the research associates became instructors, however, relentless bullying towards Ogashi by the said professor continued. On March 24th 1998, Ogashi finally filed a lawsuit against him and Nara prefecture for the following behaviours:

1) Obstruction of work both inside and outside of the laboratory
2) Unfair distribution of research funds
3) Interference in the management of research equipment
4) Critical of her teaching ability
5) Refusal to sign essential documents for her to carry out her research
6) Monitoring of activities
7) Hindering her promotion
8) Attempts to force her to resign or transfer
9) Critical of her taking paid holidays

Ogoshi did eventually receive ¥5500,000 from the Nara prefectural government.

Shortly after receiving this, she and some colleagues decided to establish an organisation that aimed at stopping bullying in academia (Ogoshi 1999: 3; Normile 2001: 817).

Although Ogoshi won her case and was awarded compensation, she is not alone and many female scientists are in the same position as her. Only seven percent of

females employed at Japanese universities are professors and most of these teach home economics and literature, female professors in the fields of science or engineering are very rare (Normile 2001: 818).[97] Ogoshi believes the system in Japanese universities is to blame for the hostile climate of bullying, as professors have unlimited powers over their junior colleagues. The uphill battle against academic harassment is reflected by the views of officials in the Ministry of Education, who still believe that academic harassment is a personal matter, and should be dealt with by individual universities (Normile 2001: 818). The view of academic harassment was once the same view The Ministry of Education took with regard to sexual harassment. It remains to be seen whether the fight against academic harassment will be as successful as that against sexual harassment, and will be included in the Japanese employment laws.

In chapters two and three, I discussed employment laws in relation to working women in Japan. In chapter two the development of legislation regarding the protection of women was explored and chapter three gives a detailed account of how amendments

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[97] In a high profile case Akiko Itai an assistant professor in the pharmaceutical department at the University of Tokyo set up her own company after the university persistently refused to promote her to professor. Organic chemist Akiko Itai became the second female faculty member in 1969 says professors would stop her in the hallway and say things like "You know, it's really troublesome having you around here", even though she was promoted to professor after twenty five years she wasn't given the same rights or status as men. She now runs the Institute of Medical Molecule Design, one of Japan's most successful biotechnology ventures (Normile 2001: 818).

to the Japanese Equal Employment Opportunity Law regarding sexual harassment were adopted and adapted from legislation in the United States.

Amendments made to the Equal Opportunity Law in 1999 were pivotal in the development of attitudes towards sexual harassment. Without these amendments, companies and universities would not feel pressurized into creating sexual harassment prevention policies or guidelines. Although legislation in Japan has relied heavily on the legal system in the United States, especially regarding definitions of *quid pro quo* and "hostile environment" sexual harassment, adaptations have been made to incorporate specifics of Japanese culture. As mentioned in chapter three one of these specifics is that the law pertaining to sexual harassment only covers sexual harassment of women:

> **Japanese definition of *quid pro quo* sexual harassment**
> *Josei rōdōsha no i ni hansuru seitekina gendō ni taisuru josei rōdōsha no taiō ni yotte, sono josei rōdō ga kaiko, kōkaku genkyū nado no furieki wo keru koto desu.* (Depending upon the female employee's reaction to unwanted sexual behaviour the female employee is disadvantaged through [such actions as] dismissal, demotion, or reduction in salary.)
>
> (Rōdōshō 1999: 7)

> **Japanese definition of *hostile environment* sexual harassment**
> "*Josei rōdōsha no i ni hansuru seitekina gendō ni yori, josei rōdōsha no shokugyō ga fukaina mono to natta tame, nōryoku no hakki ni jūdai na akueikyō ga shōjiru nado, sono josei rōdōsha ga shokugyōsuru uede misugosenai teido no shishō i ga shōjiru koto desu.*"(Unwanted sexual behaviour towards a female employee which creates an uncomfortable

working environment for the female employee which seriously affects her abilities [at work].)

(Rōdōshō 1999: 7)

If one investigates the development of post war legislation regarding women and labour laws the above definitions of sexual harassment may seem less surprising. As mentioned in chapter two, the 1947 Labour Standards Law contained protective clauses related to women's employment; however, by the 1980s it was felt that these clauses were detrimental towards women and hindered rather than helped their career development. In 1986, the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was passed, which was supposed to promote equal opportunities for women, once again this new law did not cover men. At approximately the same time another piece of legislation was passed entitled the Workers Dispatched Act (Nakano 1996: 67). This piece of legislation was passed to allow employers to make adjustments to their workforce based on supply and demand. Nakano (1996: 66) argues that the above pieces of legislation have allowed businesses to promote the following policies:

1) Treatment of workers purely on the basis of ability and accomplishment. This was fixed in accordance with the EEOL, which called for companies to judge women individually, on the basis of their "abilities and willingness," rather than collectively on the basis of their gender.

2) The development of policies used to segregate workers according to job type (managerial or general clerical) and in terms of employment (full-time or part-time).

3) An attempt to make employment more fluid and working conditions more flexible, backed by the legalization of the workers' dispatch system and the revision allowing for more flexible working hours. This is being done in order to enable managers to adjust personnel placement and working hours in accordance with work volume and economic fluctuations.

4) The enthusiastic use of female workers to compensate for the lack of young male workers.

Nakano believes as others do that these policies were put in place to justify unequal working (including unequal wages) conditions with women. Once again it seemed that laws created to protect women were actually working against them. Amendments to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law ten years later were put into place in order to halt the above practices. Unfortunately, there is little evidence to suggest that companies or universities are following the law and are recruiting and employing women at the same level as men. Creating complete parity between male and female workforces is a battle not only confined to Japan, as women around the globe are fighting for equality in employment. Nevertheless, amendments to the Equal Employment Opportunity Law are a progressive step in the right direction.

Creating a piece of legislation which only protects women, in many respects, is a double edged sword solidifying masculine and feminine notions of gender stereotypes. It recreates the idea that women are truly the weaker sex and need to be protected and implies that men do not need to be safeguarded against sexual harassment. This is definitely not the case, as studies outside Japan have demonstrated, and the surveys I

collected indicate men can be, and are victims of unwanted, unwelcome sexual behaviour.

Be that as it may, it is important to stress the level of unwanted, unwelcome sexual behaviour women receive compared with men, without over tipping the balance and completely ignoring sexual harassment against men. As mentioned in chapter one, the aversion to pursue sexual harassment against men appears to lie in the reluctance to admit that women can be sufficiently dominant to control a man, and also even more disturbing is the realisation that men (who are not homosexual) can and do sexually harass other men. The very concept of male sexual abuse and male rape is unfortunately still an extremely taboo topic, not only in Japan but in the West also. Therefore, until this issue is seriously tackled at a global level the notion that sexual abuse, sexual harassment, is only a problem for women will preside.

Unfortunately, recent legislation in Japan does not include gender harassment and although there are established guidelines known as the grey zone (see page 122) these guidelines carry no punitive measures if they are violated. Many of the behaviours included in the *grey zone* are deep-rooted sexist beliefs ingrained in Japanese society. The grey zone was a great source of frustration to the women I met during my fieldwork, many women felt extremely disappointed at the lack of punitive

measures against such behaviour. The inadequacy of the grey zone echoes the inadequacy of the 1986 Equal Employment Opportunity Law, which also lacked sufficient strength to carry out punitive measures if necessary.

The grey zone is also a reflection of a pervading belief in Japanese business etiquette, if one looks closely at the grey zone; one can see that behaviours included in the grey zone pertain to sexist ideas of how women should conduct themselves in the workplace. For example, *ochakumi* is a source of constant frustration for women at work but until the law makes it explicitly clear that this type of behaviour is unacceptable, then the practice will continue. Secondly, sexual harassment outside of the workplaces at gatherings related to work also needs to be adequately addressed, sexual abuse against women is often carried out after alcohol is freely available and is excused because of the idea that if one is drunk then one is no longer in control of one's actions.

Japan is not the only country to experience problems with alcohol and violence against women. It is well documented in Britain that the number of sexual attacks

over the amount of alcohol women were drinking and the increase in sexual attacks. "Mr Tomkins said that while women were not to blame for the attacks, responsible drinking could improve safety" (BBC News: 2004). I think most people would agree that the binge drinking culture in Britain is unhealthy and contributes to antisocial behaviour. By putting the onus on women to be responsible for their own safety, is this not implying that men do not need to take responsibility for sexually attacking women? It may not be healthy, wise, or prudent, for women to binge drink to the point of unconsciousness but this does not mean to say a drunken woman is asking to be raped or sexually assaulted. Although, the drinking culture in Japan, for the moment, seems to be very different than that of Britain, the message ineffectual guidelines such as the *grey zone* sends out, is one of tolerance towards alcohol related incidents of sexual abuse. With regard to gender harassment, Japanese legislation needs to be more forceful in order to allow women to work in a dignified and respectful environment.

The two prominent cases of sexual harassment, outlined in chapter four illustrate the complexity of sexual harassment cases, and reveal the power struggles put into play, including tactics prominent members of society will use to clear their names. The cases illustrated illuminate the traumatic experience victims and their families go through and reflect the determination of the victims in bringing the perpetrators to justice. Since

theses two cases were brought to light, the support network for victims of sexual harassment has increased dramatically, and the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network is playing a pivotal role in encouraging women to come forward and relate their experiences to others.

As I have mentioned previously, one stumbling block the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network faces is the fact it has no real authoritative power and it can only act as a support network to advise and counsel on issues related to sexual harassment. For example, at one block meeting I attended, the issue of adequate advisory services on small college campuses was discussed. It appeared that the university in question had a very good sexual harassment advisory service in place, but university members were reluctant to use the facilities because the campus was so small. They felt that if they went to the facilities available the chances of them being seen by peers or even worse, the perpetrator would be far too risky, not to mention embarrassing.

The issue was discussed and sensible advice was given, for example, creating an advisory service off campus and thus creating the option of seeking advice away from the locality of the university so privacy could be assured. The individual response from the person who had raised the issue was very positive, but it was noted that when the suggestions were taken back to the university the main concern they would have would

be economical. The problem of adequate budgets for sexual harassment advisory services was something that was discussed on numerous occasions and it appeared that some universities were more willing and able to invest money in their prevention policies than others.

The main problem facing the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network was not the lack of dedication or hard work on the part of the members, but the limited power the network had on a collective and individual level. The network has no authority over any university and if proposals by the network are not taken into consideration by a university, then the network has no legitimate power to pressurise the university into changing its policy. What the network can do, however, is carry on increasing awareness of sexual harassment, and increase membership, in the hope that universities will invest time and money into sexual harassment prevention policies.

Chapter five discusses the problems of measuring levels of sexual harassment and one problem with the surveys gathered was the lack of a standardised questionnaire to send out to respondents. This meant that although I was able to look at actual conditions of sexual harassment at individual universities, it was very difficult to accurately assess the impact of sexual harassment on a national level. If a standard questionnaire, similar to the 'sexual experiences questionnaire' discussed in chapter five,

were created, it would be easier to access the levels of sexual harassment at universities on a national level. For example, as table 5.12 shows, the effects of sexual harassment are wide-ranging but these effects could be condensed into a shorter list if analysis on a national level were possible.

I argue that a standard questionnaire would not be too difficult to design given that the sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines at most of the universities I went to, followed similar if not identical patterns. If universities throughout Japan were able to follow the same prevention policies and guidelines then surely a standardised questionnaire is possible. The establishment of sexual harassment prevention policies and guidelines is a step in the right direction towards eradicating sexual harassment at universities, but the policies and guidelines are only worth having if they work. For this to happen, universities must actively promote their policies and advisory services.

Chapter six examined various sexual harassment prevention strategies universities have established, as well as showing the designs of pamphlets produced to promote awareness of sexual harassment. Some universities like Waseda University and Keio University have put much thought and care into the design of their leaflets and pamphlets. The design of these pamphlets is very straightforward and they do not

incorporate any fancy designs that can be misinterpreted. On the other hand, designs such as the pamphlet produced by Gakushuin University, and Tokyo University, although attractive, send out inappropriate subliminal sexual messages. The problem of designing leaflets was first brought to my attention in a speech given by a member of the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network. This was the first time I had given any thought to the design of posters and pamphlets promoting awareness of sexual harassment. The speech itself and the discussion which followed, eliminated any doubt in my mind about the knowledge and dedication members of the network had. My impression is that women who join networks like the Campus Sexual Harassment National Network or the Action Against Academic Harassment, are determined to see the life pattern of Japanese women change for the better. Not only with regard to sexual harassment but also with regard to other pertinent issues related to unfair treatment of women.

In the preface, I discussed my original idea of how I wished to proceed with my investigation about sexual harassment on college campuses in Japan. My original research design was very different from this final production. Initially, I was disappointed I was not able to carry out my original plan, but as the production of this thesis was taking shape, I began to appreciate the changes and developments my

research produced. Moreover, the final production of my thesis has had a profound effect at a personal and professional level. During the course of my fieldwork I was faced with extreme reactions to my physical appearance. Consequently, I felt compelled to write about these reactions in a way which was comfortable to me, as an individual who will undoubtedly see these reactions again, if not in Japan, elsewhere. On a professional level, I hope that I was successful in my attempts to break down the all encompassing definition of 'disabled' and open a window for other researchers to be forthcoming about their ideas of difference, and how it has influenced their own research.

The fact that sexual harassment happens on college campuses in Japan is nothing new, sexual harassment has been happening to women around the globe for centuries. It therefore comes as no great revelation that it is has happened in Japan yesterday, it is happening today, and it will happen tomorrow. What I hope we can learn from this project is the realisation that Japanese women are not standing still and allowing this type of abusive behaviour to carry on. There is a battle in Japan, a battle for gender equality and I hope my thesis can support and give a voice to all of the women I met during my fieldwork and all of those I did not meet who are actively engaged in this struggle. The work they are doing deserves international acclaim and

respect. The women I met are working within a legal framework, which only protects them against *quid pro quo* sexual harassment and "hostile environment" sexual harassment. It does not protect them against gender harassment, which often causes the most frustration on a daily basis. In addition, they are striving to create gender equality in a university structure, which is predominantly male and in many respects steeped in sexist traditional beliefs. Nevertheless, Japanese women are working together to find ways in which sexual harassment can be addressed and eradicated from all campuses in Japan.

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Appendix One[98]

A list of Surveys about Sexual Harassment compiled by the "Campus Sexual Harassment National Network"99

Research Group	Title	Year
Women's section of the Japanese education union (*Nihon kyōshokuin kumiai joseibu* 日本教職員組合女性部)	A Survey about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento ni tsuite no chōsa* セクシュアル・ハラスメントについての調査)	1990
International Christian University GAIA (国際基督教大学 GAIA)	A survey regarding sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru anketto* セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関するアンケート)	1993
The Association of female lecturers at Tōkyō University (*Tōkyō daigaku josei kyōkan konwakai* 東京大学女性教官懇話会)	Sexual discrimination experienced by [members of] the association of female lecturers at Tōkyō University (*Tōkyō daigaku josei kyōkan ga keikenshita seisabetsu* 東京大学女性教官が経験した性差別)	1994
Education network of female students (*Joseigaku kyōiku netto wāku (Watanabe Kazuko)* 女性学教育ネットワーク (渡辺和子))	A survey about sexual harassment at university (Daigaku ni okeru sekushuaru harasumento chōsa 大学におけるセクシュアル・ハラスメント調査)	1995-6
Members of the education union of *Shizuoka* University (*Shizuoka daigaku kyōshokuin kumiai* 静岡大学教職員組合)	A survey of actual conditions of sexual harassment at *Shizuoka* University (*Shizuoka daigaku sekushuaru harasumento jittai chōsa* 静岡大学セクシュアル・ハラスメント実態調査)	1996
Association of female researchers at Aichi [University] (*Aichi josei kenkyūsha no kai* 愛知女性研究社の会)	A survey about actual conditions of sexual harassment at university (*Daigaku ni okeru sekushuaru harasumento jittai chōsa* 大学におけるセクシュアル・ハラスメント実態調査)	1996
Association of female lecturers at Kyōto University (*Kyōto daigaku josei kyōkan konwakai* 京都大学女性教官懇話会)	A survey about research conditions of female faculty at Kyōto University (*Kyōto daigaku josei kyōin kenkyū jōkyō chōsa* 京都大学女性教員研究状況調査)	1995-6
Association of female lecturers at Kyōto University (*Kyōto daigaku josei kyōkan konwakai* 京都大学女性教官懇話会)	A survey about sexual discrimination against female graduates of Kyōto University (*Kyōto daigaku josei sotsugyōsei ni taisuru, seisabetsu ni kansuru anketto chōsa*)京都大学女性卒業生に対する、性差別に関するアンケート調査)	1996
Uchiyama Ayako (内山絢子)	Experiences of sexual harm among high school and university students (*Kōkōsei daigakusei no seihigai no keiken* 高校生・大学生の性被害の経験)	1996
Nagoya University NSNW (*Nagoya daigaku* 名古屋大学 NSNW)	A survey about sexual harassment at *Nagoya* University (*Nagoya daigaku sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru chōsa* 名古屋大学セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関する調査)	1996-7
National Personnel Authority (Jinjiin 人事院)	A survey about sexual harassment towards national civil servants (*Kokka kōmuin sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru chōsa* 国家公務員セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関する調査)	1997
Association for the promotion of human rights in education and social integration at *Kyōto* university of Education (*Kyōto kyōiku daigaku dōwa, jinken kyōiku sokushin iinkai* 京都教育大学同和・人権教育促進委員会)	A survey about sexual discrimination (*Seisabetsu ni kansuru anketto chōsa* 性差別に関するアンケート調査)	1997
A conference about student life at *Tōhoku* university (*Tōhoku daigaku gakusei seikatsu kyōgikai* 東北大学学生生活協議会)	The second survey about actual conditions of student life (*Dai 2 kai gakusei seikatsu jittai chōsa* 第 2 回学生生活実態調査)	1997
Asakura Mutsuko (浅倉むつ子東京都立大)	A survey about actual conditions of sexual discrimination and sexual harassment at university	1997

98 The data for appendix one was taken from (Campus Sexual Harassment: The National Network キャンパス・セクシュアル・ハラスメント・全国・ネットワーク 2002)

99 A more extensive list of surveys about sexual harassment in the work place and on university campus in Japan has been compiled by Kitanaka Chiri (Kitanaka Chiri 北仲千里 2000).

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	(*Daigaku ni okeru sekushuaru harasumento to seisabetsu no jittai chōsa* 大学におけるセクシュアル・ハラスメントと性差別の実態調査)	
Shikoku graduate university and junior college (*Shikoku gakuin daigaku tanki daigaku* 四国学院大学・短期大学)	A survey about human rights and women (*Josei no jinken ni kansuru anketo chōsa* 女性の人権に関するアンケート調査)	1997-8
Hijikata Yukiko 土方ゆき子 A student at *Chūkyō* University (*Chūkyō daigaku gakusei* 中京大学学生)	A survey about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento anketto chōsa* セクシュアル・ハラスメントアンケート調査)	1999
Sugiyama committee [in charge of] sexual harassment at Sugiyama jogakuen (*Sugiyama jogakuen daigaku sugiyama sekuhara iinkai* 椙山女学園大学椙山セクハラ委員会)	A survey about actual conditions of sexual harassment in 1999 (*1999 nen ni sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru jittai chōsa* 1999 年セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関する実態調査)	1999
Alumni association of Nagoya Private University (*Nagoya shiritsu daigaku gakuyūkai* 名古屋私立大学学友会)	A survey about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento anketto chōsa* セクシュアル・ハラスメントアンケート調査)	1999
Hitotsubashi University working group investigating problems [relating to] sexual harassment (*Hitotsubashi daigaku sekuhara mondai kentō wākingu gurūpu* 一橋大学セクハラ問題検討ワーキング・グループ)	A survey about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru anketto chōsa* セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関するアンケート調査	1999
Committee for the institute of astronomy (*Tenmon gakkai kyōiku iinkai* 天文学会教育委員会)	A survey about problems related to female researchers in the field of astronomy (*Tenmon gakubunya no josei kenkyūsha mondai anketto chōsa* 天文学分野の女性研究者問題アンケート調査)	1999
Association of female educators at *Tsukuba* University (*Tsukuba daigaku josei kyōkan konwakai* (筑波大学女性教官懇話会)	A survey about the educational environment and research about a symbiotic society of men and women (*Danjo kyōsei shakai no kenkyū kyōiku kankyō ni kansuru chōsa* 男女共生社会の研究・教育環境に関する調査)	1999
Nihon Fukushi University student division (*Nihon Fukushi daigaku gakuseibu* 日本福祉大学学生部)	The 11th survey about actual conditions of student life(*Dai 11 kai gakusei seikatsu jittai chōsa* 第 11 回学生生活実態調査)	1999
Sexual harassment -think tank at *Ochanomizu* University (*Ochadai de sekushuaru harasumento wo kangaeru kai* お茶大でセクシュアル・ハラスメントを考える会)	A questionnaire [given to] *Ochanomizu* University postgraduates (*Ochadai insei anketto* お茶大院生アンケート)	1999
Sexual harassment -think tank at *Ochanomizu* University (*Ochadai de sekushuaru harasumento wo kangaeru kai* お茶大でセクシュアル・ハラスメントを考える会)	Questionnaire regarding sexual harassment prevention policies(*Sekushuaru harasumento bōshi taisaku notameno anketto* セクシュアル・ハラスメント防止対策のためのアンケート)	2000
Nihon Fukushi University Human Rights Committee (*Nihon Fukushi daigaku jinken iinkai* 日本福祉大学人権委員会)	A questionnaire about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento nikansuru anketto* セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関するアンケート)	2000
An awareness section meeting about the prevention of sexual harassment at *Nagoya* University of Technology (*Nagoya kōgyō daigaku sekushuaru harasumento bōshi ni kansuru keihatsu fukyū bukai* 名古屋工業大学セクシュアル・ハラスメント防止に関する啓発普及部会)	A questionnaire about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento nikansuru anketto* セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関するアンケート)	2000
Yokohama National University: 21st project of male and female partnership participation (*Yokohama kokuritsu daigaku danjo kyōdō sankaku 21 purojekkuto* 横浜国立大学　男女共同参画 21 プロジェクト)	Experiences and [levels of] awareness of campus sexual harassment amongst students of Yokohama National University (*Yokohama kokuritsu daigaku niokeru gakusei no kyanpasu sekushuaru harasumento nikansuru ninshiki to keiken* 横浜国立大学における学生のキャンパス・セクシュアル・ハラスメントに関する認識と経験)	2000
A study of campus sexual harassment at Wakayama University (*Wakayama daigaku kyanpasu sekuhara gakushū* 和歌山大学キャンパスセクハラ学習)	A questionnaire about campus sexual harassment at Wakayama University (*Wakayama daigaku kyanpasu sekuhara anketto* 和歌山大学キャンパス・セクハラアンケート)	2000
National Personnel Authority (*Jinjiin* 人事院)	A survey about sexual harassment towards national civil servants (*Kokka kōmuin sekushuaru harasumento chōsa* 国家公務員セクシュアル・ハラスメント調査)	2000
(*Tōkyō daigaku harasumento bōshi iinkai anketto chōsa shōiinkai* 東京大学ハラスメント防止委員会アンケート調査小委員会)	A survey about sexual harassment (*Sekushuaru harasumento ni kansuru anketto chōsa* セクシュアル。ハラスメントに関するアンケート調査)	2001